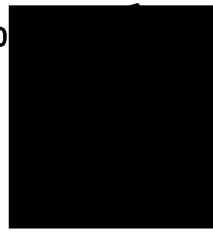


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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE GROUP
INTELLIGENCE REPORT

COUNTRY Greece

DATE:

SUBJECT Review of KKE Activity in 1946 and Estimate for 1947

INFO. 17 January 1947

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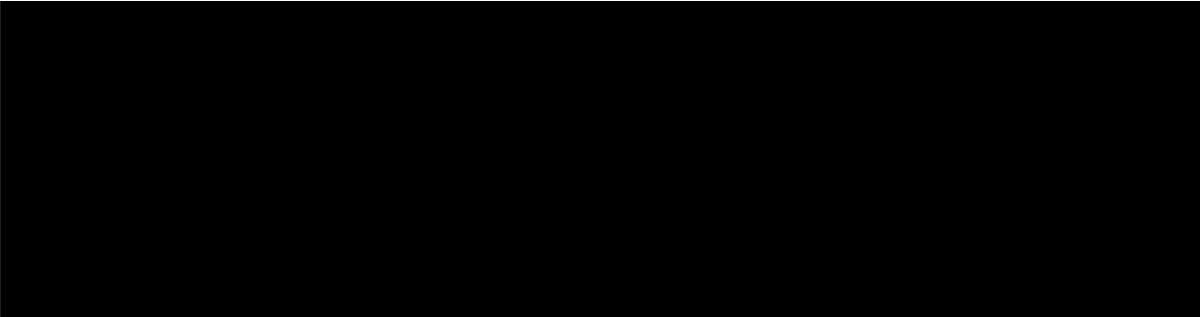
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SUPPLEMENT



1. The extreme left wing in Greece, as represented by KKE/EAM, realized substantial moral and political gains during 1946.
2. Among the moral gains, possibly the most important one was the emergence of the extreme left from the position of "accused" in which it found itself during 1945, as a result of the December uprising, into a position of considerable importance in the evolution of Greek and Balkan politics; and it achieved this great improvement without compromise and without once having to abandon its policy of provocation.
3. Thanks to the "semi-official" policy of neutralizing the KKE and its various organs, a policy pursued by the government during the greater part of 1946 either by plan or compulsion, the party was given considerable grounds on which to base its passwords of "rightist terrorism, persecution of democrats", etc., and it contrived to maintain and elaborate the aura of a party unjustly attacked and on the defensive, whereas in point of fact it was actually the attacking party all long. The efforts of the party to nourish and enhance this illusion were aided very largely by the fact that the government, mindful of what the party likes to refer to as the "international atmosphere", was unwilling to declare open war on the party and chose to entrust the work unofficially and secretly to individuals both within and without the government structure and to certain rightist organizations. The frequent excesses inevitable in the pursuit of a policy such as this in a politically vindictive people were of no small help to the KKE's plan and program. The result has been an increase in party members and adherents, especially among traditionally anti-Communist classes such as white-collar employees, small real-estate owners, craftsmen, etc. who had previously been identified with a center or moderate leftist ideology.
4. The open support and sympathy which the KKE/EAM has enjoyed from that part of the world under Russian domination and the common development and use of left-wing arguments and slogans have created an impression in the storm-tossed minds of many underprivileged Greeks that the

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KKE/EAM is the only political group in the country which knows what it wants and has the potential capacity for achieving it, whereas all its opponents are divided among themselves and do not enjoy either a singularity of objective or a solid external support.

5. More tangible gains appear to have accrued to the party as a result of its 1946 policies and activities. For example, whereas the anti-party groups such as the Petropoulos group, ELD (League of Popular Democracy), Fourth Internationalists, etc. have completely lost ground, the KKE has increased its membership, as noted in paragraph 3 above, and organizations such as the Hellenic-Soviet League have prospered in their activities. These party gains have enabled the left wing to launch various slogans and campaigns with comparative success. Taking the initiative in 1946 after a year of defensive retrenchment, the party, in May, 1946, announced its policy of "conciliation" and renewed its drive to expel the British. Many right-wing exponents are now calling for withdrawal of the British and formation of a broadened government. To many of the blind members of the party this represents a notable political success. The party does not emphasize that by withdrawal of the British it means entry, figuratively at least, of the Russians, whereas the right means figurative or actual entry of the Americans and an end to the "dynamic" methods of the Communists.
6. In its ambiguous character of a legal party and an illegal, conspiratorial, foreign-directed and rebellious machine, the party manages to give the appearance of increasing strength and support. As a legal party, its members "unjustly" incur the "excesses and persecutions" of the government, are terrorized and exiled in droves, and still the party refuses to bend. As an inspirer, organizer and supplier of "dynamic movements" (the armed bands), it has driven the government to the brink of disaster and has shown it incapable of reacting successfully.
7. The KKE/EAM is now reported to be expecting to derive significant gain from the impending visit of the UN Investigation Commission. It bases its optimism on the following lines of reasoning: evidence of KKE's direct connection with the armed bands will be hard to find, and if any exists it can be quashed, whereas the acts of the government agencies and their individuals are matters of record; orders issued to burn villages, exile suspects, arm civilians, etc. can be proved; the reports of foreign correspondents are on record; the Jouhaux episode, the report of the British Parliamentary Committee cannot be invalidated; and though one conversant with the facts would not be swayed, the unsuspecting representative of Chile or the predisposed representative of Poland will find the evidence at hand much easier to believe.
8. The party is naturally prepared to set aside all these proofs against the government if a new government were to be formed in which the party could expect to have some representation. If this were to occur, however, the next phase in the party's program would be obvious. That is, the party would endeavor to penetrate the state organism to such an extent as to make party control of it a relatively simple, further and final step.

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9. Barring intervening events which would cause a change in plan (external directive, change of government, etc.), it is believed that the party will pursue the following general lines in early 1947:

a) A partial change in the composition of the Politburo of the Central Committee of KKE in favor of more moderate elements as a deceptive device intended to preserve the manufactured aura of legality.

b) Alternating periods of intensification and relaxation of band activity in widely separated areas of the country to confuse and weaken the effect of army operations.

c) Commission of kidnappings and executions, especially against the "much-hated" center, with the blame laid constantly on the right.

These lines of policy and action are not new; they are the ones which, in the minds of the party leaders, have produced results so far, and it is intended that they be intensified. The party leaders see victory not far off, and efforts will be accordingly strengthened and increased.

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