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Memorandum

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To : Mr. E. J. O'Malley

Date 3/9/83

From : J. L. Tierney

Subject : P SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES RELATING TO
THE U.S. PEACE MOVEMENT

J-25-86
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PURPOSE:

To recommend approval of attached publication, "Soviet Active Measures Relating to the U.S. Peace Movement," for dissemination to the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (HPSCI), other components of the U.S. Intelligence Community, and FBI field offices. This report is in response to a specific request from the Chairman of the HPSCI and will be delivered to him by the FBI's Office of Congressional and Public Affairs.

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached publication be approved for dissemination, as detailed above and on the attached list. (u)

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- 1- Mr. E. J. O'Malley
1- Mr. P. A. Parker
1- Mr. J. L. Tierney

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- 1- Mr. T. E. Burns
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Memorandum from J. L. Tierney to Mr. E. J. O'Malley
Re: SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES RELATING TO THE U.S. PEACE MOVEMENT

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DETAILS:

This report documents Soviet active measures in the United States relating to the U.S. peace movement and presents an assessment of the effectiveness of this campaign. It was prepared in response to a specific request by Chairman Edward P. Boland of HPSCI in a letter to the Director dated 12-10-82. In an interim letter dated 12-29-82 the Director advised Chairman Boland that the FBI was in the process of complying with his request for a written report, but wished to augment that report with an oral presentation of information derived from human intelligence sources. This written report will be delivered to Chairman Boland by the FBI's Office of Congressional and Public Affairs. It is believed that this report would be useful and of interest to other elements of the U.S. intelligence community as well as FBI field offices, and it is recommended that the report be disseminated as detailed on the attached list.

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SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES RELATING TO
THE U.S. PEACE MOVEMENT

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INTRODUCTION

Soviet leaders have publicly backed the peace and nuclear freeze movements, seeing an opportunity to encourage opposition in the West to current U.S. arms control and defense policies. Through official communiqus, propaganda, and active measures operations, the Soviets have maneuvered to align themselves with popular sentiments of the peace movements in the United States and Western Europe, with the prospect that Western public opinion might dissuade Western Governments from deploying the new weapons systems. (u) (u)

During the past two years, the Soviet Union has increased its efforts in the United States to exploit popular causes such as peace and disarmament. The Soviets have initiated an active measures campaign designed to penetrate, influence, and mobilize the U.S. peace movement and to discredit American defense and arms control and disarmament policies. (u) (u)

The Soviet organizations principally involved in the Soviet peace offensive in the United States are the KGB and the International Department of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). The principal objectives of the KGB are to collect information on the U.S. peace movement and to recruit sources to penetrate and influence the movement.

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The CPSU International Department directs the activities of the principal instruments of the Soviet campaign to penetrate and influence the U.S. peace movement: Soviet-controlled international front organizations and their U.S. affiliates; the Communist Party, U.S.A. and its front

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organizations, and the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. The Soviets also use representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, USSR Academy of Science, Soviet media establishments, and other party and government agencies in active measures operations. (U) (U)

This report examines Soviet active measures relating to the U.S. peace movement. Section I identifies the Soviet organizations and front groups that are involved in the Soviet peace campaign. Section II documents specific Soviet active measures and focuses, in particular, on the Soviet effort to influence the June 12, 1982, demonstration for peace and disarmament in New York. The final section of this report presents an assessment of Soviet active measures relating to the U.S. peace movement. (U) (U)

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I. INSTRUMENTS OF THE SOVIET PEACE OFFENSIVE

KGB

KGB residencies in the United States have received active measures tasking concerning the peace movement on a regular basis from KGB Center. The residencies have been instructed to utilize agents and trusted contacts* to penetrate and influence the U.S. peace movement and to promote disarmament proposals that are propitious to Soviet foreign policy and propaganda interests. (S) [redacted]

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At the direction of the KGB, an agent who is active in the American peace movement campaigned for Soviet arms control and disarmament initiatives and personally attended numerous national and international peace conferences. He was directed to write articles for "progressive" and small-circulation publications, which attribute American economic problems, such as recession and unemployment, to "Reaganomics" and American defense spending. At the behest of the KGB, trusted contacts, some of whom have access to local media outlets, such as local radio programs and newsletters, purvey Soviet views on arms control and disarmament and participate in peace conferences and demonstrations. (S)

*A trusted contact in KGB terminology refers to an individual who is willing to cooperate with the Soviet Government, but may be unaware that he is dealing with Soviet intelligence officers. Unlike a recruited agent, a trusted contact is not usually handled in a clandestine manner, and he is not bound to follow Soviet guidance or instructions, although he often does so. He may or may not receive money or other rewards for his services. The KGB often considers a trusted contact as productive or useful as a recruited agent, particularly for active measures operations. (S)

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KGB officers have personally contacted several, major American peace organizations, including the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, SANE, Women's Strike for Peace, Physicians for Social Responsibility, Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, Mobilization for Survival, American Friends Services Committee, Center for Defense Information, Ground Zero, Riverside Church Disarmament Program, Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control, Council for a Liveable World, and the June 12 Committee. They have collected information on the platforms and activities of these organizations, and they have attended meetings to lobby for Soviet views on peace and disarmament. (S)

For instance, a KGB officer, assigned to a cover position at the United Nations Secretariat, attended meetings of the Physicians for Social Responsibility and actively lobbied for Soviet proposals on disarmament and a nuclear weapons freeze. The KGB officer was also a member of Moscow's delegation to the first Special Session on Disarmament at the United Nations. (S) [redacted]

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Another KGB officer, assigned to a cover position at the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C., has regular, ongoing contacts with representatives of the American Friends Services Committee and the Women's Strike for Peace. The KGB officer collects information on various peace organizations and attends conferences sponsored by peace organizations. He has told sources that he is the liaison between the Soviet Embassy and American-based national and international organizations which interact with the USSR. (S) (Domakhin) [redacted]

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The KGB is also attempting to develop contacts with religious figures in the United States. The Soviets believe that the participation of American clergy and religious organizations in the peace movement is extremely desirable, since it lends the aura of moral legitimacy to the movement.

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Six Soviet officials, five of whom are affiliated with the KGB, have been regularly participating in Christian-Marxist dialogue conferences held by the Southern Baptist Convention Ministry to the United Nations. The American religious leader, who is sponsoring these conferences, believes that "Christian-Marxist" dialogue is the key to disarmament and is intent on spreading this concept by expanding the conferences. The Soviet officials who are attending the conferences have stressed the Soviet desire for peace, and they have encouraged the expansion of church activities in the peace and disarmament field.

(U) (S) [] SIS Activities in
(U) U.S., 7/28/82] (S)

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KGB officers have also collected personal and biographic information on several peace activists in the United States. The purpose of this exercise is to identify those peace activists who are likely to cooperate with the Soviet Government and to determine if any of these individuals are vulnerable to recruitment operations. The KGB also systematically collects the public statements and speeches of leading peace activists, with the ultimate aim of selectively replaying, in the Soviet media or in covert media placements in other countries, those views that parallel Soviet foreign policy and propaganda interest.

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For instance, a KGB officer, assigned as a correspondent for a Soviet literary magazine, is actively cultivating a prominent American academician and peace

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activist. The American, who is an expert in nuclear weaponry, has been the target of previous KGB recruitment attempts. The KGB officer has also written several articles for Soviet publications, including pieces on the manufacture of chemical and biological weapons in the United States and the American peace movement. He has made contacts with and solicited information from several American peace organizations, including the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, Riverside Church Disarmament Program, Bridges for Peace, Committee for Creative Non-Violence, War Resisters League, and the National Campaign

(U) to Stop the MX. (S)

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Another KGB officer, assigned to a cover position of correspondent for Soviet radio and television, has reported on the peace movement in the United States. He recently attended a nuclear freeze conference in Boston, Massachusetts, and he ordered tapes of the main speakers, which included such well-known peace activists as Randall Forsberg, (S)

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Recently, an American peace activist was spotted by a KGB officer while delivering a speech at a conference in the United States. After a few contacts by the KGB officer, a formal invitation to visit the USSR was sent to the peace activist. All expenses were paid by the Soviet Union, and the individual was scheduled to meet with Soviet peace groups. The KGB officer also returned to the Soviet Union at approximately the same time, presumably to meet the peace activist and, along with other KGB officers, to effect recruitment. The peace activist was subsequently handled as a trusted contact. (S)

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After being spotted at various peace conferences by a KGB officer, another American peace activist was invited to visit the Soviet Union. The trip was sponsored ostensibly by (S) (U)

the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. All expenses were paid, except for airfare. The peace activist was assessed, dined, and given gifts. Due to the target's age (early 60s), there was no attempt at recruitment as an agent, however, the activist was to be operated as a trusted contact. (S) (X) (U)

The KGB campaign to cultivate and influence Americans involved in peace and disarmament matters and the FBI's effort to neutralize this activity was described in a commentary by Alan Wolfe in the January 22, 1983, edition of The Nation. Wolfe, a member of The Nation's editorial board, detailed Soviet efforts to cultivate and influence him, which included several visits to his office and an offer to visit the Soviet Union to lecture at the Institute of the U.S.A. and Canada. The FBI determined that Wolfe was a target for recruitment by the KGB, and his trip to Moscow was arranged by the KGB to effect his recruitment. The FBI interviewed Wolfe to advise him of Soviet designs to cultivate and influence him.

(U) (S) (X) [redacted] Nation 1/22/83) (X) (U)

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CPSU INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT (X) (U)

In the Soviet peace offensive, the CPSU International Department orchestrates the activities of Soviet-controlled international front organizations and their U.S. affiliates; the Communist Party, U.S.A. and its front organizations; and the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. The CPSU International Department transmits directives to these organizations and arranges for Soviet funding of their activities and projects. Although it has few representatives

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stationed in the United States, the CPSU International Department works with officials of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs and KGB officers to monitor and direct the activities of these organizations. (U)(u)

World Peace Council and U.S. Peace Council

At Soviet direction, the World Peace Council (WPC) has placed the highest priority on the peace movement and a campaign to oppose intermediate-range nuclear force (INF) deployments in Europe. The WPC Program of Action for 1982 called for a worldwide campaign against the danger of nuclear war, and it was clearly directed at U.S. defense and arms control policies. A principal objective of this campaign was to exploit the Second Special Session on Disarmament at the United Nations (SSOD II) and the coinciding June 12 demonstration to discredit American defense policies. (U)(u)
(100-361031, WPC)(u)

WPC activities in the United States have been coordinated in the past by the CPUSA. During 1979, however, the CPUSA assigned two of its long-time members to establish a U.S. chapter of the WPC. At its founding convention in November, 1979, the United States Peace Council (USPC) became an affiliate of the WPC, and the key leadership positions in the USPC were given to CPUSA members. In addition, the memberships of many local chapters of the USPC are predominantly comprised of CPUSA members. (U)(u)
(100-361031, WPC)(u)

CPUSA officials founded the USPC in response to directives they received from CPSU International Department officials during a series of meetings in Moscow in 1978. During these meetings, the Soviets provided guidance to the CPUSA apropos to peace and detente and directed the CPUSA to establish peace groups in the United States. (S)(u) [100-361031,]

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With the establishment of the USPC, WPC-related activities in the United States increased noticeably. Utilizing various symposia, conferences, demonstrations, and publications, the USPC persistently lobbied for the halt of American nuclear weapons production and deployment, particularly the "neutron bomb" and intermediate-range nuclear forces in Western Europe. (U) (u)

The USPC sponsored two high-level WPC delegations to the United States in 1981. These delegations toured major American cities and addressed sizeable meetings of trade unionists, academicians, students, and women and peace activists. They stressed the peace and disarmament theme and encouraged the USPC and other organizations to initiate letter-writing campaigns, rallies, and demonstrations. (U) (u)

In 1981, it was learned that Soviet officials informed WPC President Romesh Chandra that the Soviets have "big plans" for WPC/USPC activities in the United States in the 1982-83 period. The Soviets were elated by the ease with which the WPC was able to hold events in the United States and intended to take full advantage of this in the future. They made it clear to WPC officials that they would provide funds for WPC and USPC activities in the United States. (S) (S) (100-361031, WPC)

World Federation of Trade Unions

The World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) with headquarters in Prague, Czechoslovakia serves as a Soviet front organization to infiltrate and influence foreign trade unions. American labor unions for the most part do not support the WFTU. Consequently, much of the activities on behalf of the WFTU in the United States are conducted by the CPUSA and the National (S) (u)

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Coordinating Committee for Trade Union Action and Democracy (NCTUAD), a CPUSA front organization that operates as the U.S. affiliate of the WFTU. (S) (X) U

CPUSA national headquarters has tasked its chapters and NCTUAD to focus on the infiltration of American trade unions and to promulgate communist doctrines and political lines. CPUSA members have been able to join the locals of such trade unions as the United Auto Workers, United Steelworkers, and the International Longshoremen's Association (S) [100-3, CPUSA] (X) U

(U) The Soviets believe that this is an ideal time to influence American trade unions because of the economic problems of recession, high interest rates, and unemployment. Consequently, the Soviets have requested the WFTU and CPUSA to convince American labor to support the peace movement, under such slogans as "jobs for peace," and to promote the view in trade-union circles that increased defense spending and exploitation by multinational corporations are the main reasons for the poor economic situation in the United States. (U) (X) U

Much of the Soviet effort to influence the trade union movement in the United States for political purposes was previously directed through [redacted]

[redacted] International Department of the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCIU), the mass trade-union organization in the USSR that also serves as the Soviet affiliate to the WFTU. While assigned to the position of [redacted]

[redacted] developed numerous contacts with American labor union officials, the CPUSA, and various peace and disarmament groups. (S) (X) U He also sponsored and arranged for travel of American labor leaders to the USSR. [redacted] who is also a /

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functionary of the AUCCTU International Department, replaced

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[redacted] and has taken over
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[redacted] have worked closely with Ernest DeMaio, a longtime CPUSA member and permanent WFIU representative to the United Nations. De Maio has numerous contacts in American labor unions and is an outspoken critic of the U.S. Government. [redacted] have tasked De Maio to conduct active measures operations designed to elicit American trade-union support for the American peace movement. Based on their activities in the United States, [redacted]

[redacted] are probably cooperating closely with or are representatives of the CPSU International Department. (S) (S) (100-361031; [redacted]) (S) (U)

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Communist Party, U.S.A.

The CPUSA is one of the most loyal, pro-Soviet communist parties in the world and its leadership accepts Soviet directives and funding on a regular basis. During the past few years, the CPSU International Department has instructed the CPUSA to place high priority on the issues of arms control and disarmament and the peace movement. Although outside the mainstream of American political life and operating with a small membership, the CPUSA has responded to Soviet requests for assistance with fervor. The organization has initiated letter-writing campaigns, sponsored and participated in demonstrations and rallies, formed coalitions with other organizations, and sponsored seminars and workshops to promote Soviet views on arms control and disarmament matters and to mobilize the American peace movement. (U) (U)

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Because of the stigma still associated with communist parties in the United States, the CPUSA often prefers to work behind the scenes, using its front or affiliated organizations to penetrate and influence the U.S. peace movement. The organizations include the USPC, the National Council of American Soviet Friendship (NCASF), Women for Racial and Economic Equality (WREE), National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR), and National Coordinating Committee for Trade Union Action and Democracy (NCCTUAD). (G) (S) (U)
[100-3, Solo] ~~(S)~~ (U)

The Soviets provide considerable funding for CPUSA activities (over 30 million since the late 1950s and currently estimated at over 2.75 million dollars per year). The funds are transferred clandestinely to the CPUSA by the KGB. (S) (S) (U)
[100-3, Solo] ~~(S)~~ (U)

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship

The Soviet friendship society in the United States is the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (NCASF). Established by the CPUSA in 1943, the NCASF claims that it is an independent organization whose purpose is to promote friendship, understanding, and cultural and educational exchanges between the peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union. In practice, however, the NCASF works to advance the foreign policy and propaganda objectives of the USSR. (S) (U)

The CPSU International Department controls the NCASF primarily through the CPUSA. It is estimated that 80-85 percent of NCASF members (NCASF membership is estimated at 1,000) are also members of the CPUSA. The top leaders of the NCASF, the Executive Director and the National Chairman, are closely associated with the CPUSA and reportedly are secret members of the CPUSA. Reliable sources have reported that the Soviets use

[redacted] a CPUSA member [redacted]

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The Soviets have urged the NCASF to focus its activities on arms control and disarmament matters and the peace movement. The NCASF has responded by sponsoring letter-writing campaigns, rallies, and demonstrations to support Soviet interests in this matter. Local chapters of the NCASF were instructed by NCASF headquarters in April, 1981, to join peace coalitions in their areas and to ensure that such matters as a freeze on nuclear weapons and Soviet attitudes toward peaceful co-existence are brought to the attention of the American people. (U) (U)

The NCASF has arranged meetings, press conferences, radio and television interviews, and lecture or speaking engagements for Soviet officials assigned to the United States and Soviet delegations that visit the United States. During the period April-June, 1982, three Soviet delegations sponsored by the NCASF visited the United States. Two of the Soviet delegations toured cities on the West Coast and engaged in propaganda activities aimed at discrediting U.S. positions on nuclear disarmament and promoting the U.S. peace movement. Members of the Soviet delegation were interviewed by the local media and appeared on local radio talk shows and newscasts. The third Soviet delegation participated in similar activities in major American cities on the East Coast. (U) (U)

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The Soviet intelligence services are known to use the NCASF for spotting individuals who may be susceptible to manipulation or recruitment. Through their connections with the NCASF, Soviet intelligence officers have been introduced to individuals and organizations of intelligence interest. In one case, an NCASF member assisted the KGB to contact and cultivate an individual who has indirect access to classified information. KGB officers have also used NCASF-sponsored travel to engage in clandestine intelligence meetings and exchanges.

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II. SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES VIS-A-VIS THE U.S. PEACE MOVEMENT

Documented below, in roughly chronological order, are Soviet active measures operations vis-a-vis the U.S. peace movement. These operations, together with other Soviet active measures previously discussed in Section I of this report, document overt and covert Soviet plans and activities to penetrate and influence the U.S. peace movement. (U) (U)

A. U.S.-USSR CITIZENS' DIALOGUE

In 1979, a group of American citizens from a variety of nongovernmental organizations (including several religious organizations) formed the Committee for U.S.-USSR Citizens' Dialogue, under whose umbrella a series of "U.S.-USSR Citizens' Conferences on Peace and Security" were to be held. The declared purpose of the Dialogue is to promote understanding, cooperation, and peaceful relations between the two countries by launching citizen to citizen exchanges with Soviet citizens from several Soviet "public, nongovernmental organizations," such as the Union of Soviet Friendship Societies, the Committee of Youth Organizations, the Soviet Women's Committee, the Soviet Peace Committee, and the All-Union Central Trade Union Council. Each of the organizations listed above, however, are Soviet affiliates of international front organizations, and they are controlled by the CPSU International Department. (U) (U)

According to reliable sources, Carol Pendell, President of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), traveled to the Soviet Union to coordinate the establishment of the Citizens' Dialogue. Pendell reportedly received funds from the NCASF and the Soviets to cover the (S) (U)

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expenses involved in the establishment of the Dialogue, including her travel expenses to the Soviet Union. She was subsequently named the President of the Committee for U.S.-USSR Citizens' Dialogue. Another member of the Committee is Philip Oke, the U.S. representative of the Christian Peace Conference (CPC) to the United Nations. The CPC has been identified as a Soviet-controlled international front organization. (S) (S) (U)

The Soviets wasted little time in exploiting the U.S.-USSR Citizens' Dialogue. In June, 1980, a five-man Soviet delegation, which included three suspected intelligence officers and one member of the CPSU International Department, arrived in the United States, ostensibly to explore the logistics of the U.S.-USSR citizens' conferences. The Soviet delegation was led by Nikolay Mostovets, Chief of the North American Sector, CPSU International Department. Members of the delegation traveled to several American cities, including Reno, Nevada; Salt Lake City, Utah; Raleigh-Durham, North Carolina; Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota; and St. Louis, Missouri. The Soviet delegation, which publicized itself as a contingency of "nongovernment representatives," conducted press interviews and appeared on radio talk shows to promote Soviet views and denigrate American Government positions on Afghanistan, the Moscow Olympics, and the SALT II Treaty. The NCASF arranged and sponsored many of the activities of this delegation, and NCASF members personally assisted the Soviet delegation during the visit. 48) (S) (U)

Further indications that the NCASF and Soviet friendship societies were playing a key role in the U.S.-USSR Citizens' Dialogue surfaced in January, 1981, when a delegation from the U.S. Committee for U.S.-USSR Citizens' Dialogue, led

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by Pendell, traveled to the USSR at the invitation of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, the parent organization of Soviet friendship societies. As a result of that visit, Soviet officials agreed to send a delegation of Soviet citizens from "non-government organizations" to the United States in October, 1981. The Soviet officials stressed, however, that a return visit by an American delegation depended on whether the Soviet delegation was successful in promoting Soviet peace initiatives to large American audiences. (S) (C) (U)

In October, 1981, a 28-member Soviet delegation traveled to the United States, at the invitation of the U.S.-USSR Citizens' Dialogue, to attend a "Conference for Peace and International Security." The delegation visited several American cities, including Washington, D.C.; Toledo, Ohio; Austin, Texas; and Pasadena, California. Members of the delegation conducted press conferences, appeared on radio talk shows, and spoke before several American audiences, including church organizations. The visitors promoted Soviet views on arms control and disarmament issues and encouraged the American people to support the peace movement. (S) (C) (U)

It appears that the Soviets have evaluated the Dialogue as a useful medium for propaganda activities concerning peace and disarmament. Soviet officials have extended an invitation to American representatives of the Dialogue to visit the USSR in 1983. (S) (C) (U)

The Soviet use of this Dialogue for propaganda concerning the U.S. peace movement is a classic illustration of Soviet exploitation of an organization and its members, most of (S) (C) (U)

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whom are unwitting, for active measures purposes. Reliable sources have advised that the Dialogue's membership has been misled and easily exploited by the Soviets to the point that the original goals are indistinguishable from other front organizations. (S) (U) 100-146964; [redacted]

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[redacted] (S) (U)

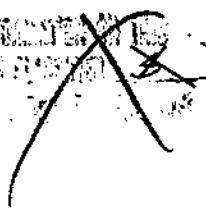
B. NCASF THIRD NATIONAL CONVENTION

The Third National Convention of the NCASF transpired September 11-13, 1981, in Madison, Wisconsin. Opening speeches were presented by the National Chairman and the Executive Director of the NCASF, and the theme of these speeches dealt with disarmament and world peace. Soviet representatives at the convention, including Vadim Gorin, Deputy Secretary General in charge of the USSR-USA Friendship Society in Moscow, and Vladimir Zolotukhin, a Soviet official assigned to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C., addressed the convention and actively participated in workshop discussions. They presented Soviet views on arms control and disarmament issues and urged the NCASF and other American organizations to increase their efforts in the peace movement. (H) (U)

The theme of the convention was "Negotiate Now," which was primarily a call for a campaign of peace action to focus the entire blame for arms escalation and the cold war climate on the U.S. Government. At the same time, Soviet arms control and disarmament proposals were praised at the convention, and a publication listing Soviet peace and disarmament decrees, proposals, agreements, and treaties from 1917 to the present were passed to the participants for distribution to American officials and the general public. (H) (U)

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Petitions decrying U.S. plans to develop and deploy the "neutron bomb" and calling for a nuclear freeze were also distributed to the convention delegates. The delegates were instructed to persuade American people in their districts to sign the petitions and send them to Senators, Congressmen, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and President Reagan at the White House. The convention outlined plans to wage campaigns to persuade national political figures and city mayors and councils to adopt resolutions against nuclear war and for a nuclear freeze. The convention also resolved to participate in and add its voice to the Solidarity Day march sponsored by the AFL-CIO, which was held in Washington, D.C., in September, 1981, and which attracted a sizeable number of demonstrators. (u)

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The proceedings of the NCASF Third National Convention demonstrate Soviet influence over this American organization. The NCASF was aggressively promoting Soviet views on peace and disarmament through the distribution of publications and circulation of petitions at the national and local levels. (u) SU 100-146964. open source publication and (u)

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C. USPC SECOND NATIONAL CONFERENCE (u)

In November, 1981, the USPC held its Second National Conference in New York City with the theme of "In the Common Interest-Strategies for Peace". The conference mapped out plans for intensified work around the major WPC activities and campaigns, including workshops on disarmament, international solidarity with liberation struggles, conferences on the domestic consequences of the arms race, and electoral strategies for peace. Workshops also focused on how to organize and unify the masses around the peace issue. (u)

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Proposals passed by the conference attendees included calling on local USPC chapters to introduce referenda for "jobs with peace" to city and state elected bodies and to campaign for a nuclear freeze proposal on electoral ballots. The conference also passed a resolution condemning the U.S. State Department denial of a visa for the Soviet Peace Committee delegate to the conference and another resolution condemning the Reagan Administration for creating a hostile climate as a rationale for armed intervention by the United States in Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, or El Salvador. (U) (U)

Two U.S. Congressmen and a high-level delegation of the World Peace Council, led by Romesh Chandra, attended the USPC conference. In his address to the conference, Chandra stressed the peace and disarmament theme and encouraged the USPC to initiate letter-writing campaigns, rallies, and demonstrations concerning the peace movement. He emphasized the importance of thwarting U.S. plans to modernize theatre nuclear forces in Western Europe and praised the nuclear freeze proposals made by the late Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev. The USPC Second National Convention convincingly demonstrated the one-sided, pro-Soviet views of the WPC/USPC (U) (U) F100-361031; public source material and [redacted] (S) (U)

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D. HEMISPHERIC CONFERENCE OF SOVIET FRIENDSHIP SOCIETIES

The NCASF and the Canada-USSR Association (CUA) are playing leading roles in organizing a hemispheric conference of Soviet friendship societies. The conference, which is to be held in Mexico City, was originally scheduled for December of 1981, then postponed until the Spring of 1982, and now rescheduled for the Spring of 1983. Delays to date have been (X) (U)

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blamed on the lack of planning and organization on the part of the Mexican-Soviet Friendship Society. Friendship societies from at least 15 nations in the Western Hemisphere are expected to attend the conference (including Brazil, Argentina, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Cuba, United States, and Canada). ~~(S)~~ (U)

The Soviet Union and Cuba have promoted the hemispheric conference idea, and both countries have agreed to secretly furnish the necessary funding for the event. The purpose of the conference is to unite Soviet friendship societies in the Western Hemisphere and to establish permanent lines of communication between the societies. The Soviets hope the conference will increase the impact and effectiveness of the friendship society concept by improving cooperation between societies and by channeling the collective resources of the societies into activities beneficial to Soviet foreign policy and propaganda interests. The Soviets, Cubans, and participating friendship societies are likely to use the conference as a forum to criticize and attack U.S. policies in Central and Latin America, particularly American support for the present government in El Salvador, and to promote Soviet-inspired peace and disarmament proposals. If the hemispheric conference is judged to be successful, it may continue on a periodic (perhaps annual) basis. ~~(S)~~ (U)

The proposed Hemispheric Conference of Soviet Friendship Societies illustrates the patient behind-the-scenes maneuvering by Soviet and Cuban Governments to exploit friendship societies for active measures purposes. The Soviets hope to coordinate the activities of friendship societies in an orchestrated attack against U.S. policies in Central and Latin America and on peace and disarmament issues. ~~UN~~ 100-361031; □

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United States. The CPUSA headquarters offered to transmit to the districts prepared texts from CPUSA General Secretary Gus Hall, dealing with such topics as peace and disarmament, for use in preparing the letters. One CPUSA district forwarded letters to editors of influential area newspapers and either signed them "from a concerned individual" or actually used fictitious names. The district succeeded in having at least three letters published in leading area newspapers (U) (C) (100-3; (C) b7D

G. SOVIET "PEACE DELEGATIONS" SPONSORED BY THE NCASF

The Soviets systematically use NCASF - sponsored tours to promote Soviet policies and propaganda concerning peace and disarmament to the American people and to conduct covert active measures. The NCASF arranges meetings, press conferences, radio and television interviews, and lecture or speaking engagements for both Soviet officials assigned to the United States and Soviet delegations that visit the United States. (U) (C)

A 21-member Soviet tourist group arrived in Los Angeles April 29, 1982, from Mexico City to begin a twelve day tourist excursion to Los Angeles, San Francisco and San Diego. The tour was sponsored by the NCASF. (U) (C)

Members of the group engaged in propaganda activities aimed at discrediting the U.S. position on nuclear disarmament. While in San Francisco, Soviet tour member Eduard Batalov, an historian with the Institute of the U.S.A. and Canada, was a guest of a radio talk show and discussed the Soviet position on nuclear disarmament. (U) (C)

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In San Diego, Batalov and the other members of the tour were met at the airport by members of the local media. Batalov was the subject of two San Diego newspaper articles dated May 8 and 10, 1982. In the latter article, Batalov excoriated the Reagan Administration's position on Soviet proposals regarding nuclear disarmament and on the possibility for limited nuclear warfare. (U) (U)

Batalov, prior to his visit to the United States, was in contact with a world renowned American physician and medical researcher who had just published a book about nuclear disarmament. During his visit to the United States, Batalov made several attempts to contact the American physician, and finally arranged a meeting with him. Batalov was also in contact with a San Diego politician known for his support of the peace and nuclear weapons freeze movement in the United States.

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A 16-member Soviet tourist group, sponsored by the NCASF, entered the United States in June, 1982. In this group was Vladimir Dunayev, identified on his visa as a television political commentator. On the evening of June 12, 1982, a San Diego television station reported that during an anti-nuclear rally held in San Diego, an individual, whom the newscaster identified as a visiting Soviet tourist, was observed walking alongside the demonstrators and, utilizing professional recording equipment, recorded the events of that day. This Soviet visitor was later identified as Dunayev. A television newscast of the rally included an interview with a member of the Soviet tourist group, who made disparaging comments on U.S. arms control and disarmament policies. (U) (U)

Yet another Soviet group composed of Soviet nationals of various trade unions arrived in early June, 1982.

[redacted] listed as a translator with the tour group, but believed to be a functionary of the CPSU International Department, was in contact with U.S. trade-union executives during the tour group's visit to Detroit, Michigan and New York City. It was reported that [redacted] was in the United States to plan covert active measures operations. The tour group also met with trade-union officials in Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago. ~~(S)~~ (U)

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II. THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS FREEZE CAMPAIGN

The first national strategy conference of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign was held on March 20-22, 1981, at Georgetown University. It was arranged by the Center for Peace Studies at the university, but was inspired and organized by American peace organizations, such as the Mobilization for Survival (MFS), a nationwide coalition of environmental, peace, justice, and human needs organizations. The USPC, CPUSA, and Women for Racial and Economic Equality, a CPUSA front organization, are among the organizations belonging to the MFS.

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Two Soviet officials, Oleg Bogdanov, a representative of the Institute of the USA and Canada, and Yuriy Kapralov, a Counselor at the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C., spoke at the conference. Kapralov has been involved in the Soviet peace offensive since his arrival in the United States in 1978. He has attended numerous peace conferences and has addressed

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various American peace and disarmament groups. His speeches defend Soviet peace and disarmament policies and accuse the United States of escalating the arms race. Kapralov's preoccupation with the U.S. peace movement indicates that he may be a co-opted agent of the KGB or the CPSU International Department. (E) ~~(C)~~ (U)

According to newspaper accounts, Kapralov made an extremely favorable impression on the conference attendees. Both Bogdanov and Kapralov participated on the various panels, and they urged the attendees to redouble their efforts to prevent deployments of new American weapons systems. (U) ~~(U)~~

The KGB has targeted Randall Forsberg, President of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies and a leader and organizer of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, for active measures purposes. KGB officers have attended arms control lectures presented by Forsberg, and the KGB is interested in exploiting her views concerning nuclear disarmament and the nuclear freeze. One KGB officer has attempted to contact Forsberg on several occasions. A Polish intelligence officer was also tasked to collect information on Forsberg and her organization. (S) [REDACTED] (U)

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Gennadiy Domakhin, a KGB officer assigned to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C., has targeted several individuals and organizations involved in the nuclear freeze movement. Domakhin has been in extensive personal contact with a representative of the Chile Legislative Center and the New Democratic Coalition to discuss disarmament/nuclear freeze issues. Through this representative, Domakhin has had several

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contacts with representatives of the Congressional Black Caucus. He has also made arrangements for a proposed trip to Moscow by Black Caucus representatives. Each of the above organizations publicly support the nuclear freeze movement.

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Most recently, Domakhin has been in personal contact on several occasions with a correspondent from the National Catholic News Service to discuss disarmament/nuclear freeze issues. This news service is associated with the National Catholic Conference of Bishops, an organization that publicly supports the nuclear freeze movement. (S) (S) (U)

Domakhin has maintained a long time personal relationship with a representative of the American Friends Service Committee and a representative of the Women's Strike for Peace. Both organizations actively support the nuclear freeze movement. He has also been in contact with Congressional staffers concerning the nuclear freeze movement. (S) (S) (U)

Organizations such as the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign are a priority target of Soviet active measures operations. The Soviets have attempted to exert influence on the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign through personal contacts and through such assets as the USPC and CPUSA. (C) (S) (U)

I. JUNE 12 DEMONSTRATIONS

A principal target of Soviet active measures in 1982 was the June 12, 1982, demonstration in New York City, which was held in conjunction with the Second Special Session on Disarmament at the United States (SSOD II). Nearly every

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instrument of Soviet active measures was directed towards infiltrating and influencing the June 12 Committee, the organization that was formed to plan and coordinate the demonstration. (U)

Soviet Involvement

Two peace activists who are trusted contacts of the KGB participated in meetings of the June 12 Committee. These individuals provided information to the KGB on the leadership, membership, and activities of the June 12 Committee. At the behest of the KGB, one of the peace activists promoted Soviet views on peace and disarmament at June 12 Committee meetings. (S) [REDACTED] (U) (S) (U)

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Representatives of the CPSU or one of the Soviet-controlled international front organizations that have official status with the United Nations (i.e., the WPC, WFTU, Women's International Democratic Federation, Christian Peace Conference, and the World Federation of Democratic Youth) were invited to participate in SSOD II by the United Nations. Many of these individuals actively lobbied for Soviet peace and disarmament policies during SSOD II meetings at the United Nations and during the June 12 demonstrations. (U) (100-361031, WPC) (U)

During the months leading up to the June 12 rally, [REDACTED] at the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C., was in regular contact with Ernest DeMaio, one of the coordinators of the June 12 demonstration and a long-time CPUSA member and WFTU representative to the United Nations. Through DeMaio, the Soviets hoped to enlist American trade-union support and

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participation in the June 12 demonstration and to ensure Soviet views on peace and disarmament issues were presented in this forum. [redacted] other Soviet officials also engaged in frequent, personal contact with American trade-union officials to enlist their support for Soviet peace proposals and to encourage trade-union participation in the June 12 rally (S) (U) (100-35152, De Maio) 705 (U)

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USPC involvement

The USPC, NCASF, CPUSA, and several CPUSA front organizations were among the over 100 national sponsors of the June 12 peace and disarmament demonstration. These organizations were actively involved at the national, state, and local levels in enlisting support for and participation in the June 12 demonstrations. They made travel and accommodation arrangements for rally attendees and sponsored foreign delegations that traveled to the United States for the demonstration. tlu (U)

In March, 1982, the USPC sent a letter to the general public requesting their participation in and support of the June 12 demonstration. The letter informs the public that the USPC has made mobilization for June 12 its first priority for the next 100 days. It urges the recipients to join the local June 12 Coalition, reserve buses to New York, solicit the participation of local civic organizations and city councils, pass resolutions in support of SSUD II and the June 12 demonstration, and support the fight against the "Reagan War Budget." tlu (U)

The USPC played an important role in the planning and organization of the June 12 demonstration. The USPC was one of ten organizations sanctioned by the June 12 Committee to serve

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as information centers for American citizens and organizations who were seeking information on the platforms and activities of the June 12 demonstration. One USPC official, Sandra Pollock, was assigned by the June 12 Committee to organize and coordinate the logistics of the demonstration. (U) (U)

The USPC had at least one seat on the June 12 executive committee. Michael Myerson and Sandra Pollock, two USPC officials who are also national leaders of the CPUSA, were active participants in executive committee meetings. During June 12 Committee meetings, the USPC/CPUSA representatives actively campaigned to direct the focus of the demonstration exclusively against U.S. nuclear weapons systems and away from Soviet weapons systems. (U) (f0) (100-361031, WPC)

According to articles in several noncommunist publications, there were substantial internal problems in the June 12 Committee as a result of the insistence of USPC/CPUSA representatives that the rally should focus exclusively on U.S. arms control and disarmament policies. An article by Ronald Radosh in The New Republic recounts the USPC's campaign to "tone-down the official rally call so that it was not equally addressed to the United States and the Soviet Union." According to Radosh, the USPC held one seat on the June 12 Committee and "four other seats were held by communists or fellow travelers." (U) (f0) (New Republic 1/31/83)

These revelations are consistent with the public statements of the USPC/CPUSA which also claim they had a significant impact on the June 12 Committee proceedings. In a brochure entitled, The New 'Red Scare': An Open Letter, the USPC defends communist participation in the peace movement

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stating that communists "also bring to the movements in which they work a sometimes - missing sense of organization, direction and ideological cohesiveness. This brochure, which the USPC has distributed to nearly all of the major peace organizations in the United States, claims that the USPC played, "a key role in the development of the June 12 demonstrations." ~~(4)~~

According to public accounts, a compromise was finally reached in the June 12 Committee to focus primarily on U.S. responsibility for the arms race. The Committee's rationale was that the Soviet-Union supports several Committee proposals, including a bilateral nuclear freeze, and the June 12 demonstration was primarily designed to influence the U.S. Government position on nuclear disarmament. This compromise was clearly reflected in the official call of the June 12 Committee which said:

"The demonstration addresses all governments which have developed nuclear arms and which compete in the international arms race, but its primary focus is on the United States Government. Possessing more nuclear bombs than all other countries combined and leading the technological, first-strike weapons race, the U.S. government is the least willing to stop its nuclear insanity. The demonstrators are absolutely clear that only when there is a strong citizen's movement to reverse and end the arms race will the U.S. government change its policies regarding first use, first-strike and nuclear deterrence. The

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June 12th Rally reveals once again that
the disarmament movement in the United States
is rapidly growing and increasingly powerful." (U) (U)

(June 12 Peace Extra)

The Soviets were satisfied that the USPC/CPUSA was successful in directing the focus of the rally against U.S. arms control and defense policies and later boasted in a propaganda booklet:

"But it is a fact, said Pravda's special correspondent A. Vasiliyev who was in New York City on June 12, that during the seven hours of the demonstration and rally attended by a million people on the day I did not see a single anti-Soviet placard. I asked my acquaintances and friends about it, and some of them said that there had been some small groups, maybe one or two placards in a thousand." (U) (U) (People Rise Against War, by Pavel Naumov, Movosti, Moscow 1982, p. 21)

Reliable sources have reported that USPC/CPUSA representatives played a major role in the June 12 Committee and successfully campaigned to channel the theme of the demonstration away from the Soviet Union and against U.S. arms control and disarmament policies. It has recently been learned that USPC and CPUSA officials have strengthened their position in the June 12 Committee, which has been relatively inactive since the June 12 demonstration, and are seeking to revitalize the Committee's activities (S) (S) (100-361031; [redacted])

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CPUSA Involvement

In April, 1982, the CPUSA held an Extraordinary Conference in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The meeting was attended by an estimated 700 participants, including a large number of nonparty individuals. The purpose of the meeting was to move the entire party to bolder, more militant positions on various issues, including the peace movement. CPUSA General Secretary Gus Hall stated, "We may have to stage and initiate sit-ins, kneel-ins, and confrontations. Maybe a few of us will get our heads busted. . . Some of us may go to jail." (U)(4)

During the Extraordinary Conference, CPUSA officials outlined the following steps to organize for the June 12 demonstration:

- Every club discuss concretely at its next meeting how it is going to build for June 12.
- That there be a strong Party presence on June 12th, with banners and literature in addition to the Party press.
- That we help develop a national trade union peace network out of the local union activity on behalf of the freeze and in support of June 12. (4)
- That where the U.S. Peace Council (USPC) exists, we work with others to aid its participation for June 12; where it doesn't exist we work with others to try to launch local Peace Council participation with buses and banners; that we undertake to help distribute a half-million USPC special leaflets for June 12th.

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- That we implement the proposals of Comrade Hall in his Central Committee report What The Reds Say Today, particularly the need to help build multi-racial, multi-national, working class affiliates to the USPC at the grass roots. It was stressed that such instruments of struggle are necessary to influence other movements even as we cooperate. not compete, with them. Attention was paid to some liquidationist tendencies, to the absolute need to support the legitimacy of the USPC in all struggles and to link up economic and peace struggles.
- That we work to overcome the weaknesses of approach now evident among white middle-strata forces in the organized peace movement that create obstacles to the full participation of the Black and other minority communities. Discussion in the workshop affirmed the urgency of taking actions to bring the local and national operational leadership of peace movements into conformity with the actual reality of the situation in respect to the position of the entire Afro-American community which is solidly against Reaganism and militarism.
- That larger districts create or reactivate Peace and Solidarity Commissions within the Party to guide the work. Smaller districts should assign a cadre to be in charge of the work.

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--Reaffirmed the inseparability of the struggle for disarmament and support for the liberation movements such as the A.N.C. of South Africa, SWAPO of Namibia, FMLN-FDR of El Salvador and the PLO; and affirmed that the anti-interventionism movements gaining great strength in the churches, unions, communities and campuses represent an inseparable part of the anti-Reagan all people's front. (U)

(U) Party Organizer, Vol. XVI, No. 4, 5, 6) [redacted]

[redacted] In January, 1982, local CPUSA districts were instructed to institute plans to take part in demonstrations that were scheduled to occur in the Spring of 1982 to protest the Reagan Administration's views on nuclear disarmament. CPUSA members were urged to write letters to their Congressmen and take part in as many demonstrations as possible in an effort to force the Reagan Administration to alter its views on disarmament. Members were also urged to back individuals at all levels of government who would be sympathetic to these views. (U)

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At a CPUSA meeting concerning the June 12 demonstration, a CPUSA official stated that, "time is running out" . . . the Soviet Union is in extreme danger from Pershing, Cruise, and Trident missiles in and around Europe. . . the Soviet Union must be protected." Information packets were presented to members to aid them in instigating local anti-military and anti-nuclear arms resolutions. (S) (U) (100-3)

(U) The CPUSA also placed representatives on the June 12 Committee. In an article reprinted in the January 14, 1983, edition of the Wall Street Journal, CPUSA member Bruce Kimmel publicly stated that he was CPUSA representative to the June 12 Committee. Kimmel claimed that he and his party were extremely active in planning and organizing the demonstration. (U) (U) (100-3 (Wall Street Journal, 1/14/83))

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Following the June 12 rally, a memo from the Organization Department and National Peace and Solidarity Committee of the CPUSA national headquarters was sent to all districts. The memo stated that the Party was extremely active in working to make the June 12 demonstration an outstanding success. The memo emphasized, however, that it is a critical period for the U.S. peace movement and the Reagan Administration is proceeding with the largest military buildup in history and shows no signs that it is ready to negotiate seriously with the Soviet Union. According to the memo, the new target of the CPUSA is the November elections, and the American peace movement will ask candidates across the country to take a public position on the nuclear freeze proposal and cuts in the military budget. The memo suggested that local coalitions should link up with other forces, especially those involved in economic struggles, which have an interest in removing Reagan supporters from office. . . every effort should be made to popularize the decisions of SSOD II. . . chapters should continue nuclear freeze petitioning and join with other peace and disarmament groups to build local peace councils. (U)(S)
(100_3, NY Airtel 8/31/82)

NCASF Involvement

The NCASF was also active in planning and organizing for the June 12 demonstration. In April, 1982, a chapter of the NCASF recounted its activities in response to the Peace Action Program adopted by the NCASF in 1982:

"Our monthly Open Forums have been generally successful. With better planning and increasing the staff of the publicity committee and its systematic approach to sending out press releases, advertising in more university and community

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newspapers and contacting local radio and television stations, we are confident the forums will succeed. . . We have been actively participating in coalitions working on the June 12th demonstration in New York in support of the Second United Nations Special Session on Disarmament. . . We are distributing flyers, selling tickets and helping to plan with the NCASF for the May 7th Carnegie Hall Rally, which is aimed at building popular support for the June 12th demonstration. (b) (4)

In May, 1982, the NCASF organized and sponsored a peace rally at Carnegie Hall called the "Rally for Peace, Disarmament and Social Progress." The rally was designed to mobilize public opinion behind SSOD II and the June 12 rally. Public figures and well-known entertainers also attended the rally. (b) (4) (U)

WFIU representative Ernest DeMario delivered a speech at this affair that blamed the current economic problems in the United States on the "military-industrial complex whose imperialist nature and arms budget advance the interests of the rich to the detriment of the poor." He called for a nuclear freeze and praised the late Soviet leader Brezhnev's initiatives for a freeze of nuclear arms in Europe, nuclear free zones in the Nordic and Indian Ocean regions, and other Soviet initiatives. (b) (4) (100-146964, [redacted] (S)(U))

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On June 10, 1982, the NCASF hosted a conference in conjunction with SSOD II and the June 12 rally. At least fifteen members of the MPC attended this meeting. Karen A. Talbot, the U.S. representative of the MPC to the

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United Nations, expressed dissatisfaction with the visas that the U.S. Government issued to WPC members, in particular Romesh Chandra, which restricted them from engaging in activities outside the United Nations proper during their visit to the United States. Talbot stated that such actions violated the Helsinki accords. She also expressed anger at the visas denied to certain Japanese delegates who wanted to participate in the June 12 rally. Speakers at this conference included Alan Thomson, Executive Director of the NCASF, and James Lamond, a WPC Vice President and member of the British Parliament and Labor Party. Each speaker criticized U.S. military and nuclear force posture and praised Soviet peace and disarmament views. (S) (U) 100-361031, (S) (U)

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(U) Following this meeting, the NCASF disseminated a letter to its affiliates requesting additional fund-raising activities and financial support for NCASF peace activities. The letter listed the recent accomplishments of the NCASF:

--we were members of the National June 12th Steering Committee. Our members helped organize the million who marched in New York, and were among the 100,000 in the Rose Bowl, the 50,000 in San Francisco and in local demonstrations elsewhere;

--our very successful Carnegie Hall Rally for Peace, Disarmament and Social Progress, May 7th, which featured among others Representative Parren Mitchell, Counselor Oleg Sokolov of the Soviet Embassy and Pete Seeger, was a part of the mobilization effort for June 12th.

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--our leaflet "In the Name of Humanity" has been widely distributed and a large printing of a new issue of Friendship News has just appeared; (u)

--on June 15th we published Swords into Plowshares: Soviet Initiatives for Peace, Security and Disarmament, 1917-1982, a ground-breaking forty-page booklet which, listing specific Soviet proposals year by year and the responses they elicited, demonstrates the consistency of the Soviet campaign for peace from the first decree of the Soviet state, November 8, 1917 down to this year; (u)

--we helped organize a Peace Cruise on the Volga River which will take place August 5-22 and was filled up by February; (u)

--we received five very successful Good Will Missions and a lecturer from the Soviet Union by the middle of the year, and will be host three more missions later this year, at a time when contacts between U.S. and Soviet citizens are becoming rarer and more precious; (u)

--Dick Morford, our Executive Director Emeritus, helped organize the U.S. delegation for and participated in the great inter-religious conference on peace held in Moscow in May which Billy Graham also attended. (u) (u)

The letter also included a warning about complacency in the peace movement:

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"This is a most critical moment for the peace movement. There must be continued forward movement or we risk severe set-backs. If the new and powerful U.S. peace movement should come to be dominated by anti-Soviet influences the disarmament process will be hindered rather than helped. The Administration must not be permitted to continue its inflammatory anti-Soviet rhetoric which threatens efforts to re-establish detente." (S) (U)

Based on available information, we do not believe that the Soviet Union and its proxies directly controlled the proceedings of the June 12 rally, nor were they primarily responsible for the large turnout at the rally. The overwhelming majority of the nearly one million people that attended the June 12 rally were members of independent peace and civic organizations, and they attended the rally as an expression of legitimate concerns about nuclear weapons. (U) (U)

On the other hand, Soviet-controlled organizations participated at the highest levels of the June 12 Committee and exerted pressure to influence the June 12 Committee to focus on U.S. nuclear weapons policies as opposed to Soviet policies. Of course, the Soviets also exploited this large demonstration in its worldwide propaganda campaign against new American weapons systems. (S) (U)

The importance the Soviets attach to influencing the peace movement to focus on U.S. and NATO weapons systems is dramatized by the letter of protest sent by Yuri Zhukov, Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, to West European peace

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organizations. The letter, which was published in the West Berlin Tageszeitung of January 4, 1983, indicated that the East bloc peace organizations would not participate in the May, 1983, West Berlin Peace Conference because the Conference attendees hold "both sides, that is to say the East and West, equally responsible for the existing tensions and asked both the United States and the Soviet Union to withdraw all nuclear weapons from Europe." (U) (4)

The East German response to this even-handed approach by Western European peace groups was swift and unequivocal. On January 27, 1983, the Bonn Newspaper, Die Welt, reported the arrest of twelve pacifists in East Germany who applied to German Democratic Republic authorities for travel permits to participate in the West Berlin Conference. (U) (4)

J. AMERICAN TRADE-UNIONS

WFTU Tenth Congress

One of the major priorities of the WFTU and CPUSA is to mobilize the trade unions in the United States to join the peace movement. In February, 1982, the WFTU held its 10th Congress in Havana, Cuba. The U.S. delegation to the Congress consisted of over 50 trade-union officials. (U) (4)

The Congress focused primarily on peace and disarmament issues, particularly the social and economic costs of the arms race. During the Congress, Soviet delegates persistently espoused Soviet views on disarmament issues and attempted to enlist the support of other delegations in a peace offensive. The Soviets emphasized to American trade-union delegates the importance of mobilizing the working class to

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join the peace and disarmament demonstration in New York City in June, 1982. The Congress also adopted a policy paper entitled, "The Trade Unions and the Challenge of the 80's," which presented a systematic set of rationalizations on why trade unions of the world should join in anti-American, anti-free enterprise activities and move in a pro-Soviet direction. (U) (100-361031; [redacted] CIR-316/010 76-82) (S)

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International Trade Union Committee for Peace and Disarmament

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The Soviets recently established an organization called the International Trade Union Committee for Peace and Disarmament (ITUCPD) to promote worldwide trade-union participation in the peace and disarmament movements. ITUCPD is a mass organization of trade unions and peace groups, primarily from Europe and Asia. Most of the members of the ITUCPD are also members of the WFIU. There are American trade-union members involved in this organization, but there are no American trade-unions or peace groups listed as official members. (S) (S)

ITUCPD held a meeting in Copenhagen, Denmark, November 20-21, 1982. The Soviet participants included [redacted] and Boris Averyanov.

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All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU). The AUCCTU is a mass trade-union organization in the Soviet Union which serves as the Soviet affiliate of the WFIU and the channel through which the CPSU International Department controls the WFIU. Averyanov is a Secretary of the WFIU and one of the Soviet officials through which the CPSU International Department exercises control over the WFIU. The Americans who

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attended the ITUCPD meeting included trade union officials and a member of the Physicians for Social Responsibility, an organization actively involved in the U.S. peace movement. (S) (S) (U)

(U) There was a general meeting for all ITUCPD members and a secret executive meeting of the ITUCPD leadership. The secret meeting planned antiwar protests and meetings for Europe and Asia in the coming months (S) (S) (U) (100-361031; [redacted])

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[redacted] (S) (U) Labor Research Association (S) (U) [redacted]

Labor Research Association (LRA), a CPUSA front organization that publishes a paper called Economic Notes to purvey communist views on American labor, sponsored an International Trade Union Unity Conference in New York City during June 19-20, 1982. The conference was attended by Soviet representatives Boris Averyanov, [redacted]

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The Labor Conference was attended by 200-225 people representing several unions in the New York area and labor unions from South Africa, Puerto Rico, Brazil, Columbia, Guyana, Canada, Japan, France, Great Britain, and Ireland. (S) (S) (U)

The Soviet delegation attempted to stay in the background during the conference and relied on informal workshops to promote their points of view. The conference was designed to demonstrate American and international trade-union support for the June 12 demonstration and SSOD II. During their visit to the United States, Averyanov [redacted] met with American trade-union officials to discuss ways to increase political activism within the American labor movement. (S) (S) (U)
(100-3; [redacted]) (S) (U)

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The LRA also sponsored a banquet luncheon honoring the Congressional Black Caucus on November 21, 1982, in New York City. Joseph Harris, a longtime CPUSA member and Director of the LRA, organized the luncheon, and he sent letters of invitation to several labor unions. (U) (U)

In the letter of invitation, Harris listed several initial sponsors and co-sponsors, including well-known Black leaders, Senators and Congressmen, and officials of CPUSA front organizations and international front organizations. Harris and an official of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR), a CPUSA front organization, were listed as speakers. The LRA invitation characterized the Congressional Black Caucus as leaders in the fight against "Reaganism," and it emphasized the Congressional Black Caucus's alternative budget for Fiscal Year 1983 which called for cutting the military budget by 24 billion dollars and supporting a freeze on new nuclear weapons and weapons systems. (X) (U)
tex

One trade-union official who supported the Congressional Black Caucus was nonetheless incensed that Harris and the LRA listed him as a co-sponsor on the letterhead and invitation without his authorization and without being consulted on the matter. He described this as "a standard practice of the LRA, a group that is not in any way connected with the trade-union movement." The Soviets have recently instructed the CPUSA to use Joseph Harris and the LRA in other active measures operations. (X) (U) (100-3, CPUSA)

The Soviets realize that American communists by themselves do not have sufficient political or public support to initiate large-scale demonstrations or substantially

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influence U.S. Government and public opinion. Peace coalitions and trade unions, however, are capable of mobilizing large masses of people in this country. Therefore, American peace organizations and trade unions have become primary targets of overt and covert Soviet active measures operations. The Soviets believe that trade unions are vulnerable to influence operations during periods of unemployment and recession, and active measures operations, similar to the above, are likely to continue. (S) ~~(C)~~ (U)

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objectives through a planned series of arms control and disarmament proposals that play on the sentiments of the Western peace movements in concert with the systematic use of the Soviet worldwide propaganda apparatus, international fronts and local communist parties, and trusted contacts and agents.

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The Soviet leadership and its active measures apparatus will continue to accord high priority to peace and disarmament issues. The Soviet peace offensive, in the near term, will focus on the deployment of intermediate-range nuclear forces in Western Europe, scheduled to begin in 1983. Peace organizations, trade unions, religious organizations, and the medical and scientific communities will remain major targets of the Soviet peace campaign in the United States. (C) (C) (U)

Soviet-controlled organizations, such as international fronts and their U.S. affiliates and the CPUSA and its front organizations, will continue to lead the Soviet peace offensive in the United States. The Soviets, however, are aware that these organizations have credibility problems because of their close association with the Soviet Union and the recent adverse publicity surrounding their involvement in the United States and Western European peace movements. Therefore, the KGB and CPSU International Department are placing even greater emphasis on developing collaborators and trusted contacts who are not officially connected with these organizations. (U) (C) (U)

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III. FBI ASSESSMENT

It is extremely difficult to determine the extent to which various peace organizations and coalitions are being influenced or manipulated by the Soviet Union. An assessment of the effect of Soviet active measures on the U.S. peace movement is particularly difficult because the Soviets have endeavored to capitalize on or manipulate existing sentiments within peace organizations, such as the desire for a nuclear weapons freeze, that parallel or tend to promote Soviet foreign policy and propaganda objectives. As the 1981 Interagency Intelligence Memorandum on Soviet Active Measures noted: "Whenever a political movement supports policies that coincide with the goals or objectives of Soviet foreign policy, the exact contribution of Soviet active measures to that movement is impossible to determine objectively." ~~ALL (U)~~

Based on information available to us, we do not believe the Soviets have achieved a dominant role in the U.S. peace and nuclear freeze movements, or that they directly control or manipulate the movement. The Soviets, however, do not view direct control or manipulation of a movement as a necessary prerequisite or condition for a successful active measures campaign. The Soviet peace campaign, for instance, is designed to focus public attention on new American nuclear weapons systems and to help create the impression that the Soviet Union is more interested than the United States in serious arms control and disarmament negotiations. This campaign does not require direct Soviet control or manipulation to be effective. The Soviets believe they can achieve these

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E. WPC "DISCUSSION ON DISARMAMENT"

The WPC held a conference in January, 1982, in Copenhagen, Denmark, titled, "Discussion on Disarmament." WPC President Romesh Chandra was pleased that two members of the U.S. Congress were in attendance, which he interpreted as evidence that the WPC was effective in mobilizing world public opinion in support of the current peace offensive. (e)(c) (U)

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] Soviet media to emphasize the non-communist participation of political figures from the United States and other countries. Declarations adopted at the conference were highly critical of U.S. plans to produce the "neutron bomb," NATO plans to deploy Pershing and Cruise Missiles in Western Europe, the concept of limited nuclear war, and alleged U.S. aggression against Cuba and other Latin American countries. (S) (S) (U) Memo Legat, London to Director 3/25/82, 100-361031; (S) (S) (U)

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(U) WPC conferences, such as the above, are widely publicized by the Soviet Union to enhance worldwide protest against American defense policies. Soviet and WPC officials exploit the participation of American public officials in WPC/USPC activities to lend legitimacy to these organizations.

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F. CPUSA LETTERS TO NEWSPAPER EDITORS

In early 1982, the CPUSA national office suggested that CPUSA districts institute a letter-writing campaign to editors of important national and local newspapers in the

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