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## LIFE DURING WARTIME: ACTIVE MEASURES IN THE MICROCHIP ERA

ABSTRACT: *"Life During Wartime: Active Measures in the Microchip Era"* traces the evolution of the Soviet Active Measures campaign from the dawn of the Cold War in the late 1940s through their near abandonment in the Gorbachev and Yeltsin eras. It focuses in particular on the campaign focusing on peace and disarmament, especially in their application to ecumenical religion, because of the particular relevance of these aspects of the campaign to the United States. The article suggests that the Active Measures campaign, a marginal aspect of the Cold War, has been revived in modern form under Vladimir Putin and used to great effect around the world, in particular in the US presidential campaign of 2016. It concludes with the controversial conclusion that tidings of the death of the Cold War have been greatly exaggerated and the US response, both domestically and internationally, should be robust.

KEYWORDS: *Active Measures, Cold War, Vladimir Putin, Russia, United States, election, Donald Trump*

*Heard of a van that is loaded with weapons,  
Packed up and ready to go  
Heard of some grave sites, out by the highway,  
A place where nobody knows [Talking Heads, "Life During Wartime"]*

### INTRODUCTION

Life was a simple thing in 1984. The Reagan Administration had determined that the Soviet Union had outlived its usefulness and National Security Directives 75 and 77 decreed that what President Reagan referred to as the 'Evil Empire' would be brought to heel and disposed of as publically as possible.<sup>1</sup> A movie written by Kevin Reynolds and starring Patrick Swayze thrilled American teenaged boys with its depiction of young guerilla fighters rolling back the Soviet occupation of the United States. Where Czechoslovakia would brood over the failures of Prague Spring in 1968 and Karta 77 in 1977,<sup>2</sup> and Hungary recalled the failed

<sup>1</sup> Schoen, F. and Lamb, C. J. *Deception, Disinformation, and Strategic Communications: How One Interagency Group Made a Major Difference*. Washington, DC: National defence University Press, 2012. 55. The Presidential Order that made it possible can be found at [http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB177/03\\_NSDD-77.pdf](http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB177/03_NSDD-77.pdf); NSDD 75 is available at <https://fas.org/irp/offdocs/nsdd/nsdd-75.pdf>, Accessed on 30 May 2017.

<sup>2</sup> Karta 77 was already failing in 1977 and much discussion among young people in the taverns and wine cellars harked back to the hopes of Prague Spring—an event that occurred when many were small children. Hagen, T. "From Inhibition to Commitment: Politics in the Czech Underground". *EastBound Journal of Media Studies* 2012. 2–34. [https://ore.exeter.ac.uk/repository/bitstream/handle/10871/7271/Hagen\\_From%20inhibition%20to%20Commitment.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y](https://ore.exeter.ac.uk/repository/bitstream/handle/10871/7271/Hagen_From%20inhibition%20to%20Commitment.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y), Accessed on 30 May 2017.

American promises of support in 1956,<sup>3</sup> American confidence was at its zenith in Reagan's Morning in America.<sup>4</sup>

By 2017 that optimism has gone, the presidential campaign shocked and awed a nation for its hateful and willfully ignorant tone, a Russophile populist President sits in the White House surrounded by an inner circle who appear as much Vladimir Putin's men as Donald Trump's.<sup>5</sup> The world is as revolted by the earliest actions of the American Administration as the European far right is cheered by them.<sup>6</sup> It is an irony of history that one of the earliest and strongest foreign supporters of the Trump campaign, Hungarian Prime Minister Victor Orbán, has already constructed a wall to keep migrants out – a project that the Trump Administration has decreed by Executive Order will begin on a vastly greater scale in the US.<sup>7</sup>

The chaos emanating from the US in 2017 harks back to the naiveté of “Red Dawn” and to a time in Eastern Europe when troops and socialist satraps formed the bones and sinews of foreign occupation. Is it a moment for the passive resistance of the *Good Soldier Schweich*, or is time for the “Street Fighting Man?”<sup>8</sup>

*Heard about Houston? Heard about Detroit?*

*Heard about Pittsburgh, P. A.?*

*You oughta know not to stand by the window*

*Somebody see you up there* [Talking Heads, “Life During Wartime”]

Perhaps, but it is a question for another forum. The siren song of the historian is how did this happen? As any practitioner of the field will answer, there is no single reason and a cottage industry has already arisen of those seeking to more fully answer the query. This article will look at one aspect alone of the larger issue, contending that the Cold War never ended, it simply entered a new phase under the same rebranded management. In that battle, Moscow is now in the ascendant. To achieve its current dominance, the Kremlin employed many weapons, but none more effectively than the venerable Active Measures (*Активные мероприятия*) campaign whose origins go back to 1948. And herein lies a tale...

<sup>3</sup> Granville, J. ““Caught with Jam on Our Fingers”: Radio Free Europe and the Hungarian Revolution of 1956”. *Diplomatic History* 29/5. 2005. 811–839.

<sup>4</sup> Compare the uplifting tone of a ‘Morning in America’ ad from the 1984 campaign to the vitriol of the 2016 Trump campaign, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EU-IBF8nwSY>, Accessed on 30 May 2017.

<sup>5</sup> Sanger, D. E. and Haberman, M. “50 G.O.P. Officials Warn Donald Trump Would Put Nation’s Security ‘at Risk’”. *New York Times*. 8 August 2016. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/09/us/politics/national-security-gop-donald-trump.html>; Schmidt, M. S. et al. “Intercepted Russian Communications Part of Inquiry Into Trump Associates.” *New York Times*. 19 January 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/19/us/politics/trump-russia-associates-investigation.html>, Accessed on 30 May 2017.

<sup>6</sup> Tharoor, I. “Trump is ruling America with the agenda of Europe’s far right”. *Washington Post*. 31 January 2017. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2017/01/30/trump-is-ruling-america-with-the-agenda-of-europes-far-right/?utm\\_term=.0b921c364863](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2017/01/30/trump-is-ruling-america-with-the-agenda-of-europes-far-right/?utm_term=.0b921c364863), Accessed on 30 May 2017.

<sup>7</sup> Whether Orbán, whose own battles with billionaire philanthropist George Soros eerily echo those of Trump with the American plutarchs, proves a reliable friend to Trump remains an open question. For brief background, Mackey, R. “The Trump Supporter Running Hungary Is Building a Wall to Keep Muslims Out”. *The Intercept*. 3 September 2016. <https://theintercept.com/2016/09/02/trump-supporter-running-hungary-building-wall-keep-muslims/>, Accessed on 30 May 2017. Proving that any enemy of Putin and Orbán is an enemy of mine, Trump was not long on weighing in, Hibbs, H. “President Trump Declares George Soros as “National Security Threat”... Using Obama’s Executive Order”. *24USA*. 31 January 2017. <http://www.usatwentyfour.com/president-trump-declares-george-soros-national-security-threat-using-obamas-executive-order/>, Accessed on 30 May 2017.

<sup>8</sup> Hasek, J. and Selver, P. *The Good Soldier Schweik*. Important Books, 2013. Rolling Stones. “Street Fighting Man”. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NHugEELD8o8>, Accessed on 30 May 2017.

## BEGINNINGS

"I think there are many times when it would be most efficient to use nuclear weapons. However, the public opinion in this country and throughout the world throw up their hands in horror when you mention nuclear weapons just because of the propaganda that has been fed to them."<sup>9</sup> *Gen. Curtis LeMay*

The Cold War developed quickly, settling by the early 1950s into a pattern of hard polarity.<sup>10</sup> Hopes that the Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe would end died in Potsdam and Yalta, the American Red Scare began, McCarthyism was on the rise, and containment was the only element of American foreign policy. The American nuclear arsenal opened the Cold War as a monopoly and in the late 1950s still dwarfed that of the Soviet Union. So vast was the gap that Gen. LeMay assured American planners that Russia could be obliterated without the loss of a single American life.<sup>11</sup> While the Americans at the time greatly overestimated Soviet nuclear capabilities, the Kremlin was not so sanguine. The answer, adopted first under Khrushchev, was simple; strategic deception.<sup>12</sup> Empty bunkers were built like a shell game on a New York City street corner, opening occasionally to show waiting satellites a missile, or at least a reasonable dummy thereof. This presumably gave the Soviets space and time to build, but at the cost of committing them to a ruinous militarization process that their economy could not hope to support – a fact that was not lost on the Reagan Administration of the 1980s.

As Gen. LeMay lamented, propaganda was what the Soviets were good at and this is what they dispensed with a reasonable degree of success. Deception after all was practiced from the earliest days of Lenin's rule, with the literature of the time filled with descriptions of Potemkin villages, model factories whose luxuries were disassembled and set up at the next factory on the itinerary of the latest group of western political tourists.<sup>13</sup>

Active Measures was at the heart of Soviet policy as it confronted the West in an era when nuclear war was much feared but increasingly unlikely to occur.<sup>14</sup> It made a virtue of

<sup>9</sup> Wilson, W. *Five Myths About Nuclear Weapons*. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2013. 14. His suggestion of a nuclear solution to the nascent Cold War in 1948 is of interest in light of recent events. On his life, see Kozak, W. *Lemay: The Life and Wars of General Curtis LeMay*. Regnery Publishing, 2011. Given the vast nuclear imbalance of the time, it was doable. Rosenberg, D. A. and Moore, W. B. "Smoking Radiating Ruin at the End of Two Hours: Documents on American Plans for Nuclear War with the Soviet Union, 1954–55". *International Security* 6/3. 1981. 3–38.

<sup>10</sup> Gaddis, J. L. *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of American National Security Policy During the Cold War*. Rev. and expanded ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

<sup>11</sup> Brands, H. W. "The Age of Vulnerability: Eisenhower and the National Insecurity State". *The American Historical Review* 94/4. 1989. 982. n.32.

<sup>12</sup> Mihalka, M. "Soviet Strategic Deception, 1955–1981". *The Journal of Strategic Studies* 5/1. 1982. 40–93.

<sup>13</sup> Harrison Salisbury, whose visits to Mao's China were more credulous than his tours of the Soviet Union, points out that the Potemkin village concept employed by the Soviets had been practiced in tsarist Russia for over 200 years. Hollander, P. *Political Pilgrims: Western Intellectuals in Search of the Good Society*. 4th ed. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1998. 394–395.

<sup>14</sup> The flashpoint of the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis brought both sides as close to the brink as they would get. By then, the US could no longer plan for a scenario when they could absorb and survive a Soviet first strike and there was no taste in Washington for a first strike of their own, helped in no small part by the Soviet anti-nuclear Active Measures campaigns aimed at a nervous electorate who had been raised in the nuclear shadow. The move in nuclear policy from MAD (Mutually Assured Destruction) to Robert McNamara's Flexible Response

weakness as the myriad political jokes of the era attested. Why do the Five Year Plans seek to catch up with the West but not to surpass it? So they won't see the holes in our clothes, was the knowing answer. If economic and military parity is beyond reach, deception is the only logical step.

Active Measures were the ultimate creature of the Soviet system.<sup>15</sup> Its primary hallmark is univocality – every official voice saying the same thing in the same way. This was true both at times of crisis and on just another day at the bureaucratic salt mines, and it requires a level of coordination and discipline impossible in democratic countries.<sup>16</sup> Its objectives were grandiose given the means at hand; to influence global discourse in favor of Soviet positions at the expense of the West. One of its practitioners in the 1980s, Gen. Oleg Kalugin minimized the impact of Active Measures, and in this he was certainly correct at the time:

None of these active measures had a determining effect on the outcome of the cold war, but they were a nuisance for the United States and played a role in our ongoing propaganda battle.<sup>17</sup>

But they formed a model that would be exploited brilliantly by the Putin regime at a time when the technology to marry ends to means does exist.

The beginnings of the Active Measures campaign was tentative at best, with pieces of what would become a centralized program parceled out to different parts of the intelligence apparatus. For example, the key disinformation (Дезинформация) component was tasked to the Information Committee (Комитет по Информации), a doomed marriage of the civilian KGB (Комитет Государственной Безопасности or Committee on State Security) and the military GRU (Главное Разведывательное Управление or Main Intelligence Agency -- shorthand for military intelligence) Foreign Intelligence Directorates from 1947-1951.<sup>18</sup> Military and civilian agencies seldom cohabit well together, but the presence of the GRU in a mission for which it was ill suited suggests the importance of the nuclear imbalance in the Active Measures program.

By 1959, the KGB's First Chief Directorate, responsible for foreign intelligence, had seized control of the program, both centralizing it and devoting considerably greater resources to the effort. General Ivan Agayants took control of what had become known

<sup>14</sup> (cont.) policy made nuclear war more strategically feasible but no less anathema to American planners. Waltz, K. N. "Nuclear Myths and Political Realities". *American Political Science Review* 84/3. 1990. 730–745. On the Cuban Missile Crisis, see Dobbs, M. *One Minute to Midnight*. Vintage, 2008.

<sup>15</sup> For one of the best brief introductions to means, methods and intent, see Kux, D. "Soviet Active Measures and Disinformation: Overview and Assessment". *Parameters* 15/4. 1985. 19–28. For the best monograph on the subject, see Shultz, R. H. and Godson, R. *Dezinformatsia: Active Measures in Soviet Strategy*. Washington: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1984.

<sup>16</sup> One example of crisis from the 1980s that comes to mind was the Soviet destruction of Korean Airlines Flight 007 by a Soviet fighter in 1983. I was in Jakarta at the time and the airwaves were bombarded with a recorded message from Radio Moscow denying culpability played on an endless loop. On the case, Corcoran, F. "Kal 007 and the Evil Empire: Mediated Disaster and Forms of Rationalization". *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 3/3. 1986. 297–316.

<sup>17</sup> Kalugin, O. and Montaigne, F. *The First Directorate: My 32 Years in Intelligence and Espionage against the West*. St. Martin's Press, 1994. 103–104. Kalugin's view is echoed by more recent excavations of the KGB archives, Pechatnov, V. "Exercise in Frustration: Soviet Foreign Propaganda in the Early Cold War, 1945–47". *Cold War History* 1/2. 2001. 1–27.

<sup>18</sup> Holland, M. "The Propagation and Power of Communist Security Services Dezinformatsiya". *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence* 19/1. 2006. 24. n. 20.

as Department D in the 1960s and the Active Measures campaign as we understand it today was well and truly born.<sup>19</sup>

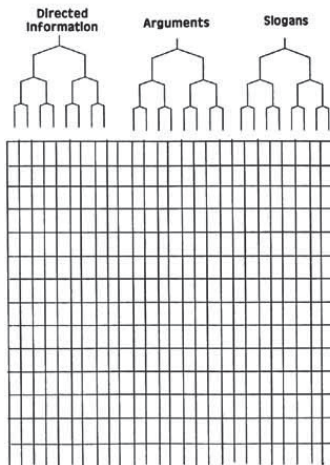
## STRUCTURE

Active Measures were difficult for the West to counter for a number of reasons, but first and foremost was their structure. They were by design and definition covert actions – actions not intended to be traced directly to their origin – but they skillfully mixed overt (white), mixed (gray) and covert (black) messages through a variety of channels designed to convey a single message. The process is neatly illustrated in the table below:<sup>20</sup>

The Active measures campaigns, despite such notable successes as the anti-neutron bomb campaign during the Carter Administration of the 1970s, were of marginal impact during the Cold War in the West. They had more impact in the less developed countries of Africa and in the always conspiracy minded Middle East, but these successes were transient at best. This does not minimize the impressive breadth and persistence of the campaign which in retrospect was remarkable.

By the mid-1970s, the Active Measures campaign was reaching its zenith and after 1975 the integration of the white, gray and black strands had become virtually seamless.<sup>21</sup> This was helped in no small amount by the western revulsion against the Vietnam War, the publication of the “Pentagon Papers” by Daniel Ellsberg and such tell all books as Phillip Agee’s anti-CIA epic *Inside the Company* which was published in 1975.<sup>22</sup> For those of the age to remember the Vietnam era, popular disgust with America and all of its work did not originate with the election of Donald Trump. Rather, it is a cyclical process that is peculiarly American.

## A Typology of Active Measures Themes, Messages & Techniques



<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 5. Cf. for another interesting take, Abrams, S. "Beyond Propaganda: Soviet Active Measures in Putin's Russia". *Connections: The Quarterly Journal* 15/1. 2016. 5–31.

<sup>20</sup> United States Information Agency. "Soviet Active Measures in the 'Post-Cold War' Era 1988–1991". 1992. [http://intellit.muskingum.edu/russia\\_folder/pcw\\_era/](http://intellit.muskingum.edu/russia_folder/pcw_era/), Accessed on 12 June 2017.

<sup>21</sup> Holland. "The Propagation and Power of Communist Security Services Dezinformatsiya". 10.

<sup>22</sup> "The Pentagon Papers," parts of which were published by the *New York Times*, are massive and may be had at the US National Archives, <https://www.archives.gov/research/pentagon-papers>. Agee, P. *Inside the Company: Cia Diary*. American ed. New York: Stonehill, 1975. The book is available for download at <https://leaksource.files.wordpress.com/2014/08/inside-the-company-cia-diary-philip-agee.pdf>, Accessed on 12 June 2017.

## CAMPAIGNS

Active Measures campaigns were many and varied, but by the 1970s they had taken on the same deadening sameness that was the hallmark of Soviet life.<sup>23</sup> The process had been bureaucratized, the ideas stilted and the campaigns took on the flavor of factory work, which is what they were. Clearly, an assignment to Department D was a dire career message for all concerned.<sup>24</sup> But if creativity was at a minimum, breadth and ambition were not lacking. An August 1987 State Department the table of contents to a report on Soviet Active Measures suggests the scope of such operations:

- Chapter II. Soviet Religious Organizations as a Tool of Influence
- Chapter III. The Soviet Peace Committee
- Chapter IV. Recent Anti-American Forgeries
- Chapter V. The U.S.S.R.'s AIDS Disinformation Campaign
- Chapter VI. Soviet Disinformation on Chemical and Biological Warfare
- Chapter VII. The Soviet Propaganda and Active Measures Campaign on Afghanistan
- Chapter X. Soviet Active Measures in the United States<sup>25</sup>

Of these, several are of particular interest for what would follow in the Putin era as they illustrate not only the persistence of the Active Measures campaign, but also its ability to combine tools, means and modalities to interrelate campaigns (комбинация or the art of combinations). The earliest and perhaps most successful examples were the peace campaigns and the ecumenical religious front groups.

By the 1980s, the Soviets had achieved a near monopoly on the word 'peace' (мир).<sup>26</sup> There were peace committees in myriad countries, a well-meaning few of whom were not actually front groups. There were disarmament groups and anti-nuclear groups, just as there were local groups and international groups. What they had in common was a perception of the Soviet Union as champions of peace and the United States and its allies as war mongers of the first order.<sup>27</sup> The peace program combined neatly with the religious program whereby the officially atheist Soviet state and its Warsaw Pact allies deployed a small army of 'peace priests' – a ragtag collection of idealists, intelligence operators, and agents of influence who were able to infiltrate the ecumenical movements that were inevitable at the conclusion of a world war.

<sup>23</sup> Lest we forget what that meant, Aleksievich, S. *Secondhand Time: The Last of the Soviets*. London: Fitzcarraldo Editions, 2016. That it was better then says all that needs to be said of the Russia of today.

<sup>24</sup> Schoen and Lamb. *Deception, Disinformation, and Strategic Communications*. 19.

<sup>25</sup> United States Department of State. *Soviet Influence Activities: A Report on Active Measures and Propaganda*. Washington, D.C.: Department of State, 1987. <http://jmw.typepad.com/files/state-department---a-report-on-active-measures-and-propaganda.pdf>, Accessed on 01 June 2017.

<sup>26</sup> For very considerable detail, see Barghoorn, F. C. *Soviet Foreign Propaganda*. Princeton University Press, 2015.

<sup>27</sup> For an interesting point of view, see Lynch, C. *Beyond Appeasement: Interpreting Interwar Peace Movements in World Politics*. Cornell University Press, 2007.



The connection between peace and ecumenical religiosity was a natural fit for Soviet propaganda activities.<sup>28</sup> The program began in the United Nations General Assembly on 18 September 1947 as a riposte to the American announcement of the Truman Doctrine that pledged material and other aid to democratic nations, with particular reference to Greece and Turkey.<sup>29</sup> The resolution, "Measures to be Taken Against Propaganda and the Inciters of a New War," singled out the US as an inciter of war, a spreader of lies, and a threat to Greece and Turkey as well as the entire world. Indeed, the resolution demanded that all forms of American style war propaganda should be criminalized in all UN member states. Specifically the Soviet resolution charged that:

- Reactionary circles in a number of countries, particularly in the United States, Greece and Turkey, were carrying on an organized campaign for war against the Soviet Union, using lies, slander and incitement to aggression;
- this war propaganda was designed to support US military preparations; and
- US monopolies and cartels, closely linked to the German trusts before the war and subsequently engaged in reestablishing their connections, were resisting attempts to outlaw the manufacture of atomic weapons and reduce armaments generally.<sup>30</sup>

The resolution was passed in the General Assembly and the Soviets quickly followed with domestic legislation and an array of propaganda undertaken as part of a massive Active Measures campaign.

Peace and disarmament were of greatest Soviet concern in the late 1940s. The US nuclear monopoly made Soviet survival dependent entirely on isolating the voices that, like Gen. LeMay, counselled a swift and permanent nuclear resolution to the conflict between East and West. The lead role in forming a popular front of peace and disarmament groups fell to the World Peace Committee. It was formed in 1948 and renamed as the World Peace Council in 1949.

The WPC presented a fascinating problem for the West. On the one hand, the membership rolls of the WPC included the cream of Soviet literary and artistic circles, giving it a certain aura of star power which suggested the possibility for a greater degree of artistic freedom than was realistic in Stalinist Russia. On the other hand, the WPC was the same clumsy and stereotypically Stalinist organization as the First Directorate itself, speaking in the same phrases as those of the Soviet state. It was in short, a glittering collection of *apparatchiks* who worked through the same tired channels – national Communist Parties (CPs), long discredited front groups, and marginal agents of influence who publicized their efforts with the same wooden prose as Radio Moscow's deadening foreign language broadcasts. In short, their cause was palatable but they were not, discrediting the term 'peace' even among western intellectuals and religious leaders.<sup>31</sup>

Undaunted by Western suspicions, the WPC and the national CPs that served as its local cadre soon established an international network of peace councils, holding assemblies

<sup>28</sup> On ecumenism, Jonson, J. and Hjelm, N. A. *Wounded Visions: Unity, Justice and Peace in the World Church after 1968*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2013. For a one stop read on the fundamentalist phenomenon, Marty, M. E., Appleby, R. S. and American Academy of Arts and Sciences. *Fundamentalisms Observed*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

<sup>29</sup> Gaddis, J. L. "Was the Truman Doctrine a Real Turning Point?" *Foreign Affairs* 52/2. 1974. 386–402.

<sup>30</sup> Hertzberg, D. *Moscow Campaigns against War Propaganda*. Washington, DC: Dept. of State, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, 1982. 6.

<sup>31</sup> Carter, A. *Peace Movements: International Protest and World Politics since 1945*. Routledge, 2014. 33. By far the best available coverage of this history may be found in this source.

in Moscow and around the world, and endeavoring to attend the gatherings of peace and disarmament groups wherever they might be found.<sup>32</sup> By the 1980s, the WPC had branches in an estimated 141 nations worldwide. Its methods in the United States were typical. In 1979 it formed the United States Peace Council (USPC), which closely coordinated with the Communist Party USA (CPUSA). As late as 1985, the USPC letterhead reflected its affiliation with the WPC, making its claims of independence somewhat comical – especially given the presence of USPC figures at the WPC headquarters in Helsinki.<sup>33</sup>

In common with Soviet fronts around the world, the USPC greatly over claimed its influence and activities, but in a 12 June 1982 memorandum, the primary goal of hiving as many like-minded fronts as possible was made clear:

It is important for us to join with others who are building local peace councils. The Peace Council plays a special role in the peace movement. It is the only peace organization which consistently links the struggle for peace with the struggle against US military intervention, and it takes principled positions with respect to anti-Soviet propaganda of the Reagan administration. Every new peace council which comes into existence improves the ideological health of the peace movement.<sup>34</sup>

How slavishly pro-Soviet was the WPC? Little more need be noted than their endorsement, against all logic and common sense for a peace group, of the Soviet downing of the Korean airliner, KAL 007, in 1983.<sup>35</sup>

The focus on peace and disarmament was supplemented by the religious outreach which may be the most ironic yet most successful aspect of the Active Measures campaign. The Christian Peace Conference (CPC) is the religious fun house mirror of the WPC, reflecting a call for peace in priestly cassock and the conservative black suits favored by dour Lutherans of the time. It was founded in 1958, headquartered in Prague, and led by the irrepressible Czech theologian Josef Hromádka. Hromádka was a fascinating figure. To cynics, he was a Lutheran pastor who had abandoned religious principles to lead the socialist good life – a passport and constant foreign travel, a seat at banquets around the world, hard currency and access to the Tuzex stores, where capitalist dreams were lived in Prague's gray socialist winters.<sup>36</sup> He maintained his membership in the WPC despite the perception that it was a Soviet front group.<sup>37</sup> His most sympathetic biographer, Doris Leroy, writes:

Professor Josef Hromádka was an ordained Czech Lutheran pastor, who had served also as chaplain during the First World War. Extensive theological studies saw him become

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 75–77.

<sup>33</sup> United States Department of State. *Active Measures: A Report on the Substance and Process of Anti-U.S. Disinformation and Propaganda Campaigns*. Washington D.C.: Department of State, 1986. 26–27. The document is available at <http://jmw.typepad.com/files/state-department---a-report-on-the-substance-and-process-of-anti-us-disinformation-and-propaganda-campaigns.pdf>, Accessed on 30 May 2017.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>35</sup> United States State Department. "Soviet Active Measures Christian Peace Conference". Washington, DC: United States State Department, 1985. 1.

<sup>36</sup> For a tongue in cheek history of the Tuzex dream, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r11PfJp00tM>, Accessed on 30 May 2017.

<sup>37</sup> LeRoy, D. "Worker for Peace from Behind the Iron Curtain". In Deery, P. and Kimber, J. (eds), *Proceedings of the 14th Biennial Labour History Conference*. Melbourne: Australian Society for the Study of Labour History, 2015. 70–82. <https://labourhistorymelbourne.files.wordpress.com/2015/02/worker-for-peace-from-behind-the-iron-curtain-lh-proceedings2.pdf>, Accessed on 12 June 2017.



a leading theologian in his own country, holding teaching positions at the Protestant Theological Faculty of the Charles University in Prague—from 1920 to 1966. During World War II he escaped to the United States where he held the position of visiting Professor, Theology, at Princeton Theological Seminary until 1946. He also was supportive of socialist ideology. On his return to Czechoslovakia after the war he became a member of an Action Committee for the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren set up in 1948 which welcomed the new communist government, anticipating that it would “preserve the deepest traditions of freedom and justice” in Czechoslovakia...Hromádka “advocated dialogue with the Marxists, arguing that the Marxist revolution was a revolt against unjust social orders, not against God”...<sup>38</sup>

Hromádka paved the way for the creation of a front group focused on the ecumenical movement with his 1948 appearance at the first World Council of Churches conclave in Amsterdam. There and in subsequent WCC Assemblies religious battles were fought between the peace priests and their state sponsors and the American elites – good Protestants all – who were at the top echelons of the US foreign policy and intelligence establishments. The Dulles brothers, John Foster of State Department fame and Alan of the nascent Central Intelligence Agency waged these intellectual battles in impassioned articles and from the floor in Amsterdam, locking rhetorical horns with Hromádka and his fellow prelates from the Eastern churches over issues of peace and justice and the benign nature of religious life in the Soviet bloc.<sup>39</sup>

The CPC conclaves were more overtly political affairs. Paul Stefanik, who visited Czechoslovakia fifteen times and attended several CPC Assemblies noted that such gatherings attracted “a strange group of well-wishers that included Kosygin, Castro, Honecker, and Arafat, through their representatives.”<sup>40</sup> Stefanik’s mordant observation on this anomaly:

Thus the gathering of Christians – mostly theologians – receiving greetings and “good wishes” from some who are bent on destroying them, and bitterly denouncing those whose role they do not comprehend.<sup>41</sup>

Yet like Hromádka’s Australian biographer Doris Leroy, Stefanik sees value in the group’s message if not always its messengers. That the CPC is a front group bothers him more than it does Leroy, but their published histories share a complexity that would be lost on the Americans during the Cold War. By the 1980s, the aged Hromádka had passed from the CPC scene, replaced by the Hungarian Bishop Károly Tóth.<sup>42</sup> Tóth, a product of the socialist educational system was far more ideological than the worldlier Hromádka.<sup>43</sup> He

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Brash, A. A. *Amsterdam 1948, Being a Report on the First Assembly of the World Council of Churches, August 22-September 4, 1948*. Christchurch. N.Z.: Presbyterian Bookroom, 1948.

<sup>40</sup> Stefanik, P. “The Christian Peace Conference – Propaganda?...Or Prophecy?” *Occasional Papers on Religion in Eastern Europe* 5/3. 1985. 46.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Tóth’s admiration for Hromádka shines through in his homage to his mentor. Tóth, K. “The Heritage of JI Hromádka for the Prophetic Ministry of the Church in East and West, Today and Tomorrow”. *Occasional Papers on Religion in Eastern Europe* 10/2. 1990. 26–33. <http://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1493&context=ree>, Accessed on 12 June 2017.

<sup>43</sup> Welker, Á. “The Christian Peace Conference and Its Connections with the Communist State: The Case of Hungarian Churches in the Early 1960’s”. *Valahian Journal of Historical Studies* 20. 2013. 197–214.

too was a member of the Presidential Committee of the WPC, and under his leadership the two organizations became virtually indistinguishable.<sup>44</sup> In a December 1981 edition of the *World Marxist Review*, Tóth made his alignment clear:

For 23 years our Christian Peace Conference has been active in opposing the nuclear war threat and the arms race. . . . Acting on our religious convictions and in the name of Christian humanism we have joined the antiwar movement. Christianity teaches that life is a gift to the human being from above. To defend it, to uphold the right of people to life we are prepared to cooperate with all forces, regardless of their ideology and world view. I should like to accentuate the fact that the standpoints of Christians and Communists coincide on this question.<sup>45</sup>

And:

The Christian Peace Conference is no mere pacifist organization; it is contributing by its specific activity toward maintaining peace and toward efforts for disarmament. That is why it fully supports L. Brezhnev's latest proposals, which are a significant step toward halting feverish armament and preventing the emergence of a world nuclear conflict. [CPG President Károly Tóth, *Rude Pravo*, March 26, 1982]<sup>46</sup>

Under Hromádka's leadership, the CPC made some progress in the United States. Both Hromádka and Tóth made numerous visits to the US, but Tóth's outspoken Marxism played rather badly to the American market. Where in 1964 the VERY conservative American Baptist Foreign Mission Society was moved to send a delegate to the CPC's Prague Assembly,<sup>47</sup> the Tóth-led CPC of the 1980s was not viewed with such equanimity. The 1987 publication of a State Department report, "Soviet Influence Activities: A Report on Active Measures and Propaganda" brought a very strong reaction in right wing American Christian circles.<sup>48</sup>

This became very public when Dr. Robert McIntire, who at remarkable expense took out full page ads in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post* and *Wall Street Journal*: "'86-'87 FBI Report Exposes Soviet's Sinister Use of Religion – Naming Names and Churches."<sup>49</sup> The article was accompanied by an editorial from Dr. McIntire whose title, quoting Hosea 4:6 was "My People are Destroyed for Lack of Knowledge." The denunciation was full throated if not always accurate. The report which the minister claims to have photocopied was actually from the State Department, not the FBI, while the organization which the editorial claims he led, the International Council of Churches, was neither international nor a council. It was a vehicle which Dr. McIntire created during an inspired sermon offered to the Bible Presbyterian Church of Charlotte (North Carolina) to oppose the World Council

<sup>44</sup> United States Department of State. Active Measures: A Report on the Substance and Process of Anti-U.S. Disinformation and Propaganda Campaigns. 30.

<sup>45</sup> United States State Department. "Soviet Active Measures Christian Peace Conference". 2.

<sup>46</sup> United States State Department. "Soviet Active Measures Christian Peace Conference". 1.

<sup>47</sup> The move was criticized in remarkably temperate language by the American Baptist Convention which pointed out that Dr. Hromádka had stated that communism is compatible with Christianity, which is definitely not the position of the American Baptist Convention. "Prague Christian Peace Conference". <http://www.garbc.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/01/prague-christian-peace-conference-1964.pdf>, Accessed on 12 June 2017.

<sup>48</sup> United States. Department of State., "Soviet Influence Activities : A Report on Active Measures and Propaganda."

<sup>49</sup> "'86-'87 FBI Report Exposes Soviet's Sinister Use of Religion – Naming Names and Churches". *Wall Street Journal* 6 Jun 1988. 19.

of Churches on the occasion of their 1948 Amsterdam meeting in whose echoes he heard the definite hoof beats of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse.<sup>50</sup>

In the end, the CPC's original promise as an ecumenical vehicle to promote Soviet interests withered in the light of the western revelations about the Soviet Active Measures campaign and Bishop Tóth's preference for the Dialectic over the Gospels. So it was for the Active Measures campaign overall. It had high points certainly. The anti-neutron bomb campaign, perfectly summarized by the acute punk band the Dead Kennedys, was effective.

Efficiency and progress is ours once more  
 Now that we have the Neutron bomb  
 It's nice and quick and clean and gets things done  
 Away with excess enemy  
 But no less value to property  
 No sense in war but perfect sense at home [Dead Kennedy's, "Kill the Poor"]

Forgeries that purported to be Ku Klux Klan documents threatening non-white participants at the Los Angeles Olympics from which the Soviets had been excluded were not effective however. This series of racist cartoons that strongly resembled those of Tom Metzger's *WAR* (White Aryan Resistance) newspaper that featured racist portrayals of African-Americans, with the heading "Olympics for White's Only," were produced, replete with a generic KKK symbol that actually resembled none of the then extant Klan branches. The forgery prominently featured a monkey hanging from a noose with the sign "Hang the Niggers" on it. The document promised a warm reception in Los Angeles for non-Whites.<sup>51</sup> It was obvious hackwork, and foreign hackwork at that, and failed to register any notice whatever.

The Active Measures campaigns dwindled and disappeared in the Gorbachev era. They returned with a vengeance under Vladimir Putin.<sup>52</sup>

## AND THIS IS NOW

*Well, are you involved in the murder and plunder side of things, or have you chosen to lead souls astray and make other people's prayers null and void by your very presence?*<sup>53</sup> [Older *mujtahid* to his students after Iranian Revolution]

On January 21, 2017 President Donald Trump desecrated by his very presence the room in the CIA's Langley headquarters that memorialized those who had fallen in the Cold War.<sup>54</sup> What followed was the circus that surrounds this American President; claims that all in the room had unanimously voted for him despite the national security professionals who had

<sup>50</sup> McIntire, C. "History of the ICCC". <http://www.iccc.org.sg/>, Accessed on 12 June 2017. McIntire actually journeyed to Amsterdam to deliver a document exhorting the Assembly to adopt the American fundamentalist reading of both scripture and ecumenism. He notes that the WCC declined to accept the document.

<sup>51</sup> United States Department of State. *Active Measures: A Report on the Substance and Process of Anti-U.S. Disinformation and Propaganda Campaigns*. 55.

<sup>52</sup> The Active Measures Working Group takes credit for apprising Gorbachev of the program, noting he evinced particular disgust at the campaign to link US military research to the AIDS epidemic. Schoen and Lamb. *Deception, Disinformation, and Strategic Communications*. 6.

<sup>53</sup> Mottahedeh, R. *The Mantle of the Prophet*. OneWorld Publications, 2014.

<sup>54</sup> Davis, J. H. and Rosenberg, M. "With False Claims, Trump Attacks Media on Turnout and Intelligence Rift". *New York Times*. 21 January 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/21/us/politics/trump-white-house-briefing-inauguration-crowd-size.html>, Accessed on 26 May 2017.

warned that he was a threat to American national security during the campaign, and claims that photographic evidence that few attended his inauguration in Washington was fake news.

The appearance drove home the vacuity of the Western claims of victory in the Cold War.<sup>55</sup> For those with more specialized knowledge, Russian involvement in the American presidential campaign was merely a tech savvy replay of the classic Active Measures campaigns of the 1970s and 1980s. But it was the sight of Trump standing in the single sacred space at Langley<sup>56</sup> that most evokes the disgusted quote from the senior Shi'ite *ulammas* in the wake of the bloodbath that followed in the wake of the failure of the Iranian Revolution to reach its *thermidor*.

The rebirth of the Active Measures campaign under Putin was little noticed in the West. A few published acute analyses and warnings, but these had little effect in the United States<sup>57</sup> and were too late to impact the situations in places like the Ukraine and the Crimea.<sup>58</sup> Virtually every western country, and many that are more far afield, have been targeted by these information operations<sup>59</sup> which today are being analyzed in terms of information warfare or hybrid warfare.<sup>60</sup>

The American election operation was a textbook operation. Russian military intelligence conducted a campaign of successful cyber-espionage. To add insult to injury, they even signed their work under such transparent false flags as Guccifer 2.0.<sup>61</sup> The clumsiness of the attempts to false flag the operation were apparent from the beginning and were quickly attributed to the GRU who were always less than adroit at tradecraft – probably a primary reason that they

<sup>55</sup> For perhaps the most egregious example, Streusand, D. E., Bailey, N. A. and Marlo, F. H. *The Grand Strategy That Won the Cold War: Architecture of Triumph*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2016. Fortunately for academics, our mistakes quickly go out of print, remembered only by ourselves.

<sup>56</sup> Eisenstatjan, Y. "The Shocking Affront of Donald Trump's C.I.A. Stunt". New York Times. 24 January 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/24/opinion/the-shocking-affront-of-donald-trumps-cia-stunt.html>, Accessed on 30 May 2017.

<sup>57</sup> Abrams. "Beyond Propaganda...". And much earlier, United States Information Agency. "Soviet Active Measures in the 'Post-Cold War' Era 1988–1991." The USIA in its day was a collection of intellectuals and misfits who could not handle the spit and polish of the State Department, but whose ability to penetrate cultures and bring back pure intelligence gold that was rarely heeded by State or CIA was unmatched. George Bush III put an end to it in 2001. Cull, N. J. *The Decline and Fall of the United States Information Agency: American Public Diplomacy, 1989–2001*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

<sup>58</sup> Karlsen, G. H. "Tools of Russian Influence: Information and Propaganda". In Matlary, J. H. and Heier, T. (eds), *Ukraine and Beyond*. Springer, 2016. 181–208. Seely, R. "Russia's New Warfare Tools and the Link to Soviet Active Measures." *Georgian Review*. 2015. <http://georgianreview.ge/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/bob-pdf.pdf>. Pomerantsev, P. and Weiss, M. *The Menace of Unreality: How the Kremlin Weaponizes Information, Culture and Money*. New York, NY: Institute of Modern Russia, 2014. [http://imrussia.org/media/pdf/Research/Michael\\_Weiss\\_and\\_Peter\\_Pomerantsev\\_The\\_Menace\\_of\\_Unreality.pdf](http://imrussia.org/media/pdf/Research/Michael_Weiss_and_Peter_Pomerantsev_The_Menace_of_Unreality.pdf). Schreck, C. "Russian Tv Deserters Divulge Details on Kremlin's Ukraine 'Propaganda'". 2016. <http://www.rferl.org/a/russian-television-whistleblowers-kremlin-propaganda/27178109.html>, Accessed on 12 June 2017.

<sup>59</sup> For example, Chodakiewicz, M. J. "Active Measures Gone Awry: Transformation in Central and Eastern Europe, 1989–1992". *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence* 24/3. 2011. 467–493.

<sup>60</sup> For a good introduction, see Kofman, M. and Rojansky, M. "A Closer Look at Russia's "Hybrid War"". *Kennan Cable* 1/7. 2015. <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/190090/5-KENNAN%20CABLE-ROJANSKY%20KOFMAN.pdf>. The literature surrounding hybrid warfare is becoming alarmingly dense. Information warfare literature is more easily assimilated for those who are not defense intellectuals. For a fine introduction, Giles, K. "Handbook of Russian Information Warfare". NATO Defense College. 2016. <http://www.ndc.nato.int/news/news.php?icode=995>, Accessed on 12 June 2017.

<sup>61</sup> See for example, Atherton, K. D. "Who Hacked the Democratic National Committee?" *Popular Science*. 25 July 2016. <http://www.popsci.com/who-hacked-democratic-national-committee>, Accessed on 12 June 2017.

were dropped from the Active Measures campaign in the 1950s. The technology is cutting edge, but the knuckle draggers always leave a trail that the blind could follow.

In an effort that may have been to redeem their reputations in the Russian intelligence community as much as to disinform the West, a Guccifer 2.0 was duly trotted out for the media. There was a day when such things took place in crowded rooms filled with international journalists all intent on questioning a defector or double agent who was presented as an honored guest of the state and was willing to answer carefully choreographed questions. But times have changed. The Guccifer 2.0 offered to the press was no Kim Philby in Moscow. Rather, it was a young girl presented as an independent Romanian hacker who gave an amusing on-line interview to the BBC.<sup>62</sup> She emerged in the interview more as a brat needing a good spanking than a threat to American national security.

The data harvested was assessed, organized and disseminated through Julian Assange from his basement redoubt in the Ecuadorian Embassy in London. Acting as a classic agent of influence, Assange fed the material into the American election cycle to discredit Hillary Clinton, who, to be fair, needed little help in this regard. She has always been embroiled in the sleaze surrounding Bill Clinton.<sup>63</sup>

Russia and Vladimir Putin got not so much as a footnote of credit from either Assange or his once prestigious *WikiLeaks* organization for the material. Damaging material on Russia – busily engaged in the piecemeal reconstitution of the Soviet Empire, is nowhere to be seen from *WikiLeaks*.<sup>64</sup> This is classic Active Measures applied to the computer age. Meanwhile, Russia maintained covert contacts with the Trump administration in waiting, most notably with National Security Advisor Michael Flynn whose conversations with Ambassador Sergey Kislyak could no longer be denied.<sup>65</sup> Indeed, early in the campaign, the many and varied links between Trump's inner circle from his campaign manager

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<sup>62</sup> "Conversations with a hacker: What Guccifer 2.0 told me". BBC. 14 January 2017. <http://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-trending-38610402>, Accessed on 12 June 2017.

<sup>63</sup> Robbins, J. S. "Hillary Clinton revives hibernating '80s 'sleaze factor'". USA Today. 5 May 2015. <http://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2015/05/05/sleaze-factor-2016-elections-hillary-clinton-column/26653627/v>, Accessed on 12 June 2017. This space in this issue would not permit even a partial list of articles in the right wing media tagged 'sleaze factor'.

<sup>64</sup> Miller, G. and Entous, A. "Declassified report says Putin 'ordered' effort to undermine faith in U.S. election and help Trump". Washington Post. 6 January 2017. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/intelligence-chiefs-expected-in-new-york-to-brief-trump-on-russian-hacking/2017/01/06/5f591416-d41a-11e6-9cb0-54ab630851e8\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.943ec7862cbc&wpisrc=n1\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/intelligence-chiefs-expected-in-new-york-to-brief-trump-on-russian-hacking/2017/01/06/5f591416-d41a-11e6-9cb0-54ab630851e8_story.html?utm_term=.943ec7862cbc&wpisrc=n1_headlines&wpmm=1), Accessed on 12 June 2017. On the typically tepid Obama reaction, Ryan, M., Nakashima, E. and DeYoung, K. "Obama Administration announces measures to punish Russia for 2016 election interference". Washington Post. 29 December 2016. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/obama-administration-announces-measures-to-punish-russia-for-2016-election-interference/2016/12/29/311db9d6-cdde-11e6-a87f-b917067331bb\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.80f7cfdb0235&wpisrc=al\\_alert-COMBO-politics%252Bnation](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/obama-administration-announces-measures-to-punish-russia-for-2016-election-interference/2016/12/29/311db9d6-cdde-11e6-a87f-b917067331bb_story.html?utm_term=.80f7cfdb0235&wpisrc=al_alert-COMBO-politics%252Bnation), Accessed on 12 June 2017. Russia for their part, did not deign to react, awaiting their boy to take power.

<sup>65</sup> "Top Trump Aide in Frequent Contact With Russia's Ambassador". New York Times. 13 January 2017. <http://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2017/01/13/us/politics/ap-us-trump-russia.html>, Accessed on 12 June 2017.

Paul Manafort and Moscow were detailed in considerable detail.<sup>66</sup> For Manafort, the streets of Ukraine were truly paved with Russian gold.<sup>67</sup>

After the election, the Office of the US Director of National Intelligence issued a comprehensive report detailing the outlines of the Russian operation to influence the American elections naming Vladimir Putin as personally responsible.<sup>68</sup> It does not include the penetration of key state online voting systems, with Florida and Arizona particular targets.<sup>69</sup>

So...

## WHAT NOW?

*"I never said we should bomb them back to the Stone Age. I said we had the capability to do it. I want to save lives on both sides"* Gen. Curtis LeMay<sup>70</sup>

*"What do we do now?"* [Robert Redford upon being elected, "The Candidate"]<sup>71</sup>

With the dead words of Gen. LeMay and the prophetic words of "The Candidate," we have now come full circle. A Russian-influenced creature is in the White House, NATO in shambles, top offices filled with useful idiots and such as Breitbart ideologue Steve Bannon sitting atop the American national security structure.<sup>72</sup> The question of what to do now becomes particularly acute. Before the election, when the issue was simply the revival of Active Measures whose primary impact was 'somewhere else', in the distant Ukraine or some other victim of geography as the Kremlin sets about the piecemeal reconstitution of its former Empire, it was a matter of policy recommendations. One of the best such lists comes from US Army Foreign Area Officer Steve Abrams.<sup>73</sup> But how to implement recommendations when the power you are seeking to contain holds sway over the top offices in your land? A Ukrainian or Crimean dilemma – indeed, the very conundrum faced in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 and 1977.

It is a new and humbling position for the Americans. The last successful incursion onto American soil dates to the War of 1812 when the British put the US capital to the torch. In America, that event has long faded from either memory or history classes. So what to do indeed?

<sup>66</sup> Nakashima, E. and Miller, G. "U.S. counterintelligence officials are examining possible ties between Russia and Trump associates". Washington Post. 19 January 2017. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/us-counterintelligence-officials-are-examining-possible-ties-between-russia-and-trump-associates/2017/01/19/7e10f31c-debd-11e6-918c-99ede3c8cafa\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.27f7900987a9](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/us-counterintelligence-officials-are-examining-possible-ties-between-russia-and-trump-associates/2017/01/19/7e10f31c-debd-11e6-918c-99ede3c8cafa_story.html?utm_term=.27f7900987a9), Accessed on 30 May 2017.

<sup>67</sup> Wright, D. "Manafort named in Ukrainian probe into millions in secret cash". CNN. 15 August 2016. <http://edition.cnn.com/2016/08/15/politics/clinton-slams-trump-over-manafort-report/>, Accessed on 30 May 2017.

<sup>68</sup> "Background to "Assessing Russian Activities and Intentions in Recent Us Elections": The Analytic Process and Cyber Incident Attribution". Office of the Director of National Intelligence. 2017. [https://www.intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/documents/ICA\\_2017\\_01.pdf](https://www.intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/documents/ICA_2017_01.pdf), Accessed on 30 May 2017.

<sup>69</sup> Groll, E. "Did Russia Really Hack U.S. Election Systems?" Foreign Policy. 30 August 2016. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/08/30/did-russia-really-hack-u-s-election-systems/>, Accessed on 30 May 2017.

<sup>70</sup> Reported in *The Washington Post*, 4 October 1968. A8. [https://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Curtis\\_LeMay](https://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Curtis_LeMay), Accessed on 30 May 2017.

<sup>71</sup> Garber, M. "40 Years Later, Is The Candidate Still Satire?" The Atlantic. 23 September 2016. <https://www.theatlantic.com/notes/2016/09/40-years-later-is-the-candidate-still-satire/501389/>, Accessed on 30 May 2017.

<sup>72</sup> Thrush, G. and Haberman, M. "Bannon Is Given Security Role Usually Held for Generals". New York Times, 29 January 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/29/us/stephen-bannon-donald-trump-national-security-council.html>, Accessed on 30 May 2017.

<sup>73</sup> Abrams. "Beyond Propaganda: Soviet Active Measures in Putin's Russia". 27–31.



A beginning is to recognize what has happened and act accordingly. Interference in the American election, using an updated Active Measures campaign to elect an unregistered foreign agent is an act of war, and should be treated as such. The aggression is more mannered than that of the Ukraine or Crimea and less Hollywood than the Soviet invasion of "Red Dawn" fame. The combination of ignorance of all things foreign combined with the racism and xenophobia has brought the US to this impasse, and it will only be resolved in stages, like the layers of an onion, as the conflict on the American far right between the race warriors who populated the Trump campaign and the unreconstructed cold warriors who see Russia as unchanged from the communist days is already beginning.<sup>74</sup>

War between nuclear powers was unthinkable after 1962, and so the conflict was conducted through proxies around the globe who were given access to carefully limited selection of the tools of war and allowed to pursue equally circumscribed regional objectives. In the globalized age of the internet, the war fighters' palate is much fuller, with the ability to subject the other side to a technological Armageddon based on attacks on computer and other infrastructure now readily at hand. Can such a confrontation go nuclear? Throughout the campaign, Donald Trump broached the possibilities of nuclear solutions to problems privately and it may be that in his wake the barriers to nuclear confrontation are not as high as they once were.<sup>75</sup> Oh well. Elections have costs....

The process of peacefully removing a sitting president is complicated. The system worked after a fashion in the Watergate fiasco that saw President Nixon resign after an overwhelming election victory in 1973. But that was strictly an internal affair. Russian involvement means that the process that will inevitably bring down the Trump Administration will be less mannered. In 1973 it was a single sitting president and a bare handful of his cronies that were brought low. The American Constitution, the basis of law and governance in the US, did not foresee the installation of a quisling government acting in the interests of a hostile foreign power.

What is to come? A historian lacking historical precedents is hardly prescient, but Americans for generations have fallen back into Hollywood dreams, where a cornucopia of models awaits.<sup>76</sup> Rock music too has proven a lever which can move men to action. Which is why we began this examination; with "Red Dawn" which is as good a place to end as to begin. A song from the Doors opens both the film and the script from which the movie was shot. It is a very good place to close:

This is the end, beautiful friend  
 This is the end, my only friend, the end  
 Of our elaborate plans, the end  
 Of everything that stands, the end  
 No safety or surprise, the end  
 I'll never look into your eyes, again

<sup>74</sup> On this aspect, see Kaplan, J. "Red Dawn Is Now: Race Vs. Nation and the American Election". *Terrorism & Political Violence* 29/3. 2017. 411–424.; and Idem. "America's Apocalyptic Literature of Revolution," *Politics and Religion* (forthcoming).

<sup>75</sup> Belvedere, M. J. "Trump asks why US can't use nukes". MSNBC. 3 August 2016. <http://www.cnn.com/2016/08/03/trump-asks-why-us-cant-use-nukes-msnbc-joe-scarborough-reports.html>. Accessed on 30 May 2017.

<sup>76</sup> Ryan, M. and Kellner, D. *Camera Politica: The Politics and Ideology of Contemporary Hollywood Film*. Indiana University Press, 1990.

Can you picture what will be, so limitless and free  
 Desperately in need, of some, stranger's hand  
 In a, desperate land [The Doors, "The End"]

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