

Bertil Häggman

POLITICAL WARFARE

The Missing Link in the
Defence of the West

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by

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Introduction

Since the beginning of this century a new weapons system has been developed in the arsenal of nations. It is non-military and it has been described in various terms: political warfare, warfare in a new dimension, psychological warfare, institutional conflict, psycho-social combat and unconventional warfare, to mention but a few. I have decided to call it political warfare. The term is originally British and was developed as a cover label for inter-departmental activities during World War II. The term psychological warfare is American and seems to come from a section in General Pershing's headquarters.

The term political warfare has been defined in a number of different ways. I will only mention a few here:

1. "The purposes of political warfare may be to strengthen some competing groups or to weaken others; to organise forces whose activities can be directed toward desired ends; to support groups for as long as their objectives conform to one's own; and to help fully controlled and semi-controlled groups and personalities to reach positions of power and influence and eventually to take over the government. These methods can range from simple manifestations of sympathy to the financing, organising, and equipping of political movements, and from personal friendships between statesmen to the infiltration or capture of politically important agencies in the target country and the fomenting of mutinies, civil wars and revolutions"¹.
2. "A form of conflict between states in which a protagonist nation seeks to impose its will upon its opponents without the direct use of armed force. Political warfare combines the operations of diplomacy and propaganda frequently backed by the threat of military force. Political warfare aims to weaken, if not to destroy, the enemy by use of diplomatic proposals, economic sorties, propaganda and disinformation, provocation, intimidation, sabotage, terrorism, and by driving a wedge between the main enemy and his allies"².
3. "Political warfare is a sustained effort by a government or political group to seize, preserve, or extend power against a defined ideological enemy through all acts short of a shooting war by regular military forces, but not excluding the threat of such a war"³.
4. "Political warfare includes warfare of strategy, ideology, organi-

sation, psychology, intelligence and mass movement. . . ideological warfare is the warfare of ism versus ism. . . strategical warfare is the employment of planned strategical activities causing the enemy to commit mistakes so as to facilitate realisation of war aims and to achieve victory. . . organisational warfare is to closely correlate man, place, time, and physical prowess with major plans and immediate objectives so that maximum efficiency can be developed. . . psychological warfare is a means other than military to subdue the enemy psychologically, causing its will to break and its organisation to collapse. . . intelligence warfare aims to collect valuable military, political, scientific, and production facts and secrets of the enemy on the one hand, and to prevent the stealing or leaking of secrets on the other.

. . .The main function of mass movement warfare is to stir up, to win over, to rally, to organise, and to lead the masses behind the enemy lines to fight under one's banner"⁴.

5. "Genuine political warfare. . . is a form of war, and therefore strategic in nature, with specific power objectives. . . Political warfare contains many branches: all types of agitation, propaganda, subversion, economic manipulation, incitement of riots, terror, diversionary diplomacy, sabotage, guerilla and para-military actions etc.; everything, in sum, short of the employment of the main formal armed forces"⁵.

The author of this short study will abstain from adding another definition to those given above. I will only point out that it is important to note that political warfare is very broad in nature and comprises a long list of non-military warfare techniques. The purpose of this study is not to give a full and detailed account of all forms of political warfare. It will only present the outline of the communist political warfare machinery, its organisation, schools, and how it is financed, contrasting it with the feeble and unorganised Western response. Finally, it is a plea for the organisation of a Western political warfare effort and a few suggestions of what it could include.

I. Communist Political Warfare

1. Organising Global Non-military Warfare

When Lenin published the pamphlet *What is to be done*, in 1902, he called for a party of “professional revolutionaries”. They were to devote their lives to the conquest of power. He asserted “(1) that no revolutionary movement can endure without a stable organisation of leaders maintaining continuity; (2) that the broader the popular mass drawn spontaneously into the struggle, which forms the basis of the movement and participates in it, the more urgent the need for such an organisation, and the more solid this organisation must be (for it is much easier for all sorts of demagogues to side-track the more backward sections of the masses), (3) that such an organisation must consist chiefly of people professionally engaged in revolutionary activity; (4) that in an autocratic state, the more we confine the membership of such an organisation to people who are professionally engaged in revolutionary activity and who have been professionally trained in the art of combating the political police, the more difficult it will be to unearth the organisation; and (5) the greater will be the number of people from the working class and from the other social classes who will be able to join the movement and perform active work in it”⁶. Lenin thereby established one of the ground rules for communist political warfare: the necessity for an organisation which would be adequate and capable of realising the revolutionary goals. He also drew up an over-all theory for orientation, setting goals and establishing guidelines and operational methods.

The key element of communist political warfare is the enormous propaganda machine, and it is one of the objectives of this study to describe it in greater detail along with the international organs of propaganda dissemination.

2. The Third Communist International (Comintern)

The Comintern was formed on March 3, 1919. In Lenin’s words, it was to act as “the world army of the revolutionary proletariat”. Twenty-one conditions for joining the Communist International were drawn up for the Second Congress of the Comintern held on July 17 to August 7, 1920. With Comintern the Soviet Union had a “military” organisation in the broadest Clausewitzian sense, and in the 1920’s and 1930’s, the Comintern became the training centre for revolutionary cadres and the organisation of political warfare on a global scale. The Third Con-

gress of the Comintern (1921) attracted 605 delegates representing 103 organisations from 52 countries. The Comintern was now a true international organisation for communist political warfare. A Department for International Propaganda was set up. Four major executive departments were established in Moscow: The Organisation Bureau (Orgburo); the Agitation and Propaganda Bureau (Agit-Prop); Statistics and Information; and an Eastern Bureau. There was also a Technical Information Bureau and an International Control Commission responsible for the control of finances and other functional agencies. In Moscow, the Comintern staff was divided into "sections", which had secretly established "bureaus" in different regions of the world. The Latin American Secretariat was in Buenos Aires, and the Far Eastern Bureau in Shanghai. The Orgburo was the heart of the Comintern and the Cadre Section of the Orgburo kept a central file of all communists and all sympathisers throughout the world. The dossiers kept in that section were an ideal source for the Soviet secret police when seeking useful persons to act as secret agents.

World War II brought a temporary halt to the political warfare of the Comintern. The International was a hindrance to the cooperation between the Western allies and the Soviet Union. On June 10, 1943, it was announced that Comintern was dissolved as of that day. The leading communist parties of the world had, according to the statement, approved the proposal for dissolution. The Communist Parties of the following countries approved the dissolution: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Catalonia, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Mexico, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria, the Union of South Africa, Uruguay and Yugoslavia. One of the leading Spanish communists, Enrique Castro Delgado, later stated in a book⁷ that the nominal disbanding of the Comintern was only an alteration of some of its operating procedures. The leading officer of Comintern, Georgi Dimitrov, moved his office to the third floor of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The other secretaries set up offices in different places; secret broadcasts were still supervised by Dimitrov and the chiefs of the foreign delegations continued to hold daily conferences with him. Foreign reporters of the communist press continued to file regular reports with the information and propaganda section of the "dissolved" Comintern. The secret section of the organisation remained in the original building and continued to receive reports from foreign communist parties. This section continued to send Dimitrov's instructions to the various communist parties abroad and to organise trips to and from Moscow. The Comintern's agents, such as Codavilla in Latin America and Browder in North America continued with their work just as before.

In a statement to the Canadian Royal Commission on October 10, 1945, Igor Guzenko, a defector from the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa said:

"The announcement of the dissolution of the Comintern was probably the greatest farce of the communists in recent years. Only the name was liquidated, with the object of reassuring public opinion in the democratic countries. Actually the Comintern exists and continues its work"⁸.

3. Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers Parties (Cominform)

A new formal international co-ordinating organ of communist parties was set up in 1947 representing the parties of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Poland, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, France and Italy. It was to "organise and exchange experience and, in case of necessity, co-ordinate the activity of communist parties on foundation of mutual agreement". An official organ began to publish the Cominform Journal, in English, entitled *For a Lasting Peace, For People's Democracy!*. At the next meeting of the Bureau, in June 1948, the Yugoslav communists were expelled from the Cominform, and when the Bureau met next, in November 1949, at an unstated place in Hungary, Tito was attacked further. This meeting was important because it laid down instructions for the communist movement. First of all, the importance of the peace movements, till this day still regarded as one of the most significant targets of communists all over the world, was pointed out. Secondly, it was stated that the "ranks of the peace champions" should be based on firm working-class unity. Thirdly, this unity could only be obtained by struggling against the right-wing splinter group, the Social Democrats. The fourth directive propagated a constant attack against Western military-political alliances and defence agreements. The fifth directive stated the need for a wide application of protests, demonstrations, leaflets, fund raising, boycotts and similar actions in the "mass struggle for peace". The sixth directive linked the struggle for peace with that for national independence, and the seventh instructed the communist parties in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to strengthen the Communist bloc. The final directive stressed the need to expose Tito and his "nationalist clique". After Stalin's death and the growing independence of the communist parties, the Cominform became obsolete. In April 1956, it was dissolved and the publication of the Cominform Journal was discontinued. No new organisation which would succeed the Cominform has been formed since. The tasks of the Comintern and Cominform were taken over by Soviet Communist Party organs. I will deal with this issue later on in this study. After 1956, various communist party leaders in Europe spoke of the need for a co-ordinating body. In September 1958, a monthly journal, *World Marxist Review*, which was to become the

leading international organ of the communist movement, began publication in Prague. It followed in the footsteps of the Comintern's *Inprecor* and the Cominform Journal, but was much less important.

4. The Present Day Political Warfare Organisation

An important part of modern Soviet Russian political warfare are the so-called active measures (aktivnyye meropriyatiya). They are an offensive instrument of Soviet Russian policy to influence foreign governments, disrupt relations between other nations, undermine confidence in foreign leaders and discredit opponents. These measures include:

- manipulation or control of the media;
- written or oral disinformation;
- use of foreign communist parties and front organisations;
- manipulation of mass organisations;
- clandestine broadcasting;
- economic activities;
- support of international terrorism;
- military operations;
- other political influence operations.

Soviet Russia uses agents of influence. They may or may not be a source of intelligence. Their main purpose is the manipulation of persons or events towards Soviet goals. The agent of influence may be a controlled agent, but also an unwitting, but manipulated individual.

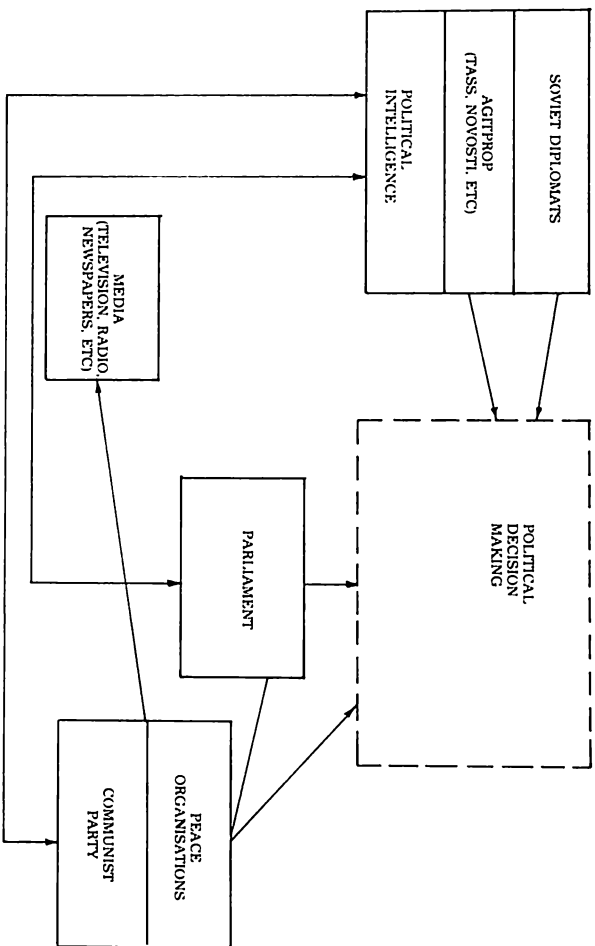
According to one recent book on active measures^{8a}, Moscow uses agents of influence as an element in an orchestrated effort known as *Kombinatsia*, which combines various agents of influence with special operational undertakings to enhance effectiveness.

Soviet Russia is building an international infrastructure of terrorism. It has supported revolutionary violence all over the world for a long time. In order to expand its influence all over the world, Moscow exploits terrorism by supporting international terrorist movements or undertaking terrorist operations of its own. The client states like Cuba or North Korea are often used, as well as the East European satellite countries.

In the field of terrorism, "wet affairs" (*mokreye dela*) are of great importance. One example is the murder of Ukrainian leader Stepan Bandera in Munich in 1959. Recently, there is strong evidence, as presented by writers like Claire Sterling and Paul Henze, that the Bulgarian secret service plotted the attempt on the life of Pope John Paul II on the instigation of the KGB^{8b}.

Deception is part of Soviet global strategy and is incorporated in its active measures programme. The most important theme is that Moscow

KGB METHODS OF INFLUENCE ON WESTERN MEDIA AND INSTITUTIONS



has no unlimited objectives and that a "spheres-of-influence" arrangement can be worked out between the United States and Soviet Russia. Another theme is that there are "hawks" and "doves" in the Kremlin — both ideologues and pragmatists.

Forgeries are widely used by Soviet Russia. These are made by the KGB and, although false, they appear genuine. They are often intended for special targets, but also, at times, for the people of an entire country or region. Service A, the First Chief Directorate of the KGB, is responsible for this. Primary targets are NATO and the United States, but, Third World countries are also important targets. The usual technique is to send forgeries to the mass media in the Third World, which, when they are publicised, are picked up by the Soviet media and repeated.

Paul B. Henze, a former US high government official and a long-time student of Soviet techniques, writes the following about disinformation:

"It is impossible to draw a clear boundary between misinformation and disinformation. The two categories are part of a continuum which in Soviet practice extends from distortion to total falsification, misrepresentation and forgery. All parts of this spectrum are interconnected and consciously manipulated to achieve desired results. Thus, false information, planted abroad and seemingly originating from sources that have no connection with the USSR or Eastern Europe, is fed back into the Soviet propaganda system, cited in the Soviet press as authoritative confirmation of views which the CPSU propagandists want to spread, and then disgorged by TASS and Novosti in their international services. Thus, spewed out again into international information channels, it becomes self-confirming. Sometimes the process goes through several cycles. Not only current news, but even scholarly research and intelligence are influenced.

To those familiar with Soviet techniques and objectives, such operations are relatively easy to identify, but often difficult to prove. To accomplish their purposes, Soviet propagandists and KGB operatives do not rely only on the credulity and predisposition to believe of Western and Third World journalists, writers and intellectuals. They exploit the readiness of reporters to accept cash or other favours in return for doing their bidding. In Soviet usage, *dezinformatsiya* means deliberately concocted, falsely attributed or distorted information brought to the surface through ostensibly non-Soviet channels or outlets. Of course, the more legitimate (and unwitting) these are, the better"^{8c}.

The following chapters will deal in more detail with the techniques and practices of Soviet Russian political warfare in the form of active measures.

It is the Politburo of the CPSU that decides the major themes of Soviet political warfare. Under the Politburo there are a number of party and governmental institutions that carry out its directives: the

CPSU Central Committee's International Information Department (IID), the International Department (ID) and the Committee for State Security (KGB).

The IID is the directing centre of Soviet political warfare. It is a relatively new department, established in March 1978, to improve the Soviet political warfare efforts against the West. This clearly shows the increased interest of the Kremlin leadership in political warfare. The IID is headed by Leonid Zamyatin, former head of the Soviet news agency TASS. Zamyatin is directly responsible to the Soviet Russian leader and the Politburo. The ID of the CPSU maintains liaison with the foreign organisations used to spread Soviet propaganda — over 70 communist parties, international front organisations and national liberation movements.

The Service A of the KGB's Foreign Intelligence Directorate is responsible for covert support of the political warfare effort. It handles disinformation with forgeries, planted press articles, planted rumours and the controlled information media. Service A keeps close contact with its counterparts in East European countries and Cuba.

The Soviet Union has two news agencies under full government/party control: the "official" TASS and the "unofficial" Novosti (APN). TASS has its bureaus and correspondents in around 100 countries. Novosti claims that it exchanges news with over 100 Western news agencies, more than 100 radio and TV stations and more than 7,000 newspapers and magazines all over the world. *Pravda*, the organ of the CPSU, and *Izvestia*, the official newspaper of the Soviet government, play an important role in Soviet political warfare, as do the *New Times* and other periodicals. About 500 Soviet journalists are stationed outside the Soviet Union. A large number of them are KGB intelligence officers.

Besides Radio Moscow's foreign service, the Soviet Union makes use of a number of clandestine radios, which are located on Soviet territory or in Eastern Europe. Two stations broadcast to Turkish emigrants in Western Europe: "Our Radio" and "Voice of the Turkish Communist Party", both situated in Magdeburg, East Germany, and the "National Voice of Iran" broadcasts from the Baku area of the Soviet Union. Eight other clandestine radios were closed down during the 1970's due to changing political circumstances in the target countries.

5. Soviet Disinformation Practices in Scandinavia — A Case Study

On November 4, 1981, the Danish writer and translator **Arne Herlöv Petersen** was arrested for espionage and intelligence activities for the KGB.

He is well known in Denmark for his active support of extreme leftist causes. Born in 1943, in Copenhagen, he first published a contri-

bution in a literary collection in 1958. After several collections of prose and poetry and a number of novels, he had a breakthrough in 1975 with the novel *Towards the Far Goals of the Future* (Imod fremtidis fjerne mål). After a university degree in history he worked as a journalist for the Social Democratic daily newspaper *Aktuelt* and the official Danish news agency, Ritzaus Bureau. He had a one-year study scholarship in the United States and has travelled widely all over the world: Communist China, North Korea, Albania, Soviet Armenia, Cuba, Madagascar and Kenya. His main political activities in recent years have been in the Friendship Society Denmark — the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) — and in various peace movements. In all, he has published 17 books and translated more than 130, most of them from English. In October 1981, he applied for a leading position at the Danish evening newspaper *B.T.*, one of the most widely circulated daily newspapers in Denmark. He was also active in the Danish Writers' Association, where he set up an extreme leftist faction in 1974.

Mr. Petersen has had regular contact with four Soviet KGB agents during a ten-year period. His latest contact was **Vladimir Merkulov**, second secretary at the Soviet Embassy in Copenhagen. The Danish security police claims that Mr. Petersen met Merkulov 23 times during the period from June 1980 to November 1981. He was regularly paid for his activities by the KGB. Merkulov used Petersen as an agent of disinformation in connection with the North Koreans, making use of his position in the friendship society. Petersen brought false letters composed by the KGB to the North Korean ambassador in Copenhagen. The ambassador was told that the letters came from the United States and contained confidential information on the U.S.-Chinese talks. The purpose was to force North Korea closer to the Soviet Union.

Petersen also recruited able people for the KGB from among writers and journalists in Denmark to serve Soviet intelligence by writing various articles and books.

Merkulov used Petersen for Soviet financing of an advertisement campaign appealing for a nuclear free zone in Scandinavia. This appeal was published and paid for by the KGB in a number of important Danish daily newspapers during the autumn of 1981. One hundred and fifty leftist intellectuals signed the appeal.

When searching Mr. Petersen's house, Danish security police found several copies of two booklets he had written to be sold in Great Britain and other West European countries. Both booklets *Cold Warriors* and *True Blues*, were published by Joe Hill Press and contain crude accusations against the British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, and other West European politicians and leading journalists. Petersen was given the assignment to write the booklets by Soviet diplomat Vladimir Merkulov.

Petersen's diaries, found by the police during a search of his premises, reveal that he was a Soviet agent of disinformation for ten years. He had, in all, four case officers. At the beginning of the 1970s, it was **Mikhail Makarov**. Then it was **Stanislav Chebotok**. Both were expelled from Denmark. Chebotok was later stationed at the Soviet Embassy in Oslo and was expelled from Norway in 1981. He was replaced by Therry and finally by Vladimir Merkulov. The detailed description of his work as a Soviet agent of disinformation is most revealing. A number of details are of special interest. For instance, Merkulov guaranteed Petersen, that in the case of a crisis situation in Denmark, he could count on being immediately evacuated to the Soviet Union. Once Petersen told Merkulov that he planned to register as a member of DKP (Danish Communist Party). Merkulov was very upset and expressly forbade Petersen to join the DKP. He would, if he joined, not have the same value as a talent spotter and agent of disinformation. Much of Petersen's work involved the collection of data on Communist China for the KGB. But he also worked hard on spreading dissension among the West European NATO countries. He wrote numerous disinformation articles to misinform the Danish public concerning the position of Denmark's NATO allies. There is extensive material to prove that, on the orders of the KGB, Petersen organised the campaign for a nuclear free zone in Scandinavia. Merkulov was very careful. He told Petersen not to publish peace advertisements in the organ of the DKP, *Land og Folk*. It was important that the Danish people were not given the impression that there was a connection between the DKP and the campaign for a nuclear free zone in Scandinavia.

One of Petersen's most important tasks for the KGB was to provide lists with personal information on journalists, writers and politicians that may have been willing to cooperate with Merkulov.

In Scandinavia, as in other parts of the world, the KGB has, to a certain degree, switched from an emphasis on technological and military matters to intelligence on national, regional and local politicians, and people in organisations with influence on opinion making in the target countries. These people are watched systematically. The recruitment often begins with an invitation to a party and then continues with contact on a personal level.

There are indications and sometimes proof that the KGB was behind a number of incidents in Scandinavia in the 1970s and 1980s. At the end of the 1960s, **Alexander Pushkov**, who was the Soviet press secretary at the regional office of the World Health Organisation in Copenhagen, had numerous contacts with Danish journalists specialising in Danish domestic affairs. He rarely met with journalists in the medical field, which would have been more in line with his professional position. Once he offered 800 kroner (US \$150) to a journalist from Copenhagen for a speech that the then Danish Defence Minister, Erik Ninn-Hansen,

was to hold a few days later at the Conservative Party Congress in Aalborg. Pushkov was expelled soon after.

In 1972, the KGB tried to make use of the anti-Common Market sentiments in Denmark. That year, a referendum on the issue of Danish membership in the organisation was to be held. **Mikhail Makarov**, a KGB agent based at the Soviet Embassy in Copenhagen, offered a leading opponent of the Common Market, editor Paul Overgaard-Nielsen, Soviet funds to publish 5,000 copies of an anti-Common Market booklet. Mr. Nielsen reported the incident and Makarov was expelled soon after.

Last winter, a Soviet "expert" on disarmament, Vladimir Baranovsky, travelled around Danish schools on the invitation of the Coordination Committee for Peace and Security, Denmark's leading leftist peace organisation. In October 1981, another Soviet "expert", Professor Vyacheslav Dasitchev visited a number of Danish high schools.

There has been widespread speculation in Denmark on the sources and methods of Soviet financing of the peace movement. Only a few people within the movement knew that there was a regular cash flow from the Soviet Embassy in Copenhagen. A large number of peace organisations have received funds from the "9th November 1919 Foundation", named after the date the Danish Communist Party was founded. The administrator of the foundation is a leading Danish communist lawyer, **Christian Vilhelm Hagens**. Mr. Hagens claims that the foundation's money is coming from a rich communist, who, three or four years ago, donated his entire fortune to the foundation. He refuses, however, to reveal the present amount administered by the foundation and how much it pays out every year.

In June 1981, there was a scandal in Norway involving a peace organisation called "Art and Peace". It had received money from a firm selling Soviet cars in Norway, *Konela Norge Bil A/S*. "Art and Peace" also organised a peace conference in Oslo on June 4, 1981, with funds received directly from the Soviet Embassy in Oslo.

It was the recent Soviet defector, former KGB major Stanislav Levenchenko, who first revealed what had been suspected for a long time: that the West European peace organisations were directed and financed by the KGB. A number of different methods are presently being used to prevent NATO's nuclear remodernisation programme.

Disinformation has also been an important aspect of the information work of the peace movement in Western Europe. For instance, a member of the Danish Coordination Committee for Peace and Security recently stated that there were no reasons to protest against Soviet SS-20 missiles because they only consisted of "empty shells with no nuclear warheads".

6. International Communist Front Organisations

The importance of front organisations was first stressed by Lenin in the 1920s, when the first of such organisations, the National Workers' Aid (I.W.A) was set up. The father of the front organisations on a grand scale was Willi Muenzenburg, chairman of the Communist Youth International and later of the I.W.A. Muenzenburg was first active in Germany. After the Nazi take-over, he fled to France where he formed a number of front organisations, which he called the "Innocents' Clubs". The period after World War II saw the creation of the network of international communist front organisations which we have today. Below, I have listed the most important of these, along with their estimated yearly subsidy from the Soviet Union and their claimed world membership:

World Peace Council (WPC), Helsinki, has affiliated committees in more than 130 countries. Formed in 1949, it conducts world-wide campaigns in support of Soviet foreign policy and national defence, and coordinates the activities of other fronts. Staff: 453. Subsidy: US \$49.4 million. Membership: no data.

International Institute for Peace (IIP), Vienna, was formed in 1958, when the WPC was expelled from Austria for subversive activities. It has member organisations in 9 countries in both Western and Eastern Europe. Staff: 20. Subsidy: US \$260,000. Membership: no data.

Afro-Asian People's Organisation (AAPSO), Cairo, was formed in 1957 as a sister organisation of the WPC for Third World activities, such as propaganda, political action, as well as military and para-military training for the national liberation movements. Staff: 27. Subsidy: US \$1.26 million. Membership: no data.

World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), Prague, was formed in 1945 to consolidate trade unions all over the world for the ultimate Soviet world control of all trade unions. It conducts and supports strikes in Western countries and serves as a major propaganda instrument. Staff: 30. Subsidy: US \$8.575 million. Membership: 190 million.

World Federation of Democratic Youth (WDFY), Budapest, was formed in 1945 to support Soviet policy and oppose the activities of non-communist youth organisations. It was also set up to serve as a propaganda vehicle for the Soviet Union in the Third World. Staff: 30. Subsidy: US \$1.575 million. Membership: 150 million.

International Union of Students (IUS), Prague, was formed in 1946 to conduct the same activities among students as the WDFY did among youth. It works closely with the WDFY, supports such events as World Youth Festivals and the campaigns of the WPC. Staff: 25. Subsidy: US \$905,000. Membership: Over 10 million.

Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), East Berlin, was formed in 1955 to support Soviet propaganda campaigns with special emphasis on women's and children's affairs. Staff: 15. Subsidy: US \$ 390,000. Membership: Over 200 million.

International Organisation of Journalists (IOJ), Prague, was formed in 1952 to "further revolutionary proletarian journalism, to act as arbiter and propaganda machine for the Soviet Union, and to participate in the breakdown and overthrow of capitalism and to discredit international news agencies" (from an IOJ publication, February 1974). Staff: 15. Subsidy: US \$515,000. Membership: Over 150,000.

International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL), Brussels, was formed in 1946 to support Soviet propaganda and make "legal" statements and appeals in support of Soviet foreign policy and to condemn non-communist causes. Staff: 10. Subsidy: US \$100,000. Membership: 25,000.

Christian Peace Conference (CPC), Prague, was formed in 1958 to appeal to religious leaders and communities in support of Soviet policy through campaigns, meetings and statements, and to publicise the activity of the WPC and other front organisations. Staff: 10. Subsidy: US \$210,000.

International Federation of Resistance Fighters (FIR), Vienna, was formed in 1951 to support Soviet initiatives on disarmament and to act as a vehicle for Soviet propaganda and agitation. Staff: 10. Subsidy: US \$125,000. Membership: 5 million.

World Federation of Scientific Workers (WFSW), London, was formed in 1946 to organise scientific activities on behalf of the Soviet Union, to exert influence in the United Nations and to support the propaganda of the other front organisations, particularly against the neutron bomb and the modernisation of Theatre Nuclear Forces. Staff: 10. Subsidy: US \$100,000. Membership: 450,000.

International Radio and TV Organisation (OIRT), Prague, was formed in 1946 in Brussels. It is aimed at influencing Third World Countries to follow the Soviet line. Staff: 5. Subsidy: US \$50,000. Membership: no data.

The total subsidy of the Soviet Union to the international front organisations is estimated at US \$63,445,000.

The four largest fronts, the WPC, WFTU, WFDY and the IUS, have qualified for official status with United Nations Organisations. This permits their presence in United Nations meetings all over the world where front spokesmen are accepted as independent, non-governmental representatives.

7. The Training Schools

Mikhail V. Frunze, Trotsky's successor as Commissar of War in 1924, was one of the originators of the idea of formalising the training of revolutionaries in the Soviet Union. He established a number of advanced colleges and schools to train foreign communists. The faculty staff included high-ranking Soviet officers and politicians, such as Marshal Tukhachevsky, Bukharin and Stalin. The first Bolshevik party schools were formed as early as 1905. One was on the island of Capri, where Maxim Gorki taught, and the other at Longjumeau, near Paris, where Lenin himself was one of the instructors. The Far Eastern University opened in 1921. It was attached to the Soviet Government's Commissariat of Nationalities and was originally intended for students from Soviet Asia. However, in 1925, it admitted American blacks and one African black. In May 1926, the Lenin School opened in Moscow, serving primarily Western Europe and North America. Soon, the student body grew to 900 participants and a full course of three years and a short course of one year were offered. Thousands of trainees graduated during the 1920s and 1930s, among them most of the leading communists outside the Soviet Union. It was estimated that 600 American communists were trained at the Lenin School and that by 1959, the total for all nationalities was 120,000¹⁰. An Academy of Red Professors, the leading theoretical and scientific school of world communism with a nine-year programme was also set up. The Central European School was set up primarily for the Balkan and Baltic countries.

The Far Eastern University and the Sun Yat-Sen University together had around 5,000 Chinese students and others from colonial countries. These two institutions placed heavy emphasis on guerilla fighting and military training. In Leningrad, the OGPU (the Soviet secret police) ran a school of sabotage and espionage where communists learned how to fight police during demonstrations, how to raise the spirit of demonstrators, how to spearhead riots, strikes and armed uprisings, as well as techniques of espionage, counter-espionage and party security. A third of the students at the Frunze Military Academy were from foreign countries. A large number of Scandinavian communists were trained at the Lenin School, as well as at the Communist University for the Peoples of the West, established first in Leningrad and then in Moscow. The head of the School, during the Leningrad period, was the Finnish communist Yrjö Sirola. After 1930, the Comintern had the so-called Wilson School for subversive training for the parties that were in danger of becoming unable to secure their continued existence underground¹¹.

8. Financing the Effort

There are a number of estimates of how much money the Soviet Union is spending on political warfare. In 1967, Suzanne Labin, a French expert on political warfare estimated that US \$2 billion was being spent annually and that half a million people outside the Soviet Union were being supported. Around 1960, the U.S. Information Agency estimated that the USSR was spending between US \$1.5 and 2 billion on political warfare. At that time, this amounted to about 2% of the Soviet GNP. This sum was 20 times greater than the money spent on information by the U.S that year. The present American estimate of the Soviet financing of the political warfare effort is US \$3.363 billion¹². This figure can be compared with the propaganda effort inside the Soviet Union. On September 11, 1970, *Pravda* reported that 1.1 million people are engaged in propaganda in the Soviet Union. However, the East European Bible Mission has made the following estimate:¹³

1.2 million active propagandists;

80,000 atheist lecturers;

1.8 million political informers;

3.7 million agitators who specialise in working with teachers, students, youth organisations and labour unions;

Total: 6.78 million.

The Economist believes that there are 9 million agit-prop workers in the Soviet Union¹⁴.

9. Other Soviet Political Warfare Efforts

In the field of trade unions, the Soviet labour organisation, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU), plays an important role. Its International Department studies the issues and personalities of the trade unions in the West. The head of the Department is Boris Averyanov. He has a staff of over 100 analysts — 10-12 for each of the principal West European countries. The Department works closely with the KGB and identifies potential trouble spots in industry in non-communist countries for exploitation by the KGB. The aim is to damage Western industries and societies by aggravating disruption within industry. The head of the AUCCTU was the former KGB chief, Alexander Shelepin, who continually sought to improve and develop contact between the WFTU and independent Western trade union organisations.

In 1973, it was revealed that, since 1967, the Soviet Union was systematically running a course in revolutionary techniques at the Lenin Institute also known as the Institute of Social Sciences, Institute of Social Studies and the International School of Marxism-Leninism. The Rector of the Institute was F. D. Ryshenko. His deputy, G. P. Cher-

nikov, supervised the courses. These courses last six months and the attendance varies between 300 and 600 women. The largest group is from Latin America, Europe and Africa. Subjects taught at the school are armed and unarmed combat, guerilla warfare, instruction in illegal operations, social psychology, open and clandestine communist party journalism, the subversive use of posters, radio, television and other information media, public speaking, and Marxist-Leninist ideology. The equipment is sophisticated: film studios, closed circuit television, a radio transmitter-receiver, printing machines, photographic facilities and a large gymnasium.

Foreign students did not take general training courses on a large scale in the Soviet Union until 1956. In mid-1967, the estimated number of students was 33,000, mainly from the Third World. In October 1960, the Patrice Lumumba University was opened.

It was the first institution to be set up specifically for foreign students in the Soviet Union, since the opening of the Lenin School and the Sun Yat-sen University in the 1920s, designed exclusively for the training of communist party officials. The first course of the University was attended by 500 students. According to various reports, it received 50,000 applications during the first year. In 1964, the attendance had already reached 2,000. All the students at the University spend between one and three years at the preparatory faculty, mainly for training in Russian, but also in general subjects, such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, geography and history. The entire period of study is five years. One of the best known students of the University was Illich Ramirez Sanchez also known as the "Jackal" or "Carlos". He left the Patrice Lumumba University in 1969.

10. The East European Countries

The East European countries are also waging an extensive political warfare campaign under the direction of the Soviet Union. The majority of the foreign broadcasts are directed at Western Europe, but there are also programmes aimed at Africa, the Middle East and Latin America.

Each country maintains a government controlled news agency along the same general lines as TASS. The names of these agencies appear below:

Albania	Albanian Telegraph Agency	ATS
Bulgaria	Bulgarian Telegraph Agency	BTA
Czechoslovakia	Czechoslovak Press Bureau	CTK or CETEKA
East Germany	General German News Service	ADN
Hungary	Hungarian Telegraph Bureau	MTI
Poland	Polish Press Agency	PAP
Rumania	Telegraph Information Agency	AGER PRESS

These agencies have steadily extended their offices abroad and are especially active in the Third World countries.

Countries in Eastern Europe support international terrorism and guerilla warfare under the guise of "national liberation movements". Hard evidence showing that Italian terrorists were trained in Czechoslovakia is available. There are Czech training camps in Dupov, Karlovy Vary, Smokovec, Bratislava, Lidice and Leda. In 1980, General Jan Sejna who, among other positions held the post of Secretary General of the Defence Committee of the Czech Central Committee, until his defection in 1968, stated that "Karlovy Vary was indeed a KGB operation, where communists and fellow travellers from foreign countries received ideological indoctrination and some elementary training in sabotage. But the camp in Dupov was something far more serious. Ostensibly, although the camp of the Prostejov parachute regiment was under the command of Colonel Dronk, Dupov was actually under the control of Colonel Burda, the chief military intelligence deputy from the Czech Politburo. Hence, Dupov was under the overall control of the GRU (Soviet military intelligence). . . At Dupov, the training was highly detailed, ranging from ciphers and the operation of clandestine radio transmitters to para-military operations. . . In all, by the time of Sejna's defection to the United States, at least a dozen Italians had been trained at his headquarters for joint Czech-Soviet military intelligence"¹⁵.

In the 1960s, the principal guerilla training school in Eastern Europe was in Bulgaria near the capital, Sophia. Trainees came from the Congo, Nigeria, Uganda and the Cameroons. East Germany also has several schools for terrorists and Third World guerillas. The most important ones are situated in Leipzig and Finsterwalde.

11. Cuba

Cuba's political warfare effort is mainly directed towards Latin America. The Cuban news agency Prensa Latina was established by Fidel Castro in 1959. Since then, it has set up offices in many Latin American countries and a considerable number in Africa.

The Cuban National Printing House publishes a large quantity of books for distribution in Latin America. Cuba also distributes Soviet Spanish language material. Radio Havana broadcasts mainly in Spanish and Portugese for South and Central American countries. Much of the propaganda is said to be directed by Spanish communists who fled to the Soviet Union after the Spanish Civil War later to surface in Cuba¹⁶.

Cuba's role in communist political warfare was increased in 1966 when the Tri-Continental Conference was held in Havana. As a result, a Tri-Continental Solidarity Organisation was formed, as well as a

Committee to Aid the Liberation Movements. A Latin-American Solidarity Organisation was established to develop "common revolutionary tactics and strategy in this part of the world where US Imperialism is most sensitive"¹⁷.

In the 1960s, the Cuban regime set up a series of schools and training centres specialising in the techniques of communist subversion¹⁸. A large number of Latin Americans have attended these schools and received instruction in Marxist-Leninist theory, propaganda techniques, the use of arms and explosives, sabotage and guerilla warfare. In addition to the training schools, a number of organisations were formed to carry out subversion and political warfare¹⁹.

The Cuban intelligence agency, the Dirección General de Inteligencia (DGI) was set up in 1961 and has, since then, been actively engaged in political warfare. The Departamento de Liberación Nacional (LN) recruited potential guerilla fighters, trained them in Cuba, made travel arrangements for them and directed their activities once the trained guerillas returned to the target country. From the beginning, emphasis was placed on Latin America and Africa. The Departamento Escuelas Especiales was in charge of guerilla training, consisting of a staff of more than 50 people. At the beginning of the 1970s, the Soviet Union and the KGB began to exercise greater control over the DGI and it was reorganised. Although the LN Department of the DGI was abolished, Castro set up the Dirección de Liberación Nacional (DLN). Shortly after the establishment of the DLN, a North Korean Army guerilla and unconventional warfare training unit was set up in Havana. The result was Soviet-Cuban rivalry in the field of subversion in South America. So the KGB set up a DGI training scheme for terrorists in Allende's Chile from the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR). At the same time, the DLN arranged for North Korean training teams to train more extreme groups. It was agreed that the North Korean training unit should be given two secret bases in the southern provinces of Chile, as well as clandestine quarters on the outskirts of the capital²⁰.

12. North Korea

The North Korean news agency, KCNA, has offices throughout the world. Although North Korea broadcasts extensively in foreign languages, the main target of its political warfare is South Korea. The North Korean leader, Kim Il-sung, has the ambition to become "the vanguard of the world revolution". North Korea is therefore supporting a worldwide programme of political warfare mainly in Africa, Asia and Latin America. In the words of Kim Il-sung: "The Korean communists must directly help the world revolution and energetically struggle for its final victory"²¹.

In 1966, North Korea inaugurated a recruiting programme for terror-

ists and guerillas in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Bureau of Reconnaissance is in charge of the training and exporting of foreign guerillas, under the supervision of the Defence Ministry. The Bureau has a Special Training Centre for Foreigners which trained 1,300 Latin Americans and 700 Asians and Africans between 1966 and 1971²².

At the beginning of the 1970s, North Korea's support of guerilla and terrorist movements grew considerably. Over US \$3 million in cash payments went to left-wing extremist movements in Venezuela, Argentina and Paraguay. North Korea also set up training bases in Central and South America. In Nicaragua and Peru, leftists receive military training. Since 1971, groups from the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua, the Guatemalan People's Liberation Army and others have attended courses lasting from several weeks to two years. Cuba has even sent a small number of instructors to learn guerilla warfare tactics in North Korea.

There have also been trainees from the Middle East and Africa. Pyongyang has been active in Libya, South Yemen, Algeria, Chad and Zimbabwe. Revolutionary groups have been trained at a terrorist camp located outside Tabora in Tanzania. Members of the Baader-Meinhof, (West Germany), the Red Brigades (Italy) and the Black Panthers and Students for Democratic Society (USA) made secret trips to North Korea to receive terrorist training^{22a}.

13. North Vietnam

Since the end of the Second Indo-China War, Hanoi has been able to direct more effort towards external propaganda. The principal agency is the Propaganda and Training Department of the Lao Dong Party. The Vietnam News Agency and the Radio Diffusion Board implement the directives of the government in the political warfare field. Since the Sino-Vietnamese conflict, warfare is also carried out against Communist China.

14. Communist China

The history of the communist take-over in China is, to a large extent, an exercise in political warfare. The preparations for the final assault were made between the two World Wars and completed during World War II. Throughout this period, Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) were aided by the Soviet Union. The CCP was an affiliate of the Comintern until 1943. The Sun Yat-sen University, established in Moscow in 1925, trained Chinese communists for a number of years. By 1941, at least 16,000 had been trained in the Soviet Union²³. There were, of course, other reasons for the communist victory in China: aid from the Soviet Union, use of the technique of infiltration by alliance (between Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese communists against

the Japanese) and the lack of adequate assistance to the Kuomintang from abroad.

The policy of the CCP after its victory in 1949 has been to promote and expand the Chinese homebase in a "protracted conflict"²⁴ against the non-communist world. Political warfare has been an important element in this conflict. Communist China has, for most of the time, used a soft approach to the non-communist world trying to portray herself as a good neighbour, a patriot sympathising with the struggle of other underdeveloped countries for national independence and economic progress. After the start of the Sino-Soviet dispute in 1960, the Chinese have directed a considerable political warfare effort towards the Soviet Union.

A large publishing centre, Gounzi Shuddan, operates a mail service through which all its publications, in many languages, can be obtained. Communist China broadcasts to foreign listeners in all five continents. The New China News Agency (NCNA, Sin Hua) was established in 1944. In 1962, the NCNA had 21 offices abroad and broadcast daily news services. In 1965, the NCNA had offices in 20 African countries. Like TASS, the NCNA has been accused of acting as a cover for agents of Chinese espionage.

In the 1960s, reports indicated that a large number of Africans were trained in guerilla warfare and sabotage techniques at special training centres in Harbin, Nanking and other parts of North East China²⁵. China is also working through various research and "cultural" organisations. In 1962, an Asian-African Society was formed to carry out research into the problems of Asian and African countries. Its aim was to strengthen Chinese influence and establish contacts in Africa. The membership at that time was said to be more than 500, mainly research workers, and a number of university professors. The Chinese People's Institute for Foreign Affairs (PIFA) was established in December 1949. It is devoted to the study of international affairs. The PIFA is only one of over twenty "people's organisations" for "cultural exchange". Among the others are, for example, the Overseas Cultural Association and the Overseas Cultural Liaison Committee.

II. The Western Response

1. Political Warfare Training

During the 1950s and the 1960s, in the days of the Cold War, a major training programme for political warfare operations was being discussed by a wide range of experts in the West. In the first part of this study, I have tried to outline the political warfare techniques of the communist countries, mainly the Soviet Union. It is a remarkable programme in the technique of conflict to which the West has still not found an answer in the 1980s. It goes without saying that the West should not engage, like Soviet Russia, in terrorism and assassination.

At the beginning of the 1960s, two American specialists²⁶ made an assessment of top level American political warfare training. The War Colleges devoted from two weeks to a month to cover the Soviet bloc, and the treatment of communism and communist political warfare could not have lasted more than two or three days. The Foreign Service Institute of the Department of State had a two-week seminar on communism and the Soviet Union. The State Department's Basic Foreign Service Officer's Course consisted of six hours of lectures by the CIA on the Soviet Union, the international communist movement, the organisation and strategy of communism, Soviet global propaganda and how to counteract the activities originating from communist sources. The Mid-Career course included a two-hour lecture on communist doctrine and practice, two hours on the role of behavioural science in Soviet strategy and two hours on Soviet political organisations.

Dr. Stefan T. Possony, a leading expert on Soviet political warfare, made the following comments:

"Without detracting in the slightest from the value of the War Colleges and the agency trade schools, it cannot be seriously argued that these schools provide an adequate coverage of communism. There is indeed a coverage in broad outline, but no intensive study and there are large gaps in the coverage. This cannot be otherwise because literature dealing with communism also shows wide gaps; furthermore, there are no textbooks which allow a student to tackle the whole problem matter within two covers. Instead, anyone who wants to be knowledgeable on communism is compelled to read and analyse carefully a minimum of two or three dozen books, and such an undertaking is simply not in the cards within a ten-month course (length of War College courses), most

of which deal with other subjects, let alone courses lasting only a few weeks”²⁷.

To the knowledge of this author, there is only one government financed school in the non-communist world that trains young people in political warfare. It is the Political Warfare College of the Republic of China. The foundation of this College originated at the beginning of the 1950s with the Political Warfare Research Class of the Political Staff College. All Chinese servicemen undergo training in political warfare. In 1963, President Chiang Kai-shek decided that the General Political Department of the Ministry of National Defence was to be changed to the General Political Warfare Department. As a result, the present Political Warfare College was formed out of the Political Staff College. A special corps in charge of political warfare operations was to be organised.

2. The Freedom Academy Concept

In the 1950s, a group of concerned citizens in Orlando, Florida, developed a concept of a “Freedom Academy” which would both carry out research and train people in the aspects of the conflict of systems. A bill was passed by the American Senate in 1960 and 1961 to implement the concept²⁸. The functions of the Freedom Academy and Freedom Commission were described in the bill as follows:

“The principal functions of the Commission and the Academy shall be —

(1) to carry on a research programme designed to develop an integrated, operational science that benefits and bespeaks the methods and values of free men and through which the free world will be able to meet and defeat the carefully patterned total aggression (political, ideological, psychological, economic, para-military, and organisational) of the Communist bloc, and through which we, as a nation, may work in a systematic manner for the preservation and extension of freedom, national independence, and self-government. To achieve this purpose, the full range of methods and means is to be thoroughly explored and studied, including the methods and means available to the government other than the methods and means already being used. This research programme shall include the study of our national objectives and the development of proposals for intermeshing and integrating the full spectrum of methods and means into a coordinated short and long range strategy for victory, seeking the utilisation of our full potential in the public and private sectors; and (2) to educate and train government personnel, private citizens, and foreign students concerning all aspects of the international communist conspiracy, the nature and dimensions of the global struggle between freedom

and communism and the full range of methods and means that free men should employ to meet and defeat the entire communist attack in the non-military areas, and to work systematically for the preservation and extension of freedom, national independence, and self-government"²⁹.

3. Freedom Studies Center

No government-sponsored Freedom Academy was ever created. However, in 1966, private initiative was taken to establish such an academy. As a result, on September 25, 1966, the Freedom Studies Center (FSC) was created in Boston, Virginia. Among other leading American specialists present at the inauguration of the FSC, was Alan G. Grant Jr., president of the Orlando Committee, which began the discussions on the Freedom Academy concept. The creators of the FSC believed that communist successes in the ongoing conflict were, to a great extent, due to a serious educational gap in the West. The communists operate a vast network of psycho-political warfare schools to teach fellow communists how to win the conflict with the West. President Dwight D. Eisenhower himself believed that: "there is an overpowering need for a regular and sustained study of this subject. . . I think the difficulties we are faced with in this protracted conflict spring largely from the fact that many Americans have never fully understood the tragic harvest of human suffering communism has reaped around the world, and the methods it uses to undermine and weaken our free society"³⁰. The FSC was to become a "West Point" of psycho-political warfare with the purpose of training the leadership from all segments of society in the free world and to study communist strategy and tactics and develop and recommend programmes for defending and extending the sphere of freedom. There were initially 34 US agencies which cooperated with the FSC, and 21 international organisations from Africa, Europe, Asia and Latin America. Originally, the FSC was to assist in the schooling of congressional aides. The original aim was that the FSC should undertake graduate study programmes for present and future private and governmental leaders, of the non-communist world. Expert advice to institutions and leaders throughout the West was another goal, as well as the organisation of advisory teams, upon the request of Western governments. The FSC was also to conduct research under contract for private and government agencies. President Lyndon B. Johnson sent this message on the occasion of the dedication of the Center: "The will to resist aggression is strengthened by our understanding of the alternative to turning back a foe who will deny man's freedom. That understanding grows through education. It is a responsibility which public and private institutions must share. I commend your commitment to this great and urgent work of defending freedom and promoting peace. You have my every wish for success"³¹. The FSC still exists for domestic US

training, but did not expand into an International Freedom Academy along the lines drawn up by its creators in 1966.

4. Other Concepts

In Europe, similar ideas were expressed in the 1960s. In a document published in 1960 by the Internal Security Sub-committee of the U.S. Senate, the French author, Suzanne Labin, a graduate from Sorbonne, called for the creation of an institute for ideological resistance to communist totalitarianism. It was to work on a scientific level and have the following aims:

“(a) Collecting and studying all facts concerning the overt and underground propaganda carried on by the Soviets against the democracies, elucidating its ways, means, and stratagems, revealing the different masks it puts on according to circumstances, recording and computing its development, evaluating its effects.

(b) Diligently informing Allied governments on these points.

(c) Enlightening public opinion by means of documented synopses released to press and radio organs. The institute could also publish books and pamphlets and arrange lectures on the specialist or the general public level. It should, finally, correct in releases the fallacies about communism that blind, mislead, and paralyse the dynamic forces of the free world.

(d) Preparing and suggesting counter-propaganda themes and means of counter-infiltration.

(e) Organising regular series of courses on communist methods to which member countries would send high officials concerned with them, and to which journalists and politicians would also be invited.

(f) Studying a possible extension to all free countries of provisions such as articles 4 and 18 of the French and German Constitutions, which reflect the idea that the communist machine seriously impairs the functioning of democracy. The possibility of an International Civic Code calling upon all political groups in NATO countries to respect democratic standards, this as a means of breaking the totalitarian machine of communist parties.

(g) Inviting citizens of African and Asian countries who will exercise professions involving leadership of their people — teachers, radio announcers, doctors, entrepreneurs, to train them by apprenticeship periods of 1 to 2 years so that they may return home breeding the ideas of freedom and warned against communist impostures.

(h) Setting up one or several schools to train a legion of missio-

naries of freedom who will spread through the world. This is an essential task³².

Mrs. Labin suggested that this institute should be created within the framework of NATO, but should have corresponding centres in every free country.

In 1964, the British author, Geoffrey Stewart-Smith³³, suggested similar action in an important book published that year³⁴. Mr. Stewart-Smith proposed several institutions for political warfare:

“a Central Office of Strategic Propaganda, which would coordinate all the spoken and written propaganda of the democracies, eliminate contradictions, aim to split the peoples of the communist countries from their communist parties while taking great pains not to advocate anything damaging to their national interests, and which would refrain from provoking premature uprisings; a Central Office of Strategic Counter-Intelligence, which would collect all information available on communist psychological warfare, economic penetration, subversive warfare and limited warfare techniques, and would recommend courses of action to prevent the further spreading of communism in the non-communist world; a Central Office of Strategic Intelligence, which would obtain all information on strengths and weaknesses, cohesion and tension existing throughout the Communist bloc; a Central Office of Strategic Subversive Warfare which would be separate, but would work in close co-operation with the Intelligence Office, and would maintain links with opposition movements both abroad and within communist countries with a view to assisting them where expedient. All these offices would work on a world-wide basis and have branches in all the democracies³⁵.”

In 1980, Mr. Stewart-Smith again called for a strategy for the defence of the West³⁶ and emphasised the importance of a political war capacity for the non-communist world:

“For 30 years the communists have built up and perfected a formidable international propaganda machine and run some 13 international communist front organisations active in all fields of human endeavour. Moscow can orchestrate globally demonstrations in support of its foreign and defence policies in democratic countries on such issues as opposition to the Vietnam War or against the development of the neutron bomb or the deployment of cruise missiles.

The West has no such full-time, professionally manned and lavishly financed apparatus. Western political leaders cannot explain to their peoples why the threat is growing and why a new forward policy is essential if they are to live in freedom. The time is long overdue for Western political leaders to allocate funds,

manpower, communications and resources to fill this gap in the West's non-military defences. . . The West should either create a specialist news agency or expand any existing one.

The ministries of information or equivalent institutions in the democratic countries should be instructed by their political masters to inform the public of the real nature of communism and the threats made by communist leaders, and remind them of the hostile stated intentions of Soviet ideologists. . . Western commentators should be discouraged from being neutral in constant demands for freedom and democracy to be adequately defended in the West. . .

Western propagandists should continually remind the peoples of the democracies of the dangers of communist subversion, disinformation, psychological warfare, support for terrorism and interference in the supply of essential raw materials, oil and strategic minerals from abroad on which their prosperity depends. This may need to be done by paid display advertisements. . .

The West should insist that jamming of all broadcasts from the West to the East should cease at once. . . Western broadcasts to the Communist bloc should be increased in length and the power of existing transmitters should be increased. . .

Research should be encouraged to ensure that radio and television broadcasts are transmitted direct to communist ruled countries from satellites. If it is possible, these transmissions should be started immediately"³⁷.

In the essay *What targets for polwar?*, written in 1960, Professor James Burnham³⁸ recommended four themes for a Western political warfare campaign:

1. The subjugated nations of the Soviet-controlled empire.
2. The colonial issue with the fact that the Soviet Union is the principal colonial empire in the world.
3. Secrecy. The Western leaders should constantly point out how exposed the Soviet empire is to the prying eyes of the West inside the Soviet Union and its satellites.
4. The show of force. It is important to use the old psychological warfare technique — the provocative show of force.

"If", writes professor Burnham, "we really wanted to conduct a few serious psywar campaigns. . . all we have to do is to take these four themes. . . and keep pounding away, day by day, in every assembly, by every medium of expression and communication no matter what the nominal subject at hand"³⁹.

Political warfare has been discussed by several specialists close to the Reagan administration at the beginning of the 1980s. Sovietologist,

Richard F. Staar, analysed a US response to Soviet political warfare in a policy recommendation entitled "*The United States in the 1980s*", published by the Hoover Institute. He argued that:

"During 1979, the USSR devoted approximately two thousand hours per week to broadcast in 83 foreign languages over Radio Moscow alone. . . Without waiting for a change that cannot possibly occur in the USSR unless incentive exists, Washington should establish a small group of experts to analyse Soviet propaganda activities, not only to monitor Russian-language publications and broadcasts, . . . but systematically and persistently to refute them. The anti-American propaganda campaign has continued despite détente. Exposing its themes by the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, or even via direct television broadcasting by satellite, as well as through mass media in the United States, would disabuse the Kremlin of the idea that it can continue the same "cold war" approach towards audiences inside the USSR and elsewhere via international front organisations, without any response or retaliation. . .

The United States must project itself to the Third World as a revolutionary system that has brought prosperity to the American working class, where skilled labourers often earn more money than professors, and where human rights are strongly upheld by press and courts. The corollary would be a campaign that will expose false USSR propaganda concerning America and tell the truth about Soviet colonialism in Central Asia and Eastern Europe through such forums as the United Nations and the U.S. International Communications Agency externally, as well as through the mass media internally"⁴⁰.

In an article in the Heritage Foundation *Policy Review*⁴¹, John Lenczowski, makes similar recommendations:

"The principal mechanisms of exporting the American Idea are public diplomacy and foreign information. Every weapon in this non-military arsenal must be deployed: international broadcasting, American libraries abroad, international educational, cultural and visitors' exchanges, the distribution of books, pamphlets, television programmes and films, the hiring of more foreign service information officers, as well as foreign nationals (such as journalists) to work in the U.S. information posts abroad, and the increased vocal use of international forums, such as the U.N., for ideological offensives. . . In short, what is needed is an ideological offensive by the United States, an offensive for our ideals of freedom, growth, social mobility, and popularly based legitimacy. In a dangerous world, it is a non-military weapon which we can use to prevent ever having to use our military weapons"⁴².

In an address to the National Strategy Forum in Washington D.C.⁴³, Dr. Maurice Tugwell, Director of the Center for Conflict Studies at the University of New Brunswick, Canada, and leading expert on political warfare, stressed the importance of psychological war as follows:

"When the revolutionary challenge is on an international scale, as in the East-West struggle, the psychological challenge remains central. The only way it can be met is by accepting it, elevating the subject to its proper priority, and getting into the fight. We may close the window of nuclear opportunity, improve our rapid intervention capability and strengthen our fleets and armies, but if we loose the war of ideas and ideals, we may suffer defeat with our war machine intact. . . It is ideas and ideals, not politics or military hardware or economics that the East-West conflict is really about"⁴⁴.

5. The One Per Cent Solution

The author of this study does not propose to create a new formula for a Western political warfare campaign. The case for political warfare has already been presented by a number of specialists. What remains is for the governments and private sectors in the Western democracies to act. It is undoubtedly necessary that both government and private sector dedicate funds and manpower for an effective political warfare campaign. At least one per cent of the defence budget of the non-communist countries should be dedicated to political warfare. It would, to mention just a few examples, create the following funds per year in a selected number of countries chosen at random:

United Kingdom	1982	216
Denmark	1984	11
France	1983	177
United States	1984	2,423
Saudi Arabia	1983-84	216
Brazil	1983	10
Indonesia	1983-84	6
Japan	1984-85	125
The Philippines	1984	5

(Figures in million US \$)

6. The Importance of the Private Sector

The possible leading role of government in properly organised political warfare of the Western democracies does in no way exclude the private sector. On the contrary, experience has shown that until now the private sector has been playing perhaps the most important role in Western political warfare.

In an important essay written in 1966, Dr. Frank Barnett⁴⁵ gave a number of examples of how professional societies and trade associations, as well as trade unions could be active in political warfare.

(a) "On the assumption that free men can frustrate communist goals if they are willing to commit sustained and systematic effort to the protracted conflict, it is encouraging to examine the precedent set by the American Bar Association. In August 1962, in San Francisco, the House of Delegates of the ABA merged two of its special committees into the permanent standing Committee on Education Against Communism. By this act, the ABA underlined the gravity of the communist threat and recognised the special responsibility of the lawyer to preserve the rule of law from a movement that employs force, violence, deception, and subversion to destroy (the American) constitution and annual liberty under law. In short, the ABA — by allocating staff time, funds, and the creative energies of outstanding lawyers to the complex challenge of communism — is testing a method by which the "professionalism" of the private sector can be mobilised for effective action in the Cold War. The Committee's programme has two objectives:

1. To educate lawyers in the scope and nature of communist tactics, strategy, and objectives; and
2. To encourage and support schools and colleges in the presentation of adequate instruction in the history, doctrines, objectives, and techniques of communism, thereby helping to instil a greater appreciation of democracy and freedom under law.

Upon request, the Committee provides speakers and study material for annual meetings of state, county or local Bar Associations. In this and other activities, the Committee has enjoyed the active support of past, present and incoming Presidents of the American Bar Association"⁴⁶.

(b) "Thus, for example, on December 7, 1961, the National Association of Manufacturers — in annual congress assembled — set aside the full day for such a seminar. More than fifteen hundred captains of industry listened to the discussions on the Total Threat of World Communism, Communist Espionage and Subversion in the United States, the Question of National Defence, Economic Warfare, Communist Propaganda Techniques, and Businessmen in the Cold War"⁴⁷.

(c) "Similarly, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States — at its annual conventions in 1962 and 1963 — set aside a half day for lectures and panels on communism, national defence, and foreign affairs. In addition, the Chamber in 1961 produced a study kit, *Freedom vs. Communism: The Economics of Survival*, consisting of a discussion leader's manual, a set of problems and exercises, and a set of eight pamphlets. Thousands of these study kits have been used by local Chambers and

affiliated groups, as well as by social science teachers across the country"⁴⁸.

(d) "A tribute to America's genius for achieving consensus, this Institute (AIFLD) is supported financially by American business and the AFL-CIO. Its trustees include Peter Grace and George Meany. The American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) brings young Latin American labour leaders to this country, [the USA] for a three-month training course during which they begin to understand that 'partnership and productivity' and not Marxist class warfare is the path to genuine economic development. They also learn how to cope with communist efforts at subversion and infiltration. . . The Institute has trained over twenty-five thousand men in at least seventeen Latin American countries. It has set up a workers' credit bank in Peru. It sponsors low-cost housing in Mexico City and co-ops in rural areas where men are now learning they can do things for themselves. In short, the Institute is pioneering in the dimension in which civilians can help to eliminate those conditions which make for successful communist insurgency"⁴⁹.

Political warfare training and research is a necessary tool for the West in the East-West conflict. The communist countries have waged a successful political warfare against the non-communist world for over 60 years. It is time for the Western world to supplement its military defence with a non-military defence — political warfare — before it is too late.

Notes

- 1) Robert Strausz-Hupé and Stefan T. Possony: *International Relations*, 2nd edition, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1954, p. 423.
- 2) William R. Kintner and Joseph Z. Kornfeder: *The New Frontier of War*, London, 1962, p. XIII.
- 3) Frank R. Barnett: *Public Opinion, the Private Sector and National Defense*, National Strategy Information Center Inc., New York., N.Y., 1966, p. 3.
- 4) General Wang Sheng: *The Theory and Practice of Political Warfare*, 5th edition, Political Warfare College, Taipei, 1974, pp. 3-7.
- 5) James Burnham: *The War We Are In: The Last Decade and the Next*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, N.Y., 1967, pp. 259-260.
- 6) David Shub: *Lenin, A Biography*, Penguin Books, Baltimore, 1967, p. 464.
- 7) Enrique Castro Delgado: *I Have Lost Faith in Moscow*, 1950.
- 8) *Organized Communism in the United States*, revised edition, Committee on un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1958, p. 147.
- 8a) Richard H. Schultz and Roy Godson: *Dezinformatsia, Active Measures in Soviet Strategy*, New York, 1984.
- 8b) Claire Sterling: *The Time of the Assassins — The Inside Story of the Plot to Kill the Pope*, London, 1984.
Paul Henze: *The Plot to Kill the Pope*, New York, 1983.
- 8c) Paul B. Henze: "The Plot to Kill the Pope", in *Survey*, Autumn/Winter, 1983, Vol. 27 (118,119), p. 14.
- 9) *Soviet Covert Action (The Forgery Offensive)*, Subcommittee on Oversight of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, House of Representatives, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980. Richard Staar, "CP Checklist", in *Problems of Communism*, March-April, 1981.
- 10) U.S. Senate, Internal Security Subcommittee: *Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1959, pp. 113-114.
- 11) "Myten om VPK's oberoende" (ed. Johan Hjertquist), *Opinion*, Stockholm, 1980, p. 17.
- 12) The estimate only includes costs for foreign propaganda and the covert action activities of the KGB. Indirect costs borne by foreign communist organisations are not included.

	Million US \$
CPSU ID	100
CPSU IID	50
TASS	550

Novosti (APN)	500
Pravda	250
Izvestiya	200
New Times and other periodicals	200
Radio Moscow foreign service	700
Press sections in Soviet Embassies	50
Clandestine radios	100
International Communist Fronts	63
Subsidies to foreign Communist Parties	50
Service A of the KGB	50
Covert actions by the KGB's foreign residencies	100
Support to National Liberation Fronts	200
Special campaign in 1979	200
Total	3,363

Soviet Covert Action (The Forgery Offensive), Subcommittee on Oversight of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, House of Representatives, US Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1980. p. 60.

In 1982, the estimate was raised to US \$4 billion (US Congress, House of Representatives, Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, *Soviet Active Measures*, p. 30.

- 13) Newsletter, East European Bible Mission, Rosendaal, the Netherlands, February-March 1979.
- 14) March 11, 1979.
- 15) M. Leeden: "From Prague to Rome", *Il Giornale Nuovo*, Milan, January 1980.
- 16) Ultimas Noticias, Mexico, September 1962.
- 17) Lionel Soto: "First Conference of the Peoples of Three Continents", *World Marxist Review*, April 1966, pp. 1-6.
- 18) Blas Roca School in Los Pinos, Havana Province. Marcelo Salado School in the Luyaño section of Havana. El Cortijo School in Pinar del Rio Province. especially for military personnel.

La Cabana Fort in Havana, especially for young people.

Minas Rio Frio School, for training guerillas.

San Lorenzo School in the Sierra Maestra, Oriente Province, for training guerillas. Ciudad Libertad School, in Marianao, Havana Province, under Russian instructors. Boca Chica School in Tarará, Havana Province, Director General Alberto Bayo. Julio Antonio Mella School, in Mar Bella, Havana Province, for training and instructing leaders of the Confederación de Trabajadores de Cuba Revolucionaria (Federation of Workers of Revolutionary Cuba).

Organisation of American States Combined Reports on Communist Subversion, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1965, p. 51.

- 19) Junta de Liberación para Centro América y el Caribe (Board of Libe-

ration for Central America and the Caribbean). Plans subversive acts and controls the sending of agents to that region of the Americas.

Junta de Liberación para America del Sur (Board of Liberation for South America). Has the same purpose as the foregoing organisation; its action is planned for South America.

Organización Latinoamericana de la Juventud (Latin American Youth Organisation). Its principal aim is to organise and train young people in subversive tactics.

Asociación "Latinoamérica Libre" ("Free Latin America" Association). Its chief aim is to organise meetings and conferences of various kinds and to facilitate travel to Cuba for the purpose of giving instructions to students, workers, professional people etc.

Organisation of American States Combined Reports on Communist Subversion, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1965, p. 52.

20) *Soviet Analyst*, London, 20 July 1972, pp. 4-5.

21) Baik Bong: *A Political Biography of Kim Il-Sung*, Vol. III, p. 562.

22) The training bases of the centre are situated as follows:

(a) 3 bases on the outskirts of Pyongyang.

(b) 1 base in Yung-Byon County in the province of the north Pyong-An, about 65 miles north of Pyongyang.

(c) 1 base in Sang-Won in the province of south Pyong-An, about 54 miles east of Pyongyang.

(d) 1 base in Haeju in the province of Hwang-Hai, about 67 miles south of Pyongyang.

(e) 1 base in the vicinity of Nam-Po city, 26 miles west of Pyongyang.

(f) 2 bases in Won-San city.

Training lasts for periods ranging from 6 to 18 months.

It consists of the following programme:

1. Communist political ideology and thoughts of Kim Il-Sung.

2. Wireless operation.

3. Tactics of urban and rural guerilla warfare.

4. Marksmanship.

5. Methods of handling explosives.

6. Map reading.

7. Agitation techniques.

8. Codes and other means of secret communications.

9. Setting-up of hide-outs and secret insurrection bases.

10. Infiltration and ambush tactics.

11. Armed assault and assassination and the art of unarmed attack (Judo, Karate, etc.).

12. Art of sword and dagger fighting (different from fencing).

13. Techniques of removing all sorts of obstacles.

Reconnaissance.

14. Toxicant and chemical warfare.

The rigorous training includes five hours of running at night with 100-lb sanbags on the shoulders.

- In 1966, 6 experts of guerilla and subversive warfare were sent from North Korea to Cuba. Over 500 Latin American agents have been trained in Cuba.
- "North Korea's Export of Guerilla Warfare", Seoul, May 1971.
- 22a) Nack An — Rose An. "North Korea Military Assistance" in John F. Cooper and Daniel S. Papp, eds., *Communist Nations' Military Assistance*, Boulder, 1983.
 - 23) According to Robert C. North: *Kuomintang and China's Communist Elites in 1945*, 57 per cent of the Central Committee of the CCP were trained in Moscow.
 - 24) The concept of "protracted conflict" was formulated by Mao Tse-tung in the 1930's in an essay on the subject. It has also been brilliantly analysed in its world-wide implications in the book *Protracted Conflict* by Professor and Ambassador Robert Strausz-Hupé, et al, New York, 1959.
 - 25) International Press Service, West Berlin, June 1964.
 - 26) William R. Kintner and Joseph Z. Kornfeder in the *New Frontier of War*, London, 1962.
 - 27) *Ibid.* p. 285.
 - 28) *Ibid.* p. 291.
 - 29) *Ibid.* pp. 291-292.
 - 30) Booklet *Freedom Studies Center of the Institute for American Strategy*.
 - 31) News concerning the Freedom Studies Center of the Institute for American Strategy, September 25, 1966.
 - 32) Suzanne Labin: *The Technique of Soviet Propaganda, A Study presented by the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws*, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1960, pp. 30-31.
 - 33) Geoffrey Stewart-Smith: *The Defeat of Communism*, London, 1964.
 - 35) *Ibid.*, p. 445.
 - 36) Geoffrey Stewart-Smith: *The Struggle for Freedom*, FARI, London, 1980.
 - 37) *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.
 - 38) In the book *The War We Are In — The Last Decade and the Next*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, N.Y., 1967. During the thirties, Professor Burnham was associated with the Trotskyist branch of international communism. He later turned his back on Trotskyism. He was a senior editor of the American Conservative journal *National Review* since it began publication in 1955.
 - 39) *Ibid.* p. 261.
 - 40) In *The United States in the 1980s*, published by the Hoover Institution of the Stanford University, California, 1980, pp. 738-755. Dr. Staar is Director of the International Studies Programme of the Hoover Institution.
 - 41) "A Foreign Policy of Reaganauts", *Foreign Policy*, No. 18, Autumn 1981.
 - 42) *Ibid.* pp. 93-95.
 - 43) Dr. Maurice Tugwell is Director of the Centre for Conflict Studies of the University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, N.B., Canada.
 - 44) Address "Beating Moscow in the War of Ideas and Ideals", November 10, 1981.

- 45) Dr. Frank Barnett is President of the National Strategy Information Center Inc., New York, N.Y., USA.
- 46) Dr. Frank Barnett: *Public Opinion, the Private Sector and National Defence*, National Strategic Information Center Inc., New York, N.Y., 1966, pp. 10-11.
- 47) *Ibid.* p. 14.
- 48) *Ibid.* p. 14.
- 49) *Ibid.* p. 15.

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