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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
179790	PAPERS	RE SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURESQ	20	9/16/1982	B1

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

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- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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few minutes ago. I had already said what the amendment was. It had 35 cosponsors, and it never occurred to me that anything as innocuous as apple pie and motherhood would be objectionable.

Mr. DENTON. Mr. President, I am frankly surprised and disappointed that the substance of Senate Joint Resolution 251, in the form of a second-degree amendment to a Moynihan first-degree amendment to the continuing resolution, has just passed by unanimous consent of this body. Both Senator EAST and I registered written objections to the resolution and also requested in writing that we be notified in advance in the event of its consideration on the floor as an amendment. Our written objections were filed with the majority leader on the evening of September 28, 1982, and I ask that a copy be included in the RECORD following my statement.

My purpose in placing a hold on the resolution and amendment was to allow the Senate time to examine fully the National Advisory Council of Peace Links, an antinuclear war group based in Washington, D.C., and a behind-the-scenes sponsor of this resolution.

In my capacity as chairman of the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, I regularly have access to information that does not normally come to the attention of other Senators. In this connection, I could not help but note that two of the member organizations of the National Advisory Council of Peace Links have been publicly identified as, or linked by the Department of State with, Soviet controlled front organizations. These are the Women Strike for Peace, an affiliate of the Soviet controlled Women's International Democratic Federation, and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. In addition, I note that other sponsors are the radical left-oriented United States Student Association and the Committee for National Security, which was established by the radical left-oriented Institute for Policy Studies.

Mr. President, the fact of the KGB's involvement in the so-called peace movement is well documented. I therefore ask unanimous consent that documents published by Peace Links and some of its questionable component organizations be placed in the RECORD following my statement. I also ask that two State Department reports dealing with some of these groups, a report by Western Goals on the "Soviet Peace Offensive," and the April 16, 1982, Information Digest also be placed in the RECORD at the same point.

Finally, I ask that a reprint of an article from the Readers Digest by John Barron, entitled "The KGB's Magical War for 'Peace,'" be placed in the RECORD at this point. Mr. Barron, my colleagues will recall, is the author of the definitive "KGB: The Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents."

Mr. President, let me again state for the record that my purpose in seeking a delay in the consideration of this measure was to afford us time to give close scrutiny to an organization that, however unwittingly, lends itself to exploitation by the Soviet Union in its campaign to promote unilateral U.S. disarmament.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEPTEMBER 28, 1982.

HON. HOWARD BAKER,
Majority Leader,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR HOWARD: Per our conversation, this will confirm the objection to any time agreement to the consideration of the National Peace Day amendment during Senate floor action on H.J. Res. 599, the Continuing Resolution. If any further time agreement is proposed, please notify the undersigned.

Sincerely,

JOHN EAST,
JEREMIAH DENTON.

PEACE LINKS—WOMEN AGAINST NUCLEAR WAR
PEACE IS WOMEN'S VALUES

"... Women who have been working for their rights are also working for their values: values that put caretaking before missiles, love before glory, the urge to survive over the urge to fight."—Ellen Goodman, Columnist.

PEACE IS PARTICIPATION

"... Women are a voice for peace. War is archaic and obsolete."—Mary Grefe, Past President, American Association of University Women.

PEACE IS PATRIOTISM

"... I want people to show their love and patriotism for our country by rallying around the flag of peace."—Betty Bumpers, Founder and President, Peace Links.

WHAT IS PEACE LINKS?

Through their own informal networks and organizations, women have begun expressing to one another the unthinkable dangers confronting our world and the necessity of promoting fundamental human values in the formulation of national security policies.

New voices are raising questions about nuclear weapons and the arms race. Women are measuring values rooted in nurturing and the protection of life against statistics of death and destruction unparalleled in the history of the world, and they find that these values grow dim under the shadow of nuclear war.

People concerned about these issues reside in small towns, in the rural south, in the farmbelt and the sunbelt, as well as the cities. They come from traditions where patriotism runs deep and the idea that citizenship brings responsibility is strong. These very traditions are causing them to question the basic assumptions which have led us to the brink of the most horrible cataclysm ever imaginable. While their questions and concerns vary, a common thread runs through them all: "We don't have the answers to such complicated questions about national security and nuclear war, but something is terribly, terribly wrong. Together with our leaders we must find another way."

WHY PEACE LINKS?

Peace Links—Woman Against Nuclear War arose out of the growing concern of middle American women about the danger of nuclear war. Its goal is to foster aware-

ness and increase participation among women and families at the community, state, national, and international levels on the critical issues of nuclear war, the arms race, and the alternative proposals for a world at peace.

Civic and church groups, social and professional associations, schools, garden clubs, Junior Leagues, Jaycettes, and other community groups became the forums for discussing nuclear war concerns. Peace Links became the means for linking these women with organizations from which they could learn about the issues, and for organizing and exercising leadership within their own communities.

Peace Links continues to work through traditional community groups and state chapters to help women learn more about these issues, express their concerns, organize for action, affiliate with other groups, support leaders committed to ending the threat of nuclear war and human destruction, and educate their children toward involvement in the democratic process.

HOW DID PEACE LINKS BEGIN?

Mrs. Betty Bumpers, wife of Senator Dale Bumpers of Arkansas, and a former school teacher and leader of a national immunization campaign, is the founder of Peace Links—Women Against Nuclear War. Betty's personal interest was ignited through conversations with her family and their friends who expressed deep anxiety and concern about nuclear war. Alarmed, Mrs. Bumpers began talking with other mothers and discovered identical experiences. Children six years old and older believed there would be a nuclear war in their lifetimes and that their families would not survive.

On a trip to Arkansas in January, 1982, Betty Bumpers invited 35 women representatives of a wide range of political, social, and religious groups to a meeting in Little Rock, Arkansas. The response was stunning. The women decided to form a statewide coordinating council called "Peace Links". An office was donated by the State Nursing Association, and the Winthrop Rockefeller Foundation granted seed money.

Mrs. Bumpers hosted a statewide meeting on March 2, 1982 for women who wanted to organize their counties. This gathering drew 150 women representing 11 of Arkansas' 75 counties. Since that day, Mrs. Bumpers has spoken to meetings of concerned women in approximately 65 Arkansas counties, as well as to numerous groups in other states.

WHEN IS "PEACEDAY"?

Peaceday is to be a celebration of peace, October 10, 1982. States may organize celebrations as appropriate and timely. Arkansas, for example, the PEACE LINKS model state, plans a variety of celebrations throughout the state. They may encompass family picnics and peace fairs at schools and colleges as a symbol that education is part of the political process. Local, state and national officials and candidates may speak, and bands and the singing of national and state anthems will figure in the celebrations of peace.

ON Peaceday 1982 and in subsequent years, the theme tying together all of the peace festivals will be the gathering of families to express their views on the nuclear threat... to ask publicly that alternatives to war be developed by local, state, and national leaders... to demonstrate that the Flag can be a rallying point for peace no war... to share the truth that out of women's fear of nuclear war a movement can grow to help remove the threat of nuclear war to all human life. Peaceday 1983 and 1984 will be times for grassroots

women's groups to announce their own alternatives to war.

WHO ARE THE PEACE LINKS WOMEN?

Since Peace Links has become a national effort, plans based upon the Arkansas success are being developed for organizing Peace Links campaigns in 15 states in the coming months, i.e., Arkansas, West Virginia, North Carolina, Massachusetts, Tennessee, Iowa, Oregon, Michigan, Minnesota, Utah, Missouri, Wisconsin, New Mexico, New Hampshire, Nebraska, and the Washington Metropolitan Area. By the end of 1983 Peace Links plans to be organized in all 50 states.

Prominent women in those states will take active roles in organizing Peace Links activities. Plans at the national level have benefited from the experience and advice of a working National Advisory Council whose members are affiliated with the organizations listed below:

American Association of University Women, Committee for National Security, Educators for Social Responsibility, Forum Institute, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Ground Zero, Women Strike for Peace, National Peace Academy Campaign, Peace Corps Institute, Rural American Women, United States Student Association, Women's Economic Roundtable, Women's International League for Peace & Freedom, Federation of American Scientists.

The Advisory Council assists in the organizational development of Peace Links, assists in the selection of target states, explores opportunities for international activities, and provides support to the state Peace Links campaigns.

YOUR ROLE IN PEACE LINKS

Learn as much as you can about nuclear weapons and the arms build-up, including how public funds are expended upon weapons, and to understand that concern about nuclear weapons is a global issue.

Organize within your civic groups, senior citizens, professional and social organizations, garden clubs, PTA's churches and synagogues to talk about nuclear issues and anxieties, and invite public policymakers to participate in your forums.

Affiliate with organizations which have developed expertise and materials on nuclear issues for the general public.

Link up with at least one human being from Europe, the Soviet Union, Asia, Africa, Canada, or Latin America to better understand that nuclear war affects all people in all countries.

Vote. The United States led the way into the nuclear age with the atom bomb. With the unique access to political decision-making which democracy affords, U.S. citizens are empowered to help lead the world out of the nuclear age.

MEDIA REPORTS ON THE PEACE LINKS PROCESS

"The disarmament campaign is directed toward women, Mrs. Bumpers said, because it is the ultimate parenting issue."—New York Times, May 26, 1982.

"Now the considerable talents of Mrs. Betty Bumpers have been turned toward what is surely the number one concern today: the threat of nuclear war and the pressing need for disarmament negotiations. She is spearheading a new movement known as 'Peace Links' . . . not just another big bureau with a hierarchy of authority and command . . . Instead, this is a grassroots network for women committed to the disarmament point of view and wanting to know how they might take part in it."—Senator David Pryor, Congressional Record, May 27, 1982.

"She said that because of their responsibilities as wives and mothers, women have

assumed a nurturing role and are more willing to admit that war in today's world is 'obsolete.' And, it is obsolete because any outbreak—however small, in whatever corner of the world—carries the double-edge threat of escalating into a worldwide nuclear catastrophe."—Northwest Arkansas Morning News, May 19, 1982.

ISSUES WOMEN ARE RAISING

How we spend our public money.—This country and others are rapidly converting precious resources needed to meet human problems and develop our civilian economies into arms that we dare not use. People in responsible decision-making roles must be asked how and why the money is being spent.

The risks of getting into nuclear war.—Since our government and others are using public money to fuel the arms race, we are creating a climate in which nuclear war can occur. The possibilities of such a war starting by accident alone are staggering. Hard questions must be asked about contributing further to a propulsion toward extinction.

The Soviet threat.—Both the U.S. and the Soviet Union responses to the highly complex arena of world politics have contributed to nuclear war threats.

How do Russian women feel?—We hope that the women of the Soviet Union, just as all women of the world, share our concern for the future of our children.

Bringing our values to bear upon political leaders.—As mothers and teachers, can we not work together to influence politicians and technical experts to find alternatives to nuclear war?

PEACE LINKS—WOMEN AGAINST NUCLEAR WAR

HOW TO CELEBRATE PEACEDAY 1982

Individuals.—Read a book on the subject of nuclear weaponry or peace.

Have a Peace party and invite your friends over to talk about current issues and what can be done.

Write a letter to the editor, or to your governmental representatives expressing your opinions.

Organize a study group to discuss disarmament issues.

Propose that your club or church put nuclear war on its agenda.

Encourage your family to become involved in this issue.

Clubs and Churches.—Invite community, religious and government leaders to speak about disarmament issues and proposals.

Sponsor speech, writing, art or music competitions for young people, with peace as the theme.

Encourage other organizations to band together to celebrate Peaceday.

Sponsor out-of-town speakers' or celebrities' travel to your town for Peaceday.

Publish facts and figures about national security for community-wide dissemination.

Communities.—Designate a gathering place for a Peaceday picnic and parade.

Request that all church bells be rung at a specific time.

Have County or City Council proclaim October 10th Peaceday.

Have local, state and national flags presented at the beginning of the celebration.

Involve school and college bands and choruses in providing patriotic music.

WHAT IS PEACE LINKS?

Founded in early 1982 by Betty Bumpers, Peace Links is an organizing effort aimed at stimulating interest in national security issues among traditional women's organizations. Peaceday is an opportunity for families and communities to come together to celebrate peace and security.

PEACEDAY FESTIVAL

Join Us—You could make all the difference!—Oct. 10, 1982. This is the day selected in S.J. Res. 251.

Activities include: Clowns and mimes, strolling musicians, folk singers, dancers, puppet show, bands, jousting tournament. 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. in the Constitution Gardens. Enter at 18th or 19th Streets, or Constitution Ave. Bring your picnic—rain or shine, or hot dogs, hamburgers, soft drinks can be purchased.

At 3 o'clock, churches of all denominations will ring their bells for PEACE.

Speakers: Mayo^{ors}, Members of Congress, national officials, prominent citizens.

Sponsored by: Peace Links—Women Against Nuclear War.

[From the New York Times, May 26, 1982]

POLITICIANS' WIVES AND "PEACE LINKS"

(By Barbara Gamarekian)

WASHINGTON, May 25.—When Betty Bumpers sat down with friends to put together an organization that would encourage women to get involved in the nuclear arms debate, they puzzled over what to call themselves.

"One woman said, 'We can't use the word peace because it has a bad connotation,'" Mrs. Bumpers recalled. "And I sort of dumbly agreed, 'Yeah, that's right.' And then it hit me, to think that we had reached the point of thinking in this country that the word peace was unacceptable. What the heck, we said, we'll use it anyway."

Mrs. Bumpers, whose husband, Dale, used to be Governor of Arkansas and is now a Democratic Senator from that state, has been on the stump in behalf of disarmament and is an organizer of "Peace Links," a fledgling Washington-based operation that hopes to act as a grass-roots clearinghouse for women, putting them in touch with organizations already working on disarmament.

NUMBERS AREN'T IMPORTANT

"What we want to do is to tap into every woman's organization across the country, from garden clubs to church groups, and have them put nuclear awareness on their agenda," said Mrs. Bumpers, a 57-year-old mother of three. "We want women to know that they shouldn't be put off by the technical vocabulary."

"I don't try to be an expert and remember all the facts and figures myself," she said. "I don't play the numbers game, because the numbers aren't important. All you really have to know is that we already have more than enough nuclear weapons to annihilate each other, that the scientists who developed this weapon say it is a war in which no one wins and that the chance of it happening by accident is increased by every additional warhead that is built."

Mrs. Bumpers, who has recently returned from two months of traveling and speaking on the issue in her home state, said that the comments she received "made me forget to be nervous."

With the help of a grant from the Winthrop Rockefeller Foundation, more than 2,000 women are now involved in the Arkansas pilot program; 32 of the state's 75 counties have coordinators and there is a state headquarters in Little Rock.

The disarmament campaign is directed toward women, Mrs. Bumpers said, because it is the ultimate parenting issue. "Women have been socialized to think about the nurturing aspect. Their young are at jeopardy, they don't want their children to be the last generation."

PROMINENT VOLUNTEERS

The national effort is just getting off the ground with a Washington office and the appointment of Nancy Graham, formerly with the Peace Corps, as national coordinator and some seed money from the Rockefeller Family Fund. There are grant proposals before other foundations, and a number of prominent volunteers: Rosalynn Carter in Georgia; Sharon Rockefeller, wife of Gov. Jay Rockefeller, in West Va.; Barbara Levin, wife of Democratic Senator Carl Levin, in Michigan; Teresa Heinz, wife of Republican Senator John Heinz in Pennsylvania, and Nicola Tsongas, wife of Democratic Senator Paul Tsongas, in Massachusetts.

"It is a difficult thing for politicians' wives to get into, for it can be perceived as a partisan issue," said Mrs. Bumpers. Her own husband, she said, wasn't particularly keen about her early efforts, but has changed his mind.

A rally is planned for October 10th, three weeks before election, Mrs. Bumpers said, adding: "I say to women: Let your political leaders know how you feel. We put them in and we can take them out. Let them find some answers for us."

[From Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Philadelphia, Pa., Sept. 21, 1982]

WOMEN'S VOTING BLOCK: NOVEMBER, 1982

(Contact: Donna Cooper, Program Director, (215) 563-7110 or Jane Midgley, Legislative Director (202) 546-8644.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, a sixty-seven year old organization, called this press conference to highlight the growing political power of women in this country, especially in the area of opposing the arms race.

Women have always played a leading role in opposing the nuclear arms race. In the sixties, women were instrumental in pushing for an end to above-ground testing of atomic bombs. Women are now leaders in the Nuclear Freeze Campaign and in other peace efforts. When this is combined with women's increased voting power, candidates running for office will have to respond.

Polls and census surveys taken in the last year have shown that for the first time since winning the right to vote 61 years ago, women are voting in a markedly different way than men. Pollsters attribute this difference to women's greater support for women's issues and with a greater support for peace. According to the New York Times, "many public opinion experts believe that the partisan shift in the political views of women originated with distrust of President Reagan and a fear that he was ready to risk a war." (6/30/82)

The statistics also show that women are voting at roughly the same level as men for the first time, and that by 1984 the percentage of women voting would exceed the percentage of men. When these facts are linked to recent results of a poll conducted by Louis Harris showing that 56% of voters say that they would vote against a candidate for Congress this fall, if that candidate wanted to escalate the arms race, it is clear that women's greater commitment to peace can make a significant impact on public policy in the area of disarmament.

According to Yvonne Logan, President of the U.S. Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, "Our membership has leaped by the thousands since January. This clearly illustrates to us the new sentiment and power among women in the U.S. We believe the strength of the women's vote renewed commitment to peace will determine the outcome of many elections this fall."

The Women's International League is collecting one million signatures from American women in our Stop the Arms Race campaign (STAR). Our members in 90 branches and hundreds of other women are collecting these signatures across the country. This week our members in Missouri, Illinois, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, California, Ohio, Washington, New York, and Massachusetts will be meeting with candidates for election and reelection to get on record their views on peace issues.

We join together with other women leaders to insure that the impact of the women's vote will demonstrate the collective power of women in November and in the future.

THE WOMEN'S VOTE: A NEW POLITICAL FORCE IN AMERICA
(By Louis Harris)

Irrespective of the fate of the Equal Rights Amendment, there is now every indication that one of the major developments of the 1980s will be the full-blown emergence of a powerful new force in American politics.

The undeniable fact is that women and men are voting differently and thinking differently on nearly all of the key issues that are likely to affect the power structure of this country. At the moment, women are inclined to vote Democratic in this fall's race for Congress by a 53-35 percent margin, whereas men are leaning Democratic by a much narrower 47-44 percent. If these percentages hold until the election, it will mean that the Democrats in Congress will owe their enlarged majority almost wholly to the women's vote. If instead women were to vote in a pattern similar to men, the Democrats could be reduced to a margin of no more than 10 or 15 seats in the House of Representatives.

According to the results of a series of nationwide telephone surveys based on samples of approximately 1,250 people and conducted over the past few years, women have now decided to pursue an independent course of thinking on matters that they feel affect their lives and the well-being of the communities in which they live and work. The rise in the number of adult women who work from 36 percent to 53 percent in the last 22 years is a critical element in this new development. Harris studies suggest that as more women work and experience the world firsthand, they have an increased sense of pride in their own capacity to make a contribution to the world around them.

The burgeoning nuclear freeze movement in the United States is a good example. When the Harris Survey recently asked people how concerned they were "that the world will be plunged into a nuclear war," a 51-48 percent majority of men did not say they were "very concerned." But a 59-39 percent majority of women said they were "very concerned."

This result is not unexpected. Women have always expressed more sensitivity and concern about human life than have men. During the Vietnam War, women as a group became disenchanted with the fighting and loss of American lives in Southeast Asia two full years before men did.

In the current economic recession, women are far more worried than men about what the next 12 months will bring:

By 60-37 percent, most women worry that in the next year "more people will be going hungry" in America, compared with a 52-45 percent majority of men.

By 69-27 percent, a majority of women thinks the next year will find that "more factories will be shutting down," compared with a lower 56-42 percent majority of men.

A 73-23 percent majority of women is convinced that "more people will be losing

houses and farms because they can't meet the mortgage payments." A 58-39 percent majority of men share that same apprehension; and

By 63-33 percent, a majority of women is worried that in the next 12 months "there will be even less new housing construction" in the country, while a 52-46 percent majority of men say this will not happen.

Women's opinions differ from men's on a variety of other issues. Women favor federal registration of all handguns by a 70-28 percent margin, compared to a much lower 58-41 percent majority among men. On affirmative action for women and minorities in employment, women favor such federal laws by 72-20 percent, compared with a 64-28 percent majority among men. On strict enforcement of air and water pollution controls as now required by the Clean Air and Clean Water Acts, women favor tight controls by 87-10 percent, compared with 79-18 percent among men.

Women are now much more inclined to think that they are discriminated against in the financial and work marketplace. By 50-38 percent, a plurality of women thinks women are discriminated against in the wages they are paid, while by 49-42 percent men disagree. By 47-41 percent most women think women are discriminated against in getting promoted into managerial jobs, while a 47-43 percent plurality of men disagrees.

Women are now a new force in society. And as they come into their own in the world of employment, they are becoming more political than ever before. Their political weight will be felt increasingly throughout the 1980s, and the chances are good that the struggle over the passage of the ERA will be recorded in history as the turning point.

WAND/APC ENDORSES SECOND WAVE OF CANDIDATES WHO SUPPORT NUCLEAR WEAPONS FREEZE

Boston, Mass.—In an effort to extend the margin of victory for a bilateral verifiable nuclear weapons freeze in the next session of Congress, Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament has endorsed a second group of congressional candidates opposed to the escalating nuclear arms race.

The political action committee will support the campaigns of Tom Daschle (1st CD, SD), John Kerry (1st CD, ME), Peter Kostmayer (8th CD, PA), Ruth McFarland (5th CD, OR), and Arnie Miller (5th CD, NY). WAND/PAC has also endorsed the campaign of George Mitchell, who is running for U.S. Senate in the state of Maine.

This second wave of endorsements brings to thirteen the total number of candidates from whom WAND/PAC will raise funds and provide campaign support.

"WAND/PAC selected these candidates because they have a clear record of support for a bilateral, verifiable nuclear weapons freeze," according to network director Diane Aronson. "We narrowed the field to those congressional campaigns where our affiliate groups can become actively involved within the congressional district."

In addition to its work on political campaigns, WAND/PAC conducts programs of political education for members and affiliate groups, and lobbies members of Congress when nuclear weapons bills are debated.

WAND/PAC had previously announced its endorsement of seven congressional campaigns, including those of Doug Bosco (1st CD), Lynn Cutler (3d CD, IA), Barney Frank (4th CD, MA), Nicholas Mavroules (6th CD, MA), John Dow (23d CD, NY pri-

mary). Claudine Schneider (2d CD, RI), and Frances Farley (2d CD, UT).

WAND/PAC, founded by Dr. Helen Caldicott, has an active network of both women and men working in more than 70 affiliate groups across the country.

"The response to organize in local communities or by congressional district has been overwhelmingly from women," Aronson said. "We believe that one of our real strengths as an organization lies in our ability to mobilize the votes of women around the nuclear weapons issue. We will be especially active in those congressional districts where our members can tip the voting balance in favor of an immediate U.S.-U.S.S.R. freeze."

STATEMENT BY U.S. REPRESENTATIVE PATRICIA SCHROEDER OF COLORADO

Stop the Arms Race Campaign may be the most important campaign ever.

The pursuit of peace has been in the hearts of women for centuries. It's that pursuit that makes us what we are. The right to vote has been with women for years. By our numbers, we've turned that right into a political power not to be ignored by today's government. And now this voting bloc is turning to the issue of nuclear disarmament.

We are doing our homework, raising the issues and publicly asking the questions about our nuclear policy both the Pentagon and this Administration thought too complex for civilians, especially women. This voting bloc is also working to defeat those who think the arms race is winnable or survivable, even if this country goes bankrupt to do it or fights a nuclear war to prove it.

We've got the heart, we've got the mind, and we've got the vote. Let's use them before it's too late!

STATEMENT OF KATHY WILSON, CHAIR, NATIONAL WOMEN'S POLITICAL CAUCUS

The National Women's Political Caucus is pleased to join the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in heralding what looks to be a new explosion of woman power in this country. The explanations for this phenomenon are many and complex, tied, in no small measure, to the Reagan Administration's insensitivity to concerns of special importance to women—economic equity, legal equality and military equanimity.

The Caucus, for its part, is determined to translate this "people" power into the higher voltage "political" power. We're in the final stretch of our Win With Women '82 campaign, this year's sequel to our ongoing drive to elect women—feminist women—to political office. And this time around, we're devoting special attention to the state legislative races. We've bolstered our involvement on the state level in every area—from recruiting and training viable women candidates, to financing and electing them. We have long known that since we can only rarely change legislators' votes, we have no choice but to change the legislators doing the voting.

As we near the November showdown, our women candidates have behind them the unprecedented strength of a unified bloc of women voters, women who are infuriated that they've been denied the Equal Rights Amendment and afraid that the current administration intends to deny them a lot more. Women have become galvanized by the present assault on their personal and economic lives, and are ready to take their disenchantment to the ballot box.

If we're ever to be truly represented, feminists—men and women, Democrat and Republican—must and will be on the ticket. Equality, equity and peace are going to

come around only when lawmakers come around to legislating them, and instead of pleading our case, we must elect people who will make it.

The National Women's Political Caucus is a 60,000 member bipartisan organization working to boost the number of feminist women in elective and appointive office.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM—BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) was formed in 1915, at the height of World War I. Jane Addams, founder of the revolutionary Hull House social settlement and organizer of the US Women's Peace Party, along with over 1,000 women from the warring nations defied their governments and without official sanction held an International Women's Congress in the Hague, Netherlands. Their intention was to turn the power they had gained through the suffrage movement toward the end of war.

Today, as for the past 65 years, WILPF's goals are the achievement of steps toward world disarmament; the re-ordering of US priorities toward meeting human needs; and equality and justice for all people through elimination of the institutions of racism and sexism.

To reach their goals, WILPF women have marched in the streets for civil rights and against the Vietnam War in the 1960's; held conferences on such issues as chemical warfare in London and community development in New Delhi. WILPF fact-finding delegates have visited the Middle East, Chile, and Nicaragua, and representatives meet regularly with national and international officials.

Wherever women are in the lead of an effective movement for peace and justice, they are likely to be WILPF members. The first women recipients of the Nobel Peace Prize were WILPF founders Jane Addams and Emily Greene Balch. US advisor to the UN Special Session on Disarmament, Kay Camp, was president of WILPF. Now, the women leading the massive demonstrations against the placement of US nuclear missiles in Europe are WILPF members.

One of the women's organizations with non-governmental consultant status at the United Nations, WILPF's international secretary is the head of the UN Conference of Non-Government Organizations. With sections in 25 countries and on every continent, WILPF is one of the largest, oldest, and most active peace advocacy organizations in the world.

In the US, there are WILPF branches in over 100 communities. The national office is located at 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, PA, 19107.

WOMEN FROM EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA TO DEMONSTRATE IN BRUSSELS NEXT MARCH

Women from Europe and North America will join forces in a massive demonstration at NATO Headquarters to protest the planned deployment of Pershing II and Cruise Missiles in NATO countries. The action, to take place on International Women's Day March 8, 1983, will be the focus of the STAR (Stop The Arms Race) campaign which The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom initiated at United Nations Headquarters on International Women's Day of this year.

Plans for the march in Brussels were launched at a meeting of the executive committee of The Women's International League in Denmark from 21 August to 29 August.

"We are alarmed by the refusal of our governments to heed the popular demand for an end to the nuclear arms race. This is

our last opportunity to ward off a whole generation of weapons designed only to destroy human life. We want the NATO deployment plans cancelled as the first step to arms control and disarmament", said Carol Pendell, President of the League.

WOMEN UNITE TO BUILD PRO-PEACE VOTING BLOCK

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom joined with Congresswomen and women's political organizations in a united effort to build a women's voting block.

According to Yvonne Logan, President of the U.S. Section of the Women's International League, "Our membership has leaped by the thousands since January. This clearly illustrates to us the new sentiment and power among women in the U.S. We believe the strength of the women's vote and women's renewed commitment to peace will determine the outcome of many elections this fall."

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament announced plans to distribute PAC funds to a variety of pro-peace candidates around the United States. The National Women's Political Caucus is in the final stretch of their Win With Women '82 campaign. Kathy Wilson, Chair of the Caucus, stated, "As we near the November showdown, our women candidates have behind them the unprecedented strength of a unified bloc of women voters."

Congresswomen Claudine Schneider (R-RI) and Patricia Schroeder (D-CO), both spoke of the "new political force" of the women's vote and commended the Women's International League Stop the Arms Race (STAR) campaign in bringing women's spirit and power together in a timely fashion to effect the November elections.

Pollster Louis Harris' recent survey showed that 42% of men and only 34% of women in the U.S. gave President Reagan a good to excellent rating. Women have also proven through polls and voting records that their support for women's issues and peace will determine their vote and that their voting turnout will be higher than ever.

SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES: AN UPDATE

(This report describes Soviet "active measures" which have come to light since the publication of Special Report No. 88, "Soviet Active Measures: Forgery, Disinformation, Political Operations," in October 1981.)

The Soviet Union uses the term "active measures" (aktivnyye meropriyatiya) to cover a broad range of activities designed to promote Soviet foreign policy goals, including undercutting opponents of the U.S.S.R. Active measures include disinformation, manipulating the media in foreign countries, the use of Communist parties and Communist front groups, and operations to expand Soviet political influence. In contrast to public diplomacy, which all nations practice, Soviet active measures often involve deception and are frequently implemented by clandestine means. Active measures are carried out not only by the KGB but also by the International Department and the International Information Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The active measures discussed in this report are necessarily limited to those that have been publicly exposed. They make clear that these activities take place worldwide. The open societies of many industrialized and developing countries afford the Soviet opportunities to use active measures to influence opinions in favor of Soviet poli-

cies and against those of the United States and its allies. It is our hope that this report will increase public awareness and understanding of Soviet active measures and thereby reduce the likelihood that people will be deceived.

FORGERIES

Forgeries are a frequently used active measures technique. Several have come to light in recent months. Their appearance has been timed to influence Western opinion on current sensitive issues. As far as we are aware, only one of these recent forgeries achieved uncritical publication.

Forgeries are usually sent through the mail to journalists, officials, or other persons who might make them available to the media. Forgeries normally do not carry a return address, nor is the sender identified in a way that can be checked. How the document was acquired invariably is vague.

The NATO Information Service Documents. In late October 1981, Spanish journalists living in Brussels received form letters purporting to come from the NATO Information Service. The letters enclosed a publicity packet that had been updated to include Spain as a new member of the alliance. As the Spanish Parliament was still debating Spain's application to join NATO, the letter could impress Spaniards as showing contempt for Spain's democratic institutions. The journalists checked with NATO, and stories in the Spanish press spoke of a forgery designed to influence Spain's domestic debate on NATO.

The President Reagan Letter to the King of Spain. In November 1981, an attempt was made in Madrid to surface a forged letter from President Reagan to the King of Spain. In terms likely to offend Spanish sensitivities, the letter urged the King to join NATO and to crack down on groups such as the "Opus Dei pacifists" and the "left-wing opposition."

After an initial mailing to Spanish journalists failed to obtain publication, the forgery was circulated on November 11 to all delegations (except the U.S. and Spanish) to the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), then meeting in Madrid. This time several Madrid newspapers ran stories that exposed the letter as a fabrication probably of Soviet origin.

The Clark-Stearns Letter. In January 1982, a forged letter and an accompanying research analysis dated September 23, 1981, from Judge William Clark, then Deputy Secretary of State, to the U.S. Ambassador to Greece, Monteagle Stearns, circulated in Athens. This forgery indicated U.S. support for the conservatives in the October Greek elections and alluded to a possible military coup if Socialist leader Andreas Papandreou won at the polls. On the basis of Embassy assurances that the letter was a fake, it was not initially published. Several weeks later, after copies had been circulated at the CSCE in Madrid, the Athens daily *Vrathini* published a story describing the letter as of doubtful authenticity and probably attributable to a "third-country" intelligence service.

The Swedish Mailgrams. During the week of November 8, 1981, at least 10 mailgrams—initiated by telephone calls to Western Union—were circulated to journalists in the Washington, D.C. area. Supposedly sent by U.S. Government officials, the mailgrams offered to make available the text of an alleged secret agreement for U.S. use of the Swedish base at Karlskrona for intelligence purposes.

The mailgrams were sent immediately after the furor caused by the grounding of a Soviet submarine in restricted waters off the Karlskrona naval base. Their timing

supports the conclusion that the effort was an attempt to offset the bad publicity the Soviets received from the incident.

The Haig-Luns Letter. The April 22, 1982 edition of the Belgian leftist weekly *De Nieuwe* published a letter supposedly sent in June 1979 by retiring NATO Commander Alexander Haig to NATO Secretary General Joseph Luns. Both NATO and U.S. officials branded the letter a fabrication.

The forged letter discussed a possible nuclear first strike and called for "action of a sensitive nature" to "jolt the faint hearted in Europe" opposed to intermediate-range nuclear force modernization. The timing of the false letter was related to the many antinuclear demonstrations which took place in Europe in the spring of 1982. The letter appeared again in the Luxembourg Communist Party newspaper, *Zeitung*, on May 10.

The Department of Commerce Document. In late May 1982, just before the Versailles economic summit, an alleged U.S. Government document dated February 18, 1982 circulated in Brussels. Purporting to be the recommendations of a working group on strategic economic policy chaired by the Secretary of Commerce, the document twisted U.S. policy on sensitive trade issues in a way likely to stimulate friction between the United States and its European allies. Several journalists brought the matter to the attention of U.S. officials, who promptly branded it a forgery. As far as we are aware, the media have not reported the fabricated document.

MEDIA MANIPULATION DISINFORMATION

The purpose of disinformation efforts is to gain public acceptance for something that is not true. Since Soviet media lack credibility, the goal is to achieve publication of false news in reputable non-Communist media. Soviet media, such as TASS or Radio Moscow, are then able to cite credible sources in replaying a story in the hope that it will be picked up by other non-Communist media. Disinformation also is frequently placed in pro-Soviet news outlets outside the Eastern bloc in the hope that it will be replayed by independent media or simply gain acceptance through repetition.

Angola/Zaire/South Africa. One Soviet campaign has been to discredit U.S. policy in southern Africa—in particular, the credibility of U.S. efforts to solve the Namibia problem—by media stories that the United States is trying to oust the Government of Angola. A number of recent examples illustrate this effort.

On September 15 and 23-24, 1981, the Portuguese *Hoje* of Lisbon, a paper close to the Socialist Party, published reports that U.S., Zairian, and South African representatives had met secretly to conspire against the Angolan regime. The source for the story, an Angolan traveling to Lisbon, claimed he had stolen Zairian documents as proof, but he never made the documents available. Both Zaire and the United States denied the allegations. TASS promptly picked up the *Hoje* story, and in turn it was replayed in a number of African papers, including the *Jornal de Angola*.

On December 22, 1981, *Diario de Lisboa*, a pro-Communist paper, reported that the United States was supporting "2,000 specially trained gunmen" based in Zaire to attack Angola. The State Department denied the story December 24, but TASS nonetheless picked it up. In turn, a number of African papers and radio stations and the Flemish Socialist daily *De Morgen* replayed the allegations on the basis of the TASS account.

A similar story was carried in the April 17, 1982 Congolese newspaper *Etumba*, which alleged a meeting in 1981 between the United States, South Africa, and others to plot

against Angola. The U.S. Embassy in Brazzaville promptly denied the report.

The Seychelles Coup Attempt. A day after the November 25, 1981 attempt by a group of mercenaries to overthrow the Government of the Seychelles, Soviet news reports were implying that the CIA was responsible. In keeping with frequent Soviet practice, these accusations were attributed to unnamed, and therefore unverifiable, "African radio commentaries." Despite a statement by Seychelles President France Albert René on December 2 that his government had no indication of any foreign involvement other than South African, Soviet media continued to accuse the United States. In December, several African newspapers (among them the *Nairobi Nation* and *Lagos Daily Times*, the leading dailies in Kenya and Nigeria, respectively) repeated the story. Soviet media then replayed the allegations, citing the African papers as sources.

The Pakistani Mosquitoes. In the wake of compelling evidence that the Soviets are using chemical weapons in Afghanistan and supplying mycotoxins for use in Laos and Kampuchea, Moscow has launched a disinformation effort focused on Pakistan. The February 2, 1982 *Literaturnaya Gazeta* alleged that the antimalaria program of Pakistan Malaria Research Center in Lahore was a CIA-financed effort to breed special mosquitoes "which infect their victims with deadly viruses as part of U.S. plans to introduce biological warfare into Afghanistan." In fact, the Pakistan Malaria Research Center has been conducting antimalaria research for 20 years. Much of the funding comes from the U.S. National Institutes of Health and AID through a contract with the University of Maryland. The State Department promptly labeled the Soviet charges "utterly baseless."

The American Center Director Dr. David Nalin told the *Baltimore Sun* on February 9, 1982 that the allegations were a Soviet disinformation effort to counter U.S. "yellow rain" charges. Nonetheless, TASS continued to carry the false stories, which were replayed not only by regular disinformation outlets, such as *Bombay's Blitz* and the *New Delhi Patriot*, but also by independent newspapers not usually associated with Soviet propaganda, such as the influential *Times of India* and Pakistani daily *Jang*, and the *Muslim News* of Capetown, South Africa.

A Moscow-funded Greek Newspaper? Another way to exert media influence is by secretly subsidizing a newspaper. This may have occurred recently in Greece. In May 1982, the Athens daily *Messimvrini* charged that a new large circulation daily, *To Ethnos*, had begun publication in September 1981 thanks to a secret Soviet subsidy of \$1.8 million; *Messimvrini* alleged that covert payments were continuing. The Greek Government has ordered an investigation.

Military Base Hoaxes. A disinformation staple is to float false stories about U.S. military cooperation. Recent examples from Soviet and Communist media have included false stories that the United States has or intends to establish bases on the Honduran island of Amapala, the Colombian island of San Andres, and in the Comoros Islands off the east coast of Africa. Although these have not gained credence, one relating to Pakistan attracted more attention. As a result, the Pakistan Foreign Ministry on December 10, 1981 found it necessary to deny Radio Moscow's assertion that the United States would seek military bases in Pakistan during a visit by Secretary of State Haig. Among other things, the Radio Moscow account falsely asserted that Indian Foreign Minister Rao had claimed in the Indian Par-

liament that Pakistan had agreed to provide bases for the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force.

FRONT GROUPS/PRO-MOSCOW COMMUNIST PARTIES

Front groups are nominally independent organizations that are controlled by the Soviets, usually through the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU.¹ These organizations have long sought to build support for Soviet foreign policy goals. In recent months the main thrust of front activity has been to try to see that the peace movement in Western Europe and the United States is directed solely against U.S. policy and that it avoids any criticism of the Soviet nuclear threat. The 1982 program of the World Peace Council, for example, calls for:

"Further intensification of actions against the dangers of nuclear war and the deployment of new U.S. weapons of mass destruction in Western Europe. . . ."

"National events (demonstrations, seminars, colloquia, etc.) with international participation 'against nuclear arms build-up and the deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe; for peace and detente in Europe.'"

"International meeting of mayors and elected representatives (city councillors, municipalities, etc.) and of peace forces from European towns and regions where new U.S. nuclear missiles are to be deployed. . . ."²

Communist parties linked with Moscow have pursued the same path. The impact of the fronts and local Communist groups varies markedly from country to country and is difficult to evaluate. Nevertheless, awareness is increasing that the Communists and their supporters are attempting to channel the peace and antinuclear movements to serve Moscow's purpose. This has led to friction within the movement in some countries.

In West Germany, after efforts by the German Communist Party (DKP) in early April 1982 produced anti-U.S. slogans without mentioning the Soviet nuclear arsenal as a threat to peace, Petra Kelly, a prominent leader of the Environment Party (the "Greens") publicly criticized the Communists. She repeated this criticism when interviewed on CBS Television during President Reagan's visit to Bonn. Similarly, in Austria, the original platform adopted by the organizers of a peace march on May 15 under pressure from pro-Moscow Communists avoided criticism of Soviet atomic weapons. The non-Communists later regrouped; as a result, the Austrian Youth Council issued a less one-sided platform.

POLITICAL INFLUENCE OPERATIONS

Political influence operations, especially those using agents of influence, are harder to detect than other active measures. In these operations, individuals disguise their KGB connection while taking an active role in public affairs. Exposure, when it occurs, is frequently the result of an espionage investigation. The scale of improper Soviet ac-

tivities is reflected in the publicized expulsion of 19 Soviet officials involved in espionage and active measures cases from 10 countries during the first 5 months of 1982. Among these were the expulsion of the Soviet military attache from Washington and the uncovering of spy nets in Indonesia and Singapore.

Denmark. In October 1981, the Danish Government expelled Vladimir Merkulov, a KGB officer serving as a second secretary of the Soviet Embassy, for improper conduct, including directing the activities of Danish agent-of-influence Arne Herlboev Petersen. An April 17, 1982 Danish Ministry of Justice statement detailed Petersen's work with the KGB.

In the summer of 1981, the Soviets arranged to cover Petersen's expenses for a series of advertisements in which Danish artists expressed support for a Nordic nuclear-weapons-free zone.

Petersen brought foreign policy documents provided by the Soviet Embassy to the North Korean Embassy; on Soviet instructions he misrepresented the documents as coming from an American journalist.

Petersen provided information several times to the Soviet Embassy on the Danish "left wing" and on "progressive" journalists who were not Communist Party members.

Petersen arranged for the printing of a pamphlet attacking British Prime Minister Thatcher. The text was supplied by the Soviet Embassy.

The Ministry of Justice noted that clandestine meetings between Petersen and a succession of three Soviet "diplomats" (of whom Merkulov was the latest) had extended over several years. Petersen specifically was requested by his KGB handlers not to join the Danish Communist Party.

The Danish Government decided not to prosecute Petersen, although it declared that he violated Danish law. In a television interview 2 days after the official statement, the Danish Foreign Minister challenged Petersen to sue for slander so that the full extent of the government's evidence could be made public.

Sweden. Soviet Third Secretary Albert Liepa was expelled in April 1982. According to a Swedish Foreign Ministry spokesman, Liepa had made systematic efforts to collect information on and exert influence over the Latvian exile community in Sweden. Before his assignment to Stockholm, Liepa had been chairman of a committee based in Riga concerned with maintaining "cultural ties" with Latvians living outside the Soviet Union.

SOVIET "ACTIVE MEASURES"—FORGERY, DISINFORMATION, POLITICAL OPERATIONS

(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 mero-priyatiya) 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 liftists 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 activ-

¹ See Foreign Affairs Note, "The World Peace Council, Instrument of Soviet Foreign Policy," Department of State, April 1982. Other well-known international fronts are the International Institute for Peace (IIP), The World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), the International Union of Students (IUS), the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL), the World Federation of Scientific Workers (WFSW), the International Organization of Journalists (IOJ), the Christian Peace Conference (CPC), the International Federation of Resistance Fighters (IFR), and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).

² "World Peace Council: Programme of Action 1982" published by the Information Center of the WPC, Helsinki.

ities. 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 situation. 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 deemphasized 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 sampling 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, Soviets 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 aspects 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 detente. 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 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; 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 Sal-

vador, 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 nonalignment 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 to trouble both industrialized and developing countries.

THE KGB'S—MAGICAL WAR FOR "PEACE" (By John Barron)

It has spread like a raging fever throughout the world. From Bonn to Istanbul, Lima to New York, millions upon millions of people have joined in the nuclear-freeze movement. It is a movement largely made up of patriotic, sensible people who earnestly believe that they are doing what they must to prevent nuclear war. But it is also a movement that has been penetrated, manipulated and distorted to an amazing degree by people who have but one aim—to promote communist tyranny by weakening the United States. Here, in an exclusive report, Reader's Digest Senior Editor John Barron, author of the bestseller "KGB: The Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents," authenticates in detail how the Kremlin, through secrecy, forgery, terrorism and fear, has played upon mankind's longing for peace to further its own strategic objectives.

In the old Lubyanka Prison on Dzerzhinsky Square in Moscow, the screams of the tortured and the pleas of the doomed are heard no more. Drunken executioners no longer ram pistols into backs of heads and blow out the faces of "enemies of the people." No longer must cleaning crews come every few hours to wash blood from the stone walls, swab gore off the oak floors and cart away former comrades' remains.

Today the Communist Party torturers and executioners perform their duties elsewhere, and Lubyanka, whose name still kindles fear in Russians, has undergone a reincarnation. Unknown to the general public, its cells, torture chambers and execution cellars have been remodeled into offices and

made part of the "Center"—the headquarters of the Committee for State Security, or KGB.

Sitting in a mahogany-paneled office on the third floor for Lubyanka is the new KGB chairman, Vitaly Fedorchuk. He must still concern himself, first of all, with the continuing subjugation of the Soviet people on behalf of the Party. He and his deputies must still supervise some 5000 KGB officers abroad who daily endeavor to steal the scientific, military and state secrets of other nations. But today, as never before, the KGB leadership is preoccupied with prosecution of what the Russians call Active Measures.

As a result of a disastrous DGB loss, the West has gained encyclopedic, inside knowledge of how the Soviet Union conceives and conducts Active Measures. In Late 1979 Maj. Stanislav Aleksandrovich Levchenko escaped from Japan to the United States, and he turned out to be one of the most important officers ever to flee the KGB. Levchenko had worked at the Center as well as in front organizations in Moscow. At the time of his escape he was Active Measures Officer at the KGB's Tokyo Residency. From his unique background, he disclosed strategy, tactics and myriad examples of Active Measures, while unmasking Soviet fronts and key KGB operatives.

"Few people who understand the reality of the Soviet Union will knowingly support it or its policies," Levchenko states. "So by Active Measures, the KGB distorts or inverts reality. The trick is to make people support Soviet policy unwittingly by convincing them they are supporting something else. Almost everybody wants peace and fears war. Therefore, by every conceivable means, the KGB plans and coordinates campaigns to persuade the public that whatever America does endangers peace and that whatever the Soviet Union proposes furthers peace. To be for America is to be for war; to be for the Soviets is to be for peace. That's the art of Active Measures, a sort of made-in-Moscow black magic. It is tragic to see how well it works."

Today, the KGB is concentrating on one of the largest Active Measures campaigns mounted since World War II. Its objective is to secure military superiority for the Soviet Union by persuading the United States to abandon new weapons systems that both American political parties and numerous strategists judge essential to Western military security. The name of the campaign is "nuclear freeze."

This worldwide campaign thus far has been remarkably successful, for the KGB has induced millions upon millions of honorable, patriotic and sensible people who detest communist tyranny to make common cause with the Soviet Union. Most of these millions earnestly believe they are doing what they must to spare mankind the calamity of nuclear war. In appealing to their admirable motivations, the Soviet Active Measures apparatus follows a strategy not unlike that of cigarette advertisers. Tobacco companies do not ask people to consider thoughtfully the fundamental issue of whether the pleasures of cigarette addiction offset indisputable perils to health. Rather, by simple slogans and alluring illustrations, they evade the issue. Similarly Active Measures, by holding out the allure of peace through simple slogans and simplistic proposals, try to evade the fundamental and extremely complex issue of arms limitation. And, as Levchenko suggests, they try to persuade everybody that the way to peace lies down the path the Russians are pointing to.

FABRICATIONS AND FRONTS

IN THE SOVIET LEXICON. Active Measures include both overt and covert propaganda,

manipulation of international front organizations, forgeries, fabrications and deceptions, acts of sabotage or terrorism committed for psychological effect, and the use of Agents of Influence.¹

The KGB has concocted more than 150 forgeries of official U.S. documents and correspondence portraying American leaders as treacherous and the United States as an unreliable, warmongering nation. One of the most damaging was a fabrication titled U.S. Army Field Manual FM30-31B and classified, by the KGB, top secret. Field manuals FM30-31 and FM30-31A did exist; FM 30-31B was entirely a Soviet creation. Over the forged signature of Gen. William Westmoreland, the manual detailed procedures to be followed by U.S. military personnel in friendly foreign countries. These fictitious instructions told U.S. military forces or advisers how to interfere in internal political affairs and, in certain circumstances, how to incite ultra-leftist groups to violence so as to provoke the host government into militant anti-communist actions.

The KGB forgery proved invaluable after terrorists from the radical leftist Red Brigades murdered Aldo Moro, president of the Italian Christian Democratic Party, in March 1978. Although Moro's murder constituted a grievous loss to the United States, Radio Moscow began broadcasting charges that he had been assassinated by the CIA. Initially, few people paid any attention to the totally undocumented allegation. Then, according to Congressional testimony, Cuban intelligence officer Luis Gonzalez Verdecia offered a Spanish newspaper the forged Army manual along with an analysis by Fernando Gonzalez, a Spanish communist who dealt with the KGB. In his article Gonzalez cited the manual to support claims that the United States was involved with various Western European terrorist groups, including the Red Brigades.

The leftist Spanish magazine *El Triunfo* published both Gonzalez's article and parts of the forgery on September 23, 1978. Immediately, Italian and other European newspapers replayed the Spanish story. Soviet propagandists now set up a new hue and cry, citing the articles in the non-communist European press as "evidence" that the CIA had assassinated Moro and that the United States was the actual sponsor of left-wing terrorists all around the world.

Soon, the press in 20 countries published the allegations against the CIA along with the forged manual or excerpts from it. In the minds of millions, the KGB had succeeded in inverting reality.

In all nations the KGB attempts to recruit agents—within the political system, press, religion, labor, the academic world—who can help shape public attitudes and policies to Soviet interests. Pierre-Charles Pathé, a French journalist, was an archetypical Agent of Influence until his arrest in 1979. KGB officers, working in Paris under diplomatic cover, regularly supplied him with data that he transformed into articles or passed along to other journalists as his own research and thought. For nearly 20 years Pathé initiated more than 100 articles on Latin America, China, NATO, the CIA and other topics, all in tune with KGB goals. With KGB funds, he published a newsletter read by leaders in government and industry. A French court judged

¹ The classic Soviet espionage agent steals secrets. An Agent of Influence strives to affect the public opinion and policies of other nations in the interests of the Soviet Union. His or her advocacy may be open or concealed, direct or subtle. Always, though, the Agent of Influence pretends that he or she is acting out of personal conviction rather than under Soviet guidance.

Pathé's actions so potentially damaging to France's military, political and essential economic interests that it sentenced him to five years' imprisonment.

The Soviets also discreetly encourage terrorism as a form of Active Measures. At a school where KGB personnel formerly trained, near the village of Balashikha, east of Moscow, officers of Department V, responsible for sabotage and assassination, bring in contingents of 100 or so young people each year from the Middle East, Africa and Latin America to be taught terrorism. The majority of trainees return to their homelands without specific missions, the KGB calculating that the Soviet Union benefits from any mayhem committed in the Third World. But a few are recruited to be KGB agents within the terrorist movements back home. And the best and most ideologically reliable are recruited to serve the KGB independently.

Beyond these types of Active Measures for which it is exclusively responsible, the KGB assists the International Department of the Central Committee in maintaining an interlocking web of front organizations. While all are controlled from Moscow, they are not popularly perceived as subversive. The most important fronts in the current "peace" campaign are the World Peace Council (WPC) and the Institute for the U.S.A. and Canada.

FACADE OF PEACE

The World Peace Council emerged in Paris in 1950 to foment "Ban the Bomb" propaganda at a time when the Soviets had not succeeded in arming themselves with nuclear weapons. Expelled from France for subversion in 1951, the WPC took refuge in Prague until 1954, when it moved to Vienna. The Austrians also evicted the ground because of subversive activities in 1957, but the WPC retained a European outpost in Vienna through a branch titled the International Institute for Peace. In 1968 the WPC established headquarters in Helsinki to orchestrate the global propaganda campaign to compel withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam.

The president of the council is Indian communist Romesh Chandra, who long has been a controlled and witting Soviet agent. Intelligent, vain and arrogant, Chandra is almost embarrassing in his slavish adherence to Soviet dictates and his peans to all things Soviet. "The Soviet Union invariably supports the peace movement," Chandra said a few years ago. "The World Peace Council in its turn positively reacts to all Soviet initiatives in international affairs."

Nevertheless, the Russians supervise Chandra closely by assigning both International Department and KGB representatives to the permanent secretariat of the WPC in Helsinki. The public record amply demonstrates the totality of Soviet control. In its 32 years of existence, the WPC has not deviated from the Kremlin's line of the moment. It did not raise its voice against Soviet suppression of Polish and East German workers in 1953, Soviet slaughter of Hungarians in 1956, Soviet abrogation of the nuclear-test moratorium in 1961, the clandestine emplacement of nuclear missiles in Cuba in 1962, the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, the projection of Soviet military power in Angola, Ethiopia and Yemen. The WPC has failed to criticize a single Soviet armament program; only those of the West. And it endorsed the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

WPC finances further reflect Soviet control. Huge sums are necessary to maintain the offices and staff in Helsinki, Vienna and, since 1977, Geneva; to pay for contin-

ual global travel by WPC officials; to publish and distribute around the world monthly periodicals in English, French, German and Spanish; to finance international assemblies for which hundreds of delegates are provided transportation, food and lodging. Yet the World Peace Council has no visible means of support. Virtually all its money comes clandestinely from the Soviet Union.

Even so, many people, including diplomats, politicians, scientists and journalists, choose not to see the WPC for what it is. The United Nations officially recognizes the WPC as a "non-governmental organization" and joins it in discussions of issues such as disarmament and colonialism. The national peace committees with which the WPC maintains both open and secret ties in more than 100 nations rarely are stigmatized in the press as puppets of the Politburo.

Given the facade of an earnest institution that unites sincere men and women from all parts of the world in the quest for peace, given the expertise of KGB and International Department specialists in Active Measures and propaganda, given virtually limitless funds, the World Peace Council frequently rallies millions of non-communists to communist causes.

COORDINATED EFFORT

Another front, the Institute for the U.S.A. and Canada, affords disguised Soviet operatives entrée into much higher levels of American society than does the WPC. Its director, Georgi Arbatov, an intimate of former KGB chairman Yuri Andropov, has in recent years been a regular commuter to the United States, where he hobnobs with prominent politicians and preaches the gospel of disarmament on national television.

Fully a third of the Institute's staff are regular officers of the KGB; one of its deputy directors is Radomir Georgovich Bogdanov, a senior KGB colonel, who has been subverting foreigners for a quarter century. He labored more than a decade to recruit English-speaking leaders in India and did so well that the KGB promoted him to Resident in New Delhi. As such, he helped develop Romesh Chandra into an Agent of Influence in the 1960s and has worked with him intermittently ever since.

In the mid-1970s the KGB assigned Bogdanov to the Institute and to American targets. His pose as a scholar and disarmament specialist questing for peace and understanding earns him access to U.S. politicians and academicians who genuinely do desire peace and understanding. Bogdanov has turned up at disarmament conferences—in Washington, New York and Europe—peddling the Soviet line and hunting for Americans who can be seduced into following it.

The KGB also assists the International Department in sustaining foreign communist parties. Many of the parties survive only through secret Soviet subsidies, often delivered by the KGB. The Russians, for example, long have smuggled between \$1 million and \$2 million annually to the Communist Party U.S.A.

The U.S.S.R. spends millions on the foreign parties because, even if bedraggled and numerically small, they still contribute significantly to Active Measures. Their members can be counted upon to circulate pamphlets and promulgate Soviet themes that subsequently creep into respectable discourse. Members elected to democratic parliaments can insert these themes into the reportage of the non-communist press by echoing them in official debates. The parties constitute a ready reservoir of disciplined demonstrators who can take to the streets simultaneously in cities throughout

the world to foster an illusion of spontaneous concern. They provide the indefatigable cadre of planners, organizers and agitators who help stage mass demonstrations that attract non-communists.

The vast Soviet Active Measures apparatus—the overt propaganda organs, foreign communist parties, international fronts, KGB Residencies around the world, the factories of forgery and disinformation, the Agents of Influence—is well coordinated and disciplined and can respond to commands rapidly and flexibly. When the KGB or International Department senses opportunity, a detailed operational plan is submitted to the Politburo. Once the Politburo approves, everybody from Brezhnev on down pitches in. The basic themes and subthemes of the campaign then are massively and thunderously propagated, like some primitive chant, to drown out reasoned debate or dissent.

NEUTRON BOMB, MOSCOW BOMBAST

The Soviets' current peace campaign began five years ago in reaction to the enhanced-radiation warhead (ERW), which soon was mislabeled the neutron bomb. The ERW was born of the most realistic considerations. By 1976 the Soviet Union and its satellites had deployed some 20,000 battle tanks against West Germany.

NATO, with only some 7000 tanks and numerically inferior ground forces, could be sure of repelling an onslaught by Soviet armor only through the use of tactical nuclear weapons. However, the smallest of the nuclear weapons then stored in Europe had a destructive force roughly equivalent to that of the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. The blast and heat from such a weapon would wipe out not only Soviet invaders but everybody and everything within a four-mile radius of the detonation point. Radiation would kill men, women and children within an even wider area.

Through their hydra-headed propaganda apparatus, the Russians were able to say, and in effect continue to say, to the West Germans: If there is war, that is, if we attack you, the Americans will lay waste to your country and people. Since defense is impossible without annihilation, you should quit NATO, cease being pawns of the Americans and come to peaceful and profitable terms with us.

The Russians' most imminent objective in arraying armor on West German borders in such profligate numbers was to reinforce this argument; not to attack, but to intimidate and fragment by threat.

The United States developed the ERW solely to neutralize this threat. Fired from a howitzer or short-range missile, the ERW obliterates everything within a radius of about 120 yards, inflicting no physical damage beyond. It releases neutrons, which flash through the thickest armor with the ease of light passing through a window. The neutrons instantly kill tank crews, soldiers and anybody else in a radius of 500 yards, and cause death within hours or days to all inside a radius of one mile. The radiation effects dissipate quickly, though, and the area affected may safely be entered only hours later.

After technological breakthroughs in the mid-1970s made production of an ERW feasible, military strategists advanced the following arguments: The ERW would render the 20,000 communist tanks menacing NATO by and large useless, militarily and politically. The ERW could wipe out the crews of entire communist armored divisions, while causing minimal civilian casualties and physical devastation. In other words, NATO could defend Western Europe without destroying much of the area and its population.

Accordingly, President Gerald Ford in April 1976 approved the enhanced-radiation warhead. But in June 1977 President Jimmy Carter announced that he would delay final decision until November.

Now the Russians had time and opportunity to initiate a worldwide campaign to pressure President Carter to do as they wished. In little more than a month, the Politburo, the International Department of the Central Committee, the KGB, their worldwide web of agents and front groups, and the Soviet press were ready. They began July 9, 1977, with a cry from TASS aimed at Carter himself: "How can one pose as a champion of human rights and at the same time brandish the neutron bomb, which threatens the lives of millions of people?" The Kremlin then warned the world that the neutron bomb can "only bring the world closer to nuclear holocaust."

Throughout July the Soviet press and radio, in an ever-rising chorus, sounded variations of this refrain: The ghastly new American weapon, the neutron bomb, threatens mankind with nuclear extinction. To be for the neutron bomb is to be for war. To oppose the neutron bomb is to be for peace.

Faithfully, the state-controlled media of Eastern Europe and the newspapers of communist parties in Western Europe echoed the bombast emanating from Moscow.

ORCHESTRATED PROTEST

Initially, the Active Measures against the ERW were mostly overt and the propaganda was traceable to communist sources. But in August the campaign advanced into semi-covert and clandestine phases. The World Peace Council proclaimed August 6-13, 1977, a Week of Action, and its front groups, abetted by the KGB and local communist parties, promoted public demonstrations whose Soviet sponsorship was less perceptible. That week crowds, pleading in the name of humanity against the "killer neutron bomb," demonstrated before U.S. consulates or embassies in Bonn, Stuttgart, Frankfurt and Istanbul. Though subtly directed by Soviet agents, the demonstrators—in Germany and the Netherlands at least—were mostly non-communists attracted by intensive advertising, and motivated by a variety of impulses: anti-Americanism, pacifism, abhorrence of all nuclear weapons and a sincere longing for peace.

Elsewhere, in lands where the ERW never would be used, KGB Residencies did their job by planting disinformation in the local press. One prestigious Latin American newspaper published an antineutron-bomb article attributed to the International Institute for Peace in Vienna, which was not identified as the Soviet front that it is. A small communist clique in Lima dispatched a formal protest to the United Nations. A spate of Soviet-inspired articles appeared in India, Pakistan, Mauritius, Ghana, Ethiopia and Libya.

Concurrently, within its own empire, the Soviet Union beat the propaganda drums in a new crescendo. From East Berlin, Reuters on August 8 reported: "Twenty-eight European and North American Communist parties today joined in an unusual display of public unity to call on the United States to ban production of the neutron bomb." A sturdy worker in Moscow recalled the suffering of World War II; by coincidence, another man 1500 miles away in Uzbekistan spoke almost exactly the same words.

In October, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown announced President Carter would approve production of the ERW only if NATO allies agreed in advance to its deploy-

ment on their territories. Western European leaders recognized the ERW as a much safer, more credible deterrent than the nuclear warheads already on their soil, and privately wanted it added to NATO defenses. But by temporizing and publicly shifting the burden of decision to them, Carter exposed Allied leaders as well as himself to intensified pressures.

Accurately assessing Carter as a devoted Baptist, the Russians played upon his deep religious faith. In a dispatch quoted by the American press, TASS reported: "Soviet Baptist leaders today condemned production of the neutron bomb as 'contrary to the teachings of Christ' and urged fellow Baptists in the United States to raise their voices in defense of peace." As President and Mrs. Carter worshiped at the First Baptist Church in Washington on Sunday, October 16, 1977, six outsiders disrupted the service with shouts against the neutron bomb. And on two more occasions, protesters harassed the Carters at church.

In January 1978 Brezhnev sent letters to the heads of all Western governments asserting that the neutron bomb would "pose a grave threat to détente." Western members of parliament received similar letters from members of the Supreme Soviet and Soviet trade union leaders.

Emboldened by the initial furor the Active Measures campaign had incited, the KGB and International Department moved on the U.S. Congress. American communists, joined by non-communists, formed a National Committee to welcome Romesh Chandra and the World Peace Council presidential bureau to a "Dialogue for Disarmament and Détente" held in Washington from January 25 to 28. U.S. Rep. John Conyers, Jr., heartily greeted the group. "You have joined us to give us courage and inspiration in our fight for disarmament and against the neutron bomb," he said.

The KGB provided the star of this show at the Capitol. Reporting the proceedings, which included a luncheon in the House of Representatives, the communist Daily World said: "Every now and then one of the speakers would strike an emotional chord that was both personal and political, a human plea that sank deeply into the listeners. One such speaker was Radomir Bogdanov of the Soviet Academy of Sciences." The Daily World neglected to mention that Bogdanov is a KGB officer.

Having given "courage and inspiration" to U.S. Congressmen, agent Chandra and Colonel Bogdanov proceeded to New York where the WPC group had "long and fruitful discussions" with U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim.

In late February, 126 representatives of peace-groups from 50 nations gathered in Geneva to denounce the neutron bomb. They attracted attention from an uncritical press that did not ask who was paying for this extravaganza allegedly sponsored by a heretofore unknown outfit calling itself the Special Nongovernmental Organizations Committee on Disarmament. The actual organizers and sponsors were the World Peace Council, its Swiss allies and Eastern European "diplomats" accredited to the United Nations in Geneva. The presiding officer was the ubiquitous agent Chandra.

On March 19, in a rally organized primarily by the Dutch Communist Party, some 40,000 demonstrators, drawn from throughout Europe at considerable expense to the rally's sponsors, marched through Amsterdam inveighing against the horrors of the neutron bomb and the nuclear holocaust it surely would precipitate. The protest, part of the International Forum Against the Neutron Bomb, doubtless constituted evi-

dence to many that the neutron bomb must be very bad indeed.

AMERICAN RETREAT

Despite the illusion of a worldwide tide of sentiment welling up against the ERW, President Carter's three principal foreign-policy advisers—Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown and National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski—all urged production. So did the Washington Post and the New York Times. Declared the Times: "Ever since the Carter Administration asked Congress last summer for funds to produce enhanced-radiation nuclear warheads, critics ranging from Soviet propagandists to Western cartoonists have had a field day attacking the so-called 'neutron bomb.' The archetypal capitalist weapon, Moscow has called it, a destroyer of people but not property. Grim forecasts of lingering radiation deaths have filled newspaper columns worldwide. Rarely have the relevant questions been asked: Is the neutron weapon really more terrible than other nuclear weapons? And more important, would its deployment make nuclear war more likely?"

"The answer to both these questions is almost certainly 'No.' . . . Neutron weapons in Western hands would significantly complicate Soviet tactical planning: If its tanks were to attack in mass, they would be highly vulnerable. If they were to disperse, they would be easier targets for conventional precision-guided anti-tank weapons. . . ."

Such logic was unavailing. On April 7, 1978, President Carter announced the ERW's cancellation. The communists gloated. "The political campaign against the neutron bomb was one of the most significant and successful since World War II," boasted Janos Berecz, chief of the Hungarian Communist Party's International Department. And Leonid Brezhnev himself decorated Soviet Ambassador Aleksandr Yosipovich Romanov for his services in inciting the Dutch demonstrations.

In unilaterally abandoning plans to produce the enhanced-radiation warhead, the United States secured no reciprocal or compensatory concessions from the Soviet Union. Abandonment gained no good will from those people endemically hostile to the plan or those convinced that it had pushed the world to the precipice of nuclear war by developing a ghastly new weapon.

By arming NATO with the enhanced-radiation warhead, the United States had intended to demonstrate to friends that it possessed the will and capacity to participate effectively in their defense. By vacillating, then capitulating before the pressures of Soviet Active Measures, the United States showed itself to be irresolute and, in the eyes of many friends, witless.

The retreat especially frightened Europeans threatened by the Soviets' newest weapon of mass destruction, the SS-20 missile. The SS-20 is an accurate, mobile weapon that can be concealed from detection by space satellites and reconnaissance aircraft. In 1977 the Russians had begun deploying the first of 315 of these missiles, each with three nuclear warheads that can be directed at separate targets. Thus the Soviet Union now had an intimidating new force, which within 15 minutes from launch could obliterate 945 European targets—including every sizable city from Oslo to Lisbon, from Glasgow to Istanbul.

At the insistence of the Western Europeans and particularly West German Chancellor Schmidt, the Carter Administration finally agreed to emplace, under joint U.S.-NATO control, 572 Pershing II and cruise missiles as a counterpoise to the SS-20s. Unlike the old missiles they would replace,

the intermediate-range Pershing II and cruise missiles could reach Moscow and other cities in the western Soviet Union. Both are mobile, can be hidden and could probably survive a surprise attack. Unlike the SS-20, the new American missiles would be armed only with a single warhead.

NATO strategists reasoned that the 572 warheads would suffice to void the threat of the SS-20 by convincing the Russians that attack upon Western Europe automatically would bring a catastrophic counterattack. The balance of nuclear terror, which has kept peace in Europe for more than three decades, would be restored; neither side could credibly threaten the other with nuclear assault. NATO ministers in December 1979 overwhelmingly approved deployment of the modern missiles, and the United States promised to put them in place by late 1983.

Throughout the 1980 Presidential campaign, candidate Ronald Reagan declared that, if elected, he would restore American military power to the degree necessary to deter Soviet intimidation or attack. A few days after Reagan won, the Soviet Union instigated the great new Active Measures campaign to prevent NATO from countering the SS-20s and to reverse the American election results by nullifying the rearmament program implicitly mandated by the voters. After the success of the anti-neutron-bomb campaign, their expectations were high.

NUCLEAR FREEZE

On February 23, 1981, Leonid Brezhnev, addressing the 26th Communist Party Congress, issued an official call for a nuclear freeze—an immediate cessation of development of any new weapons system.

Such a moratorium would achieve the fundamental Soviet objective of aborting American production and deployment of the enhanced-radiation warhead (re-initiated by Reagan), the mobile MX, Pershing II and cruise missiles, and a new manned bomber, the B-1. It would leave Western Europe vulnerable to the relentlessly expanding communist forces—now including an astonishing 42,500 tanks and 315 deadly SS-20 missiles. It would leave the United States with a fleet of old, obsolete strategic bombers unlikely to penetrate Soviet air defenses and with an aging force of fixed land-based missiles vulnerable to a first strike by gigantic new Soviet missiles.

Instantly the KGB, the International Department and the immense Active Measures apparatus heeded Brezhnev's call. With the World Peace Council, its foreign affiliates and local communist parties again the principal organizers, a new series of mass demonstrations occurred in Europe. An estimated 250,000 people marched in Bonn, protesting against any new missiles or nuclear weapons. Soviet fronts helped assemble a throng estimated at 350,000 in Amsterdam, a reported 400,000 in Madrid and 200,000 in Athens.

The KGB all along played its traditional part. Dutch authorities in April 1981 expelled KGB officer Vadim Leonov who, in the guise of a TASS correspondent, associated closely with leaders of the Dutch peace movement. Leonov made a number of professional mistakes, including a drunken boast to a Dutch counterintelligence source. "If Moscow decides that 50,000 demonstrators must take to the streets in the Netherlands, then they take to the streets. Do you know how you can get 50,000 demonstrators at a certain place within a week? A message through my channels is sufficient," Leonov bragged. In November Norway expelled KGB officer Stanislav Chebotek for offering bribes to those Norwegians who would

write letters to newspapers denouncing NATO and the proposed missiles for Europe.

In January 1982 Portugal ousted two KGB officers, Yuri Babaints and Mikhail Morozov, for attempting to incite riots against NATO. That same month the Portuguese also denied visas to Soviet Peace Committee representatives who wanted to join a communist-sponsored demonstration against NATO and the missiles on grounds that they were Soviet subversives. The Portuguese Socialist Party boycotted the Lisbon march, deriding it as a "reflection of the diplomatic and military logic of the Soviet bloc."

However, the march of about 50,000 people proceeded—with U.S. Congressman Gus Savage as one of its leaders. In a newsletter to constituents, Savage boasted of his participation in activities of the World Peace Council, which he described as "the largest non-governmental peace organization in the world."

All the while the KGB was manufacturing a spate of forged documents intended to buttress the theme that American rather than Soviet nuclear weapons most imperil Western Europe. It succeeded in circulating in Great Britain, the Netherlands, Norway, Belgium, Malta, Greece and France a pamphlet entitled "Top Secret Documents . . . on U.S. Forces Headquarters in Europe . . . Holocaust Again for Europe." The contents consisted of alterations and fabrications based upon authentic military-contingency plans stolen by a KGB agent, Sgt. Robert Lee Johnson, from the Armed Forces Courier Center vault at Orly Field in 1962. The fabrications purported to show that the United States planned to blow up much of Europe with nuclear weapons to save itself.

Reproducing a standard, unclassified U.S. government map of Austria, the KGB labeled it top secret and marked targets on it. Both the Austrian communist newspaper *Volksstimme* and *Komsomolskaya Pravda* in Moscow published stories alleging that the map proved the United States planned to destroy Austrian cities and installations with nuclear bombs.

In Denmark, writer Arne Herlov Petersen, a KGB agent since 1970, helped organize a propaganda drive advocating a Nordic Nuclear Weapon Free Zone, i.e., stripping the northern flank of NATO of all nuclear defenses. As part of this effort, he composed an advertisement signed by 150 Danish artists and intellectuals and bought newspaper space with KGB money. In the summer of 1981 Petersen sponsored a peace march from Oslo to Paris, and he also published under his own name propaganda tracts written by the KGB.

Danish counterintelligence officers witnessed 23 clandestine meetings between Petersen and Maj. Vladimir Dmitriyevich Merkulov, Active Measures officer at the KGB Residency in Copenhagen. Finally, in October 1981, they arrested Petersen as a Soviet agent. Merkulov, who had been active in the Danish Cooperation Committee for Peace and Security, a communist-dominated subsidiary of the World Peace Council, was expelled.

THE U.S. MOVEMENT

While the Soviet-inspired demonstrations against NATO and the new missiles raged across Europe, protests in America initially were scant and inconsequential. But on March 20, 1981, less than one month after Brezhnev called for a nuclear freeze, the first national strategy conference of the American Nuclear Freeze Campaign convened for three days in a meeting hall at Georgetown University in Washington. The topics of the skills-sharing workshops sug-

gest just how farsighted and well considered the planning was. Working sessions were conducted to teach activists about: "Congressional District/Petitions Approach; Referendum/State Legislator Approach; Organizing Around Nuclear Weapon Facilities; How to Approach Middle-America—Small Group and One-to-One Techniques; Media; Reaching and Activating National Organizations (Including Your Own); Working with the Religious Community; Working with the Medical and Scientific Community; Working with Groups with a Human Needs Agenda."

Virtually the entire blueprint for the nuclear-freeze campaign that followed was drawn in comprehensive detail. Speakers stressed that the beauty of the nuclear freeze derives from its simplicity. It would enable all people sincerely concerned about the danger of nuclear war to answer for themselves the question, "What can I do?"

According to a "peace" movement newspaper, the organizers at Georgetown comprised "between 275 and 300 predominantly white middle-class people from 33 states, Great Britain and the Soviet Union." Records available today identify only two of the invited Soviet guests. One was Oleg Bogdanov, an International Department specialist in Active Measures, who flew in from Moscow. The other was Yuri S. Kapralov, who represents himself as a counselor at the Soviet embassy in Washington. Kapralov was not merely an observer. He mingled with disarmament proponents, urging them on in their efforts to abort new American weapons. He was an official member of the discussion panel, and, as one listener put it, his statements were "very impressive."

But Yuri Kapralov did not speak just for himself. Kapralov is a KGB officer who, ever since arriving in the United States in 1978, has dedicated himself to penetrating the peace movement. Thus, little more than two miles from the White House, the KGB helped organize and inaugurate the American "nuclear freeze" campaign. While many civic and church groups of unassailable repute were to join in advocating the "freeze," in terms of the strategy and organization of the drive, this little-noted conference at Georgetown was a seminal meeting.

KGB officer Kapralov subsequently showed up at other American forums advocating peace and disarmament. According to press accounts he received some of the loudest applause given speakers by about 800 Harvard students and faculty members, and the Boston Globe termed him "one of the most effective speakers." Blaming the arms race on the United States, Kapralov said, "It's funny that when our leaders talk very clearly about their desire for peace, some of your people just discredit it as transparent propaganda. We would prefer that you leaders would talk as clearly and as forcefully for peace and arms control as ours." More applause.

When Brezhnev called for a nuclear freeze, he adjured scientists to join in warning the public of the horrors of nuclear war. On March 20, the same day the Nuclear Freeze Campaign strategy conference began at Georgetown University, a new outfit, titled International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, held its first annual conference. The Soviet delegation to the meeting in Virginia included Brezhnev's personal physician, Evgeny Chazov. But the head of the delegation was not a physician at all. He was none other than Georgi Arbatov, the International Department operative, one of the masterminds of the Active Measures campaign.

The cold war was entirely the fault of the United States, according to Arbatov. Amer-

ica started it by dropping an atomic bomb on Hiroshima. The Russians have always believed, declared Arbatov, that the first atomic bomb was aimed as much at them as at the Japanese. New weapons will not enhance the security of anyone, Arbatov argued. America should spend its money on the needy, the underfed, the starving; not on arms. According to the Toronto Star, the assembly rewarded Arbatov with "thunderous applause."

Following the Georgetown and Virginia conferences, the U.S. Peace Council arranged for a World Peace Council delegation, with Romesh Chandra at the forefront, to tour American cities. The appearance most beneficial to them was on Capitol Hill where, in May, Representatives John Conyers, Jr., Don Edwards, Mervyn Dymally, George Crockett, Jr., Ted Weiss and Mickey Leland invited colleagues to meet and listen to the WPC delegates. Whether or not the delegation's lobbying in behalf of Soviet interests affected any of the Congressmen, the cordial welcome Chandra and his colleagues received at the Capitol lent them a useful measure of respectability as bona-fide seekers of peace.

Continuing organizational efforts orchestrated from Moscow resulted in a series of conferences at which assorted peace and allied special-interest groups planned specific actions. The strategy that emerged envisioned a rising furor of demonstrations, agitation and propaganda against the European missiles and new U.S. weapons and in favor of the nuclear freeze proposed by Brezhnev. Various leaders repeatedly emphasized the necessity of rounding up "newly aroused individuals and constituencies" so, as one put it, "the demonstrations would not appear to be a primarily 'peace movement' event."

OTHER GOALS OF "PEACE"

The idea of a nuclear freeze was not new in the United States. It had been advanced two years earlier at a convention of the Mobilization for Survival (MFS), composed of three dozen or so organizations, including the U.S. Communist Party, the U.S. Peace Council, and Women Strike for Peace. One energetic leader of the Mobilization for Survival is Terry Provan, a World Peace Council activist who in 1979 participated in the founding meeting of its American branch, the U.S. Peace Council. Provan earlier led the campaign against the B-1 bomber and then became coordinator of the disarmament program of the American Friends Service Committee.

When the freeze campaign revived in 1981, MFS sponsored a strategy conference attended by representatives of some 46 peace and disarmament factions and held in Nyack, N.Y., the weekend of October 23 to 25. Provan, who had spoken at a disarmament rally in West Germany earlier in the year, discussed plans for high-profile Europeans active in the disarmament movement to come to the United States in ensuing months to stimulate the American movement. Conference participants were told that the months ahead would be "a key time to organize local public meetings and/or demonstrations," demanding a "suspension of all U.S. plans to deploy Pershing II and cruise missiles."

The action agenda adopted called for support of the nuclear freeze, solidarity with the European peace movement, "creative, dramatic actions" against large corporations, propaganda against both nuclear arms and nuclear power, and attempts to attract more followers by blaming social ills on "the military budget."

Two weeks later agent Chandra flew to New York to confer with American communist leaders and attend a conference of the U.S. Peace Council, which attracted representatives from a mélange of peace, religious and radical organizations. Chandra and Achim Maske of the West German peace movement both implored the Americans to redouble agitation to block the Pershing II and cruise missiles. As a pattern for their lobbying, Chandra commended recent pronouncements of Brezhnev's.

Congressman Savage spoke about how to induct blacks and other minorities into the disarmament drive. Congressman Conyers exhorted the activists to rally behind efforts to transfer funds from the defense budget to welfare programs. The executive director of the U.S. Peace Council, Michael Myerson, a longtime communist functionary, asserted that the U.S. Peace Council had a unique responsibility to fuse the cause of disarmament with that of the Palestine Liberation Organization and guerrillas in El Salvador, Guatemala, Chile and South Africa.

On November 15, 1981, the day the U.S. Peace Council gathering ended, the Riverside Church in New York opened a conference on "The Arms Race and Us." Serving as host and hostess were the Rev. William Sloan Coffin and Cora Weiss, whom he engaged as the Riverside Church disarmament-program director.

During the Vietnam war Weiss was a leader of Women Strike for Peace. A Congressional study characterized Women Strike for Peace as "a pro-Hanoi organization" which from its inception "has enjoyed the complete support of the Communist Party." Even while the fighting continued, Weiss traveled to both Hanoi and Paris to consult with the North Vietnamese. Subsequently she became a director of Friendship, established to funnel American aid to Vietnam after the communist victory. In 1976, she joined a coalition formed to stage anti-government demonstrations during the bicentennial celebrations. Weiss also has helped sponsor the Center for Cuban Studies, a group to which Fidel Castro personally expressed his appreciation on its tenth anniversary.

About 500 disarmament proponents from around the nation attended the conference Weiss organized. A prominent new performer on the disarmament scene, Australian-born pediatrician Helen Caldicott, did her best to instill fear and loathing. "We are on the brink of extinction," she warned. While Caldicott had no criticism of Soviet weapons, she likened the christening of a U.S. Trident submarine to christening "Auschwitz," to "a gas oven full of Jews burning up."

Caldicott, who now devotes herself fully to running another peace lobby, Physicians for Social Responsibility, did sound one positive note. She had just toured Europe, whipping up support for the freeze. "It was a wonderful feeling to be over there," she said, because "the fear was palpable but realistic." By contrast, she lamented, "the Americans seem to have no panic. Why?" Caldicott concluded by quoting an ecclesiastical appeal for unilateral American disarmament.

Surely her words heartened KGB officer Kapralov, who came up from the Washington Residency to participate in the start of the Riverside Church Disarmament Program.

Mobilization for Survival convened its climatic strategy session early last December on the campus of the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee. Some of the MFS leaders were frank in their statements of tactics, strategy and goals. A staff organizer from Boston, Leslie Cagan, said that current ex-

pediency necessitates a coalition that "makes it easier to call up more people to demonstrate." Construction of a coalition with "diversity of composition," she explained, requires "a common enemy as well as a common vision." As useful enemies, Cagan cited President Reagan, "our military-industrial complex, racism and sexism."

Mel King, a Massachusetts state legislator active in both the World Peace Council and the U.S. Peace Council, demanded a more militant spirit. "We've been too damn nice," he declared. "It's time we stopped just getting mad and started getting even."

In workshops, allies of the revolutionary Weather Underground lobbied for terrorism in general, "direct action" and "armed propaganda" against installations involved in production of nuclear power and weapons. Lauded as "genuine people's leaders" were two convicts: Puerto Rican Rafael Cancel Miranda, one of the four terrorists who shot up the House of Representatives, wounding five Congressmen, and American Indian Movement leader Leonard Peltier, who killed two FBI agents from ambush.

The business of the conference included the practical planning of 1982 demonstrations at air bases, missile sites and defense plants; the formation of task forces to write letters to newspapers and importune elected officials in behalf of the nuclear freeze and against major American weapons systems. The Rev. Robert Moore, an MFS national staff member and a leader in the Nuclear Freeze Campaign, together with staff organizer Paul Mayer, stressed the advantages of bringing the campaign to a climax during the U.N. Special Session on Disarmament beginning in June.

INVERTED REALITY

The World Peace Council in the December 1981 issue of Peace Courier happily reported that its U.S. Peace Council was progressing well in collecting signatures on petitions advocating the nuclear freeze, promoting a California referendum on the freeze, and advertising the Jobs for Peace Campaign, another plan to divert money from defense to welfare.

The World Peace Council, its parent, the International Department, the KGB and the Politburo all had ample grounds to be pleased. Like the simple slogans of past Soviet Active Measures, nuclear freeze appealed to many Americans who honestly desired to do something about the transcendent issue of war and peace. From the East Coast to the West Coast, town councils and county boards of supervisors paused in their deliberations about zoning, sewage systems and school budgets to pass resolutions favoring the nuclear freeze. Nearly 600,000 Californians petitioned for a referendum to accord their state in favor of the freeze. Prominent religious leaders, educators, scientists, artists, entertainers and other public figures endorsed the nuclear freeze. Helen Caldicott's Physicians for Social Responsibility toiled tirelessly to scare people by pointing to the obvious—wherever detonated, a nuclear bomb would wreak horrendous havoc.

On March 10, 1982, Senators Edward Kennedy and Mark Hatfield introduced a resolution demanding an immediate nuclear freeze, and in the House of Representatives, a parallel resolution was introduced. Even if adopted, the resolutions would be binding upon no one. But they did significantly augment the Soviet campaign to prevent the United States from producing the weapons that would ensure a balance of strategic power.

Meanwhile, on orders from the Center at Lubyanka, the KGB Residency in New York

concentrated much of its manpower upon the freeze campaign. U.S. counterintelligence identified more than 20 Soviet agents endeavoring to influence elements of the peace movement, particularly leaders in religion, labor and science.

Typical of them are KGB officers Sergei Paramonov, Vladimir Shustov and Sergei Divilkovsky, all of whom masquerade as diplomats at the U.N. Paramonov, who participated in the inaugural meeting of the Riverside Church disarmament program, courts wives of clergymen and other women in the peace movement. A charming professional, he entices the naïve with free trips to Moscow, suggesting they can "reduce misunderstandings" between America and Russia. Shustov and Divilkovsky have made numerous visits to Riverside Church. And they have shown up at other churches and meetings of prestigious organizations concerned with peace.

The Soviets supplemented the labors of their New York and Washington residencies by sending people from the Center into the United States on temporary assignments. Even before the freeze movement materialized, a Soviet delegation including KGB officer Andrei Afanasyevich Kokoshin toured the United States, visiting Americans who were to be prominent in the campaign. Another delegation led by Nikolai Mostovets, who heads the North American section of the International Department, plotted strategy with the U.S. Peace Council.

Of the Soviets who applied for visas to attend a disarmament conference sponsored by the National Academy of Sciences in Washington in January 1982, roughly half were known intelligence officers. The State Department refused entry to most of them. Nevertheless, of those who came, almost half were co-opted KGB agents or International Department operatives. One of the Soviet "scientists" was Vitaly Zhurkin who, back in the 1960s, when agent Chandra was being groomed in New Delhi, used to give money and orders to the Indian Communist Party.

In anticipation of a massive nuclear-freeze rally on June 12, 1982, emissaries from 13 Soviet international fronts flooded into New York City. They joined more than 700,000 Americans who paraded and spoke out for peace.

The following week the Soviet Union staged a terrifying rehearsal of a surprise nuclear attack on the United States and Western Europe. In a span of seven hours, they fired land and sea-based missiles designed to kill American satellites, destroy U.S. retaliatory power, obliterate American cities and wipe out Europe. The firings, over Soviet territory and waters, exactly duplicated wartime distances and trajectories, and produced shock among those monitoring them in Washington. Never before had there been such a realistic and comprehensive practice for starting a nuclear war.

There has been no great outcry against these ominous Soviet preparations. Neither has there been any outcry against the relentless Soviet buildup of offensive nuclear weapons.

In Europe demonstrators did not protest against the 315 new Russian missiles that can incinerate all European cities in 20 minutes. Instead, they protested against the 572 weapons that NATO plans to emplace to defend Western Europe. In America the demonstrators did not protest against the 1400 intercontinental missiles aimed at America, many of which are designed to annihilate U.S. missiles in a first strike. Instead, they demonstrated against projected American missiles, bombers and submarines whose deployment would more than any-

thing else ensure that the Soviets never will dare launch the kind of surprise attack for which they practiced last June.

While the demonstrations proceeded in Europe and the United States, seven young European tourists—a Belgian, two Spaniards, two Frenchmen and two Italians—attempted a tiny demonstration in Moscow. On April 19, 1982, in Red Square, they unfurled a banner saying in Russian, "Bread, Life and Disarmament." Instantly, the KGB seized them and carted them to jail before they could pass out a single leaflet in behalf of peace. On August 8, 1982, the Associated Press reported from Moscow: "A cofounder of Moscow's only independent disarmament group is being administered depressant drugs against his will in the psychiatric hospital where he is being held, his wife said today." And at Harvard, students and faculty reserved some of their loudest applause for a spokesman from the KGB, a man from the Lubyanka Center.

Once again, the KGB had succeeded in inverting reality.

U.S. DISARMAMENT ORGANIZATIONS

The disarmament campaign against the U.S. and NATO alliance continues to exalt its activities in the U.S. and Europe targeted on the United Nations Second Special Session on Disarmament (SSD-II) to be held in New York, June 9 to July 7, 1982.

The aim of the European disarmament groups is to stop U.S. and NATO deployment of intermediate range Pershing II missiles, cruise missiles, and neutron warheads. The principal organizing tool of the U.S. disarmament movement is the "nuclear freeze" campaign that would stop development and deployment of any new U.S. strategic weapon including the MX missile, Trident submarine and B-1 bomber which previously were the targets of separate opposition campaigns.

It is noted that the World Peace Council (WPC), the principal Soviet covert action front, has been conducting campaigns to block NATO deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles and the neutron warheads since 1977; and that many European disarmament groups are supporting the March 1982 Brezhnev proposal for a nuclear freeze in Europe.

a "nuclear freeze" in Europe would accomplish the Soviet goal of blocking NATO deployments. Aside from questions of checking compliance, a European "nuclear freeze" would leave the USSR with both a decisive edge in conventional forces in Europe and with 300 mobile SS-20 missiles carrying 900 warheads whose range, even if based on the Asiatic side of the Ural Mountains, could reach NATO forces and U.S. bases as distant as England, Spain, Portugal, Greece and Turkey as well as countries in the Middle East and North Africa.

It is also noted that while "nuclear freeze" proposals have been proposed for decades, including one proposed in 1980 by Randall Forsbert, director of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies (IDDS), the disarmament organizations which have links to the WPC and other Soviet covert action fronts commenced the major National Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze at a meeting in Washington, D.C., in March 1981, not long after an expression of support for a nuclear weapons "moratorium" by Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev in his address to the 26th Congress of Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU).

In the context of the local demonstrations against nuclear weapons-related facilities; the "nuclear freeze" initiatives being brought before town meetings, city councils, state legislatures and Congress; and organiz-

ing for the June 12 demonstration in New York, the following directory has been compiled of some of the key organizations and groups involved in disarmament, together with characterizations.

American Committee on East-West Accord (ACEWA)—227 Massachusetts Avenue, NE, Washington, DC 20002 [202/546-1700] is incorporated as a tax-exempt "independent educational organization" and says it is "aimed at improving East-West relations, with special focus on U.S.-Soviet relations." ACEWA and its leaders have consistently urged U.S. trade, foreign policy and arms control concessions to the USSR in order to promote "detente."

ACEWA's co-chairmen are Seymour Melman, 74, also co-chairman of SANE and who provided a strident attack on the concept of U.S. defense at a March 28, 1982, citizen conference sponsored by Rep. Ted Weiss (D-NY); and George F. Kennan, architect of the strategy of "containment" (the corollary of which meant that the U.S. would refrain from contesting Soviet control of Eastern Europe) and who is presently organizing a campaign for a U.S. policy to never be the first to use nuclear weapons in any conflict. Another Kennan proposal being currently promoted by ACEWA is for the U.S. to immediately reduce its number of nuclear weapons by 50%.

ACEWA's co-directors are Jeanne Mattison and Carl M. Marcy, for 20 years chief of staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and then a Ford Administration member of the General Advisory Committee on Arms Control. In 1976, Marcy was editor-in-chief of the Center for International Policy (CIP), and a member of the CIP board of advisers.

ACEWA's newsletter, *East-West Outlook*, edited by Marcy, carries articles promoting the extreme view standard among radical disarmament groups that any use of nuclear weapons will bring total extinction of all life on earth and that it is therefore the responsibility of Americans to take the initiative in getting rid of nuclear weapons.

ACEWA's influence in the business and academic community is shown in a report on U.S. peace organizations prepared for potential donors dated February 22, 1982, by Ann B. Zill of the Stewart Mott Foundation. Zill wrote:

"In the late April to early May period, the committee will have its annual meeting at some point when George Kennan, [John] Kenneth Galbraith, Don Kendall (Pepsi Cola) and Bob Schmidt (Control Data) can all attend. They will again discuss the * * * Kennan proposal and will hear from some high ranking government official, possibly off the record. The Committee does have to be careful about taking positions that would cause its conservative members to resign."

The Zill report noted that ACEWA had received two years' funding from the Ford Foundation for a series of meetings with all the former ambassadors to the Soviet Union, but curiously "these probably won't be publicized."

Another current ACEWA project is the production of 60-second radio spots for broadcast during morning and evening "drive-time" periods. Zill reported these will vary in approach "from a soft sell approach (we all have common interests, don't we) to hard sell (do you know the Soviets have two aircrafts to four 14)." Mark Lewis, formerly with the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), Zill reported was working on the radio spots and "monies have been received to date from the Rockefeller Brothers and the Ruth Mott Fund."

In its newsletter, *East-West Outlook*, [March-April 1982, Vol. 5, No. 2], ACEWA boasts that among the 350 endorsers of the

Kennedy-Hatfield nuclear freeze resolution introduced in the Senate on March 10, 1982, are the following influential ACEWA members:

George Ball, Senior Managing Director, Lehman Brothers and former Under Secretary of State; Hodding Carter, III, Public Broadcasting System, and former Assistant Secretary of State; Bernard T. Feld, chairman of the executive committee of the Pugwash Conferences, Professor of Physics, M.I.T., and editor, *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*; Joseph Filner, Noblenet International; Roger Fisher, Professor of Law, Harvard Law School, and former consultant to the Assistant Secretary of Defense for National Security; J. William Fullbright, former chairman, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations; Marshall Goldman, associate director, Russian Research Center and Professor of Economics, Wellesley College; Jerome Grossman, president, Council for a Liveable World; W. Averell Harriman, former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union; Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, S.J., president, University of Notre Dame; Stanley Hoffman, Professor of Government and chairman, Center for European Studies, Harvard University; Townsend Hoopes, former Under Secretary of the Air Force; George F. Kennan, professor emeritus, Institute for Advance Studies, Princeton, and former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia; George Kistiakowsky, professor emeritus of chemistry, Harvard University, and former Science Advisor to Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson; Philip Klutznick, Former Secretary of Commerce; Wassily Leontief, Professor of Economics, New York University and Nobel Laureate; David Linebaugh, Foreign Service Officer (ret.), and former Deputy Assistant Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; Dr. Bernard Lown, Professor of Cardiology, Harvard School of Public Health and co-president, International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW); Carl Marcy, co-director, ACEWA; George McGovern, former U.S. Senator; Donald McHenry, professor, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, and former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations; Dr. Avery Post, president, United Church of Christ; George Rathjens, Professor of Political Science, M.I.T., and former director of Weapons Systems Evaluation Division, Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA); Harrison Salisbury, Soviet Scholar and Author; Erwin A. Salk, attorney; Herbert Scoville, Jr., former Deputy Director for Research and Assistant Director of Scientific Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency, and Assistant Director, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; J. David Singer, Professor of National Security Studies, The Brookings Institution; Jeremy J. Stone, director, Federation of American Scientists; William P. Thompson, Stated Clerk, General Assembly, United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; Jerome B. Wiesner, past president, M.I.T., and Science Adviser to President Kennedy; Adam Yarmolinsky, former counselor to the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; Herbert F. York, former U.S. negotiator for the Comprehensive Test Ban.

American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)—1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102 [215/242-7000] was formed in 1917 by a group of fourteen socialist Quakers to aid draft resisters. AFSC has been penetrated and used by Communists since the early 1920s when it sent Jessica Smith, later married to Harold Ware and John Abt (since the 1950s CPUSA general counsel and a member of the CPUSA Political Commit-

tee) to the Soviet Union to determine famine relief needs in Russia exacerbated by Civil war and the collectivization of farmland.

Since the 1960's, the AFSC has supported revolutionary terrorist groups such as the Vietcong, Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and the Central American Castroite groups. The theory behind AFSC's support of terrorist "national liberation movements" was outlined by Jim Bristol in a pamphlet published by AFSC in 1972 and continuously reprinted entitled "Non-violence: Not First for Export." Because of AFSC's leadership role in organizing not only support for terrorist revolutionary groups, but in the present disarmament campaign initiated through the USSR's covert action apparatus for political warfare, a closer look at AFSC's apology for terrorist violence is appropriate.

In the AFSC pamphlet, Bristol presents the totalitarian revolutionary goal in the most glowing terms as a utopia:

"a human society where the worth of the individual will be recognized and each person treated with respect. * * * Land reform measures will be enacted * * *. Education will be provided for every member of the society; * * *. There will be employment for all. Discrimination because of race, colour or creed will end. Universal medical care will be provided."

AFSC's pamphlet asserts that the U.S. and other Free World countries are guilty of a bizarre "terrorism" which it calls the "violence of the status quo" and irrationally defines this in the broadest possible terms not only as every possible social ill, but also personal or social discomfort. In the words of the pamphlet, this "violence of the status quo" is:

"the agony of millions who in varying degrees suffer hunger, poverty, ill-health, lack of education, non-acceptance by their fellow men. It is compounded of slights and insults, of rampant injustice, of exploitation, of police brutality, of a thousand indignities from dawn to dusk and through the night.

While most would define terrorism as "a violent attack on a non-combatant segment of the community for the purpose of intimidation, to achieve a political or military objective," AFSC's pamphlet excuses terrorism in the following terms:

"terrorism * * * repeatedly * * * is used to signify violent action on the part of oppressed peoples in Asia, Africa, Latin America or within the black ghettos of America, as they take up the weapons of violence in a desperate effort to wrest for themselves the freedom and justice denied them by the systems that presently control their lives. What is so easily (one suspects, often deliberately) overlooked is the fact that the regimes rebelled against are the incarnation of a greater violence than any used in the struggle against them.

* * * before we deplore terrorism, it is essential for us to recognize whose 'terrorism' came first * * *. It is easy to recognize the violence of the revolutionary when he strikes out against the inequities and cruelties of the established order. What millions of middle-class and other non-poor fail to realize is that they are themselves accomplices each day in meting out inhuman, all-pervading violence upon their fellows."

After this apology for the concept of class warfare, which makes "permissible" terrorist attacks on civilians since they are part of the "oppressive class," the AFSC pamphlet says that U.S. activists should not concern themselves with what sort of violent tactics revolutionaries utilize to achieve their ends. Instead, they should work to disarm the U.S. and for economic warfare against the U.S.'s "oppressive" allies. In its words:

"Instead of trying to devise nonviolent strategy and tactics for revolutionaries in other lands, we will bend every effort to defuse militarism in our own land and to secure the withdrawal of American economic investment in oppressive regimes in other parts of the world."

Following these justifications of terrorist violence by Third World "national liberation movements" in the U.S. and in foreign countries, the AFSC pamphlet concludes with a call for revolution in the U.S., saying:

"Revolution then is needed first and foremost in the United States, thoroughgoing revolution, not a mild palliative."

Similar sentiments were expressed in an article in the March 1982 issue of Fellowship by Russell Johnson, Senior Program Associate of the N.E. Regional Office of the AFSC, and for many years its Peace Secretary. Describing his visits to Poland (1959), North Vietnam (1967), and Cuba (1969), he determined the North Vietnamese were "heroic people, small in stature, but magnificent in spirit * * * united * * * in a struggle to free their country from foreign domination," and wrote that the fear of communism by "the dominant interests in the United States * * * has little to do with issues of democracy and human rights, but much to do with private property and with access to mineral and petroleum resources and to cheap land and labor. Any nationalization of a country's wealth threatens these private, privileged interests."

Johnson also cited a Cuban telling him in 1969, "If you North Americans could go back to your own country and work to disarm it and to end its counter-revolutionary activity, then maybe we wouldn't have to carry weapons here in Cuba."

As a result of AFSC support for the Vietcong, the Philadelphia Meeting of the Society of Friends withdrew financial support from the AFSC.

The AFSC worked in collaboration with the World Peace Council against U.S. aid to South Vietnam, sending "observers" to participate in WPC meetings. AFSC's six key program areas are disarmament, headed by WPC activist Terry Provance and human rights; global justice (targeting South Korea and Central America); the Middle East (where AFSC supports the cause of the terrorist Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO); southern Africa (where AFSC supports the pro-Soviet terrorist movements in Namibia and South Africa); Indochina (supporting the pro-Soviet Hanoi government in Vietnam and its puppet regime in Cambodia); and opposing registration for a military draft.

The director of the AFSC's Disarmament Program since the revival of the international disarmament campaign in the mid-1970s has been Terry Provance, a WPC activist and founding member of the U.S. Peace Council (USPC) who is also a leader of the Mobilization for Survival (MFS) and is active with the World Information Service on Energy (WISE). Accompanied by two foreign communist WPC activists, Nico Schouten, leader of the Netherlands "Ban the Neutron Bomb" organization, and East German Peace Council head Walter Rumpel, Provance addressed a MFS rally at the U.S. Capitol on October 29, 1979. A civil disobedience demonstration at the Department of Energy followed. On April 4, 1981, Provance spoke at a WPC-initiated anti-NATO rally in Bonn, FRG.

AFSC operates a lobbying arm, the Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL) headed by Ed Snyder, who has played a key role in developing strategy for pressure on Congress against the U.S. defense budget, and particularly against devel-

opment or deployment of new weapons systems.

Another AFSC project, the National Action/Research on the Military/Industrial Complex (NARMIC), serves as the AFSC's "intelligence-gathering arm." NARMIC works closely with the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), a pro-Cuba research group, and other anti-defense and disarmament research organizations.

Arms Control Association (ACA)—operating from 11 Dupont Circle, 9th Floor, Washington, DC 20036 [202-797-6450], with a 1982 budget of some \$200,000, wields considerable influence through its "educational" programs that include 25 or more briefings annually. According to a report dated 2/22/82 by Ann Zill of the Stewart Mott Foundation, ACA briefings are attended yearly by between 700 and 1,000 "academic and diplomatic people, government personnel and afficiandos [sic]."

ACA's leaders include William Kincaid and former CIA official Herbert "Pete" Scoville. Scoville served as the CIA's Assistant Director of Scientific Intelligence and as Deputy Director for Research, and later was Assistant Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. He has been active with the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) since the 1960s in anti-NATO and disarmament projects, and is an advisor to the Center for Defense Information (CDI). In January 1978, Scoville participated in the Washington, D.C., meetings of the WPC Bureau.

For 1982, ACA is sending "editorial advisories" to 1,000 U.S. newspapers on three issues: "How can a nuclear war start? What would the effects be? And how can one be prevented?" Prevention according to ACA means arms control agreements such as the rejected SALT-II treaty in which the U.S. sends "signals" of peaceful intent to the USSR through major concessions.

Business Executives Move For New National Priorities (BEM)—was founded in 1967 as Business Executives Move for Peace in Vietnam by Henry Niles, then chairman of the board of Baltimore life Insurance Company and father-in-law of New Left theoretician Staughton Lynd. BEM's Most active West Coast figure is Harold Willens of Los Angeles who is chairman of the Citizens for a Bilateral Nuclear Weapons Freeze effort to put the "nuclear freeze" proposal on the 1982 California ballot. BEM's name and targeting was changed in 1975, following the Communist conquest of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

BEM attempts to mobilize businessmen who have commercial dealings with the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact states for political action in favor of "detente," against U.S. defense modernization, and for a foreign policy of "non-intervention" against Soviet aggression.

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND)—is the largest "ban the bomb" movement in Great Britain formed as part of the drive for a nuclear test ban treaty in the late 1950s and early 1960s. As of 1982, seven members of the CND national committee were publicly known members of the British Communist Party. With strong backing from the left wing of the British Labour Party, the CND has revived as a key element in the present anti-NATO and anti-U.S. disarmament drive.

Center for Defense Information (CDI)—operating from Capitol Gallery, West Wing #303, 600 Maryland Avenue, SW, Washington, DC [202/484-0490] was formed in 1973 as a spin-off project from the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), a Washington-based, internationally active revolutionary think-

tank. CDI operates under the tax-exemption of the Fund for Peace (FFP). CDI's continuing relationship with IPS includes not only collaboration between LaRocque and IPS cofounder Richard Barnett and the CDI retention among its advisers of long-time IPS fellow Earl C. Ravenal but also former CDI staffer William Arkin's move to head IPS's Arms Race and Nuclear Weapons Project.

CDI members include former military officers, intelligence officers and academics who share attitudes of harsh antagonism towards the U.S. national defense, the NATO alliance and American foreign policy.

CDI's former military officers are frequently quoted by the Soviet propaganda organs to legitimize their attacks on NATO and U.S. defense forces as trigger-happy dangers to peace.

Although CDI states it "supports a strong defense but opposes excessive expenditures or forces," it has opposed every major U.S. weapons system developed during the past decade—from the B-1 bomber and Trident submarine to cruise missiles and neutron warheads—as upsetting the U.S.-Soviet strategic balance while at the same time offering apologies and minimizing the Soviet military build up.

In 1979, in cooperation with the Members of Congress for Peace Through Law Education Fund, CDI financed a 27-minute film, "War Without Winners," to promote the disarmament lobby's claim that "there is no defense against nuclear war," on which basis they also oppose civil defense programs, anti-ballistic missile defenses and development of satellite-based beam weapons. The film was produced by Harold Willens, chairman of the board of the Factory Equipment Corporation, CDI advisor, and a leader of Businessmen Move for New National Priorities (BEM); and its director was Haskell Wexler, the revolutionary film director who in 1975 produced a propaganda film for the terrorist Weather Underground Organization consisting of interviews with five fugitive leaders including Kathy Boudin.

The CDI film project director was its senior staff member Arthur L. Kanegis, now CDI's media director. Late in March 1982, Kanegis, of the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies, was interviewed for National Public Radio's "All Things Considered" news show disputing evidence of Soviet use of nerve gas and biological toxins in Afghanistan and Cambodia.

CDI's newsletter, *Defense Monitor*, publishes carefully selected data that consistently presents the USSR as a weak opponent. For example, a recent issue (Vol. XI Number 1, 1982) asserts "there is no evidence to support the notion of growing Soviet 'geopolitical momentum'" and points to setbacks (some since reversed) in Egypt, Somalia, Guinea, Bangladesh and India without noting gains in Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, South Yemen, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Nicaragua, Grenada, Syria, Iraq, Libya, etc. CDI also has ignored the implications of the unprecedented joint visit to India of Soviet Defense Minister Marshal Dimitri Ustinov (who had never before travelled outside the USSR or Warsaw Pact countries) and Admiral Gorsakov, the chief of the Soviet fleet.

According to the Zill report (2/22/82), CDI's current plans include "hosting, along with the Washington Interreligious Staff Council, a two-day conference for 100 religious leaders" to be presented with CDI's view of the military balance by 1990; Soviet military capacity and limitation; and the future of arms control. The speakers were to include "a representative of Eugene

Rostow, Senator Warner and Representatives Les Aspin and Ron Dellums."

Indications that CDI, in its consistent pattern of attacking the U.S. military while offering excuses for the Soviet build-up, may be serving as a "center for defense disinformation" include not only Gene LaRocque's 1975 claims of U.S. violations with nuclear weapons off-loading agreements with Japan and his stay at the Institute of the U.S.A. and Canada in Moscow, but his more recent overt collaboration with the World Peace Council's "generals and admirals for peace" grouping including Nino Pasti and Gert Bastian. In this light, the Zill report stated:

"On June 15 and 16, 1982, during the UN Special Session on Disarmament, CDI will host a conference of retired military officers from NATO and Warsaw Pact countries to discuss how a nuclear war would be fought/avoided, a first-time ever event. Hyman Rickover will be approached about participating."

*Center for Development Policy (CDP)—418 10th Street, SW, Washington, DC 20003 [202/547-6406] is directed by Lindsay Mattison, who formerly served on the staff of Business Executives Move for Peace in Vietnam (BEM) and as co-director of the CDI's sister project, the Center for International Policy (CIP) where in 1976 his colleagues (CIP staff, advisers and consultants) included Susan Weber, then editor of an IPS publication who had previously spent five years working for Soviet Life, an official Soviet propaganda publication whose American staff are registered individually as Soviet agents under the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act; Richard Barnett, IPS; Orlando Letellier, IPS; David Aaron, Senate Intelligence Committee, aide to Senator Walter Mondale and eventually President Carter's Assistant National Security Advisor; Anthony Lake, Barbara Watson and Joseph Nye, all of whom were appointed to top Carter State Department officials in 1977; and William G. Miller, staff director of the Senate Intelligence Committee.

CDP attacks U.S. investment and development in Third World countries as exploitation. CDP particularly opposes development of nuclear energy in countries allied with the U.S., and its 1982 prime targets include the Philippines, Taiwan, Guatemala and Pakistan. In the disarmament field, it links nuclear power to nuclear weapons.

According to the Zill report, CDP works with U.S. groups including the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA), Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), World Information Service on Energy (WISE), Nuclear Information and Resource Service (NIRS), and Ralph Nader's Critical Mass. In its anti-Taiwan efforts, Zill reported CDP "deals with the expatriot community and Members of Congress like [Senator Edward] Kennedy and [Representative Steve] Solarz."

Center for International Policy (CIP)—based at 120 Maryland Avenue, NE; Washington, DC 20002 [202/544-4666] is one of the projects spun-off from the Institute for Policy Studies in the mid 1970's and operating under the tax-exempt aegis of the Fund for Peace (FFP). CIP's bias was shown in its 1976 statement showing its opposition to all U.S.-supported opposition to Soviet aggression. Said CIP:

"Intervention in the domestic affairs of Chile, military and economic support of dictatorships in Greece, Korea, Brazil and elsewhere, and an effort to involve the U.S. in Angola—these are but a few of the actions undertaken or proposed by the American government in the name of U.S. national interests. . . .

"The American citizen has little opportunity to play a role in such policy determina-

tions. Yet it is the ordinary citizen who pays the price of foreign policy failures—in blood, in economic hardship, and in higher taxes. . . ."

CIP called its role an effort "to develop public participation in the formulation of public policy;" and said it works toward this goal through "a network of journalists, former diplomats, and international officials in the United States and abroad" who report to the CIP—a most unusual apparatus for developing "public participation in the formulation of public policy."

In 1976, while FFP president Nicholas Nyari was a delegate to the World Peace Council's "World Conference to End the Arms Race, for Disarmament and Detente" in Helsinki, CIP staffers included Donald L. Ranard, a 30-year career State Department official who had been director of the Office of Korean Affairs at the time of his retirement and is an opponent of South Korea; Lindsay Mattison, formerly with Business Executives Move for Peace in Vietnam (BEM) and the Coalition for New Foreign and Military Policy (CNFMP); Carl M. Marcy, for 20 years chief of staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and then a legislative counsel at the State Department; William Goodfellow, then director of research of the pro-Hanoi Indochina Resource Center and board member of the Campaign for a Democratic Foreign Policy; James Morrell, a founder of the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars and staffer of the Indochina Resource Center; Mary K. Lynch; Warren Unna, a *Washington Post* reporter for 18 years; and Susan Weber, a former copy editor of *Soviet Life*, an official propaganda publication of the USSR whose American staff, working from the Soviet Embassy, are individually registered as Soviet agents under the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act, and then manager of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) publication, *The Elements*.

CIP's 1976 consultants included David Aaron, aide to Senator Walter Mondale and staffer of the Senate Intelligence Committee, Carter Transition Team liaison to the National Security Council and Carter Assistant National Security Advisor; IPS cofounder Richard Barnett; Tom Dine, Senior Analyst for Defense and International Affairs of the Senate Budget Committee; Richard Falk, IADL activist, participant in the WPC's 1969 Stockholm Conference on Vietnam, and a leader of the Lawyers Committee on U.S. Policy towards Vietnam; Anthony Lake, later a top Carter State Department official; William G. Miller, Senate Intelligence Committee staff director; Joseph Nye, later the Carter State Department official responsible for policy on exports of nuclear power technology to the Third World; and Murray Woldman, staff consultant of Members of Congress for Peace through Law (MCPL).

Among CIP's board of advisers were many former officials who subsequently supported the SALT-II treaty and the Nuclear Freeze. The CIP advisers included Tom Asher (husband of Carter ACTION/VISTA assistant director Marge Tabankin); William Attwood, president and publisher, *Newsday*, former U.S. ambassador; Joel I. Brooke, retired partner, Elmo Roper & Associates; Harlan Cleveland, former Assistant Secretary of State for International Affairs, former U.S. ambassador; Benjamin V. Cohen, former adviser to President Franklin Roosevelt; Adrian W. DeWind, former legislative counsel, U.S. Treasury; Arthur J. Goldberg, former U.S. Supreme Court Justice and U.N. Ambassador; Phillip C. Jessup, former U.S. member of the International Court of Justice; Leon H. Keyserling,

former chairman of the Economic Advisory Council, more recently active with IPS and its offshoots and with the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC); Wasily Leontief, Nobel laureate in economics; Orlando Letelier, then director of the IPS Transnational Institute, former Allende government U.S. Ambassador and Defense Minister, Soviet agent and source for the Senate Intelligence Committee; Carl M. Marcy; Edwin M. Martin, former U.S. ambassador and U.S. representative to the World Food Conference; Malcolm C. Moos, president emeritus, University of Minnesota; Stewart R. Mott; Joseph Palmer, II, former Director General of the Foreign Service; Stephen R. Paschke, treasurer, Fund for Peace; Chester Ronning, former Canadian ambassador; Terry Sanford, president, Duke University and former governor of North Carolina; Edward Snyder, executive secretary, Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL); Harrison M. Symmes, president, Wyndham College, former U.S. ambassador; Barbara Watson, former administrator, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, U.S. Department of State (who headed that bureau in the Carter Administration); William Watts, president, Potomac Associates, former staff secretary, National Security Council; Susan Weyerhauser, trustee, FFP; Abraham Wilson, partner, Kadel, Wilson and Potts; Charles W. Yost, senior fellow, Brookings Institution, former U.S. deputy representative to the U.N.

At present, one half of CIP's 1982 \$220,000 budget is derived from a \$100,000 grant from the Reynolds Foundation and targeted to its Indochina Project, a successor to the former Indochina Resource Center which dissolved at the time Vietnamese spy David Truong was arrested. The project is completing a study of "yellow rain"—Soviet nerve gas supplied to Vietnamese forces and used in Cambodia. But CIP's goal, according to the Zill report, is "to heal the wounds of war and to develop greater understanding between the US and Southeast Asia; to promote an end to the economic embargo; and to work toward diplomatic recognition." CIP argues that a lack of U.S. recognition and aid to Vietnam, Laos and Vietnam-occupied Cambodia is "pushing . . . these countries into the arms of the Soviet Union."

Christian Peace Conference (CPC)—is one of the more influential Soviet-controlled international fronts. The CPC is headquartered in Prague, where its leading body, the All-Christian Peace Assembly (ACPA) meets, but also has a center in East Berlin. The Yearbook on International Communist Affairs (Hoover Institution Press) describes the CPC as "under Soviet domination since 1968" and as operating "in tandem with the WPC." Its role is to bring naive clergymen to the Soviet and WPC propaganda line.

The 1978 CIA report on Soviet propaganda operations to the House Intelligence Committee noted that "Metropolitan Nikodim (USSR) . . . has been President of the CPC since 1969," and that a Hungarian, Dr. Karoly Toth, had replaced another East Bloc member as CPC Secretary-General. The CIA report stated:

"The CPC operates as a surrogate of the World Peace Council and is represented on the WPC's presidential committee and on its council. . . . The CPC strives to maintain close cooperation with such bodies as the World Council of Churches, the Conference of European Churches, the All-African Church Conference, the Berlin Conference of Catholic Christians (East Germany) and Pax Christi International."

The CPC's top official at the United Nations is Philip Oke, who takes a leading role in U.N. Non-Governmental Organization

(NGO) activities for disarmament and in support of Soviet-backed terrorist "liberation movements" such as the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and African National Congress (ANC). In the early 1970s, Oke was a leader of a U.S.-East German friendship society. Oke is a member of the U.S. Ad Hoc Committee on USA-USSR Dialogue, Inc. which held a meeting in the U.S. Congress featuring some of 25 "Soviet citizens and several of their U.S. hosts from the cities of Austin, Pasadena and Toledo . . . for questioning on the seven days spent together while visiting in private homes."

The members of the Committee were listed as including: Carol Pendell, president, International President, WILPF; Rev. Dwain C. Epps, vice-president, executive secretary of the U.N. Headquarters Liaison Office of the World Council of Churches (WCC); Rev. John Moyer, secretary, United Presbyterian Church; Rev. Robert McClean, treasurer, director, Department of Peace and World Order of the Board of Church and Society of the United Methodist Church; Michael Brainerd, Citizen Exchange Corps; Richard Deats, Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR); Howard Frazier, Promoting Enduring Peace (PEP); Edna McCallion, Church Women United (CWU); Katherine Camp, WILPF; Philip Oke, CPC; Laura Pixton, AFSC; Joe Byrne Sills, formerly of the United Nations Association; Stephen Thiermann, Friends World Committee for Consultation (FWCC); Delmar Wedel, formerly of the YMCA National Council; Herman Will, FOR; and James Will, Christians Associated for Relations with Eastern Europe.

Christic Institute—operating from 1324 N. Capitol Street, Washington, DC 20002 [202/797-8106] was formed in 1981 as a public interest litigation group by attorneys and activists, a number of them formerly with the Quixhote Center, who had worked on the Silkwood lawsuit. Its staff includes Daniel Sheehan, a counsel in the Silkwood and Harrisburg 8 cases now handling an anti-MX lawsuit filed in Salt Lake City; Lewis Pitts, a Regional Vice-President of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) representing Communist Workers Party members in a Greensboro NC, lawsuit; Bill Davis and Wally Kafuboski who went to El Salvador prior to filing an amicus brief in support of a suit by Rep. George Crockett and other Congressmen handled by the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR). The suit seeks to have U.S. military aid to El Salvador declared an unconstitutional violation of the War Power Act.

Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC)—with national headquarters at 198 Broadway, Suite 302, New York, NY 10038 [212/964-6730] was formed in 1965 by the National Council of Churches, but first became widely known in 1967 when it co-sponsored a White House demonstration in conjunction with the Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, a coalition strongly-influenced by communists and found by the House Committee on Internal Security in 1970 to have "operated from its inception with significant international communist support" through the World Peace Council. CALC's former leader, Rev. Richard Fernandez, served on the New Mobe Steering Committee.

In January 1970, CALC described its goals in these terms: "what we are about today is not simply an end to the war in Vietnam, but a struggle against American imperialism and exploitation in just about every corner of the world. . . . Our task is to join those who are angry and who hate the corporate power which the United States presently represents, and to attempt, in our struggle, to liberate not only black, brown, and yellow

men in every corner of the world, but more importantly, to help liberate our own nation from its reactionary and exploitative policies."

CALC's present co-director, John Collins, was an endorser of the U.S. Peace Council's November 1981 national conference. On 2/17/82, CALC released an "open letter to Congress" signed by 400 religious activists and leaders opposing U.S. aid to El Salvador. With the AFSC, CALC sponsored a U.S. speaking tour by nine European disarmament leaders. According to the Zill report:

"[CALC] has been most active in the formation and nurturing of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, participating on the steering committee and involving a number of the 42 CALC chapters in the Freeze Conferences. . . . There is a new CALC chapter in Amarillo, Texas, (home of Bishop Mattheisen and the Amarillo Pantex Plant, DOE's assembly plant for all war-heads), and it is serving as a center for job references, [and] counseling of the former atomic workers who have left their jobs on principle, and for a conversion study and vigils."

The Zill report noted that CALC's present mailing list had dwindled to 2,000 names from 50,000 during the anti-Vietnam protests until four years ago when CALC hired Liz Broder's direct mail firm to rebuild the list now at 20,000 names.

Other CALC program areas include South Africa and the "politics of food" (CALC provided the initial U.S. coordination for the campaign against the Nestle Corporation's infant formula).

Coalition for a new Foreign and Military Policy (CNFMP)—Based at 120 Maryland Avenue, NE, Washington, DC 20002 [202/546-8400] is a lobbying group and information clearinghouse formed to lobby Congress for termination of U.S. military aid to South Vietnam. Following its success and the conquest of South Vietnam in May 1975, CNFMP underwent a name change and redirection into the new disarmament campaign.

CNFMP states that by a "new" policy, it means one "based on . . . the need to cooperate with nations of highly different political systems." CNFMP's programs call for U.S. recognition and economic aid to communist and pro-Soviet regimes in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Angola. Other programs call for aid to revolutionary and anti-U.S. terrorist movements by a cut off of U.S. aid and economic relations with the Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, South Africa, El Salvador, Chile, etc. This indicates that CNFMP's phrase "nations of highly different political systems" is code for "communist totalitarian regimes."

CNFMP is a major distributor of propaganda originating from the Institute for Policy Studie (IPS) and Center for Defense Information (CDI), and works closely with the two groups. Steve Daggett, on the IPS staff for three years, in 1981 became CNFMP's Budget Priorities Coordinator.

CNFMP's slogans and projects closely paralleled those of the World Peace Council (WPC) and WPC delegations to Washington hold meetings with CNFMP. A number of CNFMP activists participated in the 1979 founding of the U.S. Peace Council.

On 2/26/82, CNFMP sponsored an all-day conference, Nuclear Arms and National Security, on issues for the U.N. Second Special Session on Disarmament (SSD-II). CNFMP is supporting the "nuclear freeze" campaign, is working with the AFSC's NARMIC on a "Guns versus Butter" slide show, and has hired Liz Broder to build its 12,000-name mailing list to 500,000.

Among the members of the CNFMP's Disarmament Working Group (DWG) are

the IPS Militarism and Disarmament Project, NARMIC, Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR), War Resisters League (WRL) and U.S. Peace Council (USPC). Prior to the formation of the USPC, another CPUSA front, the National Center to Slash Military Spending, participated in the CNFMP/DWG. After formation of the USPC, that front dissolved and recommended its members and supporters become active in both CNFMP and the USPC.

Members of the coalition include the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), Business Executives Move (BEM), Center for International Policy (CIP), Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC), SANE, War Resisters League (WRL), Women Strike for Peace (WSP) and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), as well as several church-related groups.

Committee for National Security (CNS)—1742 N Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036 [202/833-3140], according to IPS, its co-founder and senior fellow, Richard Barnet "played a major role in organizing" NS "to mobilize broad support for detente to counter the voices calling for a return to confrontation and intervention." Other CNS leaders include Paul Warnke, and IPS trustee and SALT-II negotiator for the Carter Administration; and former CIA Director William Colby.

The Zill report noted Warnke was working with ACEWA on a task force to implement the Kennan proposals on nuclear weapons cuts. CNS has a Global Task Force with Dick Ullman and Gus Speth on population and development issues; and has received funding from the Cos Cob Foundation "for work on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty [and] . . . a speakers' bureau to stress that this treaty is a part of the [nuclear] Freeze Campaign."

Zill reported that Nancy Ramsey, former legislative director for WILPF and then co-ordinator of Americans for SALT before joining CNS, had resigned now that "CNS is off to a good start," has considerable media attention, and is raising a sustaining budget of \$300,000 a year.

Council for a liveable world (CLW)—with headquarters at 100 Maryland Avenue, NE, Washington, DC 20002 [202/543-4100], was formed in 1962 by the late Leo Szilard "to combat the menace of nuclear war." CLW's major method is to promote U.S. disarmament concessions to the USSR and "non-intervention" against Soviet aggression. Szilard, who died in 1964, at a 1961 Pugwash meeting in Vermont, called for establishment of a "U.N. Peace Court" which would have the power to pass a death sentence on any U.S. citizen or official it deemed guilty of violating "peace" and urged it have power to deputize any and all Americans to execute its sentences. CLW's present stance is much lower in profile.

CLW's February 1982 fundraising appeal commences, "The Reagan Administration is launching a massive escalation of the nuclear arms race." The letter, signed by George Kistiakowsky, Chief Science Adviser to President Eisenhower, says CLW's chief targets are the MX missile and B-1 bomber, and states, "We're on Capitol Hill every day, working to re-establish arms control talks, fighting the proliferation of nuclear weapons, lobbying for nuclear arms control agreements." CLW is also targeting U.S. chemical weapons funding and campaigning for across-the-board defense cuts, with a "media blitz" slated for late May when the Senate will be considering the chemical weapons issue.

Lobbying tactics will include meetings with newspaper editorial boards and Congressional District Office meetings in key

states including New York, Illinois and Florida.

On May 11, 1982, CLW and Physicians for Social Responsibility are co-sponsoring a conference on the medical effects of nuclear war in Washington, D.C. The group is in the midst of a 700,000 piece direct mail membership drive to build its list of 15,000. The CLW Education Fund's tax-exempt status is being used for contributions for the National Nuclear Weapons Freeze Clearinghouse in St. Louis pending its own IRS tax-exemption.

The CLW board of directors includes Jerome Grossman, president; Ruth Adams, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*; Michael Allen, attorney; Bernard Feld, MIT; Roger Fisher, Harvard; Maurice Fox, MIT; Jerome Frank, Johns Hopkins; John Kenneth Galbraith; George Kistiakowsky; Adm. John M. Lee (Ret.); Matthew Meselson, Harvard; James Patton, National Farmers Union; Gene Pokorny, *Cambridge Reports*; Charles Price, Univ. of Pennsylvania; Edward Purcell, Harvard; George Rathjens, MIT; Eli Sagan, writer; Herbert Scoville, Jr., ACA; Jane Sharp, Cornell; William E. Tarlow, business executive; Steven Thomas, management consultant; Kosta Tsipis, MIT; Paul C. Warnke, attorney; Jerome B. Wiesner, MIT; John Isaacs, legislative director; Catherine Clark, assist. executive director.

Council on Economic Priorities (CEP)—84 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011 [212/691-8550] is a research group that investigates U.S. defense industries, national defense hardware and planning, and various defense advisory boards. A major 1981 CEP study by Gordon Adams, a member of the SANE Educational Fund board of directors, and 1978 co-editor and co-author with Michael Locker for the Cuba Resource Center (CRC) focused on the access of defense groups to classified information on research and development programs for new weapons. Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) leaders play key roles in CEP funding and direction.

In addition to its in-depth investigations into U.S. defense and its tracking of Defense Department and defense industry personnel, CEP produces materials urging cuts in the defense budget and redirection of defense funds to social programs.

CEP's Military Research Staff is directed by David Gold, who is working on an anti-MX missile book. When that is concluded, his next project will target "the whole nuclear weapons field."

Other CEP projects for 1982 focus on arms sales (directed by Bill Hartung); waste in the defense budget and cost overruns (Gordon Adams); and completion of a study commissioned by the International Association of Machinists (IAM) and CNFMP on the "economic implications of the Reagan build-up" (Robert DeGrasse) recently released. A longer book-length study of the FY 1983 defense budget and "Reagan build-up" is scheduled for release in September 1982, which will attack defense spending as the cause of U.S. economic problems.

European Nuclear Disarmament (END)—with offices on Endsleigh Street in central London, was initiated in 1980 with strong input from the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), its international arm, the Transnational Institute (TNI), and the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. END serves as a primary link between the Western European peace movements including the British CND and Dutch Interchurch Peace Council, the "independent" Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples, and the Eastern European movements. END leaders admit are "officially supported, state controlled" and "reflect Soviet foreign policy."

END has not formed a separate disarmament organization in competition with existing groups. Instead, according to one of its leaders, Peter D. Jones, a CND activist who started a 4-month U.S. tour in January 1982, END "limits itself to individual and group contacts. Contacts with Eastern Europe vary, but East European signatories have urged Western Europeans to visit eastern countries and talk to people in a mutual exchange of views and ideas." [WIN, 1/1/82].

END calls for a "nuclear-free Europe," and supports a "Nordic nuclear free zone" which are also goals of the WPC and USSR.

William Arkin, coordinator of the IPS Arms Race and Nuclear Weapons Project, served as coordinator for the END bi-annual "researchers" conference held in the Netherlands in March. END leaders who have visited the U.S. for speaking and organizing include Mary Kaldor, TNI fellow and former researcher at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), who is also on the British Labour Party's Defense Committee; and Dan Smith, END's intellectual guru is British Marxist historian E. P. Thompson.

Federation of American Scientists (FAS)—307 Massachusetts Avenue, NE, Washington, DC 20002 [202/546-3300], was founded in 1945 as the Federation of Atomic Scientists. FAS calls itself "a conscience of the scientific community." FAS membership is overwhelmingly not composed of nuclear specialists, and admits its 5,000 members are "natural and social scientists and engineers concerned with problems of science and society."

Termining itself a "public interest lobby," FAS's long-time director is Jeremy J. Stone, son of I. F. Stone. FAS concern for the "public interest" includes opposing U.S. civil defense while asserting "nuclear war is national suicide." FAS defined its "primary goal" early in 1981 as "making sure that the body politic and the [Reagan] Administration in particular, are under no illusions on this score." FAS has a mailing list of 5,000 and publishes a monthly newsletter, "In the Public Interest."

In October 1981, FAS began promoting a petition drive complimentary to the "nuclear freeze" campaign which within four months had obtained 10,000 signatures; now FAS is seeking donors to underwrite a campaign to obtain one million signatures.

FAS has a 24-member national council which selects nine candidates of which members elect six for annual council openings. Officers include Frank von Hippel, chairman; John Holdren, vice-chairman; George A. Silver, secretary; Robert M. Solow, treasurer; Jeremy J. Stone, director.

Fellowship of Reconciliation (for)—523 North Broadway, Nyack, NY 10960 [914/358-4601] terms itself an association of individuals "who recognize the essential unity of all humanity and have joined together to explore the power of love and truth for resolving human conflict." Contrary to those utopian sentiments, in practice, FOR works in close collaboration with the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), War Resisters League (WRL) and other allegedly "pacifist" groups which collaborate with the Soviet-controlled WPC, support Soviet-backed Third World terrorist movements, and support unilateral disarmament by the U.S. and the Free World.

FOR's officers include William Walker, chairperson; Daniel Berrigan, Edwin T. Dahlberg, Thich Nhat Hanh, Kay Johnson, Charles L. Lawrence, Robert W. Moon, and Michael Robinson, vice chairpersons; Herman Will, treasurer.

FOR staff include Richard Baggett Deats, executive secretary; Sue Hadley, youth action; Mike Jendrzyczyk, disarmament; and area development/special projects, Dan B. Ebner. Ebner wrote recently to WIN magazine: "As a Catholic, a pacifist, a feminist and a socialist, I am committed to working for the 'anti-imperialist, anti-racist, anti-sexist, and anti-interventionist movement.'"

FOR is affiliated with the International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR), based in the Netherlands. Coordinator of the IFOR secretariat is James H. Forest. FOR is taking a leading role in planning demonstrations and support activities targeted on the U.N. SSD-II; and will sponsor a coffee house at 777 U.N. Plaza (Church Center for the U.N.) throughout the SSD-II to serve as a meeting place and literature distribution center.

Ground Zero (GZ)—806 15th Street, Suite 421, Washington, DC 20005 [202/638-7402], was organized early in 1981 by "a small . . . group of individuals concerned with the lack of a national consensus and direction on nuclear war." The group agreed that "a program of public education . . . was a matter of the utmost priority." GZ's endorsers include Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR), Business Executives Move for New National Priorities (BEM), National Council of Churches (NCC), Arms Control Association (ACA), and Council for a Liveable World (CLW). GZ lists among its individual endorsers former CIA Director William Colby.

With a staff of 13 including 5 regional coordinators, GZ's director is Roger Molander, a 7-year member of the National Security Council under the Nixon, Ford and Carter Administrations; his brother, Earl Molander, is GZ's deputy director. GZ is receiving national media publicity for its April 18-25 "Ground Zero Week" publicizing the damage at the center of a nuclear explosion as an incentive for U.S. return to SALT-II negotiations. Roger Molander has indicated GZ feels the question of Soviet arms essentially is irrelevant and says "the question is how do we get ourselves out?"

GZ spokesmen say they stick to "educational" work [featuring dramatic red and black graphics of mushroom clouds and "run for your life" displays in cooperation with Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR)] in order to protect their tax-exemption and moderate "middle-ground" image, but admit that "If you understand what nuclear war is about, you're peace oriented."

Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies (IDDS)—251 Harvard Street, Brookline, MA 02146 [617/734-4216] was formed in January 1980 by Randall Forsberg, 38, a former Harvard Ph.D. candidate and SIPRI peace researcher. IDDS recently received tax-exempt status, and has a staff of 8 full-time and 3 part-time employees. Mrs. Forsberg, IDDS executive director, in 1980 circulated a draft call for a "nuclear freeze." It received minimal support from the major disarmament groups until March 1981, following the Brezhnev speech to the CPSU 26th Congress.

In cooperation with CDI leaders Gene LaRocque and John Kenneth Galbraith, Forsberg was active in disarmament lobbying of delegates to the 1980 Democratic National Convention, taking the position that "for the U.S. to regain nuclear superiority, rather than stopping the arms race, will produce unprecedented danger of first strike by both sides in time of crisis; and is the single greatest danger currently facing the world."

IDDS officers include Patrick Hughes, secretary, and George Sommaripa, treasurer. The Board of Directors includes individuals from the academic and activist wings of the

anti-defense lobby including several individuals and organizations active with the WPC. Board members include Betty Lall, chairperson, U.N. Committee on Disarmament and International Security; Hayward Alker, MIT; Richard Barnett, IPS; Elise Boulding, Dartmouth; Kay Camp, WILPF; Harvey Cox, Harvard; Richard Falk, Princeton; Sanford Gottlieb, New Directions; Robert Johansen, Institute for World Order (IWO), Cheryl Keen; Ann Lakhdir; Everett Mendelsohn, Harvard; Philip Morrison, MIT; George Rathjens, MIT; Judith Reppy, Cornell; and Brewster Rhoads, director, CNFMP.

Institute for Policy Studies (IPS)—1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, DC 20009 [202/234-9382] is a revolutionary think-tank that has consistently supported policies that facilitate the foreign policy goals of the Soviet Union and weaken the position of the United States. This has been true whether the issue is disarmament (for the West), abolition of nuclear power (for the West), opposition to intelligence agencies (for the West) or support for Soviet-backed revolutionary terrorist groups.

To put its policy recommendations into action, IPS has built networks of contacts among Congressional legislators and their staffs, academics, government officials, and the national media.

In 1978, in an article in *National Review*, Brian Crozier, director of the London-based Institute for the Study of Conflict, described IPS as the "perfect intellectual front for Soviet activities which would be resisted if they were to originate openly from the KGB."

IPS has been particularly concerned with researching U.S. defense industries and arms sales policies to Free World countries under pressure from Soviet-supported terrorist movements. The director of IPS arms sales research, Michael Klare, is a veteran of the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), a Castroite research group that has aided CIA defector Philip Agee, and who worked with the Center for National Security Studies (CNSS), an IPS off-shoot affiliated with the Fund for Peace. Klare has made frequent trips to Havana to "lecture" on U.S. arms policies to "graduate students" at the University of Havana, and has participated in disarmament conferences sponsored by WPC groups.

IPS's Arms Race and Nuclear Weapons Project is directed by William "Bill" Arkin, who is compiling a book of [U.S.] nuclear weapons data with "everything from where the bombs are stored to where weapons delivery systems are cooked up." This is to be kept up-to-date with revisions bi-annually.

Arkin, who formerly worked for the Center for Defense Information, is coordinating an attack on the defense budget by a group including Bertram Gross and long-time IPS activist Richard Kaufman, assistant director and general counsel of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress.

According to the Zill report, Arkin was coordinator of the March 1982 END researchers conference in Holland; briefed END leaders on U.S. weapons developments "which affect Europe, . . . [and] works closely with Stan Norris of CDI and with press people from the Wall Street Journal, The New York Times, The Washington Post and CBS where, at the end of February, 60 Minutes will feature a story of his on Nuclear Weapons in Europe."

In addition to taking a leadership role in the National Nuclear Weapons Freeze Conference, February 19-20, in Denver, and conducting a workshop attacking the impact of military spending on local areas, and writing a pamphlet on nuclear weapons to be distributed by the time of SSD-II, Zill reported

that Arkin "is also teaching a course at the Defense Intelligence School called 'Research and Methodology: Effects of Limited Nuclear War in Europe.'"

IPS played a seminal role in the formation, funding and development of networks linking Western ecological and anti-nuclear activists with key disarmament organizers and armaments researchers, including some in Eastern Europe. These groups include the Nuclear Research and Information Service (NIRS), the World Information Service on Energy (WISE), and European Nuclear Disarmament (END).

On April 10, 1982, an IPS-sponsored group visiting Moscow for a week of meetings with high-level Soviet officials responsible for disseminating disinformation and propaganda for U.S. consumption, met with U.S. reporters to serve as the unofficial means for floating the possibility that Brezhnev might agree to a New York summit meeting in New York at SSD-II.

The IPS group, led by its principal spokesman, Marcus Raskin, IPS co-founder and senior fellow, included Robert Borosage, IPS director, National Lawyers Guild (NLG) activist and former director of the Center for National Security Studies (CNSS); Minneapolis Mayor Donald M. Fraser; Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Jr., Episcopal Bishop of New York; New York lawyer Robert S. Potter; and Roger Wilkins, journalist and senior fellow of the Joint Center for political Studies (JCPS) which specializes in "black issues."

The IPS group identified only two of the CPSU Central Committee officials they met—Georgi A. Arbatov, head of the Institute of the U.S.A. and Canada, a "think-tank" that provides research and analysis and also cultivates and develops contacts with Americans at the direction of the KGB and the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee; and Vadim V. Zagladin, first deputy chief of the International Department.

In various U.S. interviews, Borosage has floated such standard Soviet themes as that the USSR is satisfied by "rough parity" with the U.S., that the U.S. is restarting the arms race, that the Soviets want to go back to SALT-II and get U.S. ratification; that if the U.S. starts another round in the arms race, it will seriously hurt the Soviet economy and ordinary Soviet citizen—but they'll still go ahead, so competition is futile; and the threat that the modern U.S. weapons proposed for deployment are "very dangerous . . . and would lead to much more dangerous stages that would make both sides insecure, not more secure."

Borosage took pains to say that the Soviets are "skeptical" of the disarmament movement and "they hadn't expected it. It was much more powerful and widespread than they'd ever imagined."

Institute for World Order (IWO)—World Disarmament Campaign (IWO/WDC)—777 U.N. Plaza, 5th Floor, New York, NY 10017 [212/490-0010] is playing a key role in training disarmament campaign organizers. Eighteen disarmament briefings to which the IWO/WDC invites United Nations correspondents and another 275 New York-based reporters have scheduled prior to SSD-II. To date, on the average, 25 reporters have attended each briefing. Speakers have included Herbert "Pete" Scoville, Robert J. Lifton, IPPNW, and Dr. H. Jack Geiger, PSR. On 2/25/82, the IWO/WDC initiated a two-session "problem-solving theater" in cooperation with all the other leftist and disarmament groups at 777 U.N. Plaza. IWO/WDC coordinator Carolyn Krebs has an information packet distributed free to editors, writers, and media people,

Its 35 items have been carefully selected "to avoid a diatribe tone."

IWO plays a role in a number of ways parallel to IPS, but without IPS's emphasis on cultivating activists and supervising the formation of new organizations to serve shifting left campaigns.

The IWO subsidizes a network of 28 scholars both in the U.S. and Europe and has "a network of over 75 to research ways to transform the system of international relations." Many IWO scholars and officers have been closely associated with IPS. Among these are Richard Barnet and Richard Falk, also active with the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL). IWO's 30,000 name mailing list includes 10,000 teachers. It has a staff of 18.

International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL)—was described in a CIA Report on Soviet Propaganda Operations prepared at the request of the House Intelligence Committee and published by the committee in 1978, as "one of the most useful Communist front organizations at the service of the Soviet Communist Party."

The report noted that at its 1975 conference in Algiers, "the real and ideological interests of the IADL were covered by the agenda * * * which considered law to be a function in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and apartheid. Under the banner of anti-imperialism, the IADL's thrust * * * was to do battle with the large international companies as a way to gain adherents and backing in the developing world."

The IADL has a Western Hemisphere regional subsidiary, the Association of American Jurists (AAJ), headquartered in Havana. The IADL's major U.S. section is the National Lawyers Guild (NLG), organized in 1936 with the assistance of the Comintern as a Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA) front. The NLG is still controlled by an alliance of "Old Left" CPUSA members and supporters and other revolutionaries aligned with Cuba and Vietnam. The NLG and the closely related National Conference of Black Lawyers (NCBL) are affiliated with both the IADL and AAJ.

IADL activities parallel the other international Soviet fronts. During the anti-Vietnam period, lawyers active in the IADL's U.S. section, the NLG, and in another CPUSA front, the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (NECLC) organized a secondary front, the Lawyers Committee on U.S. Policy towards Vietnam, in which Richard Falk, Richard Barnet and others were active. A parallel can be drawn with the recent formation of the Lawyers Committee on Policy (LCNP).

International physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW)—635 Huntington Avenue, 2nd Floor, Boston, MA 02115 was formed in 1980 and held its first congress near Washington, DC, in March 1981. Soviet government involvement with IPPNW is overt. Not only do large high-level Soviet delegations attend IPPNW's conferences, but a Soviet government official serves as a co-chairman.

The IPPNW's co-chairmen are Yevgeny Chazov, Soviet Deputy Minister of Health; Sir Douglas Black, president, Royal College of Physicians; and Bernard Lown, a Harvard School of Public Health cardiologist and sponsor of the U.S.-Cuba Health Exchange (US-CHE), which provided glowing accounts of the Cuban Revolution's medical system, lobbied for an end to the U.S. trade embargo, and arranged for shipment of "drugs and equipment" to Cuba. IPPNW membership overlaps Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR).

A Soviet delegation of 11 attended IPPNW's first conference and was accompa-

nied by Georgi Arbatov, director of the Institute of the U.S.A. and Canada, an analysis and research apparatus whose staff, according to one recent Soviet defector, is one-third composed of KGB officers assigned to cultivate visiting Americans, feed them disinformation, and scout for individuals who could be used as witting or unwitting Soviet assets.

IPPNW's role was described by Ann Zill of the Stewart Mott Foundation as "to coordinate all the (anti-nuclear) Physicians groups that have sprung up in countries such as Canada, Sweden, Finland, Germany, England, Switzerland, Norway and Australia."

IPPNW's second conference was held at Newham College, Cambridge, England, during the first week of April 1982, and was attended by some 200 physicians. The large Soviet delegation was headed by N. N. Blokhin and Mikhail Milstein. Other participants included H. Jack Geiger, professor of community medicine at City College of New York (NCCY); Bernard Lown; and Horst-Eberhard Richter of West Germany.

Milstein's address reported in Pravda (4/5/82) repeated the standard Soviet threat and propaganda line that "Soviet military doctrine * * * totally rejects the concept of so-called 'limited' nuclear war now put forward by certain Western strategists. * * * any thermonuclear war, whether it begins in Europe or elsewhere * * * would inevitably * * * become a world conflagration."

A Pravda report on the IPPNW meeting (4/4/82) stated:

"The representatives of the USSR and other socialist countries and many Western colleagues note that people can and must remove the threat which hangs over them today. To this end, it is necessary to develop publicity work still more widely among the broad masses of the population and prompt them to wage active struggle to end the arms race."

Pravda mentioned among IPPNW's most active chapters those in the U.S., USSR, Britain, Canada, Hungary, Holland, Finland and Czechoslovakia.

International Union of Students (IUS)—based in Prague, Czechoslovakia, works closely with the Budapest-based World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) as fronts for Soviet covert action targeted against student and youth groups. Dissident radicals supporting "Eurocommunism" and Maoism have been expelled from the IUS, and its publications, statements and resolutions consistently follow Soviet policy and are invariably directed against the U.S. and Western European countries.

June 12 disarmament coalition (J-12 DC)—853 Broadway, Room 2109, New York, NY 10003, the group first appeared in October 1981 as the Campaign for the Special Session on Disarmament (CSSD) and operated from the New York offices of the Mobilization for Survival (MFS).

The purpose of the group is to organize a mass disarmament rally in New York to apply pressure on the U.S. government, particularly with President Reagan slated to personally attend the meeting, for disarmament concessions. Leading groups and individuals in the coalition include Cora Weiss, Riverside Church Disarmament Program; Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA); U.S. Peace Council (USPC); Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF); Women Strike for Peace (WSP); American Friends Service Committee (AFSC); Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR); Paul Mayer, MFS Religious Task Force; and Norma Becker, War Resisters League (WRL).

Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy (LCNP)—777 U.N. Plaza, 5th Floor, New York, NY 10017 (212/387-8962), appeared

late in 1981 circulating a "statement on the Illegality of Nuclear Weapons" which has no condemnation or even mention of Soviet nuclear weapons and targeting policy, but which is aimed specifically at the United States.

LCNP's positions closely parallel those of the Soviet "peace" fronts. LCNP's officers and initial members of its consultative council include a number of activists from the National Lawyers Guild (NLG), the U.S. section of the Soviet-controlled International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL).

On June 4-5, 1982, LCNP and the Geneva-based International Peace Bureau (IPB) headed by Lenin Peace Prize winner Sean MacBride, a vice-president of the WPC-related Continuing Liaison Committee of the World Congress of Peace Forces, will co-sponsor in New York an "International Symposium on Morality and Legality of Nuclear Weapons."

LCNP's cochairpersons are Martin Popper, an identified CPUSA member who was the NLG's executive secretary during the 1940s and remains active in the New York City NLG chapter and in IADL activities; and Peter Weiss, NLG member, vice-president of the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) and president of the board of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS).

Secretary and executive director is Elliott L. Meyrowitz and LCNP's treasurer is Robert L. Boehm, CCR's chairperson. The consultative council is listed as including Richard Barnet, IPS and formerly active with the Lawyers Committee on U.S. Policy towards Vietnam (LCUSPV) which was founded by activists with the IADL, NLG, and National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (NECLC), a CPUSA legal action and propaganda front; Ian Brownlie, Oxford University; Francis A. Boyle, University of Illinois; Anthony A. D'Amato, Northwestern University; Robert F. Drinan, Georgetown University and 1968 NLG national vice-president; IADL and LCUSPV activist Richard A. Falk, Princeton University and Institute for World Order (IWO); C. Clyde Ferguson, Jr., Harvard University; Roger Fisher, Harvard University; Ellen Frey-Wouters, City University of New York (CUNY); John H.E. Fried, CUNY emeritus; Ann Fagan Ginger, University of Puget Sound, a veteran NLG "old leftist" and president of the IADL's Havana-based Western Hemisphere affiliate, the Association of American Jurists (AAJ); Bert B. Lockwood, Jr., University of Cincinnati; Sean MacBride, International Peace Bureau; Saul H. Mendlovitz, Rutgers University (Newark), IWO; Arthur S. Miller, George Washington University (emeritus); Lord Philip Noel-Baker; Bert V. A. Roling, Groningen University (Netherlands); John Quigley, Ohio State University, former NLG vice-president; Yoshikazu Sakamoto, University of Tokyo; Sherle R. Schwemmer, IWO; and Burns H. Weston, University of Iowa.

LCNP's rhetoric is the shrill, tired dogma found routinely in proclamations of the Soviet-controlled front organizations. For example:

"Humanity has entered a critical period in its history as a species. Today's nuclear arsenals have the potential for annihilating a large segment of the world's populations, for devastating an contaminating vast areas of the earth's surface, * * * In short, nuclear weapons threaten human survival itself."

LCNP violently attacks U.S. policy-makers as "increasingly contemplating" the use of nuclear weapons and asserts its role is to combat "the Reagan administration's position that the United States must be prepared to intervene, using nuclear capabilities if necessary, to protect U.S. interests

wherever threatened [and in] * * * U.S. official policy a dangerous acceptance of the legitimacy and efficacy of using nuclear weapons to reverse international situations considered adverse to U.S. national interests."

Members of Congress for Peace Through Law (MCPL) and Education Fund (MCPL-EF)—201 Massachusetts Avenue, NE, Room 318, Washington, DC 20002 (202/544-4250) describes its general goals as strengthening the power of the U.N., disarmament and "developing a global economy in which every person enjoys the material necessities of life."

MCPL commenced informally in 1959, the brain-child of Marcus Raskin, then on the staff of Rep. Robert Kastenmeier, as a minicaucus of 12 liberal-left Congressmen to promote some radically utopian changes in U.S. policies, starting with abolition of NATO and disarmament, and including vastly increased social welfare programs. IPS's seminars for Congressmen and staff aides which commenced in 1963 contributed to the expansion and formalization of MCPL as a structured, staffed caucus.

MCPL has been formally staffed since 1966, with Congressmen contributing staff positions and funds. Staff and consultants include Edith B. Wilkie, executive director; June Campagna, executive assistant; and consultants Murray Woldman, Frank Record and Richard Creecy.

In the last Congress, MCPL had 74 members. In 1982, MCPL is concentrating on developing strategies for budget cuts in specific weapons systems, particularly the MX missile and B-1 bomber; and on stopping U.S. aid to El Salvador. MCPL was highly active in drafting one of the nuclear freeze resolutions.

The MCPL-EF was established in 1975 to receive outside contributions. Officers include Rep. John Seiberling, president; and C. Maxwell Stanley, vice-president, whose foundation funds the U.N. Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) apparatus in which Soviet-controlled fronts play key and dominant roles.

Mobilization for Survival (MFS)—with national offices until the close of the U.N. SSD-II in the Church of All Nations, 48 St. Marks Place, New York NY 10003 [212/460-8545] was organized in the fall of 1976 by a handful of U.S. and European WPC activists. MFS made its first formal appearance on April 23, 1977, at a conference in Philadelphia led by individuals active with the WPC, Chicago Peace Council, WILPF, WSP, AFSC, CALC and related groups. These included British disarmament activist Peggy Duff of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace (ICDP); Sid Peck; Sid Lens; Ron Young, AFSC; Michael Klare; Terry Provan; David McReynolds and Norma Becker.

Sid Peck, a former CPUSA functionary, explained MFS's origins by noting that the WPC, in cooperation with the ICDP and Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs [the Japanese Communist Party-controlled Gensuikyo] were "working closely with non-governmental organizations the world over to create the maximum impact on the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament in late May 1978."

MFS has been to a considerable extent superseded by the June 12 Disarmament Coalition partly to protect MFS's tax-exempt status and for legal considerations since the J 12 DC is involved in civil disobedience planning. MFS's "educational" role allows it to serve as a communications network for local environmental and anti-nuclear power groups promoting their participation in disarmament activities; and to prepare disarmament information packets for out-

reach to churches, hospitals and trade unions.

National Lawyers Guild (NLG)—853 Broadway, 17th Floor, New York, NY 10003 (212/260-1360), is the largest U.S. affiliate of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL), the Soviet-controlled front for lawyers. The NLG was organized with the assistance of the Comintern in 1936 as a legal action front operated by the CPUSA. The NLG remains the principal legal bulwark of the CPUSA, its fronts and controlled unions.

While there are small numbers of Maoists, Trotskyites and independent Marxist "New Leftists" in the organization, the NLG's international positions and real domestic control lies with the supporters of the Soviet and Cuban communist regimes. During the 1970s, the NLG's cooperation with Cuba has escalated markedly.

Major NLG activities include defense of revolutionaries and militant extremists charged with violent crimes, litigation against law enforcement intelligence units, and providing legal advice in advance of demonstrations with civil disobedience—in effect acting as co-conspirators in violating the law.

The NLG has produced a handbook for NLG lawyers involved in mass defense of anti-nuclear demonstrators; and NLG chapters nationwide have been active in providing aid to anti-nuclear power and disarmament demonstrators. The NLG is a member of the J 12 DC.

National Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign Clearinghouse (NNWFCC)—4144 Lindell Street, Room 201, St. Louis, MO 63108 [314/533-1169] was set up late in 1981 as the National Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign moved into high gear. Pending its own tax exemption, NNWFCC is being funded via the Council for a Liveable World Education Fund.

Coordinator of the Clearinghouse is Randy Kehler, a veteran WRL organizer who went to prison in 1970 for two years as a draft resister, and afterwards led the successful "nuclear freeze" campaign in western Massachusetts prior to his selection to head the coordination center.

The Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign (NWFC) was launched at a "National Strategy Conference for a Nuclear Freeze" held in Washington, DC, March 20-22, 1981. Among the key initiators were Cora Weiss, Riverside Church Disarmament Project (RCDP); Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) which at that time was still sponsoring presentations and reports to its chapters from those who had attended the WPC's September 1980 World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace in Sofia, Bulgaria; Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC); CNFMP; SANE; the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR); War Resisters League (WRL); and MFS Religious Task Force.

The conference followed a call for a nuclear weapons "moratorium" in a speech by Soviet president Brezhnev at the February 1981 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Endorsers of the "nuclear freeze" include Mike Myerson, a CPUSA functionary serving as executive secretary of the U.S. Peace Council (USPC). Major organizational support for the campaign is being provided by the AFSC, CALC, WRL and WILPF.

NWFC national executive committee member Currie Burris, national coordinator of the Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC) "Human Security: Peace and Jobs" program who last year participated in a tour of Europe by leaders of U.S. disarmament groups, is urging the NFC "to develop enough clout to stop the deployment of the Pershing and cruise missiles in Europe.

They're scheduled to go on line in 1983 and this would be disastrous for the Freeze Campaign."

Burris also has recommended that U.S. activists take lessons from the Dutch "Stop the Neutron Bomb" organization, which is led by Dutch Communist Party functionary Nico Schouten and is a spin-off from the World Peace Council (WPC).

A more obvious radicalization in orientation of the "nuclear freeze" campaign was in evidence at its February 19-20, 1982, national conference where influential WRL activist David McReynolds, urged opposition to U.S. aid to El Salvador be included in "freeze" campaigning and criticized the NWFC for not challenging "the whole structure of anti-Soviet prejudices. This is something the left should do."

NNWFCC is coordinating many activities in connection with Ground Zero Week, including coordinated press conferences on April 26 backing the "nuclear freeze."

The NWFC national executive committee projects a 3 to 5 year campaign will be needed to obtain U.S. government agreement to a "freeze," and members have expressed their belief that a change in the White House in 1984 would be necessary for victory.

Nuclear Information and Resource Service (NIRS)—1536 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036 (202/483-0045) was established by anti-nuclear activists closely associated with the Institute for Policy Studies in the summer 1978. NIRS was to serve as an information and communications center for environmentalists and anti-nuclear power activists.

In 1980, NIRS described its main project as "building detailed, up-to-date files on skilled people helpful to the anti-nuclear and safe energy movement." NIRS has played a central role in generating support for "nuclear free Pacific" groups and in facilitating contacts between anti-nuclear and disarmament groups in the U.S., Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and Pacific island nations. NIRS has served as the U.S. center for WISE.

NIRS activities have included co-sponsoring a public speech by IPS "senior fellow" Richard Barnett in March 1980, in which he denounced U.S. reaction to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan as an effort to start a "new Cold War," attacked the U.S. for developing "destabilizing weapons systems * * * not only the Trident, but the MX" and Pershing II and cruise missiles for Europe.

With funding from sources including the Youth Project and Cora and Peter Weiss, via the Fund for Tomorrow, the NIRS budget is some \$200,000. Coordinator of the group is Betsy Taylor; and staff includes Mark Hertsgaard of IPS.

Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR)—P.O. Box 144, Watertown, MA 02172 (617/924-3468) states that in 1961, PSR "acted as a united medical voice in warning of the hazards of atmospheric nuclear testing, significantly contributing to the momentum that led to the Partial Test Ban Treaty of 1963." The present PSR, Inc., organized in 1978 by 10 Boston-area antinuclear health activists, is a "non-profit organization committed to public and professional education on the medical hazards of nuclear weaponry."

PSR works with a variety of groups backing U.S. and Western unilateral disarmament including IPPNW, the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS), FAS, CDI and IPS in promulgating the most extreme "end of the world" propaganda as the inevitable result unless the U.S. heeds its appeal to reduce tensions with the USSR and ban "all use of nuclear weapons."

Claiming a membership of 10,000 and 101 chapters, PSR president is Helen Caldicott, 43, an Australian pediatrician and disarmament zealot whose shrill hysterical voice had frequently been heard at MFS anti-nuclear rallies. She claims to have been instrumental in persuading Australian trade unions to oppose mining of uranium ore, and reportedly has attempted to persuade top AFL-CIO officials to adopt anti-nuclear policies. In 1981 Caldicott and other "peace activists" visited the USSR. She has given up her position at Harvard Medical School to devote full time to disarmament organizing.

PSR's presentations on the horrors of nuclear war are heavily salted with radical supporters of Soviet-backed Third World terrorist groups, veteran unilateral disarmament proponents and health care professionals associated in the past with such groups as the Medical Committee for Human Rights (MCHR), Medical Aid to Indochina (MAIC), and the U.S.-Cuba Health Exchange (US-CHE).

A presentation on February 13, 1982, by the New York City PSR, P.O. Box 411, Planetarium Station, New York, NY 10024 (212/477-3416) (salaried staff coordinator is Joanne Pomerantz) featured Richard J. Barnett, IPS; Jerome Frank, board member of SANE and CLW and a past president of FAS; Robert J. Lifton, IPPNW activist and US-CHE sponsor; Studs Terkel and Victor W. Sidel, M.D., Professor and Chairman of the Department of Social Medicines Montefiore Hospital and Medical Center of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine, and US-CHE sponsor.

Speaker at other NYC PSR meetings from August 1981 to January 1982 include Michio Kaku, physics department, City College of New York (CCNY), a frequent MFS rally speaker who links his anti-nuclear sentiments to the Hiroshima atomic bombing in which members of his family died; H. Jack Geiger, MD, a founding PSR member and president of IPPNW; Barry Commoner, Citizens Party; and Joe Fahey of Pax Christi and the Manhattan College Peace Studies section on the European Nuclear Disarmament movement.

Among the featured speakers in national PSR presentations have been Kosta Tsipsis, MIT; Gene La Rocque, CDI; John Constable, MD, Harvard; H. Jack Geiger, MD; Howard H. Hiatt, Dean, Harvard School of Public Health.

According to the Zill report, PSR has raised nearly one million dollars. On Veterans Day (November 11, 1982), PSR and the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS) will attempt to duplicate their 1981 campus seminar successes. PSR has targeted some 15 cities for its grisly presentations.

Riverside Church Disarmament Program (RCDP)—490 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10027 [212/222-5900] and its director, Cora Weiss, are playing leading roles in the June 12 Disarmament Coalition organizing of a mass demonstration during SSD-II. The Zill report cited Weiss as saying \$250,000 will be needed to organize a large, effective protest.

Cora Weiss, formerly active with the Emma Lazarus Clubs and Women Strike for Peace (WSP), played a leadership role in the CPUSA-controlled anti-Vietnam coalitions [New Mobilization Committee, People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PSPJ)] which collaborated closely with the WPC. She received considerable media attention for her numerous meetings with Vietnamese communist officials in Paris and Hanoi and for her controversial role in the Committee of Liaison and in a project to provide material aid to Hanoi, the Friendship/Bach Mai Hospital Fund.

She and her husband, Peter Weiss, president of the IPS board, are officers of the Samuel Rubin Foundation, which provides the major financial support to IPS/TNI, and of the Fund for Tomorrow, a smaller foundation which supports many activist groups spun-off by IPS including WISE.

The RCDP was formed in 1978; its current budget is \$137,000. In addition to its major disarmament conference each November. Among the most noted Soviet participant has been Yuri Kapralov, nominally a counselor at the Soviet Embassy and expert on military and disarmament affairs, who has been serving as Moscow's unofficial "ambassador" to the U.S. disarmament movement. It is noted that the Attorney General's guidelines on FBI security investigations prohibits monitoring of "religious" activities.

During Lent, RCDP sponsored weekly Wednesday night gatherings of disarmament activists who were taught "resistance, dangers of radiation, the European Nuclear Disarmament movement." In cooperation with the MFS Religious Taskforce led by Paul Mayer, RCDP is co-sponsoring "Peace Sabbath" events (May 28-31) with CALC, FOR, Pax Christi and Sojourners.

SANE—A Citizens Committee for a Sane World—514 C Street, NE, Washington, DC 20002 (202/546-7100) cooperates directly with the WPC, co-sponsoring two Capitol Hill appearances by WPC activists in 1981. SANE and the CNFMP are cooperating in compiling a joint computerized mailing list by Congressional districts, and in a media task force against the Reagan defense budget.

SANE's major 1982 project, co-sponsored with Congress Watch and FRAC is the Fair Budget Action program which will apply pressure in Congressional districts for diverting the defense budget to social programs. The Zill report noted that SANE's 30,000 name mailing list, FRAC's big budget and Congress Watch's 100,000 members should ensure major attention.

SANE played a leading role in a 1975 Chicago National Conference to Slash Military Spending organized by the CPUSA's then head of WPC U.S. activities, Pauline Royce Rosen. (The organization formed from that conference, the National Center to Slash Military Spending, joined CNFMP; but dissolved in 1980 and was superseded by the U.S. Peace Council (USPC)).

SANE executive director is David Cortright, a founder of the U.S. Peace Council, former GI organizer at Fort Bliss, IPS protégé of Marcus Raskin, and staffer of the Center for National Security Studies. Cortright has hired Chad Dobson of the Campaign to Stop the MX and moved him from Salt Lake City to the East Coast to help organize the June 12 demonstration.

SANE's board of directors is headed by co-chairman Seymour Melman and William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM). Board members include Ramsey Clark, William Davidson, Jerome Frank, Rep. Tom Harkin, Homer Jack, David Livingston, Robert Maslow, Joseph Miller, Michael Moffitt (IPS), Robert Musil, Leon Quat, Marcus Raskin, Rep. Fred Richmond, Alex Rosenberg, Morton Stavis, Edith Tiger, Sr. Mary Luke Tobin, Kosta Tsipsis, and Rep. Ted Weiss.

SANE is raising money for a TV spot in favor of the "nuclear freeze" and is in the midst of a one million piece direct mail campaign.

Stanley Foundation, 420 E. Third Street, Muscatine, IA 52761 (319/264-1500) since 1969 has been financing "educational meetings" among U.N. NGO groups and foreign

policy conferences in support of detente with Soviet participation. Its meetings, once or twice yearly, have been held generally in the Church Center for the U.N., 777 U.N. Plaza, or in the offices of the Arms Control Association (ACA) in Washington, DC. This NGO Consultation Group established a Steering Committee of 12 to 15 people for which the Zill report was compiled.

Stanley Foundation media programs include a radio program, "Common Ground," 39 30-minute programs broadcast over 50 National Public Radio stations. The foundation also sponsors regional news media conferences for 50 to 60 reporters in the print and electronic media based in cities with a population of 500,000 to one million.

The Zill report noted the Stanley Foundation was planning some 10 conferences this year for up to 50 people—U.N. diplomats, businessman, labor leaders, U.S. government officials and academics—to work on recommendations for changes in U.S. foreign policy. One of these, scheduled for March 26-27, in New York was to bring 50 "Congress people and staffs to learn about * * * the role of the U.N. in arms control."

Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS)—1384 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02238 (617/547-5552) was established at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1969 in support of the Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty (SALT). The group claims more than 100,000 sponsors nationwide.

The UCS board of directors is chaired by Henry M. Kendall of MIT. Among the board members are Dr. James A. Fay; Dr. Kurt Gottfried; Leonard Meehar; Herbert "Pete" Scoville, former CIA deputy director; and Richard Wright. UCS executive director is Eric E. Van Loan.

In cooperation with PSR and related groups, UCS sponsored 150 campus teach-ins on November 11, 1981. UCS programs were weighted with speakers against U.S. defense and foreign policies and favoring unilateral disarmament, with a token opponent invited to lend credibility to the event. UCS organizer Peter Stein has built a campus network with an "arms project steering committee" that will attempt to expand campus outreach in November.

The Zill report noted UCS intends to become more involved "outside the U.S. with teach-ins in European centers too."

UCS is planning an international meeting of 40 disarmament scientists to be held in New York at Roosevelt University during the second week of SSD-II, and is raising money to fully pay expenses for 15, plus a portion of the expenses for others.

U.S. Peace Council (USPC)—7 E. 15th Street, Room 408, New York, NY 10003 [212/989-1194] was launched as the official U.S. national section of the WPC at a November 1979 conference in Philadelphia.

The CPUSA newspaper Daily World [11/1/79] credited three veteran CPUSA organizers for laying the organizational basis for the WPC by "working for years to establish local committees, organize delegations from the U.S. to international meetings of the WPC, and distribute information about the Peace Council to activists in the United States." Those named include Pauline Royce Rosen, "who coordinated all WPC activities in the U.S. for many years" and led what in effect was a CPUSA front serving as a cover for the WPC, the National Center to Slash Military Spending (NCSMS), which dissolved in 1980 and recommended to its supporters they join the USPC and CNFMP; Sylvia Kushner of the Chicago Peace Council (CPC); and Elsie Monjar of the Los Angeles Peace Council (LAPC).

Among those taking active roles in the USPC founding, speaking or listed as work-

shop leaders, were Mark Shanahand, CNFMP; Sarah Staggs, CPC; Connecticut Rep. Irving Stolberg; David Cortright, SANE; Rev. William Hogan, CALC; Terry Provan, AFSC; Erica Foldy, CNFMP; Frank Chapman, AFSC; Archie Singham, Nation editorial board; Betsy Sweet, WILPF; Massachusetts Rep. Sandra Graham; New York City Council members Miriam Friedlander and Gilberto Gerena-Valentin; and Ed Vargas, vice-president, Connecticut Federation of Teachers, Hartford, CT.

The published list of USPC sponsors included Canon Frederick B. Williams, president, Council of Churches of Manhattan; Alden Whitman; Edith Villastrigo, director, Washington Office, WSP; Michigan State Senator Jackie Vaughn, III; Fred Stover, U.S. Farmers Association; Rev. Anthony M. Stevens Arroyo, director, CEMI, Pax Christi; Dr. Robert J. Schwartz, chairman, New York SANE; Jack Sangster, Fund for New Priorities in America (FNPA); Ruth Messinger, New York City Council; Maryann Mahaffey, Erma Henderson and Clyde Cleveland, Detroit City Council members; Dr. L. Charles Gray, vice president, Christian Peace Conference; Donna Cooper, Washington, D.C. Peace Center; Illinois Representative Carol Mosely Braun; and Marjorie Boehm, president, U.S. section, WILPF.

In a brochure distributed at its second convention in November 1981, the USPC explained its support for disarmament and Third World revolutionary organizations: "The campaign to stop weapons of mass destruction cannot be separated from support for the peoples of Southern Africa, Asia and the Middle East * * *. The movement to defend and consolidate detente is at the same time a movement to halt the forces that seek to crush struggles for liberation. The demand for jobs and rebuilding the cities of our country is simultaneously a demand to reduce the military budget, from which we must get the billions of dollars needed for that task."

USPC executive director is Michael Myerson, a long-time functionary of the New York State Communist Party.

War Resisters League (WRL)—339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012 [212/228-0450] was founded in 1923 "to support conscientious objectors whose pacifism was secular or political in nature," which primarily meant supporting anarchists, Marxists and communists who objects to participating in "imperialist" war, but who did not object to class war and thus were not pacifists. WRL defines itself as supporting "radical pacifism * * * an effort to create a just and peaceful society through nonviolent and lifesupporting methods."

WRL's dual revolutionary slant is indicated in its selection of articles supporting Marxism and "social anarchism * * * socialism without centralism, without a party, and without a government," as its primer on alternative political structures.

A major WRL project since 1967 is WIN magazine, whose synthesis of radical culture and new life styles has included support for revolutionary terrorist groups including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Irish Republican Army (IRA), Weather Underground, West German Baader-Meinhof gang, etc.

Although WRL claims its relations with the WPC have been strained, David McReynolds and other WRL activists continue to collaborate with the Moscow-line communists in coalitions, including the June 12 Disarmament Coalition.

It is noted that West German news reports, citing annual government internal security surveys of totalitarian organizations,

term the German Peace Society/United Military Service Resisters [Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft/Vereinigte Kriegsdienstgegner] (DFG/VK) (an affiliate of the War Resister League International (WRLI)) a front of the German Communist Party (DKP). The 14-member DFG/VK board, co-chaired by Gerd Greune and Klaus Mannhardt, a member of the WPC, also has four DKP members.

Women for Racial and Economic Equality (WREE)—130 E. 16th Street, New York, NY 10003 (212/473-6111), is a CPUSA front which is the U.S. affiliate of the Soviet-controlled Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF).

Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF)—based in East Berlin, is so heavily communist in its character that it has nearly lost its former character as a front involving noncommunists. That role, more and more, is being taken by the WILPF which has been so heavily penetrated by communists that last year it was made an affiliate of the World Peace Council, as is the WIDF. During the 1960s, the U.S. WIDF affiliate was Women Strike for Peace (WSP); however in the mid-1970s, the CPUSA established a new women's front, Women for Racial and Economic Equality (WREE), now the official WIDF section.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)—headquartered at 1213 Race Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107 (215/563-7110) and a Washington legislative office formerly shared with WSP, has been cooperating in WPC and WIDF projects to such an extent that WILPF last year was made a WPC affiliate. WILPF has a tax-exempt "educational" arm, the Jane Adams Peace Association (JAPA). WILPF leaders include Yvonne Logan, president; Liggy Frank, executive director; Betsy Sweet, program director.

The heavy-handed pro-Soviet stance of many WILPF activists includes participation in the WPC and USPC by Disarmament Coordinator Katherine "Kay" Camp; frequent sponsorship of exchange visits with the Soviet Women's Committee; and a call for a campaign against "anti-Sovietism" in the media—defined as any suggestion that the USSR may be responsible for the arms race or pose a threat to the U.S. WILPF's "STAR" petition campaign utilizes an old WPC slogan, "Stop the Arms Race."

Women Strike for Peace (WSP)—145 S. 13th Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107 (215/923-0861), was founded in 1961 as a "national movement of women against the arms race and for the fulfillment of human needs." Virtually its first act was to assign CPUSA member Selma Rein to arrange WSP's affiliation with the WIDF.

WSP's national coordinator is Ethel Taylor, and its national legislative coordinator is Edith Villastrigo. WSP members have comprised a substantial proportion of U.S. delegations to World Peace Congresses. WSP has been working in support of the local "nuclear freeze" initiatives, aiding in Ground Zero and PSR events, and carrying out effective "lobby by proxy."

The Zill report notes that WSP went to Rep. Millicent Fenwick with 85 proxy cards and asked her to use her influence to hold hearings on Euro-missiles and the Middle East as well as arms control efforts. The three-day hearings by the House Foreign Affairs Committee commenced on 2/27/82.

World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY)—based in Budapest, is a Soviet-controlled front that works closely with the IUS and other fronts in promoting Soviet foreign policy goals—whether detente and arms control or support for Third World terrorist movements. The WFDY's World Youth Congresses have served as occasions

for introducing young radicals and communists to terrorist leaders. The U.S. WFDY section is the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), the youth arm of the Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA).

World Information Service on Energy (WISE)—based in Amsterdam, and with a U.S. address at 1536 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036 [202/387-0818] was formed by anti-nuclear activists and researchers in 1978 "to function as an international switchboard for local and national groups around the world who want to exchange information and support one another." In the U.S., WISE has received distribution and other support from Terry Provan, active with the AFSC, USPC and co-convenor of the Mobilization for Survival (MFS) International Task Force.

In June 1981, the WISE council decided to reduce its coverage of disarmament demonstrations and dates except when the links between nuclear power and nuclear arms "are clear." Another group with ties to IPS/TNI—European Nuclear Disarmament (END)—has taken over that function.

World Peace Council (WPC)—based in Helsinki, is the major Soviet-controlled international communist front organization. Operating under the joint control of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPUSU) and the KGB, the WPC has two main functions: to influence public opinion and government policies in non-communist countries along lines favorable to Soviet policy goals, and to provide logistical support to Soviet-supported terrorist groups.

THE SOVIET PEACE OFFENSIVE

(Final Draft of a Western Goals Report in Brief, March 1, 1982)

INTRODUCTION

In a recent television interview, President Reagan commented on the anti-U.S. and anti-NATO disarmament demonstrations that have had thousands of people marching in the capitals of Western Europe this fall in coordination with similar anti-NATO demonstrations organized by the communist regimes in East Germany and other Warsaw Pact countries. Said President Reagan, "Oh, those demonstrations; you could have used newsreels from the Sixties in America. These are all sponsored by a thing called the World Peace Council, which is bought and paid for by the Soviet Union."

In the U.S., disarmament groups related to the World Peace Council (WPC) both directly and through its national affiliate, the U.S. Peace Council (USPC), have commenced on all-out drive against U.S. defense modernization targeted on the United Nations Second Special Session on Disarmament (SSD), to be held in New York, June 9 to July 7, 1982.

The use of internationally active front organizations, cover groups and peace slogans has been a standard tactic of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) since 1921 when Lenin developed the idea of using trade unions, youth groups, social and cooperative organizations as "transmission belts" to spread communism. The development of "popular front" organizations to attract support from non-communists for Soviet goals began in 1934. After the Soviets dissolved the Comintern in 1943, as a sop to Stalin's Western allies, responsibility for control of fronts and foreign communist parties was transferred to the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Front groups attempt to conceal the USSR's role in their programs. They are ve-

hicles for Soviet covert action and have become key in developing among both the industrialized West and emerging Third World nations support for the USSR, its interests and policies much greater than could have been achieved by the local communist parties campaigning openly for the same issues.

A Soviet Politburo directive issued in 1949 by Mikhail Suslov, the director of the Kremlin's ideological warfare and propaganda campaigns from the Stalin period until his death from a stroke on January 25, 1982, established the prime targets for recruitment into the "fronts" which appears to still obtain in 1981:

"Particular attention should be devoted to drawing into the peace movement trade unions, women's, youth, cooperative, sport, cultural, education, religious, and other organizations, and also scientists, writers, journalists, cultural workers, parliamentary, and other political and public leaders."

Among the fronts established by the Soviet Union after World War II are the Afro-Asia People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO); International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL); International Federation of Resistance Fighters (FIR); International Organization of Journalists (IOJ); International Union of Students (IUS); Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF); World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY); World Federation of Scientific Workers (WFSW); World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU); and the World Peace Council (WPC). Another front of growing importance is the Christian Peace Conference (CPC), which has been under Soviet control since 1968 and operates in tandem with the WPC.

This Western Goals report, prepared in association with the *Information Digest*, the authoritative newsletter specializing in investigative reporting on U.S. political and social movements, documents the strong influence if not overt control exerted by the WPC over the U.S. disarmament movement and reports on plans for protests and other activities designed to influence U.S. public opinion in favor of appeasing the Soviet Union.

World Peace Council

Since 1950, when it launched the Stockholm Peace Appeal, the World Peace Council (WPC) has been the Soviet Union's single most important international front organization. The WPC's first Stockholm Peace Appeal sought an absolute ban on the atomic bomb at a time when the Soviet Union's nuclear capability lagged far behind the U.S.

The 1950 Stockholm Appeal declared that "the first government to use the atomic weapon against any country whatsoever would be committing a crime against humanity and should be dealt with as a war criminal." This theme is still being promoted by leaders of the U.S. disarmament drive.

Soviet preparations for the launching of the present disarmament drive can be traced to 1973, when it became clear that the U.S. withdrawal from South Vietnam would ensure North Vietnamese, Pathet Lao and Khmer Rouge success.

Meeting in Sofia, Bulgaria, in February 1974, the World Peace Council set up a new body, the "Conference of Representatives of National Peace Movements," to meet annually and coordinate building up local WPC affiliates, particularly in the non-communist countries. The December 1974 meeting in Prague, Czechoslovakia, of this WPC body, chaired by Romesh Chandra, discussed implementation of the WPC's 1975 "program of action" that included "special efforts * * * to draw new forces into their ranks." [Peace Courier, January 1975, p. 2.]

The Prague WPC meeting issued an appeal entitled "Make Detente Irreversible" which considered disarmament and U.S.-Soviet arms control agreements the key to "reducing tensions." But the WPC's Prague appeal also demonstrated that their goal was to reduce American and NATO military strength which was "provoking tension," and that in its view detente would not be "irreversible" until the West got rid of its nuclear and conventional forces. The WPC appeal explained that detente was necessary because "detente creates more favorable conditions for the waging of the people's struggles * * * The context of detente loosens the grip of imperialism on oppressed nations and on newly independent states dominated by multinational corporations."

Omitting the rhetoric, it means that if the democratic countries of the Free World can be persuaded to give up the weapons that comprise their means of resistance to armed aggression, the Communist aggressors will have won. The tactics of deception, subversion and covert action via agents of influence are certainly not new. They were set out in the 6th Century B.C. by Chinese military strategist Sun Tsu, whose Art of War is a basic text for both the Soviet military and the KGB. Among Sun Tsu's precepts are:

"All warfare is based on deception. Therefore, when capable, feign incapacity; when active, inactivity. Offer the enemy a bait to lure him; * * * When he concentrates, prepare against him; where he is strong, avoid him.

"Anger his general and confuse him. Pretend inferiority and encourage his arrogance. * * * When he is united, divide him.

"Generally in war the best policy is to take a state intact; * * * To subdue the enemy without fighting is the acme of skill. Thus, what is of supreme importance in war is to attack the enemy's strategy." [The Art of War, trans. S. B. Griffith, Oxford University Press, 1973]

1975 New Stockholm Campaign.

Disarmament was the subject of four "commissions" of the May 30 to June 2, 1975 WPC Presidential Committee meeting in Stockholm. The topics were:

"1-Ending the arms race and international detente; 2-Disarmament and development (social and economic consequences of the arms race); 3-Dangers of development of new types of weapons (imperialist methods of warfare); 4-Peace and nuclear weaponfree zones as a contribution to ending the arms race." [Peace Courier, June/July, 1975]

Among the signers of the main working paper on disarmament were Howard Parsons (USA), Nobel Peace Prize winner Philip Noel-Baker (UK), Yuri Shvedkov (USSR) and Roger Mayer (France). In addition to representatives of the WPC's national affiliates, international organizations sending representatives to this WPC meeting included the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), UNESCO and the World Federation of United Nations Associations (WFUNA). According to the WPC, all participants in the Presidential Committee meeting signed the WPC's New Stockholm Appeal petition initiated at the meeting.

The WPC's dual emphasis on supporting revolutionary terrorist movements while promoting Western disarmament was shown in the decision of the WPC Presidential Committee to award its Joliot/Curie Gold Medal simultaneously to the chief of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Yasir Arafat, and to Bram Fischer, a white Afrikaner member of the South African Communist Party who led the terrorist arm

of the African National Congress (ANC) in a sabotage and terrorism campaign in the early 1960s. Fischer died of cancer while serving a life imprisonment term for this terrorist crimes.

The 1975 Stockholm Appeal referred to the victories of North Vietnamese, Pathet Lao and Khmer Rouge in Southeast Asia as "victories for peace and detente" that "have created a new international climate, new hopes, new confidence, new optimism among the peoples." The WPC appeal continued:

"The unity of peace forces has the power to overcome the obstacles which still remain along the road to a new world, from which aggression, exploitation, hunger and poverty will be banished for all time.

"The principal obstacle to making the process of detente irreversible is the arms race.

"The arms race weighs heavily on the shoulders of vast masses of peoples in many countries of the world—who are faced with an ever soaring cost of living, inflation and economic crisis. It robs the peoples of a great part of their wealth and resources.

"Detente has opened up fresh proposals for victories in the struggles for a new international economic order, for the rights of the peoples to the riches of their own soil. It is a weapon in the fight for ending the plunder by monopolies and multi-national corporations.

"The arms race, the stockpiles of weapons in the hands of the imperialists incite and encourage the forces of aggression, militarism and fascism, colonialism and racism; detente is a vital factor for strengthening the efforts in all lands for national independence, justice and social progress.

"World public opinion has greater responsibility and greater power than ever before. It can turn the tide against the armaments profiteers, the cold warriors, the enemies of mankind."

The WPC's "New Stockholm Appeal" closed with a request for collaboration "to all governments and parliaments, all peace and other movements, to political parties, trade unions, women's and youth organizations, to religious, social and cultural bodies which are engaged in endeavors for mankind's advance, to join hands in a great new worldwide offensive against the arms race."

Of course it was tremendously convenient for the WPC that the Communist governments, the Soviet Union's Third World client states, national peace committees, Communist parties, and a network of WPC-allied international communist front organizations already were in place through which outreach to trade union, women's and youth, religious, social and cultural groups could be made.

The 1975 "New Stockholm" campaign placed special emphasis on utilizing scientists for disarmament. The initial meeting to coordinate outreach to scientists was held in Moscow in July 1975, entitled "The Role of Scientists and their Organizations in the Struggle for Disarmament." The meeting was sponsored by the WPC's sister front, the World Federation of Scientific Workers (WFSW) and was attended by some 400 individuals from 62 countries. Soviet party chief Leonid Brezhnev sent a message calling for "practical efforts" to have "political detente complemented and reinforced by military detente," i.e., disarmament; and the WFSW issued an "Appeal to Scientists of the World" that said in part:

"Scientific workers cannot remain indifferent to the use being made of their work.

*** the moral duty of scientific workers, their responsibility before mankind, demands the prevention of the further use of their work for destructive purposes.

"We call on scientific workers of all countries and their organizations to use all their influence to ensure the end of the arms race and the beginning of an era of real disarmament and a secure peace."

As the new disarmament campaign escalated in 1975, the Communist Party, U.S.A.-controlled World Peace Council affiliates then operating in the United States moved to harness the organizational structures built during the anti-Vietnam agitation to the new disarmament campaign.

Before reviewing the WPC's activities in the United States since 1975, it must be emphasized that although the WPC enjoys a measure of "credibility" particularly in Africa and other Third World countries, an examination of the WPC's ostensible support for "peace" shows that its efforts coincide without deviation from support of Soviet international policies and goals, through backing revolutionary terrorist "national liberation movements" to supporting sweeping Soviet disarmament initiatives that provide neither for international controls nor inspections. Thus the WPC defends Soviet and Warsaw Pact military maneuvers as "peace-keeping" exercises, but denounces U.S. military exercises, such as the summer 1981 U.S. naval exercises in Mediterranean waters near Libya, as "criminal actions."

When two Libyan aircraft that opened fire on U.S. Navy jets were shot down, the WPC declared September 1, 1981, "International Day of Solidarity with the People of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya" and issued a statement that said in part:

"U.S. imperialism has committed yet another blatant crime using its war machinery and tremendous military build-up thousands of miles away from the U.S.A. in an attempt to intimidate and force into submission those who defend their independence and sovereignty."

Operating under the direction of the CPSU International Department headed by Boris Ponomarev, a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and candidate member, (non-voting) of the Politburo who worked under Suslov's direction for more than thirty years, the WPC increasingly has taken an expanding role in Soviet agitation and propaganda operations.

Since its last major congress, the "World Parliament of Peoples for Peace" held in Sofia, Bulgaria, in September 1980, the WPC's leadership role in mobilizing disarmament protests has expanded both in the U.S. and in other NATO countries.

The WPC's stated goal is to mobilize public pressure to block U.S. plans to modernize NATO's Theater Nuclear Forces (TNF) with medium-range Pershing II and cruise missiles, and to upgrade NATO's anti-tank capability with enhanced radiation warheads (neutron bombs). Also targeted are U.S. plans to upgrade strategic nuclear forces with MX mobile missiles and the B-1 bomber, the shelving of the unratified SALT-II arms treaty, and U.S. Rapid Deployment Force and naval forces in the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf area.

WPC "peace" campaigns carried out during 1981 and which are continuing into 1982 include promotion and organization of anti-NATO protests in Western Europe, support for making Europe, the Indian Ocean and other areas "nuclear free zones," and the generation of propaganda against U.S. foreign policies and in favor of Soviet initiatives towards Central America, Indochina, southern Africa, and the Middle East.

Organizationally, the WPC is salted with members of the pro-Soviet communist parties and with reliable pro-Soviet leftists. The WPC's president is Romesh Chandra, 65, who in the 1960s was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India. In 1978, at the request of Representative John Ashbrook [R-OH], during hearings of the House Intelligence Committee, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) prepared a non-classified study of Soviet propaganda operations which the House Intelligence Committee published as part of its hearing, "The CIA and the Media." That report said in part:

"Yet the Kremlin does not rely on Chandra alone to carry out its policies in the WPC. A representative of the Soviet Communist Party has for years sat at Chandra's side, in a background WPC role, but holding ultimate control. This position was held for a number of years by Aleksandr Berkov, but the job was taken over in early 1977 by Igor Belyayev. Berkov and later Belyayev were listed only as one of a number of secretaries in the Secretariat, but they were recognized within the organization as the final authority, including the power of veto. Berkov, for example, was known to have overruled Chandra on certain decisions involving meetings or other activities and relayed the party line concerning WPC causes and operations."

The study continues:

"Two other Russians playing key roles in the WPC are Vitaly Shaposhnikov, who is listed as a Soviet member of the WPC Presidential Committee, and Oleg Kharkharkin who is executive of the Moscow-based Continuing Liaison Committee (CLC) of the World Council of Peace Forces and also vice-chairman of the WPC-affiliated Soviet Peace Committee. Both are officials of the International Department of the Soviet CP Central Committee."

The study said that the International Department "is responsible for major clandestine political activities abroad including the front organizations, foreign Communist parties and activities such as strikes and demonstrations designed to destabilize foreign governments."

In terms of power in Moscow, the report stated that the International Department "stands firmly over the KGB for clandestine political activities," and that in these matters, the KGB may act only on the direction of the International Department.

Most of the WPC leaders are active in the communist parties of their own countries and also lead the local WPC affiliate. These WPC "national peace committees" in turn are run as fronts of the local Moscow-line communist parties which, like the WPC, are directed by the International Department of the CPSU. This provides two mechanisms for ensuring that the resolutions and statements of the local WPC affiliates do not deviate from the line set by the Soviet Communist Party.

WPC coordination of U.S. anti-Vietnam movement

The WPC coordinated international demonstrations against United States military aid to South Vietnam. These demonstrations were held in coordination with major demonstrations in the United States. This was not coincidental as demonstrated by the fact that U.S. anti-Vietnam activists met continually with American WPC officials, many of them known Communist Party members, and traveled abroad to participate in WPC planning meetings.

The WPC's coordination of the U.S. anti-Vietnam demonstrations was thoroughly documented from testimony and scores of exhibits of WPC and Communist Party pub-

lications in a series of hearings published by the House Committee on Internal Security between 1970 and 1971 on the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (New Mobe) and its successor, the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ).

For example, the nearly 50 members of the U.S. delegation to the June 1969 "World Assembly for Peace" in East Berlin included members of the Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC), Women Strike for Peace (WSP), Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), various quasi-religious groups including the Methodist Federation for Social Action (MFSA), one of the Communist Party, U.S.A.'s oldest fronts; and local U.S. affiliates of the WPC in San Francisco, Los Angeles and Chicago which were active for two decades before the U.S. Peace Council was organized; and a substantial number of veteran leaders of the Communist Party and its major fronts. These included the two U.S. members of the WPC Presidential Committee, Herbert Aptheker, then the CPUSA's leading theoretician, and Dr. Carlton Goodlett, West Coast treasurer of the New Mobilization Committee; Angie Dickerson, a New York social worker identified in sworn testimony as a CPUSA member, and who was a member of the Organizing Committee for the World Peace Assembly; Rev. Richard Morford, an identified CPUSA member also serving on the Organizing Committee; identified CPUSA veteran Barbara Bick of Women Strike for Peace (WSP) (which immediately on formation affiliated with the Soviet-Controlled WIDF) and who was a highly active leader of New Mobe and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ); Irving Sarnoff, a leading CPUSA functionary in Los Angeles; Stanley Faulkner, a WPC member active in the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL) and its U.S. affiliate, the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) who later was the attorney for jailed Chilean Communist Party leader Luis Corvalan; and several functionaries of the CPUSA's youth arm, at the time called the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, Jarvis Tyner, Susan Borenstein and Karen Ackerman.

The WPC-initiated Stockholm Conference on Vietnam Emergency Action Conference, May 16-18, 1969, held to discuss "the problem of immediate material aid for Vietnam as aid to the country in the frontline against U.S. imperialism," as the final statement of the conference's Group on Material and Medical Aid noted, called for a series of demonstrations, boycotts, formation of "research groups" on U.S. companies with defense contracts, encouragement of desertion and draft resistance and a petition drive in support of North Vietnamese (DRV) proposals to the Paris peace talks.

The Emergency Action Conference documents said that in response to "medical and other material requests from the [communist] Vietnamese *** we urge the formation of new groups everywhere to work continually for medical and material aid, not only to supply immediate needs but to enlist the sympathy and support of countless individuals and to involve new groups of people in support of the Vietnamese people." Shortly afterwards, U.S. activists formed the Medical Aid to Indochina/Bach Mai Hospital Fund which, with leadership provided by Cora Weiss of Women Strike for Peace, provided just such material aid to Hanoi.

The conference documents listed participants as including Hans Goren Franck (Sweden) who acted as the "observer" for Amnesty International at the same time as being a voting delegate for the Swedish Vietnam Committee; Peggy Duff (Britain)

of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace; the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF); and some three dozen American anti-Vietnam leaders including: Sherman Adams, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC); Mrs. Frances Adler; Mrs. Althea Alexander, Women Strike for Peace (WSP); Mrs. Clara J. Brown, Black American Civil Rights Activists; George Carrano, American Deserters' Committee (ADC); Prof. Noam Chomsky, Resist; Bronson Clark, American Friends Service Committee (AFSC); Mrs. Eleanor Clark; Joseph Crown, Richard Falk and Stanley Swerdlow of the Lawyers Committee on American Policy Towards Vietnam, set up by lawyers from the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (NECLC) and National Lawyers Guide (NLG), the U.S. Section of the Soviet-controlled International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL); Mrs. Sarita Fuentes Crown, WSP, Westchester, NY; Prof. William C. Davidson; Bob Eaton, AFSC; Josef Elder; Miss Marion H. Fay; Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett, Committee for International Peace Action; Rev. Thomas Lee Hayes, War Resisters' League (WRL), Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam (CALC); Mrs. Maria Joles and Miss Shirley Keith, Movement for Disarmament, Peace and Liberty, Paris; Bernhard Knobler; Prof. Gabriel Kolko; Donald McDonough, ADC; Prof. David Marr; Miss Deedee Morse, SANE (National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy), observer; Prof. John D. Neilands, chairman, Scientists' Committee on Chemical and Biological Warfare; Prof. Anatol Rapaport; Doris Brin Walker (Roberson), vice-president, NLG, identified CPUSA organizer; Mrs. Beulah Sanders, chairman, Citywide Coordinating Committee of Welfare Groups, New York; Mrs. Amy Swerdlow, WSP; Prof. Franz Schurmann; Nelson Theodore and John Wilson, SNCC.

The Stockholm Conference became one of the WPC's most active subsidiaries. The 31 members of its ruling International Liaison Committee including Romesh Chandra; Alexander Berkov of the Soviet Peace Committee; Peggy Duff; Hans Goren Franck of the Swedish Vietnam Committee; Karoly Toth, the Hungarian head of the Christian Peace Conference; Shirley Keith, American Committee of the French Movement for Disarmament, Peace and Liberty; and CPUSA functionary Irving Sarnoff and Ronald Young, both officially representing the U.S. New Mobilization Committee, met in October 1969 to endorse New Mobe's "Fall Offensive" which culminated with three-days of riots in Washington, D.C. (November 13-15, 1969) in which mobs of club-wielding militants from Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the SDS Weatherman faction and other revolutionary groups battled police in running street battles along Embassy Row and outside the Department of Justice. The International Liaison Committee named November 15th "International Mobilization Day" and ordered that "all actions on this day of International Mobilization should be centered on the demand of the Vietnam Appeal calling for the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of US and allied troops from South Vietnam."

Yet another example of WPC guidance of the U.S. anti-Vietnam movement was provided in the New Mobilization Committee's West Coast newsletter dated February 13, 1970, which reported a meeting in Vancouver, Canada, as follows:

"About 100 Americans from the West Coast, representing about 70 organizations, and a delegation of Canadian peace people met at a conference Feb. 7 & 8 in Vancou-

ver, B.C., called by the World Peace Council to discuss international cooperation to end the war in Vietnam. New Mobe arranged the United States participation. In fact, the meeting was initiated by Carlton Goodlett and Irving Sarnoff at a WPC meeting in Africa last month.

"WPC delegates were Tran Cong Tuong, one of the chief DRV (Democratic Republic of Vietnam) negotiators at the Paris sessions; Ha Huy Oanh, DRV negotiating team; Krishna Menon, India; Pastor Martin Niemoller, Germany; Romesh Chandra, Secretary-General of the WPC; and A. Ratsifehera, Madagascar.

"The conference endorsed and called for international support to the work stoppage being called on April 15 to protest the war.

"A statement unanimously adopted by the Conference declared that the most urgent need of all people is immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, * * * .

"The Conference * * * endorsed selection of Montreal as site for a Commission of Inquiry into war crimes in Vietnam, projected for summer 1970."

Virtually the same cast of organizations and activists now involved in the World Peace Council-directed disarmament campaign turned up yet again at another in the series of significant WPC meetings involving U.S. anti-Vietnam activists, the "5th Stockholm Conference on Vietnam," March 28-30, 1970. The list of participants published by the WPC's International Liaison Committee included Mrs. Peggy Duff (Britain) and Prof. William C. Davidson (USA), both delegates from the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace, with Mrs. Duff (in 1977 an initiator of the U.S. Mobilization for Survival) also serving as the official delegate from the War Resisters International and Davidson also representing the American Friends Service Committee as part of the U.S. delegation; Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett (USA), Pastor D. Martin Niemoller (FRG) and Romesh Chandra of the WPC Presidential Committee; representatives of the major Soviet fronts; and "observers" from the World Council of Churches [Mrs. Jane L. Frank (USA)] and the World Student Christian Federation [Mr. Jim Walch (USA)]. [Reprinted in Hearings, House Committee on Internal Security, "National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ)," Part 2, June 15-17, 1971, Committee Exhibit 63, pp. 2199-2211.]

¹The U.S. participants in the 5th Stockholm conference on Vietnam included Sherman Adams, Scan-SNCC; Mrs. Althea Alexander, U.S. Soul; Carol Andreas, Detroit New Mobilization Committee; Steve Bloom, Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam; John Braxton, Quaker Action Group; Miss Jane Campbell, Youth Caucus, Disciples of Christ Peace Fellowship; Mrs. Joan Campbell, New Mobilization Committee, Detroit Peace Action Council; Miss Nancy Clark, People Against Racism; Miss Judy Clavir, Youth International Party, Berkeley Tribe, New Mobilization; Victor Coleman, White Panther Party (Canada); Prof. William C. Davidson, American Friends Service Committee; Mrs. Angie Dickerson, identified CPUSA member and national chairman of the Committee to Defend the Right of the Black Panther Party to Exist; Prof. Douglas Dowd, New Mobilization; James Forest, then a U.S. member of the WPC Secretariat (in 1954, Forest was chairman of the Communist Party of Missouri and was sentenced to a 5-year federal prison term for violation of the Smith Act); Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett, publisher of the San Francisco Sun Reporter, a CPUSA veteran and leader of the Peace Action Council of Southern California; Lou Gothard, U.S. Soul; Robert Greenblatt, official representative of New Mobe; William Hartzog, American Deserters Committee (Montreal); Bob Haskell, Episcopal Peace Fellowship; Rod Huth, American Deserters Committee (Sweden); Mrs. Marie Jolas, English-speaking committee of the Movement pour la Desarme-

As a result of their compilation of evidence, the investigators for the House Committee on Internal Security found that the National Mobilization Committee and its successors, the New Mobilization Committee (New Mobe) and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ) worked in "a very significant degree of cooperation" with the World Peace Council. [House Committee on Internal Security, Hearings, "National Peace Action Council (NPAC) and People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ)," Part 2, June 15-17, 1971, p. 18611.

The participation of U.S. radicals and disarmament activists in the WPC continued throughout the 1970s even though the U.S. pull-out from South Vietnam caused a sharp drop in campus demonstrations. Some 150 Americans attended the October 1973 World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow.

In more recent years, the U.S. delegations to the WPC's meetings have included a greater proportion of disarmament activists from anti-nuclear, religious and quasi-religious activist organizations.

WPC and pacifism

Genuine pacifists admit that the World Peace Council is merely the creature of Soviet policy; but few of these are willing to expose WPC activists when they appear in disguise as members of other organizations. A recent letter to the editor of the New York Times [January 30, 1982] by Homer A. Jack, head of the World Conference on Religion and Peace, correctly admitted that the WPC was an "instigator" of the anti-missile demonstrations in Western Europe, he wrote:

"The World Peace Council has for more than 30 years faithfully transmitted Soviet foreign policy. Its leaders have regularly been awarded the Lenin Peace Prize (never the Nobel Peace Prize)."

He continued:

"Within the past year, the W.P.C. requested higher status as a 'nongovernmental organization' with the United Nations Eco-

ment, la Paix et la Liberte (MDPL); Mrs. Shirley Neith, English-speaking committee of the MDPL; Mrs. Sylvia Kushner, Chicago Peace Council (a veteran CPUSA activist who coordinated deserters in Sweden); Rev. Ray L. Micklethun, University Christian Movement in Cleveland and Clergy and Laity Concerned about Vietnam and listed by the WPC in 1970 as a member of the organization; Mr. Ira Morris, English-speaking committee of the MDPL; Professor J. P. Neilands, Scientists Committee to End Chemical Warfare; Genie Plamondon, White Panther Party; Dean Reed, a U.S. folksinger who has lived in the USSR since the 1960s; Tom Reeves, National Council to Repeal the Draft; Mrs. Pauline Rosen, Women Strike for Peace and the Vietnam Peace Parade Committee (a prominent CPUSA activist who coordinated WPC activities in the New York area for many years); Nancy Kurshan, now a leader of the terrorist Weather Underground Organization's Prairie Fire Organizing Committee (PFOC) then an organizer of the defense committee for the Chicago 8, charged with riot conspiracy at the 1968 Democratic National Convention; Irving Sarnoff, official representative of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, a leader of the Peace Action Council of Southern California, and a well-known CPUSA member assigned to the "peace movement"; Steve Schmidt, Vietnam Moratorium Committee; Rudy A. Sparinkle, Clergy and Laity Concerned About Vietnam; John Sullivan, New Party; Charles Tryon, "observer, member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, U.N. Association"; Mrs. Mildred Tryon, "observer, (member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, U.N. Association and Another Mother for Peace)" which was a section of Women Strike for Peace; Eric Wiel, English-speaking committee of the MDPL; Angela Vinther, Young Socialist Alliance (youth arm of the Trotskyite communist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), U.S. section of the Fourth International); Rolf Von Dorp, American Deserters Committee; and Richard Ward, foreign editor of the "independent" Marxist-Leninist newspaper, The Guardian.

conomic and Social Council. The latter's committee discovered such close programmatic and financial ties between the World Peace Council and Moscow that the W.P.C. itself, in embarrassment, withdrew its request."

Yet Jack was taken in by the false idea that no one who offers criticisms of the Soviet Union could be doing Moscow's work. The falseness of this idea is seen easily in the exposures in Europe that the "Euro-communist" parties that have offered criticisms of Soviet policy in Afghanistan and Poland are financed through Soviet-owned banks.

As this report will show later, leaders of the U.S. disarmament movement working in association with the WPC's U.S. section are urging disarmament activists to include some criticisms of the Soviet Union as a tactic to gain spurious "credibility" with the media.

This report will also document that despite its appeals to the religious pacifist organizations in Europe and America, one of the WPC's primary functions is to provide propaganda and other logistical support to the Soviet-backed armed revolutionary movements, many of which utilize terrorism—violent attacks on the non-combatant segment of the community—in order to achieve their political or military goals. No true pacifist could countenance such activities.

The individuals who are giving their support to WPC initiatives on these issues are largely unchanged from the disarmament campaigns of earlier years. A number of them are known or admitted communists; others are prestigious non-communist figures who lend their names to providing a facade of independence and non-alignment. But most of those playing leadership roles with the WPC's various affiliates have public records showing involvement in communist fronts and in support of communist-approved causes.

WPC disarmament offensive

At this time, to the WPC and its U.S. domestic supporters, the interests of the USSR in blocking U.S. defense modernization so that the Soviets can maintain their new strategic lead and continue their arms programs are paramount. A "nuclear freeze" or "nuclear moratorium" has been promoted actively by CPSU Chairman Leonid Brezhnev since the 26th CPSU Party Congress in the spring of 1981. A "nuclear freeze" would benefit the USSR's interests for it would preserve the Soviet strategic advantage.

Disarmament activists had their instructions confirmed on December 12, 1981, by Boris Ponomarev, the veteran head of the CPSU International Department and de facto commander of the Soviet "peace" offensive, in a speech to Soviet and foreign scientists, stating:

"The anti-war movement in Western Europe * * * and in the United States * * * has reached an unprecedented scale. * * * However, the interests of preserving peace calls for further development of the anti-war movement, since no one has cancelled the U.S. giant military programs or Reagan's decision to manufacture neutron weapons * * *"

This Western Goals study documents not only many of the planning meetings held by U.S. disarmament groups during 1981, which, as Boris Ponomarev said, were on "an unprecedented scale," but also outlines that activities of the WPC with U.S. groups since the commencement of the "peace offensive" that coincided with Soviet gains in Southeast Asia and Africa.

Additionally, from the matters discussed at these meetings which often were held in

association with WPC activists from Europe, plans being developed for the Soviet Union's 1982 "peace offensive" in the U.S. are detailed.

WPC's 1975 U.S. Tour

The WPC and its sister front groups serve as vehicles for what the Soviet intelligence agencies term "active measures." The term "active measures" involves more than what the U.S. and Western intelligence agencies call "covert action." The Soviet "active measures" include all the possible strategies and tactics of political warfare—efforts to secretly influence events in the non-Communist world along lines favorable to Soviet foreign policy goals.

"Active measures" tactics may range from propaganda and cultivation of journalists, legislators, religious figures and other public opinion makers in the West to the provision of direct and indirect logistical support to terrorist movements for the purpose of destabilizing a government. The Soviet-supported terrorist movements in Italy, West Germany and Turkey, all NATO members, provide such examples, as do the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in the Middle East.

The WPC and its sister fronts are particularly active in the U.N. among the nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and most hold consultative status with various U.N. committees, agencies and organizations.

The WPC often sponsors conferences of "Parliamentarians for Peace" to bring pro-Soviet activists in contact with Western elected officials. In the U.S., the WPC is active both in its own name, through its national affiliate, the USPC, some 40 USPC chapters, and through WPC and USPC activists in other organizations in lobbying Congress.

In September 1975, an eight-member World Peace Council delegation made a speaking tour to New York, Washington, D.C., San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, South Bend, and Milwaukee. The WPC delegation was headed by Romesh Chandra and included Joseph Cyrankiewicz, from 1947 to 1972 the dictator of Poland; British Labour Party Member of Parliament James Lamond, former mayor of Aberdeen and a leader of the British WPC section; Harald Edelstam, Sweden's Ambassador to the Marxist Allende regime in Chile when it was overthrown in 1973; and Jacov Lomko, editor of *Moscow News*.

The Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA) newspaper *Daily World* [September 30, 1975] reported that during their two-day Washington, D.C. visit, the WPC delegation "will meet with Rep. Paul Findley (R-III) and other members of the House International Relations Committee, Members of the Congressional Black Caucus and Senators Charles McC. Mathias (R-Md), Walter Mondale (D-Minn), Thomas McIntyre (D-NH) and others."

On September 30, 1975, the WPC group were guests of honor at a Capitol Hill luncheon hosted by Rep. Philip Burton [D-CA] and Rep. John Conyers [D-MI] given in the Capitol restaurant. According to a report by Tim Wheeler in the Communist Party, U.S.A. newspaper [*Daily World*, October 1, 1975, p. 31:

"Senator Charles McC. Mathias (R-Md) welcomed a delegation of the World Peace Council to his office today and proposed that the U.S. take the initiative in efforts to curb the arms race. He suggested that the U.S. halt production of the new Trident nuclear submarine as a gesture of good will.

"Mathias is a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

"Mathias nodded agreement with a statement by Romesh Chandra, head of the delegation * * * that conditions are favorable for new initiatives to halt the arms race and strengthen U.S.-Soviet detente.

"Mathias responded that 'detente is a procedure' which lays the basis 'for new agreements.'

"He told the delegation about a resolution he had introduced in the Senate calling for ratification of the Vladivostok agreement coupled with a proposal that the U.S. seek further negotiations with the Soviet Union for ceilings on strategic weapons lower than those permitted under the Vladivostok agreement.

"He greeted Chandra's suggestion that parliamentarians from around the world arrange a conference to discuss new initiatives to curb the arms race."

The WPC newsletter *Peace Courier* [November 1975] reported:

"In Washington, the delegation met with approximately twenty members of the House of Representatives and of the Senate, all of whom were receptive to exploring ways to stop the arms race and strengthen detente. Senator Mathias (Republican of Maryland) for example, suggested that the US halt production of the new Trident nuclear submarine, or eliminate at least one other weapon system as a gesture of goodwill to begin to de-escalate the arms race. (Mathias is a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee). He * * * told the delegation about a resolution he had introduced in the Senate along with Senator Edward Kennedy (Democrat of Massachusetts) and Senator Mondale (Democrat of Minnesota), calling for ratification of the Vladivostok Agreement coupled with a proposal that the US seek further negotiations with the Soviet Union for ceilings on strategic weapons even lower than those established under the Vladivostok Agreement.

"The WPC delegates were guests of several members of Congress at a luncheon in the House of Representatives dining room, and at a reception. Among those present were several members of the Congressional Black Caucus including Congressman John Conyers (Democrat, Michigan), Congressman Ronald Dellums (Democrat, California), Congressman Ralph Metcalf (Democrat, Illinois) and others. Congressman Phillip Burton (Democrat, California), House majority leader, joined the luncheon expressing interest in the work of the WPC and in the New Stockholm Movement. The delegation was able to speak with several members of the Senate and House Foreign Relations Committees and the Armed Services Committees."

In Detroit, Chandra and his WPC delegation spoke at a meeting on October 6, 1975, in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul. The list of sponsors of the meeting included Bishop Thomas J. Gumbleton; Records Court Judge George W. Crockett, Jr.; Dave Miller, chairman, International Retirees Advisory Committee, United Auto Workers (UAW); Congressman John Conyers, Jr.; Detroit City Council members Maryann Mahaffey, Clyde Cleveland and Erma Henderson; Michigan States Representatives Jackie Vaughn, III, and Perry Bullard; Rev. Richard Devor; Rev. Frederick G. Sampson; and local labor leaders Jordan Sims, president, UAW Local 9611, Joel Block, president, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 1583; Harry Syverson, president, UAW Local 329; Milton Tamber, president, AFSCME Local 1640; Louis Carreiro, president, UAW

Local 935; and Leonard Green, president, UAW Local 78.

Working with the 1975 WPC delegation at various parts of its U.S. tour were Karen Talbot, a former staffer on the CPUSA's West Coast newspaper, *People's World*, who replaced James Forest as the U.S. member of the WPC Secretariat in Helsinki during the 1970s, and currently, although a suburban Washington resident, is the WPC's chief representative at the United Nations in New York; Luther Evans, president of the World Federalist Association who praised the WPC for "helping to make detente irreversible;" Pauline Royce Rosen, a veteran CPUSA activist who coordinated WPC activities in New York; Sylvia Kushner, a CPUSA activist who led the Chicago Peace Council for nearly twenty years; Edith Villastrigo, Washington representative of Women Strike for Peace (WSP); Carlton Goodlett, publisher of the *San Francisco Sun Reporter* and member of the WPC Presidential Committee; the Seattle chapter of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ) and Rev. Ralph Abernathy, then president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and one of the WPC's "Presidents of Honor."

The WPC's courtship of local government officials and religious activists which continues was demonstrated in the delegation's meetings in Washington, D.C., with a "group of church people" including Bishop James T. Matthews of the United Methodist Church, a member of the board of the World Council of Churches (WCC), and Rev. Nelson H. Smith, president of the Progressive Baptist Convention.

That the WPC was targeting U.S. religious leaders and activists was evident from the inclusion in the 1975 delegation of Rev. Richard Andriamanjato, the president of the All-Africa Council of Churches and mayor of Tannanarive, the capital of the Malagasy Republic. As evidence of the WPC's success, the CPUSA press with evident satisfaction quoted Bishop Matthews as describing the U.S. defense budget as "just madness personified."

The WPC's involvement with the Soviet-controlled Communist Party, U.S.A. and disarmament activists from religious groups was also visible in its Cleveland visit whose sponsors were listed [*Daily World*, September 30, 1975, p.11] as "the Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council; the Presbyterian Church of Greater Cleveland; the Cleveland chapter of the WPC; Women Speak Out for Peace and Justice (a Women Strike for Peace affiliate); Lutheran Metropolitan Ministry; Global Justice Task Force of the Lutheran Church; Student Government, Cleveland State University; Community Advocates Collective and the Communist Party of Ohio."

WPC 1978 Bureau Meeting, Washington, D.C.

The first official meeting of the WPC Bureau in the United States was held January 25-27, 1978, in Washington, D.C., in conjunction with a public conference on Capitol Hill entitled "Dialogue on Disarmament and Detente." The meeting was intended to increase pressure on Congress for ending development of the neutron bomb and other U.S. weapons systems, for major new U.S. concessions in the second round of Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT-II), and to promote maximum U.S. participation in the U.N. Special Session on Disarmament (SSD-I).

The conference was sponsored by a small ad hoc committee whose members and endorsers were listed as including Abraham Feinglass, a member of the WPC Presidium, identified member of the Communist Party,

U.S.A., and secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen's Union (now merged to become the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW)); Josephine Butler, chairperson of the D.C. Statehood Party, who coordinated arrangements and presided over some sessions and is the head of the local Paul Robeson Friendship Society which supports East Germany; Katherine Camp, International President of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF); David Chaney, vice-president of the Central States Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU); Rep. Ronald V. Dellums (D-CA); Patrick Gorman, chairman, Amalgamated Meatcutters; Charles Hayes, vice-president, Amalgamated Meatcutters and an identified member of the CPUSA; James R. Herman, the new president of Harry Bridges' old International Association of Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU); Jack O'Dell, also known as Hunter Pitts O'Dell, identified as a secret member of the CPUSA National Committee in the early 1960s who for some thirteen years has been an aide to Rev. Jesse Jackson and is Operation PUSH's International Affairs Director; Sandra "Sandy" Pollack, who began her career as a member of the CPUSA youth group, the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL) on the first Venceremos Brigade and is now the coordinator of the WPC's U.S. section, the U.S. Peace Council; Irving Stolberg, Connecticut State Legislature; Leon Sverdllove, general president, International Jewelry Workers Union; Edith Villastrigo, legislative director, Women Strike for Peace (WSP); Peggy Martin Smith, Illinois State Legislature and a veteran of the WPC's World Congress of Peace Forces; and William Wimpisinger, president, International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM).

Karen Talbot, the WPC's United Nations representative and a veteran member of the WPC Secretariat in Helsinki, said the purpose of the Washington meeting in these terms:

"This is a very crucial moment in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. The neutron bomb is in limbo and the U.S. participants in the meeting will raise the question of how to build stronger opposition to this weapon and other weapons of mass destruction."

A luncheon was held for Members of Congress which was attended by Congressmen Philip Burton (D-CA), John Conyers (D-MI), since 1959 a member of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG), the U.S. section of the Soviet-controlled International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL) and who is chairman of the House Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Crime; Ron Dellums (D-CA), a member of the House Armed Services Committee and its Subcommittee on Research and Development; Don Edwards (D-CA), chairman of the House Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights and a sharp critic of the U.S. intelligence agencies who in 1980 pressured the Justice Department into dropping espionage indictments against Alfred Stern and Martha Dodd Stern, who fled to Czechoslovakia in the late 1950s to avoid standing trial; and Charles Rangel (D-NY). The CPUSA press reported that members of the staff of Rep. Abner Mikva (D-IL) attended.

In his remarks to the Congressional luncheon, WPC leader Romesh Chandra boasted that the provisions of the U.S. Code banning the granting of visas to communists and members of communist fronts had been ended by the McGovern Amendment because "the peace movement is strong. Our

visit here is an indication of the power of detente. It proves that we can win."

Chandra also said that the WPC Bureau meeting in Washington and their U.S. tour came "a moment of crucial significance for the future, when we can turn the tide, reach out, achieve disarmament, and consolidate detente."

Among the estimated 150 U.S. participants in the WPC meeting in Washington was Herbert Scoville of the Center for Defense Information (CDI) and the Arms Control Association (ACA), a former high-level CIA official who has been associated with the disarmament and anti-NATO projects of Washington's Marxist think-tank, the Institute for Policy Studies, since the 1960s.

Also participating was James Zogby, an organizer of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC), a support group for the terrorist Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) whose leader, Yasir Arafat, was awarded the WPC's gold medal; Dorothy Steffens, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF); District of Columbia City Council members Hilda Mason and Willy Hardy, members of the D.C. Statehood Party; Sandra Graham, Massachusetts State Assembly; and Roxanne Ortiz of the International Indian Treaty Council (IITC) of the militant, violence-oriented American Indian Movement (AIM), who joined with Jack O'Dell in presenting a report on World Peace Council support for claims by militant Native American groups to total sovereignty over Indian reservation territory.

Many activists attending this WPC conference were well known functionaries of the Communist Party, U.S.A., its youth arm, the Young Workers Liberation League (YMLL), and CPUSA fronts. These included Grace Mora, Charlene Mitchell, Maxine Orris, Susanna Cepeda of Women for Racial and Economic Equality (WREE), a CPUSA front which is affiliated with the Soviet-controlled Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), and Carol Pittman of the National Coalition for Economic Justice (NCEJ), a CPUSA front.

Other than "detente" and campaigning against U.S. defense policies, the major focus of the WPC delegation was on providing support to the revolutionary Puerto Rican "independence" movement led by the Castroite communist Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) and spearheaded by several terrorist groups. According to the WPC, U.S. control of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico is an "obstacle to peace and detente" to be solved by its "demilitarization and decolonization."

Most of the members of the WPC Bureau delegation moved on to attend the WPC's Latin American Peace Conference, held February 2-4, 1978, in Mexico City. However, a small group including Alex Laguma of the terrorist African National Congress (ANC); Aldo Tessio of Argentina; Farouk Massarimi of Lebanon; and Australian trade unionist Ernie Botswain toured the U.S. West Coast. And East German representative Manfred Feist went to Detroit to participate in a meeting of the People's Utility Fight.

Other members of the WPC delegation were Vladimir Bogdanov, deputy director of the Institute of the U.S.A. and Canada, a Moscow "research" center closely linked to the KGB; USSR Supreme Soviet member E. K. Fedorev; British Labour Party MP's James Lamond and Andrew Bennett, Francisco Astray, secretary of the Cuban Committee for Peace and Sovereignty; Elena Gil, Cuban Communist Party Central Committee; Panamanian Peace Council Camilo O. Perez, dean of the law faculty at the Univer-

sity of Panama; and Angolan U.N. Ambassador Eliseo de Figueiredo.

The U.S. State Department refused permission for two individuals accredited at the United Nations to travel to Washington with the World Peace Council group. These were the Vietnamese Ambassador to the U.N., Dinh Thi Binh, who shortly afterwards was expelled from the United States because of his central role in an espionage and agent of influence network operated by David Truong; and Zedhi Terzi, the chief of the Palestine Liberation Organization's U.N. observer group.

However, no attempt was made to deny the group U.S. visas.

WPC 1975-76 Disarmament Conferences

During 1975, the WPC held several meetings to prepare for an "International Forum to End the Arms Race and for Detente." The Forum was held in York, England, in December. The WPC stated the Forum was "an initiative of the Continuing Liaison Council of the World Congress of Peace Forces, decided upon at the last Steering Committee meeting in Moscow last October [1974]." [*Peace Courier*, March 1975]. A number of preparatory committee meetings for the Forum were held, including meetings in Warsaw (September 20-21, 1975) and Paris (October 10-12, 1975).

The Paris working group concentrated on the "economic and social consequences of the arms race and of disarmament" and issued a working paper asserting that "political forces and groups which draw their power from the arms race or profit from it, are making efforts to sow doubt and scepticism about the chances for disarmament." The document supported "peace conversion"—"reconverting industries concerned with arms production and diverting the labour employed in them." [*Peace Courier*, November 1975].

The WPC listed the participating organizations as including the WPC, the WPC's Continuing Liaison Council of the World Congress of Peace Forces; the International Peace Bureau (IPB) [Sean MacBride, winner of both the Lenin and Nobel Peace Prizes, is president of the IPB and a vice president of the Continuing Liaison Council of the World Congress of Peace Forces]; Women's International League for Peace Freedom (WILPF); World Association of World Federalists; International Union of Socialist Youth; Council of European National Youth Committees; and the usual international fronts such as the WIDF, WFDY and IUS.

According to the Institute for Policy Studies, among the activists participating in the activities of the York disarmament conference was Michael Klare, director of the IPS Militarism and Disarmament Project.

Following the York Forum, the Moscow-based Continuing Liaison Council of the World Congress of Peace Forces held a "World Conference to End the Arms Race, for Disarmament and Detente" in Helsinki, September 23-26, 1976. The "Declaration" issued by the conference made a number of statements and called for actions that foreshadowed the slogans and demands that later would be made by the U.S. Mobilization for Survival. In part the "Declaration" read:

"The arms race is a grave danger to present and future generations. * * * Having reached gigantic proportions, it devours man's mind and energy, the fruits of creative labour, and the wealth of nature.

"Vast human and material resources are being concentrated in the field of armaments; new expenditure is added to military budgets; armed forces are reaching levels unjustified in peacetime; the accumulation

and development of conventional and nuclear weapons continues; scientific and technological progress is applied to the development and creation of new weapons; opposing military blocs and alliances continue, and numerous military bases and troops are maintained in the territories of other states.

"While in vast geographical areas millions of people die each year from starvation, and while illiteracy, disease, and other consequences of underdevelopment continue to have a mass character, sums now amounting to 300 billion dollars are being spent each year on armaments.

"The arms race is a major cause of inflation; it creates artificial barriers to international cooperation between countries, and contributes to the imbalance of ecology."

The "Declaration" continued by maintaining that for all countries, "the struggle for a better life, for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, full equality of rights, non-resort to force or threat of force, the right of each people to decide its own destiny, for development, for democracy, for justice, for social progress is inextricably linked with the struggle to end the arms race."

Those familiar with Marxist-Leninist use of language recognize that this statement is larded with the current favorite Communist circumlocution for revolution—the "struggle for social progress." The catalog of "struggles" is typical of the Aesopian "coded" language consistent with Marxist theory that history is "progressing" inexorably towards the communist utopia which will come about when the United States succumbs.

The "Declaration" is quite selective in denouncing as the originators of the "threat to peace" only the "military-industrial complexes, striving for profit" that "instigate the build-up of deadly weapons, produce and provoke the manufacture of ever new weapons of mass destruction and encourage the sale of arms." The USSR's state-owned weapons plants are exempted from criticism.

But what is most significant is the adoption of rhetoric that reaches out to bring the environmental and ecological movements into the disarmament movement.

The conference "declaration" produced a list of demands "as the highest priorities" that included:

That all states and countries should conclude agreements for the creation of nuclear weapon free zones; for the renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons; for the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from the territories of other states; for a comprehensive nuclear weapon test ban; for the reduction and eventual elimination of stockpiles of nuclear armaments and their further production; and for the prohibition of the research, development and manufacture of new types and systems of mass destruction weapons and of new means of delivery of such weapons.

The gradual reconversion of the arms industry for peaceful purposes * * *

The reduction of military budgets and the use of resources thereby released to solve urgent social problems and render assistance to the people of the developing countries.

* * * * *

The dismantling of foreign military bases, the withdrawal of foreign troops * * *, the transformation of various regions of the world into zones of peace; * * *

Orwellian "thought control" was among the WPC's demands that called for "cessation and banning of all forms of propaganda which favors aggression and war and the use of force in the settlement of international disputes."

The "Declaration" closed with a call to the United Nations to convene a General Assembly "special session on disarmament," stating:

"This World Conference emphasizes the urgent need for the convening of a World Disarmament Conference under the auspices of the United Nations. The earliest possible convocation of a special session of the General Assembly of the UN devoted to Disarmament would be a step in this direction."

The proceedings of the 1976 Helsinki disarmament conference listed the steering committee responsible for running the meeting as headed by Romesh Chandra, president of the Continuing Liaison Council (CLC) of the World Congress of Peace Forces and Secretary-General of the World Peace Council. The thirteen conference vice-presidents included Arthur Booth (United Kingdom), CLC vice-president and chairman of the International Peace Bureau (IPB); San MacBride (Ireland), CLC vice-president and president of the IPB; Knud Nielsen (Denmark), CLC vice-president and chairman of the Council of the World Association of World Federalists; Y. K. Feodorov (USSR) (substituting for Mikhail Zimyanin, CLC vice-president and president of the Soviet Committee of Support of the World Peace Congress); Pierre Vermeylen (Belgium), member of the Bureau of the Socialist Party and Minister of State; Ahti Karjalainen (Finland), MP Centre Party; Mme. Jeanne Martin Cisse (Guinea), Minister of Social Affairs, 1975 recipient of the Lenin Peace Prize; Australian Senator Ruth Coleman; Vilma Espin (Cuba), Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Cuban Women's Federation; Vasant P. Sathe (India), Congress Party M.P. and chairman of the Lower House of Parliament; Josef Cyrankiewicz (Poland), president of the Polish Peace Committee; Aziz Sherif (Iraq), general secretary, National Council for Peace and Solidarity; and Erma Henderson (USA), member of the Detroit City Council. But the individual primarily responsible for coordinating the conference was its executive secretary, Oleg Kharkhardin (USSR), who is an official of the International Department of the CPSU.

The 29-member Soviet delegation to the conference included both Alexander Berkov and his successor, Igor Belayev, who exercise authority over Romesh Chandra; leaders of the controlling Soviet sections of the major fronts such as AAPSO; Archbishop Vladimir Kotlyarov of the Russian Orthodox Church; and specialists in military affairs such as Vitali Zhurkin, Vasili Emel'yanov, Oleg Bykov, Grigori Morozov, Michael Milshtein, Alexander Kalyadin and Leo Demeyko, all from either the Institute of World Economics and International Relations or the Institute of the U.S.A. and Canada, two Soviet research institutes which have intimate ties to the International Department and the KGB.

The published listing of members of the U.S. delegation included Abe Feinglass, vice-president, Amalgamated Meat Cutters; Donald Ray Hopkins, representative of Congressman Ronald Dellums; Rev. Charles Luther Evans, executive secretary, Baptist General Convention; John H. E. Fried, professor of international law, City University of New York; E. W. Pfeiffer, professor of zoology; Howard Parsons; Nicholas Nyary, president, Fund for Peace (FFP); Terry Provance, American Friends Service Committee (AFSC); Mrs. Erma Henderson, Detroit City Council; Herbert Schiller, professor of communications, University of California, La Jolla; Dr. Archie Singham, professor of political science; Mrs. Loretta Pauker, journal-

ist; Joseph North, a CPUSA Central Committee member; and Mrs. Karen Talbot. Attending as a representative of the official Soviet-bloc Communist theoretical journal, *Problems of Peace and Socialism/World Marxist Review*, was John Pittman, the CPUSA's official representative to its editorial board.

WPC Anti-Neutron Bomb Campaign

One feature of Soviet propaganda operations is tight coordination combined with media saturation. The WPC's anti-neutron bomb campaign commenced in 1977 after the *Washington Post* leaked the fact that an enhanced radiation warhead was being secretly developed. The WPC's local affiliates in Holland, West Germany and other European countries set up subsidiary "Stop the Neutron Bomb" fronts to focus on this single issue and attract new supporters.

The Dutch "Stop de neutronen Bom" organization, for example, adopted the WPC's "moral" objections to the antitank warhead as the "perfect capitalist weapon" which "kills people but saves property;" and utilized the WPC's shrill rhetoric that the neutron warhead was part of an American strategy to initiate a nuclear war in Europe. Such facts as the enormous Soviet and Warsaw Pact tank and armored personnel carrier forces, the tremendous numbers of troops maintained by the Soviets and Warsaw Pact countries, and the Soviet deployment of SS-20 missiles were not part of the disarmament agitation.

When President Carter decided not to proceed with U.S. production of neutron warheads, instead of disbanding, the WPC-controlled disarmament groups expanded their focus to NATO and the U.S. generally. The organizational name and slogan retained the "neutron" name as an example of a "winnable" issue but added "Stop the Nuclear Arms Race" to indicate its "ultimate goal." The WPC's campaigns against the Pershing II and cruise missiles were fitted into the shrill rhetorical campaigns by continuing the allegations that all three weapons are indications that the United States hopes to fight a nuclear war in Europe.

U.S. disarmament activists who have been in contact with European organizers look on the WPC-sparked anti-neutron campaign as a guideline for application in the U.S. For example, the coordinator of the Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC) "Human Security, Peace and Jobs" campaign, Currie Burris, after participating in meetings with disarmament leaders in West Germany, the Netherlands and Great Britain that were sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), wrote [CALC Report, January 1982]:

"Perhaps the most important carry-over from the European experience is this: When the movement in the U.S. is able to address issues that are alive in the media and seriously discussed in Washington, Balanced with our ultimate goals, we do our best work.

"*** And here is the similarity between the 'Stop the Neutron Bomb' and the B-1 and MX Campaigns. By presenting viable alternatives (in addition to ethical arguments) to relevant and 'discussable' issues, you create the climate where you have to be taken seriously; you make winning the debate a possibility.

"This is the connection to the ongoing Freeze Campaign in the United States. *** as long as the Freeze proposal remains validated as a possible first step to reverse the nuclear arms race, and as popular support grows and broadens to reflect all sectors of the society, the Freeze campaign will have the potential of winning the debate."

A lengthy article in the Rotterdam, Holland, publication *Ons Leger* [October and

November, 1981] by J.A.E. Vermaat traced the control of the Dutch Interchurch Peace Council and Christians for Socialism organization to the WPC and the Christian Peace Conference (CPC). Mr. Vermaat wrote that "The contacts are made primarily through the GDR [East Germany] and organizations that are active there, with the CPC being an important intermediary."

The article reported that the whole anti-neutron bomb campaign was initiated at a WPC meeting in East Berlin "in the presence of Nico Schouten, the Netherlands cadre member of the Communist Party of the Netherlands (CPN)."

The "Ban the neutron bomb" organization was set up with considerable organizational assistance of the CPN, and the group began publishing a newsletter, the *N-Bulletin*, involving leaders of the CPC, leftist trade union officials, and political figures. The major anti-neutron conferences and meetings during 1977 and 1978, Vermaat reported, were "partially financed from East European sources."

Citing statements in the *N-Bulletin*, the article revealed that the March 1978 "International Forum" for Disarmament and against the neutron bomb in Amsterdam "was entirely organized by the CPN in close collaboration with East European officials, communist sister parties and the World Peace Council." Furthermore, in May 1978, the Soviet Peace Committee paid for the week-long trip to New York for the first U.N. Special Session on Disarmament (SSD) of CPN "peace activist" Nico Schouten and two of his collaborators. They returned to Holland by way of East Berlin where they met with East German Peace Council officials for a "debriefing" on their New York sojourn.

Following the May 1978 Special Session on Disarmament and the East Berlin "debriefing," the name of the Dutch organization was expanded to the "Cooperative Association to Stop the Neutron Bomb—Stop the Arms Race."

Vermaat continued:

"It is a little-known fact that although the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) is hostile to religion and the campaign against it is unabated *** , it has long been a central objective of the party to manipulate religious organizations and influence them in such a way that they will support elements of Russian foreign policy.

"It is much less well known that the Russian intelligence service [KGB] within the framework of this policy trains "church workers" who are sent to posts in the countries of the West and the Third World. Two such training centers for "religious agents" are located at Feodosia in the Crimea and at Lvov in the Ukraine.

"Religious workers are trained there who are placed in Switzerland, France, Belgium, Spain, Italy, Portugal and Latin America (the Catholic countries). Those who go to Latin America are schooled in the new theological trends, especially the theology of liberation.

"In Lithuania there is a training center for religious agents who are dispatched to the Anglo-Saxon world, the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria, the Netherlands and Scandinavia (mostly Protestant countries). And from a training center in Constanta, Romania, workers are sent out to the Middle East.

"This is a matter of training agents by whom priests and preachers can be influenced. The impression must also be created that the Communist peril is quite nonexistent. The East European ecclesiastical functionaries who are willing to exert themselves to that end get full support from

their governments in connection with their trips.

"Furthermore, as might be assumed, persons of Netherlands, Belgian, German and English nationality, among others, are trained in the aforementioned institutes, just as is the case with the training of terrorists and cadre workers in various camps."

The article notes the close association between leaders of the Dutch "peace movement" and TASS correspondent Vadim Leonov, who was ordered expelled by the Netherlands government last year; but closes with the warning that the real danger lies in the "leftist parlor intellectuals who draft theories that veil the realities."

"People like Hylke Tromp [director of the Polemological Institute at Groningen], Ben ter Veer, Mienst Jan Faber [Interchurch Peace Council] or Philip Everts," wrote Vermaat, are much more important than the open members of the discredited Communist Party. He closed his articles with the warning, "If we do not understand that, we shall never be able to understand how free countries can fall prey to totalitarian forces."

The WPC-directed anti-neutron bomb campaign, since its infra-structure has remained in place, was able to move again into high gear in August 1981, following President Reagan's announcement that the U.S. would proceed with neutron warhead production.

The WPC's set slogans, "No to neutron bombs and all neutron weapons; No to U.S. Cruise and Pershing II Missiles; Start negotiations;" were immediately pushed to the forefront by the European disarmament coalitions.

In a statement issued after the American announcement that neutron production would proceed, the WPC issued a anti-neutron statement that took direct credit for having forced the Carter Administration to kill plans for neutron warhead production and proclaimed the commencement of a similar campaign, saying in part:

"The WPC condemns in the strongest possible terms the decision by U.S. President Reagan to produce neutron weapons. This action defies overwhelming world public opinion which compelled the former U.S. administration to suspend production of this inhuman weapon. It is the latest step in the U.S. drive for military superiority and thrust the world even closer to a nuclear catastrophe."

WPC president Romesh Chandra sent a protest message to the White House for use as propaganda that played on WPC claims to represent and control "world public opinion:"

"The World Peace Council with national committees in 137 countries embracing hundreds of millions of people is deeply shocked *** . The overwhelming majority of humanity has already expressed itself as one voice in condemning these illegal inhuman weapons. ***

We urge *** that you respond to the hopes and will of public opinion and rescind your decision to go ahead with production of neutron weapons, enter into immediate Summit negotiations regarding Eurostrategic missiles and return to the SALT process. The World Peace Council intends to exert all possible efforts to further mobilize public opinion to these ends."

The WPC newsletter, *Peace Courier* [September 1981], used cartoon drawings of skeletons and corpses to highlight the WPC's customary hysterical rhetoric. It attacked the neutron warhead as "the brainchild of the horrifying 'limited' nuclear war concept and the 'first strike' doctrine openly es-

poused by the White House and the U.S. military brass."

It is noted that outside the United States, the World Peace Council customarily uses extreme rhetoric, saving its "moderate" mask for Americans. An example was its claim in the anti-neutron statement:

"It is the weapon par excellence of the aggressor, designed to enable him to take over the intact cities and industries of another country after getting rid of the population."

WPC Religious Targeting

As the Dutch writer, J. A. E. Vermaat correctly noted, the Soviet Union long has attempted to manipulate religious organizations so that they support Soviet foreign policy goals. Through the WPC, Christian Peace Conference (CPC), and also through the World Council of Churches (WCC) in which the state-controlled Soviet bloc religious groups play coordinated and influential roles, the religious community has been made a major target for disarmament recruitment. As this report already noted, the WPC's 1975 U.S. delegation met with a number of religious and quasi-religious groups and leaders. Among the indicators of the WPC's religious targeting was a quote attributed to an anonymous "Dutch Roman Catholic pastor" by the WPC newsletter, "You know as well as I do that nuclear arms are directly against God's will. Stopping nuclear weapons is a fight for Christianity."

It is noted that at the initiative of the Patriarch Pimen of the Russian Orthodox Church, an "International Religious Conference for Peace" will be held in Stockholm in September or October 1982 that will continue disarmament organizing by religious groups targeted at the June U.N. Special Session on Disarmament.

WPC coordination of North American/ European disarmament

There is ample evidence of Soviet coordination of the European and North American disarmament campaigns through the WPC, its national affiliates, local communist parties and front groups.

Three World Peace Council activists—Werner Rumpel, head of the East German Peace Council; Nico Schouten, leader of the Dutch Cooperative Group to Stop the Neutron Bomb; and Terry Provance, head of the AFSC Disarmament Program and co-convenor of the Mobilization for Survival's International Task Force—addressed a demonstration on Capitol Hill sponsored by the Mobilization for Survival (MFS) on October 29, 1979.

Rumpel, introduced by Provance as "my friend," denounced U.S. and NATO plans to deploy the Pershing II and cruise missiles. Schouten said "It is easier to stop this weapon now; before it is deployed." Their U.S. trip followed a WPC disarmament conference in the Hague and coincided with "International Disarmament Week".

After listening to the speakers, some 500 demonstrators marched to the U.S. Department of Energy and conducted "civil disobedience" by blocking entrances.

But the many more recent evidence of WPC control and manipulation of the disarmament campaign include the following:

Continental Meeting of North American Youth for Peace, Detente and Disarmament, October 23-25, 1981.

Held in Montreal, Canada, October 23-25, 1981, the "Continental Meeting of North American Youth for Peace, Detente and Disarmament" was organized from 671 Danforth Avenue, Suite 301, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

The meeting was a regional follow-on to the January 1981, "World Forum of Youth and Students for Peace, Detente and Disarmament" in Helsinki, Finland. The

"World Forum" was organized by the WPC in conjunction with other Soviet-controlled international fronts including the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) and International Union of Students (IUS).

The featured speakers at the Continental Meeting in Montreal included officials of the Soviet Committee of Youth Organizations and the youth affiliate of the West German Communist Party. Participants included representatives of the U.S. and Canadian sections of the WPC, the youth groups of the Canadian and U.S. Communist parties, groups dominated by the Canadian and U.S. Communist parties, support groups for Third World revolutionary terrorist groups, and disarmament groups.

The "appeal" issued by the Continental Meeting showed that the U.S. and NATO were the real targets. In part it stated:

"In the last years, numerous protests have been staged in Canada and in the United States by different groups and organizations concerned with peace * * *. Lately, these protests have mounted in the United States and in Canada against United States military intervention in El Salvador; against the production and deployment of the neutron bomb; against the deployment of new nuclear weapons in Europe; against US government support for Apartheid and intervention in Angola; and against the reimposition of the draft in the US.

"In January 1981, the World Forum of Youth and Students for Peace, Detente and Disarmament * * * declared themselves for complete and general disarmament, for an end to the arms race, for the establishment of cooperation in the relations between peoples and countries; and the conversion of war industry into civilian industry to meet human needs.

"The arms race and war preparations, but above all the policies of confrontation of the new U.S. Administration best exemplified by their decision to produce the neutron bomb, stand not only against the national independence of the countries on their way to liberation, but also against the basic interests of the North American people and youth."

The language of the Continental youth appeal closely paralleled not only the slogans of the World Peace Council, but also those of the U.S.-based Mobilization for Survival (MFS) in linking disarmament to social welfare programs, stating:

"The general demands of youth for jobs, education, a meaningful culture, full democracy, racial and national equality, a safe and healthy environment and a peaceful future can only be successful in a world of peace and detente * * *"

Saying that the Continental Meeting was to "follow up the spirit of the Helsinki World Forum," the "appeal" outlined a program of coordinated action as follows:

"We commit ourselves to support and organize mass actions of youth and students of our countries to pressure our respective governments to negotiate the limitations of arms, particularly nuclear arms; for an end to Canada's participation in NATO and NORAD; for declaring Canada a nuclear weapons free zone; to stop U.S. military build up; no MX, Cruise and Pershing missiles, no neutron bomb; to halt U.S. intervention in other countries and reinstitution of the draft and to cut military spending in our countries and transfer these funds to meet human needs."

The workshop on "Detente And Disarmament" addressed by guest speaker Igor Sagyrian of the USSR Committee of Youth Organizations produced five major resolutions, all adopted unanimously, which were incorporated into the action program quoted above.

The workshop entitled "Disarmament in Europe" was addressed by Rainer Butt of the Socialist German Workers' Youth (SDAJ), the youth affiliate of the West German Moscow-line Communist Party (KPD). Not unexpectedly, the resolutions it produced were blatantly pro-Soviet. For example:

"Whereas the militarist forces in Western Europe and North America are pointing to the Warsaw Pact's deployment of SS-20 missiles as justification for their own dangerous plans for medium-range missiles in Western Europe; and

"Whereas these same forces in the United States argue in a similar fashion that the 'Soviet Tank Threat' necessitates the production of the Neutron bomb which, even though a single neutron weapon could kill most of the people in a city the size of Paris, the American generals call an 'anti-tank weapon;' and

"Whereas the SS-20 missile is simply a modernization of the old SS-4 and SS-5 missiles (with technology the Americans have had for years); a modernization that poses no new threat to Western Europe since for every SS-20 deployed, three SS-4 and SS-5 missiles are removed, and as a result the number of Warsaw Pact medium-range warheads has not increased in ten years; and

"Whereas Warsaw Pact medium-range missiles in Europe pose no first strike threat to American forces; while NATO medium-range missiles do in fact pose a first-strike threat to the Soviet Union; and * * *

"Whereas the myths of the SS-20 and Soviet tank threats have been invented by NATO and American military strategists as feeble justification for their own dangerous plans; therefore

"This meeting make known to American military strategists its opinion that the SS-20 missiles and Warsaw Pact tank forces offer absolutely no justification for their plans to deploy Pershing and Cruise medium range missiles in Europe and to manufacture the neutron bomb."

This resolution passed by 21 in favor to 20 abstentions. The 20 delegates from "pacifist" and other disarmament groups who attended this workshop clearly understood the one-sided nature of the resolution and were reluctant to compromise their "credibility" by voting for it publicly. However, even more significant was the fact that none of these disarmament activists was willing to stand up and vote in opposition to the pro-Soviet resolution. Rather than go on record in opposition to the communists, the 20 delegates abstained.

There were a number of additional resolutions passed unanimously from this workshop. They attacked only the U.S. and NATO for agreeing to deploy cruise and Pershing II missiles, but declined to criticize the USSR and Warsaw Pact for their SS-20s. The neutron bomb was termed "an insane and impossible figment of the Western militarists' imaginations."

Passed unanimously was a declaration that the Continental Meeting was "in solidarity with the European peace movement," and a commitment was made that all groups that participated in the Continental meeting would collaborate more closely with European disarmament organizations. The declaration read:

"In recognition of the importance of this conference, this Continental Meeting [p]resumes that organizations participating in this meeting will in the future cooperate more closely with the peace movement in Europe so that activities are better coordinated."

A proposal for setting up a "central office of North American Youth for Peace move-

ment to enable future coordination between Canadian and international peace movements" was referred to the Continental Meeting continuations committee, as was another resolution that would have committed the meeting to "seek to achieve its aims and goals in a peaceful, non-violent method." Those who follow Lenin's precepts do not rule out the use of "armed struggle" including terrorism, and since the Continental meeting was under communist control, its leaders declined to allow the organization to be limited to non-violent methods.

It is noted that the workshop entitled "Solidarity with the People and Youth of El Salvador" was addressed by Raul Alberto Beneda of the Central Association of Salvadorean University Students (AGEUS) who demanded "pressure on both the Canadian and US governments to stop military and political intervention in El Salvador," and that they recognize and support the Soviet and Cuban-backed Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) and the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR).

Unanimous resolutions passed by the workshop on "Solidarity with the People and Youth of Chile" addressed by Patricio Mason, chairperson of the Canadian Coordinating Committee for Chilean Youth, called for "human rights" organizing in support of a report by an Ad Hoc Committee on Human Rights Violations in Chile prepared for presentation to the U.N. in December 1981. The fourth resolution clearly demonstrated that the so-called Soviet-directed "peace" and disarmament movement in no way is pacifist or opposed to armed violence and terrorism. It read:

"Whereas international solidarity work is crucial to the struggle to overthrow fascism in Chile; and

"Whereas the resistance in Chile has recently come to the conclusion that an armed struggle will eventually be necessary to overthrow the Chilean junta;

"Be it resolved that

"The Chilean solidarity work on the North American continent to be increased and that it focus on creating awareness of and support for the eventual armed struggle in Chile."

The U.S. delegation to the Continental Meeting in Montreal was top-heavy with members of the CPUSA's youth arm, the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL). The U.S. group, all from New York, included Dennis Regier, a YWLL official who officially represented the Soviet-controlled World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY); Larry Moskowitz, YWLL Central Committee; Kris Buxenbaum; Luz Rodriguez; Michael Scheinberg; Curtis Lee Pittman; Lourdes Rodriguez of the CPUSA-controlled publication, *New World Review*; Kevin A. Tyson; and Andrea Hibman.

WPC's generals and admirals for peace

In the disarmament drive, the World Peace Council and the Soviet media are making heavy use of statements by several former NATO military officers who, following their retirements which ended their ability to influence policy and their access to secret information, have become highly useful "assets" for the Soviet disarmament propaganda machine.

Particularly active have been Gen. Nino Pasti, a former NATO Vice-commander elected in 1976 to the Italian Senate as an "independent" on the Communist Party ticket; Major Gen. Gert Bastian, formerly commander of the 12th Armored Division of the West German Army; and two retired U.S. Rear Admirals who play leading roles at an anti-defense organization, the Center for Defense Information (CDI), CDI director General LaRocque, and his deputy, Eugene Carroll.

Several of these retired military officers including Bastian, Pasti, Johan Kristi of Norway, Francisco da Costa Gomes of Portugal (a WPC vice-president), Georgios Kumanakos of Greece, Von Meyenfeld of the Netherlands and French Admiral Antoine Sanguinetti, signed a memorandum in November addressed to the NATO foreign and defense ministers, the commanders of NATO forces and staff officers attacking the military upgrading agreements, calling for arms negotiations with the USSR and asking European NATO members to break away from alliance with the U.S. and develop better relations with the Warsaw Pact countries.

At a November 1981 press conference in The Hague, Pasti charged that the idea of a "strategic superiority of the Soviet Union and its military build-up" was, as the Soviet press agency TASS reported, a "lie fabricated by the CIA and spread by NATO propaganda."

Pasti said, "I can give the assurance that the most convinced opponent of war is the Soviet Union, who in the last war suffered the gravest trials. This cannot be said of the United States where the idea of war is linked with the profits of certain circles."

Both Nino Pasti and Gert Bastian have made trips to the U.S. during 1981 which have included Capitol Hill speeches to Congressional audiences sponsored by the SANE Educational Fund—Pasti on May 2nd and Bastian on December 2nd.

WPC and Pasti on Capitol Hill

The World Peace Council's May delegation to Washington was not held in isolation with other activities in the Western Hemisphere. Prior to the visit to the U.S. Congress, the WPC Presidential Committee met in Havana. Immediately afterwards, a "Continental Meeting of the National Committees for Peace in Latin America and the Caribbean" was held. After these policy coordination meetings, a WPC delegation went to Washington, D.C., and other U.S. cities to promote Soviet disarmament themes.

WPC-related activities in Washington commenced on Tuesday, May 5, when Representatives John Conyers (D-MI), Ronald Dellums (D-CA) and Patricia Schroeder (D-CO), a member of the House Armed Services Committee Subcommittee on Research and Development and Subcommittee on Readiness, invited their Congressional colleagues and staff to attend a two-hour afternoon "Briefing on European Opposition to the New Generation of Theater Nuclear Weapons," sponsored by SANE and coordinated by SANE staffers Sally Dinsmore and Ed Glennon.

SANE's featured speakers were Italian Senator Nino Pasti and Richard Barnet, co-founder and senior fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS).

The circular distributed by SANE to Congressional offices announcing the Schroeder-Conyers-Dellums invitation to the "briefing" described Pasti as "formerly NATO's Allied Supreme Vice-Commander for Nuclear Affairs in Europe," and as "an Independent Left member of the Italian Senate" who "has detailed knowledge of NATO strategic and political policies." SANE did not mention that Pasti ran on the Communist Party ticket (which was widely reported in the major American newspapers) or that he was prominent in the World Peace Council (information also readily available in the major news indices of any library). On January 9, 1981, the official East German press agency reported that Pasti was touring the German Democratic Republic (GDR) at the invitation of the GDR Peace Council as a representative of the Italian National Coordinating Committee for Peace.

It is noted that among Pasti's recent activities was participation in the November 1978 "Alternatives to Arms Production" seminar in London held by the WPC and its British section, the All-Britain Peace Liaison Group, where Pasti said, "the Warsaw powers are not aggressive forces; they are purely defensive." During the WPC's February 1979 meeting in East Berlin, Pasti told the Soviet news agency TASS that "the Soviet Union had lately submitted enough constructive proposals on these matters [nuclear disarmament]; it is now up to the West to decide." Also participating in this WPC East Berlin meeting was Nico Schouten, a key leader of the Dutch disarmament movement.

At the Congressional "briefing," the topic assigned to Pasti and Barnet was "the NATO decision to deploy Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe, the implications for arms control negotiations, and growing European opposition."

However, SANE Education Fund staffer Bob Musil was able to introduce an additional speaker, British actress Susannah York, who has described her personal feelings about nuclear weapons which led to her becoming an activist with the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) in England. She attributed the existence of poverty and hunger to military expenditures and asked whether one should "accept a society in which nice young men come out of universities and are rewarded for finding ever new ways to destroy and kill." By far the most effective speaker, she left immediately for her New York opening night in Ibsen's play, "Hedda Gabler" in which the protagonist commits suicide rather than face social embarrassment.

The essence of Pasti's remarks was that the United States is militarily superior to the USSR because it has a greater total number of nuclear warheads. Thus, he argued, cruise and Pershing II missiles are not only unnecessary, but might "provoke" the Soviets. The issue of the multi-warhead Soviet SS-20 missiles which could strike targets as far as Iceland and Morocco even if based on the Asiatic side of the Ural mountains was avoided.

Musil and Barnet supported Pasti's claims and credibility by emphasizing Pasti's NATO background (although he retired in 1969) and his position as an "independent" Italian senator.

IPS co-founder Barnet said the purpose of his presentation was "to underline the particular danger they [the cruise and Pershing II] pose to Europe * * * that being * * * highly accurate and a great potential threat to Soviet military targets, as well as civilian targets, there is increasing pressure on the Soviets in a crisis to use their own missiles preemptively." This was merely another version of the old line that the Soviets are merely reacting to American "militarism," and completely ignores the fact demonstrated in Eastern Europe, Korea, Cuba, Southeast Asia, Angola, Ethiopia, Nicaragua, South Yemen and Afghanistan that the Soviet Union is an expansionist, imperial dictatorship that has seized every opportunity given it by American military and policy weakness to increase the territory under its control.

Barnet went on to present the Soviet proposals for a "nuclear moratorium" as reasonable and claimed the anti-NATO demonstrations in Europe were an "independent" reaction to American rejection of Brezhnev's "nuclear freeze" offer and the shelving of the SALT II treaty which would have preserved the USSR's ICBM superiority.

Barnet concluded that unless these U.S. decisions were reversed—the SALT-II treaty

ratified and the "nuclear freeze" put into effect, it "is going to preclude possibilities in the future for serious control and reversal of Euromissiles."

Barnet enthusiastically described his meetings with European disarmament activists earlier in the spring.

Pasti returned to Capitol Hill on the following day, this time backed by WPC president Romesh Chandra and six other WPC activists.

The WPC contingent's schedule was coordinated from New York by Sandra Pollock of the U.S. Peace Council (USPC) and in Washington by Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL) veteran and USPC activist Eric L. Metzner. The WPC itinerary included a meeting with the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy (CNFMP) prior to the Capitol Hill appearance, and a reception hosted by SANE's Sally Dinsmore at her home in northwest Washington.

Members of Congress and staff were invited by Congressmen John Conyers (D-MI), Don Edwards (D-CA), Mervyn Dymally (D-CA), George Crockett (D-MI), Ted Weiss (D-NY) and Mickey Leland (D-TX) "to meet members of an international delegation . . . led by Romesh Chandra of India and President of the World Peace Council." According to the invitation, the purpose of the meeting with the WPC leader was to discuss the "global impact of arms spending," the world-wide campaign against South Africa and Namibia (Southwest Africa), and "developments in Central and Latin America" obviously meaning U.S. support for the government of El Salvador against Soviet-backed and armed revolutionary terrorists and pressures applied to the pro-Soviet Sandinista regime in Nicaragua.

Other members of the delegation included Gordon Schaffer, a British Peace Assembly member of the WPC Presidential Committee and a former announcer; Eulia Ipsilanti, president, Greek Actors Union; Ellen Hamerskklag, WPC interpreter, Austria; Guinean Social Development Minister Jeanne-Martine Cisse; and Juan Madero Prietta, Deputy Secretary-General of Mexico's ruling PRI party. A U.S. tour followed.

Groningen Conference

In April 1981, Gert Bastian was a featured participant in a conference in Groningen, The Netherlands, designed to promote further public opposition to the U.S. and NATO by focusing on the maximum possible damage from a full-scale nuclear war on West European territory. The Groningen conference also served to introduce U.S. disarmament activists to leaders of the European demonstrations who described for the 40-member American delegation tactics and strategies successful in building the European demonstrations.

The Groningen meeting was co-sponsored by Admiral LaRocque's Center for Defense Information of Washington, D.C., and the Polemological Institute in Groningen, led by Hylke Tromp.

In the summer of 1981, the WPC published Bastian's Groningen address and his speech to the May 23-24, 1981, WPC-sponsored Nordic Peace Conference in a pamphlet entitled "Nuclear War in Europe?"

Center for Defense Information

The Center for Defense Information (CDI), a project under the tax-exempt sponsorship of the Fund for Peace (FFP) whose president, Nicholas Nyary, participated in the WPC's 1976 disarmament conference, is one of three sister projects which are spin-offs from the Institute for Policy Studies.

These other projects are the Center for National Security Studies (CNSS) which has taken the leading role in lobbying for the total destruction of the capacity of the

Central Intelligence Agency for covert action and covert intelligence collection; and the Center for International Policy (CIP) which promotes U.S. policies of "non-intervention" against Soviet-backed aggression. CNSS's founding director, Robert Borosage, has returned to the Institute for Policy Studies, which has been described as the "perfect intellectual front for Soviet activities which would be resisted if they were to originate openly from the KGB." IPS fellow Orlando Letelier, director of the IPS Transnational Institute (TNI) which has offices in Amsterdam, London and Washington, D.C., who also was a leader of the Center for International Policy, was revealed after his death in September 1976 to have been an "agent of influence" for the Soviet KGB working under a Cuban "case officer."

CDI is directed by Rear Adm. (Ret.) Gene R. LaRocque. It recently moved from the townhouse it shared with CNSS and CIP to larger offices near Capitol Hill.

CDI's staff is reported as currently including Rear Adm. (Ret.) Eugene Carroll, deputy director; Major Gen. William T. Fairbourn, USMC (Ret.), associate director; David T. Johnson, research director; Arthur K. Kanegis, media director; Lt. Col. John H. Buchanan, USMC (Ret.); Dr. Robert S. Norris; Stephen D. Goose; Evelyn S. Labriola; Pamela G. Anderson; Richard Fieldhouse; Thomas K. Longstreth; Charlotte Goodwin; Goldia Shaw and Gary Mummert, senior staff; James K. Treires and Sidney R. Katz, consultants; and research interns Thomas Greenberg, Steven Hirsch (Kentucky), Joshua Hornick (UCSC) and Sandy Scott (Yale).

The publications of the CDI and statements of its leaders consistently have opposed each major upgrading in U.S. defense forces, and have opposed U.S. overseas bases and defense treaties with non-communist allies. CDI leaders and publications have been praised and quoted by the Soviet media on those and related issues since CDI's inauguration in 1973.

In the fall of 1975, after causing a crisis in U.S.-Japan relations by telling a subcommittee of the Congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy that the U.S. did not honor agreements to off-load atomic weapons from U.S. warships before they entered Japanese harbors, LaRocque went to Moscow as a guest of the Institute of the U.S.A. and Canada, a think-tank with close ties to the KGB. LaRocque later altered his statements on U.S. nuclear weapons and admitted he had no knowledge that the U.S. had ever violated its agreements with Japan in a Moscow interview with the correspondent for the Japanese Communist Party (JCP) newspaper Akahata [10/26/75].

Currently, LaRocque's statement, "If you dummies let us, we'll fight World War III in Europe," is being widely used by the organizers of demonstrations against "Euromissiles" in the NATO countries. [WIN magazine, 1/1/82].

LaRocque's deputy at CDI, Eugene J. Carroll, another retired U.S. rear admiral, recently was praised on the Moscow Radio Domestic Service program, "International Observers Roundtable" [15 November 81]. Gennady Gerasimov commented:

"When I was in Washington quite recently, I happened to be at the Center for Defense Information where I talked with Rear Adm. Eugene Carroll, retired, codirector of this center. He confirmed again, he stressed that all their calculations show that a nuclear war would inevitably and ineluctably become universal and that a limited nuclear war is impossible and unrealistic. For this reason, incidentally, the rear admiral expressed his support for Leonid Ilich Brezhnev's appeal to the U.S. Administration to

give up dreams of attaining military superiority over the Soviet Union. Each of the sides today possesses sufficient potential to destroy each other, even several times over. Thus attempts to secure military advantages are senseless. This was the opinion of this retired rear admiral."

It is noted that according to an article in the journal *Kommunist* (October 1981) the theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee, other disarmament enthusiasts from the ranks of the West German defense and military structure include Dr. D. Lutz of Hamburg University, retired minister E. Eppler, and retired generals F. Birnstiehl and W. von Baudissin, currently director of the Hamburg University Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy. Their views recently were published in the FRG in a pamphlet entitled "Generals for Peace."

It is also noted that the disarmament lobby continues to use the services of Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester, who retired from the U.S. Army in 1951, and was highly vocal with disarmament and anti-Vietnam groups during the 1960s and 1970s. In September 1981, Gen. Hester circulated to Members of Congress a copy of Leonid Brezhnev's "Peace Program for the 80s" with a letter terming Reagan Administration defense policies "sinister." Hester's effort was sponsored by Promoting Enduring Peace (PEP).

"NATO Missiles: A European Perspective"

Approximately 75 Congressional staff members and disarmament activists attended a 2-hour "conference" in the Dirksen Senate Office Building on December 2, 1981, entitled "NATO Missiles: A European Perspective." The meeting was sponsored by SANE (A Citizens' Organization for a SANE World).

Moderator David Cortright, SANE executive director, said the Capitol Hill conference and subsequent meetings in the U.S. would give Americans the opportunity to hear first-hand reports by "authoritative European experts" and would aid in ending the "myopia in regarding the European peace movement as a creation of the Kremlin."

Cortright introduced the four panelists:

Gen. Gert Bastian, characterized as "a retired West German Commander with first-hand knowledge of the strategic implications involved in NATO's plans;"

Josephine "Jo" Richardson, a British Member of Parliament, co-chairperson of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) and member of the Labour Party's National Executive Committee;

Petra Kelly, "Chairperson and Speaker of the Green Party" of West Germany; and

Karl-Heinz Hansen, described as a "Member of the West German Bundestag since 1969, presently serving on the Defense and Foreign Relations Committees." Cortright told the audience that Hansen recently had been expelled from the FRG's ruling Social Democratic Party (SDP) on account of his opposition to NATO plans to deploy Pershing II missiles in West Germany.

Richardson claimed the British peace movement had arisen completely spontaneously as "a movement of people" and announced with satisfaction that the British Labour Party leadership had gone firmly on record as favoring unilateral disarmament and committed to implementation of unilateral disarmament when they are returned to power. Richardson said the Labour Party would implement unilateral disarmament by dismantling Britain's own nuclear weapons, and closing and dismantling U.S. bases. She attacked President Reagan's "zero option" arms proposal to the USSR as a "a cynical

proposal . . . calculated to be unacceptable."

Gen. Bastian told the audience that it is "a fundamental mistake" to view the peace movement as speaking for or serving the interests of the Soviet union. He attacked U.S. Pershing II missiles as "designed [and] intended for nuclear war, not for deterrence"; and said that NATO's nuclear forces did not need upgrading because the total number of Western nuclear warheads was greater than those of the East.

Likewise, Bastian conceded that Warsaw Pact conventional ground forces were larger than those of NATO, but emphasized that NATO troops were better trained. He quoted another West German general as stating NATO could defend Europe without using nuclear weapons.

To illustrate his assertion, Bastian admitted that the USSR had a marked superiority in the number of tanks, but then said these tanks were of World War II vintage [apparently he had never heard of T-64 or T-72 tanks deployed since the late 1960s or the new T-80s being developed], and claimed that the real issue was not the number of tanks the East had, but the number of anti-tank rockets available to each side. Bastian avoided specifying which side had the greater number of anti-tank weapons, but clearly implied that NATO was "guilty" of having the larger number of anti-tank weapons.

Bastian consistently reversed the role of weapons, presenting NATO's defensive anti-tank weapons as "offensive" weapons, and depicting the large Soviet and Warsaw Pact armored divisions as "defensive."

Petra Kelly, who attended college in the U.S. from 1966 to 1970 and was active in the anti-Vietnam movement was the most effective of the West German speakers on account of her idiomatic command of English. She served as Bastian's translator during the question and answer period. Kelly attempted to appear "evenhanded" by criticizing the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, demanding total nuclear and conventional disarmament and calling for dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

At a disarmament rally in London on October 24, 1981, Kelly revealed her bias by stating, "the Soviets . . . have a part to play obviously, but it is NATO—not the Warsaw Pact—that is going to introduce a whole new kind of killer technology and quick strike capability. There is no missile gap. NATO is trying to create one."

At various U.S. appearances, she supported the Krefeld Appeal, a petition to ban deployment of Pershing-II and cruise missiles in the FRG that was initiated in November 1980 by the German Peace Union (DFU), the WPC's West German section which is controlled by the Communist Party (DKP).

Kelly described the Green Party's tactic of linking the antinuclear power movement to the disarmament campaign through claims that nuclear power plants turn the possibility of conventional war into a nuclear war. She dismissed as "propaganda of the Reagan Administration" the concept of a "window of vulnerability" due to outmoded U.S. retaliatory strategic weapons that could be destroyed in a Soviet first strike. U.S. criticism of the European disarmament movement, she said, was based on "fear of anti-militarism."

Karl-Heinz Hansen stated that the Soviets have missiles like the SS-20 aimed at the FRG simply because the U.S. and NATO have nuclear weapons stationed on West German soil.

"The Soviet Union is no more expansionist, no more imperialistic in our eyes than the United States," he said; and asserted that Westerners had to discard the concept

that military strength enhances national security on the ground that there is "no defense possible" against nuclear weapons. He called FRG agreement making West Germany dependent on Soviet natural gas supplies for much of its home heating needs a "positive" step.

In a brief question and answer period, panelist Ivo J. Spalatin, staff director of the House Foreign Affairs Committee's Subcommittee on International Security and Scientific Affairs, asked whether nuclear parity existed. Bastian reiterated that NATO was superior to the Warsaw Pact in nuclear, naval and air systems; Hansen asserted (despite the historical precedent of the Ardennes strategy in World War II) that tanks were irrelevant and could only be used in very restricted regions of the FRG/GDR border on account of mountainous terrain; and Jo Richardson excused Soviet military superiority saying that the Soviet Union was forced to defend a 25 million kilometer border while the U.S., Europe and People's Republic of China together had a mere 2 million kilometers of border.

Bob Sherman, military staff assistant to Rep. Thomas Downey [D-NY], asked why the four European panelists were concerned with the neutron, Pershing II and cruise theater nuclear forces rather than with "strategic nuclear weapons that could still destroy the world." Bastian replied that it was the responsibility of the Europeans to prove to the U.S. that cruise and Pershing missiles were not acceptable responses to the Soviet SS-20 missiles.

Nordic Press Manipulation by the U.S.S.R.

In the Scandinavian countries, the direct role of Soviet KGB officials with WPC-related disarmament groups has been exposed. In September 1981, Vladimir Merkoulov, Second Secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Copenhagen, described in the Danish press as having "KGB connections," was declared persona non grata and expelled for his activities with disarmament groups.

Merkoulov worked with the Danish Committee for Cooperation and Peace, a coalition of 50 disarmament groups linked with the WPC; and provided, through Danish author Herlov Petersen, \$2,000 to buy newspaper ads promoting a "Nordic nuclear free zone."

Merkoulov and Petersen attempted to influence Danish public opinion-makers with lunches and gifts. Petersen has been charged with violating the Danish Espionage Act.

The Swedish newspaper *Verdens Gang* [11/27/81] reported that two Soviet diplomats were being expelled from Norway. One of them, Soviet First Secretary Stanislaw Chebotok, offered money to several Norwegians to write letters against NATO and nuclear arms to local newspapers. The article stated that Chebotok previously had been expelled from Denmark for similar reasons.

On November 29, 1981, the U.S. Department of State said that a Norwegian newspaper story that under "certain circumstances" the U.S. would attack Norway with nuclear weapons was "disinformation" based on KGB forgeries.

Commenting on the Soviet efforts to manipulate public opinion via the Nordic press, *Berlingske Tidende* [11/6/81] editorialized:

"The Soviet Embassy's interference in the public debate on Danish security policy is so gross a provocation that it is almost a caricature of reality. The financing of a campaign of advertisements for a nuclear-free zone in the Nordic countries . . . compromises Soviet policy with regard to the Nordic countries . . . It comes as a confirmation for all those who in the past were unwilling to see or hear that

his disguised offer of a Soviet contribution to such a zone was superpower trickery to be used to blind the simple-minded."

Chronology of disarmament organizing

Having outlined the leadership role in the international disarmament campaign that the Soviet Union is playing covertly through the KGB and front organizations lead by the World Peace Council, and having provided examples of the collaboration of leaders of U.S. disarmament groups such as SANE, WILPF, MFS and the CDI with the WPC, this Western Goals report will examine a series of disarmament and related organizing conferences held during the latter part of 1981.

Focusing on the June 1981 U.N. Second Special Session on Disarmament, this section will examine meetings of the U.N. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), U.S. Peace Council (USPC), Mobilization for Survival (MFS) and campaigns associated with the MFS, and the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF). In addition, recent organizing activities by U.S. disarmament groups will be reviewed.

WPC/NGO Conference on Disarmament, August 5-6, 1981

The WPC and other Soviet-controlled international fronts play a very strong role at the United Nations in coordinating the activities of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), particularly on the issues of disarmament, public information and support for Soviet-backed terrorist "national liberation" movements.

WPC planning targeting the second U.N. Special Session on Disarmament moved into high gear with the NGO Urgent Action Conference for Disarmament, August 5-6, 1981, in Geneva, which was organized by the Special NGO Committee on Disarmament co-chaired by WPC president Romesh Chandra.

Under the co-chairmanship of Chandra and Serge Wourgaft, secretary-general of the World Veterans Association, the NGO Urgent Action Conference discussed, as reported by the WPC in the *Peace Courier* [September 1981]:

"obstacles to disarmament in the light of the new developments in the arms race, especially in nuclear arms, as well as NGO actions to overcome them. It also discussed NGO activities in connection with preparations from the Second Special Session on Disarmament of the UN General Assembly . . . , the establishment of cooperative relations with concerned organizations outside the NGO community and campaigns for nuclear disarmament . . ."

The WPC report noted that the U.N. NGOs could be used to influence U.S. and European government leaders. A panel of disarmament activists "insisted that urgent measures be taken to stop the drive toward a nuclear catastrophe and emphasized the importance of NGOs in influencing decision-makers to curb the race." The members of the panel were identified as Nino Pasti; Mrs. Randall Forsberg, executive director of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies (IDDS), formed in January 1980 and based in Brookline, MA; Leopoldo Nilus, World Council of Churches (WCC); Prof. G. A. Trofimenko, USSR; and Prof. Hylke Tromp, Director of the Polemological Institute of the University of Groningen, the Netherlands, cosponsor of the Groningen nuclear war conference.

The *Information Digest* [9/19/80] reported that in cooperation with leaders of the Center for Defense Information, the IDDS was active lobbying among delegates to the 1980 Democratic National Convention for disarmament, and that it took the position

that "for the U.S. to regain nuclear superiority, rather than stopping the arms race, will produce unprecedented danger of first strike by both sides in time of crisis; and is the single greatest danger currently facing the world."

The Information Digest reported: "The president and executive director of the ISSD is Mrs. Randall "Randy" Forsberg. Officers include Patrick Hughes, secretary, and George Sommaripa, treasurer. The IDDS Board of Directors reflects a spectrum from the academic and activist branches of the anti-defense lobby including several individuals and organizations active with the World Peace Council (WPC). Members of the board include Betty Lall, chairperson, U.N. Committee on Disarmament and International Security, Political Science, Cornell; Hayward Alker, International Relations, MIT; Richard Barnett, Institute for Policy Studies (IPS); Elise Boulding, Sociology, Dartmouth; Kay Camp, international president, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF); Harvey Cox, Divinity, Harvard; Richard Falk, International Law, Princeton; Randall Forsberg, ex officio; Sanford Gottlieb, New Directions; Robert Johansen, Institute for World Order (IWO); Cheryl Keen, executive board, COPRED, Coordinator, International Studies, Harvard; Ann Lakhdhir, Westport, CT; Everett Mendelsohn, History of Science, Harvard; Philip Morrison, physics, MIT; George Rathjens, political science, MIT; Judith Reppy, economics, Peace Studies Program, Cornell; and Brewster Rhoads, director, Coalition for a new Foreign and Military Policy (CNFMP)."

Prime among the WPC-led United Nations NGO concerns were "the danger of the deployment of new nuclear medium range missiles in Europe and * * * immediate negotiations on this subject." The NGO disarmament group agreed that their main activity would be to contribute to "the preparations and work of the SSD-2."

Special Session on Disarmament Working Group, October 6, 1981

On October 6, 1981, some 40 representatives of disarmament groups who constituted themselves the ad hoc Special Session on Disarmament Working Group (SSDWG) met in New York City to organize rallies and demonstrations in support of "International Disarmament Week" (October 24-31) and to launch the Campaign for the Second UN Special Session on Disarmament.

The leadership role was taken by representatives of CPUSA fronts, the U.S. affiliates of international Soviet fronts, and of groups that have close ties with Soviet fronts.

These groups included the U.S. Peace Council (USPC); Christian Peace Conference (CPC); Women for Racial and Economic Equality (WREE), a CPUSA front affiliated with the WIDF; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF); Women Strike for Peace (WSP); Promoting Enduring Peace (PEP); Riverside Church Disarmament Program; Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC); the Disarmament Working Group of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy (CNFMP); Washington (D.C.) Peace Center; War Resisters League (WRL); Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR); and the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) present as the Nuclear Freeze Campaign.

Other groups in the SSDWG included the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP); Children's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CCND); Coalition for a People's Alternative (CPA); Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC); National Association of Social Workers (NASW); the

SHAD Alliance (New York City & Long Island chapters); SEA Alliance (New Jersey); Unitarian Universalist Association; World Conference on Religion & Peace; and the Mobilization for Survival (MFS) New York and Boston offices and the MFS International and Religious task forces.

A Staff Search Committee was established; an office set up in the New York MFS offices at the Church of All Nations on St. Marks Place; and Ken Caldeira was hired as staff coordinator. A larger "out-reach" meeting was planned for Halloween, the last day of "International Disarmament Week."

World Congress of Women, October 8-13, 1981

Coordination of women's groups in campaigns to generate public pressure against U.S. arms modernization and deployment of the Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe—or at least a facsimile of general public opposition—was the theme of the World Congress of Women, held in Prague, Czechoslovakia, October 8-13, 1981, organized by the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), a Soviet-controlled front which acts as a virtual "women's auxiliary" to the World Peace Council.

Among those addressing the WIDF meeting were Czechoslovakian president Gustav Husak; Romesh Chandra, WPC president who is also vice-president of the U.N.'s Non-Governmental Organizations structure; Soviet Women's Committee president Valentina N. Tereshkova; U.N. Assistant Secretary-General Leticia Shahani; and Venche Soranger of Norway, one of the initiators of the Peace March '81 with the slogan, "Europe Free of Nuclear Weapons."

The WIDF Congress was opened by the WIDF's long-term president, Freda Brown of Australia, who emphasized the WIDF's propaganda function, reminding the delegates that women "represent an important part of this world public opinion, and we are here to search for ways to consolidate our activities and all our actions."

The U.S. delegation was organized by the CPUSA's women's front, Women for Racial Equality (WREE). The U.S. delegation met with Olga Chechetkina, a vice-president of the Soviet Women's Committee, who urged U.S. women to "fight to prevent war, to return to detente." She said, "Every time the U.S. President opens his mouth it is to pronounce a new escalation of the arms race."

The WIDF World Congress of Women issued its customary "appeal" addressed to "the women of the world" couched in language clearly aimed at the West, not at the USSR. The "appeal" asserted that the "arms race" has been "instigated by governments aspiring to military supremacy [and] by those who make fantastic profits from the deadly arms race;" and continued:

"The deployment of new missiles in Western Europe and the production of the neutron bomb will lead to a qualitatively new and more dangerous round in the arms race. Time is running out.

"* * * As a first step, it is necessary to ban the neutron weapon, to stop the buildup of nuclear weapons in Europe and start serious negotiations * * *"

"* * * * *"

"We alert and call upon the women of the world to use all possible means—letters, resolutions of meetings and demonstrations, petitions, marches, appeals—to demand that leaders of states and governments take practical measures. * * *"

The WIDF, for all its strident rhetoric depicting imminent nuclear war unless the U.S. and NATO allies immediately proceed

to disarm, in the same manner as did the Continental Youth Meeting emphasized that it was not a pacifist organization, and that it supports armed revolutionary "national liberation struggles."

The "appeal" denounced "acts of aggression * * * perpetrated against * * * people who struggle for their inalienable rights to self-determination, national independence and social progress." It went on to say that "all forms of injustice, racial and colonial oppression and suppression of peoples must be wiped from the face of the earth." There was no suggestion in the WIDF appeal that that should take place without violence.

It also is noted that in a report on the WIDF Women's Congress by WREE activist Margo Nikitas in the World Magazine supplement to the CPUSA newspaper Daily World, [11/12/81], Soviet Women's Committee vice-president Chechetkina was quoted as having drawn "an important distinction between the Soviet people's revolutionary struggle to liberate themselves and the experience of war. 'We made a revolution and it caused sacrifices, but we knew what it was for.'"

MFS Nuclear Weapons Facilities Task Force Conference, October 23-25, 1981

Some 46 national and local disarmament organizers representing U.S. and Canadian groups participated in the national conference of the Mobilization for Survival (MFS) Nuclear Weapons Facilities Task Force, October 23-25, 1981, in Nyack, NY, the headquarters of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR).

Among the "breakthroughs and opportunities in local organizing efforts around weapons facilities and disarmament issues" enumerated were the "challenge of keeping new constituencies involved" in disarmament following the U.S. decision to cancel planned land-basing of the MX missile in Utah and Nevada; expansion of support for the AFSC's "Nuclear Freeze" moratorium campaign; a Public Broadcasting System documentary expose of nuclear weapons storage sites at U.S. Navy facilities in the San Francisco Bay area that resulted in "escalating local concern;" the commencement of a program of "disarmament/peace education" classes in every Catholic high school in Washington, DC; a Boston conference to link the existence of urban decay, tightening of welfare programs, cuts in government housing programs, and so forth with the "military budget;" and local media exposures of neutron bomb storage at Seneca, NY, and Pantex's weapons production facilities in Amarillo, Texas.

Additional local organizing opportunities were viewed as including the Administration's announcement that it would build the very low frequency ELF Trident communications system in Wisconsin, the expanding efforts to bring scientists and physicians into disarmament activities through Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR) and International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) together with successes in involving religious leaders and groups.

The first conference of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War was held in Airlie, Virginia, in March 1981, and was attended by a Soviet delegation headed by Georgy Arbatov, head of the Institute of the U.S.A. and Canada. The *Information Digest* [4/10/81], in an article entitled "Soviets Participate in U.S. Anti-Nuke Conference," reported:

"The first congress of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) closed at Airlie, VA, on March 21, 1981, after five days of speeches emphasize-

ing the horrors of nuclear war, the "destabilizing" dangers of U.S. development of new weapons and the desirability of cooperation with the Soviets.

"IPPNW president Barnard Lown, a Harvard cardiologist, stated the IPPNW physicians were not politicians; but the meetings closed with the presentation of its lengthy conclusions to the Soviet Embassy in Washington and to the U.S. Department of State.

"At a Washington press conference following the meetings, Jack Geiger, City University of New York, summarized IPPNW's argument as that in the event of a nuclear conflict, "The survivors will get no medical care. * * * the survivors will become the dead." Perhaps in a gesture to the large Soviet contingent and to its head and conference cochairman, Deputy Minister of Health Yevgeny Chazov, Geiger commented, "Russian flesh burns at precisely the same rate as American flesh."

"The Soviet delegation clearly saw the IPPNW conference as the occasion for continuing Moscow's campaign of direct appeals via television to the U.S. public against Administration plans for rebuilding U.S. military strength. And Chazov flatly said he wanted one hour on a major commercial network news program since his IPPNW speech had been broadcast over Soviet television.

"These efforts by high-level Soviet officials to gain access to U.S. television were also carried out by another IPPNW participant, Georgy A. Arbatov, just promoted to full membership on the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and director of the Institute of the U.S.A. and Canada, a Moscow political and economic research entity closely linked to the KGB. Arbatov's speech was a concise summation of the major Soviet propaganda lines, starting with a claim that the United States started the Cold War "with the explosion of the first nuclear bomb in Hiroshima." He warned:

"The arms race is a major source of bad relations. This has killed the dictum, 'If you want peace, prepare for war.' If you follow that, it will make war inevitable."

"Arbatov also attacked U.S. defensive weapons as unable to provide security and called for the U.S. to continue arms control and trust in the Soviet Union, saying:

"Another dictum was killed—that you can buy security with dollars spent on weapons, offensive or defensive. * * * There exists also a belief that to have arms control you need mutual trust, mutual confidence first; but you can't have trust and confidence nowadays without arms control."

"The Soviet official's second thesis was that the cost of modern weapons prevents governments from carrying out social welfare programs. With reference to *The Lean Years* by Richard Barnett, Arbatov said:

"The arms race itself has cost a lot * * * in terms of human life of those who died earlier because they were underfed and undertreated. What I want to stress is that this problem will be worse. As an economist I can assure you that all of us, the whole world, are entering not fat, but lean years. * * * The arms race more and more becomes a luxury which in reality we cannot afford."

The article quoted Arbatov's third key point as the fact that no nuclear war had taken place was "not due to wise statesmanship as much as to sheer luck. We cannot stretch this luck." The *Information Digest* report continued:

"Arbatov concluded with a summary of 'lessons of history' that the Soviets would like Americans to accept and a rationale for preventing U.S. development and deployment of "destabilizing" new weapons like

cruise and MX missiles, with, of course, no mention of the multiplicity of new generations of Soviet missiles, nuclear submarines or their Backfire bomber:

"One, you cannot win in a nuclear arms race. This is a stupid notion. You open the bottles and the genie comes out, the dangers and instabilities increase. We have experienced this with MIRVs; the same can happen with Cruise missiles and MX. So it is better to prevent the birth of new weapons rather than struggle with their consequences."

"Arbatov's second point was a variation on the 'better red than dead' theme:

"Forces are at work to undermine deterrence, but the only way you can go from it is towards arms control and detente, not towards improving 'deterrence' or limited warfare. The nuclear arms race has tremendous political and moral consequences. * * * nothing can justify such sacrifice as the loss of the whole of humanity. It's absolutely irresponsible."

"As for the MX, Arbatov shrugged, 'so to kill them one has to send more than one warhead for each. It means that we shall have to put into motion thousands of warheads. What is the difference between this decision and the decision to start an all-out nuclear war?' Certainly it was not in the interest of a Soviet official to point out that Soviet first-strike warheads absorbed on remote desert sites or on sea targets reduce the number available for targeting against heavily populated industrial areas.

The *Information Digest* report observed that "When summarized by the Soviet news agency TASS [in English, 3/22/81], the similarity in content of Arbatov's remarks to the materials produced by the Mobilization for Survival (MFS), Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy (CNFMP), U.S. Peace Council (USPC), et al., is striking."

The TASS report said:
"the arms race is a heavy burden on the economy, * * * vast manpower and material resources are squandered on the arms race, * * * it heavily taxes the energy and efforts of society. The arms race constitutes a mortal threat to mankind. * * * One cannot hope for luck any longer * * * the arms race has assumed unprecedented scope and the situation is becoming ever more dangerous. * * * This is why the main efforts must be aimed at establishing the control over armaments and consolidation of detente which is the most important condition for ensuring international security."

According to the confidential in-house minutes of the Nyack conference circulated to participants, under the general topic, "strategy," the Nuclear Weapons Facilities (NWF) Task Force conference focused on:

"Second UN Special Session on Disarmament, Congressional Campaigns, Economic Priorities and Budget Shifts, Weapons Storage and Development, Weapons Systems, Links with International Movements, Department of Energy, Civil Defense, Anti-Corporate, World Council of Churches Hearing, American Association for the Advancement of Science."

An agenda for 1981-82 was adopted which included the following points:

Support European Disarmament Effort.—Conference participants agreed to generate local press interest in the World Council of Churches (WCC) International Public Hearing on Nuclear Weapons and Disarmament, held November 23-27, 1981, in Amsterdam.

Materials on the Amsterdam meeting were distributed by the Nuclear Weapons Facilities Task Force co-convenors, Pam Solo and Mike Jendrzeyczyk. Solo was an organizer of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) project against the Rocky Flats, CO, nuclear weapons plant from which the

MFS's Nuclear Weapons Facilities Task Force developed. Jendrzeyczyk is on FOR's staff. The AFSC and FOR jointly sponsor their own Nuclear Weapons Facilities Project which Solo and Jendrzeyczyk coordinate and which forms the core of the MFS NWF Task Force.

Leaders of both the AFSC and FOR have participated in World Peace Council activities since the anti-Vietnam days, and neither organization, despite its claimed "pacifist" orientation, has offered strong condemnations of armed revolutionary movements that utilize terrorism.

The NWF Task Force approved a message of solidarity to the "Dutch Disarmament Movement" to be read on November 21 at an Amsterdam rally which said in part:

"We of the Nuclear Weapons Facilities Task Force * * * seek to reverse the arms race and join with you today in demanding that the U.S. government stop its planned deployment of the cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe. We demand that the U.S. government make meaningful progress in arms control talks with the Soviet Union. Recognizing our government's responsibility for the escalation of the arms race, we are determined to struggle with you for a world without nuclear weapons and war."

It is noted that among the 15-member U.S. delegation to the WCC's Amsterdam conference were a number of MFS/NWF Task Force organizers and leading U.S. disarmament activists including Rev. William Sloan Coffin of Riverside Church in New York City and the director of the Riverside Disarmament Program, Cora Weiss.

Also attending were Randy Forsberg, IDDS; Pam Solo, AFSC; Prof. Ed Mendelsohn, Harvard University; Judit Lipton of PSR; and Robert Alpern, United Methodist Church. "Testimony" was prepared for the Amsterdam meeting by both the AFSC/FOR NWF Project and by the MFS NWF Task Force.

The MFS/NWF Task Force noted that the Amsterdam meeting was scheduled "on the weekend before Haig and Gromyko begin talks on theater weapons reductions in Europe (Nov. 28-29)."

Reminding organizers this was "a key time to send letters to the editor, organize local public meetings and/or demonstrations," the NWF Task Force provided an abrupt directive on what the content of the letters should say:

"Call for suspension of all US plans to deploy Pershing II and cruise missiles and urge Congressional representatives to co-sponsor Cong. Ted Weiss's resolution (H. Res. 153) calling for hearings."

NWF organizers were instructed to contact Gene Carroll at the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy (CNFMP) in Washington, DC, for additional information. Eugene J. Carroll, a bearded graduate of Lock Haven State College in Pennsylvania, served as executive director of the Commonwealth Association of Students before becoming an organizer with the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union's J.P. Stevens Consumer Boycott Campaign. He joined CNFMP in January 1980, and serves as its disarmament coordinator.

Circulate AAAS Open Letter.—The NWF meeting noted that an "Open Letter to the American People" would be circulated by the AFSC/FOR NWF Project during December 1981 and would be released at the Washington, DC, conference of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) [January 3-8, 1982]. Over the signatures of "prominent" scientists, the letter calls for "opposition to Pres. Reagan's domestic and foreign policies" and propose "cuts in military spending and a call to

Reagan and Breshnev [sic] to go to the UN Special Session to announce a freeze."

Focus on Economic Issues/Congressional Candidates.—During January 1982, task-force groups will support Congressional Black Caucus calls for an "alternative" Fiscal Year 1983 budget with cuts in Department of Energy weapons programs and in the MX program. Local "hearings" will be organized against social welfare program cuts. These activities will be coordinated by Steve Daggett, an Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) research associate, of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy (CNFMP), the lobbying arm of the WPC-related disarmament movement.

CNFMP, NETWORK, and the National Freeze Campaign plan to develop and circulate a questionnaire "that can be used to get Congressional candidates to take positions on . . . especially the freeze, military spending, new weapons systems and budget cuts" will be ready for circulation. The Council for a Liveable World (CLW) office in Boston had prepared an extensive questionnaire for Senate candidates.

Anti-Corporate Actions/Outreach in the Religious Community.—Will focus on raising "peace conversion," health, nuclear safety and "moral" issues at the annual stockholders meetings of major corporations producing U.S. nuclear weapons. Actions will commence in January 1982 at the Bendix Corp. meeting and include plans for "creative, dramatic actions" at the February Rockwell International annual meeting in Pittsburgh. The anti-corporate actions are being coordinated by Valerie Heinonen of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR).

UN Special Session on Disarmament—II.—Terry Provance, director of the AFSC's Disarmament Program, co-convenor of the MFS International Task Force and WPC activist, informed the MFS Nuclear Weapons Facilities Task Force conference that "high-profile Europeans active in the disarmament movement" will be coming to the U.S. in the months preceding the SSD-II. Their tours will be coordinated by Provance from the AFSC's Philadelphia offices, and by Linda Bullard of Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC).

As was the case at the MFS fourth national convention in Pittsburgh in January 1981, there was tension between local organizers who prefer smaller demonstrations on a local or regional basis, and national leaders focusing on New York or Washington mass actions. The primary concern of local organizers in the West and Midwest was that SSD-II demonstrations "be organized in such a way as to draw in many of the newly aroused individuals and constituencies, and not be a primarily 'peace movement' event." A follow-up meeting to consider those issues in relationship to the SSD-II was scheduled for October 31, 1981.

Citizens Hearing on Nuclear Weapons Production.—the NWF Task Force conference strongly supported plans by anti-nuclear groups in Amarillo, TX, to host a national and regional event against Pantex that will be modeled on the Citizens Hearing for Radiation Victims. Weapons production will be linked to "hazards of weapons production at other facilities, nuclear war planning, conversion and proliferation." Organizers considered as aids to their plan the fall anti-nuclear weapons statement by Bishop Mathieson and an environmental impact statement on Pantex due to be released in the fall of 1982. Target dates for the "hearings" coincide with the August 6-9, 1982, Hiroshima/Nagasaki anniversary.

Department of Energy.—according to the NWF, "Administration plans and proposals are underway for the militarizing of nuclear

power and waste storage, using civilian reactor wastes for nuclear weapons, expanding plutonium production, and abolishing/reorganizing the DOE and replacing it with an agency like the old AEC. This will be a major focus for concern and coordinated organizing for the coming year."

Organizations offering resources and coordination in this program include the Environmental Policy Center (EPC), Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC), and the FOR/AFSC NWF Project.

The participants in the Nyack conference of the MFS Nuclear Weapons Facilities Task Force were listed as including:

Pam Solo, AFSC/NWF Project, 1600 Lafayette Street, Denver, CO 80218 [303/832-4508].

Mike Jendrzeczyk, FOR/NWF Project, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960 [916/358-4601].

Robert Alvarez, EPC, 317 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, Washington, DC 20003 [202/547-5330].

Thomas E. Boudreau, AFSC, 141 Chaffee Avenue, Syracuse, NY 13207 [315/469-5231].

Eugene T. Carroll, CNFMP, 120 Maryland Ave., NE, Washington, DC 20002 [202/546-8400].

Roger Carroll, Box 283, Omaha, NE 68101 [402/558-8092].

Carol Coston, NETWORK, 806 Rhode Island Avenue, NE, Washington, DC 20012 [202/526-4070].

Ernie Davies, People for Peace, Rt. 1, Box 42, Langsville, OH 45741 [614/742-2090].

Chad Dobson, National Campaign to Stop MX, 305 Massachusetts Ave., NE, Washington, DC 20002 [202/546-2660].

Gary McGhee Dobson, Concord Naval Weapons Station Task Force, Mt. Diablo Peace Center, 65 Eckley Lane, Walnut Creek, CA 94596 [415/933-7850].

Shelley Douglass, Trident/Ground Zero, 11284 Seabeck Highway, NW, Bremerton, WA 98310 [206/692-701].

Harriet Dow, 483 State Street, Albany, NY 12203 [518/449-2985].

David Goodman, AFSC National Action/Research on the Military-Industrial Complex (NARMIC), 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102 [215/241-7172].

Janet C. Gordon, Citizens' Call, 126 S. 1400 West, Cedar City, UT 84720 [801/586-6674].

Duane Grady, Iowa Peace Network, 4211 Grand Avenue, Des Moines, IA 50312 [515/274-4851].

Katie W. Green, Worcester County Coalition for Disarmament, P.O. Box 12, Princeton, MA 01541 [617/464-2084].

Bill Hartung, Council on Economic Priorities (CEP), 84 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011 [212/691-8550].

Valerie Heinonen, ICCR Militarism Program, 475 Riverside Drive, Rm. 566, New York, NY 10115 [212/870-2317].

Carla B. Johnson, Civil Defense Awareness, 86 Wendell Street, Cambridge, MA 02138 [617/354-5811].

Tom Joyce, Cruise Missile Conversion Project, 730 Bathurst St., Toronto, Ontario M5S 2R4, Canada [416/532-6720]. NOTE: David Collins was the Project's delegate to the Continental Meeting in Montreal.

Marcia Lehman, Concord Naval Weapons Station Task Force, Mt. Diablo Peace Center, 65 Eckley Lane, Walnut Creek, CA 94596.

Dawn Longnecker, Sojourners, 1309 L Street, NW, Washington, DC [202/737-2525].

Lee Mason, Wall Street Action, 35 Claremont Avenue, New York, NY 10027.

Bob Staley Mays, AFSC Cruise Missile Project, 821 Euclid Avenue, Syracuse, NY 13210 [315/475-4822].

M. Louise McNeilly, Knolls Action Project, 417 Manning Blvd., Albany, NY 12206 [518/489-6742].

Dana Mills Powell, Sojourners, 1309 L Street, NW, Washington, DC [202/737-2525].

Terry Provance, AFSC Disarmament Program, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102 [215/241-7177], WPC activist and a USPC founder, with Kay Camp of WILPF co-head of the MFS International Task-force.

Jim Rice, 5915 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC [202/882-6314].

Mark Roberts, Greenpeace, 2077 R Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036 [202/332-4042].

Cindy Sagen, 6311 Thornhill Drive, Oakland, CA 94611 [415/339-8759].

Charles Scheiner, Westchester County Peace Action Coalition (WESPAC), 255 Grove Street, White Plains, NY 10601 [914/428-7299].

Steven Schroeder, Northwest Texas Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC), 3500 S. Bowie, Amarillo, TX 79109 [906/359-9483].

Verden Seybold, AFSC Cruise Missile Project, 821 Euclid Avenue, Syracuse, NY 13210 [315/475-4822].

Craig Simpson, 201 Pine, SE, Albuquerque, NM 87106 [505/243-6169].

Tess Sneesby, Worcester Connection, 21 Crown Street, Worcester, MA [617/756-1038].

Jenny Sprecher, Stop Project ELF, 1148 Williamson Street, Madison, WI 53703 [608/256-0870].

Sara Stage, Dogwood Alliance, 303 Fern St., Little Rock, AR 72205 [501/374-9412].

John Stauber, Stop Project ELF, 1148 Williamson Street, Madison, WI 53703 [608/256-0870].

Mary Stuckey, AFSC, 915 Salem Avenue, Dayton, OH 45406 [513/278-4225].

Marj Swann, Committee for Non-Violent Action (CNVA), RFD #1, Voluntown, CT 06384 [203/376-9970].

Nancy Sylvester, NETWORK, 806 Rhode Island Avenue, NE, Washington, DC 20012 [202/526-4070].

Betsy Taylor, Nuclear Information and Research Service (NIRS), 1536 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036 [202/483-0045].

Chet Tchozewski, AFSC/Rocky Flats Project, 1660 Lafayette Street, Denver, CO, 80218 [303/832-4508].

Edwina Vogen, 1145 East 6th Street, Tucson, AZ 85719 [602/792-3517].

Betty Wheeler, PEAC, 1008 S. Madison, Amarillo, TX 79101 [906/378-8903].

Ron Young, AFSC, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102 [215/241-7177].

Launching of the Campaign for the SSD, October 31, 1981

A meeting to launch the Campaign for the Second Special Session on Disarmament (CSSD) organized by the Special Session on Disarmament Working Group (SSDWG) was held on Halloween, the last day of "International Disarmament Week," at Riverside Church in New York City.

The meeting was attended by nearly 200 representatives from 72 groups, including the Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA); the U.S. Peace Council (USPC); the Trotskyite communist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the U.S. section of the Brussels-based Fourth International; Workers World Party (WWP), a strident supporter of Cuba, North Korea and Soviet-supported revolutionary terrorist groups that has earned a reputation for street confrontations with police; the WWP-controlled People's Anti-War Movement (PAM); the Coalition for a People's Alternative (CPA), a revolutionary "party-building" formation including the Castroite Puerto Rican Socialist Party

(PSP) and American Indian Movement (AIM) organized by Arthur Kinoy of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) and Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR); Vieques Support Network, that backs PSP causes aimed at making Puerto Rico the next Cuba in the Caribbean; All-African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP); and the National Lawyers Guild (NLG).

Also participating were representatives of the American Muslim Mission; AFSC and AFSC Nuclear Freeze Campaign; Catholic Peace Fellowship (CPC); Church Women United (CWU); Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC); Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy (CNFMP); Committee for Marxist Education (CME); Center for Defense Information (CDI); Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC); Educators for World Peace; Frente de Informacion y Solidaridad de America Latina (FISAL); The Guardian; WIN Magazine; Greenpeace; Intermedia; Jewish Peace Fellowship (JPF); International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM); Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy (LCNP); Mobilization for Survival (MFS); National Association of Women Religious (NAWR); National Conference of Black Churchmen (NBC); New Activist Group; NY Public Interest Research Group (NYPIRG); Pax Christi; PEN American Center; Riverside Church Disarmament Program; SHAD Alliance; Socialist Party; UAW Local 259; United Church of Christ (UCC); Lutheran Church; Presbyterian Church; U.N. NGO Center, Geneva; United Federation of Teachers (UFT); Committee for a Nuclear Freeze; War Resisters League (WRL); Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF); Women Strike for Peace (WSP); and the strongly CPUSA-influenced Westchester County Peace Action Coalition (WESPAC).

At the Riverside organizing meeting, the representative of the Geneva NGO Special Committee on Disarmament, James Avery, brought the message that the European activists would like to see "significant opposition to the arms race" develop in the U.S. similar to the mass demonstrations in Europe.

There was consensus that although the disarmament activists agreed that the real blame for the "arms race" lay on the U.S., some criticism would have to be made of the Soviet Union in order to maintain a facade of "credibility" with the media and U.S. public. It was explained that it is necessary to develop this spurious "credibility," based on mild criticism of Soviet armaments and policies because it would provide them with a platform for a media campaign to convince Americans that there really is nothing to be feared from Moscow.

This opportunistic consensus was expressed concisely by Dick Greenwood, special assistant to IAM president William Winpisinger, who said that because of the "myth of the 'red hordes'" and "deep-seated prejudice" against the USSR:

"We cannot simply address one character in the past; we have to address ourselves to both the U.S. and USSR. * * * This is the only approach that will give us credibility to reach the myth of the Soviet threat."

After speeches from Fehmi Alem of the U.N. Center for Disarmament; Rev. Timothy Mitchell of the National Conference of Black Churchmen; and WESPAC coordinator Connie Hogarth of WILPF; five workshop discussions were held on the topics of civil disobedience, religious, international, public education and cultural programs for the SSD-II demonstration and rally.

It is noted that among the key organizers of the CSSD are veterans of the anti-Vietnam coalitions such as the People's Coal-

ition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ) including Norma Becker, WRL; Paul Mayer, a former Catholic priest who heads the MFS Religious Taskforce; David McReynolds, WRL; Connie Hogarth, WILPF; and Cora Weiss, head of the Riverside Church Disarmament Program.

A formal campaign structure was established of a Coordinating Committee (CC) of representatives of participating organizations and which was given authority to select a Steering Committee; and a series of task forces.

Based temporarily in the cramped offices of the New York MFS chapter (which is also serving temporarily as the MFS National Office until the UN SSD-II demonstrations are completed) in the Church of All Nations, the task forces of the CSSD include:

Cultural/Demonstration.—Contact: Kathy Engel [212/924-4525]. The first meeting was held on November 7, 1981, in Riverside Church and was co-chaired by Norma Becker, a veteran organizer of anti-Vietnam mass demonstrations; and Cora Weiss. The group agreed that there should be a full day of protests and "cultural events" on the weekend of June 12-13, 1982, and that there should be a march, possibly from Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza, along 42nd Street, led by children. Various demonstration sites were proposed including Times Square, Fifth Avenue and Central Park.

Civil Disobedience.—Contacts: John Miller [212/624-8337], New York Local, WRL; Nora Lumley, NY MFS [212/673-1808]; and Debbie Wilber, WESPAC. Meetings of this task force on October 30 and November 21 proposed that a major civil disobedience action or set of actions should take place on Monday, June 14 (Flag Day), the first working day after the mass march. Organizers emphasized that civil disobedience actions "should be directed at altering U.S. policy" although they could be "critical of many nations." Potential targets of civil disobedience actions proposed included the U.N. missions of the nuclear powers as well as the missions, trade offices and national airlines of the "borderline nuclear and major arms exporting countries," and the "offices of arms producing corporations."

The Civil Disobedience task force said it was seeking additional ideas and broader participation "as we build for the largest outpouring of disarmament sentiment this nation, and possibly the world, has ever seen."

Public Education.—contacts: Andrea Tarrantino [212/678-4640] and Susan Blake [516/798-0778]. At its first meeting on November 21, 1981, the task force decided to promote a variety of disarmament strategies in order to "help develop greater cooperation within the disarmament movement and better serve the needs of public education and the Campaign." Four working groups were set up to get materials, produce packets for local organizers, operate a film and speakers bureau, and encourage "cultural participation."

International.—contact: Dave McReynolds, WRL [212/228-0450]. Meeting in the WRL's Lafayette Street offices on December 6, 1981, the task force, with Terry Provance of AFSC and members of CALC taking leading roles, sketched its role as coordinating visits by foreign disarmament delegations, arranging U.S. tours, and "acting as a liaison between the international peace movement and the American peace movement."

A key project is to be supporting a conference to coincide with the opening of the SSD-II sponsored by the International Federation for Disarmament and Peace (IFPD).

Endorsers of the IFPD conference include several of the Soviet-controlled NGO's.

Religious.—Contact: Paul Mayer [212/858-6882]. Efforts concentrate on publicizing the disarmament campaign among religious groups, leaders and congregations. Outreach to black ministers focuses on efforts to link poverty and federal cuts in social welfare spending to the "arms race." An "Interreligious Convocation" will be held in New York in association with SSD-II as for the first SSD; and an "international religious conference" of "religious activists and religious leaders" is planned to "develop strategy towards building a massive international religious movement" for disarmament.

Media.—contact: Ginny Newsom [212/496-0713].

Fundraising.—contact: Ken Caldeira [212/673-1808].

Outreach.—contact: Tom LeLuca [212/673-1808].

Organizers emphasize that in order to bring the members of the new constituencies who have been working on anti-MX and ecological anti-nuclear projects with the MFS in the Midwest and Southwest to the SSD-II demonstrations, the Campaign's "coordination" with MFS must be emphasized.

It is noted that CSSD organizers report that the campaign has been promoted as "in association with" the MFS for fundraising purposes; and that the \$5,000 seed money to open the office in New York used by National MFS was provided by Nora Lumley who borrowed it from an anonymous "sympathetic friend."

Convocations on the Threat of Nuclear War, November 11, 1981

Veterans Day was used to provide symbolism for a "teach-in" campaign of "Convocations on the Threat of Nuclear War."

Sponsored primarily by the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS) and three months in the planning, the campaign was able to mount activities on some 150 college campuses. In general, the format was a "teach-in" in which several thousand students and off-campus activists participated on the threat of nuclear war. The "teach-in" presentations were used to publicize demands for nuclear arms reductions that were virtually identical with the list of demands produced at the WPC's 1976 disarmament conference. They included:

A comprehensive U.S.-Soviet ban on nuclear weapons tests;

Limits on flight testing of new missile systems;

Substantial and verifiable reductions in the numbers of existing U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles;

An intensive U.S.-Soviet effort to halt the proliferation of nuclear weaponry and to encourage similar weapons reductions by other nuclear powers.

The Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS), with offices in Cambridge, MA, and in Washington, DC, was established at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in 1969 in support of the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT). UCS claims more than 100,000 sponsors nationwide.

The UCS board of directors is chaired by Dr. Henry Kendall of MIT and includes Dr. James A. Fay; Dr. Kurt Gottfried; Leonard Meeher; Dr. Herbert "Pete" Scoville, a former CIA Deputy Director; and Richard Wright. UCS executive director is Eric E. Van Loon.

A number of UCS leaders are also active with the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, founded in 1945 as an anti-A-bomb, pro-

disarmament outlet. Its editor-in-chief is Bernard T. Feld, active with the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) anti-NATO and disarmament programs during the 1960s.

Coinciding with the UCS teach-in convocations, the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists published a 252-page book [\$4.95] with articles by individuals active with the Pugwash conferences, Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR), the Arms Control Association (ACA), UCS, International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) and related groups compiled as a handbook "on the ultimate medical emergency—nuclear war."

Contributors to the volume, entitled the Final Epidemic, include Herbert L. Abrams; Helen M. Caldicott; Bernard T. Feld; John Kenneth Galbraith; H. Jack Geiger; George B. Kistiakowski; Robert Jay Lifton; Bernard Lown; Joseph Rotblat; Herbert Scoville, Jr.; Victor W. Seidel and Kosta Tsipis.

It is noted that the December 1981 issue of Scientific American, a regular outlet for technologically-oriented prodismament articles, features an article by Tsipis, associate director of the MIT Physics Department's Program in Science and Technology for International Security and frequent writer on "the role of science and technology in formulation of national-defense policy."

The Tsipis article is an attack on "a small group of people in the U.S. Congress, the Department of Defense and the aerospace industry [who] have contended that high-energy lasers have the potential for destroying intercontinental ballistic missiles in flight * * * [and] that the USSR has already mounted a large effort to develop lasers as antimissile weapons." His argument is "technological obstacles are insurmountable."

Members of the publication's board of directors include Ezra Sensibar; Aaron Adler; R. Stephen Berry; Charles S. Dennison; Bernard T. Feld; Helmut Fritzsche; Robert Gomer; Henry W. Kendall; Walsh McDermott; Donald H. Miller Jr.; Victor Rabinowitch; Stuart Rice; William Swartz; Bernard Weissbourd; Herbert F. York and Hans Zeisel.

Editorial advisers include Frank Barnaby (U.K.); Marjorie Craig Benton; Jonathan Bent; Harrison Brown; John P. Holdren; Alex Keynan (Israel); Gerald Leach (U.K.); Thomas R. Odhiambo (Kenya); Walter C. Patterson (U.K.); John Polanyi (Canada); Marshall D. Shulman; Joseph Rotblat (U.K.); Herbert Scoville; Harrison Shull; Kosta Tsipis; Frank von Hippel; Charles Weiner; Robert H. Williams and Carroll L. Wilson.

Joining UCS in this effort is the National Campaign to Stop the MX (NCSMX), operating from offices on Massachusetts Avenue, NE., in Washington, not far from Capitol Hill. NCSMX's staff include Chad Dobson, coordinator; and Michael Mawby, legislative director.

The members of the NCSMX advisory council include Dr. Helen Caldicott; Dr. Arthur Macy Cox; Col. James A. Donovan, USMC (Ret.); Rear Adm. Henry E. Eccles, USN (Ret.); Maj. Gen. William T. Fairbourn, USMC (Ret.); Dr. Bernard T. Feld; Randall Forsberg; Dr. George B. Kistiakowski; Vice Adm. John M. Lee, USN (Ret.); Dr. Linus Pauling; Dr. Earl Ravenal; Dr. Carl Sagan; Dr. Herbert Scoville, Jr.; Dr. Benjamin Spock; Dr. George Wald and Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner.

NCSMX has distributed a brochure by the National Action/Research on the Military-Industrial Complex (NARMIC), an AFSC project, that provides details on MX missile prime, associate and sub-contractors. The brochure credits its information on MX con-

tracts and a map showing where these contractors are located to the Council on Economic Priorities (CEP).

It is noted that an article in the official Soviet government newspaper Izvestia on November 26, 1981, by its chief Washington correspondent M. Sturua singled out five Americans as among those who look at the U.S. defense program "without bias." Said Izvestia, "They include Dr. Helen Caldicott, head of the 'Physicians for Social Responsibility' organization; Henry Kendall, MIT professor and leader of the 'Union of Concerned Scientists'; Marshall Shulman, former U.S. State Department executive and professor at Columbia University; Paul Warnke, former head of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; Rear Admiral LaRocque, head of the Information Center on Military Problems [sic-CDI] and certain other."

Among the major campus "teach-in" meetings was one attended by some 800 students at Harvard University. Speakers included Paul Warnke, a leader of the Committee on National Security (CNS), initiated early in 1980 after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan by IPS leader Richard Barnet "to mobilize broad support for detente to counter the voices calling for a return to confrontation and intervention." Among the better known CNS members is William Colby, former director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Also speaking was Stephen Meyer, a MIT political science professor described as a consultant to U.S. military and intelligence agencies. But the most enthusiastic applause was awarded the performance of Yuri Kapralov, the highranking Counselor of the Soviet Embassy in Washington who has become Moscow's virtual "ambassador" to the U.S. disarmament movement.

U.S. Peace Council Conference, November 13-15, 1981

The second national conference of the U.S. Peace Council (USPC) was held in New York City, November 13-15, 1981, at the Martin Luther King Labor Center. The USPC meeting coincided with another major disarmament conference in New York City that appealed to much of the same constituency. This was the fourth annual Riverside Church Disarmament Program conference, "The Arms Race and the U.S."

Following a November 9, 1981, press conference in Aden, the capital of the pro-Soviet People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY), to announce a February 1982 WPC-sponsored meeting in support of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), WPC president Romesh Chandra flew to New York in advance of the USPC meeting to hold meetings with a variety of "peace activists" and United Nations officials.

At the November 13 rally held in the auditorium of the Ethical Culture Society which opened the USPC proceedings, Chandra told the U.S. "peace activists" that it was in their power to ban the prospect of nuclear war. Rep. John Conyers [D-MI], who spoke at the USPC's founding convention in November 1979 and had participated in the WPC's January 1978 Washington meeting, said activists should work for passage of the Transfer Amendment to remove funds from the U.S. defense budget and transfer them to social welfare programs.

In addition to Chandra and the rally co-chairs, New York City Councilman Gilberto Gerena Valentin (South Bronx) [Gil Gerena, business agent of Local 6, Hotel and Restaurant Workers, in 1950 was a member of the U.S. Youth Sponsoring Committee for the WPC's first "World Peace Appeal"] and Massachusetts State Representative

Sandra Graham who is a member of the WPC presidium, the primary foreign speaker was Achim Maske of the West German disarmament movement who was introduced as the coordinator of recent mass anti-NATO demonstrations in Bonn. Maske said his disarmament movement to prevent NATO from stationing Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe was supported by five million FRG citizens who had signed the Krefeld petition to that effect.

Both Maske and Chandra emphasized the importance of U.S./Soviet theater nuclear force negotiations and praised proposals made by Soviet President and CPSU chief Leonid Brezhnev in an interview with the West German magazine, Der Spiegel.

In addresses at subsequent USPC conference proceedings, USPC executive director Mike Myerson, who has been a CPUSA functionary since his student days some twenty years ago, emphasized the USPC and WPC's "unique responsibility" of merging the fight for Western disarmament with provision of support to the Soviet backed armed revolutionary organizations in the Third World. "Solidarity work" with revolutionary groups in El Salvador, Guatemala, Chile, South Africa and the PLO was mentioned.

Werner Rumpel, secretary-general of the GDR Peace Council, "good friend" of MFS organizer Terry Provance, and who had just led an anti-NATO demonstration in East Germany, joined in urging the USPC to redouble efforts against the cruise and Pershing II missiles.

Rep. Gus Savage [D-IL] stressed the need to bring black and other minority groups into the disarmament movement. Unison Whiteman, foreign minister for the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Grenada, used the USPC conference to urge support for a "summit conference" of Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front of El Salvador (FMLN) and the U.S.

Among the endorsers of the USPC conference were John Collins, co-director, Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC); Cecelia Vega, Casa El Salvador; Arnaldo Alonzo, president, Casa de las Americas; Seth Adler, national coordinator, Jobs With Peace Campaign; Jose Alberto Alvarez, Political Committee, Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP); David Cortright, executive director, SANE; Todd Ensign of the anti-draft Citizen Soldier; Dr. Carlton Goodlett, WPC; Massachusetts State Representative Sandra Graham, a WPC vice-president.

Also Mel King, Massachusetts State Representative and veteran WPC activist; Michigan State Representative and WPC activist Perry Bullard; Theresa Cropper, assistant to Rev. Jesse Jackson, Operation PUSH; Detroit City Councilwoman Maryann Mahaffey, another WPC and USPC veteran; Lennox Hinds, International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL); Berkeley mayor Gus Newport; Hope Stevens, National Conference of Black Lawyers (NCBL), a U.S. affiliate of the IADL; Connie Hogarth, WESPAC; Abdeen Jabara, co-chair of the Middle East Subcommittee of the IADL's major U.S. affiliate, the National Lawyers Guild (NLG), and who organized two key PLO-support groups, the Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG) and Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC); Vivien Myerson, executive board, WILPF; Pete Seeger; Edith Tiger, executive director, National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (NECLC), a CPUSA legal action group which has been active in the campaigns against the U.S. intelligence and internal security agencies; Michigan State Representative and WPC

activist Jackie Vaughn, III; Rep. Harold Washington (D-IL); Rev. Robert A. White, Reformed Church in America; Charles F. Williams, Midwest legislative director, IAM; and James Zogby, PHRC.

Riverside Church Disarmament Program,
November 15-16, 1981

Some 500 people, many of them from the smaller Midwestern and Eastern cities who had been drawn into the disarmament campaign via environmentalist anti-nuclear power concerns, participated in the Riverside Church Disarmament Program conference, "The Arms Race and the U.S." held November 15-16, 1981. Organized by Cora Weiss and hosted by Rev. William Sloan Coffin, speakers attacked U.S. "interventionist policies" and repeatedly warned, as had the USPC leaders, that all out efforts must be made because "we're on the brink of extinction."

Under a banner reading "Protest and Live," speakers compared U.S. Trident submarines to an "Auschwitz," denounced uranium mining companies for hiring ("exploiting") American Indians and Australian aborigines, and asserted that the existence of U.S. defense forces and the NATO Alliance was "justifying further oppression against the peoples of Eastern Europe and in the USSR."

Richard Barnet, co-founder and "senior fellow" of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), a Washington-based internationally active revolutionary think-tank that has been called the "perfect intellectual front for Soviet activities which would be resisted if they were to originate openly from the KGB," supported the "nuclear moratorium" proposals being offered by the USSR.

Barnet termed the "nuclear freeze" "a negotiated hiatus" in nuclear arms deployment, although this would leave the USSR with 200 SS-20s armed with multiple warheads deployed against NATO countries. Barnet sought to present himself as a "moderate" saying that while he favored negotiated US/Soviet arms reductions, "I do not favor unilateral disarmament."

Cora Weiss said a key concrete goal was that the U.S. adopt a formal policy and make a public commitment never to be the first to use any form of nuclear weapons in a conflict. The themes were trust, detente and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

Curiously for a conference designed to instruct new recruits to the disarmament campaigns, old-fashioned "movement" paranoia was directed against some of the "new people" diligently taking notes during speeches and workshops, with Cora Weiss startling and bewildering the group by glaring at notetakers and snapping, "I see the CIA is present."

Many Riverside Church Disarmament Program speakers have been drawn from the IPS disarmament networks and have traveled to Europe to develop coordination between U.S. and European anti-NATO groups. Among these are Cora Weiss; Dick Barnet; SANE executive director David Cortright; IPS Disarmament Program head Michael Klare; Pete Scoville; and CDI director Gene LaRocque.

Smugly informing audience neophytes of his "importance" in the international disarmament campaign by noting he had just returned from participating in disarmament demonstrations in West Germany, Michael Klare warned against the U.S. "war buildup" and said that the Reagan Administration "is contemplating another Vietnam" in Central America.

Klare has taken an active role in the U.S. disarmament campaign and serves as a "resource person" for a variety of groups including the Castroite research organization,

the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) that helped CIA-defector Philip Agee produce his first expose. The Information Digest of October 16, 1981, provided the following report on Klare's activities:

"On September 30, 1981, Michael T. Klare, a 'fellow' of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) and director of the IPS Militarism and Disarmament Project, spoke to a public lunchtime seminar on his experiences as a reporter covering the NATO autumn military maneuvers. These were Reformer (Return of Forces to Germany) from the U.S.; Certain Encounter in Hesse, Federal Republic of Germany; and Display Determination, deploying from Naples, Italy.

"*** Klare's contacts range from the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) through the Center for National Security Studies (CNSS) and its sister project, the Center for International Policy (CIP), to the War Resisters League (WRL), Mobilization for Survival (MFS) and the World Peace Council (WPC).

"According to both Klare and the Pentagon, he attended the maneuvers for The Nation, a weekly publication closely associated with IPS and which has consistently promoted lines favorable to Soviet foreign policy goals.

"At the IPS seminar, Klare called the NATO maneuvers 'possibly the largest dress rehearsal for war ever held.' He told his small audience of his travels in the Hesse area of West Germany, his observations of amphibious landings in Sardinia, and the day-and-a-half spent aboard the carrier *Nimitz*. Klare did not discuss several other activities in which he was observed by other journalists covering the maneuvers including his visit to NATO headquarters in Brussels, his attendance at a luncheon with Dr. Joseph Luns, or his monitoring a press conference given by General Bernard Rogers at SHAPE headquarters.

"*** He assessed the morale and competence of U.S. troops as 'mixed' to 'fairly good,' but said nothing of the forces of other NATO members. He characterized the U.S. forces as over-dependent on the technological aspects of modern warfare.

"Klare implied that the simulated Soviet nerve gas attack was merely a ploy to dramatize the U.S. military's desire for an enhanced chemical warfare capability. Overall, Klare felt that the NATO scenario of a Soviet attack that would commence from a 'stand still' was unrealistic, as was the entire program of the maneuvers.

"Klare found no need for any increase in U.S. military capabilities for conventional warfare, saying that 'person for person, tank for tank, the U.S. is superior to the Soviets.'

"Although Klare acknowledged problems in the U.S. Armed Forces regarding illiteracy, drugs and alcohol, he stated that unnamed 'informed sources' had told him that alcoholism was a far greater problem among Soviet soldiers.

"Regarding the peace and disarmament movement in Europe, Klare said that 'Europe is on the move,' and added, without elaboration, that he had gone to Hamburg for a day to attend a conference on the effects of nuclear weapons during the NATO maneuver period.

"This was not Klare's first experience in reporting on U.S. military maneuvers. In 1980, Klare was among the reporters and photographers covering the "Gallant Eagle" exercises in the Mojave Desert of southern California. In an article that followed entitled "Firedrill for the Carter Doctrine," published in the August 1980 issue of

Mother Jones, the magazine of the Foundation for National Progress (FNP) which stated in its 1976 financial report, "FNP was formed in 1975 to carry out on the West Coast the charitable and educational activities of the Institute for Policy Studies," *** Klare provided a wealth of military detail and such comments as:

"A desert war will be far more deadly than most Americans can imagine. As one officer at Gallant Eagle said, 'I hope America knows what the hell it's getting into.'"

"Klare's article concluded with another quotation, this one from an unnamed, presumably American, colonel, that "I sure as hell don't want to get killed because some Americans aren't willing to drive below 55 miles per hour."

"Klare's message was clearly intended to plant the ideas that U.S. interests in Persian Gulf oil are based on the greedy self-indulgence of American consumers, and that a conventional war in the desert will cost too many American lives to be a viable option.

"Michael Klare, a founder and former staff member of the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), established himself as an authority on the U.S. military and defense industry when his book, 'War Without End: American Planning for the Next Vietnams.' [Alfred A. Knopf] was published in 1972. Prior to the publication of this volume, Klare had had articles published in the Nation, Commonweal and other journals.

"Subsequently, Klare has had articles published in Harpers; WIN Magazine, a publication associated with the War Resisters League (WRL) which has supported the use of revolutionary violence and terrorism by the Vietcong, Irish Republican Army (IRA), Baader-Meinhof gang and Weather Underground Organization; Inquiry; The Progressive; The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists; Race and Class, a publication of IPS's London subsidiary; The Nation; MERIP Reports, the publication of an IPS spin-off called the Middle East Research and Information Project which supports Middle Eastern pro-Soviet communist parties and terrorist movements attempting to destabilize such countries as Oman, Egypt, Morocco, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Iran and Israel; and the Latin America and Empire Report published by NACLA.

"It should be noted that in its founding statement, NACLA said it sought as members those "who not only favor revolutionary change in Latin America, but also take a revolutionary position toward their own society." In the British edition of his book, "Inside the Company: CIA Diary," Philip Agee credited members of the Cuban Communist party, research facilities of the Cuban government in Havana, and three staffers of NACLA for having obtained "vital research materials" used in his attack on the CIA.

"According to Transnational Link [Vol. II, No. 1, Jan./Feb. 1976, p. 81, a newsletter of the Institute for Policy Studies' international subsidiary, the Transnational Institute (TNI), Klare was also an Associate of the Center for National Security Studies (CNSS), the organization established by IPS which has been the major lobbyist in Congress for laws to abolish U.S. intelligence covert action operations and the use of human intelligence sources.

"This IPS/TNI newsletter also reported that Klare was a visiting fellow at CNSS's sister project, the Center for International Policy (CIP), and that he gave speeches on the U.S. arms exports and counter-insurgency programs at, among other places, the University of Havana.

"In 1977, based on interviews with Ernest Prokosh of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), the Information Digest [12/9/77] reported that Klare had lectured in Europe to World Peace Council disarmament groups and had taken a leading role in protesting the sale of Cessna aircraft to Rhodesia.

"At about this time, CNSS distributed as a "National Security Reprint" a pamphlet entitled "Exporting the Tools of Repression" that Klare had written while still a NACLA staffer with a Nancy Stein, a former member of the SDS Weatherman faction and veteran of the Venceremos Brigade journeys to Cuba.

"Klare's activist role in the militant peace movement was expressed plainly in his article, "Confront the Arms Merchants," published in WIN Magazine [10/5/78]. In it, Klare catalogued various defense contractor conventions targeted for protest and disruption and in conclusion wrote, "For many activists, however, it is simply the inherent immorality of the events themselves that renders the arms bazaars an appropriate occasion for protest."

"Michael Klare, 38, was educated at Columbia University and holds bachelor's and masters degrees from that institution. He also studied at Yale University.

"In the Bill of Rights Journal [December 1976], the publication of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (NECLC), an organization cited as a legal action and propaganda front of the Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA), a full-page advertisement headed "In Memory of Mildred Klare" stated, "We honor the dedication and devotion of her husband Charlie, and her children, Mike, Karl and Jane." It is noted that the 1953 Annual Report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities [p. 56] reported that Charles Klare, Office of Secretary of the Brewery Workers Joint Board, had been identified as a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and had taken the 5th Amendment when questioned about his CPUSA activities.

While members of the audience wielded six-inch circular placards painted with the "ban the bomb" insignia of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), Australian-born pediatrician Helen Caldicott, who recently gave up her Boston medical practice to devote full time to working for Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR), described in breathless and glowing terms her recent visit to the Soviet Union with Rev. Coffin. In tones of awe and discovery, Caldicott announced, "The Russian people are the sons and daughters of God."

Caldicott commenced a catalogue of all possible ills—from mass extermination of all life to epidemics and starvation for survivors—that the disarmament movement believes would result from any use of any nuclear weapon, and asserted that U.S. nuclear weapons were "immoral."

National Conference of Catholic Bishops,
November 16-21, 1981

One of a trio of themes adopted by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops meeting in Washington, DC, November 16-21, 1981, was full-fledged opposition to nuclear weapons. While this opposition was enunciated by Archbishop John R. Roach, the lobbying for the anti-nuclear weapons position was managed by Pax Christi, which has had members participating in WPC disarmament activities, and the New York-based Intercommunity Center for Justice and Peace.

In the weeks that followed the Catholic bishops' statement, both the United Presbyterian Church and the American Baptist

Church issued statements calling for "a freeze on nuclear weapons production." These U.S. religious initiatives are seen as providing valuable assistance to Patriarch Pimen of the Russian Orthodox Church who is sponsoring a religious peace conference in Moscow this summer that will include not only Christians, but also Buddhists, Hindus, Jews, and Moslems.

Plans also have been announced for a Christian Peace Conference in Uppsala, Sweden, in September or October 1982, at which Patriarch Pimen will be a major organizer with Archbishop Olaf Sundby of Stockholm.

Mobilization for Survival National
Conference, December 4-6, 1981

The Mobilization for Survival (MFS) held its fifth national Conference at the University of Wisconsin campus in Milwaukee, December 4-6, 1981.

The Mobilization for Survival was formed by organizers long active with the World Peace Council in direct response to the WPC's plans to create the maximum impact on the first United Nations Special Session on Disarmament.

The Information Digest of July 29, 1977 reported that the MFS made its formal debut on April 23, 1977, at a conference in Philadelphia attended by individuals associated with the Chicago Peace Council, Women Strike for Peace, WILPF, Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC), NACLA, the CPUSA and related groups. The report cited an article by Sid Peck, former member of the CPUSA's Wisconsin State Committee who has been a leader of the Chicago Peace Council, New Mobilization Committee and People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), emphasizing that with its "New Stockholm Appeal," the WPC, in cooperation with the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace (ICDP) and Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs were "working closely with non-governmental organizations the world over to create the maximum impact on the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament in late May 1978."

The report revealed that Peck and his associate, Sid Lens, another veteran Chicago Peace Council activist who had also formerly been a leader of a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party, had organized a meeting of leading "peace activists" in Boston during the 1976 Thanksgiving weekend. AFSC "national peace secretary" Ron Young, another WPC veteran, arranged for Peggy Duff, a leader of the ICDP and WPC activist, to come from Britain to address the Boston organizing group on the "historic importance" of the U.N. SSD. Additional MFS founding leaders included Michael Klare, Terry Provan, David McReynolds and Norma Becker.

Terry Provan has been a "peace movement" organizer for more than a decade. In the early 1970s, he was an organizer for the Harrisberg Defense Committee, the propaganda group organized to support Egbal Ahmad of the Institute for Policy Studies, Daniel and Philip Berrigan, Elizabeth McAlister and their co-defendants charged with conspiracy to kidnap Secretary of State Kissinger. Afterwards, Provan worked with the defense committee for Daniel Ellsberg who stole and disseminated secret Defense Department documents that included clear texts of U.S. diplomatic cables transmitted in code and intelligence reports revealing the sources of information; and with a group formed following the appeals of the WPC's 5th Stockholm Conference, Medical Aid for Indochina (MAIC), that sent material aid to the communist forces in Vietnam.

Apparently having proved his organizational skills and ideological dedication, Provan was made director of the American Friends Service Committee's "National Peace Campaign—Stop the B-1 Bomber" in 1973. As a leading "peace activist" and "fighter for peace," Provan's statements began to figure prominently in articles in the CPUSA press that urged U.S. disarmament, dismantling of NATO, and expanding "political detente" to "military detente." In conducting the "Stop the B-1 Bomber" campaign, Provan worked closely with the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy (CNFMP), which was founded as the Coalition to Stop Funding the War, the lobbying arm of the anti-Vietnam coalitions.

In September 1976, Provan was a member of the U.S. delegation to the WPC's "World Conference to End the Arms Race, for Disarmament and Detente" in Helsinki which was discussed earlier. Once the B-1 bomber program was killed by President Carter, Provan became the AFSC's disarmament coordinator.

Provan's WPC activities have continued and include his participation with his "friend," East German Peace Council chief Walter Rumpel and Dutch Communist party activist Nico Schouten in an October 30, 1979, Washington, D.C. rally and demonstration; and his sponsoring the November 1979 formation of the U.S. Peace Council in 1979 at which he led a workshop, "New Weapons," with James Jackson, a member of the CPUSA Political Committee and the WPC Presidential Committee, and Rev. William Hogan of the Chicago Peace Council and Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC).

Provan, as co-convenor of the Mobilization for Survival International Task Force and a coordinator of the anti-nuclear World Information Service on Energy (WISE), was a featured speaker on April 4, 1981, at an anti-NATO protest in Bonn, West Germany, organized by the Communist Party and the WPC.

As the Information Digest [April 10, 1981] reported:

"Members of the West German disarmament movement organized a demonstration that attracted some 15,000 activists in Bonn on April 4, 1981, to protest the meeting of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group addressed by U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger.

"The demonstration brought into sharp focus the collaboration between leaders of the U.S. Mobilization for Survival (MFS) and the communist-dominated anti-NATO "peace movement" in the Federal Republic of Germany, with the connecting link apparently both the international Soviet-controlled communist fronts led by the World Peace Council (WPC) and the international anti-nuclear power groups coordinated through the Amsterdam-based World Information Service on Energy (WISE) and associated in varying degrees with the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) and its Transnational Institute (TNI).

"Under the slogan, 'Gegen die atomare Bedrohung-Nein zu Atomraketen und Neutronenbomben,' [Against the atomic menace—No to nuclear missiles and neutron bombs], protesters marched with placards and mock-U.S. flags with the stars replaced by missiles. Sit-ins were staged by several protest groups, but few arrests were reported. The particular target of the protests were U.S.-backed plans to strengthen NATO with modern Pershing II and cruise missiles.

"Following the demonstration, a rally was held. Among the featured speakers was Nino Pasti, a former Deputy Commander of NATO and Italian Army general who gained considerable notoriety some years ago when

he resigned his commission and ran successfully for the Italian Senate on the Communist Party of Italy ticket. . . .

"Joining Pasti in addressing the rally were Prof. Karl Bechert and Terry Provance, co-leader of the Mobilization for Survival (MFS) International Taskforce, director of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) Disarmament Program and organizer of WISE's U.S. network.

"The sponsors of the Bonn protest listed on leaflets circulated in Bonn showed the heavy penetration of the West German "peace movement" by Soviet-line communists working directly in the Deutsche Kommunistische Partei (DKP) and in fronts affiliated to the network of international Soviet fronts.

"Rally sponsors included the German Communist Party (DKP); the German Peace Union (DFU), the DKP-controlled WPC affiliate; the German Peace Society/United Military Service Resisters (DFG/VK), a joint front of the DKP and War Resisters League International; the Democratic Women's Initiative (DF), the DKP-controlled affiliate of the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF); the Socialist German Worker Youth (SDAJ), the DKP youth group; the Marxist Student Union-Spartakus (MSB-S), a hard-line Marxist-Leninist group formed by the ultra-orthodox communists formerly active in the German SDS (the Socialist German Student League); the DKP-dominated League of Persons Persecuted under the Nazi Regime/League of Anti-Fascists (VVN/BdA); and the Association of Democratic Lawyers (VDJ), the affiliate of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL).

"Additional sponsors of the rally included radical university student groups which in coalition control the student government of more than 25 of the 34 principal West German higher learning institutions; the environmentalist Green Party; Protestant and Catholic student groups; two revolutionary bookstores . . . and several divisions of the highly radicalized youth division of the ruling West German Social Democratic Party (SPD).

Under the slogan, "Take Root in Struggle," the conference call described the role of the coalition:

"The uniqueness of the Mobilization for Survival lies in our commitment to linking—linking organizations, linking issues and linking people in a community of struggle. With the imminent return of the draft and start-up of Three Mile Island I, with massive budget cuts, escalating racism and oppression of women, gay men and lesbians, and with more and more terrifying moves toward intervention (complete with nuclear ultimatums), it is clear that the Mobilization for Survival a vital link in building a united movement.

"Our strength as a coalition of national and local groups rests in our ability to develop strategies and help carry out projects that promote organizational, political and personal growth. We must rekindle past ties while opening up the possibility of lasting links with new and diverse groups . . ."

MFS's rekindling of past ties is merely a reassembling of the Communist Party, U.S.A. dominated anti-Vietnam coalitions which operated in collaboration with the World Peace Council during the years from 1966 through 1975 in such incarnations as the National and New Mobilization committees and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ). Among the three dozen national organizations comprising the MFS are the CPUSA and three of its outright

fronts, the U.S. Peace Council (USPC), Women for Racial and Economic Equality (WREE), and the Southern Organizing Committee for Racial and Economic Justice (SOCESJ) founded and led by Anne Braden, the CPUSA's principal Southern organizer in the civil rights movement.

Other MFS national affiliates include the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP); American Friends Service Committee (AFSC); Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC); Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR); Gray Panthers; National Assembly of Women Religious (NAR); New American Movement (NAM); People's Alliance [Coalition for a People's Alternative]; War Resisters League (WRL); two groups thoroughly penetrated by CPUSA activists, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) and Women Strike for Peace (WSP); and the Connecticut-based Promoting Enduring Peace (PEP) headed by Howard Frazier that spends considerable amounts on publishing monthly ads in the New York Times backing detente, disarmament and "peace conversion" of defense industries and arranges tours of the Soviet Union for "peace activists" from WILPF and similar groups. As previously noted, leaders of AFSC, CALC, FOR, WILPF and WSP have been participating in World Peace Council activities since the anti-Vietnam campaigns of the late 1960s.

Rev. Bob Moore, a member of the MFS national staff for three and a half years who is now organizing in Wisconsin, opened his keynote address by dedicating his remarks to the disarmament saboteurs, the "GE-5."

It should be noted that the "GE-5"—William Hartman, Janice Hill, Roger Ludwig, Robert M. Smith and Thelma Stroud—are members of the Brandywine Peace Community of Media, Pennsylvania, who on October 29, 1981, entered the Philadelphia headquarters of the General Electric Re-Entry Division, entered restricted areas and poured blood on the locked door of the Advanced Manufacturing Engineering Laboratory. They were arrested and charged with burglary and criminal conspiracy and criminal trespass (felonies), and criminal mischief, a misdemeanor.

The group demanded GE end production of Mark-12A warheads for Minuteman III and MX missiles, continuing the action of the Berrigan brothers and other members of the "Plowshares 8" convicted on felony charges early in 1981 for their illegal entry and destruction of property at the GE Re-entry Division plant in suburban King-of-Prussia, PA.

Moore termed organizing protests to coincide with the June 7 to July 9, 1982 U.N. Special Session on Disarmament "our greatest challenge" because it would offer a major opportunity to influence and affect U.S. military and defense policy toward disarmament. He called on MFS activists to begin organizing task forces and delegations to visit Congressmen and Senators, to begin letter-writing campaigns to newspapers, elected officials and the President in order to influence the postures the U.S. government will take into the SSD-II.

A number of international guests and observers were present, and were introduced in an offhand manner. A Japanese peace delegation was headed by Von Gyoton N. Sato, who was highly active in workshops and strategy caucuses for the SSD-II. However, his associate and a woman interpreter were not even introduced by name to the MFS convention. Also introduced briefly was a man identified as "a leader in the AICD, the primary peace group in Australia," who was not seen again in the MFS plenaries.

Moore's remarks were followed by entertainment which featured folksinger Judy Gorman-Jacobs who offered samples of her original lyrics containing assorted anti-Reagan sentiments like "If silence were golden, Ronnie, you couldn't earn a dime."

Leslie Cagan, the MFS staff organizer in Boston, opened the Saturday morning proceedings with a pep talk explaining the purpose of the MFS which revealed that it was to serve as a basis for de facto party-building. But, said Cagan, at present it was "expedient to be a coalition" because it "makes it easier to call out more people to demonstrate."

Cagan said that the members of the MFS coalition must be drawn into a permanent organization for the purpose of restructuring society. According to Cagan, the three "basic realities" to be fought to achieve "social change" were "capitalism, racism and sexism." She explained that one tactic in the restructuring of society is to redirect federal funds away from the "arms budget" into social programs.

This could be accomplished, said Cagan, by working to build a "broad mass movement" (not necessarily of large numbers of people, but rather with a wide "diversity of composition" with Native Americans, blacks and other minority groups), and working for "changes in the basic structures of our country's institutions." She explained that "if you want to stop the arms race, you have to check into U.S. foreign policy and U.S. military postures;" and if stopping the construction of nuclear powerplants is the goal, "you have to address the fundamental questions of energy."

Cagan explained that to build a successful broad coalition, they needed "a common enemy as well as a common vision," and that these enemies included President Reagan, the "new expression" of the right, "our military-industrial complex, racism and sexism." While asserting that the "common vision" of the MFS coalition "must go beyond defeat of the enemy," she avoided any too clear indication of what form she thought the utopia would take.

The agenda of workshops and their leaders included:

Special Session on Disarmament.—Ken Caldeira, Leslie Cagan and Dave McReynolds.

Nuclear Freeze.—George Wagner.

Jobs with Peace.—Frank Clemente.

Draft.—Bob Brown, Matt Meyers.

Energy Strategies and Nuclear Power.—John Rosenstock, Abalone Alliance; Linda Lotz.

U.S. Foreign Policy and Imperialism.—Holly Sklar.

Repression.—Jim Coben, Campaign for Political Rights (CPR) field organizer.

The [Save the] Heartland Proposal.—Scott Meyers, National Committee to Support the Marion Brothers.

National People's Congress.—Arthur Mitchell, Gray Panthers (NPC coordinator).

Meeting Human Needs.—Hon. Mel King, Massachusetts State Legislature, a veteran WPC and USPC activist.

Corporate and Military Development in Wisconsin.—Leslie Byster, John Stauber.

The Spector of the "Soviet Threat."—Sidney Lens, MFS co-founder, veteran WPC activist.

Afternoon proceedings opened speeches by folksinger Holly Near and Massachusetts State Representative Mel King. Near, who mentioned she had traveled to North Vietnam and the Philippines, emphasized the usefulness of music and "cultural activities" in making ideas for radical change "acceptable." She pointed out that political rallies

should be exciting and that a musical program can be central to a successful rally.

Mel King, active with both the WPC and USPC, gave a militant speech, saying "we've been too damn nice * * * [and] always on the defensive. * * * It's time we stopped just getting mad and started getting even." King urged MFS to "develop a game plan to which they must react." He urged especially that "foreigners be brought in" to appear on U.S. radio and television talk shows and speak to U.S. groups so that Americans "understand the ravages of war and that the people of these countries do not want war."

Strategy sessions followed to develop tactics on the major MFS projects—the Special Session on Disarmament, Nuclear Freeze Campaign, Jobs with Peace, the Draft, Energy Strategies and Nuclear Power, Repression, U.S. Foreign Policy and Imperialism, the Heartland Proposal, National People's Congress, Meeting Human Needs, and Political Organizing through Culture.

As expected after the major fall organizing meetings that had set up the Campaign for the Second Special Session on Disarmament in association with the MFS, SSD-II will be the major focus of MFS activity during the first half of 1982.

Petitions, lobbying of Senators and Congressmen through visits to their local offices and letter writing campaigns are to begin at the New Year. The purpose, said MFS leaders, is to generate sufficient pressure to force President Reagan to attend the U.N. SSD, and to affect the composition and instructions of the U.S. delegation to the SSD.

Regarding the Presidentially appointed U.S. delegation to the SSD-II, MFS will demand that "responsible" (prodisarmament) people be appointed, that the U.S. delegation work on proposals to ban military intervention and to set dates for a nuclear-free world under the slogan "stop producing, start reducing;" and that the delegation accept the concept that "inner-city development is impossible as long as funds are being spent on arms."

A tentative calendar of SSD-II events was offered:

May 28-30—"Choose Life" Weekend.

June 4-6—International symposium on "Nuclear Weapons: A Crime Against Humanity."

June 7—Convergence of the World Peace March, "an interfaith project initiated by the Nipponzan Myohoji Buddhist monks," coordinated by the MFS Religious Task Force.

June 8-9—Briefing Assembly or rally with cultural events.

June 10-11—International Interreligious Convocation coordinated by the MFS Religious Task Force; submission of petitions.

June 12—Mass Demonstration, civil disobedience ("the greatest ever.")

The Nuclear Freeze Campaign initiated and coordinated by the AFSC and FOR will hold a national organizing conference in Denver in February 1982. The MFS activists were informed that the Freeze campaign is directed by "international leaders" in a general decision-making committee of 40 people and that there is an "emergency decision" group of 7. The project leaders did not name them to the MFS participants.

Nuclear Freeze leaders including Dan Ebner of FOR said that a moratorium on construction of nuclear weapons was the first step in gaining broad U.S. public acceptance for disarmament because the public will not feel that a "moratorium" would endanger national security. Ebner emphasized that "Freeze is only the first step toward total disarmament, and it's only to be used as a tool towards that end."

Noting that a multitude of coalitions have been formed since MFS appeared in 1977, and with many MFS members raising criticisms of the heavy-handed domination of the People's Anti-War Mobilization (PAM) and its All-People's Congress (APC) by the Workers World Party (WWP), a militant Marxist-Leninist cadre that split away from Trotskyism early in the 1960s and has aligned itself with the pro-Soviet regimes in North Korea, Cuba, Ethiopia and Angola, MFS decided to continue support for the New York based National People's Congress.

NPC coordinator Arthur Mitchell of the Gray Panthers described the coalition as a clearinghouse for seeking issues around which to rally left groups and community groups and "build a movement to reorder our priorities in favor of peace and human needs." NPC will hold a People's Congress in Washington, DC, April 17-25, 1982.

Among the NPC's supporting organizations are Women Strike for Peace (WSP), Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), SHAD Alliance, Riverside Church Disarmament Program, New York Anti-Klan Network, New Alliance Party, National Conference of Black Lawyers (NCBL), the CPUSA-controlled National Coalition for Economic Justice (NCEJ), National Anti-Racist Organizing Committee (NAROC), Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO), Gray Panthers, Democrats for New Politics, Coalition for a People's Alternative (CPA), Citizens Party, the Coalition Against Registration and the Draft (CARD), and American Indian Movement (AIM).

The NPC asked MFS to coordinate the election of "people's candidates" to its Washington meeting, provide ideas for drafts of legislation which would be introduced by Rep. John Conyers [D-MI], and to work out details of sending a group to Moscow to work out with "representatives of the Soviet people" a "People's Disarmament Treaty" which would be ratified at the April "People's Congress."

In discussion it was noted that a caucus formed by representatives of a number of groups close to the WPC and CPUSA including the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), USPC, WRL, CPA, MFS, NAROC, SANE and the Progressive Student Network (PSN) had failed in efforts to wrest control of the PAM from the WWP. According to MFS organizers, on September 12, 1981, 90 representatives of this caucus met in New York and formed the Ad Hoc Coalition Against Reagan's Policy (ACARP) which was considering calling for a mass mobilization this spring in competition with demonstrations planned by WWP and PAM. ACARP groups are also active in the SSD-II campaign.

In leading both the SSD-II caucus and the Collective Strategy caucus, Paul Mayer repeatedly made the point that the SSD-II would be an opportunity for gaining the maximum amount of media coverage through which the U.S. public could be "sensitized" to the disarmament campaign.

Wearing, perhaps symbolically, a bright red shirt, Mayer said that outside of SSD-II organizing, the major MFS emphasis would be on the "Nuclear Free Heartland" campaign. Discussion included a note that SANE and the National Campaign to Stop the MX were already gearing up to block deployment of MX in refurbished Minuteman silos. Other aspects of this campaign will involve supporting efforts to defeat Rep. John Ashbrook [R-OH] who is planning to run against Sen. Howard Metzenbaum and demonstrations against nuclear power plants.

Organizers explained that St. Louis was selected as a target for economic organizing because it is "world headquarters of the two

largest military corporations in the world, General Dynamics and McDonnell Douglas, plus Monsanto, Emerson Electric and branches of IBM, Rockwell, Sperry and Honeywell; 1 of 7 jobs in St. Louis depends on military spending."

A major focus of demonstrations will be the Strategic Air Command (SAC) headquarters in Omaha; Whiteman Air Force Base in Missouri at which Minuteman missiles are based; the Bendix nuclear weapons facility in Kansas City; Honeywell's Minnesota facilities; and the submarine communications system Project ELF in Michigan and Wisconsin.

The Heartland project's additional focus on "political repression" as represented by the Marion federal prison in Illinois has brought into the MFS's programs groups closely associated with the terrorist Weather Underground Organization and its overt arm, the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee (PFOC).

Praising Puerto Rican terrorist Raphael Candel Miranda, American Indian Movement (AIM) activist Leonard Peltier (convicted of the ambush murders of two FBI agents), and Republic of New Africa (RNA) leader Imari Obadele (Richard Henry) as "genuine people's leaders," the Mobilization to Save the Heartland, whose address is in care of the National Committee to Support the Marion Brothers in St. Louis, said their jailing "testifies to Marion's key place in the government's attempt to take away our rights and freedoms."

PFOC members attended the MFS conference and distributed their theoretical journal, Breakthrough, and literature of the terrorist FALN's "overt arm," the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (MLN).

While WUO/PFOC members lobbied MFS conference participants in support of terrorist violence, and while key MFS leaders praised sabotage against nuclear-related installations as "direct action" and "civil disobedience," organizers from the Campaign for Political Rights (CPR), formerly the Campaign to Stop Government Spying, were active in MFS workshops and at literature tables warning anti-nuclear activists to take "security precautions" against "bugs, taps and infiltrators."

However, several MFS conference participants from proabortion "reproductive rights" groups were heard to comment that as far as they were concerned, MFS's real "infiltrator" problems are certain Catholic and other religious activists who oppose nuclear power and nuclear weapons as an aspect of their "right to life" beliefs and who oppose abortion.

The MFS "audio-visual" program included the complete 3-hour showing of the Philip Agee anti-CIA documentary, "On Company Business;" "The Intelligence Network;" "Paul Jacobs and the Nuclear Gang;" a CDI film called "War Without Winners," and a film in support of the Puerto Rican revolutionary movement.

Among the groups with members participating in the NFS conference in Milwaukee were:

Abalone Alliance; Alliance for Survival; American Friends Service Committee (AFSC); Catholic Peace Fellowship (CPF); Catholic Worker (Des Moines, Iowa); Center for Defense Information (CDI); Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC); Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament (CND); Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy (CNFMP); Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR); Friends of the Earth (FOE); Gray Panthers; Greenpeace, Great Lakes (Chicago) chapter; National People's Congress (NPC); New American Movement (NAM); New Movement in Solidarity with Puerto Rican Independence

(a front of the WUO/PFOC); Nuclear Information and Resource Service (NIRS).

Also Pax Christi; People's Anti-War Mobilization (PAM); Prairie Fire Organizing Committee (PFOC); SANE; Sierra Club; Socialist Party (SP); Socialist Workers Party (SWP); U.S. Peace Council (USPC); War Resisters League (WRL); WIN Magazine; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF); Women Strike for Peace (WSP); Workers World Party (WWP); World Information Service on Energy (WISE).

Update on U.S. organizing

The United Nations Second Special Session on Disarmament (SSD-II) scheduled to be held in New York June 7 to July 9, 1982, will be the primary organizing focus and international podium for the Soviet-directed disarmament offensive during the first half of this year.

The first Special Session on Disarmament (SSD-I), held in May 1978, was little noticed either by the Western governments or media and very little of the 129-paragraph Final Document produced by SSD-I has been implemented. However, SSD-I did establish a 40-member U.N. Committee on Disarmament (CD) which has a staff based in Geneva and which implemented the SSD-I Final Document's call for a SSD-II.

Taking part in SSD-II will be the 156 U.N. Member States, "observer" delegations from non-U.N. members and from U.N.-backed "national liberation" movements, representatives from a variety of U.N. agencies and intergovernmental organizations, and many of the U.N.-affiliated non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

Sidney Peck has been appointed Director of International Relations for the United Nations NGO organization. Peck is responsible for coordination of the demonstrations targeted on SSD-II that are designed to affect public opinion in America and Western Europe, and it is the WPC, which holds the vice-presidency of the U.N. NGO organization, that will provide the bodies for those demonstrations. Peck, a former Wisconsin CPUSA functionary, was a leader of the Chicago Peace Council before moving to Boston in the mid-1970s. He has been active with the WPC and was a co-founder of the Mobilization for Survival which was formed to generate support for the first SSD.

Peck's boss in his new U.N. NGO post is Sean MacBride, the Lenin Peace Prize winner who is a vice-president of the Moscow-based Continuing Liaison Committee of the World Congress of Peace Forces.

At this time a 78-nation Preparatory Committee chaired by Ambassador Oluyemi Adeniji of Nigeria has drawn up a 14-point agenda which includes discussion of a "World Disarmament Campaign" and a "World Disarmament Conference." Prior to SSD's convening, the Preparatory Committee will meet in New York (April 26-May 14) as will a Disarmament Commission (May 17-June 4).

With these U.N. activities as focal points, U.S. disarmament groups, many of them associated with the World Peace Council (WPC) and its U.S. affiliate, the U.S. Peace Council (USPC), are developing their organizing plans that will culminate with a mass rally in New York on Saturday, June 12, 1982. As a report on the November USPC conference in New York and its workshop on "Disarmament and Detente" in the WPC newsletter *Peace Courier* [December 1981] noted:

"As a target for activities during the next six months, the workshop projected massive activities by peace forces in support of the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament to be held next June.

"There is need to impose pressure on Washington to return to policies of detente," it was emphasized."

The WPC reported that the USPC was making progress with programs including the Jobs for Peace Campaign, the California Statewide Peace Electoral Action Campaign (SPEAC), and "in collecting signatures on petitions for a nuclear freeze."

It will be recalled that WPC president Romesh Chandra attended the USPC conference. During his New York visit Chandra met with leaders of the Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA), assorted U.S. "peace activists," and high-level U.N. officials. The WPC delegation met with the President of the U.N. General Assembly, Ambassador Issmat Kittani; U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim; the Chairman of the U.N. Special Committee Against Apartheid, Ambassador Alhaji Yusuf Maitama-Sule; and Chandra spoke before a meeting of the Special Committee Against Apartheid.

The WPC reported on the delegation as a successful part of its "framework of increased cooperation with the United Nations," and made no mention of its failure to obtain higher status with the U.N. Economic and Social Council. Regarding SSD-II, the WPC reported:

"The preparations for the Special Second Session of the United Nations on Disarmament . . . were of special interest to the delegation. Meetings were held with Mr. Csillag, officer responsible for the SSD II preparatory committee and Mr. Martenson of the U.N. Disarmament Centre, as well as with Mr. Virginia Saurweim [sic], NGO officer. Discussions centered around the preparations for the SSD II, the role of the non-governmental organizations and the contribution of the World Peace Council."

Serving as a highly visible "asset" to the WPC and USPC efforts to, in the words of the *Peace Courier*, "involve all the nationally and racially oppressed in the peace movement" is Rep. Gus Savage [D-IL]. Rep. Savage was formerly the editor and publisher of a black community newspaper in Chicago and was an active member of the National Newspaper Publishers Association (NNPA) led by Carlton Goodlet, a member of the WPC's Presidential Committee and identified CPUSA member.

Following his leadership role in the USPC's November conference, Rep. Savage led a January 16, 1982 disarmament march in Lisbon, Portugal, in which 50,000 people participated.

The march protested U.S. and NATO plans to deploy Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe. The main organizers of the march were the Portuguese Communist Party and the Communist-controlled trade unions with the local WPC affiliate. The Portuguese Socialist Party refused to participate and publicly denounced the march as merely a "reflection of the diplomatic and military logic of the Soviet bloc."

When asked about his involvement in the march at a press conference, Rep. Savage was quoted as saying, "I'm more concerned with the concrete objectives of the march than with who supports it."

Rep. Savage's constituent newsletter, dated December 1981 but mailed in January 1982, reported:

"The World Peace Council, the largest non-governmental peace organization in the world, has invited Congressman Gus Savage to address the 35th annual meeting of the Council's Bureau in Copenhagen, Jan. 6-8 [1982].

"The invitation came personally from Romesh Chandra, president of the Council, in New York City on Nov. 14, to be the keynote speaker for the Second National Conference of the U.S. Peace Council. . . .

"The invitation was extended by Chandra because he was impressed with Savage's oratory and his fight against neo-colonialism. While in Congress less than one year, battles for peace, justice, and programs that benefit school children, college students, the elderly and the handicapped have been his major concern.

"In Copenhagen, Savage addressed the 30-member Bureau of the World Peace Council and members of its Presidential Committee both of which consist of members of parliaments and leaders of peace movements, trade unions and political parties.

"The Bureau is the executive branch of the Council. The Presidential Committee, a larger body, consists of 120 members. It is known as The Presidium in Europe.

"An invitation was also received to address this group as part of a dialogue on what the Council perceives as a new danger of war based on the arms buildup of major world powers.

"The World Peace Council has national movements in 130 countries. It has an ongoing relationship with the United Nations in that the UN has a subdivision comprised of non-governmental organizations. The vice-presidency of this body is held by the World Peace Council.

"A series of other meetings will be held in Copenhagen in addition to the Bureau's three-day session. Among these will be a meeting of 20 retired generals of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and meetings of Danish political parties and trade unions."

According to a Portuguese intelligence source, the Soviet Peace Committee delegation was denied entry visas to participate in the demonstration.

On January 22, 1982, the Portuguese government declared persona non grata two Soviet "diplomats" from the USSR's Libson Embassy, press attache Yuri A. Babaints and attache Mikhail M. Morozov, for "engaging in activities which exceed their diplomatic status" involving the anti-NATO demonstrations.

U.S. SSD-II Preparations

While many U.S. disarmament groups will hold "building actions" to gain support for the June 12th mass demonstration in New York, the group most advanced in its plans is the U.S. section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). Formed by pacifist socialists opposed to World War I and rearmament, WILPF has been a target for penetration by pro-Soviet "peace activists" and has moved away from genuine pacifism and into support for revolutionary "national liberation movements" utilizing terrorism and "armed struggle."

WILPF's disarmament campaign coordinator is Kay Camp, who is also a co-convenor of the Mobilization for Survival's (MFS) International Task Force. A former U.S. and international WILPF president, Camp has been involved with WPC activities for many years. WILPF's international headquarters are in Geneva, Switzerland. WILPF's longtime secretary general is Edith Ballentyne and the current international president is Carol Pendell of the U.S.

WILPF for many years has been thoroughly penetrated by members and supporters of the Moscow-line Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA) and partisan radicals who look to various Soviet-backed terrorist "national liberation movements" as models of a future revolutionary utopia. WILPF works intimately with two major Soviet-controlled international fronts, the World Peace Council (WPC) and the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF). WILPF was

recently reported to have been awarded a seat on the WPC Presidential Committee.

For the past twenty years, WILPF has been participating in guided tours of the USSR and holding direct meetings with the Soviet Women's Committee; thus it was less than surprising that WILPF is urging its members to participate in a "mis-accuracy in media" campaign. Whenever WILPF members see a newspaper article reference to Soviet aggression or the Soviet military build-up, WILPF members have been instructed to call the reporter and editor, politely explain that "Soviet threat" concepts are examples of "biased thinking," and ask for "corrective" action.

On March 8, International Women's Day, WILPF will commence its "Stop the Arms Race" (STAR) campaign, using a slogan common to both the WPC and MFS, using Madison Avenue-style publicity, STAR will seek to generate public support and interest for the goals of SSD-II. In the STAR campaign, WILPF will utilize both national and local media. At present, material for use as "public service messages" on radio, television and in newspapers is being prepared.

Other groups are not so well organized. The Mobilization for Survival (MFS), for example, has only in mid-January commenced a serious fund raising campaign using a newly-formed tax-deductible group, the Survival Education Fund (SEF), and a shrill letter signed by Dr. Benjamin Spock seeking both money and signatures for the "People's Petition Campaign to Ban the Neutron Bomb."

It is noted that MFS and Dr. Spock apparently are the first to launch a "people's petition" campaign following the U.N. General Assembly's recent adoption of a resolution supporting such petition drives offered by those bastions of independent democratic government, Bulgaria and Mongolia. According to Disarmament Times, [Vol. 4, No. 6], the petition campaigns "will give every person, however humble, a chance to get into the disarmament action."

An inhibiting factor against the Soviet "peace" offensive has resulted from President Reagan's statement that "the World Peace Council is . . . bought and paid for by the Soviet Union," which brought in response a letter from Homer Jack, secretary-general of the World Conference on Religion and Peace, published in the New York Times [January 30, 1982] concurring that "the World Peace Council has for more than 30 years faithfully transmitted Soviet foreign policy."

Organizing by some 150 U.S. activists to focus attention on the U.N. Second Special Session on Disarmament (SSD-II) continues to escalate and includes planning for events that range from a religious convocation through a peace march and assembly to civil disobedience.

June 12 Disarmament Coalition

Nearly 300 disarmament activists representing 90 groups met in New York, January 29-30, 1982, to plan for two weeks of disarmament activities that will "officially" conclude on June 12 with a peace march and rally. Two days later, an "unofficial" action including civil disobedience will take place with "peace delegations" attempting to disrupt the U.S. Mission to the United Nations and possibly the U.N. missions of the other nuclear powers. Organizers of this June 14 event are hoping that many of the delegates to SSD-II will be involved in the civil disobedience.

The meeting was called by the Campaign for the Special Session on Disarmament (CSSD) which was formed last October in conjunction with the Mobilization for Survival. However, CSSD leaders have made a

tactical decision not to involve MFS organizationally with "civil disobedience" law-breaking. CSSD moved out of the New York MFS offices on St. Marks Place and is now just off Union Square at 853 Broadway, Room 2109, New York, NY 10003.

(NOTE.—It will be recalled that prior to disruptions and civil disobedience at the Washington Mayday 1971 demonstrations, the ultra-militant groups in the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice withdrew, with the blessing of PCPJ leaders, into a separate entity, the Mayday Collective. This tactic was to enable the leaders of "respectable" disarmament groups to create an illusion of separation between themselves and the militants.)

At this meeting, the CSSD was reorganized into the June 12th Disarmament Coalition (J-12 DC) whose members include the Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA); War Resisters League (WRL); American Friends Service Committee (AFSC); Nuclear Freeze Campaign; Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR); Women Strike for Peace (WSP); Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF); Riverside Church Disarmament Campaign; Workers World Party (WWP); Greenpeace; National Black United Front (NBUF); All African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP); National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP); MFS and other groups. The principal J-12 DC organizers are Leslie Cagan and Bruce Cronin.

The meeting accepted proposals that the two main themes of the SSD-II demonstrations will be to reverse and freeze the nuclear arms race and redirect resources from defense spending to "fund human needs." Other demands, made by backers of Third World support groups, will be discussed at a February 17 meeting in Philadelphia.

A dispute developed during the conference as to how much blame for the "arms race" should be assigned to the Soviet Union. Moderates urged both "superpowers" be blamed equally. Acting as a "left stalking horse," the CPUSA caucus urged no criticisms of the Soviet Union. Thus a "compromise" consensus was adopted which focused on the "guilt" of the U.S., stating "As people of the U.S., our primary responsibility is to work for the reversal of U.S. nuclear arms policy."

The Marxist-Leninist and "anti-imperialist" groups present won their demand that the disarmament demonstration offer support for Third World revolutionary movements and terrorist groups by demanding an end to "U.S. intervention."

As a concession to keeping public attention focused on disarmament, this was considered already covered by the "Stop the Arms Race" theme.

European Involvement

To assist in organizing for SSD-II, AFSC and CALC are co-sponsoring a U.S. tour by 9 Western European disarmament activists. With a \$49,600 price tag, and a \$5,000 planning grant from the New World Foundation, the tour will finance the Western European activists who will work in pairs or small groups visiting 39 U.S. cities between March 20 and April 4, 1982. Their agenda will include meetings with local peace activists, the academic and religious communities and the media, and speaking at public meetings. In some cities where local organizers already have a campus project underway, separate meetings may be held with students.

Those making the tour are to include: Rev. Enrico Chiavacci (Italy), a member of Pax Christi; leader of Pax Christi Italia; and Professor of Social Ethics at the Theological Institute of Florence;

Rev. Volkmar Deile (West Germany), "one of the principal organizers of the Bonn disarmament rally attended by over 250,000 in October 1981," director of Action/Reconciliation "which was founded in 1955 to do service in countries most affected by Nazism—Israel, Poland, France, U.S.A., etc.," minister in the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Rev. Laurens Hogebrink (Holland), Executive Board Member, Dutch Interchurch Peace Council (IKV); member of the staff of the Department of Church and Society of the Netherlands Reformed Church since 1969; "played a major role in organizing the November 1981 Amsterdam disarmament rally attended by 300,000. He supports efforts by individual countries to become nuclear weapon-free, regarding the denuclearization of Europe as a significant first step to world disarmament."

Petra Karin Kelly (West Germany), chairperson, Green Party; "active for the past ten years in Europe's anti-nuclear/anti-war and feminist movements."

Msgr. Bruce Kent (Great Britain), "General Secretary of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), ex-chairperson of War on Want; previously CND's Chairperson for three years. . . . CND was one of the sponsors of the London disarmament rally in October 1981 attended by 250,000, and calls for unilateral nuclear disarmament as an initial goal. Msgr. Kent has been chaplain to London University, a fulltime worker for Pax Christi . . ."

Toni Liversage (Denmark), "one of the founders of 'No to Nuclear Weapons,' participated in the Easter marches of the early 60's, which opposed atmospheric nuclear testing; an organizer of the Copenhagen to Paris peace march in the spring of 1981 . . . , author and active feminist."

Joan Ruddock (Great Britain), "chairperson of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), . . . a co-founder of the Newbury Campaign against Cruise Missiles, . . . active in the women's movement and at all levels of Labour Party politics since 1970."

Sienie Strikwerda (Holland), "former chairperson of the Christian Women's Organization of the Netherlands; active in Holland's Women for Peace and Women Against Nuclear Weapons, groups which helped to organize the disarmament rally of 350,000 in Amsterdam in November 1981 . . . on the board of . . . the Dutch Broadcasting Company."

Rev. Andreas Zumach (West Germany), principal organizer for Action/Reconciliation (A/R); responsible for . . . his relations with peace movements in other countries. Rev. Zumach was an A/R volunteer in the U.S. from 1973 to 1975, with both the Disciples of Christ and the United Farm Workers. Presently a full-time A/R staff person, Rev. Zumach was one of the coordinators of the Bonn disarmament rally in October 1981, attended by over 250,000."

The upcoming CALC/AFSC sponsored event is seen as an extension of the European tour they co-sponsored in November 1981.

The AFSC organizers responsible for coordinating the tour are Linda Bullard and Terry Provance. CALC's coordinators of the tour are Diane Becker and Currie Burris.

Among the organization building towards SSD-II is Ground Zero (GZ), with offices at 806 15th Street, Suite 421, Washington, D.C. 20005 [202/638-7402]. Organized early in 1981 by "a small bipartisan group of individuals concerned with the lack of a national consensus and direction on nuclear war and believed that a program of public education . . . was a matter of the utmost priority."

GZ's endorsers include Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR), Business Executives Move for New National Priorities (BEM), National Council of Churches (NCC), Arms Control Association (ACA), and Council for a Liveable World. GZ lists among its individuals endorsers former CIA Director William Colby.

With a staff of 13 including 5 regional coordinators, GZ's director is Dr. Roger Molander, a 7-year member of the National Security Council under the Nixon, Ford and Carter Administrations; deputy director is Dr. Earl Molander. GZ is promoting "Ground Zero Week" from April 18-25, as a "time for all of us to learn more about nuclear war."

GZ literature says the question is not who is to blame for the arms race, "the question is how do we get ourselves out?"

While insisting that it is merely educational and does not suggest any solutions for ending the arms race, GZ spokesmen admit that "If you understand what nuclear war is about, you're peace oriented."

CONCLUSION

From analysis of the material used to produce this report, it is apparent that the Soviet Union, through the World Peace Council and other organizations under Soviet control, is conducting a major "covert action" offensive in Europe and America to prevent or delay implementation of U.S. and NATO defense policies.

At the same time, other items on the Soviet agenda in which the WPC plays a key role—including the destabilization of Namibia and South Africa, the lifting of the U.S. economic blockade of Cuba; the destabilization of Central America; and support for Puerto Rican revolutionaries—are being very actively promoted by domestic special interest groups. These groups work openly in close collaboration and coordination with revolutionary and terrorist movements backed by the USSR, its satellites and client states and which they and the WPC call "national liberation movements."

Furthermore, as in the 1960s and 1970s, efforts are being made by WPC-related U.S. groups to generate support for these various causes that further Soviet policy goals among the economically and socially disadvantaged, suggesting that "militarism," "interventionism" and "colonialism" removes funds that otherwise would be spent to expand social welfare programs.

Additionally, WPC leaders with the appropriate credentials are making appeals to "opinion-makers" in the U.S. labor movement and the academic, scientific and religious communities seeking to exploit any and all sentiments against U.S. policies and direct them into the disarmament campaign.

As the chief of the Soviet disarmament offensive recently remarked, the European response to the disarmament campaign has been "unprecedented." This appears to be a result of a combination of factors including the genuine hopes of citizens of the Western nations for peace, the ignorance of the general public about the security implications of Soviet "peace" proposals, the decade of "detente" policies in which Western political leaders and public opinion makers emphasized appeasement of the USSR to the virtual exclusion of security issues, traditional European anti-Americanism, fear of the USSR leading to appeasement sentiment, and a lack of initiative, planning and effective public outreach for many years on the part of NATO governments.

The engine driving the movement is a massive Soviet "covert action" apparatus which includes the use of influential West-

ern "assets" developed by the Soviet KGB and GRU intelligence services, and manipulation of public opinion through the activities of the network of international front groups and local communist parties.

In Europe, evidence clearly indicates direct covert Soviet assistance to the disarmament campaign against NATO in terms of financing, theme content and logistical assistance. In the U.S., known Soviet involvement in the disarmament campaign ranges from the activities of key Soviet officials like Yuri Kapralov through the flow of delegations of WPC activists who often use identifications other than the WPC to strong Soviet surrogate and client assistance to U.S. groups carrying out propaganda and agitational activities.

The anti-Vietnam movement of the 1960s was able to use the military draft as an issue to attract considerable support from college students (some of whom, fifteen years later, remain active dissidents and sympathizers). The 1981-82 disarmament drive is focusing on utilization of currents among the religious community's supporters of "liberation theology" including "Christian socialism" and utopian pacifism to recruit religious leaders, religious organizations and congregations into the disarmament campaign where they can provide the numbers at demonstrations to influence public opinion and U.S. policy.

The presently available evidence indicates that in preparation for a major demonstration on June 12 at the U.N. Special Session on Disarmament in New York, there will be a massive media campaign aimed at disseminating disinformation and at publicizing the goals of disarmament activists. Activities preliminary to the SSD demonstration will include mass propaganda mailings, political pressure campaigns related to the 1982 primaries, local "building" demonstrations, a convocation of religious leaders, seminars for academics, etc.

Civil disobedience actions targeting nuclear weapons facilities are being planned, as are "peace delegations" to the U.N. missions of nuclear powers that will also involve civil disobedience.

Available evidence indicates that the organizational effort being made for these various activities is adequate and effective. While in mid-February there are no indications of any great popular support for these demonstrations, a leader of the disarmament movement has estimated that at least 150 organizers are working full-time on SSD-II activities.

Information developed indicates that it is the aim of the organizations providing leadership to the U.S. disarmament campaign to coalesce the various constituency groups by the early summer of 1982 in order to more readily coordinate their activities with the WPC-led European "peace" movement for the massive support of Soviet initiatives at SSD-II.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. QUAYLE). Does the Senator yield back the remainder of his time?

Mr. BUMPERS. Yes.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I ask the distinguished Senator if the yeas and nays would still be necessary.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The yeas and nays have been ordered on the motion to reconsider.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, since the Senator will not insist on the yeas and nays, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the yeas and nays be vitiated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I move to lay on the table the motion to reconsider.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York.

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I send an unprinted amendment to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to setting aside the pending amendment?

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I hope the Senator will not take umbrage, but the Senator from Nebraska has clearly asked to be recognized. I hope we will go by the rules and recognize a Senator who first asks to be recognized. I hope there is no pecking order at the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair informs the distinguished Democratic leader that he was going by whom he had heard first.

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, it is impossible for the Senator from Nebraska to hear anything that is going on in the Senate. That makes it most difficult to discharge my duty.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order. Will the Senate be in order? Senators standing in the aisle conversing will please take seats or retire from the Chamber.

Is there an objection to setting aside the committee amendments?

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, reserving the right to object—

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, there is no requirement for unanimous consent to set aside committee amendments. Committee amendments may be set aside purely on the basis of the recommendation of the leadership. The leadership does approve the setting aside of the committee amendments in order that the Chair may recognize a Senator to take up some other amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is saying that it is not necessary to make a request to set aside a committee amendment?

Mr. HATFIELD. Exactly. We do not have to have a unanimous-consent request. The Chair has only to ask the managers of the bill to set aside the committee amendments. That was in the original unanimous-consent agreement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order.

The Chair states to the distinguished manager of the bill that he was informed by the Parliamentarian that unanimous consent would have to be obtained. Is the Senator saying that unanimous consent has been obtained?

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

October 1, 1982

TO: Ken deGraffenreid

SUBJECT: Active Measures

As you will note from the MR of the 30 September Clark/McMahon meeting, CIA will provide a detailed precis of the Reader's Digest article for the President. Please track this.

Attached to this memorandum are several documents which John McMahon gave the Judge at the meeting. He thought the Judge would find some of this interesting reading and gave it to me to highlight for the Judge. I would suggest that you review this material and identify those portions that you think the Judge and possibly the President would find useful.

✓
Walt

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
Exec. Order 12812, as amended
White House Guidelines, Sept. 15, 2000
BY NARA *AN* DATE *8/26/16*



U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation

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Office of the Director

Washington, D.C. 20535

October 7, 1982

BY LIAISON

Honorable William P. Clark
Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Judge Clark:

In response to a request from a member of your staff, attached is a memorandum concerning Soviet involvement in the U. S. peace movement and John Barron's article in the October, 1982, issue of "Reader's Digest."

Sincerely,

William H. Webster
Director

~~SECRET MATERIAL ATTACHED~~

1 - The Attorney General
Attention: Mary C. Lawton
Office of Intelligence Policy and Review

CAS 2/26/16

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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

October 6, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB SIMS

FROM: DICK BOVERIE *Dick*

SUBJECT: Qs and As

I will be in Arizona next week as part of the speakers program on the President's nuclear arms control policies. There is a good chance that I will be asked about the President's statement regarding who is behind the freeze movement. Therefore, I would appreciate it if you would provide to me by this Friday approved Qs and As on the matter. (I doubt that "no comment" will do.)

cc: Sven Kraemer
Ken deGraffenreid ✓

de Graffenreid 70
file =
[Signature]

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

October 7, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: ROBERT B. SIMS

SUBJECT: President's Remarks on Freeze Movement --
Press Guidance

We need guidance for Administration officials who will be asked about the President's comments in Ohio (Tab III).

Also, the President should be prepared to deal in greater depth with the issue in response to questions. His remarks have generated negative editorials in the New York Times, Washington Post, and Christian Science Monitor, as well as attacks by columnists Richard Cohen and Mary McGrory in the Post, and by actor Paul Newman, Senator Kennedy and others in the pro-freeze movement.

Basic questions for Administration Speakers, and proposed answers, are at Tab II.

Talking points for the President's use are at Tab I.

Overie, Kraemer, deGraffenreid and Mort Allin concur.

RECOMMENDATIONS

That you approve Q & A for Administration officials at Tab II.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

That you provide Talking Points to the President.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments

- ab I Talking Points
- ab II Qs & As
- ab III President's Remarks in Columbus, Ohio

TALKING POINTS

- Have said on numerous occasions that I share concern of Americans who support the freeze movement.
- Not questioning the loyalty of these concerned Americans.
- Must note, however, that Soviet Union has encouraged support for a freeze in Europe and US.
- Numerous articles on the public record have called attention to links between the Soviet Union and some organizations advocating the freeze--such as the World Peace Council.
- Soviet propaganda and other Soviet activities result from fact that a freeze at current levels would give Chairman Brezhnev exactly what he hoped for when he proposed it.
- Freeze would lock in place Soviet military advantages, and remove incentive for Soviets to negotiate deep reductions we have proposed and would be largely unverifiable.
- I'm counting on the wisdom of Americans to see through slogans and insist on reductions in nuclear arms, backed up by carefully negotiated verification measures.
- We have to do better than a freeze, and we can.



1

Q: What do you think of the President's comment that the freeze movement "is inspired not by the sincere and honest people who want peace, but by some who want the weakening of America, and so are manipulating many honest and sincere people"?

A: The President has said on numerous occasions that he shares the concern expressed by many Americans who support the freeze movement, and are well-meaning and motivated by a genuine desire for peace. These people are worried about the risk of war. The President is committed to reducing that risk. He has outlined a broad program of arms control measures to reduce nuclear and conventional weapons, and we are now engaged in serious negotiations with the Soviet Union toward that goal.

There is no question, however, that the Soviet Union has encouraged support for a freeze in Europe and the US, while severely repressing those who demonstrate for peace at home. Soviet efforts to exploit the well-motivated intentions of those in other nations who are seeking peace are well-known. Active Soviet efforts to promote the freeze movement directly result from the fact that a freeze at current levels would preserve existing Soviet military advantages.

Q: Do you believe that the freeze movement weakens the US?

A: The freeze movement has stimulated a healthy public discussion on nuclear arms control issues and is part of the American democratic process. However, as we have said, a freeze at current levels would be harmful to US and Allied security:

-- most important, a freeze would reduce Soviet incentives to agree to substantial arms reduction, and thus undermine the negotiations now underway in Geneva;

-- it would reward the Soviet Union for a decade of military buildup and lock the US into a situation of military disadvantage in which, for example, the US would remain vulnerable to a Soviet attack;

-- it would prevent us from taking steps to overcome those vulnerabilities and make our nuclear forces more survivable.

-- since a freeze now could not be effectively verified, it would mean that US would run a great risk of possible Soviet cheating.

-- a freeze would only cap nuclear forces at existing levels. We want to reduce these to equal levels.

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Q: Are the President's comments related to the recent Readers' Digest article by John Barron, who charged that the freeze movement is part of Moscow's "active measures" campaign to weaken the US?

A: I do not have any comment on the Readers' Digest article or others like it, such as an article in the May 1982 issue of Commentary by Vladimir Bukovsky, now connected with Kings College at Cambridge, England ("The Peace Movement and the Soviet Union"), a June 1982 article in The American Spectator by Rael Jean Isaac and Erich Isaac ("The Counterfeit Peacemakers: Atomic Freeze"), a June 1982 Readers' Digest article by William E. Griffith, a Professor at MIT and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University ("Perspective on the Peace Movement"), and studies published by the Heritage Foundation, the American Security Council and others.

There is considerable US Government documentation, a good deal of which is on the public record, which deals with aspects of this subject, including:

- Department of State Special Report Number 88, Soviet "Active Measures" - Forgery, Disinformation, Political Operations, October 1981; and its update, Special Report Number 101, Soviet Active Measures: An Update, July 1982.
- Department of State Foreign Affairs Note World Peace Council: Instrument of Soviet Foreign Policy, April 1982.
- Department of State Foreign Affairs Note, Expulsion of Soviet Representatives in Foreign Countries, 1980-1981.

I would also invite your attention to a report by the House Permanent Selection Committee on Intelligence entitled "Soviet Covert Action" (The Forgery Offensive), February 1980. This Committee has just completed extensive hearings on "Soviet Active Measures" and will issue an unclassified transcript in the very near future.

III

But to get back to the confusion that I mentioned, there are various reasons given by a variety of people as to what's the cause for the present unemployment. In my own view, that cause is one and one only -- inflation. And that's why inflation must be the main target so that we can reduce unemployment. How do I justify that assumption? Well, in the last few years, between 1976 and 1980 alone, inflation went from 4.3 percent to 13 percent at one point in 1980, and for the two years of '79 and '80 it stayed in double digits. Interest rates had to keep pace. A lender must not only get a return on the money loaned, the lender must get enough interest to cover the loss in purchasing power of each dollar loaned. So, between '76 and '80, the prime interest rate went from less than seven percent to 21.5 percent.

Auto sales fell off as the interest rate on car payments went up. Layoffs in the auto plants began and the sickness spread to associate industries such as steel, rubber, glass, etcetera. In housing, there was the same story. We brought inflation down and interest rates are following. We intend to stay on this course.

James Madison had a favorite quote he often repeated: "All great reforms, great movements, come from the bottom and not the top. Wherever there is a wrong, point it out to all the world and you can trust the people to fight it." And a Frenchman who came here, the philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville, put it another way. He said, "There is an amazing strength in the expression of the will of people, and when it declares itself, even the imagination of those who wish to contest it is overawed."

This country was born of an ancient dream and then was nourished by a new wisdom. The dream envisioned a place on this earth where people of all classes and kinds could live together in peace and freedom. The wisdom held that the final resting place of power was in the hands not of the government but of the people.

You know, I've often spoken to young people about our Constitution. And I haven't read all the constitutions in the world but I've read some of them. And in those I've read I've found a great difference that is so simple we almost overlook it. And yet it tells the whole story. In all those other constitutions, they say "We the government allow the people the following benefits and freedoms and so forth." And our Constitution says, "We, the people, will allow the government to do these specific things and no others."

Tab 3

In the last 20 months in Washington, we've tried to return to these honored ways and reassert the basic values of the American people. Because of that sea change and because we're part of a tide, we can look again to a future filled with hope. America is on her feet again. The days of national malaise are over and an era of national renewal is upon us. There's optimism and energy again in this land. As your state motto puts it, "With God's help, all is possible." Yes, with His help, and yours -- for all of us, for our children and for this much loved country of ours -- there are great days ahead.

Now, I had expected that I was going to stop right there but just grant me a moment more. Coming in here, I passed a lot of your fellow Ohioans out there on the street. And some were generously applauding and waving but there were some who were demonstrating. They were demonstrating in behalf of a movement that has

MORE

swept across our country that I think is inspired by, not the sincere, honest people who want peace, but by some who want the weakening of America, and so are manipulating many honest and sincere people.

It is the nuclear freeze movement and the peace movement. Well, I, too, want a nuclear freeze after we have been able to negotiate the Soviet Union into a reduction on both sides of all kinds of weapons and then have a freeze when we are equal and not freeze them now in a superiority that would bring closer the chance of nuclear war. (Applause.) Thank you very much. Thank you.

You know, when I see them I wonder why they haven't realized this, why they haven't realized, for example, that a nuclear freeze would cancel the development of the B-1 bomber. Why is that important? It is important because that would leave us with a bomber that is older than the men who are flying it, that is obsolete, and that could not possibly offer the deterrent that we need to maintain peace in the world.

So why are we rebuilding our defenses? Not because we want a war. All of you who wore the uniform, all of us who have been in wars, all of us know the horror of it and we want to see no more. But we also know that we never got in a war because we were too strong. We got in wars because someone on the other side didn't think we had the will and the strength to defend our freedoms and our country and our rights. They had to learn the hard way.

So what is really back of our great attempt to refurbish our military is to strengthen three delegations of Americans, two of which are in Geneva and one, I believe, is still in Switzerland. One delegation is negotiating a reduction to zero, if possible, of the intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe on both sides. The other is seeking to reduce to equality the strategic nuclear weapons on both sides so that there is a deterrent that can prevent war. And the third is seeking to reduce the conventional weapons. What position would our negotiators be in if those who were demonstrating out there have their way and those sitting on the opposite side of the table from our people look across and say why should we give up anything--the Americans are giving it up without trading for anything.

They are strengthened by the knowledge on the other side of the table that this country will do whatever it has to do to maintain its security, safety, and peace in the world. (Applause.)

Thank you all and God bless you. (Applause.)

END

2:49 P.M. EDT

October 7, 1982

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The attached Q&A was given to Bob Sims for
completion of one of his packages to Judge Clark
for the President.

*active
measures*

Q: Are the President's comments related to the recent Readers' Digest article by John Barron, who charged that the freeze movement is part of Moscow's "active measures" campaign to weaken the US?

A: I do not have any comment on the Readers' Digest article or others like it, such as an article in the May 1982 issue of Commentary by Vladimir Bukovsky, now connected with Kings College at Cambridge, England ("The Peace Movement and the Soviet Union"), a June 1982 article in The American Spectator by Rael Jean Isaac and Erich Isaac ("The Counterfeit Peacemakers: Atomic Freeze"), a June 1982 Readers' Digest article by William E. Griffith, a Professor at MIT and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University ("Perspective on the Peace Movement"), and studies published by the Heritage Foundation, the American Security Council and others.

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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”

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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 detente. 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

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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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Foreign Affairs Note



United States Department of State
Washington, D.C.

WORLD PEACE COUNCIL: INSTRUMENT OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

April 1982

The World Peace Council (WPC) was founded in 1949 as the World Committee of Partisans for Peace and first adopted its present title in 1950. It was based in Paris until 1951 when it was expelled for what the French Government termed "fifth column activities." It moved to Prague and then in 1954 to Vienna, where it remained until banned in 1957 by the Austrian Interior Minister for "activities directed against the Austrian state." However, it continued to operate in Vienna under the legal cover of the newly established International Institute for Peace until its move to its present location in Helsinki in 1968. The International Institute for Peace subsequently emerged as a separate Soviet front with strong links to the WPC.

In recent years, the WPC has expanded its activities while trying to broaden its appeal and sound less like a cold war propaganda vehicle. It has sought support in the Third World by posing as an independent body identifying with such causes as opposition to U.S. "aggression" in Vietnam, anticolonialism, and assistance to "liberation movements." In NATO countries, it has exploited fears of nuclear war by stimulating and/or sponsoring antinuclear rallies and advocating Soviet-supported disarmament policies.

The WPC and similar fronts periodically have faced internal problems because their Soviet affilia-

tion cannot always be reconciled with the desired image of independence and nonalignment. In 1949, following the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Cominform, the WPC expelled its Yugoslav representatives. Similarly, the Sino-Soviet dispute led to the WPC's ostracism of China, which later became a major critic of all Soviet fronts. Nikita Khrushchev's revelations of Stalinist excesses at the 20th Soviet Communist Party Congress in February 1956 and the suppression of the Hungarian uprising by Soviet troops the following November cost the fronts considerable popular support. After the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968, Moscow, in order to restore discipline, replaced nearly all major Communist-front officials. Although opposition to Soviet control occasionally occurs within the WPC, the leaders are usually able to confine dissent to private meetings of commissions or subcommissions. Dissenting views seldom find their way into the large-scale WPC-sponsored public gatherings. When, for example, Soviet human rights activist Andre Sakharov sent a message in 1976 to a WPC-sponsored forum on disarmament in York, Great Britain, it was not read to delegates as Sakharov had requested. At meetings in 1977, non-Communist participants embarrassed WPC leaders by asking questions about human rights violations in the U.S.S.R., but none of this found its way into the official reports. More recently,

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the December 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan apparently once again generated dissension within the WPC. Two months elapsed before the WPC issued a statement endorsing the Afghan invasion.

MEMBERSHIP AND ORGANIZATION

The WPC has attracted the support of some prestigious non-Communist figures--literary, humanitarian, scientific, religious, and others--who are motivated by a genuine concern for peace and not dissuaded by the preponderance of Soviet and pro-Soviet personnel in key WPC leadership and decision-making positions. Total membership information has never been made public. Most of the members, moreover, do not belong to the WPC itself, but to affiliates at the national level. The WPC claims that 135 national "peace committees"--e.g., the U.S. Peace Committee, the Soviet Peace Committee, the Syrian Peace Committee--make up its network of local chapters.

Historically, it has been the function of the fronts to mobilize those elements of society not normally reached by local, Moscow-linked Communist parties--for example, sympathizers not wishing to commit themselves entirely to party discipline and those interested only in particular issues or moved by certain emotional appeals. Lenin saw the potential of international mass organizations as a means to marshal public support for party directives. In the 1930s during the "popular front" period, Willi Munzenberg, a veteran Communist organizer working for the Comintern, spoke cynically of international front organizations as "innocents' clubs."

The WPC is organized into four principal bodies.

-- The Council, which meets every 3 years, is the organization's highest authority comprising representatives of cooperating international organizations and national peace committees.

-- The Presidential Committee, elected by the Council, is nominally responsible for running the

WPC between Council sessions. The Presidential Committee has 26 vice presidents (of which 11 are known to be members of pro-Soviet Communist parties) and 146 members. It holds regular annual and occasional emergency meetings. WPC President Romesh Chandra, a member of the Politburo of India's Moscow-line Communist party, chairs the Committee.

-- A Bureau of the Presidential Committee, consisting of the WPC president, vice presidents, and representatives of selected national peace committees, implements decisions and plans future activities and "programs of action." It meets three to four times a year.

-- The Secretariat, a full-time executive staff appointed by the Presidential Committee, is responsible for proposing new activities and for implementing Council, Presidential Committee, and Bureau decisions.

FUNDING

The WPC claims to be funded by contributions from national peace committees, donations to its World Peace Fund, and special collections. The evidence, however, strongly suggests that the bulk of its expenses are met by the Soviet Union. In addition, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, and Cuba provide material and financial support to the WPC, usually in the form of airline service and hotel expenses.¹

According to the Soviet English-language weekly Moscow News (No. 19,

¹In a letter published in the New Statesman (October 17, 1980), a correspondent identified as Ruth Tosek, a "former senior interpreter for several of the Moscow-controlled organizations," stated that "all funds of these organizations, in local and in hard currency, are provided above all by the Soviet Union, but also by other East European satellite countries on the basis of set contribution rates, paid by the governments of these countries through various channels."

1981), the Soviet Peace Fund helps to finance "some" of the WPC's "large public initiatives." ² Writing in 20th Century and Peace (April 1980), Soviet Peace Fund Chairman Boris Polevoi asserted that his clients include "the leaders of the international democratic organizations working for peace: The Fund regularly gives them assistance in organizing their undertakings." Polevoi also revealed that the Fund works closely with the Soviet Peace Committee, which aims "to render financial aid to the organizations, movements and personalities fighting for stronger peace, national independence and freedom." Referring to the October 1973 World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow, an event organized jointly by the WPC and the Soviet Peace Committee, the November 1973 issue of the WPC's Peace Courier reported that "Soviet public organizations. . . covered all the delegates' maintenance expenses in Moscow. Soviet citizens donated to the Soviet Peace Fund--which covered the delegates' maintenance expenses--about \$200,000. Moscow's Patriarchate also donated 3 million rubles."

At a February 9-19, 1981, session of the U.N. Committee of Non-Governmental Organizations, the WPC was forced to withdraw its application for upgrading its consultative status with the U.N. Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in the face of adverse criticism from ECOSOC members. WPC President Chandra

said in response to questioning that the WPC's accounts were not independently audited but rather were reviewed by the WPC itself. In addition, he reported that the financial statements submitted to ECOSOC represented only a fraction of his organization's actual income and expenditure. Chandra made these statements while avoiding committee questions regarding the source of WPC financial contributions. According to the ECOSOC Report (March 16, 1981), ECOSOC members concluded that the WPC "had received large-scale financial support from government sources, and had gone to great lengths to conceal that fact from the committee."

EXTENT OF SOVIET CONTROL

In June 1981, at a Kremlin ceremony, Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev presented Chandra, WPC president since 1977, with the Order of Lenin. Citing Chandra's service to the "ideals of peace, his selflessness in the bitter struggle against the forces of militarism and aggression," Brezhnev expressed gratification that the Soviet "peace program" for the 1980s met with "full understanding" from such an "authoritative movement as the movement of peace champions" (20th Century and Peace, August 1981). This act symbolizes the importance the Soviets attach to the WPC: The Order of Lenin is one of the most prestigious Soviet awards and is presented personally by Brezhnev only on rare occasions.

Control is exercised over the WPC by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union's (CPSU) Central Committee through its International Department (ID), which is headed by Central Committee Secretary and Politburo candidate member Boris Ponomarev. The ID maintains a special branch, known as the International Social Organizations Sector, which is responsible exclusively for front organizations. The special branch falls under the general responsibility of Vitaliy Shaposhnikov, a deputy ID chief who is at the same time a member of the WPC's

² The Soviet Peace Fund is a nationwide organization with the representatives scattered throughout most of the U.S.S.R.'s cities, towns, and villages. A common method by which money is collected for the Soviet Peace Fund is for individual factories, plants, and collective farms to hold a 1-day "work shift for peace." According to the Soviet publication 20th Century and Peace (December 1981), the Krasnoyarsk Peace Committee received 2 million rubles in donations for the Soviet Peace Fund in 1981.

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Presidential Committee. Georgiy Zhukov, also a member of the WPC's Presidential Committee, is a candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee, a member of the U.S.S.R. Parliamentary Group, a deputy-chairman of the U.S.S.R.-U.S.A. Society, and the chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee--the U.S.S.R.'s national affiliate of the WPC. Through such direct lines to key WPC officials, the CPSU can often control decisions on WPC projects and activities as well as the content of statements, communiques, and resolutions stemming from WPC events.

Since its original "Stockholm Appeal" for "banning the bomb" in 1950, the WPC has consistently advanced Soviet positions on controversial international issues.

For example, in conjunction with other front organizations, it established the "Stockholm Conference on Vietnam," active from 1967-68 until the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Indochina in 1973. It supported the "International Commission of Inquiry into U.S. War Crimes in Vietnam," created in 1970 as a subsidiary of the Stockholm Conference. Throughout the Vietnam war, the WPC sent many "peace" delegations to North Vietnam and regularly issued statements supporting Soviet policy on the war. More recently, in March 1979, the WPC staged an "International Conference on Vietnam" to condemn the Chinese, and in May 1980 it organized a "special conference" in Hanoi to mark the 90th anniversary of the birth of Ho Chi Minh.

The anti-"neutron bomb" campaign initiated by the Soviets in mid-1977 provided the WPC and affiliated fronts with an opportunity to revive ban-the-bomb agitation and to claim that the United States was pursuing military policies which disregarded the interests of its European allies. The WPC proclaimed August 6-13, 1977, a Week of Action against the bomb and organized and helped orchestrate several peace and anti-bomb demonstrations in Europe, Africa, Latin America, and

the Near East. President Carter's decision to postpone development of the neutron warhead was then touted as a victory for world "peace forces."

The December 1979 NATO decision to modernize its intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) in response to the deployment of Soviet SS-20 missiles targeted on Europe now serves the WPC as the focus of a vigorously conducted campaign for "peace, disarmament and detente" designed to influence European public opinion against NATO's plans. At the same time, the WPC avoids criticizing or even discussing Soviet and Warsaw Pact military deployments. Instead, during the past year, it has promoted Brezhnev's proposals for negotiations, organized "peace" rallies, and issued formal condemnations of NATO defense policies.

Some 200 representatives of 85 organizations from 30 European countries, the United States, and Canada, as well as from 13 international organizations, attended a WPC-organized "International Conference Against the Arms Race" in Stockholm, June 6-8, 1981. Discussions focused on the modernization of medium-range U.S. missiles in Europe, the "neutron bomb," and the consequences of nuclear war; Soviet SS-20 missiles were not mentioned. The conferees proposed sending a delegation to the United States to "report the mood of European public opinion" regarding U.S. nuclear policies; a conference communique also condemned NATO's INF plans.

WPC's Chandra and representatives of a number of other Soviet-controlled international fronts staged a September 12-13, 1981, "International Organizations Meeting" in Prague on "ways of averting nuclear war."

Some 60 participants, representing peace committees from 21 European countries, attended an October 2-4, 1981, "European Peace Committees Meeting" in Kosice, Czechoslovakia. Held under the slogan "For a Europe of Peace and Without Nuclear Arms," the meeting was organized by a WPC affiliate, the Czechoslovak Peace Committee, as a continuation of the June 1981 Stockholm Conference on Disarmament

and Military Detente in Europe.

Chandra told a press conference in New Delhi on November 30, 1981, that the WPC was seeking a "winter offensive" in support of the "mass movement for disarmament" in Europe.

The current priority of Soviet diplomacy is to prevent INF modernization in Western Europe, and the WPC is expected to concentrate its efforts on this issue. Nevertheless, in line with its past record, the

WPC will seek to operate however Soviet foreign policy interests dictate. As Romesh Chandra put it when speaking in Moscow in 1975: "The Soviet Union invariably supports the peace movement. The World Peace Council in its turn positively reacts to all Soviet initiatives in international affairs."³

³ New Times, Moscow, July 1975.

Soviet Active Measures: An Update

July 1982



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

This report describes Soviet "active measures" which have come to light since the publication of Special Report No. 88, "Soviet Active Measures: Forgery, Disinformation, Political Operations," in October 1981.

The Soviet Union uses the term "active measures" (*aktivnyye meropriyatiya*) to cover a broad range of activities designed to promote Soviet foreign policy goals, including undercutting opponents of the U.S.S.R. Active measures include disinformation, manipulating the media in foreign countries, the use of Communist parties and Communist front groups, and operations to expand Soviet political influence. In contrast to public diplomacy, which all nations practice, Soviet active measures often involve deception and are frequently implemented by clandestine means. Active measures are carried out not only by the KGB but also by the International Department and the International Information Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The active measures discussed in this report are necessarily limited to those that have been publicly exposed. They make clear that these activities take place worldwide. The open societies of many industrialized and developing countries afford the Soviets opportunities to use active measures to influence opinions in favor of Soviet policies and against those of the United States and its allies. It is our hope that this report will increase public awareness and understanding of Soviet active measures and thereby reduce the likelihood that people will be deceived.

Forgeries

Forgeries are a frequently used active measures technique. Several have come to light in recent months. Their appearance has been timed to influence Western opinion on current sensitive issues. As far as we are aware, only one of these recent forgeries achieved uncritical publication.

Forgeries are usually sent through the mail to journalists, officials, or other persons who might make them available to the media. Forgeries normally do not carry a return address, nor is the sender identified in a way that can be checked. How the document was acquired invariably is vague.

The NATO Information Service Documents. In late October 1981, Spanish journalists living in Brussels received form letters purporting to come from the NATO Information Service. The letters enclosed a publicity packet that had been updated to include Spain as a new member of the alliance. As the Spanish Parliament was still debating Spain's application to join NATO, the letter could impress Spaniards as showing contempt for Spain's democratic institutions. The journalists checked with NATO, and stories in the Spanish press spoke of a forgery designed to influence Spain's domestic debate on NATO.

The President Reagan Letter to the King of Spain. In November 1981, an attempt was made in Madrid to surface a forged letter from President Reagan to the King of Spain. In terms likely to offend Spanish sensitivities, the letter urged the King to join NATO and to crack down on groups such as the "OPUS DEI pacifists" and the "left-wing opposition."

After an initial mailing to Spanish journalists failed to obtain publication, the forgery was circulated on November 11 to all delegations (except the U.S. and Spanish) to the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), then meeting in Madrid. This time several Madrid newspapers ran stories that exposed the letter as a fabrication probably of Soviet origin.

The Clark-Stearns Letter. In January 1982, a forged letter and an accompanying research analysis dated September 23, 1981, from Judge William Clark, then Deputy Secretary of State, to the U.S. Ambassador to Greece, Monteagle Stearns, circulated in Athens. This forgery indicated U.S. support for the conservatives in the October Greek elections and alluded to a possible military coup if Socialist leader Andreas Papandreou won at the polls. On the basis of Embassy assurances that the letter was a fake, it was not initially published. Several weeks later, after copies had been circulated at the CSCE in Madrid, the Athens daily *Vrathini* published a story describing the letter as of doubtful authenticity and probably attributable to a "third-country" intelligence service.

The Swedish Mailgrams. During the week of November 8, 1981, at least 10 mailgrams—initiated by telephone calls to Western Union—were circulated to journalists in the Washington, D.C. area. Supposedly sent by U.S. Government officials, the mailgrams offered to make available the text of an alleged secret agreement for U.S. use of the Swedish base at Karlskrona for intelligence purposes.

The mailgrams were sent immediately after the furor caused by the grounding of a Soviet submarine in restricted waters off the Karlskrona naval base. Their timing supports the conclusion that the effort was an attempt to offset the bad publicity the Soviets received from the incident.

The Haig-Luns Letter. The April 22, 1982 edition of the Belgian leftist weekly *De Nieuwe* published a letter supposedly sent in June 1979 by retiring NATO Commander Alexander Haig to NATO Secretary General Joseph Luns. Both NATO and U.S. officials branded the letter a fabrication.

The forged letter discussed a possible nuclear first strike and called for "action of a sensitive nature" to "jolt the faint hearted in Europe" opposed to intermediate-range nuclear force modernization. The timing of the false letter was related to the many antinuclear demonstrations which took place in Europe in the spring of 1982. The letter appeared again in the Luxembourg Communist Party newspaper, *Zeitung*, on May 10.

The Department of Commerce Document. In late May 1982, just before the Versailles economic summit, an alleged U.S. Government document dated February 18, 1982 circulated in Brussels. Purporting to be the recommendations of a working group on strategic economic policy chaired by the Secretary of Commerce, the document twisted U.S. policy on sensitive trade issues in a way likely to stimulate friction between the United States and its European allies. Several journalists brought the matter to the attention of U.S. officials, who promptly branded it a forgery. As far as we are aware, the media have not reported the fabricated document.

Media Manipulation/Disinformation

The purpose of disinformation efforts is to gain public acceptance for something that is not true. Since Soviet media lack credibility, the goal is to achieve publication of false news in reputable non-Communist media. Soviet media, such as TASS or Radio Moscow, are then able to cite credible sources in replaying a story in the hope that it will be picked up by other non-Communist media. Disinformation also is frequently placed in pro-Soviet news outlets outside the Eastern bloc in the hope that it will be replayed by independent media or simply gain acceptance through repetition.

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THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

Name: SPECIAL PRESIDENTIAL WORKING GROUP
ON STRATEGIC ECONOMIC POLICY

Date: February 18, 1982

Recommendations of the Special Working Group
Economic Policy. Member: [redacted]

Department of Commerce

Central Intelligence Agency

Department of State

Department of Treasury

In order to carry out the following concept of... we view as desirable... Within the sanction... and consequently... actions, whose ob... pipeline contract...

Dear Joseph,

Thank you for your letter of June 23 setting... on the joint work which have had. I believe, a dir... my part, I highly appreciate your cooperati... equally satisfied.

On leaving the post of... it my duty to stress on... demand our further...

Dear Ambassador:

enclosed you can find an exc... dealing with the current politica... prepared by a research institute... of the State... 's program... attention... e consid... end you t...

FORGERY

NATO
GRAND SUPREME HEADQUARTERS
QUARTIER GENERAL DES
BELGIUM

FORGERY

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 23, 1981

Her Majesty
The King of Spain
Madrid

Your Majesty:

Permit me to bring to your attention a delicate and confidential matter which, I deeply believe, is highly important for both of our countries. After our private talks, I learned that several persons close to you oppose Spain's entry into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and have posed new conditions for the membership. The highly secret information I have received indicates that members of this group come from Spain's armed forces, political circles, the government, and even the Catholic Church. It is my hope that you will be able to enclose the draft text of a memorandum to the effect that the group was given by a strictly confidential source.

I believe Your Majesty agrees that it is vitally important to the United States for Spain to enter NATO. In fact, in 1981, Spain, after all, faces major tasks in the context. Suffice it to mention the role of the Canary Islands in the NATO Southern Command is set up. So, it is understandable that the United States is concerned about these doubts coming from influential and reliable individuals we regard as our friends.

Page 2

In such an instance, Your Majesty, I believe it imaginable that America might consider the final solution to Gibraltar in favor of Spain. If necessary, the United States would undertake to dispel any anxiety connections with Spain's new note which may arise on the one hand, Mediterranean powers, and, on the other, the territories in Africa North African states with reference to the Canary Islands.

I hope this message will strengthen Your Majesty's belief that Spain benefits immensely by joining NATO. Such an act would enable Spain again assume the place she merits in the history among the major world powers. I urge Your Majesty to act with dispatch to the major world powers to obstructing Spain's entry into the NATO.

Yours truly,
Ronald Reagan

FORGERY

Angola/Zaire/South Africa. One Soviet campaign has been to discredit U.S. policy in southern Africa—in particular, the credibility of U.S. efforts to solve the Namibia problem—by media stories that the United States is trying to oust the Government of Angola. A number of recent examples illustrate this effort.

- On September 15 and 23–24, 1981, the *Portugal Hoje* of Lisbon, a paper close to the Socialist Party, published reports that U.S., Zairian, and South African representatives had met secretly to conspire against the Angolan regime. The source for the story, an Angolan traveling to Lisbon, claimed he had stolen Zairian documents as proof, but he never made the documents available. Both Zaire and the United States denied the allegations. TASS promptly picked up the *Hoje* story, and in turn it was replayed in a number of African papers, including the *Jornal de Angola*.

- On December 22, 1981, *Diario de Lisboa*, a pro-Communist paper, reported that the United States was supporting “2,000 specially trained gunmen” based in Zaire to attack Angola. The State Department denied the story December 24, but TASS nonetheless picked it up. In turn, a number of African papers and radio stations and the Flemish Socialist daily *De Morgen* replayed the allegations on the basis of the TASS account.

- A similar story was carried in the April 17, 1982 Congolese newspaper *Etumba*, which alleged a meeting in 1981 between the United States, South Africa, and others to plot against Angola. The U.S. Embassy in Brazzaville promptly denied the report.

The Seychelles Coup Attempt. A day after the November 25, 1981 attempt by a group of mercenaries to overthrow the Government of the Seychelles, Soviet news reports were implying that the CIA was responsible. In keeping with frequent Soviet practice, these accusations were attributed to unnamed, and therefore unverifiable, “African radio commentaries.” Despite a statement by Seychelles President France Albert René on December 2 that his government had no indication of any foreign involvement other than South African, Soviet media continued to accuse the United States. In December, several African newspapers (among them the *Nairobi Nation* and *Lagos Daily Times*, the leading dailies in Kenya and Nigeria, respectively) repeated the story. Soviet media then replayed the allegations, citing the African papers as sources.

The Pakistani Mosquitoes. In the wake of compelling evidence that the Soviets are using chemical weapons in Afghanistan and supplying mycotoxins for use in Laos and Kampuchea, Moscow has launched a disinformation effort focused on Pakistan. The February 2, 1982 *Literaturnaya Gazeta* alleged that the antimalaria program of the Pakistan Malaria Research Center in Lahore was a CIA-financed effort to breed special mosquitoes “which infect their victims with deadly viruses as part of U.S. plans to introduce biological warfare into Afghanistan.” In fact, the Pakistan Malaria Research Center has been conducting antimalaria research for 20 years. Much of the funding comes from the U.S. National Institutes of Health and AID through a contract with the University of Maryland. The State Department promptly labeled the Soviet charges “utterly baseless.”

The American Center Director Dr. David Nalin told the *Baltimore Sun* on February 9, 1982 that the allegations were a Soviet disinformation effort to counter U.S. “yellow rain” charges. Nonetheless, TASS continued to carry the false stories, which were replayed not only by regular disinformation outlets, such as Bombay’s *Blitz* and the New Delhi *Patriot*, but also by independent newspapers not usually associated with Soviet propaganda, such as the influential *Times of India* and Pakistani daily *Jang*, and the *Muslim News* of Capetown, South Africa.

A Moscow-funded Greek Newspaper? Another way to exert media influence is by secretly subsidizing a newspaper. This may have occurred recently in Greece. In May 1982, the Athens daily *Messimvrini* charged that a new large circulation daily, *To Ethnos*, had begun publication in September 1981 thanks to a secret Soviet subsidy of \$1.8 million; *Messimvrini* alleged that covert payments were continuing. The Greek Government has ordered an investigation.

Military Base Hoaxes. A disinformation staple is to float false stories about U.S. military cooperation. Recent examples from Soviet and Communist media have included false stories that the United States has or intends to establish bases on the Honduran island of Amapala, the Colombian island of San Andres, and in the Comoros Islands off the east coast of Africa. Although these have not gained credence, one relating to Pakistan attracted more attention. As a result, the Pakistan Foreign Ministry on December 10, 1981 found it

necessary to deny Radio Moscow’s assertion that the United States would seek military bases in Pakistan during a visit by Secretary of State Haig. Among other things, the Radio Moscow account falsely asserted that Indian Foreign Minister Rao had claimed in the Indian Parliament that Pakistan had agreed to provide bases for the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force.

Front Groups/Pro-Moscow Communist Parties

Front groups are nominally independent organizations that are controlled by the Soviets, usually through the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU.¹ These organizations have long sought to build support for Soviet foreign policy goals. In recent months the main thrust of front activity has been to try to see that the peace movement in Western Europe and the United States is directed solely against U.S. policy and that it avoids any criticism of the Soviet nuclear threat. The 1982 program of the World Peace Council, for example, calls for:

- “Further intensification of actions against the dangers of nuclear war and the deployment of new U.S. weapons of mass destruction in Western Europe. . . .”
- “National events (demonstrations, seminars, colloquia, etc.) with international participation ‘against nuclear arms build-up and the deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe; for peace and detente in Europe.’”
- “International meeting of mayors and elected representatives (city councillors, municipalities, etc.) and of peace forces from European towns and regions where new U.S. nuclear missiles are to be deployed. . . .”²

¹See Foreign Affairs Note, *The World Peace Council, Instrument of Soviet Foreign Policy*, Department of State, April 1982.

Other well-known international fronts are the International Institute for Peace (IIP), The World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), the International Union of Students (IUS), the Women’s International Democratic Federation (WIDF), the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL), the World Federation of Scientific Workers (WFSW), the International Organization of Journalists (IOJ), the Christian Peace Conference (CPC), the International Federation of Resistance Fighters (FIR), and the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).

²*World Peace Council: Programme of Action 1982* published by the Information Center of the WPC, Helsinki.

Communist parties linked with Moscow have pursued the same path. The impact of the fronts and local Communist groups varies markedly from country to country and is difficult to evaluate. Nevertheless, awareness is increasing that the Communists and their supporters are attempting to channel the peace and antinuclear movements to serve Moscow's purpose. This has led to friction within the movement in some countries.

In West Germany, after efforts by the German Communist Party (DKP) in early April 1982 produced anti-U.S. slogans without mentioning the Soviet nuclear arsenal as a threat to peace, Petra Kelly, a prominent leader of the Environment Party (the "Greens") publicly criticized the Communists. She repeated this criticism when interviewed on CBS Television during President Reagan's visit to Bonn. Similarly, in Austria, the original platform adopted by the organizers of a peace march on May 15 under pressure from pro-Moscow Communists avoided criticism of Soviet atomic weapons. The non-Communists later regrouped; as a result, the Austrian Youth Council issued a less one-sided platform.

Political Influence Operations

Political influence operations, especially those using agents of influence, are harder to detect than other active measures. In these operations, individuals disguise their KGB connection while taking

an active role in public affairs. Exposure, when it occurs, is frequently the result of an espionage investigation. The scale of improper Soviet activities is reflected in the publicized expulsion of 19 Soviet officials involved in espionage and active measures cases from 10 countries during the first 5 months of 1982. Among these were the expulsion of the Soviet military attache from Washington and the uncovering of spy nets in Indonesia and Singapore.

Denmark. In October 1981, the Danish Government expelled Vladimir Merkulov, a KGB officer serving as a second secretary of the Soviet Embassy, for improper conduct, including directing the activities of Danish agent-of-influence Arne Herloev Petersen. An April 17, 1982 Danish Ministry of Justice statement detailed Petersen's work with the KGB.

- In the summer of 1981, the Soviets arranged to cover Petersen's expenses for a series of advertisements in which Danish artists expressed support for a Nordic nuclear-weapons-free zone.

- Petersen brought foreign policy documents provided by the Soviet Embassy to the North Korean Embassy; on Soviet instructions he misrepresented the documents as coming from an American journalist.

- Petersen provided information several times to the Soviet Embassy on

the Danish "left wing" and on "progressive" journalists who were not Communist Party members.

- Petersen arranged for the printing of a pamphlet attacking British Prime Minister Thatcher. The text was supplied by the Soviet Embassy.

The Ministry of Justice noted that clandestine meetings between Petersen and a succession of three Soviet "diplomats" (of whom Merkulov was the latest) had extended over several years. Petersen specifically was requested by his KGB handlers not to join the Danish Communist Party.

The Danish Government decided not to prosecute Petersen, although it declared that he violated Danish law. In a television interview 2 days after the official statement, the Danish Foreign Minister challenged Petersen to sue for slander so that the full extent of the government's evidence could be made public.

Sweden. Soviet Third Secretary Albert Liepa was expelled in April 1982. According to a Swedish Foreign Ministry spokesman, Liepa had made systematic efforts to collect information and exert influence over the Latvian exile community in Sweden. Before his assignment to Stockholm, Liepa had been chairman of a committee based in Riga concerned with maintaining "cultural ties" with Latvians living outside the Soviet Union. ■

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

INFORMATION

October 25, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: CARNES LORD *cy/lr*

SUBJECT: Speech on US Nuclear Policy

Attached at Tab I is a copy of the text of the speech I plan to give at Kenyon College in Gambier, Ohio, on Tuesday, October 26, on the subject of "US Nuclear Policy and Strategy in the 1980s." The occasion will be a public one, but it is unlikely there would be any significant media coverage.

cc: Kraemer
Sims
de Graffenreid
Boverie
Reed

US Nuclear Policy and Strategy in the 1980s

I am grateful for the opportunity to appear before you tonight to speak on a subject of surpassing importance to every citizen of this country. We are engaged in a great national debate on the issue of nuclear weapons. The perplexities surrounding this subject are many, its technical aspects formidable, its implications endless; but this cannot and should not prevent thinking persons who are not experts from thinking fruitfully about it. I take it to be the task of America's colleges and universities to produce or nurture thinking people. I know that this college has discharged more than its share of that task. To my mind (and I say this not only as an academic on government holiday), nothing is more important for the survival and well-being of our country and of free institutions everywhere than serious and sustained consideration of this and other national security questions by those whose business is to think and those who enjoy thinking. It is in this spirit that I will try to address the large question of American nuclear strategy and policy in the 1980s.

There can be no question but that the current nuclear debate is in the first instance a debate about morality, and only secondarily a debate about strategy and policy. Let me begin, then, with some thoughts on the moral dimension of the nuclear issue. Without achieving some clarity on this aspect of the matter, it is difficult to discuss effectively its more practical side.

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There is a widespread feeling -- crystalized, for example, in Jonathan Schell's book, The Fate of the Earth -- that nuclear weapons are in some sense fundamentally evil, their possession immoral, and the use of them or the threat to use them under any circumstances absolutely unjustifiable. On this understanding, any accommodation to the practical realities of a nuclear world is basically unacceptable: no compromise with the nuclear devil is possible.

I believe any normal person would agree that nuclear weapons involve something specially horrible. Though it is extremely unlikely that a full-scale nuclear war would actually destroy all life on our planet, as Schell and like-minded critics claim, the combination of the destructive power of nuclear weapons and their gruesome effects -- both immediate and longer term -- put them in a category apart. There can be little question that the appearance of substantial arsenals of nuclear weapons has fundamentally altered the way men must think about warfare in the late twentieth century. At the same time, it is necessary to ask whether the moral difference between nuclear weapons and other forms of modern armament is really as great as the anti-nuclear critics make it out to be. Whenever I am told that nuclear weapons are the world's greatest health hazard, I am reminded that Afghan rebels and Cambodian villagers are suffering and dying right now as a result of attack by Soviet chemical and biological weapons. It is not self-evident that weapons which cause victims to cough up their intestines and choke in their own blood, among other things, are any less abhorrent than nuclear weapons. Chemical and biological weapons are the subject of one of the oldest arms control agreements still in force, the Geneva Protocol of 1925,

which arose from the ghastly experience of gas warfare during World War I. While their use in Afghanistan and Southeast Asia -- in blatant violation, incidentally, of this and other international treaties -- has been on a relatively small scale, they too are potentially weapons of mass destruction, and there is good reason to believe that the Soviets plan on using them on a large scale in a future global war. Is moral indignation not in order here? Or consider conventional weapons themselves. Tens of millions of people were killed during the two great wars of this century without benefit of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union alone suffered some twenty million casualties in World War II, a figure which represents the upper bound of estimates of casualties likely to be caused in the United States by a nuclear attack targeted primarily against our military forces (which is the most likely form of Soviet attack would take). The fact is that modern war as such is a pretty awful experience. The accuracy and lethality of modern weapons of every kind means that political leaders must bend every effort to avoid, not simply nuclear war, but war altogether.

Important consequences flow from all this. The world would not be the place it is if nuclear weapons had a monopoly of moral evil. There are degrees of evils and degrees of goods, and they are in a complex and deadly competition. A proper understanding of morality requires that the complexity of moral judgment and the consequences of moral action be fully taken into account, in personal and political matters alike. Results are at least as important as intentions in assessing the morality of individual behavior; when it comes to the behavior of states, it is results

alone that really matter. What results have we seen from the development of nuclear arsenals by the major powers following World War II? In the first place, not only has there not been a nuclear war, there has not even been a nuclear explosion in anger since the first use of the weapon by the United States against Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Clearly, this has not happened by accident. It was long ago recognized that nuclear weapons have the special characteristic of inspiring in all parties concerned a degree of mutual fear that precludes their deliberate use under virtually any imaginable circumstance. This is the phenomenon we have come to know as deterrence. As soon as a number of states had developed nuclear weapons, it became clear that the inhibitions against use of these weapons -- even under circumstances of considerable political tension and instability in the military balance -- were severe indeed.

Nor is that all. The world as a whole has not proved to be significantly more peaceful following the convulsions of the second World War than it had been previously. Yet the fact remains that there has been no war between the major powers -- democratic or communist -- for nearly forty years. That is not historically unprecedented, but it is certainly unusual; and some of the credit for this state of affairs must clearly go to nuclear weapons. Given the implacable antagonisms between the Soviet Union and the Western democracies on the one hand, and between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China on the other, the fact that World War III has not already occurred -- or indeed, any major

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clash at the purely conventional level -- may well be owing primarily to the restraining effect of the possession of nuclear weapons. Any moral analysis of the costs and benefits of nuclear weapons must take this into account.

None of this is to be taken as an argument against placing nuclear weapons in a special category and according them special treatment. Doing so is only common sense. It also happens to have been the policy of the US Government virtually from the beginning of the nuclear era.

What has this special treatment of nuclear weapons entailed? First, it has been recognized that nuclear weapons must be stored, deployed and handled with extraordinary security precautions, in order to prevent accidental detonation or their seizure by terrorists. Second, it has been recognized that there must be special procedures and requirements for authorizing the use of these weapons. Only the President can give the order to launch a nuclear weapon, and extremely stringent procedures have been devised to prevent their unauthorized accidental release, or release based on faulty intelligence and warning. It is simply not true, as many anti-nuclear critics claim, that nuclear weapons could be launched automatically as a result of computer malfunction, or that the proverbial mad colonel (or drugged major) could begin World War III by pressing a button. Moreover, the US and the Soviet Union have jointly made a serious effort to minimize the possibility of war beginning as a result of miscalculation or misinterpretation.

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The various Hotline agreements, as well as the Agreement on Measures to Reduce the Risk of Outbreak of Nuclear War of 1971, have established agreed procedures for the sides to follow in the event of accidental missile launches, unexplained nuclear detonations and similar events, and for orderly communication concerning them. Not that more could not be done in these areas -- our unilateral measures are constantly evolving and improving, and the Administration is currently in the process of developing proposals concerning so-called confidence building measures in the strategic nuclear area for negotiation with the Soviets in the context of our current arms control talks. The point is that it is totally unfair to accuse the US Government -- or for that matter the USSR -- of lack of attention to the problem of accidental nuclear war.

The third way we have responded to the special dangers associated with nuclear weapons is by deploying them in a manner designed to minimize any incentive our adversary might have to launch a nuclear attack. By putting our land-based missiles in underground silos that are reinforced to withstand all but a direct hit by another nuclear weapon, and by putting other missiles in nuclear submarines that are virtually immune to detection and tracking, the US has sought to create a secure retaliatory or second strike capability. This kind of force, it has been felt, will remove any incentive the Soviets might have to attack our nuclear weapons preemptively in a period of crisis and will thereby strengthen the overall deterrent effect of our strategic forces. The search for a survivable nuclear deterrent that would maintain crisis stability has been a cardinal feature of US nuclear strategy and policy for twenty-five years. Contrary to the anti-nuclear mythology, a substantial

portion of our spending on nuclear weapons has served the very rational purpose, not of enlarging our forces, but of ensuring their survivability. It is simply not true that our strategic programs are driven by a mindless desire to amass an ever larger quantity of ever more useless and threatening weapons. In fact, the US nuclear stockpile is substantially smaller today than it was fifteen years ago. So far from being mindless, US nuclear policy has been guided consistently -- under liberal and conservative, Democratic and Republic administrations alike -- by the strategy of deterrence based on the preservation of survivable retaliatory nuclear forces.

The fourth way we have attempted to deal with the nuclear menace is through negotiated arms control measures, so as to reduce the devastation that nuclear weapons would cause if actually used. Again, this has been a consistent policy of every American administration since the beginning of the nuclear era. When the US had uncontested nuclear superiority after World War II, we proposed a plan outlawing nuclear weapons and placing all nuclear activities under international authority; the plan was rejected by the Soviet Union. Once it had become clear that general and complete nuclear disarmament was not a realistic possibility, we pursued such nuclear limitations as could be achieved given political circumstances and the very considerable difficulties of verifying compliance with them. In 1963, we reached agreement with the Soviets and the British to ban atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons -- a useful agreement which remains in force today. Beginning around 1967, with the development of satellite reconnaissance and other sophisticated techniques for verification, we began to consider seriously the possibility of more ambitious restrictions on the actual nuclear forces of the

US and the Soviet Union. This process eventually resulted in the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks and the SALT agreements of 1972, and has continued to the present.

Since the arms control perspective dominates the way we tend to think about nuclear weapons, it may be desirable to say something more about it here. I have suggested that arms control is a normal and natural response to the reality of nuclear weapons. In an odd but profound sense, nuclear weapons lack legitimacy; the powerful impulse underlying the nuclear freeze movement and the general sympathy for arms control in Western public opinion is testimony to this. For this very reason, however, the arms control impulse involves real hazards. The chief hazard is its tendency to emancipate itself from military logic and political context, and to offer itself as the ultimate arbiter of policy. The arms control perspective tends to consider arms and arms races the chief factor responsible for war. Anyone who looks at the historical record will see that this view of things is simply unfounded. Most arms races are relatively shortlived affairs resulting in the acceptance by one party of a permanently inferior status. In any event, arms and arms races do not cause wars; nations and their political leaders cause wars. Political rivalry and antagonism is the fundamental cause of war; military calculations usually take second place. To the extent that the military balance between nations is a factor, it is military weakness and unpreparedness rather than a vigorous armament effort which generally provokes attack by another party. History also shows that arms control can be a considerable liability in the relation between modern democracies and a totalitarian adversary. Precisely because public opinion

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plays no role in totalitarian states, the arms control perspective has little influence on policy makers there, while democratic leaders tend to be highly sensitive to it; this creates endless possibilities for cynical manipulation of democratic political processes by a clever totalitarian leadership. The history of arms control between the two world wars provides a sorry case study in the deception and self-deception of the Western democracies in this area to the profit of imperial Japan and Nazi Germany. It is undeniable that this history contributed to the perception of Western weakness which led the Axis powers to launch World War II.

Because the current Administration is alive to the potential hazards of the arms control enterprise, it has insisted from the outset that arms control must form an integral part of US national security policy as a whole. What this means is simply that arms control must support the political and military strategies of our nation and the Western alliance rather than dominating them, as has happened too often in the recent past. A well conceived nuclear arms control policy can help to strengthen nuclear deterrence and reduce the risks of nuclear war. One that is at odds with the logic of deterrence, on the other hand, or that fails to take account of the fundamental differences in outlook and purpose between the American and the Soviet political systems, could have disastrous consequences both for the freedom of the West and for the peace of the world.

My remarks thus far have been implicitly critical of two versions of strategic arms control that have gained some currency

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at the present time -- nuclear disarmament, and a nuclear freeze. Let me make the criticisms explicit. Nuclear disarmament is impossible for the same reason that innocence cannot be recaptured. We have eaten of this particular fruit of the tree of knowledge. Even if by some miracle all nuclear weapons could be collected together by some international authority and destroyed, the knowledge of how to build them could never be extirpated from men's minds. Nor is it even clear that it would be desirable to reduce the number of nuclear weapons to something approaching zero. The possession of just a few nuclear weapons by several nations could, by making them extremely vulnerable to nuclear or non-nuclear attack, vastly increase their chance of being used. This is why the chief danger of nuclear war over the next several decades may well exist not between the US and the Soviet Union, but between Third World nations that have managed to acquire small, poorly defended nuclear arsenals.

As for the freeze, the main problems with it are as follows. A freeze assumes that there is a nuclear arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union, and that both sides are roughly equal, or else that their relative standing does not matter. It further assumes either that verification of a total freeze is possible, or else that it doesn't matter. All of these assumptions are highly questionable.

Is there a nuclear arms race? Since the early 1970s, the Soviet Union has developed and deployed three main types of intercontinental ballistic missiles with large, accurate multiple warheads capable

of destroying most of our own ICBM forces. We have no equivalent capability. They have deployed three new classes of submarine-based ballistic missiles and produced 30 new nuclear submarines, for a total of 68; in the same period, our own submarine force actually decreased by 25%, to 31. The Soviets have expended enormous sums on an expanded and modernized air defense system designed to prevent penetration by American strategic bombers, and they have continued vigorous development and testing of new anti-ballistic missile systems. The US has done none of these things. At a time when the Soviets continued to produce the very capable long-range Backfire bomber at a rate of 30 a year and had several new strategic bombers under development, the US unilaterally cancelled production of the B-1 bomber. The B-52s of the current US bomber force are older than the pilots who fly them. Some race.

But does it make any difference who is ahead and who is behind? Aren't there already enough nuclear weapons in existence to kill everyone in the world ten times over? Doesn't deterrence work equally well with dozens as distinct from thousands of nuclear warheads? The answer is yes, no and no. To begin with, it is dangerous to assume that the Soviet leadership thinks about nuclear war in the same way we do. The Soviets certainly do not want nuclear war, and are fully aware of the revolutionary implications of nuclear weapons for modern warfare. To judge from their military writings, however, they are more inclined than we are to regard nuclear weapons as just another form of weaponry, and their doctrine

calls for first use of these weapons under circumstances where their use would be militarily advantageous. Just how the Soviets would make a judgment of military advantage is difficult to say, but it is only prudent for American planners to take seriously substantial imbalances in the nuclear forces of the two sides. It is certainly not evident that the Soviet leadership would be deterred from launching a nuclear attack by the prospect of suffering some level of retaliation against the Soviet homeland. Their writings and actions alike show that the Soviets believe that strategic defense is a rational enterprise, or in other words, that it is possible to limit damage from a nuclear attack to tolerable levels. Precisely for this reason, it is dangerous to rest the American deterrent on a force of some dozens or even hundreds of nuclear weapons.

The popular myth of overkill rests on the fallacious notion that the nuclear weapons of the major powers have the single purpose of destroying each other's populations. Abstract calculations that show so many megatons of nuclear destructiveness for every person on earth are meaningless; there are also enough bullets to kill everyone on earth many times over, but actually shooting them would not be easy, apart from its absurdity as a military strategy. The fact is that, for moral as well as political and military reasons, the United States does not target nuclear weapons against civilian populations as such. There has always been a certain gap between official theorizing about nuclear weapons and the actual practice of the American military, but recent Presidential directives have made clear that assured destruction of the Soviet citizenry is not an objective of our nuclear force planning.

Nor is there any evidence that the Soviets have ever subscribed to such an idea. From all indications, as mentioned earlier, a Soviet nuclear attack against the United States would be directed exclusively against military and war-related targets. This fact invalidates most of the arguments of anti-nuclear critics about the possibility of surviving nuclear war and the utility of measures to protect the civilian population.

What are the implications of all this for US nuclear strategy and policy in the coming decade?

The key objective of the United States in the strategic nuclear arena must be to maintain the deterrent effect of our forces by ensuring their survivability. The unprecedented Soviet buildup of the last fifteen years poses a serious threat to our strategic nuclear posture taken as a whole, and this threat will grow to dangerous proportions if the long overdue modernization of US strategic forces is not carried out in the 1980s. Our land-based Minuteman ICBMs are now totally vulnerable to a Soviet attack, unless they are launched on warning -- something which, if it were to be adopted as US policy, would significantly increase the risk of accidental nuclear war. Minuteman needs to be supplemented by a survivably-based MX ICBM. Our ballistic missile submarine force is old and will face block obsolescence in the early 1990s. The new Trident submarine and its improved D-5 missile are absolutely essential if we are to maintain a sea-based deterrent force that is invulnerable to detection and attack by constantly improving Soviet anti-submarine warfare capabilities; the D-5 missile will also give this force for the first time an effective capability against hardened military targets. Our current force of B-52

bombers is declining in its effectiveness both in terms of pre-launch survivability and in its ability to penetrate Soviet airspace. This force must be replaced as rapidly as possible by new bombers utilizing advanced technology to enhance their ability to survive and penetrate -- the B-1B and, in the 1990s, the so-called Stealth bomber. Our bomber modernization program has not been much talked about in the recent nuclear debate, but it may well turn out to be the most important element in our entire strategic modernization effort through its psychological impact on the Soviet leadership -- it will negate an investment of some \$100 billion in Soviet air defenses over the last decade.

Other elements of our effort are also vitally important. The improvement of strategic command, control and communications has been accorded top priority by the current Administration. Deterrence can only be maintained by convincing the Soviet leaders that our forces will remain effective during and after nuclear attack; survivable C3, as it is called in Pentagonese, is essential for such effectiveness. We are also breathing new life into research and development on ballistic missile defense. Apart from the interesting options this may provide for ensuring the survivability of MX and possibly other military targets, it is vital that we not allow the Soviets a monopoly of these developing defensive technologies.

I have obviously passed over a number of very relevant issues, such as the relationship of our strategic posture to NATO and the defense of Europe, a question which is rapidly becoming central to the nuclear debate. I hope I have been able to convey a sense of how these issues need to be thought about, and of the inadequacy

of treating them at the level of slogans and moral posturing. I will conclude with one final but critical point, which has to do with the relationship between nuclear strategy and politics. There can be no question but that the nuclear problem has once again emerged as a leading item on the political agenda of the Western democracies. It is incumbent on all who care for reason and freedom to ponder carefully the implications of the asymmetrical vulnerability of the West to emotional anti-nuclear appeals. That the Soviet Union has actively abetted the peace movements of the West is beside the point, though it is true. The enemy, in the classic phrase, ^{is us} ~~it is~~ -- our hopes, our fears, our profound inclination to see evil in things and institutions rather than in men, our unwillingness to recognize that the world is a stern and dangerous place and that the preservation of our freedom requires thought, will and dedicated effort.