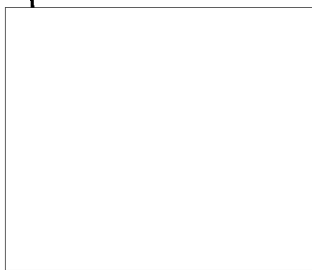


**Memorandum for:** RECORD

STAT



The attached was prepared by

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[redacted] to be cabled to General Rogers,

SACEUR, on 4 January 1983

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# EUR A

Office of European Analysis  
Directorate of Intelligence

EUR M 83-10007

[Redacted]

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN THE DUTCH PEACE MOVEMENT\*

The Dutch "peace" movement is a generally indigenous phenomenon reflecting popular concerns about the morality of nuclear weapons and the advisability of their deployment on Dutch soil. During the initial stages of the campaign the Dutch Communist Party (CPN) and its fronts maneuvered themselves into a position where they could channel this popular discontent on arms issues, but we believe that this discontent would have created a "peace movement" even without the Communists. The Communists' relative influence within the movement has diminished steadily for more than a year. The most important Dutch peace groups today are the Interchurch Peace Council (IKV), the Catholic Pax Christi Netherlands group, and a Communist-dominated group called the "Cooperative Union: Stop the Neutron Bomb/Stop the Nuclear Arms Race." [Redacted]

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The IKV, a church-sponsored but largely autonomous organization headed by Mient-Jan Faber, is by far the largest and most influential "peace" organization. There almost certainly are some Communists within the IKV, [Redacted]

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[Large Redacted Block]

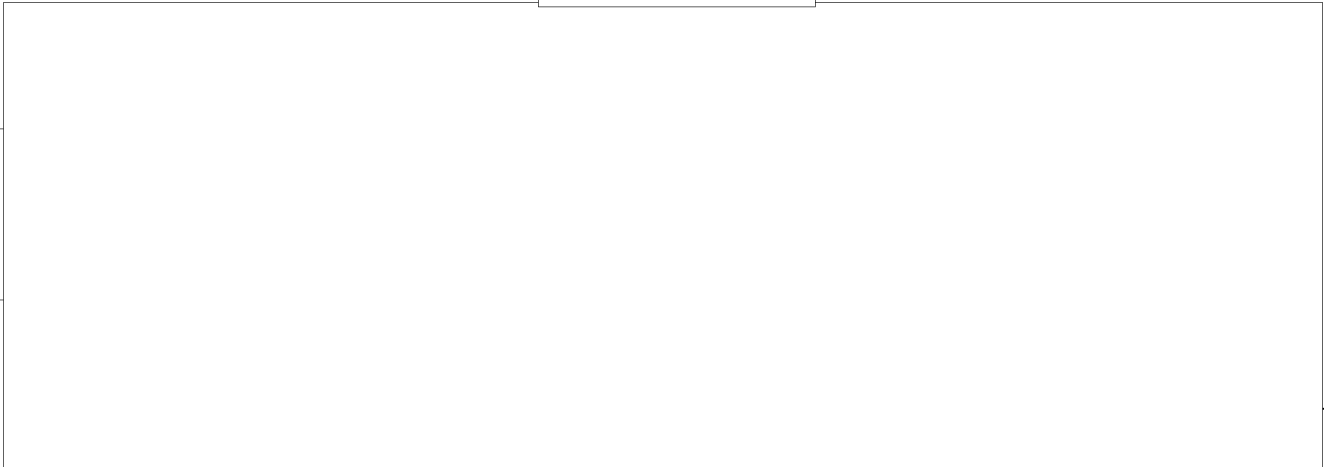
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not numerous and are no longer in a position to manipulate the IKV's program. Having largely overcome its earlier reliance on Communist advice and logistical support, the IKV is now presenting a more balanced critique of Eastern and Western arms policies. Nevertheless, the IKV continues to exhibit a simplistic view of international relations, including the possibility of convergence between Eastern and Western Europe which it tries to promote through contacts with nongovernmental organizations in the East.

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Evolution of the Movement

Large-scale "peace" activity in the Netherlands began with the campaign against the "neutron bomb" in 1977-78. Recognizing the antipathy of their countrymen toward this weapon, CPN leaders were able to get in on the ground floor of the new peace movement. The Cooperative Union's name--many simply call it "the N-Bomb group"--still reflects those early battles.

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During 1977-78, organizations like the IKV were at a disadvantage because they were relative newcomers to the business of agitation.

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Until about a year ago, Communist

participants in the peace movement were generally able to keep it from allocating any responsibility to the Soviets for East-West conflict and the arms race. Moreover, the desire of most peace activists to focus on the emotional issue of nuclear weapons in the Netherlands usually overrode any concern about skewed analysis. [Redacted]

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After several years of intensive peace activity, however, the IKV has developed a seasoned leadership cadre, and we believe that it has eliminated most of its earlier dependence on the Communists for organizational help. In our judgment, the IKV has also become much more successful than the Communist-dominated groups in appealing to large numbers of people. At the same time, prolonged exposure to East-West issues and public criticism of the movement's one-sided platforms have made the IKV more critical of Soviet positions on issues ranging from the SS-20 to Poland. [Redacted]

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Poland.

[Redacted]

IKV Relations with Communists

A small Communist-dominated group called Christians for Socialism (CVS) had a noticeable influence in the IKV during the

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"peace" campaign's formative period in 1977-78.

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[Redacted]

We do not know whether the IKV receives money from the East. In our judgment, this type of funding would be a time bomb which the IKV leadership for public relations reasons would be foolish to risk. We cannot rule out, however, that some money from the East could be injected without their knowledge. In any event, we believe that most of the IKV's activities probably can be financed by the contributions it cites in its financial statements--the nine sponsoring church denominations and other overt sources. In various joint activities with the Cooperative Union, the IKV probably has made use of transportation or logistical material provided by the Communists.

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[Redacted]

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The IKV's main interaction with the East has consisted of contacts with East European church and dissident groups. Again, the IKV openly boasts of these meetings which, it claims,

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encourage independence and even "non-alignment" in Eastern Europe. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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After a period of disillusionment brought on by Poland, the IKV's pollyannish world view has reasserted itself. IKV leader Faber's recent meetings with peace groups in Hungary seem to have reinforced his impression that Eastern Europe may eventually be able to free itself from Soviet control through peace activity. Officials of the Russian Orthodox Church, probably at their government's direction, are seeking to meet again soon with IKV leaders to discuss peace campaigns. The false impression of "parallelism" in Eastern and Western Europe, of course, tends to expunge doubts within the IKV about the wisdom of their own efforts against NATO programs. Much of the public, however, recognizes the grey realities in Eastern Europe, and this strange emphasis by the IKV is one of its ideological weak spots. [REDACTED]

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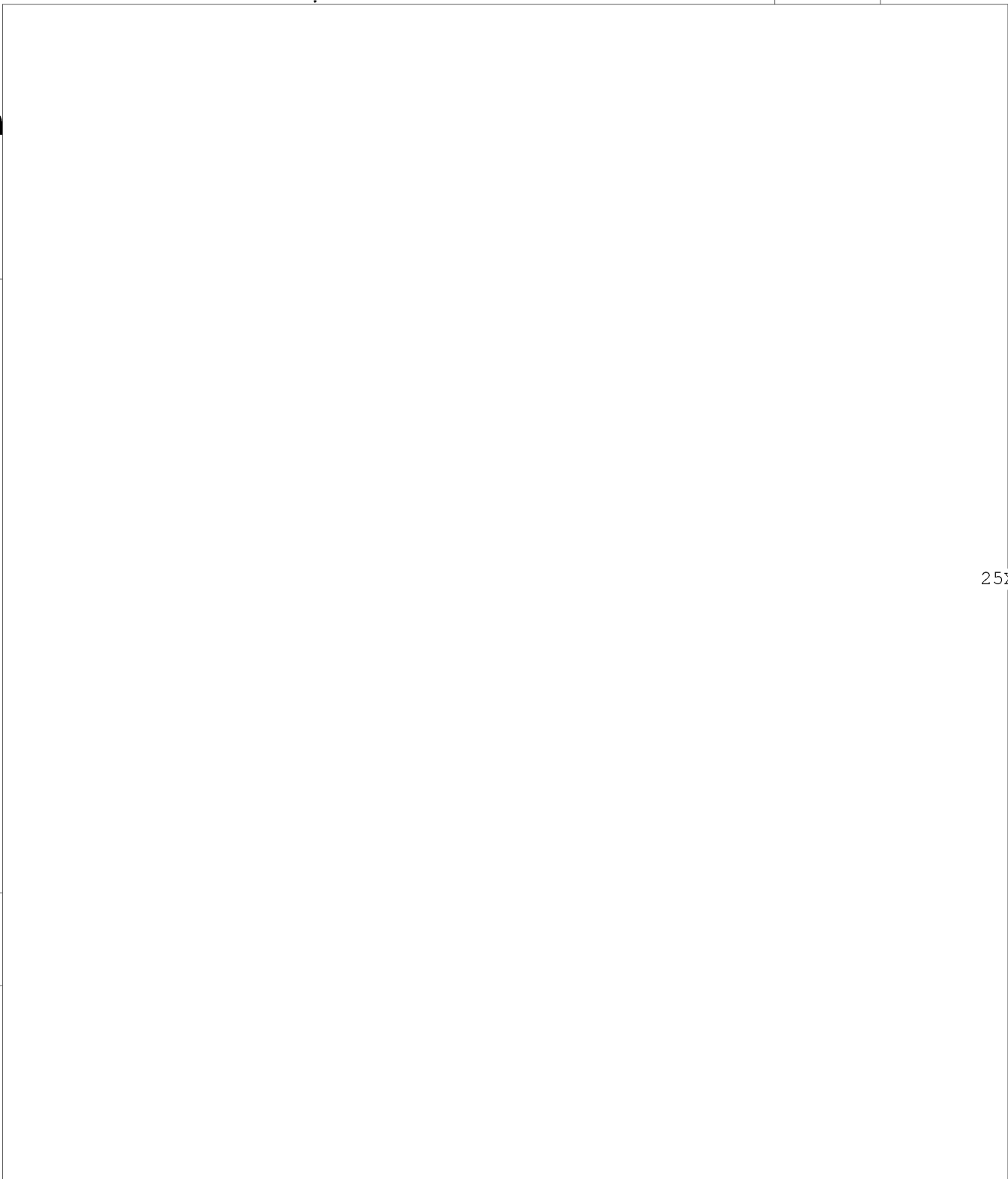
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Another possible weak point of the overall "peace" movement is its likely recourse of at least some elements to civil disobedience tactics, which could cause disorder and thus alienate public opinion. The possibility of violence, however, has little to do with Communist influence. Those who might

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( resort to violence or try to provoke it are generally members of 25X1  
uncontrollable fringe elements rather than the CPN. [redacted]



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During the past year, however, even the CPN and its fronts have modified their views on some East-West issues. The CPN, which is a legal party holding three seats in parliament, has always had a reputation for independent analysis and for occasionally balking at the Soviet line. Events in Poland have accentuated this tendency. After the party's poor performance in the September elections (it garnered only 1.8 percent of the vote), the CPN congress in November voted to break ties with the Polish and Czechoslovak Communist parties, and noted that the USSR was not "a natural and automatic ally" in the struggle for peace. The Cooperative Union, moreover, complained publicly to the Soviets last summer when they refused to include Soviet territory in a proposed nuclear-free zone. 25X1

Nevertheless, the CPN and the Cooperative Union undoubtedly will prosecute the "peace" campaign to the best of their ability because it is a cause congenial to the far left. They probably will remain amenable to Soviet advice on nuclear weapons issues, and will continue efforts to give the "peace" campaign an anti-US and anti-NATO slant. Communist prospects for affecting the peace movement as a whole will depend largely on the willingness and ability of others in and outside the movement to point out Communist propaganda on nuclear weapons issues and counter it with facts. The overall effectiveness of the "peace" movement's

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( anti-INF campaign, however, will depend much more on whether organizations like the IKV can sway politicians than on the efforts of the CPN, its fronts, and the Soviets. [redacted]

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Government Policy Toward the Peace Movement

25X1 The current center-right government is in a stronger position to support NATO policy on security issues than any of its recent predecessors, but in our judgment it is not prepared to undertake an all-out offensive against the "peace" movement. The government's response last week to a parliamentary question about the relationship of the Soviets with the "peace" movement made clear which elements are Communist-controlled and have links with Moscow, but it avoided criticizing the movement as a whole. The Home Affairs Minister mentioned the Cooperative Union as one group with Communist ties, but specified that he was not talking about the IKV. Dutch officials evidently hope in this way to discourage cooperation between Communist and non-Communist groups, to make the latter more discerning about the issues involved, and to encourage the public to reflect on analyses which may be derived from the Soviet line. [redacted]

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[redacted] This Dutch government has made no public statements about the financing of the peace movement. The government seems to have decided that any indications it may have about Soviet funding would not be of sufficient scope to discredit the movement as a whole, and that such a controversy would provoke bitter accusations about smear tactics. As the Home Affairs Minister implied to US Embassy officers recently, the government

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( does not want to create the impression that it writes off  
widespread public concerns about nuclear war as creations of the  
USSR.  25X1

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