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ANNUAL REVIEW OF TERRORIST, ESPIONAGE, SUBVERSIVE
AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

(November 1981 - November 1982)

Note by the Secretary General

At its meeting on 17th November, 1982 the NATO Special Committee approved the "Annual Review of Terrorist, Espionage, Subversive and Other Activities" for the period November 1981 - November 1982. The attached Review has been passed to me by this year's Chairman of the NATO Special Committee, Mr. P. de Haan, Head of the Netherlands Binnenlandse Veiligheidsdienst, with the request that the Council should be invited to take note of it.

2. I propose that this Review should be considered at a Council meeting in January 1983.

(Signed) Joseph M.A.H. LUNS

NATO,
1110 Brussels.

This document consists of: 28 pages
Annex of 4 pages

N A T O S E C R E T

N A T O S E C R E T

-2-

C-M(82)88

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraph Nos.</u>
<u>SUMMARY</u>	1 - 20
Terrorism	1 - 11
Espionage	12 - 15
Subversive and Other Activities	16 - 20
I. <u>TERRORISM</u>	21 - 62
"National" Terrorism	29 - 45
- Extreme Nationalist Terrorism	32 - 34
- Left-Wing Terrorism	35 - 44
- Right-Wing Terrorism	45
"International" Terrorism	46 - 61
State Terrorism	62
II. <u>ESPIONAGE</u>	63 - 97
Hostile Intelligence Services Most Actively Engaged in Espionage in NATO Member Countries	63 - 68
- Soviet Bloc Countries	63 - 65
- Other Countries	66 - 68
Main Targets	69 - 80
Methods	81 - 97
III. <u>SUBVERSIVE AND OTHER ACTIVITIES</u>	98 - 141
Communist Parties	98
Soviet Bloc Active Measures	99 - 100
Active Measures by the KGB in the United States	101 - 104
Active Measures - Campaigns Against the Military Capability of NATO	105 - 115
Radical Anti-Militarist Groups	116 - 121
Marxist-Leninist (formerly "Maoist") Groups	122 - 127
Trotskyist Groups	128 - 134
Right-Wing Extremism	135 - 141
ANNEX - NATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTIES	

N A T O S E C R E T

-2-

N A T O S E C R E T

-3-

C-M(82)88

ANNUAL REVIEW OF TERRORIST, ESPIONAGE, SUBVERSIVE
AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

SUMMARY

Terrorism

During the period under review the total range of terrorist activities in NATO member countries has been greater than during the previous one.

2. Many of the worst terrorist exploits were again committed in the United Kingdom, Italy and the Federal Republic of Germany. France experienced a wave of attacks after years of relative calm. In Turkey the level of violence was brought down significantly but the Armenian threat from abroad persists. The Nordic countries and Luxembourg did not experience any terrorism, while the other NATO member countries had to contend with their customary share of incidental violence.

3. For ease of definition the varied manifestations of terrorism can be distinguished as either national or international terrorism. Strains in national terrorism may be further identified on the basis of political ideological motivation: the extreme nationalist, the left-wing and the right-wing. Whatever motivates it, terrorism may be considered international when it manifests itself in a country other than that in which the organization responsible is sited, or when terrorist organizations in different countries operate on each other's behalf.

4. Of the extreme nationalist terrorist organizations the Irish organizations have remained the most aggressive.

5. Left-wing terrorism has continued undiminished in most of the member countries that have already experienced it for some years.

6. Though not to the same degree with regard to all groups there are general indications of a gradual but basic change of tactics among a number of the left-wing terrorist organizations though by no means to an equal degree in each case. It concerns a move away from the creation of dissatisfaction among the masses to the exploitation of already existing discontent. If this persists, the implication may be that these organizations are becoming ready to develop into a political force, a process for which precedents exist in the field of extreme nationalist terrorism.

7. Among the wide range of left-wing terrorist targets in member countries the frequency of attacks against United States nationals and interests is striking.

8. Continued acts of violence in several member countries by right-wing terrorists and the discovery of sizeable caches of weapons, explosives and ammunitions indicate that fanaticism and readiness to resort to violence are undiminished. The opaque structure of neo-Nazi groups and the individualistic modus operandi make them unpredictable and augment their destructive potential.

N A T O S E C R E T

-3-

N A T O S E C R E T

C-M(82)88

-4-

9. There has been an upsurge in international terrorism. Most of the attacks were carried out by Palestinian or Armenian terrorists. Among the NATO member countries France was one of the preferred "battlegrounds". After the Israeli attack in the Lebanon it has become even more difficult to assess the course the Palestinian and Arab terrorism will take. For the time being, it is unlikely that either the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) central leadership or its various components have the capacity to plan sophisticated attacks abroad. However, Palestinian extremist groups based in several Arab countries might still resort to violence.

10. Significant contacts and co-operation between terrorists of various nationalities were confirmed during the period under review. Until July 1982, Palestinians continued to play a major role in training terrorists of other nationalities.

11. International contacts between right-wing terrorist groups since 1981 are now so developed that "international right-wing terrorism" can be said to exist.

Espionage

12. Espionage activities of Hostile Intelligence Services (HoIS) in NATO member countries in general continued undiminished. The greatest threat is still posed by the Intelligence Services (IS) of the Soviet Bloc countries, among which the Soviet IS, KGB and GRU, remained dominant in all NATO member nations except in Germany. There, due to the special situation resulting from the division of the country, the IS of East Germany (EGIS) are the most active. Two thirds of all recorded attempts at recruitment in Germany were conducted by the EGIS as well as 70 per cent of all espionage activities detected in the defence sector.

13. Besides the IS from Soviet bloc countries those from the People's Republic of China (PRC), Cuba, Yugoslavia and some Arabian countries were also active.

14. In addition to the areas of traditional major interest to HoIS - politics, defence, émigrés - the field of science and technology has now become a target of top priority.

15. Espionage methods, and especially those of the East Bloc countries have become more refined and sophisticated. During the period under review it remained evident that intelligence collection, especially in the field of science and technology, is often co-ordinated between the various Soviet Bloc IS.

Subversive and Other Activities

16. During the period under review left-wing extremists continued their subversive activities at a significant level.

N A T O S E C R E T

-4-

N A T O S E C R E T

-5-

C-M(82)88

17. As in the previous period the anti-INF (Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces) campaigns remained the top issue of Soviet Bloc active measures in most of the member countries of the Alliance. The Soviets continued to activate all available forces such as international Communist front organizations, national Communist Parties and their front organizations (which, if necessary, were supported by Eastern European intelligence services) in their attempts to influence the peace movements in campaigning against NATO military capability.

18. In comparison to the Communists the other main currents of left-wing extremism were relatively insignificant. The Marxist-Leninist (formerly Maoist) groups became increasingly weakened and disoriented with the change of policy in China, and Trotskyism remained at a very low level. Only in the United Kingdom was the latter movement able to slightly increase in numbers. However, in some member countries the already existing radical tendency of groups of the non-dogmatic New Left increased, including recourse to violence in certain countries. Their activities were directed against all "militarist tendencies and phenomena" of today's society. International contacts among these groups seem to be intensified and sometimes resulted in joint activities.

19. In the field of right-wing extremism the situation has remained unchanged. Politically the movements remained insignificant as elections in several member countries proved. The problem right-wing extremism poses for security is the carrying out of political and terrorist activities within the same group.

20. The international contacts between right-wing extremist organizations were evident in their propaganda efforts and in attempts to provide a refuge abroad to extremists who try to evade executive and judicial measures in their own country.

I. TERRORISM

21. In comparison with the previous period under review there has been an overall increase in terrorist activities in NATO member countries. Still, significant successes were achieved by the security forces in a number of countries most notably in Italy and the United Kingdom. In Italy 486 terrorists or supporters were arrested, whereas in the United Kingdom the arrests numbered 225.

22. Particularly striking was the increase in terrorism in France which had to cope with attacks from a variety of terrorist sources. In addition, the United Kingdom, Italy and Germany remained focal points of terrorism.

23. In Turkey terrorism could be kept at a relatively low level (in comparison to the time before 12th September, 1980) because of the strict security measures taken by the Turkish authorities. Some of the Turkish terrorists who fled from their home country and now stay in other NATO member countries are advocating the use of violence in order to attain their aims. In August 1982 Turkey was for the first time itself the victim of an Armenian terrorist attack.

N A T O S E C R E T

-5-

N A T O S E C R E T

C-M(82)88

-6-

24. While the situation in Portugal remained unchanged, Greece, which in the previous period under review had already experienced an unprecedented outbreak of arson attacks, has had to cope with still more and more varied terrorist activities. In the Netherlands a group that carried out terrorist activities in the early Seventies shows some signs of becoming active again.

25. Apart from being plagued by Armenian terrorist attacks, Canada continued to be sought out for propaganda and support activities by terrorists and their supporters from Latin American countries and to a lesser extent, from Europe.

26. In the United States the most active groups among a variety of terrorist organizations continued to be the ones seeking independence for Puerto Rico. Almost all the other organizations pursued political aims unrelated to the domestic affairs of the United States.

27. This year the Nordic NATO member countries and Luxembourg did not experience any terrorism. Belgium was the only member country in which terrorist activity actually decreased.

28. Looking NATO-wide at the terrorist scene a rough distinction may be drawn between "national" terrorism and "international" terrorism. In this report "national" terrorism will be the term used to designate all terrorist activities which are committed by nationals of a NATO member country in their home country, and "international" terrorism the term to designate attacks by an alien in NATO member countries or against nationals and interests of NATO member countries in a third country. This distinction is used to give structure to this review of terrorism but it is largely theoretical. In practice it became more and more difficult to distinguish between "national" and "international" terrorism because of increasing co-operation between terrorists across national borders. This seems to have been the case in France in the summer of 1982.

"National" Terrorism

29. In "national" terrorism there are three main currents to be distinguished on the basis of political/ideological motivation: extreme nationalist, left-wing and right-wing terrorism.

30. According to the national contributions, extreme nationalist terrorism was carried out only in the United Kingdom and the United States; left-wing terrorism in France, Germany, Greece, Italy and Portugal. Right-wing terrorism occurred in France, Germany, Greece, Italy and Portugal.

31. Besides organizations following these three main currents there are those that may be difficult to categorize, such as the "ICONOCLASTS-NIHILISTS" and the anarchists "R-ORBAH" in Greece.

Extreme Nationalist Terrorism

32. The Irish and Welsh extreme nationalists carried out terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom. Since the end of the hunger strike early October 1981, Irish terrorism has increased, culminating in the two bomb

N A T O S E C R E T

-6-

N A T O S E C R E T

-7-

C-M(82)88

attacks carried out in London in July 1982. Further explosions were caused by extreme Welsh nationalists. Despite the rising number of victims Irish terrorism is still far from reaching the level of its peak years 1972 and 1976, when there were 450 and 290 casualties respectively.

33. There are six Puerto Rican pro-independence terrorist groups active in Puerto Rico itself and within the continental United States. A slight increase in their activities has been observed.

34. The recent Armenian terrorist attack at Ankara Airport, the first such attack launched in Turkey, has brought no change to the international character of Armenian terrorism, apart from the inclusion of another country, namely Turkey, in its area of operations. Therefore, Armenian terrorism will be treated in the section on "International Terrorism" (see below paragraph 50 et seq.).

Left-Wing Terrorism

35. As in the previous period left-wing terrorism has been most violent in Italy, significant achievements of the security forces notwithstanding. It would seem that especially the "Brigate Rosse" (BR) still dispose of a considerable reservoir of sympathizers and supporters. Even the eventual scissions within the BR after the failure of the kidnapping of General DOZIER did not bring about any pause in terrorism. The scissions resulted in the formation of three groups: the military-orthodox wing, the "Pro-Party" wing and Column WALTER ALASIA.

36. In Germany the terrorist organization "Rote Armee Fraktion" (RAF) did not commit explosive and arson attacks. (However, a recent bank raid committed by the RAF, possibly with the participation of Christian KLAR, a member of the RAF command level proves that the group is capable of improving its financial situation by spectacular means, in spite of special searches which are being conducted.) The "Revolutionären Zellen" (RZ) on the contrary, having recovered from previous setbacks, increased their activities considerably. They also were successful in influencing the organizational structure of militant "autonomous" groups belonging to the non-dogmatic left-wing extremist movement. Their tactic of relating their activities to the objectives of protest movements so as to "broaden the base for armed resistance" has yielded results. Recently the RAF published a basic document - the first one within the last ten years - mainly dealing with reflections on an "anti-imperialist front" to be established under the direction of the RAF. The paper did not give any firm indication that the RAF was planning attacks.

37. In France "national" left-wing terrorism proper is at a relatively low level compared with "international" terrorism. However, links were observed between "Action Directe" and "international" terrorists.

38. In Greece terrorism continued and increased after the unprecedented outbreak during the previous period.

39. In Portugal the situation remained unchanged.

N A T O S E C R E T

-7-

N A T O S E C R E T

C-M(82)88

-8-

40. The same holds true for the United States where only the politically insignificant Communist Workers Party and the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, an offshoot of the Revolutionary Communist Party, are reported to have resorted to violence on occasions.

41. Though not to the same degree with regard to all groups there are general indications of a gradual change of tactics among the left-wing terrorist organizations. Initially most of the major groups expected terror directed against well known people in leading positions in politics and economics to create unrest among the "masses" which would further the cause of "armed resistance". Realizing that this was a miscalculation they seek less to create dissatisfaction than to exploit already existing discontent. This could be noticed e.g. in Germany, in Greece, where 12 out of 24 explosions or attempted explosions were targeted against United States nationals or interests(1) and in France, where members of the "Action Directe" participated in "squatting" and set off explosions aimed at luxury stores. In Italy, a similar tendency was already noticeable in the previous period(2). The fact that the "Pro-Party" wing emerged from the split of the BR as the strongest of the three, seems to confirm this tendency. The BR may in fact be one step ahead of their terrorist confrères in other countries in that the readiness to develop into a political force may be seen as a logical consequence of the adoption of tactics that seek to exploit existing discontent among the political body.

42. The name "guerrilla party" adopted by the "Party Wing" is in itself a contradiction if the notion "party" is to be understood as a function of the existing political system. It is not yet known which of the notions will gain preponderance. Should it be "guerrilla", the next stage of the "revolutionary struggle" would already be indicated, assuming that terrorism, guerrilla warfare and finally civil war are the three major stages in the evolution of revolutionary movements.

43. So far, no similar development in left-wing terrorism pointing towards the constitution of a political force has been noted in France or Germany. The efforts of German RZ to exploit the issues of protest movements and their influence on militant left-wing extremist "autonomous" groups may be considered a first step in that direction. In some NATO member nations left-wing extremist parties dispose of militant offshoots. In Greece the "People's Struggle" is considered to be the militant offshoot of the "United Democratic Left" (EDA); in Portugal the "Popular Forces 25th April" are closely connected with the radical "Workers Unitary Organization". Should this presage a development in left-wing terrorism it would introduce a pattern that has already been characteristic for extreme nationalist terrorism for a long time.

44. Among the wide range of targets in "national" left-wing terrorism the frequency of attacks against United States nationals and interests is striking. In Italy the kidnapping of General DOZIER and further already

(1) In Greece the protest against the American bases has already been widespread last year (see Annex to C-M(82)4, paragraph 36).

(2) See C-M(81)93, paragraphs 12-14.

N A T O S E C R E T

-8-

N A T O S E C R E T

-9-

C-M(82)88

planned assaults of the BR were within the line of strategy already observed during the previous period(1). A similar development was observed in Greece (see paragraph 41 above) and in Germany where 18 bombings occurred as against seven during the previous period. The three assaults against United States Embassy personnel in Paris are to be seen in the same context.

Right-Wing Terrorism

45. Right-wing terrorism in Greece and Portugal was reported to be insignificant. The incidents of terrorism in France, Germany and Italy as well as discoveries of sizeable caches of weapons, explosives and ammunitions in Germany indicate that fanaticism and readiness to resort to violence are undiminished. The difficulty in establishing who within neo-Nazi circles is only engaged in extremist political propaganda and who is also engaged in terrorism, as well as the fact that attacks are often carried out by a single person or by small, loosely-knit groups, makes right-wing terrorism increasingly less calculable and potentially even more dangerous.

"International" Terrorism

46. Compared with the previous period there was a considerable increase in "international" terrorism. France is among the NATO member countries which have been hit hard by terrorists based in the Middle East.

47. In Italy it was speculated upon that the assaults committed there might be a prelude to a further settling of Palestinian/Israeli scores on Italian territory. There were attacks by Palestinian organizations in Germany and in the United Kingdom. Due to the political situation in the Lebanon it is difficult to assess the course the Palestinian and Arab terrorism will take. For the time being, it is unlikely that either the PLO headquarters or its various components have the capacity to plan attacks abroad. Palestinian extremist groups based in South Yemen, Iraq, Syria and Libya might still resort to violence.

48. If the defeat of the Palestinian resistance movement in Jordan in September 1970 served to give an impetus to "international" terrorism and to rally various extremist groups in Europe, it is to be feared that the present critical position of the Palestinians will again favour an increase in radical assaults and serve as a pretext to reactivate the international revolutionary solidarity which, as before, might lead to operational co-operation.

49. The Israeli attack in the Lebanon might increase political tension within the PLO, already plagued by serious internal dissension between the moderates close to ARAFAT and the rejectionists including the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) of G. HABBASH, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) of N. HAWATMEH, the PFLP-General Command (GC) of A. JIBRIL and the Syrian-led SAIQA. Thus it may encourage a schism in the organization which has prided itself on being the "only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people".

(1) See C-M(81)93, paragraphs 41-43

N A T O S E C R E T

-9-

N A T O S E C R E T

C-M(82)88

-10-

50. In comparison with the previous period under review Armenian terrorism continued to be a major threat. The attacks continued to be directed primarily against Turkish establishments and personnel but, as before, terror was also used in retaliation or to blackmail governments that dared to arrest an Armenian terrorist. The Armenian terrorist organizations have realized that at least their activities against non-Turkish targets have caused reaction not only among the population of the country in question but also among the Armenians living in that country. However, this should not be interpreted as a signal that those Armenian terrorist organizations which operate in NATO member countries, will henceforth refrain from terrorist operations. It is believed that for the time being the Armenian underground organizations need a period of recovery and reorganization. Meanwhile, the Committees set up in France and in the United States in support of Armenians currently under trial are functioning as terrorist propaganda organs.

51. According to further indications the headquarters of the Armenian terrorists has been so far located in the Lebanon. Co-operation with Palestinian groups was proved once again with the arrest of TCHARKUTIAN, a presumed member of an ASALA cell, who was in possession of two telephone numbers of the United Security Services of FATAH, which are run by former members of "Black September"(1).

52. In addition to terrorism practiced by Palestinians, other Arabs and Armenians, "international" terrorism was practiced by pro- and anti-KHOMEINY groups who fought each other in Germany, in the Netherlands, in the United Kingdom and in the United States; in Vienna, a pro-KHOMEINY group caused an explosion aimed at French property.

53. In Belgium clashes between Yugoslavs due to the tension in the Kosovo diminished considerably, but continued at a low level. As long as the political situation in the Kosovo remains unchanged a renewed increase in violence cannot be excluded.

54. In Canada anti-Yugoslav terrorism of Croatian extreme nationalists suffered a serious setback because of several arrests. There was one terrorist incident in the United States for which responsibility was claimed by a Croatian group. The new Yugoslav Prime Minister, Milka PLANINC, is assessed as a hardline anti-nationalist who intends to suppress Croatian nationalist activities. International reaction from Croatian terrorist groups may be forthcoming if the PLANINC administration should increase scrutiny of, or interference in, émigré affairs.

55. There are strong indications that Turkish nationals belonging to the Dev Sol and Dev Yol groups have left their home country and are now trying to infiltrate the Turkish community in the Netherlands.

56. Apart from attacks carried out by "international terrorists" the relations as well as the co-operation between terrorists of various nationalities are of interest. Irish terrorists have a long history of international contacts, especially across the Atlantic. That these still function well was demonstrated by the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) attempt to run

(1) "Black September" is the operational name of a group in the FATAH organization that carried out several terrorist activities since September 1970 (expulsion of Palestinian organizations from Jordan).

N A T O S E C R E T

-10-

N A T O S E C R E T

-11-

C-M(82)88

a major arms shipment from the United States and the arrest of two leading provisionals while trying to buy surface-to-air missiles in the United States. Large sums of money are collected each year in the United States and funnelled to Northern Ireland. Although the flow of money cannot be traced directly to terrorists in Northern Ireland, its destination may be inferred from the fact that the groups collecting the funds in the United States have voiced support for the objectives of PIRA in Ulster.

57. Apart from Armenian/Palestinian ties, events in the field of left-wing terrorism in France revealed contacts of "Action Directe" with Palestinians as well as with former members of the German RZ, residing in France. Notable also were the arrests of a Swiss and a German national who had links with the well-known international terrorist "CARLOS".

- On 16th February, 1982 a Swiss national, Bruno BREGUET, and a German, Magdalena KOPP, were arrested in Paris. They were found in possession of pistols, grenades from the East Bloc countries, falsified passports, as well as a car equipped with two kilos of explosives, detonators and timing devices. Bruno BREGUET had been imprisoned in Israel from 1970 to 1977 for transporting explosives for the Palestinian terrorist group of G. HABBASH, the PFLP. Magdalena KOPP was known for close contacts with extremist German organizations, in particular the RZ. She had been especially close to Johannes WEINRICH, one of the "lieutenants" of the Venezuelan terrorist "CARLOS" at the time of the attack against the El Al aeroplane at Orly in 1975. Shortly after BREGUET and KOPP had been questioned, "CARLOS" issued an ultimatum to the French authorities in an authenticated letter demanding their liberation. The letter was addressed to the French Embassy in The Hague. On 5th April, 1982, via the same channel, the Dutch "Rote Armee Fraktion" affirmed solidarity with the action taken by "CARLOS".

58. Palestinians continued to train terrorists of other nationalities. Reportedly, until the recent Israeli operation in the Lebanon, Turkish terrorists of various groups have been trained in arms, explosives and guerrilla warfare together with the Palestinians. They are also said to have continued in these camps with their own ideological training among themselves.

59. According to recently discovered BR documents a possible BR/RAF connection in further operations which had been implied by the first communiqué in the DOZIER case still appears to be possible, although for the time being unlikely, as a result of the failure of the kidnapping of General DOZIER and the growing number of repentant terrorists in Italy.

60. In Germany activities of supporters and sympathizers of left-wing terrorism across national borders were seen to decrease. Other examples of international contacts are the cases observed in Canada where several Europeans who were held for questioning appeared to be active in what could be an international courier system in support of Latin American terrorist/ guerrilla groups.

N A T O S E C R E T

-11-

N A T O S E C R E T

C-M(82)88

-12-

61. International contacts in right-wing terrorism are by now so well developed that though there is as yet no "international control centre", one can since 1981 speak of "international right-wing terrorism". This was proven by the co-operation between French and German neo-Nazis in terrorist assaults as well as the international network for the distribution of neo-Nazi propaganda which propagates increasingly violence and murder against political opponents.

State Terrorism

62. During the period under review the governments of the following nations were involved in terrorist attacks carried out in NATO member countries:

Ethiopia	-	in Germany
Libya	-	in Italy
Syria	-	in France, Germany and possibly the Netherlands
Yugoslavia	-	in Germany.

II. ESPIONAGEHostile Intelligence Services Most Actively Engaged in Espionage in NATO Member CountriesSoviet Bloc Countries

63. The Soviet IS attracted the attention of the counter-intelligence forces in all NATO member countries. Numerically their presence has increased in some countries, e.g. in the United States where the number of Soviet officials(1) grew from 1,038 in 1981 to 1,073 in 1982 and where the Soviet Union still disposes of the largest number of individuals of known or suspected intelligence affiliation. In Germany the portion of personnel of Soviet legal residencies suspected to be involved in intelligence increased slightly. In Canada, gaps caused by expulsions in 1979 and 1980 have been filled. During the period 35 officials from Soviet Bloc countries had been asked to leave their host country and in Portugal the staff of the Soviet Embassy was reduced by as much as 30 per cent at the request of the Portuguese government.

64. Among the Soviet satellite countries in Eastern Europe, Poland has maintained its aggressiveness despite the difficulties caused by the current political situation. With 274 (mid 1981: 362) officials it still retains the largest presence within the United States. The reduction in numbers was due to defections of Polish personnel, but also to a decrease in the number of assignments. In the United Kingdom, the greatest satellite IS threat numerically still comes from the Polish IS. In Germany a period of caution and lack of activity by the intelligence personnel in the Polish legal residencies was noticeable at the time of high tension before the military takeover. Since then confirmation has been received of a long suspected considerable reinforcement of the Polish military IS, stationed in the Embassy. In Portugal, also the Polish Embassy was affected by a 30 per cent cut in personnel. The same happened to the representation of the German Democratic Republic (GDR).

(1) "Officials" is a generic designation used by the FBI for operational convenience and should not be considered a diplomatic designation.

N A T O S E C R E T

-12-

N A T O S E C R E T

-13-

C-M(82)88

65. NATO-wide the EGIS and the Czechoslovak IS (CIS) are considered to be the most active satellite IS next to the Polish. The remaining East Bloc services, Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania, were quite aggressive in some member countries as in the case of Canada, France, Turkey and the United States.

Other Countries

66. Among the IS of non-Soviet Bloc countries the Chinese expanded their presence and activities even further. Since the normalization of relations between the United States and the PRC early in 1979, the official PRC presence (in the United States) has grown from 188 to 877. Historically, the PRC has attempted to match the Soviet presence in every country where diplomatic relations have been established; an aim which is nearly reached by now (in the meantime the Soviet presence has actually declined from 1,258 in late 1978 to 1,073 in June 1982). The PRC has also opened three consulates and is scheduled to open as many as ten additional establishments within the next several years (before 1979, the PRC had only two establishments in the entire United States). To these already impressive numbers 17 business offices, opened within the past year, have to be added. On a much smaller scale similar observations could be made in Canada.

67. Cuban intelligence activities worth reporting have been observed in Canada, in the United Kingdom, the United States and indirectly also in France.

68. Arabian intelligence activities increased considerably in Italy where the Yugoslav IS also continued to be active. The latter also attracted the attention of counter-intelligence forces in Canada where in addition activities by the North Korean, South Korean and Vietnamese IS were observed.

Main Targets

69. Besides the areas which have been traditionally of major interest to HoIS - politics, defence, émigrés - the field of science and technology has become a top priority.

70. In the political field the various institutions in NATO member countries were given priority. Soviet Bloc IS sought information on domestic and foreign policy, trade unions and security services as well as on the views of political parties. A few examples: in the United Kingdom they showed special interest in NATO; in the Netherlands and in Greece they were interested in the attitude of the government and the political parties towards the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles; in Greece they tried to collect information on Greek views towards the presence of the American bases. In the United Kingdom and in the Netherlands another item of interest was the "peace movement"; in the latter especially the movement's role in the decision-making process on the question of the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles. In the United States, in addition to their traditional concern with United States foreign policy objectives, especially with those related to the PRC and NATO allies, the Soviet IS have been evincing an increased interest in United States plans and postures in the Middle East. Other efforts were concentrated on key members of the new United States

N A T O S E C R E T

-13-

N A T O S E C R E T

C-M(82)88

-14-

cabinet. The Soviet IS were also interested in the United States views on topical questions such as:

- plans concerning United States-Soviet trade and commercial relations;
- plans to modernize and strengthen United States military forces;
- nature and role of United States accusations that the Soviet Union is involved in international terrorism;
- attitudes and posture toward such countries as the PRC, Poland, Iran, Afghanistan, El Salvador etc.

71. In the field of defence the HoIS continued to seek information about NATO and about the national armed forces of the member countries, especially information of strategic value and about advanced but also low level military technology and equipment. The range of interests stretches from military regulations, military installations and personnel, alarm and mobilization systems to structure, weaponry and training of the armed forces, NATO airports, Western shipping and aircraft, missiles and highly advanced electronic equipment. Examples are: an instrument used in the Norwegian built Pinguin missile, a data processor belonging to the F-16 fighter, satellite warfare technology, anti-submarine warfare (ASW) technology, laser technology with military applications, neutron bomb etc.

72. The latter examples demonstrate how closely espionage in the field of science and technology is related to that in the field of defence. Thus, the above-mentioned increase in hostile intelligence activities in the scientific and technological field is by no means restricted to science and technology per se but also highly affects the sector of defence.

73. In the field of science and technology, the inference is that hostile intelligence officers are tasked to gather information and items of equipment in all high technology areas, especially those in which the Soviet Bloc countries are known to be lagging behind the West, as for example in the electronics industry and other highly advanced technology e.g. optics, petroleum and gas industries and nuclear energy, communications equipment, computer sciences and electronic interception.

- The SOLOMONOV case clearly illustrates the increasing importance of transfer of technology among the objectives of the Soviet IS. Since August 1979 SOLOMONOV occupied the post of deputy director of Aeroflot in Paris. Close monitoring of his activities soon revealed that he was a member of the IS. From the very first days of his sojourn SOLOMONOV was busy establishing a variety of contacts in scientific, technical and industrial circles. Moreover, he often took advantage of his official position to approach prospective agents. In particular he tried to recruit a Frenchman, a freelance translator, specialized in the fields of science and technology. SOLOMONOV proposed that he pass to him against payment, the documents he received for translation from different French firms.

N A T O S E C R E T

-14-

N A T O S E C R E T

-15-

C-M(82)88

- From May 1981 onwards, SOLOMONOV made repeated efforts to establish contacts with an engineer, who is a director of a public relations company with a wide range of activities within the commercial sector in France. Little by little he revealed that he sought from him clandestine submittal of secret documents concerning French industrial policy and samples of classified or embargoed goods and that he was primarily interested in updated COCOM(1) regulations. On 2nd June, 1982 he was caught red-handed.
- Another case in this field, which caused significant damage to the United States is that of William Holden BELL. In 1977, BELL, a 61-year old employee of the Hughes Aircraft Corporation (HAC) developed a social relationship with Marian ZACHARSKI, a Polish intelligence officer who had been quite successful as a businessman in the Polish owned company Polish American Machinery Corporation (POLAMCO). Having financial difficulties BELL agreed to pass unclassified and later also classified HAC documents for money. Much of the material obtained related to tactical weaponry and equipment. A significant portion dealt with military technology such as the F-15 look-down-shoot-down radar system, the low probability of intercept radar, an experimental radar system for the United States Navy, a towed array submarine sonar system, the Phoenix missile, and a NATO air defence system.

74. The damage caused to the Western economies and societies in general is immense and manifold. Not only is East-West trade foiled but the East Bloc's ability to compete on the world market is considerably enhanced, due to savings in research and development costs. The leakage of the above-mentioned dual-use technology not only causes the West economic damage but also speeds up the vicious circle of the arms race with all the consequences for national budgets. In the end cuts in social expenses and in higher taxation become inevitable.

75. Emigrés and political dissidents living abroad are traditionally one of the main targets of all HoIS, and for two reasons: to keep a close eye on the political opponent and to recruit agents.

76. Last year's expectations in Canada that with the high number of Polish émigrés quite a few agents would sneak in have so far not been confirmed. The GDR is not only interested in émigrés living in Germany but especially also in Human Rights organizations dealing with inhuman treatment of those who applied for an emigration visa in the GDR and other Soviet Bloc countries.

77. During the period under review it was noted that some HoIS were engaged not only in the above-mentioned major fields of intelligence, but also in criminal as well as in subversive activities.

- An officer of the Romanian Special Services (CIE) Mattei HAIDUCU - a Frenchman of Romanian origin residing in France since 1975 - who had been collecting information in the sector of science and technology revealed after his defection in Spring 1982, that in

(1) Co-ordinating Committee for Consultative Group (International Export Goods, East-West Trade)

N A T O S E C R E T

-15-

N A T O S E C R E T

C-M(82)88

-16-

February 1982 General PLESITA, the Head of the CIE, had ordered him to eliminate two dissident Romanian writers, Virgil TANASE and Paul GOMA, who live in Paris. He was to kill TANASE himself or to employ hired assassins who were to be paid up to \$10,000. GOMA was to be poisoned by mixing aconite with one of his meals or drinks. This poison is fatal within two or three hours and leaves no trace.

78. On 30th April, 1982, the Portuguese government expelled the Ambassador and the Third Secretary of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Lisbon because both of them had supported subversive activities of the Portuguese Communist Party directed against the government.

79. In Italy, it was now possible to ascertain and reconstruct activities carried out by the KGB illegal KOZLOV who was arrested because of espionage in 1980. While living in Italy he visited several countries in the Middle East and the Third World. The common feature of those countries was their political instability. Most likely, KOZLOV's missions were related to subversive activities, carried out on an international level.

80. Two further examples may serve to confirm the charge often levelled against Cuba, i.e. the training of foreigners in subversive and terrorist activities.

- In the United Kingdom two Latin Americans travelling on false Mexican documents were detained when trying to enter that country in December 1981. They were found to be in possession of various false documents and items of espionage equipment. Subsequent investigation has led to the conviction that they were trained and equipped by the Cuban IS for a mission in Europe, presumably in support of a Latin American subversive or terrorist group.
- Because of French connections of the two detainees, the French IS carried out investigations that led to the identification of 18 persons, the majority of whom were Uruguayans. Most of them were members of the Latin American guerrilla movement "TUPAMAROS". Their activities seem to have centered around the animation of a "Front" reassembling organizations dedicated to Latin-American solidarity. Earlier, the French IS had already received information according to which several hundreds of Uruguayan members of MLN/TUPAMAROS had been trained in Cuba from 1977 to 1980.

Methods

81. East Bloc espionage methods have become increasingly refined and sophisticated. Intelligence collection is not restricted to clandestine methods; for example in the field of science and technology much of the information gathered is acquired in an overt manner. Diplomatic and other representations, such as trade missions and commercial enterprises owned by Soviet Bloc countries, continued to be the basis for espionage efforts. Events related to the newly established Aeroflot office in Rennes, France demonstrate well the extent to which such a business office may be used for intelligence purposes.

N A T O S E C R E T

-16-

N A T O S E C R E T

-17-

C-M(82)88

- The office as well as the newly organized direct charter flights to Moscow and Leningrad justify major movements of personnel, thus providing official cover for the benefit of the IS. These efforts to set up an operational base in the Brittany region are supplemented by one-off, but perfectly co-ordinated activities. Mention may be made in this connection of the "Khersones", a Soviet Mayak-type intelligence-gathering vessel, surprised by the French navy off USHANT during trials of the attack submarine "Perubis". It has also been established that the cargo ship "Perm" had been eavesdropping on radio broadcasts near the naval base and sub-prefecture at Brest. A Soviet F-type submarine was also intercepted by the French navy while crossing the exercise zone "SUROIT", which involved the British, Dutch and French fleets.
- Another operating procedure observed in France indicates the importance the Soviet IS attribute to the post of the "Head of the Economics Department of TASS" in France from which it operates under cover of NIKI (Institute of Konyunkturnyi, the Short-Term Economic Studies Institute). NIKI officially comes under the Soviet Foreign Trade Ministry and is regarded as a branch of the Soviet IS. All the heads of TASS Agency economics departments are now known to be products of this Institute. A former occupant of the post, a well-known GRU officer, applied for a 40-day visa in order to replace the official at present responsible.

82. The procedures of the Yugoslav IS in Canada illustrate their Service's flexibility. After an expulsion in 1979, the Embassy and Consulates continued to be used as covers for intelligence gathering, but there is a trend towards using Yugoslav Airlines (YAT) personnel in intelligence operations.

83. Apart from the personnel of legal residencies of HoIS, illegals continue to be planted in Western countries either under their real or under a false identity. In the KOZLOV case - a good example of the latter method - the Soviet IS co-operated with the EGIS which provided the Russian national with a West German passport obtained by illegal means.

84. In France it was noticed that the Soviets did not only use KGB personnel staying under diplomatic cover at the Soviet Embassy and with UNESCO but also engaged in collecting intelligence through representatives of the "International Department" of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) who had come to visit France.

85. Again this year there was evidence that hostile intelligence officers are not only interested in the host country's affairs but also collect information about third countries - as for example traditionally the PRC IS does vis-à-vis the Soviet Union.

86. Among the Soviet Bloc countries, in general, each country pursues its proper targets, but sometimes tasks seem to be split among the member countries. Although the Soviets are particularly interested in scientific

N A T O S E C R E T

-17-

N A T O S E C R E T

C-M(82)88

-18-

and military technology-related intelligence the Satellite IS are also active in this field at their behest. The bulk of data passed to the Polish IS in the William Holden BELL case, for example, pertained to military-related technology of little or no value to Poland but of obviously great value to the Soviet Union (see paragraph 73).

87. Another example in the United States was Bulgarian collection requirements, relative to military intelligence which virtually mirrored those of the Soviets. In Canada a similar repartition of tasks has been observed.

88. In the United Kingdom the KGB showed special interest in the main political parties and in the trade union movement, the Polish IS collected information on NATO, the EGIS was interested in the "peace movement", while the Czechoslovak IS targeted Social Democratic/Liberal Parties. From this it may be concluded that in the political field intelligence tasks are also co-ordinated among the Soviet Bloc countries.

89. A method observed in espionage on technological items is the multi-pronged attack, which means the same item or information is simultaneously sought through different channels, in the hope that at least one will meet with success. In addition to service personnel and co-optees from within the missions the HoIS use international entrepreneurs and national firms willing to circumvent export regulations and to act as purchasing agents. The parallel tasking of Satellite services fulfills the same purpose.

90. In the United States, apparently, HoIS normally do not engage in the actual illegal acquisition of controlled technology, especially hardware. Usually, intelligence officers acquire publicly available information on the material and the firms or persons dealing in such technology. This information is then evaluated and targeted for acquisition through complex schemes of middlemen, freight forwarders and diversions that obviate the direct involvement of a hostile intelligence service. Thus, what could seem like an attempt by a businessman to illegally acquire controlled technology may, in fact, be an intelligence operation.

91. In the Netherlands intelligence officers have tried more than once to find ways for the transport of embargoed goods. They took advantage of the good contacts they had developed with electronics and nuclear physics industries. East European scientists and trainees were also mobilized for the same purpose.

92. To a greater or lesser degree all HoIS request their nationals who are allowed to stay in a Western country as visitors, delegates, students or scientists, to conduct intelligence activity.

93. With regard to recruiting methods the following can be mentioned. Although the approach of Western citizens for intelligence purposes during a private or official stay in countries under Communist rule is not at all new, the importance HoIS pay to this method needs to be stressed again. The United States experienced a case of a serviceman, of Hungarian descent, who was approached by the Hungarian IS while visiting relatives in Hungary. 50 per cent of the attempts of the recruitment of German citizens are made while

N A T O S E C R E T

-18-

N A T O S E C R E T

-19-

C-M(82)88

these people stay in one of the East Bloc countries for private or official reasons. The Yugoslav IS (YIS) for example targeted Canadian tourists in Yugoslavia. Visitors have been routinely detained, deprived of passports, harrassed, threatened and intimidated, with a view towards possible recruitment. Two Canadian citizens have recently approached the media expressing fear of YIS reprisals as a result of their refusal to co-operate. Because the number of approaches we shall never hear about is presumably fairly high it is difficult to assess the success of this method. However, the number of known cases as well as the continued application of the method support the assumption that the yield justifies the efforts. Another method of approach, this one observed in Germany, is to contact by letter or telephone people who advertised for a job in a newspaper.

94. The military branch of the EGIS resorted to a method they already applied in the late Sixties, by which people are asked to participate in an "open competition". In the past it has been experienced that such campaigns were aimed at bringing about a visit to the GDR, during which the person's qualifications for intelligence activities were tested.

95. Apart from the recruitment of émigrés already living in NATO member countries, all HoIS to a greater or lesser degree task individuals within the émigré flow and reward them with a considerable simplification of the emigration procedures.

96. Quite unusual are measures applied by the Polish IS in Canada. As a consequence of the current economic malaise in Poland, Embassy and trade officials are encouraging Canadians of Polish descent to expand investments in Poland to import more Polish goods. While there is, of course, nothing wrong with the encouragement, it was determined that the Polish IS intends to exploit selected investors for intelligence purposes once their livelihood becomes inextricably bound to their investments in Poland.

97. From Soviet pressure on the Dutch government - though exerted in vain - to approve the opening of a Soviet Consulate in Rotterdam and to admit Soviet nationals as consultants in Soviet/Dutch joint ventures based in Rotterdam it might be concluded that the Soviets intend to increase harbour- and navy-related intelligence gathering. However so far there has been only little evidence that such joint ventures have been used as cover for intelligence operations. Nevertheless, activities and personnel in joint ventures are to be watched carefully especially in a period of increasing international tension. Joint ventures, many of which are placed in the most important parts of Western Europe, will most likely be used as cover for intelligence officers charged with gathering information on pre-war preparations. The activities of these officers may be linked to sabotage committed from aboard ships of the Warsaw Pact merchant fleet lying in harbour.

N A T O S E C R E T

-19-

N A T O S E C R E T

C-M(82)88

-20-

III. SUBVERSIVE AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

Communist Parties

98. As not all member countries consider that the general activities of their Communist Parties should be the subject of mention in this report, summaries of national contributions from those countries which consider their Communist Parties to be the main adverse political factor have been placed in a separate Annex to this report. Mention of these Parties in the body of this report is restricted to their participation in active measures, as defined below.

Soviet Bloc Active Measures

99. The Soviets use the term active measures, primarily in an intelligence context, to refer to active operations intended to influence or provoke a policy effect, as distinct from espionage, intelligence collection, and counter-intelligence. They are intended to influence the policies of foreign governments, disrupt relations between other nations, undermine confidence in foreign leaders and institutions, and discredit opponents. But the Soviets do not limit the concept of active measures to intelligence alone. Active measures consist of a wide range of activities including: manipulation or control of the media; written or oral disinformation; use of foreign Communist Parties and front organizations; manipulation of mass organizations; clandestine radio broadcasting; economic activities; military operations; and other political operations utilizing agents of influence, academicians, journalists, and businessmen.

100. It is often difficult to determine the effectiveness or impact of Soviet active measures programmes. Nevertheless, the fact that the Soviet leadership continues to use and fund such operations on a large scale suggests a positive assessment of their value. An examination of the available information indicates that Soviet active measures are conducted on a worldwide scale, are well integrated with other Soviet foreign policy actions, and appear frequently to be effective.

Active Measures by the KGB in the United States

101. The KGB is primarily responsible for conducting covert active measures in the United States. The major objectives of KGB active measures in this country are to promote Soviet views and policies, influence American foreign policy and/or public opinion, and discredit opponents of Soviet foreign policy objectives.

102. KGB officers continue to warn their American contacts of the possible consequences of Western interference in Poland, generally referring to Western expressions of support for Solidarity. These consequences include the end of détente and other aspects of East-West co-operation. KGB officers have also promoted the Soviet accusation that funding and/or moral encouragement from certain American labour unions and ethnic Polish-American organizations exacerbate and destabilize the situation in Poland.

N A T O S E C R E T

-20-

N A T O S E C R E T

-21-

C-M(82)88

103. The KGB has participated in a major Soviet diplomatic and propaganda campaign to counter a perceived United States-PRC alliance against the Soviet Union. KGB officers have warned their American contacts that the Soviet Union will not tolerate United States attempts to use the PRC as a political or military weapon against the Soviet Union, and will oppose the transmittal of substantial United States military aid, particularly advanced military weaponry, to the PRC.

104. The KGB has developed a wide range of contacts in American political, business, journalistic, academic, "progressive", and cultural circles for the purpose of influencing American public opinion and American foreign policy. In addition, the KGB is involved in the CPSU International Department's manipulation of the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA) and its front organizations for active measures purposes.

Active Measures - Campaigns Against the Military Capability of NATO

105. During the period under review the primary focus of KGB active measures has been arms control and disarmament matters. In order to influence the various organizations and coalitions engaged in the peace movements in the NATO member states, the Soviets made use of all the available means as described in C-M(82)4: international Communist front organizations such as the World Peace Council (WPC) and the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), national Communist Parties and their front organizations, which when necessary were assisted by Eastern European intelligence services. Communist attention was focused on activities connected with the Second Special Session on Disarmament (SSD-II) of the United Nations General Assembly, but at the same time the continuing actions against the NATO decision to modernize Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces in Europe (the anti-INF campaign) remained of great importance.

106. The WPC decided to highlight these and other activities in its 1982 Program of Action which was agreed upon during the WPC Bureau meeting in Copenhagen in January 1982. This Program served as a guide to the national affiliates of the WPC in almost all NATO member countries. The support given by the WFTU was new to some extent. As a result of this support some trade union engagement in peace activities could be discerned in a number of member states. Apart from Communist involvement in campaigns against the Alliance the pluriform peace movement in some countries also had to deal with the participation in demonstrations of violence-prone non-conformist groups.

107. In Belgium, the Communist Party (PCB) and its front organizations continued to influence the two umbrella organizations, the "Vlaams Aktie Komitee tegen Atoomwapens" (VAKA) for Flanders and the "Comité National d'Action pour la Paix et le Développement" (CNAPD) for Wallonia. However, VAKA - set up by the WPC-affiliated "Vrede" - changed its unilateral anti-NATO policy after its alliance with moderate peace organizations and the affiliation of a front organization of the Maoist "Parti du Travail de Belgique" (PTB), which considers the Soviet Union a threat to peace as well. On the other hand the PCB and its front groups continue to have a firm grip on CNAPD.

N A T O S E C R E T

-21-

N A T O S E C R E T

C-M(82)88

-22-

108. Members of the Communist Party of Canada (CP of C), working through front organizations, orchestrated a "Cruise missile" protest and a "Walk for Peace" in April 1982. Not only the Canadian Peace Congress, the CP of C's leading front organization, but also the Young Communist League (YCL) and the recently set up Trade Union Peace Committee have been active in the field of peace activities. The Communist Party of Quebec successfully concealed the fact that they were the organizers of a peace march in Montreal on 5th June, 1982, shortly before the beginning of the SSD-II. Romesh CHANDRA, WPC president, visited various Canadian cities in the period from 14th to 26th June, 1982. On 30th October, 1982 15,000 people demonstrated in Ottawa against the cruise missile deployment and nuclear proliferation in general. Although the CP of C and other extremist groups participated in the demonstration, they played a minor role. The vast majority of participants were apolitical and were genuinely concerned with the issues involved.

109. In Denmark, the WPC-affiliated Committee for Cooperation on Peace and Security (CCPS) was responsible for the practical arrangements necessary for the above-mentioned Bureau meeting of the WPC in Copenhagen. During the meeting it was apparent that the head of the Soviet delegation controlled the discussions. As far as national peace activities are concerned, the Communist Party of Denmark now seems to prefer to channel its influence more through local, Communist dominated parts of the trade union movement.

110. In France, an international "Festival for Peace" was held in Nîmes in May 1982, but turned out to be too one-sided to attract many participants. For this reason the pro-Soviet part of the peace movement stood aside when a "Peace March" was organized on 20th June, 1982 in Paris. The latter demonstration with several tens of thousands of participants was successful because a wide range of opinions and trends were represented. During the march Soviet representatives got into contact with the French "Mouvement de la Paix" (MdIP). These contacts and the help of the First Secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Paris resulted in the sending of an MdIP delegation to the Soviet Union. A demonstration which took place on 17th June, 1982 on the occasion of the visit of President REAGAN to France was more of an "anti-imperialist" than of a pacifist nature.

111. In the Federal Republic of Germany, the Communist Party (DKP) made continuous efforts to influence the peace movement towards a strong anti-INF position. The DKP was able to initiate the "1982 Easter Marches" with a total of some 160,000 participants and to concentrate them on the INF issue alone. It was also strongly involved in the collection of even more signatures in support of the "Krefeld Appeal" against the modernization of NATO weapons and in the organization of an international peace demonstration with around 300,000 participants in Bonn on 10th June, 1982. For the first time, however, the DKP was confronted with opposition from within the peace movement criticizing its one-sidedness.

112. Many demonstrations against NATO and the US took place in Italy, in which a prominent organizing role was played by some left extremist groups with a pro-Soviet stance. Not only the WPC-affiliated "Coordinamento Nazionale di Lotta per la Pace" (CNLP) was active in this field, but also the Italian Cultural and Recreational Association (ARCI), controlled by the Italian Communist Party, was almost always engaged in the various peace manifestations. From 27th September to 4th October, 1981 some officials of the

N A T O S E C R E T

-22-

International Department of the CPSU have visited Rome and several Italian provinces. Direct Eastern European involvement showed also from the fact that anti-United States and anti-NATO propaganda material turned out to have been printed in the GDR and Czechoslovakia. Influence from other sources was exercised as well. For instance the Libyan consul in Palermo and other high ranking Libyan officials tried to convince the mayor of Comiso to withstand the deployment of INF in Comiso. He was offered a certain sum of money to be used for public works in his town, but this offer was rejected. Even the terrorist organization "Brigate Rosse" has tried to exploit the peace movement for its own purposes.

113. In the Netherlands, the "Joint Committee Stop the Neutron Bomb-Stop the Nuclear Armaments Race" controlled by the Communist Party of the Netherlands (CPN) held a closed conference in February 1982. The conference was attended by peace movements from 25 countries. Most of the organizations present were either affiliated or closely linked with the WPC. The preparations for the conference were made in close co-operation with officials of the GDR Peace Council, whereas a Soviet delegation led by an official of the International Department of the CPSU succeeded in overcoming the last obstacles which were due to the developments in Poland. The "Joint Committee" plans to hold a "National Peace Conference" in January 1983.

114. In the United Kingdom, the WPC-affiliated British Peace Assembly elected a younger, strongly pro-Soviet Executive Committee in April 1982. The WPC paid for British WPC members and supporters to attend a large number of international conferences either organized or sponsored by the WPC. The Communist-controlled WFTU has also entered the field of peace activities, and in May 1982 set up a permanent International Trade Union Committee for Peace and Disarmament to carry on the work begun at its Paris Conference on the social and economic aspects of disarmament held in December 1981. In late November 1981 the British National Union of Mineworkers had hosted a National Miners Conference on Peace and Détente in Newcastle-upon-Tyne which included in its final resolution a message of good wishes to the Paris conference. Although the Soviet delegation tried to blame the United States alone for the escalation of the nuclear armaments race, the Newcastle conference was critical of the nuclear policy of both East and West. As in other NATO countries, Peace and Disarmament have therefore continued to be the main themes of Soviet Active Measures against the United Kingdom since November 1981. In January 1982, the Soviet authorities published an 80-page booklet entitled "Whence the Threat to Peace" which was closely modelled on and clearly intended to counter a United States publication entitled "Soviet Military Power" published four months earlier. As well as in English, the Soviet booklet was published in Italian and presumably in other European languages also. There is evidence that the Soviet Union indulged in an Active Measures exercise in the course of the recent British-Argentinian conflict, telling the Argentinian Ambassador to Moscow that the Soviet authorities had evidence that the British Naval Force was armed with nuclear depth charges.

115. In the United States, the CPUSA and its front organizations, particularly the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (NCASF) and the US Peace Council (USPC), received instruction from the Soviets to influence the various groups of organizations and coalitions in the American peace movement and to foster the view that the United States is chiefly responsible for the arms race and lack of progress in arms control and disarmament negotiations, while concurrently countering any notions that the Soviet Union shares some of the responsibility. The CPUSA, NCASF and USPC were among the many organizations that participated in the peace rally held in New York City on 12th June, 1982. This rally coincided with the SSD-II held by the United Nations, as did most of the national peace demonstrations in the other countries.

N A T O S E C R E T

C-M(82)88

-24-

Radical Anti-militarist Groups

116. In some NATO member countries, undogmatic left-wing anti-militarist groups became more radical and expanded their activities against all so-called militarist tendencies and phenomena in present-day society. On an international scale they appear to intensify their mutual contacts, which sometimes result in a kind of co-operation in joint activities.

117. In Germany the undogmatic "autonomous" groups have been more and more turning away from the "squatters' struggle" finding new realms of action for their "militant resistance" within the "anti-militarist struggle"; so attacks on military supply installations and vehicles were committed in the northern part of Germany and in the Rhine-Main area. On the occasion of United States President REAGAN's visit to Berlin (West) severe riots took place. Anarchistic "Non-violent Action Groups" and parts of the DKP sphere launched an appeal calling for "non-violent resistance" against military institutions in Germany "at their sites".

118. In the United Kingdom anarchist groups have recently become more conspicuous because of increased involvement in anti-militarist activities in which they have advocated "direct action". Much of this activity is inspired by the Brixton Anarchist Collective in South London which in June held a conference attended by about 150 people.

119. In the Netherlands, the action group "Onkruit"(1) which was started in 1974 to render support to total objectors of military and any substitute civilian service, gradually has expanded its field of action to include everything which is considered to be connected with militarism and at the same time makes increased use of force. "Onkruit" advocates the principle of "basis democracy" and although the group numbers only about 500 activists operating in some 20 local "branches", it represents a rather disruptive element in public life, partly because it works together with a variety of other action groups. Recently "Onkruit" directed its activities against underground shelters for civil defence on the premise that it is reprehensible to prepare for a nuclear war by building such shelters which after all would only protect the élite of the nation.

120. In September after about a year's research, "Onkruit" published "The Wild Guide", a directory in three parts: "The Army", "Ministry for Justice", "Military and Nuclear Production". Besides these parts it also comprises a map of the Netherlands which indicates the location of a great number of military, judicial and industrial objects and organizational charts of the Dutch Army. Included in the directory are a great number of addresses of governmental and private institutions and individuals connected with these three subjects. A consequence of this publication up till now has been that a considerable number of persons - listed under the title "Creepy persons" - have received telephone calls in the middle of the night.

121. "Onkruit" maintains a more or less intensive contact with like-minded organizations in Belgium, France, Italy, Great Britain and Germany. Joint actions have been carried out in Belgium and France.

(1) The name "Onkruit" is a play on words: "onkruid" means "weeds", whilst "kruit" means "gunpowder".

N A T O S E C R E T

-24-

N A T O S E C R E T

-25-

C-M(82)88Marxist-Leninist (formerly "Maoist") Groups

122. The movement of Marxist-Leninist (M-L) parties and groups, which came about all over the world during the Sixties under the impulse and with the political and material support of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), is in a serious crisis. Meant to be a militant alternative to the orthodox, so-called "revisionist" pro-Moscow parties and a mouthpiece for Peking in the Sino-Soviet conflict, the movement is today more than ever in danger of perishing because of setbacks and internal contradictions without actually having had a real flourishing period or a massive following.

123. This downward course can be judged to have started already with the Sino-American rapprochement of the early Seventies and with the subsequent formulation of a pragmatic Chinese foreign policy, for instance favouring a strong NATO against Warsaw Pact threats. The decease of MAO ZEDONG (September 1976) and the rupture between China and Albania (1976-77) deprived the movement both of its charismatic leader and - as far as most West European parties were concerned - of a nearby co-ordinating centre.

124. Under the present reformist régime of DENG XIAOPING the tendency of disorientation within the M-L movement has only intensified. For example the mutual recognition by China and the Soviet Union of each other as socialist countries has already made the ideological component of the dispute disappear. Besides, by continuing to restore its relations with the formerly "revisionist" parties, the CCP is inflicting heavy damage to the very reason of existence of the M-L movement. As could be observed in most NATO member countries, many of the M-L parties have reduced their activities, while some fell victim to new schisms or even decided to disband themselves.

125. In Belgium the PTB recently succeeded in weakening the pro-Soviet influence in the peace movement considerably by its Maoist ideology. On the other hand, the PTB, which played a very active role in social conflicts in February and March 1982 and which was to a large extent responsible for the violent incidents which took place during demonstrations by strikers in Brussels, won 0.8 per cent of the votes in the parliamentary elections on 8th November, 1981 and has therefore not increased.

126. The Communist Party of Canada, Marxist-Leninist (CPC-ML) has been trying with only limited success to infiltrate industrial companies, high schools and university campuses as well as circles of East Indian immigrants. The independent Communist Party of Labour (CPL) is traditionally focusing its attention on labour issues, but so far only reached low-level positions in several unions. The Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada-In Struggle met in Montreal for its Fourth Congress from 21st to 24th May, 1982 and voted to dissolve the organization. Two or three splinter groups have survived.

127. During the period under review the M-L movement in the United Kingdom was inactive. The Communist Party of Britain (M-L), which together with the Revolutionary Communist League of Britain and the Revolutionary Communist Party of Great Britain (M-L) make up for the approximately 1,000 members altogether, recently even appeared to be considering abandoning its non-aligned revolutionary line and coming out in support of the Soviet Union.

N A T O S E C R E T

-25-

Trotskyist Groups

128. At this moment Trotskyism is definitely not a very important topic in most NATO member countries. With its small and scattered memberships in the various countries, it almost completely goes under in the general left extremist background noise. Some developments, however, in the period under review are worth recording.

129. The monthly meetings of the Bureau of the IVth International of the United Secretariat tendency are no longer held in Brussels but apparently in Paris. The "Centre Operationnel International" and the office of the information paper "Inprecor" have already been located there for several years. Another possible location for these meetings could be Amsterdam where the IVth International bought some houses last year, but up till now there is no evidence of the Bureau meeting there.

130. The houses in Amsterdam were formally bought by the "Institut International de Recherches et de Formation pour Promouvoir le Socialisme Scientifique et Démocratique", which is linked up with the IVth International. At the moment the institute is training an unknown number of - presumably Trotskyist - people from West European, Latin American and Southeast Asian countries. Nothing is known yet about the nature of the training.

131. Throughout 1981 the Belgian section of the IVth International of the United Secretariat tendency, the Ligue Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs (LRT), concentrated on the preparation of an infiltration plan in certain key enterprises. This plan, which was begun in September 1981, has not yet yielded the hoped-for results. The results of the parliamentary elections on 8th November, 1981 were equally unfavourable for the LRT, even though in Brussels and Wallonia the League had joined forces with the PLS movement ("Pour le Socialisme", a group with marxist and revolutionary leanings).

132. In Canada there are seven Trotskyist organizations, divided in three main groups, with a membership totalling no more than approximately 500. That number even declined, with all three groups losing members over the past year.

133. In the United Kingdom Trotskyism maintained itself better. With an increase of 100, the Socialist Workers' Party (SWP) is claiming a membership of 4,200, membership of the clandestine Militant Tendency (MT) rose to about 3,000 and the Workers' Revolutionary Party (WRP) remained steady at about 3,000. While engaged in industrial and trade union affairs, the Trotskyist groups saw their attempts to influence specific industrial disputes turn out to be unsuccessful. The MT, however, disturbed the Communists as well as "moderate" opinion by its success in the elections for the National Executive Committee of the largest civil service union, the Civil and Public Services Association. Worth mentioning is that in February 1982 a Youth Training Centre, the fourth in a planned total of 25, was opened by the WRP, which is the dominating party in the International Committee of the IVth International (the rival organization of the United Secretariat tendency of the IVth International).

134. Among the smaller British Trotskyist organizations the International Marxist Group (IMG), with about 600 members, attracted attention when last year its founder Tariq ALI resigned from the group. The relation became somewhat unclear since ALI apparently did not sever completely his link with the IMG nor with the United Secretariat of the IVth International of which the IMG is the British section.

N A T O S E C R E T

-27-

C-M(82)88

Right-Wing Extremism

135. In general, right-wing extremism did not show spectacular new developments lately. In some NATO member countries the membership of the right-wing extremist groups slightly increased, in others there was a small decline. It sometimes is difficult to establish who within right-wing extremist circles is only involved in political activities and who is also engaged in terrorism (see paragraph 19). This is one of the incalculable aspects of this extremist phenomenon. Anyhow its political importance as such seems to remain limited, taking into account that little or no electoral progress was made.

136. In making propaganda the right-wing extremists were rather active. In Germany the number of their regularly issued publications rose from 85 to 98. Particularly the French groups participated in efforts to internationalize the propaganda. The similarity of right-wing extremist themes contributed to editing propaganda material internationally by agencies used in common. For instance the British printing company "Historical Review Press" and the United States organization "White Power Publications" execute many commissions by French or other foreign neo-Nazi movements. Neo-Nazi propaganda material which is published abroad is still being smuggled into Germany. For the German neo-Nazis this is quite important because due to judicial measures it has become more difficult for them to publish their own magazines.

137. On the whole these propaganda activities did not result in an increased following of the right-wing extremist groups. In Germany there was a slight increase for the first time since 1967 when the Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (NPD) experienced its political climax. At the end of 1981, 73 right-wing extremist organizations with a total membership of about 20,300 were registered, which compared to 1980 represents an increase by approximately 500 members. In the United Kingdom, however, their numbers decreased while other countries showed no striking fluctuations.

138. Activities of right-wing extremist organizations remained limited in a number of countries. In Belgium and Germany this seems chiefly the result of executive and judicial measures taken against these groups, in England it apparently was caused by internal argument among the right-wing extremists themselves. In Belgium certain members and leaders of the "Vlaamse Militanten Orde" (VMO) and the "Front de la Jeunesse-Forces Nouvelles" (FJ-FN) were prosecuted mainly on the charge of violation of the law on private militia. In Germany the Minister of the Interior on 27th January, 1982 proscribed the most aggressive neo-Nazi organization, the "Volkssozialistische Bewegung Deutschlands/Partei der Arbeit" (VSD/PdA) and its youth organization "Junge Front" (JF). The "Wehrsportgruppe HOFFMANN" had already been banned in 1980. In spite of stringent measures the violence-prone right-wing extremist circles in Germany have not been seriously affected.

139. By escaping to other countries right-wing extremist individuals regularly try to evade national executive and judicial measures. In Germany the "Hilfsorganisation für Nationale politische Gefangene und deren Angehörige e.V." (HNG) is active in this domain. In France the auxiliary organization GOBRA founded by the neo-Nazi organization "Faisceaux Nationalistes

N A T O S E C R E T

-27-

N A T O S E C R E T

C-M(82)88

-28-

Européens (FNE, ex-FANE) closely co-operates with the HNG. On 30th April, a German national, a member of the "Wehrsportgruppe HOFFMANN", was arrested in Belgium. He had been sheltered secretly for some months by the chief of the West Flanders section of the VMO.

140. In the electoral field right-wing extremism manifested itself as weak. In the United Kingdom in the elections for local councils held in May the National Front (NF) won no seats and forfeited all its election deposits. Its performance was even worse than in elections in the preceding years. In Germany the right-wing extremists did not achieve much better. Their agitation against guest workers and other foreigners did not bring them the electoral results they hoped for. In the Netherlands two right-wing extremist parties engaged themselves in the recent parliamentary elections. Most successful was the "Centrum Partij" (CP), which got 0.8 per cent of the votes and therewith one seat in parliament. In its campaign the CP made good use of feelings of dissatisfaction over the presence of ethnic minority groups, particularly in old town districts.

141. In the United Kingdom the New National Front, a breakaway of the National Front, changed its name into the British National Party (BNP). The British Movement, with about 4,000 members, the largest fascist organization in the United Kingdom, also changed its name. It now calls itself the British Nationalist and Socialist Movement (BNSM).

N A T O S E C R E T

-28-

N A T O S E C R E T

-1-

ANNEX to
C-M(82)88NATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTIESThe Communist Party of Belgium (PCB)

1. In the General and Provincial Elections on 8th November the PCB gained only a small two and a half per cent of the votes, which means a loss of about one per cent or 35,000 votes compared with the previous elections. The losses in percentage are accentuated in seats: two instead of four in the Chamber of Deputies, one instead of two in the Senate and five provincial counsellors instead of ten. These results confirm the general tendency of decline since 1949 in spite of the actual economic and social conditions, which in principle would seem to be favourable for the party.

2. Another setback for the PCB was formed by the internal party discussions, which were aroused by the coup d'état in Poland on 13th December, 1981. Meeting as early as 14th December the Political Bureau stated that it "disapproves of the military government ... and the draconian measures it has taken", as they are "incompatible with socialism in a developed country". Remaining loyal to its usual line of behaviour, the PCB at the same time condemned the accusatory attitude of the Western countries, which might hinder the policy of détente. The position of the Political Bureau has been highly criticized by the pro-Soviet faction (especially in Liège), which is close to the French CP. Meanwhile the events in Poland have not noticeably affected the relations with Moscow, where the annual bilateral meeting of the PCB and the CPSU took place at the usual level in June 1982.

3. Weakened and divided by these two successive blows the PCB went into its 24th Congress on 28th/29th March, 1982. Nevertheless the outgoing leadership managed to survive almost undamaged by exercising severe self-criticism and presenting a balanced party line. The PCB succeeded in re-establishing unity with the resolution on national policies, pledging an unremitting social struggle against the present government. However, there was a growing pro-Soviet opposition against i.a. the foreign policy resolution, which restated the commitment to "Eurocommunism" and the critical assessment of the "real socialism" of the Soviet Bloc countries, which nevertheless at the same time were said to "constitute a political and strategic counterweight of the utmost importance, especially with regard to preserving the peace in Europe". Anyhow the PCB remained active in the anti-INF campaigns, although the party has lost much of its influence in the peace movement of the Flemish speaking part of the country.

The Communist Party of Canada (CP of C)

4. The CP of C has been very active via individual members and front groups in recent "peace" protests. Members of the CP of C also played a significant role in the initiative and organization of the "Canadian Conference on Solidarity with the Liberation Struggles of the Peoples of South Africa" held in Ottawa from 7th to 9th May, 1982 and co-sponsored by the African National Congress (ANC) and the South West Africa Peoples Organization (SWAPO), two Soviet-backed African liberation movements.

N A T O S E C R E T

-1-

ANNEX to
C-M(82)88

-2-

The Communist Party of Denmark (CPD)

5. Through the years the CPD has enjoyed a very limited membership and support among the voters. In order to rectify this the party is i.a. considering a change in its connection with the peace work, which is still considered very important. The possibility of taking an active share in other mass movements is also being considered. Thus it appears that from now on the direct contacts with the peace movement will be canalized through the Communist dominated parts of the trade union movement instead of through the Committee for Cooperation on Peace and Security, which is a front organization of the CPD.

6. The CPD went through an embarrassment when, in March 1982, approximately DM 200,000 were stolen from a party secretary. The money was kept in a safe in his home. It has become clear that the theft was carried out by common criminals, but it has not been established how or from where the high-ranking party official had received the money. Both he and other representatives of the CPD have been very reluctant to give any comment to what has happened. However, the party secretary himself has claimed that he had received the amount in connection with the international solidarity work and that it had been collected in Western Europe.

The German Communist Party (DKP)

7. The DKP ("Deutsche Kommunistische Partei") with its membership of about 40,000 and its sympathizing organizations with approximately 75,000 members is still the strongest left-wing extremist force in Germany. It faithfully follows Moscow's political line and is controlled and financially supported by the "Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED) with more than 50 million DM annually. In the period under review the DKP made continuous efforts to influence the "peace movement" in favour of the Soviet options and towards a strong opposition against the modernization of NATO weapons. Besides, with leaflet and placard campaigns the DKP continued its efforts to gain some influence on the Federal Armed Forces, in which a monthly average of 77 known DKP members was registered. Together with its youth organization "Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterjugend" (SDAJ) the party tries to extend and support the "anti-militarist activities".

8. The DKP increasingly manages to attract single members of the large democratic parties and their youth organizations and to form alliances. For the DKP the "unity of action", i.e. the co-operation with social democrats, represents the core of this policy. Accordingly, a strong attendance of Communists was registered at a meeting held on 17th April in Munich, where the delegates of the SPD party congress were asked to reject the modernization of NATO weapons. The DKP further sought to undermine the trade unions without substantial success and has intensified its "unemployment campaign", in which it also hopes to mobilise more forces for the "peace struggle" by using the slogan "work instead of missiles".

N A T O S E C R E T

-3-

ANNEX to
C-M(82)88The Communist Party of the Netherlands (CPN)

9. In December 1981 the CPN published the draft of a new policy programme, which without entirely abandoning the traditional Communist objectives, tries to accommodate the wishes of a large group of young Communists for renewal. In discussions this has led to an accentuation of the contrasting views of non-orthodox minded party members and an orthodox group, which in September 1982 even organized a large scale national meeting to elaborate its standpoints. Those CPN members in favour of renewal believe that "the greatest threat to peace does not come from a particular social structure or a particular power, but from the very existence of nuclear armaments" and they accord a high priority to breaking down "bloc thinking". The orthodox party members are strongly opposed to these views and emphasize in one of their discussion papers that the party's policy must be based on a class standpoint, i.e. that the socio-economic struggle should have priority. They consider it no mere coincidence that the "Stop the N-bomb" campaign is directed against NATO and the United States. In the meantime the CPN-dominated "Joint Committee Stop the N-bomb-Stop the Nuclear Armaments Race" continued its peace activities unabatedly.

The Portuguese Communist Party (PCP)

10. The PCP ("Partido Comunista Português) and organizations affiliated to it continued to be the main source of subversive activities in Portugal. They received support from members of East Bloc countries' embassies, which has led to the expulsion of Czechoslovak diplomats in April 1982.

The Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB)

11. The CPGB (18,500 members in 1981) held its National Congress in November 1981. Although less evident than at the previous two congresses, there was still a fundamental disagreement between some hard-line pro-Soviet members and a younger "progressive" group. The Political and Executive Committees of the CPGB issued strongly worded statements in December 1981 and January 1982 condemning the declaration of martial law in Poland, which were criticised by a significant pro-Soviet minority in the party. In spite of these arguments the CPGB maintained its links with the international Communist movement on a normal level.

12. Without significant results, members of the CPGB tried to exploit the opportunities presented by a number of industrial disputes. By means of its front organization LCDTU (Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions) the party started a campaign to generate opposition to the Government's proposed legislation on industrial relations and trade unions. Leading Communists were instrumental in setting up the "Ad Hoc Committee for Peace in the Falklands" to protest at the Government's handling of the Falklands crisis.

The Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA)

13. The CPUSA has generally been ineffective in recruiting new membership and in infiltrating American political and industrial circles. In order to combat the REAGAN administration in a more effective way the party plans to

N A T O S E C R E T

-3-

N A T O S E C R E T

ANNEX to
C-M(82)88

-4-

initiate an independent political party movement, which ostensibly will have no connections with the CPUSA. Moreover, by means of a number of front organizations the CPUSA still tries to influence the American youth and labour movement, although without considerable results until now.

14. The CPUSA and its front organizations which receive policy direction and financial support from the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU, unswervingly try to promote Soviet views and to discredit the American policies and political system. For instance under the instructions of the World Peace Council the CPUSA front organization NAARPR (National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression) has been working to raise the issue of "political prisoners" in the United States, apparently to counter the political prisoner issue alleged against the Soviet Union. By direction of the CPSU the CPUSA and its front organizations continue their efforts to mount propaganda campaigns against the American defence policy and NATO deployment of INF weapons and to support the anti-war and peace movements in the United States.

N A T O S E C R E T