

SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN THE WEST EUROPEAN PEACE MOVEMENT

In the past three years, in support of Moscow's direct diplomatic efforts to block deployment of US INF on West European soil, Moscow has conducted an ambitious campaign to infiltrate and exploit the European peace movement.

To conduct such a campaign, the Soviets rely on a full range of so-called "active measures"—a term they use to refer to activities worldwide that are intended to promote Soviet foreign policy goals but which go beyond traditional diplomatic, propaganda, and military means. In an intelligence context, the term active measures is used to distinguish influence operations from espionage and counterintelligence.

Ultimate approval for their use, like all major decisions affecting foreign policy, rests with the Politburo and Central Committee Secretariat.

Those measures that have to be carried out clandestinely are the responsibility of the KGB, which works in close coordination with the Central Committee's International and International Information Departments.

Actual operations abroad are carried out by official and quasi-official Soviet representatives, including journalists, scholars, and students.

Implementation takes varied forms, including political influence operations, planted press items, clandestine radio broadcasts, and other efforts.

We believe that the scale of the worldwide active measures program and the resources committed to it are sizeable. We calculate, for example, that it would cost the US government over \$100 million to duplicate one of the USSR's active measures programs: the anti-neutron "bomb" campaign.

Many of the active measures currently being employed in the anti-INF campaign are adaptations of those that proved effective in the 1977-78 campaign against the neutron "bomb." The scope and intensity of the USSR's public and covert campaigns can be expected to grow as scheduled deployment dates approach.

Use of Communist Parties and Front Organizations

Moscow has instructed West European Communists and the leaders of the pro-Soviet international organizations to make the anti-INF campaign their foremost concern and has provided funding and political guidance for their peace movement activity.

Operational Guidance

The Soviets have directed West European Communist parties to organize anti-nuclear demonstrations and meetings and to coordinate their efforts with non-Communist peace activists. Moscow's involvement has been most active with regard to the countries that are slated actually for deployment of US

missiles, particularly West Germany, the Netherlands, and Belgium. The Soviets have not, however, neglected anti-nuclear sentiment in countries—like Greece—which are peripheral to the INF debate.

The Netherlands presents a case where Soviet efforts to reinforce strong indigenous anti-war and anti-nuclear sentiments have been most successful. Soviet efforts bore fruit here long before anywhere else with the creation, in 1977, of a Soviet-assisted mass movement to protest against the issue of the day—the neutron "bomb." The Dutch Communist Party (CPN) and its fronts are generally acknowledged to be one of the two leading forces promoting the peace movement in the Netherlands.

The Soviets also are utilizing their international front organizations to initiate and direct some of the anti-nuclear activities in Western Europe and to try to attract non-Communist participants to lend credibility to Soviet objectives.

The Helsinki-based World Peace Council (WPC), the major Soviet-controlled international organization, is particularly active in planning and trying to coordinate and control anti-nuclear activity in the West.

Financial Support

The USSR and its East European allies contribute considerable financial and material support to the West European peace movement covertly through Communist parties and front organizations. The World Peace Council receives contributions from Moscow and other Communist Parties, particularly in Eastern Europe.

The Soviets also fund the peace movement openly.

In an interview last May in the Austrian press, Soviet Central Committee official Vadim Zagladin provided details about the "Soviet Peace Fund" and its support to Western peace groups, including the WPC and its affiliates in various West European countries.

A former Soviet Peace Fund chairman asserted in the English-language Moscow News in the spring of 1981 that his clients included "leaders of the international democratic organizations working for peace" and cooperated with another ostensibly "public" Soviet organization, the Committee for the Defense of Peace (SCDP) to "render financial aid to organizations, movements, and personalities."

Propaganda Guidelines

The Soviets have sought to direct the focus of the West European peace movement by providing Communist parties and front organizations with propaganda themes keyed to local concerns and other US and NATO policies.

The Soviets are also concerned about the growing tendency among West European peace activists to blame the USSR as well as the US for the arms race.

Direct Involvement in Peace Groups by Soviets and East Europeans

Because of the urgency of their anti-INF campaign, the Soviets have risked discrediting some West European peace groups through the covert involvement in peace movement activity of diplomats and other Soviet officials abroad.

On 19 November, the Dutch press reported that representatives of the Soviet Embassy and trade mission in the Netherlands had violated diplomatic rules by getting directly involved in the peace movement.

In October, the Danish Foreign Ministry declared the second secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Copenhagen persona non grata because of his infiltration of local anti-NATO and peace groups and other "subversive activities."

The Soviets have been stepping up their contacts with West German politicians, church leaders, and student group representatives in order to propagandize Soviet positions on major security issues.

Influence Through Foreign Media and Disinformation

The Soviets routinely try to exploit the Western press to advance the USSR's peace movement objectives.

The left-leaning West German magazine Der Spiegel, for example, is a leader in publishing interviews with the Soviets, particularly on arms control issues.

The KGB, usually through front organizations, provides funding for West European media sympathetic to Soviet interests. For example, late last year it provided, via a Luxembourg-based East German front organization, the funding to finance the new printing installations of the pro-Soviet Greek Communist Party.

The press organs of pro-Soviet European Communist parties, although they have limited circulation, provide sympathetic coverage of the USSR's policies and activities regarding anti-nuclear issues. This prevails even on the lowest level, as in the case of the local Communist party newspaper that reported daily on the tour of Denmark last November of a Soviet peace delegation.

Disinformation and forgeries are other "active measures" the Soviets and their allies pursue.

For example, the West German Communist Party may have been involved in fabricating or disseminating a purported official notice that was posted in several areas of Bonn in mid-November alerting citizens to measures concerning the transport of nuclear and conventional weapons through the city. The forgery clearly was intended to aggravate public concern about the recent accident involving a Pershing I transporter.

Determining the Effectiveness of Soviet Efforts

Despite these unceasing efforts of the Soviets and their local allies, we believe that Communist infiltration, funding, and influence are secondary factors in the West European peace movement. Strong anti-nuclear movements probably would have developed in all the INF basing countries (except Italy, where the determining influence of the powerful Communist Party is ambiguous) even without Soviet or Communist involvement.

Moreover, the active measures taken by the Soviets and their allies—although they can do much to reinforce and manipulate opposition to INF—have not actually created this opposition. Nevertheless, the Soviets profit from existing, indigenous anti-nuclear sentiment generated by heightened East-West tensions and greater public awareness of nuclear weapons programs affecting West European countries.

Overt Campaign Most Effective

The most successful tactic employed by the Soviets is their incessant emphasis in public and private meetings with West Europeans on the USSR's ostensible commitment to detente and arms control in contrast to the US' alleged drive toward "military supremacy."

This type of "political influence operation" is difficult to counter because many West Europeans consider meetings with Soviet officials and local Communists as a legitimate means of obtaining information.

Nevertheless, Western information campaigns aimed at exposing the Soviets' biased analysis and fabrications have undercut the impact of such contacts.

Non-Communist Peace Groups More Successful

The Interchurch Peace Council (IKV) represents a stronger current in the peace movement in the Netherlands than the Dutch Communist Party, whose influence has diminished further over the past year.

The ruling Socialist Party in Greece has created a peace group independent of those in which the pro-Soviet Greek Communists participate.

The largest peace demonstrations owe more to the organizational efforts of non-Communist groups than to those of the Soviets or their proxies, and conferences sponsored wholly or in part by Communist groups often fail to attract broadly representative groups in the peace movement.

Public Awareness of Communist Exploitation Efforts

We believe that most West European political leaders distinguish between Communist agitation and peace activity that mobilizes or wins the sympathy of non-extremist groups. These leaders generally perceive political pressure as arising from the latter.

Although most responsible West European leaders realize that Communist and Communist-front organizations active in the peace movement take direction from Moscow, the left-wing elements of some West European socialist parties and significant religious and academic leaders in the peace movement either refuse to acknowledge Soviet involvement or choose to disregard it.

The largest and most influential peace groups—such as the IKV in the Netherlands and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) in the UK—are not dominated by Communists or by those explicitly sympathetic to Soviet objectives per se, and on occasion are influenced by pro-Soviet activists only to amplify their denunciations of NATO and US motives.

Exposure of Communist Involvement

Public exposure of groups that clearly are Soviet-oriented or Communist-dominated has sensitized other West European peace activists to the threat to the credibility of the movement as a whole.

As a result of such publicity, some of the larger peace organizations have become more vigilant against Communist attempts to influence them.

Popular attention to Soviet policies regarding Poland and Afghanistan has encouraged this tendency and promoted debilitating divisions within the peace movement.

Revelations of forgeries, expulsions of Soviet diplomats, and other disclosures have discredited Soviet diplomatic and overt propaganda efforts in Western Europe.