The Director of Central Intelligence

Washington D C 20505

Executive Reg /

85- 1659/2

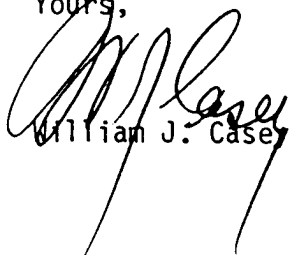5 August 1985

Dear Colonel Sleeper,

Thank you for sending a copy of your book and for your very interesting letter about the conference you attended and the subject it addressed.

I think we need to have established somewhere in the Free World an institute which would focus entirely on the tactics and semantics of disinformation and dissemination of analyses and conclusions. There was an organization in New York in the late 30s called The Institute for Propaganda Analysis that did this for what we then called propaganda coming out of Nazi Germany.

I was interested in the book you are developing on Soviet deception with General Schreiver. I attach information, prospectus and outline of a book on a conference on that subject which just crossed my desk.

I wish you well in both endeavors.

Yours,

William J. Casey

Colonel Raymond S. Sleeper

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Attachments , ER 85-2814

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1 w/o - ER File

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY

NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL

MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA 93943-5100

IN REPLY REFER TO:

NC4/56Pr
24 July 1985

Honorable William Casey
Director, Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C., 20505

The Honorable William Casey:

Since 1979, I have headed an extensive research effort into the theoretical and historical military dimensions of deception and perceptions management at the Naval Postgraduate School. An early product of that effort was a well received book edited by Donald Daniel and Katherine Herbig, **Strategic Military Deception**, published in 1982.

Since that time the research area has focused more explicitly on problems of Soviet strategic deception and perceptions management both in times of peace and war, thus encompassing aspects of military as well as non-military deception. The thrust of this research has been to go beyond the theoretical exploration of deception to involve the policy-relevant questions of Soviet deception efforts in all areas of East-West interaction. The products of this effort will be published later this Fall in a book entitled **Soviet Strategic Deception**, edited by myself and Professor Brian Dailey.

A conference or workshop will be held at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California on September 26-28, 1985. This conference will provide an opportunity for the contributors to this book to present their research and findings, and to promote discussion of the implications of these findings with other important and knowledgeable individuals inside and outside of government. The conference is being jointly sponsored by the Naval Postgraduate School and the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace.

We would like to extend a cordial invitation to you to attend this important conference. We feel your participation will be important to our success in this effort, and will enhance the relevance and quality of the final product.

Hotel accommodations at the Monterey Sheraton, meals, and air travel will be provided. We would appreciate it if you could please notify the conference coordinator by 10 August regarding your ability to attend.

The conference coordinator (and NPS point of contact) is:

> Prof. Kerry M. Kartchner (Code 56Kn)
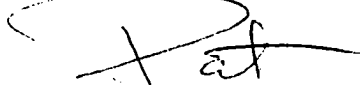> Naval Postgraduate School
> Monterey, California 93943

STAT

I have enclosed a copy of the conference schedule for your review. Please note that some sessions of this conference will be classified SECRET. An initial list of participants is also provided.

We look forward to your reply.

Warm regards,

PATRICK J. PARKER
Professor of National
Security Affairs

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY

NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL
MONTEREY, CA 93943-5100

IN REPLY REFER TO:

BOOK PROSPECTUS
SOVIET STRATEGIC DECEPTION

Since 1979, the Naval Postgraduate School (NPS) at Monterey, California, has been conducting a multi-disciplinary research effort in the area of deception and perceptions management under the direction of Professor Patrick Parker. An early product of that effort was a well received book edited by Donald Daniel and Katherine Herbig, **Strategic Military Deception**, published in 1982. Initial work focused on methodology and the historical use of deception in military campaigns. This historical and theoretical analysis promoted improved understanding of the roles of deception and self-deception in international relations, negotiations, crisis management, and war.

The lessons learned from these early efforts in deception, perceptions management, and self-deception, have led to insightful new analyses of national security issues. These analyses are being organized into a new book entitled **Soviet Strategic Deception**, to be edited by Professors Brian Dailey and Patrick Parker. While other works on deception have included Soviet approaches, this book will be unique in that it examines all aspects of **Soviet** strategic deception in one volume.

In other words, while this effort will be comprehensive, it will also be focused enough to allow rigorous analysis of such critical issues as: the historical and contemporary organizational and doctrinal structure of Soviet strategic deception and active measures; semantic misperceptions or complexities in aspects of the Russian language and Marxist-Leninist lexicon; examples of past and present Soviet diplomatic and political active measures, disinformation, and perceptions management, as well as military deception or maskirovka; case studies of Soviet and Soviet-sponsored deception in regional areas; and problems of formulating national security planning when Soviet deception is a factor.

The subject's importance is self-evident. The roles that deception, perceptions management, and self-deception play in furthering the political and military objectives of the Soviet Union should always be kept in mind by policy makers and analysts responsible for U.S. national security. In an era of intercontinental missiles and nuclear weapons, it is essential that the Western world comprehend the decisive importance of deception and surprise in military strategy and planning; especially with respect to totalitarian regimes such as the Soviet Union where secrecy and internal discipline provide a greater opportunity to systematically employ deception than in the West.

At the same time, it is crucial to realize that deception is not used only in war. The studies in this book show that the Soviet Union uses deception and perceptions management regularly in its day-to-day foreign policy and military planning. The pervasiveness of Soviet deception efforts will be central to the analyses contained in this book.

The success of Soviet perceptions management efforts relies, to a large extent, on exploiting tendencies to self-deception-- for example, telling Western audiences what they want to hear and allowing it to be assimilated into the mindset of decision makers, analysts, and the public. Consequently, another essential dimension of this particular volume will be an exploration of the inadvertent and sometimes deliberate role played by self-deception in support of Soviet deception objectives.

This book brings together a comprehensive overview of the sinews of Soviet strategic deception to better inform the public, the academic world, and government policy makers and analysts of the reality and consequences of this problem. We believe that it will become a standard reference book in the field.

Book Outline

SOVIET STRATEGIC DECEPTION

(Revised 24 July 1985)

Foreword by Andrew Marshall

I.   Introduction

   Deception and Perceptions Management in Soviet Strategy

   Brian Dailey

II.   Soviet Organizational Structure for Deception and
      Active Measures

   *   Soviet Deception: The Organizational Tradition

                                                                    STAT

   *   The KGB, GRU, and IID and ID of the CPSU:
       Architects of Soviet Deception and Disinformation

                                                                    STAT

   *   Soviet Active Measures and Disinformation

       Arnold Beichman

III.   Language, Ideology, and Diplomacy

   *   Language as a Means of Self-deception and
       Misperception

       Robert Bathurst

   *   The Soviet Worldview: Ideology, Theory and Practice

       Robert Conquest

   *   The Strategic Use of Deception in the Political
       -Military Dialogue

       Uri Ra'anan

   *   The Role of Deception in Imperial Russian and Soviet
       Diplomacy

       Kerry Kartchner

IV.   The Soviet Military and Deception

*   The Theory, Planning, and Practice of Soviet
    Military Deception

    Notra Trulock

*   "Reflexive Control" in Soviet Military Planning

    Unattributable Author

*   The Use of Outer Space in Soviet Military Deception

    Angelo Codevilla

*   CBW: The Covert Dimension

    Joseph Douglass

V.   Arms Control and Verification

*   The Use of Deception in Arms Control

    William Graham

*   Deception and Perception Management in Arms Control:
    A Case Study of ABM Treaty

    Brian Dailey

*   Deception in the Mutual Balance Force Reductions
    Negotiations

    Richard Staar

*   Verification and Maskirovka

    William Harris

VI.   Regional Deception

*   Cuba and Nicaragua

    Roberta Wohlstetter and David Blair

*   The Middle East

    Avigdor Haselkorn

*   Soviet Perceptions Management Efforts in the Federal
    Republic of Germany Regarding Intermediate-Range
    Nuclear Force Modernization and Arms Control

    David Yost

VII. Economic Deception and Technology Transfer

Deception in Tech Transfer (via the Eastern Bloc)

Richard Perle

* Economic Deception

Steven Rosefielde

VIII. Deception and Strategic Planning

* Strategic Warning and Surprise Attack

William Van Cleave

Electronic Deception

Richard Montgomery

* Deception and the Formulation of National Estimates

Tom Rona

* The Problems of Deception in Strategic Targeting and War Planning

Leon Sloss

IX. Concluding Chapter

* Patrick Parker and Seymour Weiss

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* Denotes those individuals who have accepted the invitation to participate.

•   CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

<u>Wednesday September 25</u>

Arrival of Conference Participants

<u>Thursday September 26</u>

9:00-9:15 AM   INTRODUCTION AND WELCOME

9:15-11:45   PANEL I-PLENARY SESSION: SOVIET ORGANIZATIONAL
STRUCTURE FOR DECEPTION AND ACTIVE MEASURES
Arnold Beichman)   STAT

Lunch: 11:45-1:00 PM

1:15-4:00 PM   PANEL IIA: LANGUAGE, IDEOLOGY, AND DIPLOMACY
(Robert Bathurst, Robert Conquest, Kerry Kartchner)

1:15-4:00 PM   PANEL IV (SECRET): THE SOVIET MILITARY AND
DECEPTION
(Notra Trulock, Angelo Codevilla, Joseph Douglass)

7:00-11:00 PM   DINNER AT MONTEREY BAY AQUARIUM

<u>Friday September 27</u>

9:00-11:45 PM   PANEL IIIA: REGIONAL DECEPTION
(Avigdor Haselkorn, David Yost, Roberta Wohlstetter,
David Blair)

9:00-11:45 PM   PANEL IIB (SECRET): ARMS CONTROL AND
VERIFICATION
(William Graham, Brian Dailey, William Harris,
Richard Staar)

Lunch: 11:45-12:45

1:15-4:00 AM   PANEL IIIB: ECONOMIC DECEPTION AND TECHNOLOGY
TRANSFER
(Steven Rosefielde)

1:15-4:00 AM   PANEL V (SECRET): DECEPTION AND STRATEGIC
PLANNING
(William Van Cleave, Tom Rona, Leon Sloss)

<u>Saturday September 28</u>

9:30-12:00: PLENARY SESSION AND CONCLUDING REMARKS
(Discussion Led by Patrick Parker and Seymour Weiss)

CONFERENCE ON SOVIET STRATEGIC DECEPTION

September 26-28, 1985

List of Participants and Invitees

1. Patrick J. Parker (56Pr)
Professor of National Security Affairs
Project Director
Naval Postgraduate School
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Office: (408) 646-2521 or 2097

2. Brian D. Dailey (56Di)
Adjunct Professor of National Security Affairs
Project Manager
Naval Postgraduate School
Monterey, CA 93943-5100

Office: (408) 646-2521 or 3486

3. Kerry M. Kartchner (56Kn)
Adjunct Professor of National Security Affairs
   Conference Coordinator
Naval Postgraduate School
Monterey, CA 93943-5100

Office: (408) 646-2521 or 3483

4. Robert Bathurst
Adjunct Professor
Naval Postgraduate School

5. John Battilega
Vice President and Senior Defense Analyst
Foreign Systems Research Center
Science Applications, Inc.

6. Arnold Beichman
Visiting Scholar
Hoover Institution

7. David Blair
Policy Analyst
Pan Heuristics, RDA

8. Angelo Codevilla
Senior Research Fellow
Hoover Institution

9. Robert Conquest
Senior Research Fellow,
Hoover Institution

10. Joseph Douglass
Senior Analyst
Falcon Associates

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12. William Graham
Chairman, President's General Advisory Committee on Arms Control
Partner, Research & Development Associates

13. Judy Grange
Vice President and Senior Specialist in Soviet Military
Assessment Methods
Foreign Systems Research Center
Science Applications, Inc.

14. William Harris
Senior Staff Member
Rand Corporation

15. Avigdor Haselkorn
Senior Analyst
Analytical Assessments Corporation
Consultant, DoD

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17. Uri Ra'anan
Professor and Chairman, International Security
  Studies Program
Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy

18. Tom Rona
Office of the Secretary of Defense
Department of Defense

19. Steven Rosefielde
Associate Professor
North Carolina University

20. Leon Sloss
President, Leon Sloss Associates

21. Richard Staar
Senior Fellow
Hoover Institution

22. Notra Trulock
Manager, Threat Assessment Programs
Foreign Systems Research Center
Science Applications, Inc.

23. William R. Van Cleave
Director, Defense and Strategic Studies Program
University of Southern California

24. Seymour Weiss
President of SY Corporation
Vice President of Abington Corporation

25. Roberta Wohlstetter
Senior Researcher and
Consultant to the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy
Pan Heuristics, RDA

26. David Yost
Associate Professor
Naval Postgraduate School
Council on Foreign Relations Fellow

INVITED PARTICIPANTS

27. Richard Burress
Associate Director, Hoover Institution
   on War, Revolution, and Peace

28. William Casey
Director, Central Intelligence Agency

29. Donald Daniel
Associate Professor
Naval War College

30. Fritz Ermarth
National Intelligence Officer for
   the USSR
National Intelligence Council

31. Larry Gerswin
National Intelligence Officer for
   Strategic Programs
National Intelligence Council

32. Fred C. Ikle
Under Secretary of Defense for Policy

33. Henry A. Kissinger
Former Assistant to the President for
  National Security Affairs

34. Paul H. Nitze
Special Adviser to the President and the
  Secretary of State on Arms Control Matters

35. William H. J. Manthorpe, Jr.
Office of the Chief of Naval Operations

36. Andrew Marshall
Director, Office of Net Assessment
Department of Defense

37. William Odom
Director, National Security Agency

38. Richard Perle
Assistant Security of Defense (International
  Security Policy)

39. Eugene Rostow
Former Director of ACDA and Visiting Professor
  of Law and Diplomacy
  at the National Defense University

40. Henry Rowen
Senior Research Fellow
Hoover Institution on War, Revolution,
  and Peace

41. Vernon Walters
Ambassador of United States to
  the United Nations

42. Barton Whaley
Consultant