

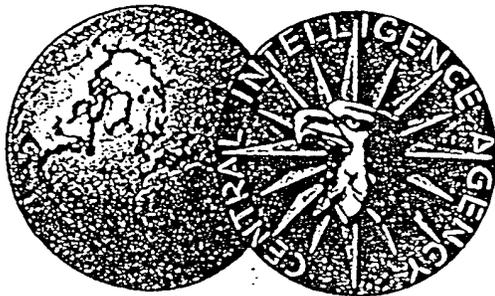
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# SOVIET-SATELLITE DRIVE AGAINST WESTERN INFLUENCE IN EASTERN EUROPE

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## SOVIET-SATELLITE DRIVE AGAINST WESTERN INFLUENCE IN EASTERN EUROPE

### SUMMARY

The USSR has been conducting a broad campaign to reduce Western influence among the Eastern European Satellites in order to facilitate the accelerated sovietization process now under way in those countries. This campaign, which has been intensified in recent months, has consisted of harassing actions on the part of the Eastern European Satellites against the US and other non-Communist nations, including the expulsion of certain Western cultural, religious, and humanitarian agencies, the curtailment of diplomatic activities, the trial and imprisonment of US citizens, and the Communist pressures which led to the break in diplomatic relations between the US and Bulgaria. The aim of this campaign is to transform the satellite countries, while they are still nominally independent, into facsimiles of the Soviet Republics to the end that they may be more readily governed from Moscow and ultimately will be more easily assimilable into the USSR.

Because the Eastern European populations are, for the most part, opposed to sovietization, any influence tending to preserve or increase popular hostility toward the USSR is

intolerable. Western missions, both humanitarian and diplomatic, have served to sustain the people of Eastern Europe in their belief in the superiority of Western culture as well as to keep them informed regarding the actuality of Soviet aims. It is also evident to the USSR that the Western missions provide a facility for the collection of covert intelligence, as well as of information about satellite conditions which may be disseminated to the non-Soviet world.

A concerted effort has therefore been made to exclude such agencies as the Red Cross and various relief missions, and radical measures are being taken to destroy the effectiveness of diplomatic missions. Moreover, it is increasingly evident that the USSR is prepared to accept the risks short of war that its anti-Western campaign involves.

It seems probable that the satellite campaign against Western influence will continue, directed primarily against the US but also against other Western nations, until all Western influence considered dangerous by the USSR has been eliminated from the area.

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Note: The intelligence organizations of the Departments of State, Army, Navy, and the Air Force have concurred in this report. It contains information available to CIA as of 1 May 1950.

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## SOVIET-SATELLITE DRIVE AGAINST WESTERN INFLUENCE IN EASTERN EUROPE

### 1. Analysis of Soviet Objectives.

The Kremlin's postwar program in Eastern Europe has been aimed at the transformation of the Eastern European countries—politically, economically, socially, and culturally—into facsimiles of the Soviet Republics, both to facilitate Soviet control over the Satellites and to eliminate obstacles to their eventual incorporation in the USSR. As a consequence of Soviet pressure, satellite foreign relations have been conducted to further Soviet, rather than national, objectives, and the individual satellite economies are being fitted into a complex dominated and exploited by the USSR. The trade and industry of the Satellites have been nationalized; an energetic and comprehensive drive has been launched with the ultimate purpose of collectivizing agriculture. The upper and middle classes, as such, have largely been liquidated, and the youth are being subjected to intensive indoctrination in Communism, a program which is already achieving some measure of success. Throughout the area, an extensive campaign of training in the Russian language is being carried out to provide a common medium of communication; an accompanying cultural reorientation program extols Soviet culture and emphasizes the superiority of Soviet to Western civilization. In addition, the satellite defense forces are being developed under Soviet guidance and with Soviet material aid.

The Soviet Union's vigorous and comprehensive campaign against the West in general and the US in particular constitutes an integral part of the program to sovietize Eastern Europe. Long sympathetic toward the West and for the most part hostile to the "Eastern Colossus," the satellite peoples have generally regarded Soviet Communism with antipathy and fear, generously admixed with contempt. Thus, the attack on non-Communist traditions, beliefs, and institutions de-

rives inevitably from the fact that sympathy felt by the Eastern European populations for Western traditions prevents acceptance of Soviet aims and methods, and therefore acts as an impediment to the sovietization process.

Realization on the part of the Kremlin and the satellite governments of the widespread general hostility to Communist rule throughout Eastern Europe has magnified their apprehension over the damaging effects of external influences. The defection of Yugoslavia from the Soviet bloc greatly intensified fears on this score, and has probably accelerated the present program against all external influences tending to undermine the position of the USSR in Eastern Europe.

The Western missions in the orbit capitals are regarded with suspicion and hostility because they have impeded the sovietization of the Satellites in various ways. They have demonstrated the continued concern of the Western nations for the peoples of Eastern Europe. They have supplied information which forms an essential element in the Western effort to disclose the goals and methods of the USSR. They have been able to keep the world informed of developments within the orbit and have thereby helped enlighten the people of the world regarding differences between Communist propaganda and reality. The intelligence provided by the Western diplomatic outposts has served as a basis for estimates of Soviet capabilities and intentions, not only toward Eastern Europe but toward adjacent non-Communist areas as well. Furthermore, the informational and cultural activities conducted by these missions have been designed to sustain Western influence. Finally, the Western missions have also been instrumental in making possible the escape of influential political refugees from the various Satellites.

The Kremlin's estimate of the role played by the Western diplomatic posts in retarding

the sovietization process has prompted Communist retaliation largely in proportion to the influence of the individual Western nations within the area. The predominant power position of the US, its assumption of leadership in Western defense moves, and its still considerable influence in Eastern Europe make the remaining US missions in Bucharest, Budapest, Warsaw, and Prague priority targets in this drive.

## 2. Consequences for the Soviet bloc.

The anti-Western campaign (See Appendix, p. 5) has been successful in that, as part of a long-range plan that was put into operation immediately after the war, it has helped considerably in the process of Soviet consolidation. In carrying out the plan, the USSR has risked economic loss through the curtailment of Western economic ties in favor of political gain considered of greater importance. Thus the Soviet decisions to reject the Marshall Plan in 1947 and to initiate the subsequent moves that invited Western economic reprisals were made in the belief that the economic disadvantages would be more than compensated for by political gains to be registered in terms of more effective control over Eastern Europe.

The net result of less than five years of Soviet control has been a nearly complete political and cultural severance of Eastern Europe from the West except in those areas of contact, such as the UN, still useful to the USSR. With the steady widening of the gulf between East and West, the ability of the individual satellite countries to preserve their national identity has progressively diminished, and as a corollary, the sovietization process has advanced.

Although the countries involved are but little more independent than are the individual Soviet Republics, they maintain a technical independence useful to the USSR in that it provides: (a) a temporary sop to local nationalism; (b) additional instruments for the furthering of Soviet foreign policy; (c) a plurality of "independent" nations in the Soviet "peace" camp useful for propaganda purposes; (d) a potential means of improving the Soviet position in the UN in case the West

should agree to admit Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania in exchange for Western-sponsored applicants; and (e) a means for exploiting traditional nationalistic issues (e.g., Bulgaria's effort to exploit the Macedonian issue against Yugoslavia) for the benefit of the USSR.

The USSR has taken diplomatic risks as a result of the effort to destroy Western influence in the Satellites. The risks have not seemed important, however, so long as it was possible to avoid the general alarm which would result from overwhelming pressure on all missions of a single Western Power or the simultaneous application of pressure on several non-Communist missions in a single Satellite. Despite the US-Bulgarian break, the Kremlin is probably firm in its belief that Western missions will be retained in Eastern Europe as long as possible. Consequently the Kremlin probably estimates that the future status of Western representation in the Satellites is largely a Soviet decision.

It is true, furthermore, that in any East-West contest involving diplomatic reprisals, the Soviet bloc is at a distinct advantage. The satellite missions in the West, by utilizing the well-organized Communist subversive networks available there, can operate effectively with much smaller staffs than can the Western missions in the Satellites. Whereas the Western missions represent sovereign powers and face consequent difficulties in pooling information or presenting a united front against the Soviet bloc, the satellite embassies operate under central orders in terms of a coordinated plan. Communist efforts have made the collection of intelligence by the missions in Eastern Europe extremely difficult while their Eastern counterparts in the West are relatively unhampered. Generally speaking, the loss of one or more satellite missions in the West would not be a matter of great importance to the USSR.

The Satellites have undoubtedly suffered from the economic reprisals incident to the anti-Western program, but not to a serious degree. The dependence of the Soviet orbit on certain types of Western industrial equipment and raw materials still remains acute, thus making East-West trade of importance

to the Eastern countries. In Soviet eyes, however, trade with the West is a temporary expedient resorted to in the interim before the East can achieve a higher degree of self-sufficiency. Meanwhile, strategic items in short supply in the Soviet bloc are being procured from the West both by overt and covert means. In general, the total control of the satellite economies through the medium of the Kremlin-directed CEMA constitutes a significant factor in the process of furthering economic independence from the West.

The Soviet program to assimilate the territories of Eastern Europe has been undertaken despite the obvious dangers of arousing the West to vigorous countermeasures, such as increasing military preparations, organizing hostile blocs on the Soviet periphery, and intensifying subversive activities within the Soviet-controlled area. The USSR has met these dangers by maintaining preponderant military strength, consolidating the Soviet bloc, and extending security and police controls within the Satellites so that with the passage of time the task of carrying on Western underground activity in Eastern Europe

will become increasingly difficult and hazardous.

### 3. Estimate of Future Developments.

The intensified Soviet anti-Western effort throughout Eastern Europe will continue until the Kremlin estimates that Western capabilities and influence in the area have been neutralized. The satellite governments, under Soviet direction, are gradually bringing the missions of all Western Powers, and especially those of the US, to a state of complete paralysis, while at the same time attempting to convince the satellite peoples that the Western nations are powerless to help them. The USSR will probably continue to instigate measures to reduce the staffs of the Western missions in the Satellites and ensure their isolation from the satellite populations, probably believing that it can nullify Western influence and capabilities in the Satellites without forcing a severance of diplomatic relations. If, however, the relentless intensification of current pressures goads any Western nation into breaking relations with one or another Satellite, the Kremlin is probably prepared to accept that eventuality.

## APPENDIX

## TREND OF RECENT EVENTS IN ANTI-WEST CAMPAIGN

Since autumn 1949 there has been a marked acceleration in the campaign throughout the Eastern European Satellites to reduce the influence of the West in the area. The pace of the anti-Western campaign has generally paralleled the degree of sovietization in the various Satellites, the greatest progress having been made initially in the Balkans and Hungary, while Poland and Czechoslovakia have only more recently taken aggressive steps along similar lines. The main attack against the West has been increasingly directed at the US as the moving spirit of the anti-Communist forces.

Since the postwar establishment of Communist rule in Eastern Europe, the chief vehicles of Western influence possessing a broad mass appeal, such as schools, relief organizations, the YMCA, and various Western-orientated cultural and friendship societies, have generally been eliminated or greatly restricted. The present campaign is focused on the Western diplomatic missions which constitute the major remaining targets in the Soviet drive. Although the US missions have been singled out as the primary targets in this attack, one or another of the Western Powers has on occasion been the object of Communist pressure.

The intensified anti-Western campaign in the fall of 1949 reached a climax in February 1950 with the US-Bulgarian suspension of relations. Although this diplomatic rupture may not have been foreseen or intended by the Communist regime, subsequent developments in the other Satellites seem to indicate that the Kremlin was reconciled to such a possibility.

Throughout the Soviet-controlled area, US diplomatic representatives and their staffs are being increasingly circumscribed in their movements and hampered in their contacts with the local populations to such an extent

that they cannot perform the usual functions of a diplomatic mission. At the same time, pressures of various kinds have been exerted on the US to reduce the size of its diplomatic representation. Hungary, for example, has formally requested the US to reduce all categories of officials in that country, and Rumania, while making no formal request, has achieved the same end by refusing to grant visas to replacements for the present US staffs. Rumania has also closed the cultural offices of both the US and UK legations and subjected the acquisition or transfer of diplomatic quarters to state control. In Czechoslovakia, the pressure on both US and British missions has increased markedly since the mid-December tirade delivered against them by the Czech Communist leader Slansky. The Czechoslovak Government has forced the closing of the US Information Service, expelled the US Cultural Attache, and demanded that the US reduce its Embassy staff by two thirds on the grounds that US officials had engaged in "anti-State" activities. Anti-Western pressures in Poland have so far concentrated on the French, although Warsaw has already succeeded in effecting a reduction in the number of US service attachés. Meanwhile, throughout Eastern Europe the secret police are actively attempting to implicate US and other Western officials in illegal activities in order to obtain grounds for further propaganda designed to discredit the West.

The Eastern European governments are also taking active measures to diminish the effect of Western radio broadcasts on the local populations. The satellite regimes have already begun to jam Western radio transmission. There are also indications that "people's radios," capable of receiving only local broadcasts, and loudspeakers broadcasting similar material in public places, will be used more generally throughout the area.

The current campaign against the non-Communist diplomatic missions was preceded by an extensive, thoroughgoing effort to drive out Western cultural and charitable institutions. As in the case of the more recent effort against the diplomatic missions, this campaign progressed more rapidly in the Balkans than in the northern satellites. Thus, by the late summer of 1948, Bulgaria and Rumania had closed all foreign-sponsored schools in the country on the grounds that they were nests of Fascist reaction and medieval superstition. By the spring of 1949, both countries had virtually concluded their campaigns against Western relief agencies, although UNICEF (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund) continued to operate in Bulgaria. In Hungary, the American Red Cross had been withdrawn at the end of 1947; the American Friends Service Committee was eliminated in March 1949; CARE ceased operations the same spring, and UNICEF withdrew in the fall of 1949. Although sporadic moves against the West occurred in Poland and Czechoslovakia earlier, a full-fledged attack against Western relief and welfare agencies in Poland was not launched until the fall of 1949, and in Czechoslovakia not until early 1950. The International Red Cross, CARE, the Foster Parents' Plan for War Children, the International Refugee Organization, and the Joint Distribution Committee were all eliminated from Poland between early November and the end of

December 1949. In January 1950, Czechoslovakia expelled the IRO, the Joint Distribution Committee, and the missionaries of the Mormon Church; CARE has been requested to terminate its operations by the summer of 1950. Thus, of the numerous important relief and welfare agencies once operating throughout Eastern Europe, only UNICEF remains in Bulgaria, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, and the American Joint Distribution Committee in Hungary.

A similar campaign against Western press and radio correspondents has effected a marked reduction in their number, with a consequent deterioration both in the quantity and quality of reporting. The Balkan Satellites have already succeeded in ejecting or imprisoning nearly every Western journalist unsympathetic to their regimes.

As a major persistent source of Western and anti-Communist influence, the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches have long been under attack. The satellite regimes have succeeded in subordinating the organized Protestant, Jewish, and Orthodox Churches to state control and at present are trying to detach the Roman Catholic clergy from the Vatican in order to organize them into national churches submissive to the state. In Bulgaria and Rumania, where the state religion is Greek Orthodox, the lack of Western ties facilitated Communist domination of the hierarchy.

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