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(U) USSR: THE 1977 "NEUTRON BOMB" CAMPAIGN

(C) Summary

The US decision to go ahead with production of enhanced radiation weapons (ERW) has triggered a Soviet propaganda offensive reminiscent of the one conducted in 1977-78. Beginning in mid-1977 and continuing for about a year, Moscow waged an intensive worldwide campaign against the US on the subject of the "neutron bomb," using every media channel and every possible forum. A survey of that earlier effort suggests how the present campaign can be expected to unfold.

- The 1977 effort evolved as Moscow noted and exploited targets of opportunity; the intensity and duration of the current campaign are thus likely to depend upon the Soviet reading of audience receptivity in Western Europe.
- In 1977, it took the Soviets months to develop a disarmament initiative to complement their propaganda campaign. Moscow finally devised the combination of a threat to manufacture its own neutron bomb and an offer of mutual renunciation of such weapons. In the current campaign, Moscow has picked up where it left off and has already renewed its March 1978 proposal for a treaty to ban neutron weapons.
- The 1977 campaign remained focused on the neutron bomb, even though the cruise missile was of greater concern to the Soviets. Moscow was at that time not immediately able to link the ERW issue with other Western programs. Development of the peace movement in Europe in the interim has now improved Moscow's ability to channel concern over ERW into opposition to TNF deployment.

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RDS-3 9/10/01 (Baumann, C.)

Report 225-AR
September 10, 1981

The Reactive Nature of the 1977 Campaign

(U) Soviet media were quick to report and criticize President Carter's July 12, 1977, decision to go ahead with ERW, but a massive campaign did not get under way until it was apparent that the American decision had triggered a strong reaction in Western Europe, particularly in West Germany.

(C) Social Democratic Party Secretary General Egon Bahr, writing in the July 21 issue of the party weekly Vorwaerts, deplored the barbarousness of a weapon purportedly designed to kill people without damaging real estate and termed it a "moral obscenity." In a second article (Vorwaerts, July 28), he also linked the neutron weapon to already outlawed biological weapons. Although Bahr subsequently modified his stance and advocated exploiting the neutron bomb card in negotiations with the USSR, his initial outburst had jarred a sensitive German nerve.))

(C) The ensuing polemics in the FRG in turn triggered debate among prominent writers on politico-military topics about the new weapon's impact on the basic NATO concepts of "flexible response" and "forward defense," which in its turn revived and fed public apprehension in West Germany that the FRG might one day be the battlefield of a limited nuclear war. When such retired officers as Britain's Sir Peter Hill Norton joined in arguing against the weapon on strategic grounds, Moscow realized that it had found an issue on which it could appeal to a far broader audience than had normally been receptive to Soviet propaganda on security issues.

(U) Having found an audience, the Soviets intensified their propaganda. The number of broadcast items devoted to the neutron bomb issue multiplied during the second half of July 1977 to dominate Soviet commentary during the three weeks from July 25 to August 14. There was nothing elaborate or complex in the major themes used. The propaganda depicted the neutron bomb as one more horrible implement of war in the American arsenal, with the distinction of being the ultimate capitalist weapon that killed people while leaving property intact. The US was portrayed as hypocritical for raising human rights issues while developing inhuman weaponry and for endangering the security of its European allies in the interests of its own defense. The ERW was also pictured as a threat to detente and SALT.

(U) The campaign was sustained not only by the sheer volume of Soviet and East European media attention but by related moves designed to maintain the momentum:

- A July 30 authoritative TASS "statement" accused the US of attempting to "justify actions that can only bring the world closer to a nuclear holocaust."
- The World Peace Council (WPC), a Soviet front group, announced a "Week of Action" for August 6-13, to coincide with the annual Hiroshima anniversary, and used it to attack ERW. In lockstep with the WPC, local peace groups in Eastern Europe, Turkey, West Germany, Peru, and Tanzania staged demonstrations; such other Soviet front organizations as the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) participated. The USSR's own peace committee marked the occasion with a resolution stating that the development of the neutron bomb violated the Helsinki CSCE agreement and threatened SALT negotiations.
- Pravda on August 8 published an appeal by 28 communist parties against production of the neutron bomb.

Although the Week of Action quickly receded into obscurity and the appeal of the communist parties was marred by the apparent refusal of the Yugoslav and Romanian parties to join in, both efforts served to bring a wide audience into the debate. UN Secretary-General Waldheim's adverse comments on the weapon also gave the communist front agitation an appearance of respectability.

(C/NF) Finding a Disarmament Handle

Soviet propagandists from the first took up the theme that the neutron bomb issue would have adverse effects on disarmament negotiations. In the case of SALT, this argument turned out to be puffery. Soviet positions on SALT were never materially affected. With regard to MBFR, Soviet commentary was more specific. Georgiy Ratianni in Pravda on August 10, 1977, said that deployment of the neutron bomb would not be in keeping with the West's 1975 offer to reduce American nuclear elements in Europe and that the value of the West's proposal would in effect be reduced by US development of ERW.

The Soviets found it easy to warn of the baleful effects of the neutron bomb on disarmament but more difficult to develop an arms control initiative on the subject. They evidently wanted to put forward a specific proposal, both to round out their propaganda campaign and to fend off a possible Western initiative. (Some West German socialists were toying with the idea of proposing to trade the neutron bomb for Soviet tanks in MBFR, and Moscow was clearly reluctant to be drawn into discussion of such a transaction.)

The Soviets groped for some months before coming up with an arms control initiative of their own on the neutron bomb. In his September 1977 UN General Assembly speech, Gromyko for the first time termed the neutron bomb a new weapon of mass destruction, suggesting that it should be dealt with under the standing Soviet proposal to ban new forms of mass destruction weapons. Then on November 2, 1977, Brezhnev proposed a stop to future production of all nuclear weapons including the neutron bomb, a proposal so blatantly propagandistic that the Soviets themselves did not expect it to enjoy much support.

The proposal the Soviets finally settled on appeared in Brezhnev's speech of December 23, 1977. It was structured upon an implied threat to build a Soviet neutron bomb, although Brezhnev stopped just short of an explicit statement to that effect. With the threat in hand, Brezhnev proposed mutual renunciation of neutron weapons, this finally giving the Soviets an exploitable disarmament proposal that did not expose them to possible Western demands for reductions in tanks as a quid pro quo. The USSR and its Warsaw Pact allies then formalized Brezhnev's initiative by submitting it to the Geneva Disarmament Committee on March 14, 1978, in the form of a draft convention banning the production, stockpiling, deployment, and use of neutron weapons.

The proposal for a mutual renunciation of neutron bombs remains Moscow's position in the current anti-ERW campaign. The Soviets recently invited members of the Committee on Disarmament to form a special working group to consider the 1978 draft treaty. In recent weeks, Soviet propagandists have picked up the argument heard in West Germany that neutron weapons might be even more useful in support of an attack by armored forces than in defense against one; they sought to add weight to the threat of a Soviet neutron bomb--and to the idea of mutual renunciation--without, of course, ever going quite so far as to identify the East as the possible aggressor in a war in Europe.

(U) The Campaign Continued

Once Moscow had devised a disarmament approach, it was able to add a diplomatic dimension to its agitation-propaganda campaign against the neutron bomb. By late January 1978, heads of Western governments received letters from Leonid Brezhnev warning that production and deployment of the neutron bomb constituted a serious threat to detente. Western parliamentarians received similar letters from members of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Soviet trade union officials sent letters to Western trade union organizations and leaders.

Even as Brezhnev's letter sought to impress on West Europeans the weight of the neutron bomb issue, the Soviets were arranging a

series of conferences in Europe to carry their political and propaganda campaign into the UN Special Session on Disarmament (SSOD), to be held in New York May 23-June 28, 1978.

- The WPC, through one of its affiliated fronts, the International Liaison Forum of Peace Forces (ILFPF), managed to organize a symposium in Vienna on "Nuclear Energy and the Arms Race" in collaboration with the IAEA to exploit the neutron bomb issue. Delegates from 22 countries attended the meeting, held in early February 1978.
- A much larger conference was held in Geneva (February 2-March 2, 1978) under the aegis of a group calling itself the "Special Non-Governmental Organizations Committee on Disarmament," although in fact it was organized by the WPC, the Swiss peace movement, and East European communist countries' representatives accredited to the UN in Geneva. WPC President Romesh Chandra presided, and 126 representatives of peace organizations from 50 countries attended. The final resolution condemned the proposed manufacture of neutron weapons and promised support for a third meeting on the subject, this time in Amsterdam.
- The Dutch Communist Party (DCP) was the prime organizer of the "International Forum Against the Neutron Bomb," held March 18-20 in Amsterdam, although the Soviets collaborated to a large extent. Sympathizers from all over Europe were brought in for the affair, the high point of which was a protest march of some 40,000 persons on March 19.

In addition to these conferences, other meetings and regional gatherings--some scheduled long before--were adapted to the Soviet propaganda blitz. WPC-sponsored rallies held in Mexico City and Athens during the first part of February 1978, for example, promoted Moscow's efforts against the neutron bomb.

President Carter's eventual decision to delay production and deployment of the neutron weapon, announced April 4, 1978, caused no immediate break in the Soviet campaign. Media and front groups attacked the decision as a dodge, alleging that "nothing of substance had changed," and that the "protest movement must grow even stronger." In his May 26, 1978, address to the SSOD, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko declaimed that neutron weapons "must be banned once and for all," calling them "a particularly vicious and cruel means of mass destruction, intended to annihilate all things living."

(C) From Neutron Bomb to Cruise Missile

Throughout the 1977-78 neutron bomb campaign, the Soviets were unable to broaden their focus to include cruise missiles, even

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though long-range cruise missiles presumably were of much greater concern to Soviet strategists than ERW. It was the neutron weapon that had captured attention in the West and given Moscow an audience. Despite repeated mention of cruise missiles along with the neutron bomb, Soviet publicists were unable to generate the same resonance on that issue.

In the years since 1977-78, the peace movement in Western Europe has developed a life of its own, and Moscow has developed ties--both overt and covert--with it. The deployment of long-range theater nuclear forces meanwhile has become an issue in the West. As a result, Moscow is today in a far better position than it was four years ago to channel concern in Western Europe over the neutron bomb into opposition to TNF deployment.

Prepared by D. Hertzberg, R. Baraz
x29120

Approved by R. Baraz
x29194

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Kenneth
deGrafferreid

10/6/81

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Expulsion of Soviet Diplomatic, Military and
Civilian Personnel from Foreign Countries:
January 1980 - September 1981

The expulsion of Soviet representatives from foreign countries has been a regularly recurring phenomenon since 1917, explicable in large part by Moscow's modus operandi with other states. A substantial number of Soviets who are stationed abroad, particularly in a diplomatic or military-attache capacity, may be either full- or part-time intelligence officers whose mission overseas is inimical to the host country in which they are resident.

While the majority of Soviets expelled from foreign countries are usually charged with espionage (the surreptitious or clandestine acquisition of secret information), an increasing number are sent away because of their involvement in "active measures" (the Soviet term for covert and sometimes overt influence operations intended to affect other nations' policies). As the following account illustrates, espionage may be of a political, military or industrial nature; it may also include the attempted penetration by the Soviets of foreign intelligence and security services. "Active measures" operations, on the other hand, have been found inter alia to include the funding of labor and student unrest and agitation against as well as political opposition to an established government; clandestine contact with and support of indigenous terrorist and/or separatist groups, propaganda, deception and disinformation activities, and political influence operations, all documented in the following account, may also be categorized as "active measures".

A list of publicized expulsion cases from January 1980 through September 1981, in which a total of approximately 161 Soviet representatives were expelled from 17 foreign countries, follows.

October 1, 1981

Canada Expels Three Soviet Spies, One More in Retaliation

January 21, 1980: Igor Bardeyev (military, naval, and air attache), Eduard Aleksanyan (assistant military attache), and Vladimir Sokolov (chauffeur to the military attache's office) of the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa were expelled on charges of espionage. After the Soviet Foreign Ministry retaliated by expelling a Canadian diplomat from Moscow, the Canadians on February 7 expelled Vitaliy Trofimov, a clerk in the Soviet Embassy's commercial section.

New Zealand Expels Soviet Ambassador

January 24, 1980: Vsevolod Sofinskiy, Soviet Ambassador to Wellington, was declared persona non grata and subsequently expelled for having supplied Soviet funds to the pro-Moscow Socialist Unity Party (SUP) of New Zealand. The Auckland Star, on January 25, reported that New Zealand Security Intelligence Service (SIS) electronic monitoring had caught Ambassador Sofinsky transferring thousands of dollars to the SUP, in what was only one of a regular series of fund transfers. In an interview with the local press, Prime Minister Muldoon said he believed that Sofinsky's conduct was either "incredibly clumsy" or arose from "arrogance...that the Ambassador himself should become involved in the matter at this time when the Russians are in Afghanistan surprised me."

Equatorial Guinea Expels Soviet Diplomat

February 1980: Yuriy Kiselev, consular officer at the Soviet Embassy in Malabo, was expelled from Equatorial Guinea on charges of espionage. He had allegedly tried to purchase information concerning the Equatorial Guinean armed forces.

France Expels Soviet Diplomat on Espionage Charge

February 9, 1980: Commercial officer Gennadiy Travkov, third ranking official at the Soviet consulate general in Marseilles with the rank of consul, was expelled on charges of espionage. He and his wife were the only consulate members known to have lived outside the high-walled compound which houses the rest of the Soviet staff of six officers and innumerable support employees. Travkov was caught in the act of photographing documents described by French officials as having "important French national defense value." French counterintelligence apparently had had Travkov and several accomplices under investigation for some time, and moved to apprehend Travkov when he had personal possession of the incriminating evidence. Four unidentified French citizens believed to be contacts who supplied the Soviets with sensitive material related to air and naval defense matters were also arrested, according to local press reports.

Spain Kicks Out Aeroflot Official

February 14, 1980: Oleg Suranov, director of Aeroflot in Madrid, was expelled on charges of espionage. According to Diario 16, Suranov was kept under police detention overnight until his departure from Spain; he was further alleged to have maintained contact with the Fatherland and Liberty Basque separatist organization (ETA) and other "ultra-leftist" terrorist groups in Spain.

Spain Expels Soviet Embassy First Secretary

February 16, 1980: Anatoliy Krasilnikov, first secretary at the Soviet Embassy in Madrid, was expelled on charges of espionage. According to Spanish press reports, Krasilnikov maintained contacts with the Movement for the Self-Determination and Independence of the Canary Archipelago (MPAIAC) and other "illegal extraparamilitary organizations," and had been apprehended with incriminating information on his person.

France Expels Soviet Diplomat

February 28, 1980: Vyacheslav Frolov, public affairs officer at the Soviet consulate general in Marseilles, was expelled on undisclosed charges. Press accounts speculated that he was involved in the Travkov affair.

Italy Throws Out Soviet Commercial Officer

May 1980: Andrey Kinyapin, employee of the Soviet commercial office in Turin, was declared persona non grata and expelled by Italian authorities on undisclosed charges. Local Italian press reports speculated that Kinyapin was involved in clandestine activities.

Iran Expels Soviet Diplomat on Espionage Charge

June 30, 1980: First Secretary Vladimir Golovanov of the Soviet Embassy in Tehran was expelled on charges of espionage. According to Iranian domestic radio, he had been caught handing "espionage documents" to a foreign resident of Iran.

Iran Closes Soviet Consulate in Isfahan

August 18, 1980: The USSR was instructed to close one of two Soviet consular offices in Iran and reduce its diplomatic staff in Tehran after Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh at a July 2 press conference accused the Soviets of conducting espionage activities in Iran. The Soviet consulate in Isfahan was subsequently closed and the staff in Tehran cut back.

Portugal Takes Action Against Four Soviets

August 20, 1980: Albert Matveyev (Minister-Counselor), Yuriy Semenychev (Counselor), Vladimir Konyayev (assistant naval attache), Aleksandr Kulagin (employee, Military Attache Office), all with the Soviet Embassy in Lisbon, were declared persona non grata and expelled from Portugal on charges of "interference in internal Portugese affairs," in accordance with Article 9 of the 1961 Vienna Convention, according to an official Portuguese MFA note. Lisbon domestic radio speculated that the four Soviets were involved in "agrarian reform" espionage. Semenychev was apparently the KGB "resident" in Portugal.

Pakistan Expels 100 Soviets for Espionage

August-September 1980: Alleged espionage activities and violations of the rules governing the dissemination of propaganda in Pakistan reportedly led to the departure of approximately 100 Soviet diplomats and staff members from Pakistan.

Upper Volta Reduces Size of Soviet Embassy

September 1980: Soviet Embassy staff in Ouagadougou reportedly was reduced from 34 to 10 in the wake of charges that staff members were engaged in subversive activities in Upper Volta.

Italy Expels Soviet Commercial Officer

January 7, 1981: Anatoliy Zazulin, an employee of the Soviet Embassy's commercial section in Rome, was expelled on charges of espionage.

Portugal Expels Aeroflot Official

February 1981: Vitaliy Baranov, head of Aeroflot airport services in Lisbon, was expelled following a December 1980 incident at Lisbon airport in which a Cuban Aeroflot passenger apparently seeking asylum during a refueling stopover was forcibly removed from the airport's international transit lounge and reboarded by Aeroflot security officials. In a communique issued February 6 by the Portuguese Council of Ministers, the action taken by Baranov and the "specialized group of individuals" was condemned as a "flagrant violation of human rights and international law, as well as an assault on Portuguese sovereignty."

Spain Throws Out Soviet Official

March 6, 1981: Vladimir Yefremenkov, second secretary at the Soviet Embassy in Madrid, was expelled on charges of espionage. He had been under surveillance for some time while trying to obtain information about and from the Spanish Defense Intelligence Center as well as about MPAIAC. Novosti journalist Yuriy Goloviatenko was also implicated, according to press reports, and left the country hurriedly when his role was disclosed.

Liberia Cracks Down on Soviet Diplomats

March 18, 1981: Aven Muzyken, second secretary at the Soviet Embassy in Monrovia, was expelled for engaging in acts "incompatible with his diplomatic status," according to Monrovia radio. Liberian Foreign Minister Matthews reportedly told Soviet Ambassador Ulanov that Liberia would not accept improper conduct on the part of any foreign diplomat, and further warned the Soviet Ambassador against "testing" Liberia's political system.

Spain Expels Sovhispan Director

March 27, 1981: Yuriy Bychkov, Soviet director of Sovhispan (the joint Soviet-Spanish fishing company), was expelled on charges of political involvement and espionage activities in the Canary Islands.

Norway Expels Soviets for Industrial Espionage

April 1, 1981: Timor Besedin, Georgiy Petrov, and Yevgeniy Mironenko, all with the Soviet trade mission in Oslo, were declared persona non grata and expelled from Norway, reportedly on charges of industrial espionage. In retaliation, two Norwegian diplomats who had previously served in Moscow were declared persona non grata by the Soviet Foreign Ministry one month later and prohibited from entering the USSR in the future.

Liberia Expels Soviet Diplomat

April 2, 1981: Valentin Petrov, first secretary at the Soviet Embassy in Monrovia, was expelled for engaging in acts "incompatible with his diplomatic status," according to the April 1 issue of the Liberian Daily Observer. The same article also noted that the Soviet mission in Monrovia had doubled in size since the April 12, 1980 Liberian coup, with no commensurate increase in financial or material assistance to the country.

The Netherlands Kicks Out Soviet Correspondent

April 15, 1981: Vadim Leonov, TASS correspondent to the Hague, was asked to leave the Netherlands on undisclosed charges. When questioned by local reporters, the Soviet Embassy explained that Leonov had gone home as his parents-in-law were in poor health.

Equatorial Guinea Calls for Reduction in Size of Soviet Embassy

April 28, 1981: Soviet Embassy in Malabo was asked to reduce the size of its staff from 195 to an unspecified number, according to Madrid radio. The Equatorial Guinean Military Council also asked the USSR to cease using the fishing base to which it had access at the Guinean port of Luba.

Pakistan Kicks Out Soviet Correspondent

June 1981: Vladlen Baykov, Pravda correspondent in Pakistan, was expelled on charges of engaging in "illegal," possibly espionage-related activities, in the country.

Malaysia Expels Three Soviet Intelligence Operatives

July 13, 1981: First Secretary Gennadiy Stepanov, Second Secretary Vladislav Romanov, and engineer/interpreter Zardat Khamidulin, all with the Soviet Embassy in Kuala Lumpur, were expelled on charges of espionage shortly after the arrest of Sidek Ghouse, political secretary to the Malaysian Deputy Prime Minister, on charges of spying for the USSR. The Malaysian Home Minister said police had seized an assortment of Soviet-supplied espionage equipment including a portable radio transmitter, supplied by Romanov (who was said to have recruited Sidek), which was used to summon Sidek for meetings with him. (Romanov was further identified as the KGB "resident" in Kuala Lumpur.)

Bangladesh Throws Out Soviet Diplomats

August 1981: Aleksei Zolotukhin and Vadim Lazarev, both third secretaries with the Soviet Embassy in Dacca, were declared persona non grata by the Bangladesh Government for assaulting a local security official during an incident at Dacca airport in which Soviet Embassy officials attempted to smuggle sensitive electronic equipment into Bangladesh.

UK Expels Soviet Diplomat, First in Ten Years

August 4, 1981: Second secretary at the Soviet Embassy in London, Viktor Lazin, was declared persona non grata by the British Government for engaging in activities "incompatible with his diplomatic status"; according to the London Guardian. The London Daily Express reported August 6 that Lazin, with the assistance of a Paris-based Soviet intelligence officer named Kravchenko, may have helped fund "extreme leftist organizations" in London and may have assisted in the coordination of much of the street rioting that swept Britain during June and July of 1981. Lazin's involvement with local labor activists was documented by British security services, according to the Daily Express, and this affiliation formed part of the basis for the Soviet diplomat's expulsion. Lazin's expulsion reduced the number of Soviet diplomats in London to 46, the same number of British diplomats currently posted in Moscow. (In accordance with an aide-memoire delivered to the Soviets when the British expelled 105 Soviet diplomats en masse in 1971 on charges of espionage, the USSR will not be permitted to replace Lazin.) Lazin had been with the Soviet Embassy for the past four years and was the first Soviet diplomat to be expelled from the UK since 1971.

Egypt Takes Action Against Soviets

September 15, 1981: Egypt expelled Soviet Ambassador Vladimir Polyakov, six other Soviet Embassy personnel, and two Soviet correspondents on charges of plotting to foment sectarian strife in the country. A statement issued by the government accused Moscow of recruiting agents in Egypt and exploiting religious strife as well as "influencing the spread and escalation of sectarian strife," in coordination with leftist elements in Egypt and unnamed hostile Arab countries. Local Egyptian media reported that Egyptian intelligence had worked for three years in surveillance of contacts between Soviet intelligence agents and various domestic opposition groups.

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WESTERN PEACE MOVEMENTS ARE CONTROLLED AND PAID
BY KGB

by Jens Thomsen

The Soviet intelligence service KGB exerts a direct influence on and provides capital for Western European peace movements via the economic contributions that are channelled through the contacts of Soviet agents, it is maintained by former KGB Major Stanislav Levjtjenko who now has been granted political asylum in the U.S.

The Soviet leadership has -- in close cooperation with KGB and the military intelligence service GRU -- worked out a strategy in detail for how the struggle in Western Europe against NATO's planned deployment of medium range missiles is to be supported with cash amounts and inspiration from Moscow.

In addition to the actions against the youth of the schools, described by Denmark's Communist Youth organization in a so-called "catalog of ideas for the peace struggle," disinformation is also to be used according to the Soviet lines.

A West German newspaper recently received a letter, (apparently) written by NATO Secretary General Joseph Luns to U.S. Secretary of State Haig in Washington. The letter, which was a counterfeit, had been made by peace groups with the aim of scaring and confusing the German public. The Danish peace movement, including the Communist Youth organization and the Cooperation Committee for Peace and Security, is operating on the same lines.

The fight for peace is bound to be a fight against the imperialism and the U.S. as well, it is said in the catalog.

"On the face of it this seems to indicate that Boondocks Peace Group should suddenly understand the whole world situation before it can participate. But nobody expects that such a further development of the peace struggle can take place overnight," the authors of the catalog added.

The catalog also raises the question, how the peace committees can be developed. The answer runs as follows: Several local peace committees have been bogged down in long discussions of rules and of whether they should be affiliated to the Cooperation Committee or not. There is only one advice. Drop these discussions. Let practice show which one of the national committees that is best in uniting the peace forces and in fighting the military buildup.

"A way in which people can be made interested in the first general meeting of a peace group is 'the leatherneck action' that is described in more detail in the third section. When a group of American leather-necks have made an assault on active students in the school council and on popular teachers, people are invited to the first meeting of a new group which is to fight against foreign troops on Danish territory and against compromises for armament."

breux membres d'un parti plus intellectuel et moins ouvrier que par le passé s'est fait sentir. Avant les élections de mai dernier, M. Jop Den Uyl, son dirigeant, craignait tellement qu'une majorité de ses troupes ne se prononce pour le désarmement nucléaire total et unilatéral des Pays-Bas qu'il avait mis en jeu sa position de tête de liste. Tout ce qu'il a pu obtenir, outre le sobriquet de « Jop Atom », c'est que le parti accepte finalement le maintien au moins provisoire de certaines armes nucléaires aux Pays-Bas, tout en refusant catégoriquement les euromissiles.

En 1979, lors de la réunion de l'OTAN à Bruxelles, le précédent gouvernement néerlandais avait adopté une position d'attente qui fut aussi celle de la Belgique : un oui de principe à la modernisation, mais le report de toute décision sur le déploiement de nouveaux missiles. Officiellement, ce délai pouvait permettre à des négociations Est-Ouest d'aboutir. En fait M. Van Agt, le premier ministre, n'avait pas le pouvoir d'accepter telle quelle la résolution de l'OTAN, à laquelle il est personnellement favorable. Une dizaine de parlementaires chrétiens-démocrates avaient en effet rejoint l'opposition de gauche sur une motion condamnant les euromissiles. M. Van Agt, qui n'avait pu faire prévaloir son point de vue à la tête d'une coalition de centre-droit, le put moins encore à la tête du gouvernement de centre-gauche formé le 11 septembre avec les radicaux de gauche et les socialistes.

Le C.D.A. est divisé entre les fidèles du premier ministre démissionnaire et ceux de ses membres qui entretiennent des contacts avec l'I.K.V. ou sont plus ou moins réceptifs à ses thèses. La nécessité d'apparaître comme le parti du centre est pour lui vitale, et il ne se prononcera pas. La tentative amorcée par le précédent gouvernement de sortir de l'impasse en échangeant une attitude plus positive envers les armes eurostratégiques, contre une réduction du nombre des armes à courte portée, jugées plus dangereuses, fut compromise par la participation des socialistes à la nouvelle coalition. Démocratie 66, pour sa part, fortement influencée par les mouvements pour la paix, ne s'en écarte que par la volonté d'œuvrer à un désarmement progressif dans l'OTAN et non en dehors d'elle. Sa position aujourd'hui tient en trois points : non « pour l'instant » à l'abandon des armes stratégiques ; non « pour l'instant » aux euromissiles ; oui au retrait, unilatéral si nécessaire, des armes à courte portée.

Le premier ministre, quel qu'il soit, aura la tâche difficile d'annoncer en décembre à l'OTAN la décision des Pays-Bas. Une réponse positive sur le déploiement des missiles de croisière est exclue. Les mouvements pour la paix demandent quant à eux une prise de position négative non seulement sur le déploiement mais sur le principe même de la modernisation des armes à moyenne

portée.

Il est quasi certain, dans ces conditions, que le chef du gouvernement ne proposera qu'un nouveau report de la décision néerlandaise. Si les alliés manifestaient leur impatience, ils ne feraient alors que précipiter une décision négative qui retentirait, entre autres, sur le congrès du S.P.D. à Munich en avril. « On jouera sur le temps, estime M. Rozemond, en prétextant probablement que les Etats-Unis n'ont pas encore produit ces armes et doivent de toute façon les livrer à l'Italie et à la République fédérale avant les Pays-Bas. Si une coalition entre socialistes, chrétiens-démocrates et radicaux de gauche est maintenue, aucune décision ne sera prise avant le printemps 1985. Même dans l'hypothèse où le gouvernement qui lui succédera accepterait le principe du déploiement des missiles, vers 1986, il faudrait encore au moins deux ans pour préparer les bases... »

Au-delà de cette quasi-victoire

des pacifistes, plus important peut-être à terme est le phénomène social qui en est à l'origine : la prise de conscience par la majorité de la population néerlandaise qu'elle ne survivrait pas à un conflit nucléaire en cas d'échec de la dissuasion. « Les décisions en matière d'armement et de sécurité, estime M. Krohnstamin, député de Démocratie 66, se sont en quelque sorte démocratisées, grâce à l'action d'organisations comme l'I.K.V. ou des médias. Mais à mesure qu'augmentait la connaissance de ce que peut être notre destin atomique, la peur aussi augmentait. Nous sommes maintenant sur la corde raide : combien de temps les gens pourront-ils vivre avec cette peur ? Combien de temps les politiciens pourront-ils prendre des décisions ? Je crains que, si l'on ne trouve pas un autre système de défense ou une autre méthode de dialogue avec l'Est, la corde, dans les années qui viennent, ne finisse par casser. »

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Fredskampen i Vesten styres og betales af KGB

Af Jens Thomsen

Den sovjetiske efterretningstjeneste KGB øver direkte indflydelse og finansierer de vesteuropæiske fredsbevægelser via økonomiske tilskud gennem sovjetiske agents kontakter, hævder en tidligere KGB-major Stanislav Lev-tjenko, der i dag har fået politisk asyl i USA. Den sovjetiske ledelse har i nært samarbejde med KGB og den militære efterretnings-tjeneste GRU udarbejdet en detaljeret strategi for, hvor-dan kampen i Vesteuropa mod NATOs planlagte op-rustning med mellemistan-ceraketter skal støttes med kontanter og inspiration fra Moskva.

Foruden aktioner mod skoleungdommen, som Dan-marks kommunistiske Ung-dom har beskrevet i et så-kaldt »Idékatalog om freds-kampagnen«, skal også an-vendes disinformation efter sovjetisk mønster. For nylig modtog et vesttysk blad et brev, skrevet af NATOs ge-neralsekretær Joseph Luns til udenrigsminister Haig i Washington. Brevet, der var et falsum fremstillet af fredsgrupper, havde til for-mål at skræmme og forvirre den tyske offentlighed. Den danske fredsbevægelse med DKU og Samarbejdskomite-en for fred og Sikkerhed opererer efter samme møn-ster.

Kamp for freden mod USA

Kampen for freden er nødvendigvis også en kamp mod imperialismen og USA, hedder det i kataloget, hvis forfatterne tilføjer:

»Dette lyder umiddelbart som om, at deltagerne i Knoldeudby Fredsgruppe pludselig skal fatte hele verdenssituationen for at

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En del af indholdsfortegnelsen fra Danmarks Kommunistiske Ungdom »Idékatalog om fredskampen«.

være med... Men der er ingen, der regner med, at en sådan videreudvikling af fredskampen sker fra den ene dag til den næste.

Idékataloget rejser spørgs-målet om, hvordan man ud-vikler freds-komiteerne. Svaret lyder: I flere lokale freds-komiteer er man kørt fast i nogle lange diskussio-ner om vedtægter, om man skulle være tilsluttet Sam-arbejds-komiteen eller ej. Hertil er der kun ét råd: Drop de diskussioner. Lad praksis vise, hvilken af de landsdækkende komiteer som er bedst til at bekæmpe oprustningen og samle freds-krafterne.

»En måde, hvorpå man kan få folk interesseret i det stiftende møde i en freds-gruppe, er den »læderhalse-aktion«, der står nærmere beskrevet i pkt. 3. Efter at en gruppe amerikanske læder-halse har overfaldet aktive elevrådsfolk og vellidte læ-

rere, opfordrer man folk til at komme til det stiftende møde i den gruppe, der skal kæmpe mod oprustningsfor-lig og fremmede tropper på dansk jord«.

Parallelt hermed kan der findes på forskellige happe-nings, f. eks. undtagelsestil-stand på skolen.

»Over højtaleranlægget kaldes folk til beskyttelses-rummene, der lyder særud-sendelser af radioavisen, faglokaler aflåses osv«.

Fredsgrupperne opfordres til at bruge NATOs eget materiale — imod NATO. Det hedder bl. a.:

»Faktisk kan det godt be-tale sig at bruge noget af NATO's egen propaganda. Dels for at lære at argu-mentere imod det, dels fordi det tit er så tåbeligt, at det ved nærmere gennemlæs-ning virker stik mod hen-

sigten. Disse materialer kan fås ved henvendelse til For-svarets oplysnings- og vel-færdstjeneste«.

Idékataloget giver også råd om, hvordan man skaf-fer sig amerikanske militær-uniformer.

»Bukser og jakke koster tilsammen 90—120 kr. og

kan købes på det amerikan-ske overskudslager. Endvi-dere har DKU's Københavns ledelse anskaffet sig et par uniformer, som kan udlå-nes«.

Idékataloget tilføjer:

»Til sidst lige en påmin-delse: Denne »kampagne« omkring freden og kampen mod imperialismen kan ikke sammenlignes med en tradi-tionel »DKU-kampagne«, som f. eks. Fredskampag-nen, aktiviteterne omkring Afghanistan, Vietnam-akti-onerne osv... Freds- og so-lidaritetsspørgsmålene er noget, der de næste år vil blive en af hovedopgaverne for den kommunistiske be-vægelse«...

Det kommunistiske Idéka-talog med sine mange anvis-ninger om skabelse af ter-ror, tumult, frygt, kaos, chok og forvirring (katalo-gets egne ord) blandt sko-leungdommen slutter med ordene: God fornøjelse...

Krav om åbenhed

Fremskridtspartiets grup-peformand Uffe Thorndal vil have de sovjetiske til-skud til danske fredsbevæ-gelser trukket frem i lyset.

I breve til udenrigsmini-ster Kjeld Olesen og justits-minister Ole Espersen hen-viser Thorndal til oplysning-er fra en tidligere major i KGB, Stanislav Lev-tjenko, der har bekræftet, at KGB yder tilskud til de »mest ra-dikale kredse« i bevægel-serne. Han beder de to mi-nistre fremlægge den viden de måtte have om fredsbe-vægelsernes finansielle bag-grund.

Various happenings can be carried out at the same time, for instance by declaring the school in a state of emergency. 16

"People are asked over the loudspeaker installation to seek cover in air raid shelters, special newscasts are retransmitted, rooms for special subjects are locked up, etc."

The peace groups are recommended to use NATO's own material - against NATO.

"It can in fact be profitable to use some of NATO's own propaganda material," it is said. "People can thereby learn to argue against it, and it is often so foolish that a more thorough reading of it will lead to the opposite of what was intended. Such material can be requested from the Defense Information and Welfare Service."

The catalog also includes advices as to how one can get American military uniforms.

"Pants and a jacket can be obtained at a total price of 90-120 kroner and can be bought at the American Surplus store. The leadership of the Communist Youth organization in Copenhagen has procured a couple of uniforms which can be borrowed."

"Finally just an admonition: This 'campaign' for peace and against imperialism cannot be compared with a traditional Communist Youth campaign like for instance the Peace Campaign and the activities in connection with Afghanistan and Vietnam etc. The questions of peace and solidarity are something that will be one of the main tasks for the Communist movement in the coming years," it was added in the catalog.

The Communist catalog -- with its many instructions for production of terror, fear, chaos, shock and confusion (to use the catalog's own words) among youth of the schools -- finished with these words: Have a good time!

Uffe Thorndal, Chairman of the Progress Party's group in the parliament, wants that the Soviet contributions to Danish peace movements should be brought to light.

In letters to Minister of Foreign Affairs Kjeld Olesen and Minister of Justice Ole Espersen, Mr. Thorndal refers to information from former KGB Major Stanislav Levstjenko who has confirmed that KGB grants economic support to the "most radical circles" in the movements. He asks the two ministers to present the knowledge they may have concerning the economic basis of the peace movements.

TAB I

Soviet "Active Measures" in the West
and the Developing World

A forgery purporting to be an official U.S. Government document appears in a West European country. In a developing country, false rumors are spread of U.S. involvement in a coup attempt. A clandestine radio station beams anti-Western broadcasts into Iran. A Western firm is warned that its commercial ties with the Soviet Union will suffer if it also sells equipment to China.

What is the thread which links together these seemingly unrelated activities? They are all examples of "active measures" carried out by the Soviet Union in a large scale campaign to complement its traditional diplomacy and weaken governments which are not subservient to direction from Moscow. The Soviets use the term "active measures" (aktivnyye meropriyatiya) to refer to operations intended to provoke a policy effect, as distinct from espionage and counterintelligence. Soviet "active measures" include:

- written or oral disinformation;
- efforts to control the media in foreign countries;
- use of foreign communist parties and front organizations;
- clandestine radio broadcasting;
- economic coercion
- political influence operations.

The range of activities included in the Soviet repertoire of "active measures", the sustained nature of Moscow's "active measures" effort, the amount of resources devoted to this activity, and its close integration with Soviet foreign policy distinguish Soviet practices from those of other nations. In particular, Soviet "active measures" should be clearly distinguished from the "public diplomacy" carried out by virtually all nations, including the U.S. "Public diplomacy" includes, inter alia, providing press releases and other information to journalists, open public broadcasting, and a wide variety of academic and cultural exchange programs. By contrast, Soviet "active measures" are often undertaken secretly, in many cases violating the laws of other countries and involving illicit efforts to suborn individuals by exploiting their weaknesses and vulnerabilities.

Soviet "active measures" do not always achieve their objectives, but they have had some success and remain a major, if little understood, element of Soviet foreign policy. In

response to requests from governments and individuals concerned about such activities, this paper has been prepared as an introduction to the organization, methods, capabilities, and limitations of Soviet "active measures". A number of case studies of Soviet "active measures" campaigns have been included to demonstrate how these techniques are used to achieve specific Soviet objectives.

The Soviet regime devotes considerable financial, technical, and personnel resources to "active measures" and is willing to run the risk of political embarrassment should such operations in foreign countries be exposed. This effort is well integrated with other Soviet foreign policy initiatives, but the effectiveness of "active measures" varies depending on place and circumstances. In a number of cases, Soviet "active measures" operations have failed, either because of Soviet ineptitude or effective counter-measures by targeted individuals or governments. As with all important decisions in Soviet foreign policy, approval for a program of "active measures" in foreign countries is made at the highest level of authority in the USSR, the Politburo of the Communist Party Central Committee.

Soviet "active measures" activities are not the work of individual "super-spies", such as the fictional James Bond. Rather, they are designed and executed by a large and complex bureaucracy in which the KGB and the International Department of the Communist Party Central Committee are major elements. The International Information Department of the CPSU Central Committee (IID) is also deeply engaged in managing these activities. Actual operations abroad are executed by both official and quasi-official Soviet representatives, including scholars, students, and journalists whose links with official Soviet organizations are not always apparent. The highly centralized structure of the Soviet state and its system of pervasive control and direction over all elements of its society give the Soviet leadership an impressive capability to draw on all segments of party, government and private citizens in orchestrating "active measures".

Industrialized democratic nations and developing countries are the main targets of Soviet "active measures". In many cases, the open nature of these societies and the relatively free access to their news media give the Soviets an opportunity for a wide range of such activities. The Soviet Union, by contrast, denies reciprocal access to its mass media for foreigners who might voice independent criticism of Soviet society or the foreign policies of the USSR. Moreover, there is a tendency in many western and developing countries to

ignore or downplay Soviet "active measures" activities except when Soviet blunders lead to well-publicized expulsions of diplomats, journalists, or others involved in these activities. The Soviets are also becoming more adept at portraying their policies as compatible or parallel with the interests of a wide variety of peace, environmental, and other special interest groups active in Western and developing societies.

While the primary target of Soviet "active measures" remains the United States and its policies, Moscow has also devoted increasing resources to "active measures" against the governments of other industrialized countries in Europe and Asia and a large number of countries in the developing world. These activities are designed to influence the policies of foreign governments in favor of the Soviet Union; disrupt relations between other states; undermine foreign leaders; institutions and values, and discredit opponents of the USSR. Soviet "active measures" tactics are often adjusted to reflect changes in the international situation, but they continue, and may even be intensified, during periods of reduced tension or detente.

"Active Measures" Techniques

The tactics and emphasis of the Soviet "active measures" effort often change in order to meet new situations. For instance, the Soviet use of Marxist-Leninist ideology as an appeal to foreign groups often has turned out to be an obstacle to the promotion of Soviet goals in some areas and is now being deemphasized, although not completely abandoned. At the same time, some religious themes, such as the claimed favorable situation of the Islamic religion in the USSR, have assumed greater significance, particularly as a result of Moscow's courting of Muslim countries in Africa and the Middle East.

Although Soviet-dominated international front organizations still play an important role in Soviet "active measures" operations, Moscow has in recent years begun to pay greater attention to broadening its base of support by using more "ad hoc" fronts and single-interest groups to promote its goals in particular regions. While seeking to conduct "active measures" operations with greater sophistication, the Soviets continue to rely on a number of traditional techniques, including:

--Efforts to Manipulate the Press in Foreign Countries:
The Soviet "active measures" structure continues to make frequent use of falsely attributed press material which is inserted into the media of foreign countries. In one

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developing country, the Soviets are known to have made use of more than two dozen local journalists to plant media items favorable to the USSR. The Indian weekly Blitz has been used by the Soviets to surface forgeries, identify alleged CIA personnel or agents, and disseminate Soviet-inspired documents. In still another country, Soviet overt cultural and information activities were used to establish contacts with local journalists which later enabled Soviet officials to exercise a substantial degree of control over the content of two major daily newspapers.

--Forgeries: Soviet forgeries have increased in frequency and quality in recent years. These forgeries, which may be completely fabricated or altered versions of actual documents, are produced and circulated to mislead foreign governments, media, and public opinion. Among the forgeries which have been produced and distributed by Soviet agents are bogus U.S. military manuals and fabricated war plans designed to create tensions between the U.S. and other countries. In some cases, actual documents passed to the KGB by U.S. Army Sergeant Robert Lee Johnson, who was eventually arrested and convicted as a Soviet agent, were used as models for the style and format of Soviet forgeries. In one case, Soviet agents circulated a forged "Top Secret" letter from Secretary of State Vance to another Western foreign minister in an effort to disrupt the NATO TNF modernization effort.

--Disinformation: Soviet agents often use a variety of techniques including rumors, insinuation, and distortion of facts to discredit foreign governments and leaders. In late 1979, Soviet agents spread the false rumor that the United States was behind the seizure of the Grand Mosque of Mecca. In another instance of Soviet disinformation, Soviet officials in a West European country warned host government officials that the CIA had increased its activities in the country and that a coup was being planned. These covert disinformation campaigns are sometimes played back in the foreign media suborned by the Soviets, thus enabling Moscow to cite foreign sources for some of the distortions and mistatements which often appear in the Soviet media. Recent and particularly outrageous examples of this practice were the August 1981 TASS allegations that the U.S. was behind the death of Panamanian General Omar Torrijos.

--International and Local Front Organizations: The Soviet Union exercises control over a number of pro-Soviet international front organizations through the International Organizations Section of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee. Because they pretend not to profess Communist ideological goals and are designed to attract members from a broad political spectrum, the front organizations are

more effective than openly pro-Soviet groups. Among the most prominent of these organizations are the World Peace Council, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, and the Women's International Democratic Federation. Soviet "friendship" and cultural societies in many countries are used to establish contact with many people who are reluctant to participate in avowedly pro-Soviet or communist organizations. The function of both the front organizations and the "friendship" and cultural societies is to generate local support for Soviet foreign policy goals and to oppose local policies and leaders whose activities do not serve Soviet interests.

To complement organizations which have a known and often pronounced pro-Soviet bias, the Soviets are making increasing use of ad hoc front groups which do not have a history of close association with the Soviet Union. Although these groups seek to attract members from a wide political spectrum, their leaderships are sometimes dominated by pro-Soviet individuals and they are sometimes covertly funded by the USSR.

--Clandestine Radio Stations: Presently the Soviet Union operates two clandestine radio stations: The National Voice of Iran (NVOI) and Radio Ba Yi, which broadcast on a regular basis from the Soviet Union to Iran and China. Soviet sponsorship of these stations has never been publicly acknowledged by Moscow, and the stations represent themselves as organs of authentic local "progressive" forces. The broadcasts of both stations are illustrative of the use of "active measures" activities in support of Soviet foreign policy goals. For instance, NVOI consistently urged that the American diplomatic hostages not be released, although Soviet official statements supported their claim to diplomatic immunity.

--Economic Coercion: The Soviet Union also uses a variety of covert economic maneuvers in "active measures" operations. For example, a Soviet Ambassador in a West European country warned a local businessman that his sales to the USSR would suffer if he went ahead with plans to provide technical assistance to China. In another industrialized country, Soviet agents were instructed to drive up the price of gold and thus increase local concern over the stability of the dollar. This was to be accomplished by manipulating a flow of both true and false information to local businessmen and government leaders. The gambit failed because the financial aspects of the operation were not fully understood by the Soviet officials who attempted to carry it out.

Political Influence Operations: Political influence operations are the most important but least understood aspect

of Soviet "active measures" activities. These operations seek to exploit contacts with political, economic, and media figures in target countries to secure active collaboration with Moscow. In return for this collaboration, Soviet officials offer inducements tailored to meet the specific requirements or vulnerabilities of the individual involved. In 1980, Pierre-Charles Pathe, a French journalist, was convicted for acting as a Soviet agent of influence since 1959. His articles --all subtly pushing the Soviet line on a wide range of international issues--were published in a number of important newspapers and journals, sometimes under the pseudonym of Charles Morand. The journalist also published a private newsletter which was regularly sent to many newspapers, members of Parliament, and a number of foreign embassies. The Soviets used Pathe over a number of years to try to influence the attitudes of the prominent subscribers to his newsletter and to exploit his broad personal contacts.

In other cases, Soviet officials establish close relationships with political figures in foreign countries and seek to use these contacts in "active measures" operations. Capitalizing on the host government official's ambition, his Soviet contact claims to be a private channel to the Soviet leadership. To play upon his sense of self-importance and to enhance his credibility within his own government, the host government official may be invited to meetings with high-level Soviet leaders. The Soviets then exploit the local official to pass a mixture of true, distorted, and false information--all calculated to serve Soviet objectives--to the host government.

--Use of Academicians and Journalists: Soviet academicians are frequently used in political influence operations because they are often accepted as legitimate counterparts of their non-Soviet colleagues. Unlike their free world counterparts, they must play two roles--their legitimate academic pursuit of knowledge for its own sake and their political activities on behalf of the Kremlin. They are often obliged to act on the basis of instructions from bodies which plan and control Soviet "active measures" activities. Similarly, Soviet journalists often engage in "active measures" operations in addition to serving as representatives of Soviet news agencies. One KGB Officer in an industrialized country used his journalistic cover to pass forgeries, as well as to publish numerous propaganda articles aimed at influencing the media of the host country. In other cases, Soviet journalists have served as conduits for messages from Soviet leaders to prominent politicians and other leaders in Western countries.

Case Studies

The Soviet Anti-TNF Modernization Campaign in Europe: The Soviet campaign in Europe against NATO TNF (Theater Nuclear Forces) modernization is a good illustration of Soviet use of "active measures". After a long and unprecedented build-up of Soviet military strength in Europe, including the deployment of new SS-20 nuclear missiles targeted on Western Europe, the NATO Ministers in December 1979 decided to modernize NATO's TNF capabilities. Of course, not all opposition to the TNF modernization decision is inspired by the Soviet Union or its "active measures" activities. However, even before the NATO modernization decision was taken, the Soviets began an intensive campaign to develop a climate of public opinion unfavorable to implementation of the NATO decision. This campaign has been intensified in recent months.

Soviet diplomats in European countries have tried to pressure their host governments in a variety of ways. In one European country, the Soviet Ambassador met privately with the Minister of Commerce to discuss the supply and price of oil sold by the Soviet Union to that country. During the discussion, the Ambassador gave the Minister a copy of Brezhnev's Berlin speech dealing with TNF. He suggested that, if the host government opposed TNF modernization, the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs might be able to persuade the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Trade to grant more favorable terms.

Moscow has spurred a number of front groups to oppose the TNF decision through well publicized conferences and public demonstrations. To broaden the base of support for the anti-TNF campaign, the front groups have proselytized non-communist participants, including anti-nuclear groups, pacifists, environmentalists and others. In some cases, the activities of these broad front groups have been directed by local communist parties. The Soviets have predictably devoted the greatest resources to these activities in NATO countries where opposition to the TNF modernization decision is strongest.

In the Netherlands, the Communist Party of the Netherlands (CPN) has set up its own front group, Dutch Christians for Socialism. In November 1980, the Dutch "Joint Committee-Stop the Neutron Bomb-Stop the Nuclear Armament Race", which has ties to the CPN, sponsored an international forum against nuclear arms in Amsterdam. The forum succeeded in attracting support from a variety of quarters, which the CPN is exploiting in its campaign to prevent final parliamentary approval of the TNF decision.

The Soviet Campaign Against Enhanced Radiation Weapons (ERW): The Soviets, throughout 1977 and early 1978, carried out one of their largest, most expensive, and best-orchestrated "active measures" campaigns against the production of enhanced radiation weapons--the "neutron bomb." While not all opposition to enhanced radiation weapons was Soviet-inspired, Moscow's intensive and costly "active measures" campaign undoubtedly had some impact on public opinion in the West.

This Soviet campaign has had two objectives. First was a halt in the planned deployment of enhanced radiation weapons by NATO. The second goal was to divide the NATO Alliance, encourage criticism of the U.S., and divert Western attention from the growing Soviet military build-up and the threat this posed to NATO.

--The first phase took place in the summer of 1977. In addition to an intense anti-neutron bomb and anti-U.S. propaganda blitz, the Soviets staged many demonstrations and protests by various "Peace Councils," and other host groups. This phase culminated in a Soviet-proclaimed international "Week of Action."

--Phase two focused on propaganda exploitation of letters sent by Leonid Brezhnev to Western Heads of Government in January 1978 warning that the production and deployment of the neutron bomb constituted a serious threat to detente. This was not intended as a private diplomatic communication but as a critical element in the Soviet effort to sway Western opinion. A barrage of similar letters from members of the Supreme Soviet were sent to Western parliamentarians. Soviet trade union officials forwarded parallel messages to Western labor counterparts.

--The third phase came in early 1978 with a series of Soviet-planned conferences designed to build up the momentum of anti-neutron bomb pressure for the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament (UNSSOD) of May-June 1978. These meetings and conferences, held throughout February and March, were either organized by the World Peace Council (under different names and covers) or jointly sponsored with established and recognized independent international groups.

The Soviet campaign succeeded in complicating Allied defense planning and focusing criticism on the U.S. A top Hungarian Communist Party official wrote that "the political campaign against the neutron bomb was one of the most significant and successful since World War Two". The propaganda campaign did not end in 1978, but rather was incorporated into anti-TNF efforts. With the recent U.S.

decision to proceed with ERW production, a new barrage of Soviet propaganda and related "active measures" has already begun.

Soviet "Active Measures" Toward El Salvador: Complementing their overt public support for the leftist insurgency in El Salvador, the Soviets have also engaged in an "active measures" campaign to sway public opinion. These activities have involved a broad range of standard techniques, including forgeries, disinformation, attempted manipulation of the press, and use of front groups. The obvious dual purpose has been to increase support for the insurgency while trying to discredit U.S. efforts to assist the Government of El Salvador.

--In the Spring of 1980, the Salvadoran Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) was established with Soviet and Cuban support to represent the leftist insurgency abroad. In June, Salvadoran leftists meeting in Havana formed the United Revolutionary Directorate (DRU), the central political and military planning organization for the insurgents. The FDR and DRU work closely with the Soviets, Cubans, and East Europeans, but their collaboration is often covert in character.

The DRU also supported the establishment of Salvadoran Solidarity Committees in Western Europe, Latin America, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Supported by local communist parties and leftist groups, these solidarity committees have served both as propaganda outlets and as organizers of meetings and demonstrations in support of the insurgents. Such committees, in cooperation with local communist parties and leftist groups, organized some 70 demonstrations and protests that took place between mid-January and mid-March 1981 in Western Europe, Latin America, Australia, and New Zealand.

The FDR and DRU are careful to conceal the Soviet and Cuban hand in planning and supporting their activities and seek to pass themselves off as a fully independent, indigenous Salvadoran movement. The DRU has had some success in influencing public opinion throughout Latin America and in Western Europe. The effort of the insurgents to gain legitimacy has been buttressed by intense diplomatic activity on their behalf. For example, at the February 1981 Non-Aligned Movement meeting in New Delhi, a 30-man Cuban contingent, cooperating closely with six Soviet diplomats, pressed the conference to condemn U.S. policy in El Salvador.

At another level, the Soviet media have publicized numerous distortions as part of the effort to erode support for U.S. policy. For example, an article in the December 30, 1980 Pravda falsely stated that U.S. military advisors in El

Salvador were involved in punitive actions against non-combatants, including use of napalm and herbicides. In another particularly outrageous distortion, a January 1, 1981 article in the Soviet weekly Literaturnaya Gazeta falsely stated that the U.S. was preparing to implement the so-called "centaur plan" for "elimination" of thousands of Salvadorans.

Campaign Against U.S.-Egypt Relationship and the Camp David Process: Another target of Soviet "active measures" operations has been the Middle East where the Soviets have sought to weaken the U.S.-Egyptian relationship, undermine the Camp David Peace Process, and generally exacerbate tensions. A special feature of Middle East "active measures" activities has been the use of a series of Soviet forgeries including:

--A purported speech by a member of the U.S. administration which was insulting to Egyptians and called for "a total change of the government and the governmental system in Egypt." This forgery, which surfaced in 1976, was the first of a series of bogus documents produced by the Soviets in an effort to complicate U.S.-Egyptian relations.

--Another forged document, allegedly prepared by the Secretary of State, or one of his close associates, for the President, used language insulting and offensive to President Sadat and other Egyptians and also to other Arab leaders, including King Khalid of Saudi Arabia. This forgery was delivered anonymously to the Egyptian Embassy in Rome in April 1977.

--A series of forged letters and U.S. Government documents, which surfaced in various locations during 1977, criticized Sadat's "lack of leadership" and called for a "change of government" in Egypt.

--A forged dispatch, allegedly prepared by the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, which was received by mail at the Egyptian Embassy in Belgrade in August 1977. This forgery suggested that the United States had acquiesced in plans by Iran and Saudi Arabia to overthrow Sadat.

--A false CIA report, which surfaced in the January 1979 issue of the Cairo-based magazine Al-Dawa, criticized Islamic groups as a barrier to U.S. goals in the Middle East and suggested tactics to suppress, divide, and eliminate these groups.

--A forged letter from U.S. Ambassador to Egypt Herman F. Eilts which surfaced in the October 1, 1979 edition of the Syrian newspaper Al-Ba'th. The forged letter declared that,

because Sadat was not prepared to serve U.S. interests, "we must repudiate him and get rid of him without hesitation".

Conclusion

The Soviet Union continues to make extensive use of "active measures" to achieve its foreign policy objectives and frustrate those of other countries. While Soviet "active measures" can be exposed, as they have often been in the past, the Soviets are becoming more sophisticated, especially in forgeries and political influence operations. On the basis of the historical record, there is every reason to believe that the Soviet leadership will continue to devote considerable resources to "active measures" operations and that such activities will continue to pose a significant threat to both industrialized and developing countries.

41

Expulsion of Soviet Diplomatic, Military and
Civilian Personnel from Foreign Countries:
January 1980 - September 1981

The expulsion of Soviet representatives from foreign countries has been a regularly recurring phenomenon since 1917, explicable in large part by Moscow's modus operandi with other states. A substantial number of Soviets who are stationed abroad, particularly in a diplomatic or military-attache capacity, may be either full- or part-time intelligence officers whose mission overseas is inimical to the host country in which they are resident.

While the majority of Soviets expelled from foreign countries are usually charged with espionage (the surreptitious or clandestine acquisition of secret information), an increasing number are sent away because of their involvement in "active measures" (the Soviet term for covert and sometimes overt influence operations intended to affect other nations' policies). As the following account illustrates, espionage may be of a political, military or industrial nature; it may also include the attempted penetration by the Soviets of foreign intelligence and security services. "Active measures" operations, on the other hand, have been found inter alia to include the funding of labor and student unrest and agitation against as well as political opposition to an established government; clandestine contact with and support of indigenous terrorist and/or separatist groups, propaganda, deception and disinformation activities, and political influence operations, all documented in the following account, may also be categorized as "active measures".

A list of publicized expulsion cases from January 1980 through September 1981, in which a total of approximately 161 Soviet representatives were expelled from 17 foreign countries, follows.

October 1, 1981

Canada Expels Three Soviet Spies, One More in Retaliation

January 21, 1980: Igor Bardeyev (military, naval, and air attache), Eduard Aleksanyan (assistant military attache), and Vladimir Sokolov (chauffeur to the military attache's office) of the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa were expelled on charges of espionage. After the Soviet Foreign Ministry retaliated by expelling a Canadian diplomat from Moscow, the Canadians on February 7 expelled Vitaliy Trofimov, a clerk in the Soviet Embassy's commercial section.

New Zealand Expels Soviet Ambassador

January 24, 1980: Vsevolod Sofinskiy, Soviet Ambassador to Wellington, was declared persona non grata and subsequently expelled for having supplied Soviet funds to the pro-Moscow Socialist Unity Party (SUP) of New Zealand. The Auckland Star, on January 25, reported that New Zealand Security Intelligence Service (SIS) electronic monitoring had caught Ambassador Sofinsky transferring thousands of dollars to the SUP, in what was only one of a regular series of fund transfers. In an interview with the local press, Prime Minister Muldoon said he believed that Sofinsky's conduct was either "incredibly clumsy" or arose from "arrogance...that the Ambassador himself should become involved in the matter at this time when the Russians are in Afghanistan surprised me."

Equatorial Guinea Expels Soviet Diplomat

February 1980: Yuriy Kiselev, consular officer at the Soviet Embassy in Malabo, was expelled from Equatorial Guinea on charges of espionage. He had allegedly tried to purchase information concerning the Equatorial Guinean armed forces.

France Expels Soviet Diplomat on Espionage Charge

February 9, 1980: Commercial officer Gennadiy Travkov, third ranking official at the Soviet consulate general in Marseilles with the rank of consul, was expelled on charges of espionage. He and his wife were the only consulate members known to have lived outside the high-walled compound which houses the rest of the Soviet staff of six officers and innumerable support employees. Travkov was caught in the act of photographing documents described by French officials as having "important French national defense value." French counterintelligence apparently had had Travkov and several accomplices under investigation for some time, and moved to apprehend Travkov when he had personal possession of the incriminating evidence. Four unidentified French citizens believed to be contacts who supplied the Soviets with sensitive material related to air and naval defense matters were also arrested, according to local press reports.

Spain Kicks Out Aeroflot Official

February 14, 1980: Oleg Suranov, director of Aeroflot in Madrid, was expelled on charges of espionage. According to Diario 16, Suranov was kept under police detention overnight until his departure from Spain; he was further alleged to have maintained contact with the Fatherland and Liberty Basque separatist organization (ETA) and other "ultra-leftist" terrorist groups in Spain.

Spain Expels Soviet Embassy First Secretary

February 16, 1980: Anatoliy Krasilnikov, first secretary at the Soviet Embassy in Madrid, was expelled on charges of espionage. According to Spanish press reports, Krasilnikov maintained contacts with the Movement for the Self-Determination and Independence of the Canary Archipelago (MPAIAC) and other "illegal extraparamilitary organizations," and had been apprehended with incriminating information on his person.

France Expels Soviet Diplomat

February 28, 1980: Vyacheslav Frolov, public affairs officer at the Soviet consulate general in Marseilles, was expelled on undisclosed charges. Press accounts speculated that he was involved in the Travkov affair.

Italy Throws Out Soviet Commercial Officer

May 1980: Andrey Kinyapin, employee of the Soviet commercial office in Turin, was declared persona non grata and expelled by Italian authorities on undisclosed charges. Local Italian press reports speculated that Kinyapin was involved in clandestine activities.

Iran Expels Soviet Diplomat on Espionage Charge

June 30, 1980: First Secretary Vladimir Golovanov of the Soviet Embassy in Tehran was expelled on charges of espionage. According to Iranian domestic radio, he had been caught handing "espionage documents" to a foreign resident of Iran.

Iran Closes Soviet Consulate in Isfahan

August 18, 1980: The USSR was instructed to close one of two Soviet consular offices in Iran and reduce its diplomatic staff in Tehran after Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh at a July 2 press conference accused the Soviets of conducting espionage activities in Iran. The Soviet consulate in Isfahan was subsequently closed and the staff in Tehran cut back.

Portugal Takes Action Against Four Soviets

August 20, 1980: Albert Matveyev (Minister-Counselor), Yuriy Semenychev (Counselor), Vladimir Konyayev (assistant naval attache), Aleksandr Kulagin (employee, Military Attache Office), all with the Soviet Embassy in Lisbon, were declared persona non grata and expelled from Portugal on charges of "interference in internal Portuguese affairs," in accordance with Article 9 of the 1961 Vienna Convention, according to an official Portuguese MFA note. Lisbon domestic radio speculated that the four Soviets were involved in "agrarian reform" espionage. Semenychev was apparently the KGB "resident" in Portugal.

Pakistan Expels 100 Soviets for Espionage

August-September 1980: Alleged espionage activities and violations of the rules governing the dissemination of propaganda in Pakistan reportedly led to the departure of approximately 100 Soviet diplomats and staff members from Pakistan.

Upper Volta Reduces Size of Soviet Embassy

September 1980: Soviet Embassy staff in Ouagadougou reportedly was reduced from 34 to 10 in the wake of charges that staff members were engaged in subversive activities in Upper Volta.

Italy Expels Soviet Commercial Officer

January 7, 1981: Anatoliy Zazulin, an employee of the Soviet Embassy's commercial section in Rome, was expelled on charges of espionage.

Portugal Expels Aeroflot Official

February 1981: Vitaliy Baranov, head of Aeroflot airport services in Lisbon, was expelled following a December 1980 incident at Lisbon airport in which a Cuban Aeroflot passenger apparently seeking asylum during a refueling stopover was forcibly removed from the airport's international transit lounge and reboarded by Aeroflot security officials. In a communique issued February 6 by the Portuguese Council of Ministers, the action taken by Baranov and the "specialized group of individuals" was condemned as a "flagrant violation of human rights and international law, as well as an assault on Portuguese sovereignty."

Spain Throws Out Soviet Official

March 6, 1981: Vladimir Yefremenkov, second secretary at the Soviet Embassy in Madrid, was expelled on charges of espionage. He had been under surveillance for some time while trying to obtain information about and from the Spanish Defense Intelligence Center as well as about MPAIAC. Novosti journalist Yuriy Goloviatenko was also implicated, according to press reports, and left the country hurriedly when his role was disclosed.

Liberia Cracks Down on Soviet Diplomats

March 18, 1981: Aven Muzyken, second secretary at the Soviet Embassy in Monrovia, was expelled for engaging in acts "incompatible with his diplomatic status," according to Monrovia radio. Liberian Foreign Minister Matthews reportedly told Soviet Ambassador Ulanov that Liberia would not accept improper conduct on the part of any foreign diplomat, and further warned the Soviet Ambassador against "testing" Liberia's political system.

Spain Expels Sovhispan Director

March 27, 1981: Yuriy Bychkov, Soviet director of Sovhispan (the joint Soviet-Spanish fishing company), was expelled on charges of political involvement and espionage activities in the Canary Islands.

Norway Expels Soviets for Industrial Espionage

April 1, 1981: Timor Besedin, Georgiy Petrov, and Yevgeniy Mironenko, all with the Soviet trade mission in Oslo, were declared persona non grata and expelled from Norway, reportedly on charges of industrial espionage. In retaliation, two Norwegian diplomats who had previously served in Moscow were declared persona non grata by the Soviet Foreign Ministry one month later and prohibited from entering the USSR in the future.

Liberia Expels Soviet Diplomat

April 2, 1981: Valentin Petrov, first secretary at the Soviet Embassy in Monrovia, was expelled for engaging in acts "incompatible with his diplomatic status," according to the April 1 issue of the Liberian Daily Observer. The same article also noted that the Soviet mission in Monrovia had doubled in size since the April 12, 1980 Liberian coup, with no commensurate increase in financial or material assistance to the country.

The Netherlands Kicks Out Soviet Correspondent

April 15, 1981: Vadim Leonov, TASS correspondent to the Hague, was asked to leave the Netherlands on undisclosed charges. When questioned by local reporters, the Soviet Embassy explained that Leonov had gone home as his parents-in-law were in poor health.

Equatorial Guinea Calls for Reduction in Size of Soviet Embassy

April 28, 1981: Soviet Embassy in Malabo was asked to reduce the size of its staff from 195 to an unspecified number, according to Madrid radio. The Equatorial Guinean Military Council also asked the USSR to cease using the fishing base to which it had access at the Guinean port of Luba.

Pakistan Kicks Out Soviet Correspondent

June 1981: Vladlen Baykov, Pravda correspondent in Pakistan, was expelled on charges of engaging in "illegal," possibly espionage-related activities, in the country.

Malaysia Expels Three Soviet Intelligence Operatives

July 13, 1981: First Secretary Gennadiy Stepanov, Second Secretary Vladislav Romanov, and engineer/interpreter Zardat Khamidulin, all with the Soviet Embassy in Kuala Lumpur, were expelled on charges of espionage shortly after the arrest of Sidek Ghouse, political secretary to the Malaysian Deputy Prime Minister, on charges of spying for the USSR. The Malaysian Home Minister said police had seized an assortment of Soviet-supplied espionage equipment including a portable radio transmitter, supplied by Romanov (who was said to have recruited Sidek), which was used to summon Sidek for meetings with him. (Romanov was further identified as the KGB "resident" in Kuala Lumpur.)

Bangladesh Throws Out Soviet Diplomats

August 1981: Aleksei Zolotukhin and Vadim Lazarev, both third secretaries with the Soviet Embassy in Dacca, were declared persona non grata by the Bangladesh Government for assaulting a local security official during an incident at Dacca airport in which Soviet Embassy officials attempted to smuggle sensitive electronic equipment into Bangladesh.

UK Expels Soviet Diplomat, First in Ten Years

August 4, 1981: Second secretary at the Soviet Embassy in London, Viktor Lazin, was declared persona non grata by the British Government for engaging in activities "incompatible with his diplomatic status"; according to the London Guardian. The London Daily Express reported August 6 that Lazin, with the assistance of a Paris-based Soviet intelligence officer named Kravchenko, may have helped fund "extreme leftist organizations" in London and may have assisted in the coordination of much of the street rioting that swept Britain during June and July of 1981. Lazin's involvement with local labor activists was documented by British security services, according to the Daily Express, and this affiliation formed part of the basis for the Soviet diplomat's expulsion. Lazin's expulsion reduced the number of Soviet diplomats in London to 46, the same number of British diplomats currently posted in Moscow. (In accordance with an aide-memoire delivered to the Soviets when the British expelled 105 Soviet diplomats en masse in 1971 on charges of espionage, the USSR will not be permitted to replace Lazin.) Lazin had been with the Soviet Embassy for the past four years and was the first Soviet diplomat to be expelled from the UK since 1971.

Egypt Takes Action Against Soviets

September 15, 1981: Egypt expelled Soviet Ambassador Vladimir Polyakov, six other Soviet Embassy personnel, and two Soviet correspondents on charges of plotting to foment sectarian strife in the country. A statement issued by the government accused Moscow of recruiting agents in Egypt and exploiting religious strife as well as "influencing the spread and escalation of sectarian strife," in coordination with leftist elements in Egypt and unnamed hostile Arab countries. Local Egyptian media reported that Egyptian intelligence had worked for three years in surveillance of contacts between Soviet intelligence agents and various domestic opposition groups.

Forgery, Disinformation, Political Operations

October 1981



United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs
Washington, D.C.

The following paper was prepared by the Department of State in response to requests for information from a number of individuals, private groups, and foreign governments.

In late 1979, agents of the Soviet Union spread a false rumor that the United States was responsible for the seizure of the Grand Mosque of Mecca.

In 1980, a French journalist was convicted by a French court of law for acting as a Soviet agent of influence since 1959.

In August 1981, the Soviet news agency TASS alleged that the United States was behind the death of Panamanian leader Omar Torrijos.

These are three examples of a stream of Soviet "active measures" that seek to discredit and weaken the United States and other nations. The Soviets use the bland term "active measures" (*aktivnyye meropriyatiya*) to refer to operations intended to affect other nations' policies, as distinct from espionage and counterintelligence. Soviet "active measures" include:

- Written or spoken disinformation;
- Efforts to control media in foreign countries;
- Use of Communist parties and front organizations;
- Clandestine radio broadcasting;
- Blackmail, personal and economic; and
- Political influence operations.

None of this is to be mistaken for the open, accepted public diplomacy in which virtually all nations engage extensively. Public diplomacy includes providing press releases and other information to journalists, open public broadcasting, and a wide variety of official, academic, and cultural exchange programs. By contrast, Soviet "active measures" are frequently undertaken secretly, sometimes violate the laws of other nations, and often involve threats, blackmail, bribes, and exploitation of individuals and groups.

Soviet "active measures" do not always achieve Moscow's objectives. In some cases, Soviet operations have failed because of ineptitude or because targeted individuals or governments have responded effectively. However, Soviet "active measures" have had some success, and they remain a major, if little understood, element of Soviet foreign policy.

The approaches used by Moscow include control of the press in foreign countries; outright and partial forgery of documents; use of rumors, insinuation, altered facts, and lies; use of international and local front organizations; clandestine operation of radio stations; exploitation of a nation's academic, political, economic, and media figures as collaborators to influence policies of the nation.

Specific cases of Soviet "active measures" included here are: the Soviet anti-theater nuclear force (TNF) campaign in Europe; the Soviet anti-"neutron bomb" campaign; Soviet activities in support of the leftists in El Salvador; the Soviet campaign against the U.S.-Egypt relationship and the Camp David process.

"Active measures" are closely integrated with legitimate activities and Soviet foreign policy. Decisions on "active measures" in foreign countries are made at the highest level of authority in the U.S.S.R.—in the Politburo of the Communist Party Central Committee—as are all other important decisions of Soviet foreign policy.

The activities are designed and executed by a large and complex bureaucracy in which the KGB and the International Department of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) Central Committee are major elements. The International Information Department of the CPSU Central Committee is also deeply engaged in such activities. Actual operations abroad are carried out by official and quasi-official Soviet representatives, including scholars, students, and journalists, whose official Soviet links are not

always apparent. The highly centralized structure of the Soviet state and the state's pervasive control and direction of all elements of society give Soviet leaders impressive free use of party, government, and private citizens in orchestrating "active measures."

The open societies of the industrial democracies and many developing nations, and the ease of access to their news media, often give Soviets open season for "active measures." Many Western and developing countries ignore or downplay Soviet "active measures" until Soviet blunders lead to well-publicized expulsions of diplomats, journalists, or others involved in these activities. The Soviets are adept at making their policies appear to be compatible or parallel with the interests of peace, environmental, and other groups active in Western and developing societies.

By contrast, the Soviet Union denies access to its mass media for foreigners who might criticize Soviet society or the foreign policies of the U.S.S.R.

While the United States remains the primary target, Moscow is devoting increasing resources to "active measures" against the governments of other industrialized countries and countries in the developing world. Moscow seeks to disrupt relations between states, discredit opponents of the U.S.S.R., and undermine foreign leaders, institutions, and values. Soviet tactics adjust to changes in international situations but continue, and in some cases intensify, during periods of reduced tensions.

"Active Measures" Techniques

The tactics and emphasis of Soviet "active measures" change to meet changed situations. For instance, Soviet use of Marxist-Leninist ideology to appeal to foreign groups often turns out to be an obstacle to the promotion of Soviet goals in some areas; it is now being deem-

phasized though not completely abandoned. At the same time, some religious themes—notably the Soviet assertion that the Islamic religion occupies a favorable position in the U.S.S.R.—have assumed greater significance, as Moscow courts Islamic countries in Africa and the Middle East.

Similarly, while Soviet-dominated international front groups still are important in Soviet “active measures” abroad, Moscow is broadening its base of support by using more single-interest groups and fronts formed for particular purposes to promote its goals.

Soviet “active measures” involve a mix of ingenious and crude techniques. A brief sample of types of activities includes the following.

Efforts to Manipulate the Press in Foreign Countries. Soviet agents frequently insert falsely attributed press material into the media of foreign countries. In one developing country, Soviets used more than two dozen local journalists to plant media items favorable to the U.S.S.R. Soviets have also used the Indian news weekly *Blitz* to publish forgeries, falsely accuse Americans of being CIA personnel or agents, and disseminate Soviet-inspired documents. In another country, the Soviets used local journalists to exercise substantial control over the contents of two major daily newspapers.

Forgeries. Soviet forgeries—completely fabricated or altered versions of actual documents—are produced and circulated to mislead foreign governments, media, and public opinion. Recent Soviet forgeries are better and appear more frequently than in the past. Among forgeries that Soviet agents have produced and distributed are bogus U.S. military manuals and fabricated war plans designed to create tensions between the United States and other countries. In some cases, the Soviets used actual documents passed to the KGB by U.S. Army Sergeant Robert Lee Johnson (who was eventually arrested and convicted as a Soviet agent) as models for style and format in Soviet forgeries. In one case, Soviet agents, seeking to disrupt NATO theater nuclear force modernization, circulated a forged “top secret” letter from Secretary of State Cyrus Vance to another Western foreign minister.

Disinformation. Soviet agents use rumor, insinuation, and distortion of facts to discredit foreign governments and leaders. In late 1979, Soviet agents spread a false rumor that the United States was behind the seizure of the Grand Mosque of Mecca. In another case,

Soviet officials “warned” officials of a West European country that the CIA had increased its activities in the country and that a coup was being planned. Sometimes these disinformation campaigns appear in foreign media suborned by the Soviets, enabling Moscow to cite foreign sources for some of the distortions and misstatements that often appear in the Soviet media. A recent and particularly egregious example was the August 1981 TASS allegation that the United States was behind the death of Panamanian General Omar Torrijos.

Control of International and Local Front Organizations. Moscow controls pro-Soviet international front organizations through the International Organizations Section of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee. Front organizations are more effective than openly pro-Soviet groups because they can attract members from a broad political spectrum. Prominent among these fronts are the World Peace Council, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, and the Women’s International Democratic Federation. Moscow’s agents use Soviet “friendship” and cultural societies in many countries to contact people who would not participate in avowedly pro-Soviet or Communist organizations. The function of front, “friendship,” and cultural groups is to support Soviet goals and to oppose policies and leaders whose activities do not serve Soviet interests.

To complement organizations known for pro-Soviet bias, the Soviets sometimes help establish and fund ad hoc front groups that do not have histories of close association with the Soviet Union and can attract members from a wide political spectrum.

Clandestine Radio Stations. The Soviet Union operates two clandestine radio stations: the National Voice of Iran (NVOI) and Radio Ba Yi, which broadcast regularly from the Soviet Union to Iran and China. Moscow has never publicly acknowledged that it sponsors the stations, which represent themselves as organs of authentic local “progressive” forces. The broadcasts of both of these Soviet stations illustrate the use of “active measures” in support of Soviet foreign policy goals. For instance, NVOI broadcasts to Iran in 1979–80 consistently urged that the American diplomatic hostages not be released, while Soviet official statements supported the hostages’ claim to diplomatic immunity.

Economic Manipulation. The Soviet Union also uses a variety of covert economic maneuvers in “active measures”

operations. For example, a Soviet ambassador in a West European country warned a local businessman that his sales to the U.S.S.R. would suffer if he went ahead with plans to provide technical assistance to China. In another industrialized country, Soviet agents sought to increase local concern over the stability of the dollar by driving up the price of gold. This was to be accomplished by manipulating a flow of both true and false information to local businessmen and government leaders. The gambit failed because the Soviet officials who attempted to carry it out did not fully understand the financial aspects of the operation.

Political Influence Operations. Political influence operations are the most important but least understood aspect of Soviet “active measures” activities. These operations seek to exploit contacts with political, economic, and media figures in target countries to secure active collaboration with Moscow. In return for this collaboration, Soviet officials offer inducements tailored to the specific requirements or vulnerabilities of the individual involved. In 1980, Pierre-Charles Pathe, a French journalist, was convicted for acting as a Soviet agent of influence since 1959. His articles—all subtly pushing the Soviet line on a wide range of international issues—were published in a number of important newspapers and journals, sometimes under the pseudonym of Charles Morand. The journalist also published a private newsletter which was regularly sent to many newspapers, members of parliament, and a number of foreign embassies. The Soviets used Pathe over a number of years to try to influence the attitudes of the prominent subscribers to his newsletter and to exploit his broad personal contacts.

In other cases, Soviet officials establish close relationships with political figures in foreign countries and seek to use these contacts in “active measures” operations. Capitalizing on the host government official’s ambition, his Soviet contact claims to be a private channel to the Soviet leadership. To play upon his sense of self-importance and to enhance his credibility within his own government, the host government official may be invited to meetings with high-level Soviet leaders. The Soviets then exploit the local official to pass a mixture of true, distorted, and false information—all calculated to serve Soviet objectives—to the host government.

Use of Academicians and Journalists. Soviet academicians, who often are accepted abroad as legitimate counterparts of their non-Soviet colleagues, frequently engage in “active measures.” Unlike their free world counterparts,

they must play two roles—their legitimate academic pursuit of knowledge for its own sake and their political activities on behalf of the Kremlin. Soviet academicians are obliged to obey instructions from bodies which plan and control Soviet “active measures” activities. Similarly, Soviet journalists often engage in “active measures” operations in addition to serving as representatives of Soviet news agencies. One KGB officer in an industrialized country used his journalistic cover to pass forgeries, as well as to publish numerous propaganda articles aimed at influencing the media of the host country.

Case Studies

The Soviet Anti-TNF Modernization Campaign in Europe. The Soviet campaign in Europe against NATO TNF modernization is a good illustration of Soviet use of “active measures.” After a long and unprecedented buildup of Soviet military strength in Europe, including the deployment of new SS-20 nuclear missiles targeted on Western Europe, the NATO ministers in December 1979 decided to modernize NATO’s TNF capabilities. The Soviets immediately began an ongoing, intensive campaign to develop an environment of public opinion opposed to the NATO decision. (Of course, not all opposition to the TNF modernization decision is inspired by the Soviet Union or its “active measures” activities.)

In this campaign, Soviet diplomats in European countries pressured their host governments in many ways. In one European country, the Soviet ambassador met privately with the Minister of Commerce to discuss the supply and price of oil sold by the Soviet Union to that country. During the discussion, the ambassador gave the minister a copy of Leonid Brezhnev’s Berlin speech dealing with TNF. He suggested that if the host government would oppose TNF modernization, the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs might persuade the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Trade to grant more favorable oil prices.

Moscow has spurred many front groups to oppose the TNF decision through well-publicized conferences and public demonstrations. To broaden the base of the anti-TNF campaign, front groups have lobbied non-Communist participants, including antinuclear groups, pacifists, environmentalists, and others. In some cases, the activities of these broad front groups have been directed by local Communist parties. Soviets have predictably devoted the greatest resources to these activities in NATO countries where opposition to the TNF modernization decision is strongest.

In the Netherlands, for example, the Communist Party of the Netherlands (CPN) has set up its own front group—**Dutch Christians for Socialism.** In November 1980, the Dutch “Joint Committee—Stop the Neutron Bomb—Stop the Nuclear Armament Race,” which has ties to the CPN, sponsored an international forum against nuclear arms in Amsterdam. The forum succeeded in attracting support from a variety of quarters, which the CPN is exploiting in its campaign to prevent final parliamentary approval of the TNF decision.

The Soviet Campaign Against Enhanced Radiation Weapons (ERW). The Soviets, throughout 1977 and early 1978, carried out one of their largest, most expensive, and best orchestrated “active measures” campaigns against enhanced radiation (neutron) weapons. (Again, not all opposition to the U.S. decision to produce the enhanced radiation weapon is Soviet inspired.)

This Soviet campaign has had two objectives: first, to halt deployment of ERW by NATO; second, to divide NATO, encourage criticism of the United States, and divert Western attention from the growing Soviet military buildup and its threat to Western Europe and the world.

- Phase one occurred throughout the summer of 1977. The Soviets staged an intense propaganda blitz against ERW and the United States, involving numerous demonstrations and protests by various “peace councils” and other groups. This phase culminated in a Soviet-proclaimed international “Week of Action.”

- Phase two began in January 1978 with Soviet propaganda exploitation of a letter from Leonid Brezhnev to Western heads of government warning that production and deployment of ERW constituted a serious threat to détente. A barrage of similar letters from members of the Supreme Soviet went to Western parliamentarians. Soviet trade union officials forwarded parallel messages to Western labor counterparts.

- Phase three came in early 1978 with a series of Soviet-planned conferences, under different names and covers, designed to build up the momentum of anti-ERW pressure for the U.N. Special Session on Disarmament of May-June 1978. These meetings and conferences, held throughout February and March, were organized either by the World Peace Council or jointly sponsored with established and recognized independent international groups.

The Soviet campaign succeeded in complicating allied defense planning and focusing criticism on the United States. A top Hungarian Communist Party offi-

cial wrote that “the political campaign against the neutron bomb was one of the most significant and successful since World War Two.” The propaganda campaign did not end in 1978; it was incorporated into the anti-TNF effort. With the recent U.S. decision to proceed with ERW production, the Soviets have begun a new barrage of propaganda and related “active measures.”

Soviet “Active Measures” Toward El Salvador. Complementing their overt public support for the leftist insurgency in El Salvador, the Soviets have also engaged in a global “active measures” campaign to sway public opinion. These activities include a broad range of standard techniques, including forgeries, disinformation, attempted manipulation of the press, and use of front groups. The obvious dual purpose has been to increase support for the insurgency while trying to discredit U.S. efforts to assist the Government of El Salvador.

In 1980, Salvadoran leftists met in Havana and formed the United Revolutionary Directorate (DRU), the central political and military planning organization for the insurgents. During the same period, the Salvadoran Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) was established, with Soviet and Cuban support, to represent the leftist insurgency abroad. The FDR and DRU work closely with Cubans and Soviets, but their collaboration is often covert.

The FDR also supported the establishment of Salvadoran solidarity committees in Western Europe, Latin America, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. These solidarity committees have disseminated propaganda and organized meetings and demonstrations in support of the insurgents. Such committees, in cooperation with local Communist parties and leftist groups, organized some 70 demonstrations and protests between mid-January and mid-March 1981 in Western Europe, Latin America, Australia, and New Zealand.

The FDR and DRU are careful to conceal the Soviet and Cuban hand in planning and supporting their activities and seek to pass themselves off as a fully independent, indigenous Salvadoran movement. These organizations have had some success in influencing public opinion throughout Latin America and in Western Europe. The effort of the insurgents to gain legitimacy has been buttressed by intense diplomatic activity on their behalf. For example, at the February 1981 nonaligned movement meeting in New Delhi, a 30-man Cuban contingent, cooperating closely with six Soviet diplomats, pressed the conference to condemn U.S. policy in El Salvador.

At another level, the Soviet media have published numerous distortions to erode support for U.S. policy. For example, an article in the December 30, 1980 *Pravda* falsely stated that U.S. military advisers in El Salvador were involved in punitive actions against noncombatants, including use of napalm and herbicides. In another particularly outrageous distortion, a January 1, 1981 article in the Soviet weekly *Literaturnaya Gazeta* falsely stated that the United States was preparing to implement the so-called centaur plan for "elimination" of thousands of Salvadorans.

Campaign Against the U.S.-Egyptian Relationship and the Camp David Process. In the Middle East, Moscow has waged an "active measures" campaign to weaken the U.S.-Egyptian relationship, undermine the Camp David peace process, and generally exacerbate tensions. A special feature of Middle East "active measures" activities has been the use of forgeries, including:

- A purported speech by a member of the U.S. Administration which insulted Egyptians and called for "a total change of the government and the governmental system in Egypt." This forgery, which surfaced in 1976, was the first of a series of bogus documents produced by the Soviets to complicate U.S.-Egyptian relations.

- A forged document, allegedly prepared by the Secretary of State, or one of his close associates, for the President, which used language insulting and offensive to President Sadat and other Egyptians and also to other Arab leaders, including King Khalid of Saudi Arabia. This forgery was delivered anonymously to the Egyptian Embassy in Rome in April 1977.

- A series of forged letters and U.S. Government documents, which criticized Sadat's "lack of leadership" and called for a "change of government" in Egypt. These forgeries surfaced in various locations during 1977.

- A forged dispatch, allegedly prepared by the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, which suggested that the United States had acquiesced in plans by Iran and Saudi Arabia to overthrow Sadat. This forgery was sent by mail to the Egyptian Embassy in Belgrade in August 1977.

- A forged CIA report which criticized Islamic groups as a barrier to U.S. goals in the Middle East and suggested tactics to suppress, divide, and eliminate these groups. This forgery surfaced in the January 1979 issue of the Cairo-based magazine *Al-Dawa*.

- A forged letter from U.S. Ambassador to Egypt Herman F. Eilts, which declared that, because Sadat was not prepared to serve U.S. interests, "we

must repudiate him and get rid of him without hesitation." This forgery surfaced in the October 1, 1979 issue of the Syrian newspaper *Al-Ba'th*.

Conclusion

The Soviet Union continues to make extensive use of "active measures" to achieve its foreign policy objectives, to frustrate those of other countries, and to undermine leadership in many nations. On the basis of the historical record, there is every reason to believe that the Soviet leadership will continue to make heavy investments of money and manpower in meddlesome and disruptive operations around the world.

While Soviet "active measures" can be exposed, as they have often been in the past, the Soviets are becoming more sophisticated, especially in forgeries and political influence operations. Unless the targets of Soviet "active measures" take effective action to counter them, these activities will continue to trouble both industrialized and developing countries. ■

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TAB II

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World Peace Council

Programme of Action 1981

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INTRODUCTION

The World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace, held in Sofia from September 23 to 27, 1980 threw the searchlight on the new character, the new tasks and duties, the new possibilities for action of the peoples of all continents.

The Appeal, unanimously adopted by 2,260 deputies from 137 countries and from 100 international and over 3,000 national non-governmental organisations, stated with confidence:

The peoples have the power to preserve peace
— their basic right

The Appeal of the World Parliament summed up the gravity of the international situation in these words:

The peoples of the world are alarmed. Never before has there been so great a danger of a world nuclear holocaust.

The nuclear arms build-up, the accumulation of deadly arsenals has reached a critical point. Further escalation in the arms build-up could create a most dangerous situation, facing humanity with the threat of annihilation.

The "new nuclear strategy" is an elaborate deception of the people to persuade them that limited or regional nuclear war can be conducted without leading to a global nuclear holocaust. We categorically reject this dangerous and inhuman conception!

The World Parliament extended its full support to the growing mass movements in all continents which are centred round the determination of the peoples to oppose and refuse to be associated with:

- the vast war machine and arms build-up of the most aggressive forces of imperialism which seek to take the world toward a nuclear abyss,

- the falsehoods and lies, the propaganda in favour of the arms build-up, which are disseminated through imperialist-controlled mass media.

Basic Pillars of the Programme

Each chapter of the Charter of the Peoples for Peace unanimously adopted by the World Parliament, held in Sofia (Bulgaria) from September 23 to 27, 1980 emphasizes the main planks of the Peoples' Programme for Peace for the 80s.

- to live in peace is a sacred and inalienable right of every human being and of every nation,
- peace is humanity's common priceless possession, the main condition and prerequisite of progress,
- to stop the arms build-up is an imperative need,
- the elimination of all forms of discrimination, of all artificial barriers in world trade, of all forms of inequality, dictat and exploitation in economic relations and the establishment of just and equal international economic relations are basic rights of humankind,
- The policy of destabilisation of progressive regimes in developing countries actually constitutes an aggression, waged with psychological, economic, political and other means, including armed intervention: this is a violation of the right to peace,
- interference in the internal affairs of other states sharply conflicts with the right of all peoples to peaceful, free and independent development.
- the lack of real progress in the realisation of a New International Economic Order stems from the fact that the imperialist powers and the transnational corporations are unwilling to give up their privileged positions, as was convincingly manifested at the last UN Special Session on Development;
- the cold war, hostile confrontation and war hysteria hinder humanity's social progress and impede the complete implementation of fundamental human rights and freedoms – those who gain from this are the same forces of reaction and aggression, which reap profits from arms production;
- constant growth in military expenditure is achieved at the expense of the working people, and makes a key contribution to galloping inflation, growing taxation and unemployment – experience has proved that militarisation

- of the economy not only fails to create new jobs, but reduces them and entails cuts in health, education, culture and other social services;
- the existence of racist regimes and fascist dictatorships which trample underfoot democracy and the elementary rights and freedoms of their peoples is abhorrent to the conscience of humankind;
- militarism and international tensions are the factors which create favourable conditions for carrying out anti-democratic coups and for maintaining fascist juntas and anti-popular dictatorial regimes in power;
- the whipping-up of war hysteria, of hatred against other countries, and all propaganda campaigns aimed at creating suspicion and mistrust are contrary to the interests of all peoples – mass media must serve the cause of peace and not the military-industrial complexes by confusing public opinion with lies and misinformation;
- those who bear responsibility for educating the new generation must stand for the ideals of peace, friendship, solidarity and respect of all nations...

Qualitatively New Actions

The World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace stressed the urgency of bringing together in common mass actions, people belonging to different political parties and tendencies.

In Sofia, 330 political parties were represented – Socialist and Social Democratic parties, Christian Democratic, Communist and Liberal parties, Agrarian, Radical and Centre parties, as well as national parties from all continents. The overwhelming majority of these parties are today represented in the World Peace Council.

The World Parliament made it clear that the war danger and the arms build-up cannot be halted by one country, by people holding one political point of view, by one organization or movement however powerful it might be.

But the World Parliament declared that together the peoples of the most diverse convictions can bar the road to a world

conflagration.

The urgent need is for qualitatively new mass actions to meet the qualitatively new international situation.

The war danger is of a qualitatively different kind today. The global arms build-up is more perilous than ever before. This war danger and the arms build-up threaten all peoples of all countries who are struggling to build a new life. They threaten the movements for liberation and the struggle for economic independence in the developing countries. They threaten the struggles of the peoples in the countries of the capitalist world against inflation, rising prices, unemployment and for social progress.

The struggle is one. This is the call of the World Parliament.

The World Peace Council is pledged to carry out this vast anti-imperialist programme, this programme of the peoples for peace.

This programme seeks to make 1981 the year of the decisive offensive of peace forces, to make the 80s the Decade for new victories for peace, for disarmament and detente, for national independence, justice, democracy and social progress.

To the non-governmental organisations — political parties, mass movements, social and cultural bodies we say:

Let our voice, the voice of the peoples for peace, be heard as never before in mass demonstrations, mass petitions and appeals to parliaments and governments, mass solidarity actions on the widest national and international scale.

We assure the governments which stand for peace, detente, disarmament and national independence of the full support of the world peace movement in all their efforts to bar the road to war.

The World Peace Council pledges itself to support the initiatives of the United Nations, of the Non-aligned Movement, of the Organisation of African Unity and other inter-governmental organisations — directed at curbing the arms race, at contributing to the peace and security of all nations and to the

establishment of a new international economic order, at advancing the struggle for the ending of colonial and neo-colonial domination and exploitation of peoples.

The World Peace Council's Programme of Action for 1981 places its main emphasis on common united mass actions by the widest range of forces, campaigns, conferences, seminars and symposia at national levels. It is directed particularly at the strengthening of national and local peace movements.

The implementation of the Programme will depend, as always, on the resources available at different levels. Each international event listed in the Programme will be organised in accordance with the support which it can secure. The emphasis will be on organising several events — each with limited but effective participation — on a wide variety of issues, focussed around the key question of our times — the fight against the war danger and the arms build-up.

**WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
PROGRAMME OF ACTION FOR 1981**

YEAR OF DECISIVE OFFENSIVE OF PEACE FORCES

I. CONSOLIDATE THE SPIRIT OF THE WORLD PARLIAMENT OF THE PEOPLES FOR PEACE

The Charter of the Peoples for Peace concluded with this pledge:

"Let us make 1981; the springboard of the 80s, a year of decisive offensive of peace forces to achieve a break-through in curbing the arms build-up!"

All actions during 1981 will be linked with the campaign in support of the resolutions, decisions and programmes adopted by the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace.

The Appeal for joint action to defeat the menace of nuclear war is the running thread of the entire programme of the World Peace Council for 1981.

Echo parliaments, conferences and meetings will be a major feature of the activities at all levels during the entire year.

In every event organised by national and local peace movements and by all other organisations, special emphasis will be placed on resolutions of support for the Appeal, the Charter and other resolutions of the World Parliament.

Signatures to the Appeal by representatives of political parties, mass organisations and cultural and social bodies as well as of outstanding personalities, will be collected and publicised in each country.

In accordance with the development of the campaign and of the international situation, mass collections of signatures to the Appeal can be envisaged.

II. MEETINGS OF THE LEADING AND OTHER BODIES OF THE MOVEMENT

i. Session of the Presidential Committee:

The Presidential Committee will meet in Havana from April 19 to 21, 1981.

The main issues to be discussed at this session will include the campaign against the war danger and for the ending of the arms build-up and the problems and the struggles of the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean.

ii. Session of the Bureau of the Presidential Committee

There will be two sessions of the Bureau of the Presidential Committee during 1981.

The first session of the Bureau will be held in Antananarivo (Madagascar) from January 23 to 26, 1981.

The second session of the Bureau will be held in the last quarter of 1981 at a place to be decided upon later.

The Bureau will also meet briefly on the eve of the session of the Presidential Committee, with a view to examine details regarding the time-table, agenda and procedures for the Presidential Committee session.

In addition, international developments may require the calling, on an emergency basis, of the Bureau on a specific issue.

iii. Meetings of WPC Standing Commissions

Each WPC Standing Commission will meet twice a year — once during the session of the Presidential Committee and once immediately before, during or after an international, regional or national event, dealing with issues and problems

which are connected with the work of the commission.

The main direction of the work of each Standing Commission will be to ensure the strengthening of the work in its particular field through national and local peace organisations at the national and local levels, in the context of the overall struggle against the war danger and for ending the arms build-up.

iv. Continental and Regional Meetings of Representatives of National Movements

Continental and regional meetings of representatives of national movements are of decisive significance for the development of the national movements and their mass actions. Each such meeting will devote adequate time for the exchange of concrete experiences in the task of strengthening national and local organisations,

Efforts will be made, in accordance with possibilities, to organise the following meetings:

- meeting of national movements of East African countries on January 27 and 28, 1981 in Antananarivo (Madagascar),
- a meeting of West African national movements in the second quarter of the year,
- a meeting of Latin American national movements in the first half of 1981,
- a meeting of national movements of Central America and the Caribbean region,
- a meeting of national movements of Asia and Oceania in the second quarter of the year,
- a meeting of European national movements during the second quarter of 1981,
- a meeting of the Arab national peace movements in the second quarter of 1981.

v. Meetings of Members of the WPC in each country

Regular meetings of members of the WPC from each country will be organised by each national peace movement to discuss the work of the World Peace Council, and the resolutions and statements of the Council.

III. STRENGTHENING AND BROADENING OF NATIONAL MOVEMENTS FOR A WORLDWIDE NETWORK OF PEACE ORGANISATIONS

National events, conferences, seminars, symposia and national campaigns on key issues have been planned for 1981.

In several countries, the preparatory bodies set up for the World Parliament have laid the basis for the establishment of new peace committees and organisations associated with the World Peace Council at different levels — national, state and provincial, district and city, local and grass roots.

The Round Tables of different sections of the peoples held during the World Parliament have given an impetus for the formation of national commissions and other bodies of the national peace movements, directed at widening the cooperation with the peace movement of different sections of the population — trade unionists, parliamentarians, women, religious believers, scientists, educationists, writers and artists, journalists, youth and students.

Visits by WPC delegations to different countries will focus particular attention on the strengthening of national movements and encouragement of the creation of new peace organisations at all levels and increasing their cooperation with other bodies.

IV. TO END THE ARMS RACE AND MILITARY BUILD-UP; FOR DISARMAMENT AND MILITARY DETENTE

In all countries, 1981 should be marked as the year when the peace forces begin their decisive offensive to achieve a break-through in curbing the arms build-up. Major campaigns and activities will be launched to end the arms race and to bring about disarmament and military detente, which constitute the basis of the struggle for stable international security and lasting peace.

The World Peace Council and national movements represented in it will seek the closest cooperation and common action with all forces, mass movements and organisations, which stand for ending the arms race, for disarmament and preventing

a nuclear catastrophe.

A. Campaigns against the arms build-up, against nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction

- The call for the prohibition and cessation of all further production of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, to be followed by the reduction of existing stockpiles and their ultimate complete elimination;
- A comprehensive ban on all nuclear weapon tests;
- Limitation and banning of especially brutal conventional arms (including napalm; pellet bombs, undetectable by X-Ray; phosphorous bombs, etc.);
- A ban on chemical, laser, radiological and neutron weapons;
- Lowering the level of military confrontation; reduction of armed forces and armaments;
- Reduction of military budgets and conversion of the arms industry and all resources to peaceful purposes;
- Dangers of the sale of arms to racist, reactionary and fascist states;
- Ensurance of greater understanding and awareness of the socio-economic consequences of the arms race and of the need for disarmament.

B. Campaigns in support of proposals, initiatives and negotiations to strengthen international security and consolidate detente and cooperation among states:

- Broadening and full observance of the Non-Proliferation Treaty;
- Ratification of the Soviet-American Treaty on Strategic Arms Limitation (SALT II);
- Negotiations on further limitation and reduction of strategic arms (SALT III);
- Negotiations on Eurostrategic missiles in connection with forward-based American nuclear systems;
- Continuation of Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe;
- The conclusion by the States signatories of the Helsinki Final Act of a Treaty on No-First-Use of Nuclear Weapons against Each Other;
- Halting the imperialist military build-up in various regions - including the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, the Middle

East, the Mediterranean and the Caribbean;

- Creation of zones of peace and nuclear-free zones;
- Promotion and adoption of confidence-building measures;
- Implementation of the decisions of the Special Session of the UN General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament (SSD);
- Implementation of the UN Declaration on the preparations of societies for life in peace;
- Early convening of the Conference on Disarmament and Military Detente in Europe;
- Preparations for a World Disarmament Conference, called by the United Nations;
- Preparations for the Second SSD.

C. Campaigns high-lighting the dangers of the limited nuclear war strategy:

- To expose the new U.S. military doctrine embodied in Presidential Directive 59 as one that justifies the possibility of limited nuclear war, regardless of the fact that it immediately may turn into world war;
- To warn against the dangers of the limited nuclear war strategy by holding national and international seminars, conferences and discussions linking it with regional issues;
- To arouse governments and parliaments, neighbourhoods and people at work against the attempts to accustom the public to accepting nuclear war as possible and legal.

D. Convening of:

- Two meetings of the WPC Disarmament Commission to review and assess the existing situation, and outline the objectives and priority tasks in the field of disarmament;
- A Seminar on the dangers of the limited nuclear war strategy;
- A conference of mass movements and organisations for military detente and disarmament in Europe;
- National and regional meetings on problems of disarmament as preparation for the Second SSD, and on the impact of the arms race on socio-economic development.

E. Cooperation with:

- The UN Disarmament Commission, UN Committee on

- Disarmament and UN Centre for Disarmament;
- NGOs and scientific institutes active in the field of disarmament;
- NGO Special Committee on Disarmament;
- International Liaison Forum - Dialogue for Disarmament;
- All mass movements and organisations working for disarmament.

F. Observance of:

- Week of action (August 6-13) for the Banning of Nuclear Weapons and Solidarity with the Hibakushas - including Hiroshima Day - August 6;
- World Day of Peace (September 1st);
- UN Disarmament Week (October 24-31).

V. ACTIONS FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE AND IN SUPPORT OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT

- Further intensification of actions against the deployment of the new US weapons of mass annihilation in Western Europe; against US Presidential Directive 59 with its new strategy aiming at a so-called limited nuclear war; for negotiations on curbing the arms build-up, safeguarding peace and for consolidating international security;
- Supporting the convening of a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe, to complement and ensure further political detente;
- Support for effective steps to bring about the conclusion of the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Armed Forces and Armaments in Central Europe, and for the establishment of a Nordic nuclear free zone, as proposed by President Kekkonen of Finland and in other areas;
- Further actions to support the results of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE); thus striving for the strict implementation of all provisions of the Helsinki Final Act;
- Support for the adoption of confidence-building measures, for the conclusion of a treaty among states signatory to the Helsinki Final Act on the non-first-use of nuclear weapons against each other, the non-use of force in their mutual

- relations and the peaceful settlement of disputes;
- Stepping up of actions against a new cold war atmosphere, against provocative actions of fascist and racist groupings in certain countries;
- Support for the convening of a meeting of elected representatives (city councils, municipalities, parliaments) and other leading personalities from the regions in the NATO countries where new U.S. nuclear missiles are to be placed;
- Support for the convening of all-European inter-governmental conferences on energy and transport;
- Enlarged meeting of the WPC Standing Commission on European Security and Cooperation;
- Conference of mass movements and organisations for military detente and disarmament in Europe;
- Support for various events on national levels with international participation on the issues of stopping the arms build-up, and for security and cooperation in Europe;
- Support for campaigns and events against the imperialist military build-up in the Mediterranean region - with emphasis on opposition to nuclearisation of the region, military bases and instalment of new U.S. missiles;
- Week of Action for European Security and Cooperation (May 4-10);

VI. ACTIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT, ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

- Convening, in collaboration with national committees of the Third WPC World Conference on Development in Mexico during the second half of 1981,
- Support to national and regional events, such as seminars, symposia, conferences, studies, etc. in preparation for the Third WPC World Conference,
- Setting up by national committees of special groups for development;
- Cooperation with the United Nations and with its specialised agencies and other UN bodies and intergovernmental organisations concerned with development - in particular with UNCTAD, UNIDO, ILO, UNEP, FAO, and with the

- Non-aligned Movement, OAU, OPEC, OPAEC and others;
- Participation in the major UN Conferences and activities in this field;
- Participation in the worldwide campaign connected with the observance of the World Food Day on October 16, 1981, called by the F.A.O.;
- Cooperation with NGOs interested in development problems and with the NGO Special Committee on Development;
- Increased attention to the problems of energy and organisation of activities around this problem,
- Close cooperation with the Hungarian Peace Council in the production of the journal "Development and Peace",

VII. STRUGGLE AGAINST THE DAMAGING ACTIVITIES OF TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS (TNCs)

- Holding of national and regional activities exposing the damaging activities of TNCs nationally and internationally: the dangerous role they play in the political, social, economic, financial, trade, mass-media and human rights fields; in promoting militarism, military build-up and the arms race; as well as in frustrating the establishment of a N.I.E.O.;
- Campaign on the TNCs' role in support of the racist regime in South Africa and other reactionary and unpopular forces and governments in the developing world;
- Campaign against the activities of TNCs that worsen the living standard and retard the social progress in the countries of origin and in developing countries;
- Cooperation with the UN Centre on TNCs and other interested institutions;
- Stimulation of activities in cooperation with the NGO movements; in particular with the Special NGO Committee on TNCs.
- Observance of International Week of Actions against TNCs (16-23 November).

VIII. ACTIVITIES IN SUPPORT OF THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE MOVEMENT OF THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES TO PEACE AND INDEPENDENCE

- All activities to be linked and connected with the XX

Anniversary of the Movement of the Non-aligned Countries which is being observed throughout 1981 and with support to its struggle for peace and disarmament, for national independence, justice and social progress, against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism;

- Mobilisation of public opinion to give fullest support to the Movement of the Non-aligned Countries in their struggle for the establishment of a New International Economic Order and for the economic demands and proposals which the Movement has presented to the XXXIV Session of the UN General Assembly of the United Nations;
- Continuous effort to give wide publicity to the decisions of the Non-aligned Summits.
- International, regional and national seminars, conferences and other initiatives to mark the XXth anniversary and the Final Declaration and decisions of the 6th Summit Conference of Non-aligned States (Havana);
- Cooperation and regular contacts with the Non-aligned Movement and its Bureau;
- Visits by WPC delegations to non-aligned countries in Latin America, Europe, Asia and Africa to participate in events celebrating the XXth anniversary and to ensure closer relations between these countries and the WPC;
- International Solidarity Week in support of the Movement of Non-aligned Countries (September).

IX. ACTIONS AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST POLICY OF DESTABILISATION

- Support for the holding of national events with international participation on the following subjects;
 - a) the struggle against the imperialist policy of destabilisation in the field of information and culture (as a part of the struggle for a New World Information Order);
 - b) the role of TNCs in the imperialist policy of destabilisation: Ways and means of foiling their destabilizing activities and efforts;
 - c) dangers of the destabilisation policy to the non-aligned movement.
- As part of the campaign against the impact of the destabilisation policy on the struggle for national

independence and social progress, national events, with international participation, are to be organised;

X. ACTIONS FOR PEACE AND SECURITY IN ASIA AND OCEANIA

- Convening in cooperation with other international organisations and the Indian Preparatory Committee of a Conference for Peace and Security for the Indian Ocean and the Gulf - New Delhi, April 3-5, 1981;
- Strengthening of Asian national movements and holding of national conferences;
- Establishment of national commissions, committees and working groups on key issues;
- Visit of WPC delegations to different countries in Asia and Oceania;
- National seminars, symposia, etc., on the contribution of the Non-aligned Movement for peace, disarmament and development in Asia;
- Observance of Indian Ocean and Gulf Week (February 16-23) - for a Zone of Peace in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf, and for dismantling imperialist military bases and the ending of the massive arms build-up by U.S. imperialism in the region;
- Observance of Asia Week (April 5-12);
- Campaign against the conspiracies of the Washington-Peking-Tokyo axis for the destabilisation of countries in Asia;
- International Campaign for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Asia, the dissolution of military alliances in Asia, such as the US-Japan military alliance, ANZUS and SEATO;
- International Solidarity campaigns with Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea;
- Solidarity with the people and liberation movements in the Gulf countries in their struggle for peace, democracy and socio-economic development;
- Campaigns for solidarity with the people of Korea;
- International meeting devoted to the urgent problems in the Gulf area, such as socio-economic development, human rights, oil, military build-up, danger of military conflicts and turning the Gulf into a Zone of Peace.

XI. ACTIONS IN SUPPORT OF THE STRUGGLES OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLES FOR PEACE, IN DEFENCE OF THEIR NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY, FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION AND ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE

- Assistance in promoting establishment of national peace and solidarity organisations in Africa; visits of WPC delegations to African countries;
- Solidarity with African liberation movements;
- Support for the International Mobilisation for the Liberation of South Africa and Namibia, launched by the NGO Sub-Committee on Racism, Apartheid and Decolonisation; and continuation of cooperation with the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, the UN Special Committee on Decolonisation and the UN Council for Namibia;
- Close cooperation with African frontline states;
- Close cooperation with the Organisation for African Unity's efforts for African liberation, African unity and economic development;
- Strengthening of friendly relations and cooperation with all African organisations - churches, trade unions, women, youth and students;
- Campaigns for the dismantling of imperialist military bases in Africa, against the establishment of new ones and against the agreements between the US the governments of Egypt, Kenya, Somalia and Oman for the use of their military bases by US troops, and the creation of reactionary military alliances such as the so-called Inter-African Military Force planned by France;
- Support of initiatives for inter-African cooperation on economic development and the struggle for a New International Economic Order;
- Campaigns against the nuclearisation of the South African apartheid regime and for Africa as a nuclear-free zone;
- Support of initiatives by African peoples to resolve the problem of famine in Africa;
- Worldwide observance of African Liberation Week (May 18 to 25)

XII. FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, IN SUPPORT OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE PALESTINIAN AND OTHER ARAB PEOPLES

- All out support to the struggle against the imperialist military build-up and conspiracies in the Middle East and the Gulf;
- Support the convening of an international conference in Damascus on the imperialist military build-up and conspiracies in the Middle East and the Gulf, and in solidarity with Syria and the P.L.O. (June)
- Strengthening the campaigns for the just solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict on the basis of the full withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories and the realisation of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people;
- Campaigns in solidarity with the Arab peoples in their struggle to liquidate the political and military consequences of the Camp David and Washington accords;
- Intensification of campaigns in support of the PLO, the sole representative of the Palestinian people and for the attainment of the rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland, to self-determination and to establish their independent state, in conformity with the relevant UN resolutions. Support to national activities and international events organised in solidarity with the Palestinian people;
- Support to the struggle of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories; undertaking of activities by the WPC Commission on Human Rights to condemn Israeli colonisation, atrocities and violations of the human rights of the people of these territories;
- Solidarity actions to support the struggle of the Lebanese people against Israeli aggressions and imperialist and reactionary conspiracies and for a democratic, united and Arab Lebanon. Support for the sending of Lebanese delegations to various countries to strengthen solidarity with the Lebanese patriotic movement;
- Solidarity actions with the struggle of the Arab people of Syria to foil imperialist and reactionary conspiracies and practices of destabilisation of their country and the entire Arab region;
- Solidarity actions with the struggle of the people of Democratic Yemen and other democratic and liberation forces in the Red Sea, the Horn of Africa and the Gulf areas

- against the imperialist military build-up and for democracy and social progress;
- Solidarity actions with Libya Jamahirya against the threats of aggression by the Egyptian regime and the US imperialists;
- Solidarity actions with the struggle of the people of Algeria against the imperialist policy of destabilisation in North Africa and for the strengthening of their national independence and social progress;
- Campaigns in defence of the democratic struggle of the Arab anti-imperialist and anti-zionist forces. Condemn all repressive acts undertaken against them;
- Support the International Solidarity Committee with the Palestinian People and extend all possible assistance for the implementation of its programme of action;
- Cooperation with the Permanent Secretariat of the Arab People's Congress and the International Solidarity Secretariat with the Arab People and their Central Cause, Palestine; and cement relations with Arab mass organisations;
- Send delegations to Arab countries to promote the above-mentioned campaigns and activities.

XIII. ACTIONS FOR PEACE, ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE AND SOLIDARITY WITH LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

- Broadening and strengthening of the work undertaken by national peace committees and of their cooperation with various political forces, governments, social and cultural institutions, religious circles, youth organisations and others;
- Visits of WPC delegations to Latin America and the Caribbean. Support for different national or regional initiatives undertaken by national peace committees or other organisations which identify themselves with the WPC Programme of Action;
- Support for the International Conference of Solidarity with the people of El Salvador;
- Support for the planned continental conferences of solidarity with the people of Haiti;
- Solidarity with the peoples who live under tyrannical regimes that violate basic human rights - Chile, Guatemala, El Salvador, Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay, Argentina and

Haiti;

- Campaigns for the freedom of political prisoners;
- Campaign to expose the grave problem of "missing persons" kidnapped for political reasons. To mobilise world public opinion against repressive governments responsible for this practice which trample fundamental human rights;
- Solidarity with the peoples and Governments of Latin America and the Caribbean who struggle for the deepening of the democratic process and demand a policy of peace, social progress and respect of human rights;
- Campaign against the border conflicts in Latin America instigated by imperialism and reactionary forces and in defiance of the peace-loving peoples who seek understanding;
- Solidarity with the Cuban people in their just demand for an end to the economic blockade illegally imposed by the United States, and for the dismantling of the US base in Guantánamo;
- Campaign against the presence of US military bases in the region, for the dissolution of TIAR (Interamerican Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance), against the attempts to create a South Atlantic Treaty Organisation (SATO) and the so-called Interamerican force which would stir up a hot-bed of tension endangering peace and security on the Continent;
- Support to the revolutions of Nicaragua and Grenada;
- Support for the struggle of the Latin American and Caribbean peoples against colonial regimes and for full independence, self-determination and territorial integrity (Guadeloupe, Martinique, French Guyana);
- Support for the struggle of the Puerto Rican people for full independence, right to self-determination and territorial integrity. Participate in the actions and initiatives of the International Committee of Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico;
- Support for the work of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile;
- Support and participate in the International Preparatory Committee for the observance of the anniversaries of the Liberator Simon Bolivar.
- Commemorate the bicentennial of the "Revolution de los Comuneros" (1781) in Colombia led by José Antonio Galán.

XIV. ACTIONS AGAINST RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

- International and national campaigns, meetings and seminars in support of the struggle against racism and racial discrimination to be organized by the WPC Standing Commission on Racism and in cooperation with the NGO Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination and Apartheid and other international and national organisations;
- Support for the International Mobilisation against the apartheid regime in South Africa; and for the liberation of Namibia and South Africa and the total isolation of the apartheid regime;
- Further actions for the implementation of the decisions adopted by the International NGO Action Conference for Sanctions against South Africa (Geneva, June 30 - July 3, 1980);
- Active support for actions initiated by the United Nations Division on Human Rights, UN Centre Against Apartheid, the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid and the UN Committee on Decolonisation;
- Support for the struggles of the indigenous peoples of North America, Latin America and Australia against racism;
- Support for migrant and immigrant workers against racism in the USA, Britain, Federal Republic of Germany, France and other West European countries;
- Support to the struggle of the peoples of the occupied territories against the racist practices of the Israeli rulers;
- Support for activities organised by UNESCO to combat racism in the field of education, science and culture.

XV. AGAINST THE VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

- Campaigns of solidarity with the victims of crimes committed by fascist, neo-fascist and reactionary regimes, in violation of human rights;
- Continuation of enquiries by the WPC Standing Commission on Human Rights into the violation of human rights in the following places:
The Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967; Bolivia; Chile; El Salvador; Guatemala; Haiti; Paraguay; Uruguay; Indonesia; South Korea; Northern Ireland;

United States of America (particularly in connection with violations of the rights of the Black, and Hispanic Native American people);

Enquiries into the problem of "missing people" detained on political grounds, such as in Argentina as well as in other countries);

Enquiries into and exposure of Berufsverboten (professional ban) in the FRG as a gross violation of human rights;

Organisation of public hearings on these cases, as well as regular visits to the above-mentioned countries by fact-finding groups of the WPC Standing Commission on Human Rights;

Support of the activities of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile;

Organisation of seminars, symposia and other meetings to examine the relation between human rights and such issues as disarmament, development, the struggle against the TNCs and imperialism;

Participation in national, regional and international conferences and other events related to human rights;

Worldwide publicity about the work of the WPC and its Standing Commission in the field of human rights;

Publication of a special bulletin on human rights by the Standing Commission;

Cooperation with the UN Commission on Human Rights, UN Human Rights Division and ECOSOC;

Cooperation with other governmental and non-governmental organisations as well as exchange of material on human rights — Contact meetings and exchanges of experiences;

Dissemination of the various UN instruments related to human rights, and the urging of those countries which have not yet subscribed to them, to do so;

Convening of an International Conference on Human Rights and Peace to examine the different aspects of the violations of economic, social and cultural rights, and their link with the issues of disarmament and development. The Preparations for the Conference and the discussions at the Conference itself should concentrate on the relationship between the struggle for peace and the full observance of all basic human rights.

XVI. INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGNS AND ACTIONS

- Convene two meetings of the WPC Standing Commission on International Solidarity: one in Havana during the meeting of the Presidential Committee (April 1981); the other, before the end of 1981. The objective of such meetings would be to exchange experiences, study the planned actions and the priorities in the field of international solidarity;
- Coordination of Solidarity campaigns and actions with other international non-governmental organisations which work in this field;
- Exchange of information with relevant inter-governmental organisations (UN, UNESCO, OAU), on issues of international solidarity carried forward by the WPC;
- Development of the activities of the Information Centre in Addis Ababa on International Solidarity.

AFGHANISTAN

- Observance of April 21–27 as Week of Solidarity with Afghanistan, with special emphasis on support for a political settlement in Afghanistan as proposed by the Afghan government.

BAHRAIN

- Observance of December 7 as International Day of Solidarity with the people of Bahrain.

BOLIVIA

- Observance of a week of solidarity with the Bolivian people starting July 15. Organise campaigns of solidarity with the Bolivian people.

CHILE

- Support for the actions taken by the various organisations created in Chile for restoration of human rights and freedom. Development of these contacts by inviting them to participate in the WPC activities;

- Exposure of the violation of human rights in Chile, before all relevant United Nations bodies including the General Assembly, the Human Rights Commission, UN Special Group on Chile, UNESCO, etc.;
- Sending of a WPC observance to Chile in 1981;
- Observance of the Week of Solidarity with Chile (4-11 September) and the Day in Support of the Chilean Children, in December 1981.

CYPRUS

- Support for the activities of the International Committee of Solidarity with Cyprus (ICSC);
- Observance of the International Week of Solidarity with Cyprus (15-21 July).

EAST TIMOR

- International Solidarity Campaign with East Timor for extension of political, moral and material support to the struggle of the people of East Timor.

ETHIOPIA

- Support to the struggle of the Ethiopian people against imperialist and reactionary conspiracies and plans in the Horn of Africa.
- Observance of the Week September 12-18, as a Week of Solidarity with the Ethiopian Revolution.

EL SALVADOR

- Support for the Unified Revolutionary Leadership (DRU) and for the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) as the sole, legitimate representatives of the Salvadoran people. Support also for their Government Programme as the only alternative to solve the profound social and economic crisis and to achieve solid and lasting peace in El Salvador;
- Support for the International Conference of Solidarity with the people of El Salvador.

GRENADA

- Support to the people of Grenada and their revolution.

GUATEMALA

- International Solidarity Campaign with the people of Guatemala in their struggle against the dictatorship; observance of June 27 as International Day of Solidarity;
- Organisation of a tour by Guatemalan representatives to some countries.

HAITI

- Support to the planned Continental Conference of solidarity with the struggle of the Haitian people.

INDONESIA

- Campaign of solidarity with the people of Indonesia, and for the restoration of their political and human rights.

ISRAELI PEACE FORCES

- Support for the peace forces in Israel in their struggle for the complete withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Arab territories and for the realisation of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people.

KAMPUCHEA

- International Campaign of solidarity with the government and people of Kampuchea led by the National United Front for National Salvation;
- International Campaign for the recognition of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea and seating of its representative in the United Nations; exposure of the conspiracies of the Peking hegemonists who are working in collusion with US imperialism against Kampuchea;
- Observance of January 7 (anniversary of the liberation of Kampuchea) as International Day of Solidarity with the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

KOREA

- Support for the peaceful reunification of Korea, without any outside interference. Month of Solidarity with the People of Korea (June 25 to July 28);
- Campaign for the withdrawal of all US troops and armaments, including nuclear armaments from South Korea; and for the ending of all violation of human rights, and for the release of all political prisoners in South Korea;
- Support for the convening of an International conference of peace forces on the reunification of Korea.

LAOS

- International Solidarity Campaign with Laos against the conspiracies of the Peking hegemonists, who are working in collusion with the US imperialists to subvert the independence and sovereignty of Laos.

LEBANON

- Actions in solidarity with the Lebanese national and patriotic movement against Israeli attacks and conspiracies of imperialism and reaction; and for the territorial integrity and democratic development of Lebanon;
- Observance of June 15 as International Day of Solidarity with the people of Lebanon.

LIBYA

- Observance of September 1 as the International Day of Solidarity with the people of Libya Jamahiriya. Campaign against threats of aggression against their territory.

LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OF SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA

- Mass meetings, campaigns and other forms of activities to mark Namibia Day (August 26), Soweto Day (June 16) and South Africa Freedom Day (June 26);
- Intensification of solidarity with the people of South Africa and Namibia and their liberation movements, the ANC (South Africa) and SWAPO (Namibia);

- Full support for national and international events in support of the struggle for the liberation of South Africa and Namibia and in solidarity with the frontline states;
- Demonstrations, meetings and conferences in support of the International Mobilisation for the liberation of South Africa and Namibia, and against all forms of collaboration with the apartheid regime in South Africa;
- Intensification of campaigns launched by the ANC of South Africa for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, and for the treatment of captured freedom-fighters as prisoners of war, in accordance with the relevant Geneva Conventions;
- Launching of appeals for material assistance to children from Namibia and South Africa in refugee camps in neighbouring countries;
- International and national solidarity meetings and other activities to expose the manoeuvres of the apartheid regime aimed at imposing a puppet regime in Namibia;
- Campaigns against nuclearisation of the South Africa apartheid regime;
- Increase of cooperation with the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonisation, ECA and the OAU, on all issues of liberation.

NICARAGUA

- Campaigns in defence of the Nicaraguan Revolution, and to secure the greatest possible assistance for the efforts being made to reconstruct the country.

OMAN

- Solidarity campaign with the people of Oman and with the People's Front of Liberation of Oman for the liquidation of the imperialist military presence in their country and against the reactionary regime in Oman.

PALESTINE

- Support for all activities of the International Committee of Solidarity with the Palestinian people and its initiative for an international solidarity conference;

- Campaign of solidarity with the PLO and for the universal recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Observance of November 29 as the International Day of Solidarity with Palestine.

PARAGUAY

- Solidarity campaigns with the Paraguayan people in their struggle for democracy and human rights.

PUERTO RICO

- International Week of Solidarity with the Struggle for Independence of Puerto Rico (September 23-30).

SYRIA

- Observance of October 25, as International Day of Solidarity with the Syrian People. Support for the struggle of the Syrian people against imperialist and reactionary conspiracies and plans.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

- Campaigns of solidarity with the struggles of the peoples of the USA against racism and for human rights, and for the release of political prisoners. Support, in particular, for the struggles of Blacks, Chicanos, American Indians, Puerto Ricans and other national minorities.

URUGUAY

- International Solidarity Campaign with the Struggle of the Uruguayan People against the fascist dictatorship.

VIETNAM

- International Solidarity Campaign with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam against the threat of another aggression by China made more likely by the emergence of the Washington-Peking axis;
- Visits of delegations of the Vietnamese Peace Committee to various countries on all continents;

- Visits of solidarity delegations of the World Peace Council and of national committees to Vietnam;
- Extensive actions in support of Vietnam on the Anniversary of the victory of the Vietnamese People (April 30) and the National Day (September 2).

WESTERN SAHARA

- Solidarity activities with the people of Western Sahara and their movement, the POLISARIO Front.
- International observance of May 20 as the National Day of the Saharoui People.

DEMOCRATIC YEMEN

- Campaigns of solidarity with the Democratic People's Republic of Yemen against the schemes of the imperialists and the reactionary forces, and for the consolidation of its independence.

XVII. COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED NATIONS AND OTHER INTER-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

- Strengthening cooperation with the United Nations in all possible ways;
- Participation by WPC representatives in the General Assembly and its principal committees; communication with the Security Council; cooperation with the Economic and Social Council and its subsidiary bodies and regional economic commissions; regular communication and meetings with the Secretary General; exchange of views and information with all departments of the Secretariat.
- Cooperation with all UN bodies and agencies such as UNDP, UNESCO, UNCTAD, UNIDO, UNEP, UNICEF, ILO, FAO, WHO, IAEA, UNITAR, the UN Centre on Disarmament, UN Centre on Transnational Corporations, UN Division on Human Rights, UN Commission on Human Rights, UN Council for Namibia, UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, the UN Centre Against Apartheid, UN Special Committee on Decolonisation, the UN Committee on the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, the Division of Public Information, etc.;

- Invitations to representatives of the United Nations and other inter-governmental organisations to participate in WPC events;
- Support for the International Year of Disabled Persons, declared by the UN;
- Cooperation with inter-governmental organisations such as the Conference of the Non-aligned Countries and the Organisation of African Unity;
- Active participation by the WPC and national organisations in major events and conferences of the United Nations;
- Expansion of the work of WPC representatives at the United Nations in New York, Geneva and Vienna and UNESCO headquarters in Paris aiming at strengthening cooperation, relationship and exchange of information.

XVIII. COOPERATION WITH NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

- Regular exchange of publications, information, experience and opinions with other international public organisations on activities, programmes and concrete questions of cooperation and on other important matters of common interest in writing and through visits as well as multilateral consultations with international organisations represented in the Council;
- Joint initiatives (bilateral and multilateral) with other NGOs for the implementation of recommendations worked out at the Workshop on Cooperation among non-governmental organisations at the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace;
- Joint initiatives and actions, bilateral and multilateral (conferences, seminars, appeals, etc.) on the most burning questions and for the implementation of the most important declarations and resolutions of the UN, UNESCO and other specialised agencies;
- Increase of cooperation with NGOs - international, national and regional - including active participation in the NGO Board, NGO Special Committee on Disarmament, NGO Sub-Committee on Racism and Decolonisation, NGO Special Committee on TNCs and other bodies set up by the Conferences of the non-governmental organisations in consultative status with the United Nations (Economic and

- Social Council) and UNESCO;
- Closer cooperation with peace institutes;
- Support of and contribution to the activities of the International Liaison Forum of Peace Forces. Active participation in the International Conference - Dialogue for Disarmament and Detente - end of 1981.

XIX. PUBLICITY, MASS MEDIA AND PUBLIC RELATIONS

- Organisation of an international event on the responsibility of the mass media in the struggle against the arms build-up and the danger of war;
- Organisation of campaigns and hearings on the crime of misinformation and war propaganda;
- Support for the Movement of Non-aligned Countries in its struggle for a New International Information Order;
- Expansion and improvement of the work of the WPC Information Centre;
- Increased support for the WPC Information Centre for Latin America and the Caribbean, organised by the Cuban Peace Movement in Havana;
- Increased support for the WPC Information Centre for International Solidarity, organised in Addis Ababa by the Ethiopian Council for Peace, Friendship and Solidarity;
- Improvement of the contents of "New Perspectives" and "Peace Courier";
- Publications of brochures covering the main items of the WPC Programme of Action for 1981, particularly the issues discussed at the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace. The Information Centre should strive to publish problem-oriented brochures;
- Publication of a special bulletin on the arms build-up and the problems of disarmament;
- Publication of WPC documents and of specialised bulletins on the various problems tackled by the WPC; for use by national committees, specialised bodies and interested persons;
- Improvement of cooperation with various TV and radio networks;
- Establishment of close cooperation with UNESCO and the UN information system, particularly the UN Department on Public Information and information organs of other inter-governmental organisations;

- Improved cooperation with non-governmental organisations specialising in the field of mass media.

XX. CULTURE, EDUCATION, SCIENCE

- Circulation of the decisions of the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace, Sofia, among cultural workers, educationalists and scientists, with the object of involving them in the activities of the peace movement;
- Organisation of national and international competitions in the sphere of culture and the arts;
- Seminars and symposia on the special responsibility and contribution scientists can make toward stopping the arms build-up safeguarding peace and promoting detente;
- Further preparations for the World Congress of Intellectuals for peace, in particular through the organisation of national conferences and congresses with international participation;
- Initiating of and support for such activities as the Greek Committee for International Detente and Peace has launched: production, in cooperation with other national peace committees, of a film, to be widely used by other national peace committees;
- Promotion of cooperation with UNESCO, and among UNESCO NGOs;
- Cooperation of national peace movements with the national UNESCO commissions;
- Commissions for culture, education and science to be set up by the national peace committees;
- Meetings of the WPC Standing Commissions on Culture, Education and Science, during the session of the WPC Presidential Committee;
- Events of various kinds on the occasion of WPC cultural and other anniversaries 1981/82 (publications, exhibitions, seminars, conferences, articles, etc.).

Cultural anniversaries

1981

February 9	Fedor Mikhailovich Dostoyevsky	Russian writer	100th anniversary of death
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March 25	Béla Bartók	Hungarian composer	100th anniversary of birth
March 25	Marie Kuderikova	Czechoslovak national heroine antifascist fighter	60th anniversary of birth
March 28	Modest P. Mussorgsky	Russian composer	100th anniversary of death
May 22	Johannes R. Becher	German socialist poet and writer	90th anniversary of birth
May	Kamal Ataturk	Turkish leader	100th anniversary of birth
July 16	Don Fernando Ortíz	Humanist, scientist and Cuban writer	100th anniversary of birth
August 6	Sir Alexander Fleming	English biochemist, discoverer of penicillin, Nobel Prize-winner	100th anniversary of birth
August 14	First presentation of discovery of the transmission agent of Yellow Fever by Carlos J. Finlay		100th anniversary
October 13	Eugenie Cotton	French scientist peace activist	100th anniversary of birth
October 25	Pablo Picasso	Spanish painter	100th anniversary of birth
November 29	Andres Bello	Venezuelan writer	200th anniversary of birth
	Almany Samory Toure	African freedom fighter	100th anniversary of birth

1982

January 20	Nazim Hikmet	Turkish poet	80th anniversary of birth
March 22	Johann Wolfgang Goethe	German poet	150th anniversary of death

XXI. ACTIONS FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT

- Assisting national movements in the development of activities of their environmental sections and groups;
- Encouraging the organization of national and regional events in the field of environment;
- Dissemination of information on the most topical environmental issues related to the activities of the world peace movement;
- Further strengthening of cooperation with the United Nations Environmental Programme and other concerned U.N. agencies, international, regional and national organisations and institutions; WPC direct participation in UNEP programmes and initiatives;
- Organisation of a Seminar on environmental problem (May 1981, Czechoslovakia);
- Participation in the U.N. conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy (August, Nairobi).

XXII. PARLAMENTARIANS FOR PEACE

- Meeting of the WPC Standing Commission of Parliamentarians to discuss participation of the parliamentarians and other elected representatives in the activities for peace both inside the respective bodies and as members of the national peace movements;
- Formation of peace groups in all parliaments. These groups should exchange information among each other and with peace forces in other parliaments; and should inform the WPC of peace activities in parliaments;
- Parliamentarians who are active peace workers to become

more involved in the existing international parliamentary organisations.

XXIII. TRADE UNIONISTS FOR PEACE

- Meeting of WPC Standing Commission of Trade Unionists, to examine further steps to draw trade unionist to peace activity;
- Support for planned national and international conference of trade unionists on social and economic consequences of the arms build up, and for disarmament;

XXIV. WOMEN FOR PEACE

- Participation in the work of the second half of the Women's Decade, follow-up of the UN Conference and NGO Forum in Copenhagen 1980; and the Programme of Action for Equality, Development and Peace;
- Encouragement of women's active participation, through national committees and international organisations, in all campaigns for disarmament and detente, using the Sofia Appeal of the World Parliament of Peoples for Peace;
- Special actions by women during the UN Disarmament Week (October 24-20) against new nuclear weapons and all weapons of mass destruction;
- Support for International Women's Day (March 8) as a day of action for peace and disarmament;
- Special support and solidarity to be extended to women and children struggling against oppression, aggression, fascism and racism;
- Steps to ensure greater participation by women in WPC events, through national committees, trade unions, and other organisations;
- Encouragement of exchange of information and materials featuring the many initiatives taken by women for peace;

XXV. RELIGIOUS CIRCLES FOR PEACE

- Development and strengthening of cooperation with international, regional and national religious organisations;

Exchange of views, through bilateral meetings and visits of delegations, with individual religious organisations;
Meetings with leaders of various religions to offer the World Peace Council's cooperation and support in all initiatives taken by them for peace;

Sending of delegations to the Holy See and its Papal Commission "Justicia et Pax", to the World Council of Churches, the World Fellowship of Buddhism and other official religious bodies interested in peace work, to discuss with them WPC work for peace.

Development of the activities of the WPC Standing Commission of representatives of Religious Circles.

XVI. YOUTH AND STUDENTS FOR PEACE

Assistance in the development of activities of the youth sections of national peace committees (youth days and weeks);

Organisation of youth and student meetings, round tables and forums, wherever useful, as part of the WPC major events;

Cooperation with the United Nations, UNESCO and other UN bodies in their activities concerning youth and students and their problems. Support for and active participation in the preparations for the United Nations 1985 International Youth Year;

Assistance to and participation in the initiatives and actions of international youth and student organisations, particularly the joint campaigns of non-governmental youth organisations;

Support for the World Forum of Youth and Students for Peace, Detente and Disarmament (Helsinki, January 1981).

XVII. FUND-RAISING ACTIONS

Intensified fund-raising campaigns for national organisations and for the WPC;

Special collections for each particular event and other financial measures to facilitate the realisation of the WPC Programme of Action;

Contribution from national committees to WPC meetings

- and delegations by hosting them and sharing in expenses;
- Information on fund-raising activities to be published monthly in the "Peace Courier";
- Subscriptions to WPC publications;
- Solidarity concerts, records and cassettes to be sold for peace funds;
- Exchange of typical national products for sale at peace bazaars, etc.
- Peace lotteries;
- Sale of reproductions of works by friendly artists.

XXVIII. PEACE RESEARCH AND STUDIES

- Contribution to seminars and symposia organised by national committees as well as by research institutions devoted to the study of various aspects of the struggle for peace, disarmament, national independence, justice and social progress;
- Emphasis on detailed preparation by experts' groups of all activities undertaken by the movement - at all levels.

**International
Communication
Agency**

United States of America

Washington, D. C. 20547

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memo"*



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MEMORANDUM FOR: All Recipients of "Soviet Propaganda Alert"

FROM: John Hughes *JH*
Associate Director
(Programs)

SUBJECT: "Soviet Propaganda Alert II"

Enclosed is the second issue of "Soviet Propaganda Alert" produced by our Office of Research. This publication is part of ICA's PROJECT TRUTH information program to counter Soviet disinformation practices and spread the truth about U.S. policy and objectives. The "Alert" is sent to USICA posts around the world to provide background information for our staff.

PROJECT TRUTH

Soviet Propaganda Alert

No. 2

November 27, 1981

Re: Project Truth

Summary

Overall themes and techniques of Soviet propaganda remain virtually unchanged from those reported in the first number of this series. However, specific incidents have triggered major Soviet efforts to take advantage of transitory themes which fit into ongoing propaganda patterns.

The theme of war and peace has been the main focus of Soviet media. In addition, many American officials and government agencies have come under frequent attack in recent Soviet propaganda.

Recent Soviet efforts are designed:

- o to picture President Reagan's disarmament proposals as a propaganda ploy.
- o to convince Europeans that the U.S. would, in the event of war, abandon them to the Soviet Union if by doing so the United States itself could avoid nuclear attack.
- o to turn public opinion in Europe and elsewhere against the NATO plan to modernize its theater nuclear forces (TNF) and thus to achieve Soviet aims at minimum cost.
- o to undermine the credibility of the Reagan Administration's foreign policy, and especially its recent offensive against Soviet active measures.
- o to divert attention from Soviet wrongdoing in Afghanistan and Poland.

End Summary

I. THEMES

A. The President's Speech on Arms Reduction Talks

Initial Soviet media response to President Reagan's November 19 speech criticized the U.S. "zero option" as unrealistic and unfair, an attempt to regain U.S. military superiority in Europe. Soviet media characterized the Reagan proposal as a "propaganda ruse" intended simultaneously to soften opposition--particularly in Western Europe--to U.S. and NATO military plans for Europe, and to block the upcoming Geneva negotiations, while trying to cast blame for the deadlock on the Soviets.

A flood of Soviet media commentary on the Reagan speech seemed primarily designed to blunt its positive impact upon worldwide audiences by discrediting it as a serious arms control initiative. Perhaps out of concern that Reagan might be upstaging Brezhnev on the eve of the latter's trip to Bonn, Soviet media commentators reemphasized the seriousness and steadfastness of Brezhnev's peace policy, contrasting that to alleged U.S. "posturing" and suspiciously "sudden" interest in peace.

Soviet media commentary stressed the following points:

- o "Rough parity" between the military power of both sides now exists in Europe. Figures cited by President Reagan to show alleged Soviet superiority are "fantastic." (Soviet media provided a counter set of figures.)
- o Acceptance of the American proposal would mean a return to the imbalance which formerly prevailed. The present Soviet defense potential in Europe would be eliminated while U.S. forward-based systems and British and French submarine-based missiles and nuclear bombers would remain untouched. Thus for this and other reasons, the "zero option" does not take Soviet security needs into account.
- o By deliberately offering a proposal they themselves realize is unacceptable, U.S. leaders are trying to create the impression "among the uninformed" that they are seriously interested in arms reduction in Europe. Actually, this maneuver is yet another indication that the U.S. is approaching the Geneva talks with an unconstructive attitude: the U.S. side would like to see a breakdown of the talks "that could be used as an excuse for the continuation of the arms race."

The Soviet media quoted extensively from Western media analyses to support their arguments. They also continued to give prominent play to material treated as evidence of a "warmongering attitude"

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on the part of the U.S., such as information on U.S. military appropriations and recent statements by U.S. officials on "limited nuclear war" and "nuclear warning shots."

B. War and Peace

The recent focus of Soviet propaganda has been, overwhelmingly, war and peace. Soviet media have painted the U.S. as the enemy of peace, the instigator of a new arms race, an opponent of arms limitations talks, and a proponent of nuclear war.

While alleging America's "trigger-happy" attitude toward war and nuclear weapons, Soviet propaganda emphasizes the "peaceloving" nature of Soviet policies. The centerpiece of this campaign has been the so-called interview Leonid Brezhnev granted to the West German journal Der Spiegel in November. In this lengthy exposition, the CPSU General Secretary denies that his country seeks military superiority over the U.S. and disclaims any Soviet belief in the "winnability" of a nuclear war. Brezhnev insists that the USSR desires serious arms negotiations and that the U.S. is obstructing such talks.

Soviet media have given much play to the antiwar movements in Western Europe and pictured them as exclusively anti-American instead of antinuclear (i.e., against both U.S. and Soviet arms). This propaganda tries to turn the concern of many Europeans over nuclear conflict into a Soviet weapon to obtain the unilateral cessation of NATO's TNF modernization program while permitting continued Soviet deployment of SS-20 missiles.

Because Soviet propagandists know that their own and other publics tend to discount official Soviet statements, they quote liberally from American and Western leaders--generally out of context or with distorted interpretation added--to bolster their points. Thus, statements by President Reagan on the possibility of a "limited nuclear war," by General Schweitzer on current Soviet designs, and by Secretary of State Haig on certain NATO contingency plans have all figured prominently in recent Soviet propaganda. (See also following section.)

In pushing the image of the U.S. as a warmonger and the greatest threat to world peace, the Soviet Union has made a number of claims and charges, such as:

- o the U.S. is plotting an invasion of Libya under the pretext of its Bright Star joint military exercises in the Mideast.
- o the U.S. plans to deploy neutron weapons in the People's Republic of China.
- o the U.S. plans to invade the Caribbean nation of Grenada.

- o the U.S. refuses to support the Soviet-backed U.N. treaty on weapons in space, an obvious sign of American intention to put "weapons of mass destruction" into space.
- o the U.S. is waging war against Cuba with chemical and bacteriological weapons and is training forces for an invasion of Cuba.
- o the AWACS sale to Saudi Arabia presages a vast expansion of the U.S. military presence in the Middle East and indicates an American intention to use its military forces in areas where it claims (unjustifiably) a U.S. national interest.

Thus, for example, the Soviet military newspaper Red Star on October 18 claimed that "Washington regards the upcoming series of U.S. Armed Forces maneuvers . . . as a 'dress rehearsal' for an invasion of Libya and as a means of forcible pressure on other Arab countries." And a TASS broadcast on November 1 charged that

the United States is trying to secure for itself the long-awaited possibility to deploy its armed forces in the Middle East on a long-term basis, which fully meets the aspirations of U.S. imperialism to establish dominance over that strategically sensitive part of the world.

Soviet organs also continue to reiterate elements of the Soviet "peace offensive" first sketched at the 26th Party Congress in February-March 1981: e.g., the call for nuclear-free zones in Europe, and a new Mideast multinational peace conference to supplant the Camp David accords.

C. Vilification of U.S. Officials and Agencies

Soviet media have devoted much time and space to attacks on and citation of certain American officials. Among those most frequently and most sharply attacked in the past month have been: President Reagan, Vice President Bush, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, Secretary of State Alexander Haig, Secretary of the Navy John Lehman, ICA Director Charles Wick, ACDA head Eugene Rostow, former NSC staffer General Robert Schweitzer, and two U.S. diplomats. Most often attacked has been Secretary Weinberger, with Secretary Haig a close second.

Two apparent motives lie behind these attacks. First, many of these officials have been on the offensive against the Soviet Union in recent weeks. Second, as noted above, Soviet propagandists think that quoting and misquoting Western officials lends more authority to their work.

The President's comment that he could, in certain circumstances, envision a nuclear engagement confined to Europe alone, has drawn much fire from Soviet media. In keeping with public Soviet mili-

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tary doctrine, Brezhnev (in Der Spiegel) and Defense Minister Ustinov (at the November 7 anniversary celebration)--as well as many other Soviet commentators--have insisted that the USSR does not agree with the concept of "limited nuclear war." They claim that any nuclear exchange between NATO and Warsaw Pact members would inevitably lead to a major nuclear conflagration.

Such efforts seem geared to fan anti-American and anti-NATO feelings in Western Europe. Thus, Soviets apparently hope to spread doubt and disaffection among the NATO allies.

Notable examples of personal attacks are:

- o After publication of the Department of Defense report Soviet Military Power, Secretary Weinberger became a lightning rod for Soviet abuse, including many personal attacks. In a Pravda piece entitled "In a Propagandistic Hysteria" (October 1), a Soviet commentator implied that the Defense Secretary's "anti-Sovietism" amounted to a kind of mental imbalance. Noting that "anti-Soviet hallucinations" had brought former Defense Secretary James Forrestal to a "bad end" (suicide), he expressed fear that the present Pentagon chief might succumb to "the same illness." At bottom, this and other articles portray Weinberger and the U.S. as seeking military superiority over the USSR.
- o Secretary of State Haig has been the object of Soviet assault for a variety of public statements, e.g., that the U.S. would like to see a more moderate, pro-U.S. regime in Iran, that NATO might consider use of a nuclear weapon as a "demonstration," and that the U.S. intends to ensure its leadership in the Middle East with an American military presence in the region. Most of these remarks have been interpreted by Soviet commentators as evidence of American desire to dominate various areas of the globe and to interfere in the domestic affairs of other nations.
- o Statements of officials such as Bush, Rostow, and Lehman have all been used by Soviet propagandists to bolster their claims that the U.S. pursues a policy of singleminded self-interest, primarily by military means, to the detriment of other countries. Soviet media portray U.S. policy as seeking American dominance over its allies, neighbors, and others--especially less developed countries.
- o Particularly intense have been Soviet-inspired attacks against two American diplomats, Ambassador Barnes to India and Ambassador Ortiz to Peru. Non-Soviet media with close ties to the USSR originally accused both men of being CIA agents. In a classic pattern, the Soviet media then picked up and spread the stories. Such unfounded charges are designed to embarrass American public servants and to complicate bilateral relations with the nations involved. But they endanger the lives of U.S. diplomats because alleged CIA agents often become "fair game" for terrorists worldwide.

Some individuals and agencies in the U.S. engaged in international information and cultural exchange activities have been prime targets for Soviet media attacks.

The International Communication Agency (ICA) has been depicted by Soviet media as a powerful and "far-flung" propaganda apparatus leading U.S. "anti-Soviet and antisocialist" propaganda operations.

ICA is charged with having close ties to the CIA; some Soviet commentaries, such as a November 5 TASS item, characterize ICA as "nothing more than a branch of the CIA." The Voice of America (VOA) is the ICA component most often singled out for attack, and the recently inaugurated "Project Truth" has also drawn specific criticism. Soviet media have accused ICA/VOA of, among other things, spreading fabrications which glorify the West and "blacken" socialism," and interfering in the internal affairs of other countries (most importantly, Poland) with the purpose of encouraging instability and subversion.

The Central Intelligence Agency itself has also come under regular fire from Soviet media, both for its alleged foreign involvements and for current attempts to change its mandate. Charges of CIA "crimes" against Panama's Torrijos, Cuba, etc. are noted below. But Soviet propaganda has been especially attentive to the proposed changes in laws which would enable the CIA to operate at home against enemies of the U.S. The Soviets accuse the Reagan administration of trying to turn the CIA into a domestic spying operation which would endanger the civil liberties of all Americans, particularly those who do not agree with administration policies.

D. The U.S. as Moral Monster Abroad and at Home

Soviet propagandists' ongoing efforts to portray the United States in the worst possible light can be seen in their charges of "amoral" and "immoral" U.S. activities, such as:

- o The U.S. constantly interferes in the internal affairs of other nations: in Poland, where the U.S. allegedly fans the flames of antisocialism in the Solidarity union; in Spain, where the U.S. is supposedly pressuring that nation to join NATO; in El Salvador, where--it is claimed--a legitimate national liberation movement is being blocked with U.S. support; and in Afghanistan, where the U.S. (and China) are accused of fomenting and abetting resistance to the Soviet puppet regime.
- o The United States uses military, political, and economic means to exploit Third World nations for the benefit of its multinational companies, monopoly capital, and the military-industrial complex.

(over)

- o The U.S. uses its leverage unfairly against its own allies--forcing the Japanese to increase their military spending, the Europeans to acquiesce to U.S.-inspired NATO plans that only threaten war, and Egypt to submit to an expansion of the American military presence in the Mideast.
- o The United States in general and the CIA in particular have engaged in heinous crimes against individuals and nations. The U.S. was behind the death of Panama's General Torrijos, was somehow involved in the assassination of President Sadat of Egypt, and is currently using outlawed chemical and biological weapons against Cuba.
- o The Reagan administration's domestic economic program squeezes the poor and weak while helping the rich and powerful. The American worker is either ignored or consciously overburdened so that those in the so-called ruling elite may increase their own wealth. Most harmed by current policies are minority groups.

II. TECHNIQUES

Diversion of Attention from Soviet Wrongs

One of the most widely practiced Soviet propaganda techniques, diversion, has been frequently used in the past month. The most recent example occurred when a Soviet nuclear-equipped submarine ran aground in Swedish territorial waters. The incident, with the submarine obviously on an intelligence-gathering mission, garnered the Soviets much hostile publicity and considerable adverse reaction among European publics. Yet within a few days of the sub's release, Soviet media were again hyping the Soviet plan for a Nordic nuclear-free zone. And shortly thereafter TASS, the official Soviet press agency, accused the Swedes, albeit indirectly, of spying on Soviet communications systems for NATO.

They continue to utilize the diversionary technique to distract attention from their own huge military buildup, Soviet wrongdoing in Afghanistan and the Third World, and Soviet use of chemical and biological warfare (CBW). For example, as the United States began to demonstrate with hard evidence that the USSR uses and supplies lethal agents in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan, the Soviet Union unleashed a massive attack on the U.S. for use of chemical weapons in Vietnam and of bacteriological warfare against Cuba (an allegation made by Fidel Castro).

As the Cancun summit was unfolding, the Soviet media tried to paper over the Soviet absence at the conference and the USSR's meager aid program to nonsocialist developing nations by vilifying the U.S. and the West as colonial exploiters of the Third World. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is almost ignored in

Soviet media, which blame instability there on Western interference. Continuing Soviet difficulties in subduing the indigenous Afghan resistance are blamed on the U.S. and China--supposedly the instigators and direct supporters of the freedom fighters in Afghanistan.

When the Pentagon released its report on Soviet Military Power, the immediate Soviet response was to step up attacks on U.S. military power and the planned Reagan administration enhancement of American military capabilities. By falsifying efforts, they have tried to show that one photograph of a Soviet computer is not what it purports to be and by this device to call into question the entire text. (See Kornilov item in Izvestiia for October 20.)

In short, Soviet propaganda not only indulges in coverups and omissions, it often is reduced to name-calling. The theory behind this technique seems to be that Soviet policies, behavior, and even intentions are always irreproachable.

Prepared by: PGM/R staff