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An Imperialist Spy Consortium

IN his book, *The Craft of Intelligence*, Allen Dulles writes that "One of the most gratifying features of recent work in intelligence... has been the growing co-operation established between the American intelligence services and their counterparts throughout the Free World which make common cause with us".¹

Indeed, as the relation of world forces changes in favour of Socialism, the influence of the Communist and Workers' parties increases and the national-liberation movement rises, it becomes increasingly clear that the reactionary forces are striving to rally closer together. An imperialist consortium of "cloak-and-dagger knights" to carry out intelligence and subversive activities throughout the world is regarded by reaction in the West as one of the conditions for the implementation of its aggressive plans.

And the more Western militarist circles appreciate the growing military might of the Socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union's increasing nuclear-rocket potential, the more they are inclined to give preference to secret forms of struggle, primarily spying and subversion.

Major-General J.F.C. Fuller, British military expert, expressed himself on this trend in imperialist policy quite frankly when he wrote that it is necessary to "realise that in this nuclear age subversive warfare is progressively replacing traditional warfare as the positive instrument of policy.... This mode of conflict is waged on the enemy's inner front—that is, by attacking him internally instead of externally."²

By creating an international spy consortium, the United States and the other imperialist Powers are mainly trying to draw into the secret war against the Socialist and young neutralist states those capitalist countries which

could otherwise take some steps to ease world tension.

At the same time, they are trying to make use of the favourable geographical position of some capitalist countries and their political and economic ties with other states so as to turn them into a jumping-off ground for subversion against the Socialist countries and the young national states.

In order to conceal their direct participation in international plots, revolts and coups, they also compel small capitalist countries to participate in intelligence and subversive activities. Acting through their allies and puppets, the U.S. imperialists want to disguise their implication in conflicts provoked by them in various parts of the world.

In other words, to achieve their aims the U.S. and world reactionaries spare no effort to organise, to use Allen Dulles's words, "a close-knit, co-ordinated intelligence service", capable of acting "in almost any part of the globe".³

The total intelligence system set up in the United States in the early post-war years with the Central Intelligence Agency at its head served as an important organisational prerequisite for the gradual establishment of an imperialist spy consortium under the aegis of the United States. From the very outset, the CIA has undertaken to co-ordinate the activities of the intelligence services of the countries connected with the United States by treaty obligations, and to direct subversion on a world scale.

Back in April 1947, in his brief on the fundamental problems of intelligence in peacetime, Allen Dulles, according to British researchers Edwards and Dunne, proposed to entrust the American central intelligence service with the task of being "the recognised agency for dealing with the central intelligence agencies of other countries".⁴

This tendency was also told on the activity of the other U.S. intelligence agencies. The De-

¹ Allen Dulles, *The Craft of Intelligence*, New York, 1963, pp. 53-54.

² *The Royal United Service Institution Journal*, May 1962, n. 150.

³ Allen Dulles, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.

⁴ B. Edwards, K. Dunne, *A Study of a Master Spy*

fence Intelligence Agency, formed in 1961, was given the task of co-ordinating and maintaining inter-state contacts on problems of military intelligence; somewhat earlier, the post of Special Assistant for Counter-Insurgency and Special Activities was instituted at the Defence Department. Major-General Victor H. Krulak, appointed to this post, has to guide the spy, subversive and punitive activities of special task guerrilla troops.⁵

Thus, the very reorganisation of the U.S. intelligence agencies attests to their adjustment for both total espionage and the direction of intelligence and subversive activities on a global scale.

Basis of an Intelligence Consortium

THE member countries of the U.S.-sponsored military-political blocs have, among other things, undertaken to co-ordinate their intelligence and subversive activities against the Socialist countries and "the national-liberation movement. In this connection we might mention the special decision adopted at the NATO Council's session in December 1956 to extend and strengthen contacts between the Atlantic intelligence agencies.⁶

Moreover, under pretence of collective struggle against the "Communist danger", the U.S. imperialists, in an attempt to attain their military-political aims, try to impose on some member countries of these blocs their own concepts of subversion, to establish control over their intelligence services so as to reinforce their ranks with those of their partners and often to act through them.

NATO has the European Intelligence Communications Co-ordinating Committee, subordinated to the NATO Military Committee's Standing Group, which is in fact the supreme body for strategic planning and operational guidance of this organisation. The Co-ordinating Committee is in close co-operation with the CIA and the Pentagon and in addition to organising the exchange of information it also directs subversion against the Warsaw Treaty countries in accordance with the NATO strategic objectives.

NATO's European, Atlantic and Channel commands, subordinated to its Standing Group, also have intelligence agencies. The Supreme

Allied Commander of the NATO Forces in Europe has a special intelligence agency. Such agencies have also been set up within the H.Q. of separate commands established in possible war theatres: North European (Norway and Denmark, with headquarters in Oslo); Central European (West Germany, France, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg and Britain, with headquarters in Fontainebleau); South European (Italy, Greece and Turkey, with headquarters in Naples); Mediterranean (the Mediterranean basin and straits, with headquarters in Malta).

Apart from the strategic and political intelligence network, NATO has a special mechanism for conducting "psychological warfare". The NATO leading bodies in this field are: the Committee of Political Advisers of the NATO Council (draws up plans for political actions to be taken by the bloc and prepares surveys on various problems of the foreign and domestic policy of the member countries); the Committee on Information and Cultural Relations of the NATO Council (engages in anti-Communist propaganda); the Political Affairs Board of the NATO Secretariat, which consists of political, information and press divisions.

An important role in the development and improvement of the NATO "psychological warfare" machinery was played by the 1956 session of the NATO Council, which discussed the stepping up of NATO subversion against the Socialist countries, and also by the so-called Atlantic Congress held in London in June 1959. The latter was specially devoted to subversive propaganda against the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries. It decided to set up a NATO "counter-propaganda" division to fight Communism in Western Europe, and a Free World Association to carry out ideological sabotage in the Socialist countries. In order to co-ordinate the activities of the propaganda bodies of member countries, the NATO Information Service organised within the European Command, in conjunction with the bloc's other propaganda agencies, annually convenes Atlantic conferences to discuss the organisation and methods of subversive propaganda against the Socialist countries.

The structure of the intelligence agencies of the West's other military-political blocs is in many respects similar to that of the NATO intelligence service. The intelligence agencies of the member countries of these blocs co-ordinate their work through special committees and subcommittees. In CENTO, the main bodies directing intelligence and subversion are the Intelligence Division of the Joint Military Planning

⁵ *United States Government Organisation Manual*, 1963-1964, Washington, pp. 197, 128.

⁶ *Сек Пойманы с поличным. Сборник фактов о шпионаже и других подрывных действиях США против СССР*, Москва, Совинформбюро, 1960, стр. 105.

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Staff and the Counter-Subversion Committee. In SEATO, similar functions are performed by military planning, military intelligence and counter-intelligence committees, and also by the Counter-Subversion Committee. In the Organisation of American States (O.A.S.), intelligence and the struggle against the national-liberation movement are directed by the recently established Inter-American Counter-Subversion Commission, the Inter-American Defence Board and some bodies of the Organisation of Central American States (ODECA). Questions of intelligence and subversion are frequently discussed at various meetings of the working bodies and regular sessions of the higher organs of these blocs.

U.S. ruling circles want to closely co-ordinate the intelligence and subversive activities of these blocs with a view to intensifying this work and connecting it more closely with their main strategic objectives. With this aim in view, negotiations were held in 1957 and 1958 on "contacts" and "co-operation" between the blocs. Being unable to achieve the complete merger of these blocs, the U.S. imperialists have made their partners adopt a decision in principle on co-operation between NATO, SEATO, CENTO and the O.A.S. in the field of information exchange.⁷ Provision was also made for the setting up of a special inter-bloc co-ordinating body and the establishment of a more simple and effective information exchange system.

Multilateral co-operation between the imperialist intelligence agencies within the framework of military-political blocs is supplemented by co-operation on the basis of bilateral agreements.

Such agreements often serve as a screen to conceal the actual participation of some countries in Western military-political blocs. As an example we can cite the Japan-U.S. Joint Consultative Committee on Security set up in 1957 under U.S. pressure; it was conceived by Allen Dulles as an instrument of imperialist subversion in the Far East. Relations between the United States and other imperialist Powers with Franco Spain, on whose territory there is a whole network of U.S. military and spy bases, can be cited as yet another example of this type. The Israeli intelligence service is used by the imperialist states to secure their interests in the Arab countries. In 1961, the *Al Shaab* newspaper wrote that in Israel an espionage centre had been set up by

⁷ *New York Times*, March 14, 1958.

NATO for collecting information on "Communist activity" in the Middle East.

In concluding not only military, but also military-political, economic and scientific and technical agreements, provision is usually made for one or another degree of co-operation between intelligence agencies. This is evidenced by the agreements on military assistance, concluded between the United States and the European NATO member countries (1950); the "security treaties" between the United States and the Philippines, New Zealand and Japan (1951); the military agreements between the United States and Turkey, Iran and Pakistan (1959); the agreements between the United States and NATO member countries on the transfer of technical information in the field of atomic energy, etc. For instance, under Article II of the Anglo-American agreement of July 3, 1958, for co-operation on the uses of atomic energy for mutual defence purposes, "Each party will communicate to or exchange with the other such classified information as is jointly determined to be necessary. . . ."⁸ In 1957, during the Eisenhower-Macmillan meeting in the Bermudas, it was decided to set up a joint commission consisting of representatives of the two countries' intelligence agencies.

In many cases, bilateral co-operation in the field of intelligence and subversion is based on special agreements. U.S. intelligence succeeded in concluding such agreements with NATO member countries as far back as 1949. These agreements have enabled it to appoint its representatives to U.S. allies' intelligence agencies carrying out spying and subversive activities against the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries. It has concluded similar agreements with many U.S. partners in the other blocs.

Thus, bilateral agreements are used by the American intelligence service to exercise control over the intelligence agencies of U.S. allies on a wider scale and to direct their activity.

Various reactionary organisations, which are on the payroll and in the service of imperialist intelligence, are an integral part of the international spy consortium. In 1949, for instance, U.S. intelligence set up in New York the Free Europe Committee; Allen Dulles directly participated in its guidance. The task of this committee is to train spies and saboteurs to be sent to Socialist countries in Europe and also

⁸ *Agreement Between the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of the United States of America for Cooperation on the Uses of Atomic Energy for Mutual Defence Purposes*, London, 1958, Cmd. 537, p. 2.

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to carry on subversive propaganda over the powerful Free Europe radio station.

In 1954, the American secret service organized the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League with headquarters in Saigon. This league, now operating in 16 Asian countries, is intended to drum up forces to fight the national-liberation movement in Asia. The leading posts in the league are filled by U.S. agents from the Chiang Kai-shek clique, South Korean puppets, members of the insurgent bands in Indonesia and other imperialist henchmen. The Inter-American Confederation for Defence of the Continent is engaged in similar activities in Latin America, while the Moral Re-armament does the same in Asia and Africa.

The Spy Consortium in Operation

HOW do the imperialist intelligence agencies co-operate? In the first place, they elaborate and implement a general plan for intelligence and subversion in accordance with imperialism's political and military strategy.

For instance, in NATO, "national" intelligence plans are agreed and a single plan for "psychological warfare" in peacetime and especially during war are worked out. The imperialists attach particular importance to the latter. As they conceive it, the war of ideas in contradistinction to ordinary war should destroy their enemy within. "Regular war is a sword which cuts and wounds the organism, while psychological war is a disease that acts upon the cells," NATO strategist Thillaud wrote in 1958.⁹

In the event of a war or critical situation, the NATO strategists plan for joint espionage and subversion both in the zone of military operations and throughout the entire territory of the Socialist countries. According to available data, a particularly important role in this respect is assigned to the Tenth Task Group of U.S. Army, stationed in Bad Tölz (West Germany). This group is being strenuously trained in "guerrilla" warfare and takes an active part in NATO military exercises.

What is characteristic in this respect is that while attaching great importance to the exchange of information with its allies, the U.S. intelligence service tries to adhere to the traditional principle of non-equivalent exchange. *Japan Socialist Review*, for instance, wrote on April 1, 1963, that "there is no setup for the ex-

change of information between the Japanese intelligence organ and the CIA on an equal footing". The magazine added that the terms for the exchange of information between the United States and Japan were set "after the pattern of the agreements the U.S. had concluded with the various NATO countries".

At the same time, the U.S. intelligence service uses the agreements for co-operation with the intelligence services of other capitalist countries to obtain the right to employ their territory and intelligence agencies for its own purposes so that the states which have allowed American military bases on their territory provide a wide field of action for U.S. intelligence. It would be no exaggeration to say that military bases in themselves are strong points for espionage and subversion.

We can mention as an example U.S.-occupied Okinawa, in which the First Task Group of the U.S. Army is stationed and trained for conducting "guerrilla" operations in Far Eastern countries.

According to foreign press reports, U.S. intelligence also makes wide use of Turkish territory for monitoring and electronic espionage. Some time ago, UP correspondent Russell Jones reported that U.S. radar stations spying on the U.S.S.R. are located in Samsun, Amasra, Eregli, Sile and Trabzon.

The territory of the capitalist countries adjacent to the Soviet Union and other Socialist states is used by imperialist intelligence for smuggling secret agents across national frontiers. In August 1951, two U.S. secret agents, Osmanov and Sarantsev, were flown to Soviet Moldavia; after fulfilling their assignment they were to have met representatives of U.S. intelligence in the Turkish town of Kars. In 1952, the Anglo-American spy Todor Stoyan Hristov was smuggled from Turkish territory into Bulgaria. In 1955, American spies Izmailov, Zeinalov and Aslanov, trained in Turkey, were detained on Soviet territory.

While trying to expand such forms of co-operation with other imperialist Powers, the U.S. intelligence service also aims to reserve the right to independently carry out espionage from the territory of the U.S. allies. Such a practice constitutes a serious threat to the national security of these countries, for it presupposes setting up on their territory a network of secret agents, which can any minute be used against a country's political system which may for some reason or other become undesirable for U.S. ruling circles. U.S. intelligence establishes con-

⁹ *Revue Militaire Générale*, December 1958, p. 664.

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tacts with the most reactionary groups which serve as a prop for American imperialism.

During the Second World War, the United States succeeded in extending the activity of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to the Latin American countries under the guise of the need to fight the Axis Powers' intrigues there. The FBI was thus able to place its secret agents in the state machinery, political parties and public organisations of these countries.¹⁰ In the post-war period, these agents, whose activities were now motivated by the need to resist subversion on the part of "international Communism's agents",¹¹ were actively employed by U.S. imperialism to fight the national-liberation movement in Latin America.

As the positions of world imperialism weaken, its police functions are enhanced. This is in particular evidenced by the joint punitive operations of imperialist intelligence against the progressive forces in Asia, Africa and Latin America, with the United States playing an active part in these operations. In his book, referred to above, Allen Dulles points out the growing part of U.S. intelligence in ensuring the "internal security" of the member countries of aggressive blocs.¹²

Suffice it to note that in 49 countries there are at present 344 groups of American instructors training local armed forces in the latest methods of "internal defence". While speaking at a Coast Guard Academy on July 3, President Johnson declared that the United States was making great efforts in training special armed forces for carrying out anti-guerrilla and other punitive actions. Since January 1961 onward, over 100,000 officers have been trained in the United States for espionage, subversion and anti-guerrilla warfare. All U.S. Army units are being trained in punitive counter-insurgency operations.

CIA and Pentagon leaders also consider the training of spies and saboteurs for their allies to be one of their most important tasks. What leaps to the eye in this connection is the close contact between the appropriate bodies of the U.S. and West German armed forces. They, for instance, train saboteurs according to almost unified programmes. In Fort Gulick (the Panama Canal Zone) there is a CIA intelligence school training security and intelligence officers for Latin America. In the locality of Nha Trang

(South Viet-Nam), an intelligence school has been set up to train spies and saboteurs for smuggling them into the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, and also members of punitive operations to fight the national-liberation movement in South Viet-Nam.

The Spy Consortium and Inter-Imperialist Contradictions

THE attempts of the imperialist Powers, especially the U.S.A., to form an intelligence coalition by no means exclude the employment of intelligence agencies in their own internal struggle. No agreements between them can eliminate their contradictions. Reciprocal mistrust and the desire to defend one's interests at the expense of others result in a peculiar combination of co-operation and struggle between the same intelligence agencies.

The West European press often carries statements to the effect that "America is spying against its allies", thus causing them anxiety and raising suspicions about their senior partner's actions.

In 1960, Mitchell and Martin, former employees of the U.S. National Security Agency, told the world about the system of radio espionage carried out by the United States against its allies, including France, Italy and Turkey. U.S. intelligence uses electronic equipment and its agents in the ciphering services of U.S. allies to decipher telegrams from over 40 foreign states.

In the summer of 1961, the editorial offices of the British *Daily Herald*, French *Combat*, Italian *La Giustizia* and Turkish *Cumhuriyet* received photocopies of 12 documents of the U.S. secret service. Their sender—an American intelligence agent who for quite obvious reasons preferred to remain unknown—wrote that he was exasperated by the United States' espionage against its friends, which undermines their respect for and trust of America and jeopardises the "solidarity of the free world".¹³

One of the documents was an excerpt from the *Daily Intelligence Report* of July 13, 1959. It contained data on the strength and stationing of British troops in the Middle East and noted their tendency to increase. Another document was classified as secret and restricted to the United Kingdom and Canada and referred to the invention in Sweden of a so-called aerodynamic bomb for spreading bacteria.

¹⁰ See J. Lloyd Mecham, *The United States and Inter-American Security, 1889-1960*, Austin, 1961, p. 226.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 424.

¹² Allen Dulles, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

¹³ See *Frankfurter Rundschau*, June 6, 1961.

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A third document, No. 2763 of January 22, 1960, contained an analysis of the growth of the strategic effectiveness of the West German Army. Commenting on this document, *Combat* wrote that although the State Department and the Pentagon trust West Germany's Army and Government, this, however, does not prevent the United States from carrying out intelligence work against its partner. It turns out, the newspaper emphasised, that in elaborating strategic plans, the U.S. Command cannot rely on the Bundeswehr Command's estimate of West Germany's war potential and official information. The Pentagon strategists are perhaps worried by the "insufficient strategic effectiveness of the Bundeswehr" as compared with the armies of the Socialist countries, on the one hand, and the growing preponderance of West Germany's armed forces in Western Europe, on the other.

In his book mentioned above, Allen Dulles is also compelled to admit that the United States engages in spying against its allies. Referring to history, he expresses doubts as to the reliability of friendship based on treaties of alliance. That is why, he says, "it is always useful to have 'in the bank' a store of basic intelligence . . . about all countries."¹⁴

By placing its agents in the allied countries, U.S. intelligence is not only striving to be *au courant* in all of their domestic affairs but also to influence the latter in the direction it desires, including the removal of Governments which do not suit it. Characteristically enough, the *London Times* wrote about the exposure in West Germany of an illegal neo-fascist combat group consisting of CIA protégés. In its survey of CIA activity, the *American Nation* admitted the involvement of U.S. intelligence in the O.A.S. revolts against the de Gaulle Government.

America's allies protest against this aspect of U.S. intelligence activity, as can be seen from an article by British Government Minister Julian Amery recommending the Americans to be more careful about the competitive struggle with the European States.¹⁵ It would of course be wrong to think that the secret services of the U.S. allies do not engage in similar activity. This above all applies to the intelligence agencies of Britain, France and West Germany.

E. J. Kingston-McCloughry, British military strategist, writes in his *Defence Policy and Strategy* that intelligence has assumed a global

nature and is being conducted by the imperialist secret services against all nations: both a probable enemy and the allied and neutral countries. He believes that the range of intelligence activity and the scale of spy and other subversive actions depend on the nature of inter-state relations. "In the case of friendly and neutral countries," the author writes, "the competitive field is mainly economic and commercial, although also to a greater or lesser degree political. The competitive field is influenced by ethics, culture, trade, standards of living and increasingly by scientific invention and technological development. In the case of neutral countries all measures to retain and strengthen their neutrality are most important."¹⁶

Such is the reverse side of relations between the Western allies and their intelligence agencies' co-operation; it may well illustrate the thesis of the C.P.S.U. Programme that "the basic contradiction of the contemporary world, that between Socialism and imperialism, does not eliminate the *deep contradictions* rending the capitalist world".

Clearly enough, the endeavour made by Western ruling circles to set up an international imperialist spy consortium is a manifestation of the deepening crisis of the imperialist system as a whole.

By drawing the intelligence agencies of capitalist states into the "undeclared war" against the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries, the U.S. secret service takes the dangerous path of stirring up international reactionary forces and jeopardises the national interests of these states and the cause of peace. It is no secret that the imperialist intelligence services are highly interested in keeping up world tension, for in such conditions it is easier for them to act and strive to implement their aggressive plans.

Although U.S. intelligence is far from the realisation of its dangerous undertaking, which is to no small degree explained by growing inter-imperialist contradictions, this undertaking, however, cannot but alarm world opinion demanding the abandonment of covert and overt interference in other states' affairs as an imperialist means of settling international problems.

¹⁴ Allen Dulles, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

¹⁵ See *What Europe Thinks of America*, Ed. by Burnham, New York, 1953, pp. 137-158.

¹⁶ E. J. Kingston-McCloughry, *Defence Policy and Strategy*, London, 1960, pp. 55-56.