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COMMUNIST INVOLVEMENT IN CURRENT CAMPAIGNS AGAINST
THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY CAPABILITY OF NATO

Note by the Secretary General

The NATO Special Committee has approved the report on "Communist Involvement in Current Campaigns Against the Political and Military Capability of NATO", attached at Annex. This report has been passed to me by last year's Chairman of the NATO Special Committee, Dr. R. Meier, President of the German "Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz", with the request that Council should be invited to take note of it.

2. I propose that this report should be considered at a Council meeting in late February 1982.

(Signed) Joseph M.A.H. LUNS

NATO,
1110 Brussels.

This document consists of: one cover page, and
one Annex: 18 pages.

(1) NATO RESTRICTED when detached from Annex.

N A T O S E C R E T (1)

N A T O S E C R E T

-1-

ANNEX to
C-M(82)4

NATO SPECIAL COMMITTEE

COMMUNIST INVOLVEMENT IN CURRENT CAMPAIGNS AGAINST
THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY CAPABILITY OF NATO

N A T O S E C R E T

-1-

N A T O S E C R E T

-2-

ANNEX to
C-M(82)4

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs Nos.</u>
<u>SUMMARY</u>	1 - 7
<u>THE "STOP THE NEUTRON BOMB" CAMPAIGN</u>	8 - 18
<u>THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE DEPLOYMENT OF MEDIUM-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES IN WESTERN EUROPE</u>	19 - 55
Belgium	23 - 27
Canada	28 - 29
Denmark	30 - 32
France	33 - 34
Federal Republic of Germany	35
Greece	36 - 39
Italy	40 - 46
The Netherlands	47 - 49
Portugal	50 - 51
United Kingdom	52 - 53
Internationalisation of the Campaign	54 - 55
<u>THE CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES IN EUROPE</u>	56 - 59
<u>CONCLUSIONS</u>	60 - 64
Appendix 1	
Appendix 2	

N A T O S E C R E T

-2-

N A T O S E C R E T

-3-

ANNEX to
C-M(82)4

COMMUNIST INVOLVEMENT IN CURRENT CAMPAIGNS AGAINST
THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY CAPABILITY OF NATO

SUMMARY

In an earlier paper on Soviet Bloc Subversion Directed Against the Member States of NATO - C-M(76)72(Revised) - it was concluded that subversion is an instrument of Soviet foreign policy intended to influence the climate of thought and, as a consequence, the political decision-making in the member states of NATO, to the detriment of the Alliance and in favour of Soviet options. It was established that this kind of subversion is co-ordinated by the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU (ID/CPSU) (see also Annex I), not only in the diplomatic field but also through such channels as:

- the national Communist Parties and their front organizations;
- the international front organizations;
- the opportunities of détente afforded by East-West co-operation and exchange;
- the intelligence services of the Soviet Bloc.

2. The ID/CPSU makes use of all the above-mentioned channels in connection with the three major campaigns against the military capability of NATO, which run since the summer of 1977, viz:

- the "Stop the Neutron Bomb" Campaign since 1977 (N-campaign);
- the campaign against the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe since 1979;
- the campaign for "A nuclear-free North and for a nuclear-free Europe".

3. In the current mass movements against the nuclear military capability of NATO there are certain elements at work, which for the greater part are deliberately kept concealed and which are designed to harm the interests of the Alliance as such. It concerns subversive efforts from the Soviet side to influence the public opinion concerning nuclear armament and through that the political decision-making in NATO member states. In this connection it is remarkable that the peace movement in these countries made a fresh start in the middle of 1977 with "Stop the Neutron Bomb" campaign (N-campaign) which was demonstrably initiated by the subversive machinery of the Soviet Union, with the ID/CPSU as its motor. The campaign against this so-called "typically capitalist weapon", which "kills people and preserves property", was rather successful in attracting and uniting many people who already had sincere misgivings and various moral and religious objections to nuclear weaponry. Partly as a consequence, public opinion in some countries of the Alliance swayed more and more onesidedly against NATO's share in nuclear armament. Not surprisingly, the success of the N-campaign had quite some effect on anti-nuclear movements of other origins. It became a stimulus for campaigns against NATO's decision of December 1979 to modernise its medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. These campaigns are supported by large groups of the Western European population, but there is quite some evidence that the Soviets

N A T O S E C R E T

-3-

N A T O S E C R E TANNEX to
C-M(82)4

-4-

have tried to play on this through subversive methods. Complementary to this is the exploitation of old themes such as "Northern Europe a Nuclear-free Zone" and "Europe a Nuclear-free Zone from Poland to Portugal", which are most popular in the Scandinavian countries.

4. In the Summer of 1977, the N-campaign in the Netherlands and in some other NATO countries was initiated by communist party members in consultation with Eastern European party officials, but after President Carter's decision to stop the project, the momentum of the campaign slackened. However, President Reagan's recent decision to produce the neutron bomb after all has revived the campaign. Between these two decisions, the communist interest in the N-campaign shifted to the current campaign against the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. This campaign exists in various forms in all NATO member states and not only in those in which the missiles are to be deployed. Although the campaign has gained much support among the general public in several NATO member states, it appears to be ultimately aimed at the Federal Republic of Germany.

5. It is interesting to note that before and during all these campaigns there have been intense and frequent consultations between officials of national Communist Parties and functionaries of the ID/CPSU. The international communist front organizations, most of all the World Peace Council (WPC) (see also Annex II), and sometimes Eastern European intelligence services, have been involved as well. In nearly all NATO countries the national Communist Parties (CPs) have had more or less to do with the initiative of the respective campaigns. In the United Kingdom the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) and the British Peace Assembly, the local offshoot of the WPC, reflect Soviet opposition to NATO and support Soviet-backed campaigns against the military capacity of the Alliance. The more important influence in the UK, however, is the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) which is neither a Communist nor a front organization. In France and Italy it was only in the Summer of 1981 that the CPs began to become involved on a large scale. In accordance with their well-tried tactics, most CPs instructed their front organizations to organize or support broad mass movements against the new nuclear weapons, in order to put extra-parliamentary pressure on the democratic decision-making process. To mobilize the masses, they make good use of demonstrations, signature collections, conferences, marches, etc.

6. Once it turns out that such a mass movement appeals to large parts of the population and that it gets the support of well-known non-Communist citizens, there is no need for a CP to conceal its inspiring rôle any longer. On the contrary, in case of a successful campaign against nuclear weapons, a CP will be inclined to show off its part in it, but without disclosing the manipulation behind the scenes and the conspiracy with Eastern European functionaries. The Communists even quite openly appeal to Christians, Social Democrats and others to join peace campaigns, which is completely in harmony with their "united front" policy and with their semantics on notions like "peace" and "détente". Moreover, in several countries they invite senior members of Eastern European CPs to clear up the Soviet points of view during their mass meetings, which in turn are cheered by the Sovbloc media in self-congratulatory terms.

N A T O S E C R E T

-4-

N A T O S E C R E T

-5-

ANNEX to
C-M(82)4

7. A significant feature of the use of overt means is that it serves to distract public attention from the covert efforts to manipulate public opinion, or in the event of disclosure, to make them look less important.

THE "STOP THE NEUTRON BOMB" CAMPAIGN

8. In the Summer of 1977, the campaign against the possible production of neutron weapons (the N-campaign) signalled the start of a whole series of actions designed to prevent NATO from introducing a new nuclear deterrent in Europe.

9. The N-campaign was heralded by a critical report put out by the Soviet press agency Tass on July 30th, 1977. A few days later the weekly "Novoye Vremja" carried an article by a member of the ID, with the title "Stop the Neutron Bomb", which was to become common as a slogan in the Western world.

10. The ID called for "mass action" to prohibit the manufacture of the neutron bomb and proceeded to set its instruments to work. First of all, the WPC proclaimed a special "Action week" from 6-13 August 1977, which was joined by other international front organizations. In that same week, on 8 August, almost all (28) CPs of the countries that had participated in the CSCE conference in Helsinki in 1975, issued a common statement, in which they announced a massive resistance against the "barbaric" neutron weapon. They appealed to all "peace loving forces", especially to all socialists, social democrats and Christians, to join these activities on a mass scale.

11. In the beginning the CPs in NATO member states paid only lip service to this statement, which the Communist Party of the Netherlands (CPN) even flatly refused to sign. The then still strong leader of the CPN, P. DE GROOT, who earlier that year had only formally re-established party contacts with the CPSU to end an international isolation of 14 years, did not want his party to run to Moscow's bidding again in such joint actions. However, after a change in the leadership which occurred at that time, the CPN was very soon to become not only the torchbearer for a very successful national N-campaign, but also the focal point for the international efforts.

12. The activities in the Netherlands started already on 19 August 1977, with the launching of the "Stop the Neutron Bomb" campaign by the CPN, which hoped to rehabilitate itself in the Communist world movement by giving full support to the "peace policy" of the Soviet Union. The campaign was entrusted to an "Initiative Group, which was set up as a real front organization, dominated by CPN members, but supplemented with a number of more or less well-known non-Communist individuals to give the group an air of respectability and political diversity. Over 300 local working groups were formed, all equally diverse, but also equally activated and subsequently dominated by CPN members.

13. In the founding of the local working groups, an active rôle was played by the Dutch branch of the international movement "Christians for Socialism" (CvS), which towards the end of the Seventies had been

N A T O S E C R E T

-5-

N A T O S E C R E T

ANNEX to
C-M(82)4

-6-

transformed into a CPN front organization, with some influence in church circles. Simultaneously, the CvS was of great help to the founding of several hundreds of local nucleus groups of the Inter Church Peace Council (IKV), which had started its own mass action "Get the nuclear arms out of the world, and for a start out of the Netherlands" almost at the same time. Thus a certain osmosis and co-operation came about between the "Stop the Neutron Bomb" and IKV campaigns, especially at a local level.

14. The Initiative Group "Stop the Neutron Bomb" developed a multitude of activities, such as manifestations, conferences and above all a "General People's Petition" which eventually yielded over 1,200,000 signatures. The success of the Dutch N-campaign prompted the ID/CPSU to make the Netherlands a focal point for the international campaign. After consultations in Moscow the CPN took care of the organization of an International Forum, which was held in Amsterdam on March 18th 1978 and was attended by more than 150 foreign delegates from European countries, the USA and Canada, selected by the sister CPs and the WPC. The day after, an Anti-Neutron Bomb demonstration was organized in Amsterdam, which numbered about 50,000 participants and was the first of its kind during the recent campaigns.

15. During the entire campaign, close contacts were maintained between the CPN and the embassies of the USSR and the GDR in The Hague, and there were frequent travels from the Netherlands to the Soviet Union and the GDR and vice versa. The importance the CPSU attached to the CPN's activities may be inferred from the level of the Soviet interlocutors, such as M.A. SUSLOV, member of the Politburo of the CPSU; V.V. ZAGLADIN, first Deputy Head of ID/CPSU, and O.S. KHARKHARDIN, the ID official responsible for international peace work.

16. The N-campaign spilled over to some other countries. It was especially well received in Denmark where a similar movement was initiated, and in particular manifested itself in a demonstration in front of the Embassy of the USA in August 1977, and in a collection of 105,000 signatures, which was handed over to the Danish Minister of Defence.

17. After President Carter's decision not to start the production of the weapon, the momentum of the campaign in NATO member states slackened, and then the emphasis of the campaign slowly shifted from the neutron bomb to the anti-nuclear missiles campaign.

18. President Reagan's decision to produce the neutron bomb caused a revival of anti-neutron bomb slogans. By asserting that this decision will result in the deployment of neutron weapons in Western Europe the "Peace Movement" hopes to gain further support. At present this campaign is closely connected with the anti-TNF campaign.

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE DEPLOYMENT OF MEDIUM-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES
IN WESTERN EUROPE

19. As in the case of the anti-neutron bomb campaign, this campaign was also discussed by Soviet bloc members long before any activity was started in public in NATO member countries. Three months before the meeting of the Defence Ministers in Brussels, in May 1979, the WPC discussed at an

N A T O S E C R E T

-6-

N A T O S E C R E T

-7-

ANNEX to
C-M(82)4

Extraordinary Session in East Berlin, the problem of medium-range missiles to be deployed in Europe. Under the chairmanship of the Secretary General of the East German Peace Council a special committee was set up to work out "practical suggestions for the intensification of the international mass campaign against the armament race".

20. The main emphasis of the campaign appears to be ultimately aimed at the Federal Republic of Germany.

21. Activities started immediately after the meeting of NATO Defence Ministers in Brussels on 14th May 1979. Prior to the meeting of the NATO Council in December 1979 the KGB in Denmark received the following message: "It should be taken for granted that during the NATO meeting on December 12, 1979, a decision will be made to deploy missiles in Western Europe. Therefore, a campaign must be conducted in order to prevent these projects from being realized". Increased activities at an international level began at the end of October 1979 to coincide with the United Nations "Week for Disarmament". Within six weeks of the "Week for Disarmament" the movement gained a considerable amount of publicity and support; largely because the organizers had at their disposal an established framework of organizations and a public already aware of these problems. Events in Afghanistan caused few, if any, setbacks.

22. The following paragraphs describe events in NATO member countries based on reports received.

Belgium

23. Since November 1979 the Belgian peace movement has been very active in organizing demonstrations in which up to 25,000 people have participated. A signature collection (77,000) was very much less effective than in the Netherlands or in Germany.

24. The driving forces are crypto-Communist peace movements such as "The Belgian Union for the Defence of Peace" (UBDP) and "Peace, VZW". Each of these movements is headed by a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium (CPB) who is also a member of the presidium of the WPC. Both movements receive instructions and financial aid from the CPB.

25. Besides, Brussels houses the secretariat of an international affiliate of the WPC, the international "Committee for European Security and Co-operation" (CISCE), which meets regularly to co-ordinate the activities of the national committees for European Security and Co-operation. Originally created to drum up public support for Moscow's proposal to call a conference on European Security and Co-operation, the CISCE now organizes conferences to underwrite and explain statements of well-known Soviet bloc politicians on subjects like détente, disarmament and neutrality. The activities of the CISCE complement the ones of the WPC and vice versa. While the first addresses itself to so-called opinion leaders and policy makers, the second tries to arouse public opinion, so as to block decisions that could reinforce the defensive capacity of the Western countries.

N A T O S E C R E T

-7-

N A T O S E C R E TANNEX to
C-M(82)4

-8-

26. During a press conference on April 28th 1981, the President of the Belgian branch of CISCE, DE SMAELE, proposed that a "Conference for Security and Disarmament in Europe", to be called very soon by the Madrid follow-up of the "Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe", should study all possibilities to set up a zone of security in Europe. Such a zone should include all states (Western, neutral and members of the Warsaw Pact), which are situated between the nuclear powers (France and the United Kingdom on the one side, the USSR on the other). The plan implies:

- denuclearization on the base of the status quo of 1st December, 1979, and
- the gradual numerical reduction of conventional and nuclear foreign weapons and of national defence organizations, according to a scheme to be set up in negotiations. (This proposal is reminiscent of the RAPACKI plan of 1957.) The DE SMAELE plan stresses less the reduction of the military potential of each state than the dismantlement of the military blocs.

27. Activities of CISCE and of the front organizations are complementary. While the first tries to influence at the decision-making level; the second arouses public opinion. Both of them serve the same objective to block decisions which could reinforce the defensive capacity of Western countries.

Canada

28. Since January 1981, the Canadian affiliate of the WPC has engaged in a campaign to reduce the effectiveness of the NATO Alliance by collecting one million signatures pressing the USA for early signing of a strategic arms limitation treaty and to start talks on limitation of medium-range nuclear weapons. The WPC also calls for simultaneous dissolution of military alliances, the dismantling of all foreign bases, and the banning of chemical and germ warfare.

29. CPC's youth arm, the Young Communist League (YCL), is attempting to establish a more prominent presence on several university campuses through new clubs to emphasize the importance of détente and disarmament. The YCL and the Young Communist League of Quebec held a Continental Forum on Peace, Détente and Disarmament in Montreal on 24th and 25th October, to coincide with the United Nations' Disarmament Week. This attracted a far smaller attendance than an anti-nuclear protest held by non-Communists, also in Montreal, on the same day.

Denmark

30. In the Autumn of 1979 the Danish Committee for Peace and Security (DCPS) carried out activities in support of initiatives taken by the Dutch Peace Movement. These included:

- a "Peace Rally" through the Netherlands, the GDR and Denmark;
- a public hearing from 30th November to 2nd December, 1979 with a panel consisting mainly of representatives from Communist front organizations;

N A T O S E C R E T

-8-

N A T O S E C R E T

-9-

ANNEX to
C-M(82)4

- a nation-wide demonstration to coincide with a similar event in Brussels in December 1979;
- presentation of 40,000 signatures to the Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs two days prior to the Ministerial Meeting in Brussels in December 1979.

31. Prior to the meeting of the NATO Council in December 1979 the KGB in Denmark received the following message: "It should be taken for granted that during the NATO meeting on December 12, 1979, a decision will be made to deploy missiles in Western Europe. Therefore, a campaign must be conducted in order to prevent these projects from being realized".

32. In 1980 the Danish Press referred several times to the DCPS as a Communist front organization. As a result the Committee tried to keep a low profile and some of its members established "new" organizations e.g. "Christians for Disarmament". It also started peace initiatives within the educational sector. In co-operation with sections of the GDR's peace organization, the KGB continued its activities within the DCPS by using "agents of influence" to formulate propaganda and to prepare arguments for discussions.

France

33. Because of the special position of France within NATO, activities in France against the Alliance's military capability are of a different nature. Foremost are the special efforts of the KGB, the International Department and front organizations. Members of the KGB with diplomatic cover intensified press contacts, while the political and the press section of the Soviet Embassy took part in all meetings and discussions where the question of disarmament might have arisen. The ID has at its disposal in Paris several representatives charged with keeping contacts with political parties and French personalities. The counsellor of the Embassy, Youri ROUBINSKI, maintains close contacts at all levels. His work is supplemented by speeches of Soviet senior officials visiting France. One of these, ZAGLADIN (see also para 15) has tried, on several occasions, to influence French public opinion, in open discussions on the subject of American armament.

34. The front organizations did not organize any mass activities on French territory until October 1981, but French citizens participated in demonstrations abroad.

Federal Republic of Germany

35. In the Federal Republic of Germany the driving force has been the Moscow-oriented German Communist Party (DKP) making use of several of its front organizations, especially the "German Peace Union" (DFU) and the "Committee for Peace, Disarmament and Co-operation" (KFAZ). The movement started campaigning in the Summer of 1979, and could be considered to be fully established by the Spring of 1980. Subsequent to that time the New Left and ecologists have been prepared to join Communist inspired activities, in connection with the anti-TNF campaign. Germans fear increasingly that Germany might become the battle-field of a nuclear war between the "superpowers". Over the ensuing 18 months the most spectacular events were:

N A T O S E C R E T

-9-

N A T O S E C R E T

ANNEX to
C-M(82)4

-10-

- mass demonstrations, the number of participants ranging from about 5,000 to 240,000. Some of the demonstrations had been initiated by the DKP and her front organizations, as e.g. on 4th April, 1981, on the occasion of the meeting of the "Nuclear Planning Group" of NATO (13,000 participants); in other demonstrations the Communists just participated as e.g. on 20th June, 1981 in Hamburg during the congress of Protestant Churches (70,000 participants) and on 10th October, 1981 in Bonn (240,000 participants), where the Communists were just a small, but very active group, exerting organizing functions;
- the Krefeld Appeal. A DFU-controlled "circle of initiators" were invited to a "Forum" in Krefeld on 15th/16th November, 1980. About 800 participants of different social backgrounds, among them well-known politicians of non-Communist parties, members of trade unions and the churches passed a resolution called the "Krefeld Appeal". This resolution declares NATO's decision of December 1979 "a fatal decision" and demands "to enforce security policy by constantly growing pressure from public opinion which would not allow Europe to become a forum for United States' nuclear weapons". The movement considers disarmament to be more important than deterrence and therefore called on the Federal Government to cancel the agreement to the deployment of Pershing II and Cruise missiles in Central Europe. According to the originators, a signature collection, based on the "Krefeld Appeal" is said to have obtained about one million signatures by August 1981 (population of the Federal Republic of Germany: about 60 million);
- reconnaissance of military installations. In 1978 the DKP launched the campaign "powder barrel" to gather information about military sites such as barracks, rocket sites, ammunition depots, airports, radar stations, armament industries, etc. A similar campaign was run by an alliance of various ecological organizations and several groups of the non-dogmatic New Left. They published a "German Staff Map on Nuclear Weapons" based on material of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, "SIPRI", which proved to be up-to-date and listed nearly all the military installations in the Federal Republic of Germany. Now many groups of ecologists try to motivate the population, especially those living close to military nuclear sites, to engage in protest activities. Together with front organizations and the New Left, they organized demonstrations in front of military sites. They also discussed how to destroy files of recruiting offices and how to organize a fictitious mass death during test alarms. To date the armed forces have not been affected by the campaigns; but since 1978 the number of applications for conscientious objections has risen by 37.3% (39,698 (1978) - 54,193 (1980)).

Greece

36. The Greek "Committee for International Defence and Peace" (GCIDP) is directed and guided by people who are loyal to the pro-Soviet Greek CP/Ext. Furthermore, its activities are closely monitored by a diplomatic member of the Soviet Embassy in Athens. Formed in 1955, the GCIDP, since 1974, has established more than 150 local Peace Committees

N A T O S E C R E T

-10-

N A T O S E C R E T

-11-

ANNEX to
C-M(82)4

throughout the country. The activities of GCIDP cover the following subjects: disarmament and détente; NATO and USA nuclear forces; Greek membership of NATO and US bases in Greece.

37. The movement is very active on all subjects but primarily concentrates on the anti-US bases struggle. For this purpose a sub-committee, the "Panhellenic Committee for the Anti-Bases Struggle" (PCABS) has been set up. GCIDP is under constant Soviet pressure to broaden the anti-struggle by appeals to the masses and protest marches. The Soviets' objective is to increase the resistance of the general public to the installation of US bases on Greek territory. The Soviets are concerned about the military re-integration of Greece into NATO, the presence of American bases on Greek territory and about facilities on Crete, which could be used for the installation of Pershing II and Cruise missiles. During the negotiations between Greece and the United States in the Summer of 1981 the campaign was intensified in an attempt to make the government and public believe that the overwhelming majority of the electorate opposed the bases.

38. The GCIDP established the Panhessalic Committee to oppose the proposed NATO Headquarters in Larissa. Preparations for the establishment of the Headquarters proceed slowly with the consequence that the committee's activities have been limited but could increase as the situation demands.

39. GCIDP exploits national feelings of the Greek population by focusing on the Greek/Turkish conflict over Cyprus. It ingeniously links this subject to an alleged increase of American activity in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East areas, which would allegedly favour Turkey to the disadvantage of Greece. Thus people are made to believe that the struggle for peace and disarmament is at the same time a national struggle for Greece and vice versa.

Italy

40. In Italy the campaign is run differently from the campaigns in the above-mentioned NATO member countries. The Communist Party of Italy (CPI) had objected to the neutron weapon and the deployment of Pershing II missiles prior to negotiations with Moscow but the party was not involved in the campaign until September 1981.

41. Local groups and associations and influential personalities, as well as Soviet officials and pro-Soviet organizations, are involved in anti-TNF activities. In addition, anti-nuclear committees, which favour co-operation with ecologists, members of political parties and the local administration, take part in these activities. These anti-TNF committees are influenced and inspired by leftist parties and groups and by anarchist organizations. The main themes of the campaign are the abolition of active service where missiles are to be deployed and the revelation of all industrial activities connected with the production of strategic weapons.

42. On 27th September, 1981 about 30,000 people participated in a peace march from Perugia to Assisi which was organized by the "Non-Violent Movement" and the "Capitini Foundation". During the demonstration opponents of the organizers shouted slogans directed both against the American and against Soviet foreign policies.

N A T O S E C R E T

-11-

N A T O S E C R E TANNEX to
C-M(82)4

-12-

43. During the last quarter of 1979 Soviet intelligence activities increased considerably. Members of the Soviet Embassy sought the views of the Italian left about the missile problem. Visitors from the Soviet bloc countries denounced the proposal to deploy nuclear weapons on Italian territory.

44. During December 1980 two senior officials of the ID (V. ZAGLADIN and G. SMIRNOFF), attended the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of San Marino. While there they called upon the Italian Communists to try to stop the latest increase in the capacity of the Italian armament industry and to demand its immediate transformation into industries for non-military products. As an incentive to accomplish these major changes in policy, the Soviet authorities are alleged to have promised "privileged" purchases of products from these new industries.

45. This proposal probably stems from the international conference on "Disarmament and Development" in Bulgaria in October 1980 which was organized by the World Federation of Scientific Workers. The conference discussed, inter alia, the possibility of developing the campaign for disarmament run by Communist organizations throughout the world under the following aspects:

- (a) a struggle against exploitation of scientific and research work for armament production;
- (b) a transformation of existing military research institutes into ones pursuing peaceful aims.

46. In similar vein, the Soviet authorities are reported to intend to use commercial relations for encouraging European nations to take an autonomous stand in foreign and military policy vis-à-vis the United States, e.g. the USSR would concede privileged conditions to those countries which refuse the deployment of missiles on their territory. Accordingly Soviet authorities may try to contact directly personalities in Western economy and business, promising favourable conditions in exchange for influencing their governments.

The Netherlands

47. In the Summer of 1979 the CPN-controlled Dutch peace movement, by then renamed "Joint Committee - Stop the Neutron Bomb - Stop the Nuclear Armament Race" organized an "International Estafette" under the slogan "Stop the Neutron Bomb, Stop the Mass Destruction Weapons, on to further Détente and Disarmament". The "Estafette", which was discussed in detail with Eastern European officials, started with a seven days bicycle tour in the Netherlands. At all scheduled stops the cyclists were cordially received by local authorities and clergymen who praised this onesidedly anti-NATO enterprise. The bicycle tour ended in Bonn on September 4th, which was the Anti-Kriegstag (Anti-war day) traditionally organized by the trade unions. From there the "Estafette" fanned out and along different routes it reached all Helsinki countries, including the Warsaw Pact countries which earlier in August had kept their frontiers hermetically closed for a "Peace Caravan" which had turned equally against NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

N A T O S E C R E T

-12-

N A T O S E C R E T

-13-

ANNEX to
C-M(82)4

48. On October 27th, concluding the European part of the "Estafette" a manifestation took place in The Hague, called "Education for Peace, Instruction against the Neutron Bomb". This meeting was also to be the starting signal for "peace lessons" at schools and universities on a massive scale to motivate public opinion against the NATO plans for new Eurostrategic weapons in Europe.

49. The CPN considered the reservations made by the Dutch Government at the Ministerial Meeting in Brussels on December 12/13th 1979 proof of a successful campaign. After this, its activities quieted down for a while, but picked up steam again in the course of 1980 with highlights like the "International Forum against nuclear armament" in Amsterdam on November 22nd/23rd. The confidence of the CPN was reflected by the statement of a high CPN functionary at a party meeting in January 1981. Freshly returned from Moscow, he announced that in the Netherlands "these new American nuclear missiles won't come" and "the time of adding and subtracting nuclear tasks is over". Referring to the international contacts of the PvdA (the Dutch Social Democratic Party) he added that it was "about time the PvdA started using its influence to let Helmut SCHMIDT know that it is intolerable for the Netherlands if the FRG maintains its decision to station Pershing II missiles. If Bonn remains deaf to the Dutch point of view, the objective of the struggle must go in that direction". From that time on initial talks took place between Dutch and German peace organizations. These talks were held for the purpose of co-ordinating the Western European Autumn Campaign against the modernization of NATO forces.

Portugal

50. The campaign against nuclear armament was initiated by the Portuguese Council for Peace and Co-operation, an affiliate of the WPC. In February 1981, the Council established "The National Public Opinion Against Nuclear Weapons", to oppose the armaments race and to prevent any deployment of nuclear weapons in Portugal. Although trying to give the impression of impartiality its views are against NATO and US military policy. The Movement is supported by a wide range of personalities such as intellectuals, journalists, musicians, trade unionists as well as civil, religious and students' associations and unions, but most of the members belong politically to the left-wing. The campaign is well supported by the public so that the Movement's views will have to be taken into account in the political decision-making process.

51. As in other countries, the pacifist and ecological groups have given support to the Movement's opposition to the deployment of nuclear missiles on Portuguese territory.

United Kingdom

52. In the United Kingdom the main campaign for unilateral disarmament is run by the "Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament" (CND). CND marches, rallies and demonstrations have attracted considerable support and publicity during the past year. CPGB supports the movement and exerts some influence. Events such as the Russian invasion of Afghanistan have, however, reduced their impact upon the peace movement as a whole. The party's propaganda has attempted to exploit or increase the public unease over the safety and control of the missile programme, the efficiency of civil defence measures and the cost of the purchase of Trident.

N A T O S E C R E T

-13-

N A T O S E C R E T

ANNEX to
C-M(82)4

-14-

53. WPC's affiliate in the United Kingdom, the "British Peace Assembly" is not a large group nor particularly influential. However, it provides an uncritical outlet for WPC's propaganda, such as the "National Assembly for Disarmament and Peace" held in London in January 1980. More recently, signatures were collected in support of an appeal for total disarmament by governments, and a rejection of the new nuclear strategy as "elaborate deception of the people".

Internationalisation of the Campaign

54. As a result of close international co-operation all the above-mentioned activities reached a peak in the Autumn of 1981. A considerable part of the Western European population participated. On 27th August an international meeting took place in Bonn to co-ordinate mass demonstrations in several European capitals: in Bonn (about 240,000 participants on 10th October), in Brussels (150,000), in London (110,000), Oslo (7,000), Paris (50,000), Rome (200,000) on October 24/25th and in Amsterdam (300,000) on November 21st, in Copenhagen (20,000) 5th December.

55. Those mass demonstrations may certainly not simply be called Communist directed or controlled, for a great variety of groups are engaged in the organization of these events. All the same, Communist organizations are always more or less involved, and play a relatively important part in these activities, because of their organizational capacity and international contacts. In general, it is no problem for them that such manifestations are very often formally directed against medium-range nuclear missiles as such, thus including for instance the SS 20, because the effect is chiefly against the modernisation decision of the NATO Alliance. Anyway, it is this effect that is loudly proclaimed in the Sovbloc media.

THE CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES IN EUROPE

56. Though it has not had the impact of the N-campaign and the anti-TNF campaign, another campaign has been inaugurated with the slogan "The North as a nuclear-free zone". In the Autumn of 1980 a spokesman of the Danish CP stated in an interview given to "Neues Deutschland", the daily newspaper of the ruling Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) in the GDR, that a large peace conference would be held in Denmark in the Spring of 1981. This conference, the Scandinavian Peace Conference, subsequently took place in Aalborg on 23rd and 24th May, 1981. Ostensibly it was organized at the initiative of the trade unions, but in reality the driving force was the Danish branch of the CISCE (para 25). The conference turned to an idea that was first propagated by the late President KEKKONEN of Finland more than a decade ago, drawing from it the slogan "The North as a nuclear-free zone".

57. After the conference a peace march, organized by Norwegian women, from Copenhagen to Paris took place. The aim of this march was to propagate not only the idea of a Northern nuclear-free zone, but also that of "Europe as a nuclear-free zone from Poland to Portugal". This slogan coincides with the proposal made by the President of the Belgian branch of the CISCE.

58. In the Autumn of 1981 it appeared that a Second Secretary of the Embassy of the USSR in Copenhagen for a number of years had had contact with a Danish author with whom he had had a number of clandestine meetings. The second Secretary had been identified as a KGB Officer involved in public relations work. Between them, they arranged for an appeal

N A T O S E C R E T

-14-

N A T O S E C R E T

-15-

ANNEX to
C-M(82)4

to the Government and the "Folketinget" for the support of the idea of a nuclear-free zone in the North to appear in two newspapers about the time of the above conference. Expenses in connection with the procurement and publication of the appeal were partly paid by the above KGB officer, who after the publication of the appeal also gave the author considerable gifts. The appeal had been signed by a number of authors and artists who did not know the background of this initiative.

59. In connection with the stranding of the Soviet submarine on the Swedish coast a remarkable change in the number of TASS press statements on the peace issue was noted. Up to and including 27th October, 1981, the day of the stranding, the activities initiated all over Europe were given a comprehensive press coverage. During September and October several statements per day were issued, culminating on 27th October with ten. Thereafter there was an abrupt drop. While a total of forty statements were issued during the period 18th-27th October, only four on the peace issue were received during the ten days following the stranding, 28th October - 6th November.

CONCLUSIONS

60. The aim of the subversive Communist involvement in the present day peace movement in the Western world is to influence the climate of thought on questions of nuclear armament in a direction which is favourable for the Soviet interests in this field. To this end the ID/CPSU employs all overt and covert means at its disposal but especially the national Communist Parties in the NATO member states, which in spite of sometimes autonomous images still support the main lines of the Soviet foreign policy in the East-West confrontation.

61. In view of their traditional tactics of "mass actions", the CPs have always been aware of the importance of the public opinion in parliamentary democracies for putting pressure on the political decision-making process. With their "united front policy" in mind they are always looking out for possibilities to co-operate with other political and social forces, which must be approached on the grounds of their own arguments. In their ideological dialectics, notions like "peace" and "peaceful coexistence" are the most suited common denominators for concerted actions with Christians, social democrats, ecologists and other "peace-loving forces" which in turn, after years of détente, have become less reluctant to join forces with the Communists. How some Western European CPs in particular try to exploit the general fear of nuclear war and the moral and religious objections against it, is shown clearly by the campaign against the neutron bomb, a weapon which is said to be of an "extremely inhuman nature" and to lower the barriers against a nuclear war. For this Soviet-originated campaign, they only had to rally those various anti-nuclear feelings in their country and so give them political weight in favour of concrete Soviet options.

62. The success of the N-campaign had a stimulating effect on peace organizations of other origins and became a sort of catalyst for subsequent campaigns against the NATO Alliance, chiefly against its double decision of December 1979. Most Western European CPs are more or less engaged in these campaigns, but in order to keep in the background they leave it mainly to their front organizations to mobilise or support them. Only when such a peace

N A T O S E C R E T

-15-

N A T O S E C R E T

ANNEX to
C-M(82)4

-16-

campaign is going to involve large segments of society, the CPs are eager to admit their prominent contribution, of course without revealing the conspiratorial part of it. Even if Communist organizations openly work together with other groups in the diffuse infrastructure of the peace movements, they easily play a disproportional rôle because of their organizing capacity and international contacts.

63. The efforts of the national CPs are flanked by the peace activities of the international front organizations, also closely connected with the ID/CPSU. Moreover, there is evidence that the Sovbloc countries are exploiting the unilaterally controlled mechanism of East-West exchange and co-operation in the fields of science, trade unions, churches, politics and even economics for the same cause. That the Sovbloc intelligence services and their clandestine modus operandi are also involved is illustrated by the MERKULOV-case in Denmark and by the forged "Top Secret Documents on US Forces Headquarters in Europe: Holocaust again for Europe"(1).

64. Undoubtedly the current mass movements against the nuclear military capability of NATO include broad strata of the democratic European societies which are motivated by sincere idealistic and political arguments. But at the same time they are stimulated and influenced by subversive Communist efforts to harm the NATO Alliance as such. It is difficult to assess the degree of success of these attempts and to distinguish the subversive from other influences at work. But unmistakably they did help a latent undercurrent in West European public opinion to become manifest and politically active and to turn it onesidedly against the nuclear military capability of the NATO Alliance.

(1) This anonymous booklet, which allegedly was published in London in October 1980, was distributed among politicians, journalists and diplomats in Western Europe and was obviously intended to provoke hostility towards the American government and to undermine the solidarity of the NATO Alliance. The forgery was based on documents known to have been handed over to the KGB in the mid-sixties by an American serviceman. The KGB has at its disposal a special "Service A", which, in close co-operation with the ID/CPSU, concentrates on so-called "active measures" such as employing agents of influence, the dissemination of disinformation and the circulation of forged documents.

N A T O S E C R E T

-16-

N A T O S E C R E T

-17-

APPENDIX 1 to
ANNEX to
C-M(82)4

THE INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT

1. Under the direct responsibility of the Politburo, the International Department (ID) of the Central Committee of the CPSU supervises and co-ordinates all Soviet activities abroad, not only through diplomatic and party channels, but also by covert means. It is headed by PONOMAREV, a Central Committee Secretary and an alternate member of the Politburo. SUSLOV, a Central Committee Secretary and Politburo member, shares responsibility for the planning and formulation of policy with PONOMAREV. As members of the Politburo, Foreign Secretary GROMYKO and KGB Chairman ANDROPOV participate in the decision-making process at the highest level.

2. For the implementation of policies involving the use of front organizations, the ID channels directives through the appropriate Soviet front organization to the international front organization concerned.

N A T O S E C R E T

-17-

N A T O S E C R E T

APPENDIX 2 to
ANNEX to
C-M(82)4

-18-

WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

1. The Communist world peace movement dates from August 1948, when a World Congress of Intellectuals for Peace was held at Wroclaw, Poland. This led to a World Peace Congress, simultaneously held in Paris and Prague because the French authorities had refused entry visas to many delegates. This Congress set up a World Committee of Partisans of Peace - known after November 1950 as the World Peace Council.
2. According to its statutes the WPC's task is to raise a world peace movement which is defined as a universal democratic movement in which all can participate in terms of equality. Its purported aim is to be an open mass movement for peace, involving individuals, groups and organizations. Nowadays it disposes of peace movements and organizations in at least 135 countries. It must be considered the leading international Communist front organization.
3. The WPC was originally based in Paris, but was expelled in 1951 by the French Government for "fifth column activities". It moved to Prague and then in 1954 to Vienna, where in 1957 it was banned by the Minister of the Interior for "activities directed against the interest of the Austrian State". However, it continued to operate in Vienna under the cover of the International Institute for Peace until its move to Helsinki in September 1968.
4. Its real objective is well hidden behind the political façade of a yearning for peace, which is, in general, easily acceptable by the vast majority of people. On the national level the affiliated groups are camouflaged under various names, all of them referring to "peace", "disarmament", etc. The impression each seeks to convey is that Communists participate on equal terms with many others, whereas in reality they steer the organizations.

N A T O S E C R E T