

### ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional)

FROM:  C/FICG/CRES/DI  
3E47 Hqs.

EXTENSION

NO.

DDI- 04403/84

DATE

30 July 1984

25X1  
25X1

TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)

DATE

RECEIVED

FORWARDED

OFFICER'S INITIALS

COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)

1. Hap Hazzard  
NIO/FDIA

30 July 84

H

We have declassified the paper as requested, with the usual loss of some detail. The CI Staff's

2. Bob Gates  
DDI

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is unenthused about any unclassified efforts of this sort, and DO's  is also hesitant to have the DCI use any figures publicly. We have drawn from DDCI's Cong. testimony to keep things consistent.

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3. EX Registry

1 AUG 1984

D

4. DDCI

03 AUG 1984

J

5. DCI

3 Aug

*Bill - per your request + for your use. It isn't a lot but it's unclassified*

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DCI  
EXEC  
REG

*C-141*

SOVIET AND CUBAN CLANDESTINE ACTIVITIES  
AGAINST U.S. POLICIES

In its conduct overseas, the Soviet Union wields a clandestine capability to promote its objectives that is without parallel. The Soviet covert apparatus--primarily the KGB and two large departments of the Communist Party Central Committee--is enormous by any measure. It is generously funded, unconstrained by legislative oversight or journalistic criticism at home, and specifically organized to exploit political influence opportunities afforded in more open societies abroad. Soviet investment in propaganda alone is probably between three and four billion dollars per year. In tandem with its huge overt propaganda apparatus, the Soviet clandestine arm works tirelessly to discredit the United States through literally countless covert actions and disinformation activities. The Soviet covert effort is aided significantly by its allies, and Cuba plays an especially important role in the Western hemisphere.

Since the end of the Second World War, the Soviet intelligence services have targetted the United States as "the main enemy." Although the intensity and tone of anti-US propaganda have varied somewhat over time, the basic themes have remained constant. Moreover, what the Soviets call "active measures"--especially covert support to the propaganda apparatus--

have become a significant element in the Soviets' overall strategy of undercutting US policies worldwide.

### Portraying the US Adversary

A recent scholarly study of Soviet disinformation against the United States has identified some recurrent themes trumpeted in Pravda, and in internationally-distributed Western-language publications such as New Times and International Review. The most important of the themes are:

- Aggressiveness. The US is portrayed as an aggressive and imperialist state, bent on adventure and provocation, and attempting to interfere in the affairs of other countries.
- Militarism. The US is depicted as militaristic, constantly seeking superiority, employing force, and promoting arms races in all categories-- nuclear, conventional, chemical, and outer space.
- Intransigence. As a militarist and aggressor, the US is not only the source of world tension, it refuses to negotiate for peace. The US is held solely accountable for the failure of arms talks, the demise of detente, and the general state of East-West hostilities.

Soviet characterizations of the United States give prominence to denigrating the Central Intelligence Agency and the Pentagon. The anti-CIA campaign has become particularly vitriolic over the last several years. For example, a TASS News Agency release of 19 June 1983 greatly distorted a generally favorable U.S. News and World Report feature on the Agency. TASS sought to show that the perfidy of CIA and the present

Administration's reliance on "force and blackmail" have been fully documented by a major Western newsmagazine. TASS also claimed that President Reagan's recent speech at the CIA Headquarters groundbreaking ceremony gave the "greenlight" to the "traditions" of those who masterminded and carried out the assassinations of Che Guevara, Salvatore Allende, and Patrice Lumumba, and those who "mulled over plans to murder" Castro and former Egyptian President Nasser.

#### The Covert Arm

We know from past experiences that TASS items of this nature, and others from Soviet media more generally, are grist for the Soviet clandestine mill. These items are picked up and replayed extensively by Soviet-controlled and sympathetic press in dozens of countries worldwide. India and Mexico, and to a lesser extent Nigeria, appear to serve as regional centers for disinformation campaigns in the Third World.

The Soviet wire service in New Delhi is notably successful in multiplying TASS stories throughout the Indian media. The service has a vigorous press placement program--many of its placements are also written locally--often running Soviet items as fact and without attribution. To continue the cycle, Moscow will frequently pick up the article as having originated in India, which is then replayed in the Soviet press and again back in India as a fully substantiated story. Examples of such

disinformation abound. Notable among them are stories that the CIA had assassinated Maurice Bishop and plotted the death of Mountbatten, and that the US had placed nuclear and chemical weapons in nearby Diego Garcia. The Bishop story was a full-fledged global campaign.

#### The Ideological Apparatus

The Soviet disinformation bureaucracy is extremely well organized and very powerful within the Soviet political system. As a jointly-run operation of Communist Party Central Committee organs and the KGB, the ideological apparatus does not appear to lack the resources it needs to run a massive program discrediting the US. No discernible evidence suggests any internal opposition to its policies. Both well funded and unopposed at home, and largely uncontested in its activities abroad, the ideological apparatus is uniquely empowered to denigrate the West and undercut US policies at a tempo and volume of its choosing. Since the political legitimacy of the ruling party oligarchs depends on a continued debasing of the free-enterprise and democratic alternatives to the present Soviet system, the disinformation bureaucracy is assured of continued high-level sponsorship. In the Soviet political framework--for both internal and external reasons--denigrating the United States is almost a perpetual motion machine.

As the disinformation enterprise is run jointly by the Communist Party and the KGB, virtually every needed state asset-- both overt and covert--is marshalled for the effort: newspapers and magazines, radio and television, most foreign communist parties, dozens of front groups in Europe and the Third World, and the full clandestine inventory of operatives and agents of the KGB's First Chief Directorate.

#### Soviet Outlets and The Clandestine Connection

Among the overt Soviet outlets for written disinformation, TASS News Agency and Novosti Press Agency are the most important. TASS alone is represented in nearly 100 countries. Novosti is almost as large. Because their primary mission is churning out propaganda, these agencies also differ with their Western counterparts in providing their "services" to developing countries at little or no cost. The weekly Soviet New Times is the print media's outstanding international outlet for anti-Western propaganda and disinformation. In addition, Radio Moscow broadcasts to every continent except Antartica, in 90-odd languages, and for roughly 2,000 broadcast hours per week.

The Soviet clandestine arm is well represented in all Soviet agencies abroad. Perhaps one of every three journalists in overseas TASS offices are KGB or GRU operatives. In 1979, 10 of the 12 New Times correspondents posted abroad were KGB officers. In addition to journalistic cover, Soviet intelligence services also

rely heavily on Trade Missions and Aeroflot offices for cover, along with their missions, delegations, and staff employees at the UN and other international bodies such as the IAEA and World Health Organization. About one-third of Soviet personnel abroad in diplomatic posts are intelligence officers.

The Soviets are truly alone in both the range of media assets they control abroad, and in the scale of their clandestine services. It is their ability to coordinate and harmonize the overt and the covert that affords the Soviets unique advantages in the manipulation of information and influence.

#### Forgeries

Soviet use of forgeries is increasingly understood in the West. Two particularly insidious examples this year bear all the earmarks of a Soviet active measure. In one operation the US Ambassador to Austria, Helene Von Damm, purportedly sought to compromise Austrian neutrality by requesting, in an unclassified letter to the Defense Minister, the use of Austrian defense radars in time of crisis. Copies of the letter were mailed--the sender remains unidentified--to Austrian newspapers. Technical analysis of the Ambassador's signature showed it to be an expert forgery. While the Defense Minister was initially skeptical of the letter's authenticity, and the media were not apparently duped, the operation was still damaging to the United States. The American Ambassador was forced on the defensive concerning US

designs to manipulate a European neutral at the height of public controversy over NATO INF deployments, and local sensitivities over strict Austrian neutrality were exploited to maximize suspicions against the United States.

A second, and more recent, forgery operation was designed to denigrate American society as violently racist, and to induce Third World nations to withdraw their participation from the Olympic Games in Los Angeles. The Olympic Committees in 20 countries in Africa and Asia have received letters, purportedly from the Ku Klux Klan, threatening to "incinerate" or hang black and yellow "apes" who compete in the Los Angeles games. Linguistic analysis shows that the letters were almost certainly written by someone who did not learn English as a native language. Interviewed Klan spokesmen have uniformly denied authorship, and the letterheads used a Klan logo never seen before. Foreign Olympic Committees who take this pernicious threat seriously, and some have said they do, thereby align themselves with the official Soviet rationale for boycotting the Games--that the US cannot provide adequate security for its athletes against extremist groups. In the process, a virulently racist American society is falsely depicted through extensive play in the international press of the graphic and abusive characterizations the forgeries employed.



### Agents of Influence

Former KGB active measures officer Stanislav Levchenko has described in great detail how the Soviets exploit foreign journalists as agents of influence in the Japanese mass media. In addition, some of the 200 or so agents that the Soviets recruited in Japan either had, or gained, direct political access allowing them to help shape policy to support Soviet objectives. The most effective of these agents of influence included a former member of the Cabinet of Ministers, several senior officials of the Japanese Socialist Party, and several members of the Japanese Parliament.

Similarly, the French journalist Pathe was politically well connected in Paris and exerted a personal influence beyond his famed newsletter Synthesis. Tried and convicted as a Soviet agent in 1979, Pathe's respected journal--clandestinely subsidized by the Soviet Union--counted nearly 440 French legislators among its subscribers.

Arne Treholt, who rose to Assistant Secretary in the Norwegian Foreign Ministry, was arrested in January 1984 for illegal intelligence activities. Treholt had not only been supplying classified documents to the Soviets, as a high official in the Foreign Ministry he had unique opportunities to influence discussions favorable to Soviet positions. He apparently succeeded in this by "locking in" an unfavorable position for

Norway--over the great dissatisfaction of the Prime Minister and the government--in Barents Sea negotiations with the USSR. Treholt was also instrumental in proposing the Nuclear-Free Nordic Zone and having it adopted as a Labor Party policy goal. The full extent of the damage he caused to Norway and NATO will not be known for some time. Treholt had been working as a KGB agent for about 15 years before his arrest. He was detained, with a briefcase full of classified documents, en route to a Vienna meeting with Gennadi Titov, a KGB operative expelled from Norway in 1972.

#### The United Nations

The number of Soviet and East European staff employees at the UN has grown tenfold since 1960. Today about 1,000 representatives from the USSR and other Warsaw Pact nations work for Soviet objectives in virtually all parts of the UN. Contrary to established UN Secretariat policy--and its scrupulous adherence by American UN employees--Soviet and bloc personnel ignore the explicit proscription against taking instructions from their governments, acting as partisans both openly and surreptitiously for Soviet causes. This practice, long conceded privately in UN corridors, has been repeatedly confirmed by former Soviet employees of the UN Secretariat who now live in the West.

Soviet citizens have effectively controlled the UN personnel office in Geneva and occupy senior personnel posts in New York. They can direct and influence UN hiring and promotion decisions, and have access to personnel records and applicants' files--a significant source of information for recruitment of intelligence assets. In 1983, they occupied 36 posts in the UN Department of Public Information--with 63 media centers worldwide and a unique position for access to influential journalists. Soviets were in place to obstruct potentially damaging UN actions such as the yellow rain investigation which was successfully emasculated by a senior Soviet official. The Soviets also promote their interests through UN staff studies such as a UN Conference on Trade and Development study which attacked the West while touting Moscow's contributions to Third World development.

#### Supporting Insurgents

The Soviet Union provides various forms of direct and indirect support--including arms--to numerous dissident and insurgent groups throughout the Third World. Evidence clearly points to a direct relationship between the Soviet Union and an extensive international network of insurgent and dissident training programs. Separate elements of the KGB, the GRU, and the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party make up an infrastructure to organize and coordinate these training efforts at home and abroad. The

Soviets conduct some training inside the Soviet Union primarily for Palestinians, and for members of the African National Congress. Abroad, the Soviets actively support and facilitate an ambitious insurgency and counter-insurgency training program conducted primarily by Cubans for Latin Americans and Africans, and by Libyans for islamic insurgent groups.

#### Help From The Bloc

Most of the East European intelligence services work closely with the Soviet Union. The East Germans and the Bulgarians have the most cooperative relationship with the KGB, followed closely by the Czechoslovaks, Hungarians, and the Poles. While the scope of autonomy that each enjoys varies among the countries themselves, and with specific operations, in general they all augment Soviet clandestine capabilities against the United States.

The East Europeans are also able to add their resources to the Soviet effort against Western targets closer to home. For example, the East German service concentrates its propaganda heavily against the Federal Republic. In the southern tier, the Bulgarian service has focused much of its activity against Greece, Turkey, and Yugoslavia, and against US interests in the Mediterranean.

In addition, the various East European services have taken on targets further afield. The East Germans play the most active

role in support of Soviet objectives in the Third World. East Berlin has a vigorous program of sending advisers to help train Third World intelligence and security services. While concentrated most heavily in Africa and the Middle East, the East Germans have recently become more active in Latin America. Also at Moscow's instigation, the Bulgarian service has expanded its operations in Africa. Sofia, in addition, facilitates the sale or delivery of small arms to terrorist or radical groups in such countries as Turkey and Lebanon.

#### The Cuban Connection

The Cuban intelligence organization generally parallels the structure of the Soviet intelligence apparatus, and has direct access to Castro. Department of State Security (DSE) agents infiltrate Cuban exile communities and attempt to penetrate foreign intelligence agencies. The DSE works closely with the General Directorate of Intelligence (DGI), Cuba's primary collector of foreign intelligence.

Within the Cuban Communist Party, both the America Department and the Department of Foreign Relations are also involved in covert operations. These party officials often preempt Ministry of Foreign Relations personnel in the day-to-day conduct of foreign policy. The America Department is headed by Manuel Pineiro, a strong proponent of Cuban support to violent revolution abroad. He is responsible for the promotion and

coordination of all leftist activities in Latin America and the Caribbean. The party's General Department of Foreign Relations has responsibility for similar leftist activities in those parts of the world not covered by the America Department.

Focus on the US

Castro's career has become a nearly obsessive quest to reduce US influence, especially in the Western hemisphere. He has promoted subversion to bring to power radical regimes hostile to the US. Cuba's national airline, charter airlines, and fishing boats have been used to transport insurgents and support infiltration operations.

The Cuban news agency, PRENSA LATINA, is deeply involved in propaganda and clandestine operations. Its first director died in the mid-1960s while trying to spark a Cuban-supported guerrilla war in Argentina. The Cuban Communist Party, through several different propaganda organizations, operates schools to instill anti-US attitudes in foreign students.

Over the past three decades, Cuba has supported insurgents in guerrilla warfare throughout Latin America. Castro was successful in Nicaragua, and is now engaged in helping the guerrillas in El Salvador. Other countries which have been the targets of Cuban subversion over time include Panama, the Dominican Republic, Argentina, Venezuela, Columbia, and Bolivia. Havana's paramilitary activities are supplemented by a

complex and effective propaganda apparatus. The Head of the America Department frequently hosts insurgent leaders in Havana to consult on tactics and support for subversion. Faithfully mimicking Soviet propaganda themes, Cuban books, magazines, newspapers, radios stations, and news agencies maintain a relentless barrage of words denigrating the US and depicting Cuba heroically in an epic struggle to defeat US imperialism.

#### Cuba's Worldwide Activities

Outside the Western Hemisphere, Havana also is involved in a wide variety of overt and covert activities geared to damaging US interests. The role of Cuban military forces in Ethiopia and Angola have seriously impeded progress toward a peaceful settlement of the Namibia question. In spite of a severely strained economy, Havana has military advisers in a number of other African countries and has thousands of civilian advisers and technicians in more than two dozen countries of Africa, the Middle East, and Asia.

Cuba provides various types of support to such groups as the African National Congress, the South West Africa People's Organization, the Polisario insurgents, and the Palestine Liberation Organization. Through the Cuban Institute of Friendship Among Peoples, it maintains ties with anti-nuclear weapons organizations and peace groups in Western Europe.

The Soviet Role

The Castro regime pays close heed to Soviet policy when formulating its own policy line. At the same time, Moscow appears more willing to let Havana take the lead in Latin American affairs. Elsewhere, Havana has less freedom of action and apparently takes much greater pains to ensure that its tactics do not upset Soviet plans. Cuba's military involvement in Ethiopia during the Ogaden war demonstrated that Castro, under certain circumstances, is willing to subordinate his armed forces to Soviet control and permit Moscow to drag Cuba into a major military operation where the Castro regime's vital interests are not at stake. Angola is another example of the melding of Soviet materiel with Cuban military personnel in support of Soviet African policy.

Soviet influence in the Cuban intelligence services is exerted through diplomatic channels, through Soviet advisers in Cuba, and through the training of Cuban intelligence personnel in the Soviet Union. The America Department's close collaboration with Moscow is very clear from the joint "theoretical conferences" that are periodically sponsored for the region's Communist leaders and revolutionary chiefs. Frictions still arise between Havana and Moscow on policy toward Latin America-- as the Grenada affair has shown--but cooperation today is greater than it has ever been.



Executive Registry

84 - 2559

8 June 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director for Intelligence  
FROM: Director of Central Intelligence  
SUBJECT: KGB

1. Pursuant to our discussion this morning, I'd like to ask for drafts of two statements. One would be on what we face in the KGB and the satellite agency that it controls. That subject is dealt with quite well in an article which I attach by a retiree [redacted]

[redacted] I also attach an intelligence report on the Cuban apparatus. I would like [redacted] group and the NIO to see what they can add in additional and updated information as well as any additional ideas. The basic theme of this statement was expressed in a report I sent to the President in January from which I extract the following:

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SECRET

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