SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES IN THE ERA OF GLASNOST

A Report to Congress by the

United States Information Agency

March 1988
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## OVERVIEW

DISINFORMATION IN THE MEDIA

Overview

Recent Appearances of Soviet Disinformation

AIDS Disinformation

The “Ethnic Weapon”

The 1978 Jonestown Mass Suicide

“Body Parts” Misinformation and Disinformation

Biological Warfare

Assassinations

FORGERIES

Characteristics of Soviet Forgeries

Silent Forgeries

Recent Forgery Activity

Copies of Recent Forgeries

FRONT GROUPS AND SOVIET “MASS ORGANIZATIONS”

Introduction

Recent Developments

COVERT MEDIA PLACEMENTS IN NIGERIA

Overview

USIS Lagos Report

Media Placements Using Disguised Attribution
Principal Themes 65
How It’s Done 66
The Scope of Soviet Disinformation in Nigeria 68

SOVIET DISINFORMATION IN INDIA 71

Overview 71
USIS New Delhi Report 72
Major Disinformation Campaigns Since 1984 72
Subsidiary Disinformation Campaigns 74
Countering Soviet Disinformation 80
Analysis of Disinformation Trends 84

THE U.S. GOVERNMENT EFFORT TO COUNTER 86
SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES
The Organizational Structure 86
Efforts to Counter Soviet Active Measures 86
U.S. Versus Soviet Efforts 88
Budgetary Implications 89

FOOTNOTES 91

APPENDIX: “SOVIET DISINFORMATION DURING PERIODS OF RELAXED EAST-WEST TENSIONS”
OVERVIEW

Active measures are carefully crafted influence operations, often covert or deceptive, which the Soviets use, in addition to traditional diplomatic and informational activities, to support Soviet foreign policy. They range from the crude to the sublime, from vicious anti-American disinformation and forgeries to sophisticated, soothing influence operations. Soviet active measures include:

0 “Black” KGB activities such as disinformation and forgeries, the use of agents of influence, and covert media manipulation;

0 “Gray” activities run by the International Department (ID) of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, which include the orchestration of actions by local communist parties, Soviet-controlled international front groups, and ostensibly independent Soviet friendship societies, “mass organizations” and foreign-policy related academic institutes.

0 “White” media replay of these activities and active measures themes by the overt elements of the Soviet active measures apparatus, which are directed by the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee: the TASS and Novosti press agencies, Radio Moscow and Radio Peace and Progress, other elements of the Soviet press, and Information Departments in Soviet embassies overseas. These “white” elements also provide cover for KGB and ID operatives.

This report concerns those of the above topics that are of the greatest relevance to USIA activities: forgeries, disinformation, media manipulation, and the activities of front groups and Soviet mass organizations.

Recent-Developments

Since the Geneva summit of 1985, there have been significant shifts in the tactics of “gray” Soviet active measures and the personnel directing them. The concept of the broadest possible “United Front” to oppose the Strategic Defense Initiative and to undermine U.S. arms control negotiating positions has now become the main thrust of Soviet active measures undertaken in the West. This has led the Soviets to adopt a much more soothing tone than in the past:

0 The Soviet-controlled international front groups, such as the World Peace Council, have adopted a conciliatory line, aimed at appealing to “peace” activists of all colorations.

0 Ostensibly independent Soviet “mass organizations,” such as the Soviet Peace Committee, have initiated many direct contacts with Westerners, hoping to use these channels to convince Westerners of the logic of Soviet views on SDI and disarmament.
The Soviets have also taken a lead in organizing new international “peace” forums and groups, composed largely of professionals, academics, prominent public figures, and businessmen, in an effort to open another influence channel to western elites.

In all areas, current Soviet tactics rely on cultivating a more open image, and trying to utilize positive Western perceptions about the processes of “glasnost” and “perestroika” to Soviet advantage.

These active measures are coordinated by the new, able leader of the International Department of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, former Soviet ambassador to the United States, Anatoly Dobrynin. During Dobrynin’s tenure, Soviet “gray” active measures have become much more sophisticated and subtle.

In the KGB arena, however, there has been no significant change in Soviet active measures operations. Virulent anti-U.S. disinformation and forgeries continue as before, as does the massive Soviet effort to covertly manipulate the press. Indeed, one of the most remarkable features of Soviet active measures in recent years has been the persistence of these activities at the same time that the Soviets are mounting sophisticated influence operations centered around the themes of “glasnost” and “new political thinking” in their bilateral dealings with the West.

These actions have also continued despite the statement by Soviet Communist Party General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev at the Washington summit that there would be *No more lying. No more disinformation.* Since the December 1987 summit, state-controlled Soviet media have falsely claimed or suggested that:

- the United States manufactured the AIDS virus in a U.S. military facility at Fort Detrick, Maryland [Radio Moscow, Feb. 13, 1988];

- the United States is manufacturing an “ethnic weapon” that kills only non-whites [TASS, Jan. 9, 1988; January 1988 Novosti Military Bulletin; Radio Moscow, Feb. 5, 1988];

- the FBI assassinated Rev. Martin Luther King [Literaturnaya Gazeta Jan. 20, 1988];

- the head of the U.S. delegation to the U.N. Human Rights Commission conference in Geneva, Armando Valladares, was jailed in Cuba for bombing stores [Izvestia, Feb. 6, 1988];
the CIA assassinated Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme, Indian Prime minister Indira Gandhi, and attempted to assassinate Pope John Paul II [Moscow Television, Feb. 9, 1988];

the United States has military advisors in Afghanistan [TASS, Dec. 30, 1987].

The continuance of AIDS disinformation in the Soviet media is perhaps the most striking, given the fact that the U.S. government has informed the Soviets that there will be no direct U.S.-Soviet collaboration on AIDS research as long as this continues. In August 1987, the Soviets told U.S. officials that such allegations would cease appearing in the Soviet media, after which time they decreased dramatically. They still occasionally appear, however, as in the February 13, 1988 Radio Moscow broadcast.

The chapter on Covert Media Placements in Nigeria presents an excellent study of how the Soviets are able to manipulate perceptions by placing Soviet-written articles under false attributions. In the case of Nigeria, Soviet material often appears under Nigerian by-lines, making it appear as if the opinions expressed are of local rather than Soviet origin. The case study by the United States Information Service (USIS) post in Lagos, Nigeria is a landmark examination of a phenomenon whose massive proportions have not been sufficiently appreciated.

The USIS New Delhi report on Soviet Disinformation in India provides an excellent survey and analysis of Soviet disinformation and USIS countermeasures in an area where the Soviets have their largest propaganda and disinformation operation in the non-communist world. The report gives an in-depth look at the steady stream of Soviet disinformation, and the vigorous USIS efforts against it.

Finally, an appendix on “Soviet Disinformation During Periods of Relaxed East-West Tension, 1959-1979” gives a historical perspective on Soviet disinformation activities during earlier periods of improved relations. It shows that, much as in the present era, Soviet disinformation activities have continued despite relaxations of tension in other areas of the U.S.-Soviet relationship.
DISINFORMATION IN THE MEDIA

There is evidence that the Soviets conduct disinformation operations in virtually all realms: the economic, scientific, military, and so on. This report concerns only disinformation in the media, in other words, spoken or written disinformation that is intended for public consumption.

Disinformation Techniques

Soviet disinformation stories are not just inaccurate stories patched together by careless Soviet reporters. They are deliberate lies or distortions fabricated by specialists in Service A of the First Chief Directorate of the KGB. Then, the International Department of the Communist Party Central Committee, the Propaganda Department, the Soviet press, radio, and wire services, overseas communist party publications, information departments in Soviet embassies overseas, and KGB agents around the world participate in spreading the lies.

Often, a disinformation story is planted by the Soviets in an obscure Third World newspaper, picked up by a Soviet publication, and then replayed by Soviet wire services around the world. This allows the Soviets to claim that they are just repeating stories that have appeared in the foreign press.

In order to maintain this facade of non-responsibility, Soviet authorities have steadfastly defended their right to publish any allegation, no matter how outrageous, as long as it has appeared in the foreign press. Often, the “foreign” sources they cite are publications of Soviet-directed communist parties or publications suborned by the KGB.

The Soviets also assiduously scan the non-communist press for material they can adapt for disinformation purposes. They often circulate the confused views of fringe-group extremists if they suit Soviet purposes. Although the views of such individuals and organizations may be dismissed by people familiar with them, when they are treated by organizations such as TASS as if they represented serious opinion, editors in other countries eager for sensationalistic news may have neither the time nor the inclination to probe the issue further. In this way, the Soviet disinformation apparatus regularly amplifies the views of anti-American fringe groups and extremists, bringing their often spiteful messages to a world audience.

Soviet disinformation specialists also regularly use the technique of quoting legitimate sources and individuals, but purposefully taking their comments so far out of context that they fundamentally alter the meaning of their statements. In this way, careless statements that were later retracted, off-the-cuff remarks, and innocent comments by respectable persons and organizations can provide grist for Soviet disinformation mills.
Recent Major Campaigns

Some of the major disinformation campaigns that have been carried recently in Soviet and Soviet-influenced media falsely allege that the United States government:

0 created the AIDS virus in a U.S. military laboratory;

0 has developed a so-called “ethnic weapon” that kills only non-whites;

0 perpetrated the 1978 Jonestown massacre in Guyana;

0 has a massive, continuing effort in biological warfare;

0 supplies chemical and biological weapons and explosive “toy bombs” to the Afghan mujahidin;

0 participated in the assassinations, alleged assassinations, or attempted assassinations of Olof Palme, Pope John Paul II, Indira Gandhi, Rev. Martin Luther King, Aldo Moro, Samora Machel, Omar Torrijos, Samantha Smith, and other prominent figures;

0 perpetrated the May 1987 coup in Fiji;

0 plans to assassinate key opposition leaders in Nicaragua, blame this on the Sandinistas, and use this as a pretext for aggression in Central America;

0 zaps women protesting outside the U.S. Airforce base at Greenham Common, England with dangerous radiation;

0 plans to use Voice of America transmitters on Sri Lanka to communicate with U.S. warships in the Indian Ocean;

0 runs numerous terrorist training camps on U.S. territory;

0 organized Korean Air Lines flight 007 over Soviet territory as a deliberate provocation.

Another Soviet disinformation campaign alleges that Americans, although not the U.S. government, are importing babies from Latin America, butchering them, and then selling their “body parts” for organ transplants.

All the charges about U.S. government activities are untrue, and neither the government, private sector organizations, or investigative journalists have been able to uncover any evidence of trafficking in “baby parts.”
Impact

Although the impact of Soviet disinformation campaigns is difficult to measure, the persistence of Soviet efforts to spread such scurrilous lies about the United States attests to the importance they place upon it. The Soviet calculation of its utility has been described by Ladislav Bittman, the former deputy chief of the disinformation department of the Czechoslovak secret service, which is patterned on the Soviet model. He likened the impact of disinformation stories to the effect of drops of poison being constantly administered to an individual. While the impact of any one drop is usually imperceptible, the overall effect can be fatal.

Disinformation and “Glasnost”

It is also worth noting that, “glasnost” notwithstanding, several of the main Soviet disinformation campaigns have been launched during the era of Soviet Communist Party General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, including the campaigns about Jonestown and Latin American *baby parts,” both of which began in 1987. Also, the AIDS disinformation campaign only began in earnest under Gorbachev, in October 1985.

During the December 1987 summit in Washington, General Secretary Gorbachev told USIA Director Charles Wick that there would be, “No more lying. No more disinformation.” Despite this statement, Soviet disinformation has continued, as the following chronology of “Recent Appearances of Soviet Disinformation” makes clear.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
<th>NOTES/COMMENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feb 88</td>
<td>Moscow</td>
<td>Bookstores begin carrying “coffee table” book CIA: State Terrorism of the USA, which accuses CIA of the Jonestown massacre, and implies involvement in the Aldo Moro assassination. Print run of 22,000; publication date Nov. 23, 1987.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 88</td>
<td>Books and Arts of the USSR</td>
<td>Spanish-language publication of Soviet printing rights agency reviews Death of Jonestown book, offering sale of Spanish-language translation rights.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Feb 88</td>
<td>Brecha</td>
<td>Leftist Uruguayan weekly carries article “AIDS from a Yankee Laboratory?”, written by known disseminator of disinformation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Feb 88</td>
<td>Radio Moscow</td>
<td>Interview with Dr. Jacob Segal, main source of AIDS disinformation charges, reiterates falsehoods in Soviet press.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09 Feb 88</td>
<td>Moscow TV</td>
<td>Announces publication of Army of the Night book, which deals with “40 years of crimes committed by CIA,” including assassinations of Indira Gandhi, Olof Palme, and attempted assassination of Pope John Paul II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06 Feb 88</td>
<td>Izvestia</td>
<td>Article claims that that former Cuban political prisoner Armando Valladares, head of U.S. delegation to U.N. Human Rights Commission conference in Geneva, was jailed for bombing stores with booby-trapped tennis balls and cigarette packets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05 Feb 88</td>
<td>Radio Moscow</td>
<td>English-language broadcast to South Africa repeats “ethnic weapons” disinformation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04 Feb 88</td>
<td>Cameroon Tribune</td>
<td>Article repeats AIDS disinformation, drawing on Soviet and North Korean material.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Jan 88</td>
<td>Mirror</td>
<td>Ghanaian newspaper repeats “ethnic weapon” disinformation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>SOURCE</td>
<td>NOTES/COMMENTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Jan 88</td>
<td>Literaturnaya Gazette</td>
<td>Article suggests that Rev. Martin Luther King was assassinated by the FBI. Cites as source convicted assassin James Earl Ray.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Jan 88</td>
<td>Radio Peace and Progress</td>
<td>Renews false accusation that VOA transmitter on Sri Lanka could be used for military communications with naval ships and proposed SDI system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09 Jan 88</td>
<td>TASS</td>
<td>Cites Dec. 4, 1987 Ghanaian Times article as source of “ethnic weapons” disinformation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05 Jan 88</td>
<td>Correio de Manha</td>
<td>Portuguese daily repeats verbatim Novosti-sourced AIDS disinformation that appeared in Tempo on Nov. 19.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02 Jan 88</td>
<td>The Outlet</td>
<td>Antiguan radical weekly reprints AIDS disinformation as reported in Nov. 87 issue of Moncada, official organ of Cuban Interior Ministry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 88</td>
<td>Novosti Military Bulletin</td>
<td>Extremely detailed account reiterates ethnic weapons charges.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Dec 87</td>
<td>TASS</td>
<td>Article falsely labels Western humanitarian workers aiding Afghanistan and reporters in that country as CIA agents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 Dec 87</td>
<td>Blitz</td>
<td>Pro-Soviet Indian weekly repeats disinformation about alleged letter from CIA director William Casey to Heritage Foundation president Edwin Feulner. Letter was a forgery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Dec 87</td>
<td>Das Volk</td>
<td>East German newspaper carries “Death in the Jungle” article repeating Jonestown disinformation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04 Dec 87</td>
<td>Ghanaian Times</td>
<td>Frequent purveyor of Soviet disinformation, publishes “ethnic weapons” allegations. Refers to forgery of suspected Soviet origin that surfaced in Dec. 85 Malagasy newspaper and was replayed by TASS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>SOURCE</td>
<td>NOTES/COMMENTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 Nov 87</td>
<td>Radio Peace and Progress</td>
<td>Reiterates false charge that United States assassinated former Panamanian leader Omar Torrijos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Nov 87</td>
<td>TASS</td>
<td>Foreign Ministry spokesman Gerasimov cited in report charging that U.S. disseminates “explosive devices disguised as pens and toys” in Afghanistan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Nov 87</td>
<td>Novosti</td>
<td>Article repeating disinformation that U.S. government perpetrated Jonestown massacre published in Finnish communist paper Kansan Uutiset.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Nov 87</td>
<td>Novosti</td>
<td>“Latest” Novosti military bulletin is cited in Portugese Tempo article that repeats AIDS disinformation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Nov 87</td>
<td>Pravda</td>
<td>Article on “Jonestown Tragedy” reiterates disinformation charges.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 87</td>
<td>New Dawn</td>
<td>September issue of Soviet monthly publication carrying Jonestown disinformation is distributed by Soviet embassy in Cameroon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Oct 87</td>
<td>Sovetskaya Rossiya</td>
<td>Article repeats AIDS, Jonestown, Olof Palme assassination, and “baby parts” disinformation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 87</td>
<td>Novosti</td>
<td>Novosti chairman Valentin Falin defends AIDS and ethnic weapon disinformation in conversation with American journalists and academics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Oct 87</td>
<td>Novosti</td>
<td>Disinformation about “morbific bacteria” ethnic weapon circulated by Novosti in May, and protested by USIA Director Charles Wick to Novosti chairman Valentin Falin in June, repeated in Peruvian Marxist newspaper Cambio.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
AIDS DISINFORMATION

The largest Soviet disinformation campaign of recent years has made the totally false claim that the AIDS virus was created in a U.S. military facility at Fort Detrick, Maryland. This charge has been dismissed by internationally renowned medical and scientific experts, including prominent Soviet scientists.

Soviet involvement has been evident in all stages of this disinformation campaign. The AIDS charge as first made in 1983 in an Indian newspaper, the Patriot, which Soviet defector testimony has revealed was set up by the KGB in 1962.

The story was totally ignored by the world press for more than two years, until a Soviet newspaper, Literaturnaya Gazeta, published the charges and treated them seriously in October 1985.

Since then, the AIDS story has been repeated numerous times by Soviet newspapers, magazines, wire services, radio, and television. It has appeared some 40 times in the Soviet media in 1987. The charges have been replayed in more than 80 countries in more than 30 languages. The most authoritative treatment of the campaign through July 1987 is contained in the State Department publication Soviet Influence Activities: A Report on Active Measures and Disinformation, 1986-1987.

Facts

1) Science has not yet reached the stage where it would be possible to create artificially a virus as complex as AIDS.

2) Antibodies to the AIDS virus have been detected in blood serum samples from the 1950s, twenty years before AIDS was supposedly created in a Fort Detrick lab.

3) The main “source” for the Soviet allegations, Dr. Jacob Segal, argues that AIDS must have been created at Fort Detrick because it appeared first in New York, which Segal describes as the “nearest big city” to New York. In fact, New York is 250 miles from Fort Detrick. Baltimore, Washington, and Philadelphia are all closer.

Recent Soviet Actions

In August 1987, the Soviets told U.S. officials that the Soviet media would cease spreading the AIDS allegations. After that, Soviet media stories carrying the charges decreased dramatically. Moreover, on October 30, 1987, the official government newspaper Izvestia published a disavowal of the disinformation by two leading Soviet scientists, an event that was widely publicized in the West.
On the same day, however, the Soviet newspaper Sovetskaya Rossiya published an article repeating the AIDS disinformation, and defending the right of the Soviet press to “report different views.” This statement makes it clear that the Soviets consider that they had not forfeited the right to print such allegations. Given this Soviet position, any cessation of the disinformation that occurs should be considered conditional, not categorical, and therefore not necessarily permanent -- a suspension of the campaign, not its final stoppage.

Despite the statements in August that Soviet media would not carry the disinformation, it continues to appear occasionally, most recently in a February 13, 1988 Radio Moscow domestic service broadcast in Russian. The radio item is an interview with East German biologist Jacob Segal, the main source the Soviets have relied upon in their AIDS disinformation campaign. He repeats the standard charges.

The February 13 Segal interview follows standard Soviet disinformation practices, in which malicious allegations are carefully couched as “suggestions” or “possibilities” rather than flat assertions. For example, Dr. Segal does not claim unequivocally that AIDS was created at Fort Detrick. He only describes this as “highly probable.” Such technical qualifiers do not diminish the impact of the charges, however, because when they are replayed, such qualifiers are typically either omitted or overlooked by readers or listeners.

Soviet surrogates such as Cuba also continue to repeat the allegations, and earlier Soviet-authored versions of it continue to appear in the world press, most recently in the Cameroon Tribune on February 4, and in Portugal’s Correio da Manha on January 5.
Since at least 1980, the Soviet press has been circulating claims that the United States is conducting research on or has developed a so-called “ethnic weapon,” which would kill only non-whites.

The Soviet media typically also charges that the South Africans -- or less frequently, the Israelis -- are supposedly collaborating with the United States in this research. The Soviet goal in this campaign seems clear: to make it appear as if the United States and its alleged collaborators are pursuing racist, genocidal policies.

The Soviet charge is absurd on the face of it. Even if the U.S. government wanted to produce such a weapon, it would make no sense to do so, given the multi-ethnic composition of the American population. The only plausible group that would want to produce such a weapon would be unregenerate white supremacists - a portrait of the U.S. government that Soviet disinformation specialists apparently want their audiences to believe.

What the Scientists Say

Prominent scientific experts have said that charges about U.S. government research on a so-called “ethnic weapon” can be shown to be without foundation on strictly scientific grounds. In statements made in June 1987, top experts at the National Institute of Health (NIH) said that it was scientifically impossible to create such a weapon. Dr. William Gartland, head of the NIH office concerned with research on DNA termed the “ethnic weapon” hypothesis completely preposterous. In a statement in response to a USIA inquiry, he pointed out that scientific knowledge is nowhere near the state of advancement that would permit a virus or bacteria to selectively choose its victims. He said he knows of no research that could, even using the most vivid imagination, be construed in this way.

Dr. William S. Jordan, Jr., Director of the Microbiology and Infectious Diseases Office at NIH, said such allegations were “ridiculous and out of the question.” Dr. Judith Greenberg, deputy director of the genetic research program at NIH, also said creating such a virus or bacteria would be impossible and that such claims are “absolutely ridiculous.”

In the 1970s, a respected medical researcher, Dr. Richard Hammerschlag of the City of Hope National Medical Center in California, researched these allegations and concluded in 1974 that “we have no story;’ no hard evidence that ethnic weapons are or even have been under consideration by the Department of Defense....”

Ironically, Dr. Hammerschlag’s research was cited by the head of the Soviet Union’s Novosti press agency in 1987 as providing proof that ethnic weapons
did exist!

In 1985, Dr. Alistair Hay of Leeds University in Great Britain filed under the Freedom of Information Act for all Department of Defense documents referring to work on ethnic weapons. A search revealed that there were none.\(^2\)

Despite this lack of evidence for “ethnic weapons” charges, they have been a regular staple of Soviet and Soviet-influenced media for years.

**Chronology**

False accusations in Soviet-influenced media asserting that the United States was conducting research on a so-called “ethnic weapon” have appeared since at least 1980, when they were noted in *People’s World*, a U.S. Communist Party newspaper.\(^3\)

TASS, Novosti, Radio Moscow, Radio Peace and Progress, and other elements of the Soviet media have circulated disinformation about a so-called “ethnic weapon” since at least 1983. The following list of recorded appearances of the “ethnic weapon” story in Soviet media provide a sense of the persistence of Soviet endorsement of these themes:

May 21, 1983: Radio Moscow’s World Service, citing an African magazine *Resister*, alleged South African development of an “ethnic weapon” aimed at both the indigenous population and neighboring countries, saying that this was a continuation of research that the United States had carried out during the Vietnam War.

January 4, 1984: TASS charged that “the South African racists ... are actively developing an ‘invention’ by U.S. criminals derived from medicine, so-called chemical ‘ethnic weapons’ with a ‘selective factor of application’ against the people of Africa.”

August 13, 1984: TASS alleged that the U.S. and South Africa were developing “carefully selected pathogenic viruses which are practically harmless to whites and mortally dangerous to Africans, Asians, and ‘coloreds’.” It also alleged that Israel was involved in such work and that viruses were being tested “on Africans in the prisons of the apartheid state and on Arab prisoners in Israeli jails.”

April 2, 1985: The Soviet daily newspaper *Selskaya Zhizn* repeated allegations about South African and Israeli cooperation on an “ethnic” weapon, a story which was subsequently carried on the Reuters wire. This story was also reported by TASS and formed the basis of an April 3, 1985 Bulawayo Chronicle article in Zimbabwe. The allegations also appeared in the press in Tanzania and Malta.
July 13, 1985: Radio Moscow domestic service in Russian characterized the CIA and the Pentagon as “the initiators of the development of so-called ethnic weapons.”

October 8, 1985: The U.S. embassy in Ghana reported that a recent issue of the People’s Daily Graphic had featured an article charging U.S., Israeli, and South African research on “ethnic weapons,” which it attributed to “Soviet sources.”

November 15, 1985: TASS cited “reports in the press about the development of so-called “ethnic weapons” in laboratories in the Republic of South Africa and the U.S.A.”

December 27, 1985: The Soviet newspaper Krasnaya Zvezda printed a TASS report which cited a report in a Malagasy newspaper Carrefour that the United States and South Africa were secretly working on an “ethnic weapon.” The TASS report mentioned a letter from a letter from a Dr. Tyner, director of the division of neuropsychiatry at Walter Reed Army Institute of Research to a Defense Department official. The letter, a forgery, alleged U.S.-South African cooperation in drugs to be used in “special conditions.” An article citing this forgery and renewing the “ethnic weapons” charges later appeared in the December 4, 1987 issue of the Ghanian Times, a newspaper in which Soviet disinformation often appears. TASS, in turn, replayed the charges from this article on January 9, 1988.


February 5, 1986: Radio Moscow in Zulu to southern Africa broadcast a report that “lately there has been growing talk in Africa of the presence of biological weapons in South Africa that can discriminate on the basis of race. These are meant to selectively kill the black race and leave out the white race. Such diabolical weapons are being researched and manufactured with the aid of the United States.”

February 1986: Novosti cited a Senegalese newspaper Takusaan, alleging U.S. and South African research on “ethnic weapons.” The report was published with a Novosti byline by the local writer Garba Inuwa in the February 12 issue of New Nigerian and the February 10 issue of Nigeria Voice. It charged “American and South African scientists are doing joint research on so-called ethnic weapons designed to kill only blacks.”

February 18, 1986: Radio Moscow ran a two-minute report alleging South African research on ethnic weapons.

September 27, 1986: An article appeared in the Nigerian newspaper The Voice by an author who frequently uses Novosti as a source. He reiterated charges of Israeli and South African research on ethnic weapons. At the same time, according to the U.S. embassy in Lagos, Novosti was
November 18, 1986: Radio Moscow in English reported that South Africa had developed selected biological warfare that can eliminate blacks without harming whites.

January 10, 1987: TASS reported on an interview given to the Soviet magazine New Times by Professor Yuri Rychkov, human genetics laboratory chief at the Nikolai Vavilov General Genetics Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The TASS account gave the impression that Professor Rychkov was very concerned about alleged plans to create an “ethnic weapon.” But a comparison of the New Times interview with the TASS account shows that on several occasions TASS incorrectly portrayed information contained in questions asked to Professor Rychkov as comments that the professor had made. For example, TASS said “He [Professor Rychkov] notes that the South African army has a unit of biological warfare which studies the possibility of developing viruses and other microorganisms affecting only Africans.” But, in the actual interview in New Times, it is the interviewer who says this, not Professor Rychkov. The TASS account was replayed in the Indian newspaper Patriot, which KGB defector testimony has revealed was set up by the KGB in 1962.

January 29, 1987: A long article in the Kuwaiti newspaper Al-Oabas charged the United States with a widespread biological warfare capability, including the development of germs which can “distinguish between black and white, light and dark-skinned.” Although the article was not directly linked to a Soviet source, it showed substantial signs of Soviet authorship. In addition to repeating the familiar charges about ethnic weapons, it also railed against U.S. conduct in Vietnam, made disparaging comments about high-ranking U.S. officials, and dwelt at length on the injustice of alleged intervention by allied military forces in the civil war in Russia. At one point, it listed as evidence for its arguments a Soviet forgery from the 1920s known as the “Tanaka Memorial.” The article also was accompanied a supposed picture of the “ethnic weapon* being fired! The same article later appeared in the Tunisian newspaper Al-Sabah on February 13, 1987.

February 20, 1987: The Bulgarian newspaper Otechestven Front carried a story by a Dr. Miroslav Lazarov charging that the “bacteriological centers of the Pentagon” have created diseases such as “Rift Valley Fever” that are fatal only to blacks. He also claimed that “ethnic weapons” could be used against Southeast Asians, Brazilian Indians, and even plants, animals, and microflora.

April 4, 1987: An unsourced article in the Ghanaian newspaper The Mirror alleged that purported U.S. AIDS tests on humans in Zaire “could be related to a genetic weapon that kills only black and colored people, in which South Africa has a huge interest.”
May 1987: A Novosti press agency release alleged that the United States had developed an “ethnic weapon plus morbific bacteria plus, which is lethal for the Africans and harmless for those of European extraction.”

June 2, 1987: An article “CIA Against the Third World,” by “A Correspondent” in the Ghanaian newspaper Daily Graphic claimed that the CIA has developed a “‘morbific bacteria’ ethnic weapon.” The article also alleged that the United States was producing “shooting umbrellas” and “exploding pens ... and toys that maim children,” which “were scattered in Vietnam and are now used in Afghanistan.”

This article displayed numerous signs of being based on Soviet material. The anonymous attribution of authorship to “A Correspondent” is typical of Soviet covert media placement. Soviet forgeries and other disinformation have appeared frequently in the Daily Graphic. Finally, passages from the article repeat verbatim the wording of the May 1987 Novosti release.

The following excerpts from the article give a flavor of the anti-American tone characteristic of some Soviet covert media placements:

... Terroristic acts have become a favorable method of restoring U.S. influence and domination. “Special operations,’ ‘covert actions,’ attempts on the lives of politicians and mass assassinations are main arguments adduced by Reagan to substantiate his neo-global policy.

The characteristic features of this policy are dirty methods and murders, combined with hypocritical talks about human rights, impudent cynicism and crocodile tears, discourses about democracy and claims for world domination....

... Wherever the USA suppresses freedom and independence of the developing nations, the CIA’s methods can be unmistakably seen. Mini-traps, exploding pens, koini-bombs and toys that maim children were scattered in Vietnam and are now used in Afghanistan, Soweto (South Africa), Lebanon, Chile and El Salvador.

The CIA has created the industry of international terrorism which produces not only noiseless rifles, shooting umbrellas, sticks and other articles, but also poisons, bacteria and viruses to be used to kill people. one of the latest inventions of the CIA in this sphere is a ‘morbific bacteria’ ethnic weapon which is not dangerous to Europeans but is deadly for Africans.
The apartheid regime has got greatly interested in this kind of weapon, intending to use it against Africans both in South Africa and outside the country.

The article goes on to repeat charges contained in the May Novosti release that the United States has set up on its soil “30 camps and 130 private schools” for training terrorists.

June 5, 1987: During a meeting in Moscow with Novosti chairman Valentin Falin, USIA Director Charles Wick vigorously protested Novosti disinformation on “ethnic weapons” and other Soviet disinformation. Mr. Falin responded by defending the accuracy of the Novosti charges and pledging to produce evidence for them.

June 14, 1987: In an interview in Moscow News, Novosti chairman Falin stated:

“It is no secret that the United States has been working on various ‘exotic’ weapons, including the so-called ethnic ones. These are biological and chemical agents with selective action against people of different races, populating the same areas yet having different genetic susceptibility or vulnerability to these agents. Such facts are widely known, too. Take the report, circulated back in 1974, by Dr. Hammerschlag, an expert of the National Medical Center in Duarte, California, which he delivered at the symposium held in Los Angeles by the American Chemical Society....”

As noted above, the American Chemical Society did publish a report of its 1974 symposium in Los Angeles, entitled “Chemical Weapons and U.S. Public Policy.” It does contain an article on “Ethnic Weapons” by Dr. Richard Hammerschlag of the City of Hope National Medical Center in Duarte, California. The article is a thorough, scholarly study of the question of the feasibility of producing “ethnic weapons.” But its conclusion is the exact opposite of what Mr. Falin had implied.

As noted above, Dr. Hammerschlag concluded: “So we have no ‘story,’ no hard evidence that ethnic weapons are or even have been under consideration by the Department of Defense .....”

July 12, 1987: The Peruvian Marxist newspaper La Voz claimed that American scientists “had found a way to obtain toxins which kill a race or ethnic group, leaving others alone,” adding that “Israel and South Africa have become particularly interested in this discovery.”

August 3, 1987: The Dominican Republic newspaper El Nuevo Diario carried an article accusing the United States of testing biological warfare agents including “valley fever,” which was said to “basically cause death to blacks and Asians.”
October 19, 1987: The extreme Marxist newspaper Cambio carried an unattributed article “CIA on the Offensive Against the Third World,” which closely resembled the June 2 Ghanaian Daily Graphic article in content and even its title. The article repeated the charge that a “morbific bacteria” ethnic weapon was one of the most recent products of U.S. laboratories, the charge about “30 camps and 130 private schools” for terrorists on U.S. soil, and details from the previous article about the alleged use of chemical weapons by the United States in Afghanistan.

October 21, 1987: An article in the Ghanaian Times cited “Senegalese press reports” as the source for claims that “the Pentagon is giving assistance to its allies in Southern Africa in developing aerial bombs and artillery shells filled with binary gas and bacterial charges, and promoting the development of ‘ethnic weapons’.”

December 4, 1987: An article in the Ghanaian Times claimed “the U.S. has prompted South Africa to develop the ethnic weapon which selectively kills mainly men and women with dark skin.” The article cited a forged letter purportedly from a Department of Defense official as evidence for its claims that the United States was assisting South Africa in building up its biological warfare capabilities. As noted above, the forgery had first surfaced in the Malagasy newspaper Carrefour in 1985.

January 9, 1988: TASS cites the Ghanaian Times report, and introduces the false allegation that a South African geneticist had visited Fort Detrick to consult on the military applications of genetic engineering.

January 30, 1988: Ghana’s Mirror repeats the allegations in a lengthy feature article, “Seven Years of Reagan in Africa.”

January 1988: The Novosti Military Bulletin publishes an extremely detailed article renewing the “ethnic weapons” charges. It cites Dr. Richard Hammerschlag while again ignoring his conclusion that there is “no evidence” that ethnic weapons have even been considered.

February 5, 1988: Moscow Radio in English to South Africa repeats the allegations and claims that ethnic weapons have actually been tested on humans in Namibia.

“Ethnic Weapons” Allegations in Soviet Textbooks

In addition to the repeated appearance of “ethnic weapons” disinformation in Soviet and Soviet-influenced media, the standard Soviet eight-grade textbook on world history contained allegations of this sort until recently. This is especially serious because the Soviet practice is that every eighth-grade student uses the identical world history textbook.
The American bourgeoisie and the slave-owners tried to seize as much foreign land as possible. First of all, they began with the extermination of the Indians, in order to seize their lands. “The only good Indian is a dead Indian,” said the American generals.

One means of exterminating the Indians was the following: Blankets were strewn about near an Indian settlement. The Indians, not suspecting anything, gathered them up and covered themselves with them. Then they began to die in masses from smallpox -- it turned out that the Americans had wrapped up those who were sick with or had died from smallpox beforehand in the blankets. Thus, by the 19th century the American military was already using methods of monstrous bacteriological warfare.

The accuracy of this passage was researched during the US/USSR Textbook Study, a project in which U.S. and Soviet educators reviewed textbooks in each others’ countries for inaccuracies. The U.S. educators concluded that instances in which American settlers used smallpox-infected blankets against the American Indian population may have occurred. The evidence was contradictory. Some historians believed that one or more such instances had occurred. Others thought they had not. But all American historians agreed that to extrapolate from a possible isolated incident or incidents of more than a century ago to present-day U.S. government policies was tendentious, misleading, and untrue. After discussions, the passage was eliminated from the Soviet textbooks.

The Soviet practice of including such passages in their standard textbooks has likely made the Soviet population more receptive to “ethnic weapons” disinformation claims. Interestingly, when USIA Director Wick protested such disinformation to Novosti chairman Valentin Falin, Mr. Falin responded by saying that Americans had used smallpox as a biological weapon against the American Indians.
## CHRONOLOGY OF ETHNIC WEAPONS DISINFORMATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
<th>NOTES/COMMENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26 May 80</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Pravda</td>
<td>Claims that “the U.S. military department conducted trials of ‘ethnic’ viruses in California in 1977;” mentions “secret U.S. naval laboratory in West Oakland.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar 81</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>People’s World</td>
<td>U.S. Communist Party newspaper reports that U.S. Navy laboratory in Oakland is experimenting with ethnic weapons. Also, there are reports of similar People’s World accounts in 1980.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 May 83</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Radio Moscow</td>
<td>South Africa alleged to be continuing U.S. Vietnam War-era research on “ethnic weapons.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09 Sep 83</td>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>Pan African News Agency</td>
<td>Report charges South Africa has conducted “wide-ranging research into chemical weapons ‘that affect only black-skinned people.’”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05 Jan 84</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>TASS</td>
<td>Alleges South Africa is developing “chemical ‘ethnic weapons,’” an “invention by U.S. criminals.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 May 84</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>TASS</td>
<td>Charges that Israelis and South Africans are developing an “ethnic weapon” that can kill “an African or an Indian, a Chinese or an Arab.” It reports that, “according to some data,” such a weapon is already being tested on Namibians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Aug 84</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>TASS</td>
<td>U.S., South African, and Israeli involvement charged.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Aug 84</td>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>Tishrin</td>
<td>Unattributed report says “a number of secret military research centers are now engaged in research on special types of tuberculosis, cancer, and influenza that kill only Arabs and Africans.” Charges “Israel, South Africa, and their protectors” with responsibility.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02 Apr 85</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Selskaya Zhizn</td>
<td>South African and Israeli cooperation alleged.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02 Apr 85</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>TASS</td>
<td>Carries Selskiva Zhizn story.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>COUNTRY</td>
<td>SOURCE</td>
<td>NOTES/COMMENTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02 Apr 85</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>Reuters</td>
<td>Reports Selskaya Zhizn allegations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03 Apr 85</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Bulawayo Chronicle</td>
<td>Carries TASS item.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Jul 85</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Radio Moscow</td>
<td>Labels CIA and Pentagon as “initiators” of “ethnic weapons.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Nov 85</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>TASS</td>
<td>Accusations against South Africa and U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 85</td>
<td>Malagasy Republic</td>
<td>Carrefour</td>
<td>Carries article on alleged U.S. and South African development based on forged letter purportedly from U.S. Defense Department official.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 Dec 85</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>TASS</td>
<td>Pick-up of story based on forgery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 Dec 85</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Krasnaya Zvezda</td>
<td>Repeat of TASS item</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Jan 86</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Radio Peace and Progress</td>
<td>Criticizes alleged U.S. and South African development of “ethnic weapons.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05 Feb 86</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Radio Moscow</td>
<td>Commentator Vladimir Voyevodov alleges South Africa is manufacturing ethnic weapons with U.S. aid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Feb 86</td>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>Nigeria voice</td>
<td>Novosti-bylined article alleges joint U.S. and South African research.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Feb 86</td>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>New Nigerian</td>
<td>Carries same Novosti article.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 86</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Novosti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 Sep 86</td>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>The voice</td>
<td>Article by Novosti surrogate claiming Israeli and South African development.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Nov 86</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Radio Moscow</td>
<td>Correspondent Vladimir Valentinov alleges South African development.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>COUNTRY</td>
<td>SOURCE</td>
<td>NOTES/COMMENTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Jan 87</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>New Times</td>
<td>South African and U.S. interest alleged by interviewer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Jan 87</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>TASS</td>
<td>TASS report distorts New Times article, attributing allegations made by interviewer to Professor Yuri Rychkov of the General Genetics Institute.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Jan 87</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Patriot</td>
<td>Pro-Soviet weekly (set up by KGB) repeats TASS allegations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 Jan 87</td>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>Al (abas)</td>
<td>Long article charging U.S. development includes purported picture of “ethnic weapon” being fired!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Feb 87</td>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>Al-Sabah</td>
<td>Repeat of same article that appeared in Kuwaiti newspaper.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Feb 87</td>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>Otechestven</td>
<td>Alleges that targets of U.S. “ethnic weapons” include Southeast Asians, Brazilian and other Latin American Indians, plants, animals, and microflora.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04-Apr 87</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>The Mirror</td>
<td>Claims alleged U.S. AIDS tests on Zairians could be related to a “genetic weapon that kills only black and colored people.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 87</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Novosti</td>
<td>CIA alleged to have developed “morbific bacteria” ethnic weapon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02 Jun 87</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>People’s Daily Graphic</td>
<td>CIA development of “morbific bacteria” ethnic weapon charged. Article also accuses U.S. of spreading toy bombs in Afghanistan and producing “shooting umbrellas.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Jun 87</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Moscow News</td>
<td>Novosti director Valentin Falin alleges “facts” of U.S. development of ethnic weapons are “well known.” As evidence, cites article that contradicts his assertions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Jul 87</td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>La Voz</td>
<td>Marxist daily links “ethnic weapon” and AIDS disinformation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03 Aug 87</td>
<td>Dominican Republic</td>
<td>El Nuero Diario</td>
<td>“Valley fever,” allegedly produced by U.S., said to “basically cause death to blacks and Asians.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>COUNTRY</td>
<td>SOURCE</td>
<td>NOTES/COMMENTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Oct 87</td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>Cambio</td>
<td>Marxist newspaper carries story repeating May 1987 “morbific bacteria” claims made by Novosti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Oct 87</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Ghanaian Times</td>
<td>Article attributes “ethnic weapon” accusations to unidentified “Senegalese press reports.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04 Dec 87</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Ghanaian Times</td>
<td>Article by Issac Abraham mentions forgery featured in Dec. 85 Carrefour article in Malagasy press; alleges U.S. “prompted” South Africa to develop “ethnic weapons.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09 Jan 88</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>TASS</td>
<td>Reports Ghanaian Times story and alleges “top secret experiments in this field were started in a naval laboratory at Oakland, California in the 1970s” (same charge as 1980 Pravda article).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Jan 88</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Mirror</td>
<td>Repeats disinformation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 88</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Novosti Military Bulletin</td>
<td>Extremely detailed accounts renews charges.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05 Feb 88</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Radio Moscow</td>
<td>English-language broadcast to South Africa reiterates charges.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE 1978 JONESTOWN MASS SUICIDE

In January 1987, the Soviet Union launched a disinformation campaign aimed at convincing people that the Central Intelligence Agency had perpetrated the November 1978 mass suicide at Jonestown, Guyana. The centerpiece of this campaign is a 224-page book The Death of Jonestown -- Crime of the CIA. In early 1987, one hundred thousand Russian-language copies of the book were printed by the Juridical Literature publishing house, run by the Soviet Ministry of Justice. The book was signed to press on October 27, 1986.

The Death of Jonestown book has a grisly cover showing piles of bodies from the mass suicide, with the book’s title and authors emblazoned over the picture. Its three co-authors are S.F. Alinin, B.G. Antonov, and A.N. Itskov. Antonov and Itskov are Novosti and Izvestia correspondents, respectively, and have furthered the dissemination of the book’s disinformation themes by writing articles for their publications and other Soviet media outlets.

The official Soviet government newspaper Izvestia took the lead in publicizing the book, running a five-column article by one of the book’s co-authors, Andrey Itskov, in its January 30, 1987 issue. The article encapsulated the disinformation campaign’s main theme in its headline: “USA -- 918 Victims of Political Terror: They Were Killed for Their Intent to Gain Asylum in the USSR.”

This is the book’s main thesis: that the United States government had the inhabitants of Jonestown killed because it would have been too devastating a blow to U.S. prestige to have them emigrate to the Soviet Union. This claim is, of course, both absurd and untrue. U.S. citizens are perfectly free to emigrate to any country they choose; and the U.S. government, unlike the Soviet government, does not interfere with their wishes, much less kill them for their desire to emigrate.

Disinformation Themes-and Rebuttals

The Izvestia account falsely claims that whirelings of the CIA” carried out the massacre at Jonestown, including a “special attack group” which purportedly broke into the home of Jonestown leader Jim Jones and killed him with a shot to the head. In fact, the mass suicide/murder at Jonestown was arranged and carried out by Reverend Jones and his close supporters, as attested to by eyewitnesses who escaped the slaughter and as verified by a tape recording made by Jones and found at the scene.

Jones had, in fact, frequently rehearsed mass suicides. On June 15, 1978, 5 months before the massacre, Deborah Layton Blakely, a “defector” from Jonestown who was a member of Jones’
Peoples Temple for 7 years, and its Financial Secretary for much of that time, declared in a sworn affidavit:

At least once a week, Reverend Jones would declare a ‘white night,’ or state of emergency. The entire population of Jonestown would be awakened by blaring sirens. Designated persons, approximately fifty in number, would arm themselves with rifles, move from cabin to cabin, and make certain that all members were responding. A mass meeting would ensue. Frequently during these crises, we would be told that the jungle was swarming with mercenaries and that death could be expected at any minute.

During one ‘white night,’ we were informed that our situation had become hopeless and that the only course of action open to us was a mass suicide for the glory of socialism. We were told that we would be tortured by mercenaries if we were taken alive. Everyone, including the children, was told to line up. As we passed through the line, we were given a small glass of red liquid to drink. We were told that the liquid contained poison and that we would die within 45 minutes. We all did as we were told. When the time came when we should have dropped dead, Rev. Jones explained that the poison was not real and that we had just been through a loyalty test. He warned us that the time was not far off when it would become necessary for us to die by our own hands.6

This scenario closely parallels what actually happened at Jonestown on November 18, 1978, after a visit by a U.S. congressman investigating grievances at Jonestown, which led to the “defection” of 15 Peoples Temple members. The congressman, Leo Ryan, and several members of the party accompanying him were killed by Jim Jones’ followers at an airport shortly after their departure from Jonestown. Jones then gathered the settlement’s remaining members together for the mass suicide by cyanide.

A tape recording of Jonestown’s final minutes was found at the scene of the massacre. It shows that the deaths were not all voluntary. In it, Jones harangues people about the need to commit suicide. Some applaud him, but others protest and resist. They were forced by armed guards to take the poison or else were shot. Jones himself apparently committed suicide by shooting himself in the head.

The Death of Jonestown and Izvestia accounts portray Jonestown as an idyllic community where “people of many races and different ages lived... in peace and full harmony.”7 But the Congressional Staff Investigative Group that examined the events at Jonestown for the U.S. House of
Representatives concluded that Jim Jones had organized a coercive, demeaning regime that relied heavily on “recognized strategies of brainwashing.” According to the findings of their May 15, 1979 report to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, these techniques included: “isolation from all vestiges of former life”, Nan exacting daily regimen requiring absolute obedience and humility extracted by deception, intimidation, threats, and harassment”, “physical pressure ranging from the deprivation of food and sleep to the possibility and reality of severe beatings”, and “so-called ‘struggle meetings, or catharsis sessions in which recalcitrant members were interrogated, required to confess their ‘wrongdoing,’ and then punished with alternative harshness or leniency.”

The sworn testimony of former People’s Temple member Deborah Layton Blakey bears out these judgements. In June 1978, she said:

> The vast majority of the Temple members were required to work in the fields from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. six days per week and on Sunday from 7 a.m. to 2 p.m. ...The food was woefully inadequate. There was rice for breakfast, rice water soup for lunch, and rice and beans for dinner. On Sunday, we each received an egg and a cookie. Two or three times a week we had vegetables.

> Rev. Jones’ thoughts were made known to the population of Jonestown by means of broadcasts over the loudspeaker system. He broadcast an average of six hours per day. In addition to the daily broadcasts, there were marathon meetings six nights’ per week.

> There was constant talk of death. In the early days of the People’s Temple [before the move to Guyana], general rhetoric about dying for principles was sometimes heard. In Jonestown, the concept of mass suicide for socialism arose. Because our lives were so wretched anyway and because we were so afraid to contradict Rev. Jones, the concept was not challenged.

Blakely says that Jones’ “obsession with his place in history was maniacal.” She reports that:

> At various times, he claimed that he was the reincarnation of either Lenin, Jesus Christ, or one of a variety of other religious or political figures. He claimed that he had divine powers and could heal the sick. He stated that he had extrasensory perception and could tell what everyone was thinking. He said he had powerful connections the world over, including the Mafia, [former Ugandan dictator] Idi Amin, and the Soviet government.
There is little doubt that Jones felt he was the target of a government conspiracy, and this is where the Soviet disinformation specialists may have first encountered the theme that the U.S. government was allegedly plotting against Jonestown. Deborah Blakely said:

The Rev. Jones saw himself as the center of a conspiracy. The identity of the conspirators changed from day to day along with his erratic world vision. He induced the fear in others that, through their contact with him, they had become targets of the conspiracy. He convinced black Temple members that if they did not follow him to Guyana, they would be put into concentration camps and killed. White members were instilled with the belief that their names appeared on a secret list of enemies of the state that was kept by the CIA and that they would be tracked down, tortured, imprisoned, and subsequently killed if they did not flee to Guyana.¹³

On the issue of an alleged “conspiracy” against the Peoples Temple by U.S. intelligence agencies, the exhaustive report by the Congressional Staff Investigative Group concluded:

No conclusive evidence is available to indicate that the CIA was acquiring information on Mr. Jones or Peoples Temple. In this same connection, it should be noted that under Executive Orders 11905 of February 18, 1976 and 12036 of January 24, 1978, which prohibit intelligence gathering on U.S. citizens, the CIA was legally proscribed from engaging in any activities vis-a-vis Peoples Temple.

The Department of Justice, on the other hand, has indicated to the Staff Investigative Group that the FBI did look into an allegation from a constituent of Senator S.I. Hayakawa that “Jim Jones was coaxing individuals into travelling to Georgetown, Guyana, where they were being held against their will for unknown reasons.” The FBI interviewed the constituent, but found that “relatives of the constituent had traveled to Guyana voluntarily, and no evidence of forced confinement was developed.” The investigation was thereupon terminated *because no violation of the Federal kidnapping statute had occurred.¹⁴

In other words, there was no U.S. government conspiracy against and, in fact, hardly any interest in the Peoples Temple. The Congressional investigation concluded:

Granting the strong likelihood of Jones’ paranoia, compounded by his manipulative abilities, Jones staged and exploited the idea of a conspiracy as a means of generating
fear in his adherents and thereby gaining further control over them. The tactic also served to keep any opponents on the defensive and even had the apparent effect of sensitizing the U.S. embassy-in Guyana.\textsuperscript{15}

The Soviet Disinformation Campaign

Despite the lack of any evidence for claims that the CIA was involved in the Jonestown mass suicide/massacre, the Soviets have made a major effort to spread this allegation. In addition to initiating the campaign with a lengthy article, the official government newspaper Izvestia carried four other stories repeating the allegations in 1987. A particularly gruesome account containing photos from Jonestown was carried in the March 2-8 issue of Nedelya, a Sunday supplement of Izvestia.


The Jonestown disinformation has been repeated uncritically in the press of Poland, East Germany, Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Laos, India, Bolivia, and Finland, most recently in an East German newspaper on December 18, 1987. In February 1988, the Soviets indicated their interest in spreading the disinformation further, advertising for the Spanish-language translation rights to the book in Spain, in their publication Books and Arts of the USSR.

A detailed chronology of the USSR’s Jonestown disinformation campaign follows.
## CHRONOLOGY OF JONESTOWN DISINFORMATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
<th>NOTES/COMMENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30 Jan 87</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Izvestia</td>
<td>Official Soviet government newspaper carries 5-column story “USA - 918 Victims of Political Terror,” based on <em>Death of Jonestown</em> book. Author of article, Andre Istkov, is one of book’s three co-authors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03 Feb 87</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Trybuna Ludu</td>
<td>Communist Party daily reports essence of Izvestiya account.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Feb 87</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Rzeczpospolitaka</td>
<td>Government daily endorses book.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Feb 87</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Leningradskaya Pravda</td>
<td>Novosti article reviews Death of Jonestown book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 Feb 87</td>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>Otechestven Front</td>
<td>Article claims that book “convincingly prove[s] that 914 ‘American dissidents’ were assassinated in cold blood by the CIA for their ideas.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01 Mar 87</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Moscow News</td>
<td>Article titled “Crime of the Century” by TASS corespondent in Guyana at time of massacre endorses disinformation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02 Mar 87</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Izvestia</td>
<td>Sunday Supplement “Nedelya” carries story “The CIA Exterminated Them” accompanied by picture of bodies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07 Mar 87</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Rzeczpospolitaka World Press Review</td>
<td>Polish government daily Jan. 30 Izvestia account reported.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr 87</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>World Press Review</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07 Apr 87</td>
<td>Czecho- slovakia</td>
<td>Czechoslovak Soldier</td>
<td>Carries Novosti account.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>COUNTRY</td>
<td>SOURCE</td>
<td>NOTES/COMMENTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09 Apr 87</td>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>Helsingin</td>
<td>Finland’s leading daily carries short review of Jonestown book.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Apr 87</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Smena</td>
<td>Leningrad Komsomol daily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 Apr 87</td>
<td>GDR</td>
<td>Neues Deutschland</td>
<td>Official organ of East German Communist Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07 May 87</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Zycie Warsaway</td>
<td>Polish News Agency report announces publication of “documentary” <em>Death of Jonestown</em> book which, it says, presents “unquestionable proof unmasking the criminals as well as the disinformators trying to hide this crime of the century.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 May 87</td>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>Juventud Rebelde</td>
<td>Article by one of book’s authors, Novosti correspondent B. Antonov</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 May 87</td>
<td>Laos</td>
<td>Vientiane Pasaso</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06 Jun 87</td>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>Information</td>
<td>Review of <em>Death of Jonestown</em> book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Jun 8</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Radio Moscow</td>
<td>Commentator recommends <em>Death of Jonestown</em> book to listeners.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Jul 87</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Rabochaya Gazeta</td>
<td>Kiev paper article “Who Killed the Congressman?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 Aug 87</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Izvestia</td>
<td>First of two-part series; mentions three previous Izvestia reports.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Aug 87</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Izvestia</td>
<td>Continuation of two-part series.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03 Sep 87</td>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>Hoy</td>
<td>Article by author of original Jan. 30 Izvestia article.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Oct 87</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Sovetskaya Rossiya</td>
<td>Article also mentions AIDS, Olaf Palme assassination, and “baby parts” disinformation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 87</td>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>New Dawn</td>
<td>September issue of Soviet magazine carrying disinformation is distributed locally.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Nov 87</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Pravda</td>
<td>On ninth anniversary of massacre, article on the Jonestown Tragedy” reiterates disinformation charges.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>COUNTRY</td>
<td>SOURCE</td>
<td>NOTES/COMMENTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Nov 87</td>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>Kansan Uutiset</td>
<td>Communist newspaper carries Novosti story authored by TASS correspondent in Guyana at time of mass suicide.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Nov 87</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Radio Peace and Progress</td>
<td>Spanish-language broadcast charges “ultra-rightists” with covertly organizing massacre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Dec. 87</td>
<td>East Germany</td>
<td>Das Volk</td>
<td>“Death in the Jungle” article repeats disinformation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 88</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Books and Arts of the USSR</td>
<td>Bookstores begin to carry “coffee table” book CIA: State Terrorism of the USA, which accuses CIA of the Jonestown massacre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 88</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Books and Arts of the USSR</td>
<td>Publication of Soviet printing rights agency reviews Death of Jonestown book, offering sale of Spanish-language translation rights.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BODY PARTS MISINFORMATION AND DISINFORMATION

Summary

False allegations that Americans are importing Latin American children, butchering them, and using their body parts for organ transplants have appeared in Soviet media, beginning in April 1987, in Pravda, Izvestia, TASS, Novosti, Trud, Sovetskaya Kultura, Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya Sovetskaya Rossiya, and on Moscow Radio.

Neither the government, private sector organizations, or investigative journalists have been able to uncover any evidence of trafficking in “baby parts.” All the alleged sources for these charges, in Honduras, Guatemala, Switzerland, and England, have either denied or repudiated the statements attributed to them.

USIA has contacted representatives of the Justice Department, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Food and Drug Administration, the National Institutes of Health, the Department of Health and Human Services, and the Immigration and Naturalization Service, all of which said they had no records about alleged trafficking in baby parts.

The National Organ Transplant Act of 1984 prohibits the buying and selling of organs in the United States. Dr. Robert Corry, president of the American Society of Transplant Surgeons, has categorically denied that any such activity has taken place or could take place in the United States. The United Network for Organ Sharing, which oversees organ transplants in the U.S., has vigorously denied that such an activity is taking place.

An analysis of how these rumors have spread provides an interesting case study of how disinformation specialists can circulate and amplify existing misinformation, in their effort to stir up anti-American feelings.

Rumors of trafficking in “baby parts” first appeared in Honduras in early 1987, but the source for them, Leonardo Villeda Bermudez, the former Secretary General of the Honduran Committee for Social Welfare, immediately repudiated statements attributed to him. He said he had merely “heard” unconfirmed rumors of such activities. The top officials in the Social Welfare ministry, including the First Lady of Honduras, emphasized that there was no evidence for such allegations, and they immediately disappeared from the Honduran press.

The charges resurfaced in Guatemala in February 1987, sourced to the Treasury Police. The director of the Treasury Police told the U.S. Public Affairs Officer, however, that he and his men had no evidence that children were being used for this purpose. In the February 18 Prensa Libre, the Guatemalan Minister of the Interior characterized the allegations as “a piece of very imagina-
tive fiction.”

In April, after the original rumors had run their course and died down, the Soviet-bloc disinformation apparatus began a conscious effort to spread and embellish them. On April 5, Pravda carried the 3-month old Honduran story, citing the original Villeda Bermudez allegations without mentioning his subsequent repudiation of them, or subsequent press accounts dismissing the story. TASS replayed the story, and it has subsequently appeared in pro-Soviet or communist party newspapers in India, France, Finland, Nicaragua, Morocco, and Cuba. Soviet publications and radio repeated the story again in June, July, and October; and the Cubans and Soviets replayed it once more, in early 1988, after it had resurfaced in Guatemala.

The allegations have also appeared in non-communist media in France, Canada, the Netherlands, Norway, India, the Dominican Republic, Switzerland, Bangladesh, Mexico, Venezuela, and Argentina. They have been raised in the European Parliament and mentioned before the Council of Europe.

January 1987: The Original Allegations

Reports of trafficking in babies for body parts first appeared in Honduras in early 1987. The source for them was Leonardo Villeda Bermudez, Secretary General during 1986 of Honduras’ National Council on Social Welfare. On January 2, in the Tecugigalpa La Tribuna, Villeda Bermudez was reported to have said:

Many parents came to adopt children with physical defects. At first, it was believed that they were well-intentioned people who took the children away because they really cared for them, but in time it was discovered that they wanted to sell them for parts. For example, they would take out their eyes for other children who needed them.

Also on January 2, the Honduran Television station VICA broadcast an interview with Villeda Bermudez, recorded on December 31, 1986, in which he said:

Several years ago, some social workers told me that foreign parents were coming to adopt children. They would say, ‘It doesn’t matter to us that a child has no eye, or has a physical defect; it doesn’t matter that he may have a bad heart. I’m going to take him with me to the U.S.’ And what would happen? These children would be taken to be sold for parts. This is also a crime. This has been largely stopped.

On January 2, Reuters news service picked up Villeda Bermudez’ reported comments in La Tribuna and circulated them worldwide. The reported quotations by Villeda Bermudez in La
Tribuna have appeared repeatedly since then, often in slightly different form, due to differences in translations.

The fact that Villeda Bermudez immediately retracted the statements attributed to him in “La Tribuna” has not often been reported. In the Tegucigalpa El Heraldo of January 3, he stated (as reported by El Heraldo) “that he was not used to giving interviews to the press and that he confused a simple ‘rumor’ when trying to promote several ideas regarding the adoption of babies.”

In a letter to La Tribuna published on January 5, Villeda Bermudez declared:

> When I took charge of this post [in early 1986], I mentioned I had met various social workers who told me that some of the parents adopting children took sick children for sale. I only mentioned this; I did not say it was true.

Despite the immediate clarifications by Villeda Bermudez, the story spread, and he was reported as endorsing the rumors. On January 3, the Cuban Communist Party organ Granma reported the story, as did El Nuevo Diario and Barricada in Nicaragua. Reuter’s account was carried in India, in the Hindustan Times, on January 4.

On January 8, the top officials of the Honduran Committee for Social Welfare held a press conference in which they absolutely and categorically denied that any trafficking in babies for organ transplants had occurred. The First Lady of Honduras and Honorary President of the Committee, Miriam de Azcona, emphatically stated that “the Committee has no documents that indicate anything of this sort has happened in the past.” The President of the Committee, said “I have never heard of anything like this during my service in the Committee.” Sergio Sanchez, the Committee’s Special Counsel, said that the government of Honduras follows up on foreigners’ adoptions of Honduran children, and stated: “It is practically impossible that the adopted children are used for transplants.”

These statements were reported in La Tribuna on January 9 and in newspapers throughout Honduras. After that, the story disappeared from the local press. Reuter’s ran a story reporting the denials on January 8.

February: The Rumors Resurface in Guatemala

The “baby parts” story lay dormant for almost a month, until it reappeared in neighboring Guatemala. On February 5, Prensa Libre, El Grafico, and other Guatemalan publications began to carry reports of trafficking in babies for body parts. The press accounts sourced the story to Mr. Baudillio Hichos-Lopez, chief of the intelligence and narcotics section of the Treasury Police,
who was reported as saying that a woman arrested for trafficking in children had confessed that “in some cases the babies were utilized to extract their principal organs, to be used in transplants.”

When U.S. officials inquired about such reports, Guillermo Echeverria Vielman, the head of the Treasury Police, said his staff had merely repeated what they had been told by a babysitter arrested at a nursery involved in illegal adoptions, and added that they had been misquoted by the press. The police chief said that there was no evidence that babies were being used for organ transplants. The Guatemalan Minister of the Interior, Juan Jose Rodil, characterized such stories as “a piece of very imaginative fiction” in Prensa Libre on February 18.

Later, after the allegations made in Guatemala had spread, Mr. Hichos Lopez issued a formal, written denial, disassociating himself from statements that had been attributed to him. He stated in a letter to the U.S. Public Affairs Officer in Guatemala:

I have the pleasure to write to you in order to respond to your note,... by means of which you brought to my attention articles appearing in a foreign weekly and a foreign periodical concerning the traffic in children to the United States for illegal purposes.

On this matter, I wish to inform you that... at no time did I make scandalous and compromising statements of the kind you cited.

The Rumors Spread

Soon, however, the stories spread far beyond Central America, and the farther they emanated from their sources, the more difficult it was for retractions, clarifications, and repudiations to be heard or even reported. In April 1987, a report on the allegations, once again citing the Villeda Bermudez remarks as originally reported, was published in the 1987 first quarter issue of International Children’s Rights Monitor, the quarterly publication of a private organization, Defense for Children, International (DCI), based in Geneva, Switzerland. The DCI article, “Adoption for Organ Transplants, In Search of the Truth,” cautioned, however:

The press in a limited number of countries has recently taken up the problem of child “adoption” for the purposes of organ transplants. Medical sources consulted by DCI emphasize that the procedure would seem to cause many problems in strictly material and financial terms: Where would the operations take place? How could the murders of the ‘donors’ be concealed? Moreover, would the price of the organs not
end up being higher than the regular official price? Not having been able to verify this information, DCI cannot guarantee its exactitude, but, in view of the wide echo given to this affair -- not only in the press, but at the governmental and intergovernmental level -- we felt it necessary to publicize the information in our possession.

Some of the publications spreading the story at this time appeared to be less than equal-handed in their treatment. One was the Enfoprensa news agency, the propaganda arm of the Guatemalan Marxist insurgents, which operates out of Mexico City. Their replay of the charges appeared in the Yugoslav magazine Nin on March 15 and was later cited in May in a motion introduced into the European Parliament by a representative of a far left Italian party. The charges also appeared in the March 7 issue of the leftist newspaper Volkskrant in the Netherlands, which had carried anti-American disinformation stories before. In 1981, it published an article based on a forged Presidential Review Memorandum, without noting that the memorandum had been denounced as a forgery by President Carter’s press secretary on December 17, 1980.16

April: The Soviet Disinformation-Campaign Begins

On April 5, after the story had disappeared from the Honduran press and largely run its course in Guatemala, the official Soviet Communist Party newspaper Pravda revived it, reporting the original Villeda Bermudez remarks, but without his subsequent clarification of them or other statements discounting the story by high-ranking Honduran and Guatemalan officials. In an article entitled “What Lay Behind the Boundless Humaneness,” Pravda’s Mexico City correspondent charged that “thousands” of Honduran children had been sent to the United States to be used as organ donors for children from rich families. It added the previously unreported allegation that: “Eyes, kidneys, hearts -- in short, everything that can be used for transplantation -is circulated.” The Soviet disinformation campaign had started.

The official Soviet news agency TASS carried the Pravda story to a worldwide audience in its daily press review on April 5. The Press Trust of India also reported the Pravda story, which was carried by several Indian newspapers on April 6.

Communist publications around the world soon swung into action to repeat and spread the allegations. On April 14, the French Communist Party newspaper L’Humanite ran a long story entitled: “Child’s Heart for Sale: Children in Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador Abducted and Sold to Secret Laboratories in the United States.” It repeated many of the charges as they first surfaced in the Honduran and Guatemalan press, but, again, without the subsequent clarifications, denials, and retractions, and with the added assertion, which first appeared in Pravda, that
hearts were for sale. It also added allegations about trafficking in Salvadoran children, for which there was no apparent basis. The Soviet newspaper Trud reprinted a slightly edited version of this article on April 19, accompanied by a commentary deploring the alleged practices by three Soviet doctors, L. Badalyan and M. Studenikin of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, and M. Shumakov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences.

The Cuban news service Prensa Latina also began to circulate the L’Humanite charges, with its report appearing in Nicaragua in the official Sandinista organ Barricada on April 21, in several newspapers in India in late April, and in the Stalinist newspaper in Finland, Tiedonantaia, on May 22.

The Allegations Spread in Europe

On May 5, a member of the European Parliament, Mr. Alberto Tridente, a representative of the far left Proletarian Democracy Party in Italy, tabled a motion for a resolution in the Parliament entitled “On the Traffic in Babies and Small Children between Guatemala and the United States and Europe.” The Proletarian Democracy Party is part of the Rainbow Group (Greens) in the European Parliament. The, Tridente motion apparently relied on accounts of these events as reported by the Enfoprensa news agency, as this was the only source mentioned for its charges. A similar written question was also submitted to the European Community Commission by three European Parliamentarians, also members of the Rainbow Group, citing the original Villeda Bermudez remarks. It asked: “Does the Commission know of any cases in which children from Honduras and other Latin American states have served as sources of replacement organs in Europe?” On July 23, 1987, Mr. Cheysson replied to this question on behalf of the Commission:

The Commission does not know of any transplant operations performed in Europe for which the organs of Latin American children have been used.

The adoptions described by the honorable members would be strictly forbidden in the Community under the laws on adoption in the member states.

During this time, the alleged Villeda Bermudez comments also reportedly appeared in the French weekly publication Temoingace Chretien, and were repeated in the July 2 issue of the Swiss weekly Hebdo.

June, July: Soviet Disinformation Continues

The Soviet media continued to play the story strongly throughout the summer of 1987. In June, the allegations appeared in Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya and on Radio Moscow on June and in
Then, on July 25, the official Soviet government newspaper Izvestia repeated the allegations and invented new ones, accusing Americans of trafficking in children for organ transplants in the most lurid tones. It claimed:

In Guatemala, for several years in a row the international mafia has bought up children with physical disabilities and sent them to the United States for ‘treatment.’ There, the butcher medics cut out their hearts, kidneys, and eyes -- whatever was required for saving U.S. children.

Izvestia commented:

What is this? Individual excesses in pursuit of dollars or the inexcusable arrogance and perception of other peoples as ‘second-class’ people who must give up everything, even little hearts and kidneys? There is only one step from American arrogance, from racist contempt for the Latin American peoples, to cannibalistic total license.

The official Soviet government newspaper cited Ms. Marie-Francoise Lucker-Babel, an official at Defense for Children, International, as a purported source for the allegations. According to Izvestia, she had said:

Yes, the facts are screaming out. ...When I look at the photographs of the children saved, those who have had new kidneys and hearts transplanted, I see before me the Guatemalan children and underground nurseries in Brazil. We must not remain indifferent, we must talk about this at the top of our lungs.

When U.S. officials got in touch with Defense for Children, International, Ms. Lucker-Babel categorically denied making any such statements, although she confirmed that she had been interviewed by Izvestia. The DCI Director of Programs, Nigel Cantwell, also said that he had been misquoted in the Izvestia article.

In early 1988, in a retrospective analysis of the Izvestia article in the combined third/fourth quarter 1987 issue of International Children’s Rights Monitor, Dominique Levelle of Defense for Children, International wrote:

Close scrutiny showed the Izvestia article to be a veritable masterpiece: an astutemix of quotes taken out of context, journalistic content, established facts, and unfounded allegations. Above all, the article skillfully blended statements concerning the
trafficking and sale of children -- a proven phenomenon which no one denies -- with unverified rumors about trafficking for organ transplants, completely blurring the line between the two.

On October 6, Mr. Cantwell sent a letter to Vladimir Kuznetsov, the author of the July 25 Izvestia article, and to Izvestia’s main offices in Moscow, protesting the article’s distortions and demanding that Izvestia rectify them. In his letter, Mr. Cantwell said:

We were extremely disturbed to note in that article certain quotes attributed to staff members of this organization and the impression given that DCI has evidence of the trafficking in children’s organs. For the record and for rectification in the columns of Izvestia, we wish to inform you that both staff members (namely Ms. Marie-Francoise Lucker-Babel and the undersigned) categorically deny having spoken or written in the way ascribed to them in your article.

Defense for Children, International also issued a press release datelined Geneva, October 7, entitled “DCI Denies ‘Evidence’ on Child Organ Trafficking.” It stated:

Defense for Children, International (DCI) announced here today that it has asked the Moscow paper Izvestia to publish a retraction of quotations it wrongly attributed to DCI staff in an article about the alleged sale of organs of Central American children for transplants in child patients in the United States. “The statements attributed to me and to Ms. Marie-Francoise Lucker-Babel of our staff were never made by us and misrepresent the DCI position by implying that we know the recurring rumors of child organ sales to be true. In fact, we have no evidence enabling us to either prove or disprove these allegations,” Mr. Nigel Cantwell, director of programs of the Geneva-based Children Rights Movement, said.

The press release added:

‘In recent months, it (DCI) has tried to have these reports verified by DCI representatives in Central America. So far, these investigations have failed to find any evidence to substantiate the reports,’ Mr. Cantwell said.

The Allegations Continue to Circulate

During July, August, and September, the “baby parts” allegations appeared in the media in Switzerland, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and the United States. In the United States, the
allegations were repeated in Desafio, a publication of the Progressive Labor Party, an formerly Maoist organization that is now an independent radical group not associated with the policies of China.

Then, on October 6, 1987 the Canadian Broadcasting Company’s evening radio program “As it Happens” interviewed Dutch parliamentarian Pieter Stoffelen about a new report he had submitted to the Council of Europe entitled “Report on the Traffic in Children and Other Form of Child Exploitation.”

Responding to a question about trafficking in body parts, Mr. Stoffelen said that:

...children [have been] reported to have been killed in order to use their organs for transplantation. This afternoon, during the presentation of my report, I mentioned examples of this ... A person in Honduras said there have been an export of physically handicapped children to the American States with the aim of transplantation of organs of these handicapped children.”

The Villeda Bermudez remarks as reported in January were, once again, the source for another repetition of the allegations.

When asked by U.S. officials about his sources, Mr. Stoffelen also referred to the March 7 Volkskrant article, which mentioned the Guatemalan allegations. Interestingly, the author of this article wrote another one reporting the same sort of allegations on November 17, 1987. The latter article cited a British professor McMasters, from the University of Birmingham, as the source of the allegations.

When queried, Professor McMasters said that he had made no such remarks, and added that he had been besieged by calls from the Dutch media on the story. He told them all clearly that he had made no such statements.

In the meantime, another Soviet newspaper, Sovetskaya Rossiya, had repeated the original-Honduran charges on October 30. Allegations of “baby parts” trafficking also appeared in the Argentine press in September and November, with no mention, however, of alleged U.S. involvement. They were categorically denied by the Argentine Secretary of Health, as reported in an article in the December 1, 1987 issue of Argentina’s Pagina 12. Prensa Latina took note of the early Argentine reports, however, and circulated them.

In January 1988, the allegations appeared in the Venezuelan press, in a curious article in El Nacional, which attributed the story only to an unsigned note that had appeared in an unnamed Caracas daily newspaper on December 5, 1987.

On January 21, an aide to a Peronist senator in Arengentina repeated the allegations on Argentine
television, citing as one of her sources the April 1987 issue of the international Children’s Rights Monitor, which cited the original Villeda Bermudez allegations. These charges were now more than one year old, and, of course, long since repudiated, but they continued to circulate.

A New Round of Misinformation and Disinformation

On January 24, 1988, the allegations were revived again, when an article in the Guatemalan press repeated the charges, linking them to a recent arrest in Guatemala. Most Guatemalan media, thoroughly familiar with the lack of evidence for such allegations, did not report them and one newspaper denied them, but El Grafico reported them in a front-page headline: “Export of Children for ‘Cutting Up’ Brought to Light.”

The Spanish news service ACAN-EFE reported the charges, adding an odd allegation that had not appeared in the El Grafico article: that the babies were allegedly to be used as material for “the perfume industry.” This story was reported in Honduras, as the allegations began to spread again.

Once again, communist and Marxist publications and news services showed a special interest in the story. On January 27, an article detailing the latest charges, and including the past ones, appeared in the French Communist Party newspaper L’Humanite. Enfoprensa ran the story again, and Prensa Latina picked up its version, passing it on to the Non-Aligned News Agency pool, from where it made its way via the Press Trust of India new service to the Bangladesh government news agency, Bangladesh Sangbad Sangsta. Given the government news agency imprimatur, the story was carried by several Bangladesh newspapers in February. The Prensa Latina account, as published in the “Granma” digest of the Cuban press, also appeared in the Communist Party newspaper El Bavane in Morocco. The Soviets circulated the story through their French-language Panorama Sovietique publication in the Congo.

While these stories were circulating, the story had, in the meantime, once again been immediately dismissed in its country of origin. United States Information Service (USIS) officials in Guatemala had immediately contacted the Treasury Police, again cited as the source of the story, and verified that they had no evidence for these allegations. On January 26, a story making these points was printed in El Grafico, and on January 30 El Grafico printed the text of a letter from the Director of the Treasury Police, Mr. Oscar August Diaz Urquizu, to the U.S. Public Affairs Officer, in which he stated:

The institution which I direct has no proof, evidence, or indication that Guatemalan children are being sent to the United States, or to any other country, to be dismembered and used as organ donors.
The Treasury Police laments that unfounded declarations made to the media by one of our officials have contributed to the publication of a false statement that may have damaged the image of your country here or internationally.

During February, however, leftist organizations in Central America continued to spread the allegations, and these were carried, in turn, on the ACAN-EFE wire.

Conclusion

The original misinformation from Honduras has thus continued to circulate, with no evidence that these reports are anything more than unsubstantiated rumors. The fact that deplorable practices of selling children for adoption, prostitution, and other base purposes do exist creates an atmosphere in which these allegations can and have been believed. In addition, the very repetition of the charges in many different publications, citing different purported sources, has given the allegations a certain credibility in the minds of many, simply because the charges have been repeated so many times.

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish which of the appearances of the allegations is due to misinformation and which is due to disinformation. But, one thing is certain. The original misinformation would not have spread so far and wide if it had not been for the way it was cynically used and embellished with deliberate distortions in a disinformation campaign by several communist countries, with the Soviet Union and Cuba taking the lead.

A detailed chronology of the appearances of the allegations follows.
## CHRONOLOGY OF BODY PARTS
### MISINFORMATION AND DISINFORMATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Notes/Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>02 Jan 87</td>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td>La Tribuna</td>
<td>Former Social welfare Minister Villeda Bermudez quoted as saying trafficking in baby organs exists.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02 Jan 87</td>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>Radio Havana</td>
<td>Reports organ trafficking story.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03 Jan 87</td>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>Granma</td>
<td>Cuban Communist Party newspaper reports story on front page.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03 Jan 87</td>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>El Nuevo Diario</td>
<td>Both report organ trafficking story.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03 Jan 87</td>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td>El Heraldo</td>
<td>Villeda Bermudez says he had only heard “rumors” of trafficking in body parts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04 Jan 87</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Hindustan Times</td>
<td>Carries Press Trust of India story based on Reuter’s account of Villeda Bermudez statements reported on January 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05 Jan 87</td>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td>La Tribuna</td>
<td>In letter to newspaper, Villeda Bermudez clarifies that he was only referring to rumors of organ trafficking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09 Jan 87</td>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td>La Tribuna, all</td>
<td>Honduran First Lady, other authorities say there is no evidence for reported allegations. Reuters carries story on January 8.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Honduran media</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05 Feb 87</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>Prensa Libre,</td>
<td>Reports of baby parts trafficking appear in Guatemala.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>El Grafico</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06 Feb 87</td>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>Granma</td>
<td>Front-page report of Guatemalan story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06 Feb 87</td>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>El Nuevo Diario</td>
<td>First report of Guatemalan story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09 Feb 87</td>
<td>Dominican Republic</td>
<td>Listin Diario</td>
<td>Dominican Republic press picks up Guatemalan report.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Feb 87</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>El Grafico</td>
<td>Reports USIS statement discounting organ trafficking report.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Feb 87</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>Prensa Libre</td>
<td>Organ story labeled “invention.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Feb 87</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>This Week</td>
<td>Weekly news bulletin with international subscribers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>COUNTRY</td>
<td>SOURCE</td>
<td>NOTES/COMMENTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Feb 87</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>Prensa Libre</td>
<td>Guatemala’s Minister of Interior calls allegations “piece of very imaginative fiction.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Feb 87</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>Prensa Libre</td>
<td>Reports allegations as facts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 Feb 87</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>Diario de Centro America</td>
<td>Editorial mentions alleged practice, then questions it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05 Mar 87</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>El Grafico</td>
<td>Editorial deplores alleged practice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07 Mar 87</td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>Volkskrant</td>
<td>Mentions Guatemalan allegations in story datelined Mexico City.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08 Mar 87</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>El Grafico</td>
<td>Allegations mentioned in two-page story.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Mar 87</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>El Grafico</td>
<td>Lengthy-rebuttal of allegations by USIS Public Affairs officer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr 87</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>International Children’s Rights Monitor</td>
<td>Publication of non-governmental organization Defense for Children, International mentions charges, but questions them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05 Apr 87</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Pravda</td>
<td>Correspondent in Mexico cites purported Villeda Bermudez allegations without his repudiation of them. Soviet disinformation campaign begins. Spreads Pravda story worldwide.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05 Apr 87</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>TASS</td>
<td>Pro-Soviet/English-language daily (reportedly set up by KGB) runs Press Trust of India (PTI) story carrying Pravda allegations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06 Apr 87</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Patriot</td>
<td>Hindi-language version of Hindustan times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06 Apr 87</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Daily Hindustan</td>
<td>Bombay papers carry PTI report.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06 Apr 87</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Indian Express, Free Press Journal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>COUNTRY</td>
<td>SOURCE</td>
<td>NOTES/COMMENTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Apr 87</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>TASS</td>
<td>Report from Mexico City cites report by Guatemalan guerrilla front group Cerigua.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Apr 87</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>L’Humanite</td>
<td>French Communist Party organ runs extensive article entitled “Child’s Heart for Sale.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Apr 87</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Trud</td>
<td>Reprint of L’Humanite article; commentary by 3 Soviet doctors deploring alleged trafficking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Apr 87</td>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>Barricada</td>
<td>Official Sandinista organ carries Prensa Latina story replaying L’Humanite allegations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr 87</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Hindustan Times</td>
<td>Prestigious mass-circulation English-language daily carries Prensa Latina story.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 Apr 87</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Telegraph</td>
<td>Influential English-language daily with circulation of 120,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05 May 87</td>
<td>European Parliament</td>
<td></td>
<td>Member of radical Proletarian Democracy Party in Italy tables motion mentioning allegations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 May 87</td>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>Tiedonantaja</td>
<td>Replay of L’Humanite article in “Stalinist” newspaper.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Jun 87</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Socialist Industry</td>
<td>Repeats L’Humanite allegations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Jun 87</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Radio Moscow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Jun 87</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Sovetskaya Kultura</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02 Jul 87</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>Hebdo</td>
<td>Cites report from French newspaper “Temoignage Chretien.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Jul 87</td>
<td>European Parliament</td>
<td></td>
<td>European Community Commission states that it “does not know of any transplant operations performed in Europe for which the organs of Latin American children have been used.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Jul 87</td>
<td>Dominican Republic</td>
<td>El Sol</td>
<td>Generally moderate newspaper reports allegations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>COUNTRY</td>
<td>SOURCE</td>
<td>NOTES/COMMENTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 Jul 87</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Izvestia</td>
<td>Article cites purported quotes by officials from Defense for Children, Int’l (DCI) as evidence for allegations. When DCI officials learn of Izvestia report, they repudiate it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Aug 87</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Desafio</td>
<td>Publication of formerly-Maoist Progressive Labor Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 Aug 87</td>
<td>Dominican Republic</td>
<td>El Nuevo Diario</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Sep 87</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>Geneva Home Information</td>
<td>Weekly, free tabloid distributed citywide in Geneva carries charges.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Sep 87</td>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>Radio Havana</td>
<td>Repeats allegations about Guatemalan children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Sep 87</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>La Razon</td>
<td>Reports claims of infant organ trafficking by Peronist deputy Onofre Bris de Sanchez. No allegations of U.S. involvement. Bris’ claims repeated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 Sep 87</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>La Razon</td>
<td>Prensa Latina report datelined Buenos Aires reports on Bris’ claims in “La Razon.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 Sep 87</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Excelsior</td>
<td>Dutch Parliamentarian mentions allegations in presenting report on child exploitation. Information based on March 7 report in De Volkskrant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06 Oct 87</td>
<td>Council of Europe</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dutch Parliamentarian repeats allegations in radio interview.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06 Oct 87</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>Canadian Broadcasting Company</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06 Oct 87</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td></td>
<td>Defense for Children, Int’l officials write letter to Izvestia protesting quotations ascribed to them and demand “rectification.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Oct 87</td>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>Bergens Tidende</td>
<td>Influential newspaper cites Guatemalan allegations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>COUNTRY</td>
<td>SOURCE</td>
<td>NOTES/COMMENTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 Oct 87</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>Panorama</td>
<td>Leftist weekly carries article speculating that wealthy individuals in Mexico and Central America may be purchasing “spare parts children,” including those from the U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 Oct 87</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baudillio Hichos Lopez, alleged source for Guatemalan allegations, issues statement denying statements attributed to him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Oct 87</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Sovetskaya Rossiya</td>
<td>Article repeats charges and also mentions Jonestown, Olaf Palme assassination, and AIDS disinformation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Nov 87</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>Diario Popular</td>
<td>Sensationalistic tabloid repeats organ trafficking charges, again with no U.S. involvement alleged.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Nov 87</td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>Volkskrant</td>
<td>Article reports British professor McMasters announces that a black market in infant organs is centered in India and Central, America. ‘Written by same correspondent who wrote March 7 “De Volkskrant” piece, article alleges U.S. involvement. When queried, McMasters reports that he made no such comments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01 Dec 87</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>Pagina 12</td>
<td>Leftist daily reports statements by Secretary of Health Rodolfo Rodriguez that there is no evidence for “perverse rumors” of organ trafficking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03 Dec 87</td>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>Na</td>
<td>Gossip weekly repeats Guatemalan allegations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>COUNTRY</td>
<td>SOURCE</td>
<td>NOTES/COMMENTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Jan 88</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>El Grafico</td>
<td>Article reporting arrest of two Israelis for selling children charges that children were to be “cut up” for organ transplants in the U.S. and Israel. Other media ignore or dismiss organ trafficking allegations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 Jan 88</td>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td></td>
<td>Local newspapers carry ACAN-EFE wire service story that reports El Grafico charges.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 Jan 88</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>El Grafico</td>
<td>Article reports U.S. denial and lack of evidence for charges.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 Jan 88</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>L’Humanite</td>
<td>Article by Maite Pinero, author of April 14, 1987 L’Humanite article, reports latest charges; repeats allegations from early 1987.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Jan 88</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>El Grafico</td>
<td>Prints letter from Director of Treasury Police Oscar Diaz to USIS Guatemala clarifying that police have “no proof, evidence, or indication* of trafficking in Guatemalan children for organ transplants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02 Feb 88</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>La Jornada</td>
<td>Leftist paper cites Guatemalan women’s group “Ixquic” as source of allegations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09 Feb 88</td>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>Several papers</td>
<td>Local news agency and press carry Prensa Latina story, datelined Mexico City, repeating charges. Prensa Latina story cites Enfoprensa account.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 88</td>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td></td>
<td>Local news service and papers carry corrections to story.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 88</td>
<td>Congo</td>
<td>Panorama</td>
<td>Local Novosti newsletter cites statement by Guatemalan women’s organization made in Mexico as source for allegations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Feb 88</td>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>Al Bayane</td>
<td>Communist Party paper reports El Grafico charges, claiming that it has published no more information on issue. Article claims it has become routine for “babies to be assassinated on surgical tables so that their eyes and kidneys could</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>COUNTRY</td>
<td>SOURCE</td>
<td>NOTES/COMMENTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Feb 88</td>
<td>Guatemala, Local</td>
<td>Guatemala, Local media</td>
<td>Guatemalan TV and Honduran press carry Panama-datelined ACAN-EFE report that “Codehuca” organization has repeated allegations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>media</td>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Feb 88</td>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>Bangladesh Ittefaq</td>
<td>Country’s largest vernacular daily paper deplores disinformation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
False allegations of U.S. development and use of biological weapons have circulated in the Soviet press since the Korean War. In April 1987, this disinformation campaign was reinvigorated, in connection with the 15th anniversary of the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention (BWC) of 1972, with articles accusing the United States of manufacturing biological weapons in violation of the treaty appearing in Krasnaya Zvesda, Soviet Youth, Selskaya Zhizn, Novosti, TASS, and other Soviet media outlets.

One of the reasons for the Soviet disinformation campaign may be to deflect attention from Soviet biological warfare activities. Although the United States is observing the BWC, the President’s March 10, 1987 report on “Soviet Noncompliance with Arms Control Agreements” concludes that “the Soviet Union has maintained an offensive biological warfare program and capability in violation of its legal obligations” under the treaty. The 1987 edition of Soviet Military Power states that, “In addition to anthrax, we believe the Soviets have developed tularemia, plague, and cholera for biological warfare (BW) purposes, as well as botulinum toxin, enterotoxin, and mycotoxins.”

FACTS: The United States is in full compliance with the 1972 BWC, which prohibits the development, production, and stockpiling, of biological and toxin weapons. The United States unilaterally renounced biological warfare in 1969, and toxin warfare in 1970, and destroyed its stocks of weapons and agents, maintaining only a greatly reduced program aimed at developing defenses against these weapons.

ASSASSINATIONS

A standard Soviet disinformation technique is to accuse the United States of assassinating political leaders and other prominent public figures who die violently. One of the most recent cases involves Soviet charges of U.S. complicity in the assassination of Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme. There is no truth whatsoever to this outrageous, malicious allegation.

In January 1987, Soviet TV broadcast an hour-length film, “Why Did They Kill Olof Palme?” which insinuates that the U.S. government, in particular, the CIA, was behind Palme’s murder. In the film, one Soviet TV commentator inquires, “Why was Olof Palme killed?” Another commentator answers: “Threads of conspiracy lead to the CIA.” This disinformation was repeated in the April 13, 1987 issue of the Peruvian Marxist newspaper LA Voz, in the October 30, 1987 issue of the Soviet newspaper Sovetskaya Rossiya, and, most recently on Moscow television on February 9, 1988.
FORGERIES

Characteristics of Soviet Forgeries

Forgeries have long been a staple tool of Soviet active measures operations. They are produced by Service A of the KGB’s First Chief Directorate. Forgeries attributable to the Soviet bloc can be distinguished from the efforts of individual forgers by the following telltale characteristics.

Soviet-produced forgeries commonly use official letterheads of the U.S. government or other organizations, and frequently carry security classifications. An intelligence organization like the KGB is able to procure a great many official forms, letterheads, official signatures, and so on, which can be used to construct a forgery using “cut-and-paste techniques. It is known that the Soviet bloc countries make an assiduous effort to collect such material.

The use of security classifications is common because it enhances the believability and sensationalistic appeal of forgeries. Unclassified but “confidential” correspondence between high-ranking or influential individuals has a similar appeal.

Soviet forgeries typically surface as copies of the purported documents, not as originals. The use of photocopies makes the job of the forger easier, as it enables him to utilize “cut-and-paste” techniques with official U.S. government or other forms. It also makes it impossible to do a pen and ink analysis of the original. Similarly, Soviet forgeries are often out-of-focus or smaller than full size, which also impedes forensic analysis.

Typically, the forgeries are surfaced anonymously, for example, through the mail in an envelope with no return address, so that Soviet direct involvement is not risked. No payment is requested for the information allegedly revealed by the forgery, a common motive for individual forgers.

The question of “who benefits” from the forgery is key. The content of Soviet forgeries is typically such that if they were believed, the targets of the forgery would be inclined to act in a way that is contrary to U.S. interests.

Finally, the accusations in Soviet-produced forgeries are often either vague or related to supposedly secret matters, which makes it more difficult for rebuttals by the U.S. government to remove all doubt in the minds of those who may be inclined to be give credence to the forgery.
Silent Forgeries

There are two basic types of Soviet forgeries -- one that is intended for public disclosure and replay in the media, and the second, so-called “silent forgeries,” that are intended to be seen only by the influential individuals who receive them.

Silent forgeries are covert acts of disinformation designed to exacerbate relations between the United States and foreign government or opinion makers. Since the forgery is not revealed to the press, if it is believed by the recipient, the target of the forgery may have no chance to rebut the allegations made against him. The only observable result may be a strain in relations, with an unknown cause. Because of their secret nature, it is virtually impossible to gauge the extent and impact of Soviet “silent forgeries,” although some are occasionally exposed.

Recent Forgery Activity

In 1980, the Central Intelligence Agency reported that during the preceding 23 years, the United States had identified more than 140 forgery operations against the United States that it and State Department analysts judged to be of Soviet bloc origin. The number of observed forgeries doubled in the late 1970s and increased again in the 1980s. During-the era of “glasnost;” the U.S. government is aware of forgeries believed to be of Soviet origin that have surfaced at an average rate of approximately 10-15 per year.

Some forgeries that have surfaced recently include:


0 A purported statement on SDI by Secretary of Defense Weinberger to a “confidential” Defense Department meeting falsely said to have occurred on November 25, 1983. This document was originally given to a West German journalist who asked U.S. officials to verify its authenticity. U.S. Ambassador to Bonn Richard Burt publicized the forgery on July 29, 1986, in an interview with the West German daily Bild Zeitung.

0 A forged letter to U.S. Senator David Durenberger from Herbert Romerstein, USIA Coordinator for Countering Soviet Active Measures, describing an alleged USIA campaign to exacerbate negative press coverage in Europe of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident in the USSR. This was sent to the Washington Post and U.S. News and World Report in August 1986 and reported as a forgery in the Washington Post on August 19, 1986.
A purported Zairian national intelligence service memorandum linking U.S. embassy personnel in Zaire to four commando training camps for Zairian, Tanzanian, Angolan, Sudanese, and Uganda dissidents. This forgery first appeared in Africa Concord magazine on April 28, 1987 and was also featured in the Winter/Spring 1987 issue of the left-wing U.S. magazine Breakthrough: Journal of the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee.

A bogus U.S. State Department cable informing U.S. officials that the Turkish Cypriots intended to issue a unilateral declaration of independence (they did so on November 15, 1983) and implying advance notice of the declaration. The text of the purported cable was published by the Athens daily I Proti on April 6, 1987. The newspaper is owned and managed by the pro-Moscow communist party of Greece.

A forged memorandum from President Reagan to the Secretaries of State and Defense and Director of the Central Intelligence Agency urging the establishment of “Inter-American Permanent Peace Forces” in Latin America. This document was made available anonymously to officials in a Latin American country. Its existence was first publicly revealed at a press conference at the State Department on June 2, 1987.

An alleged letter from former CIA Director William Casey to Heritage Foundation president Edwin Feulner, thanking Heritage for a study that supposedly had been helpful in alleged CIA plans to undermine Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. The forgery first surfaced in the August 1, 1987 issue of the Indian newspaper Blitz, which a former KGB official has described as having “close ties with Soviet intelligence.”

A forged letter from Assistant Secretary of State Edward Fox to Senator Jesse Helms, alleging U.S. interest in trying to evade the provisions of the Panama Canal Treaty. This surfaced in the October 1 issue of a Venezuelan newsletter, Reporte Privado.

In the case of the Chernobyl/USIA forgery, Soviet bloc involvement is known. This forgery was created from a copy of an authentic letter written by Mr. Romerstein, which was uniquely marked, that he had given to a Czechoslovak diplomat, Vaclaw Zluva. After the forgery appeared, with the copy of Romerstein’s signature and the unique markings, Mr. Romerstein confronted Mr. Zluva and Zluva admitted sending the letter he had received from Mr. Romerstein to Prague.

The other forgeries listed above fit the general pattern associated with past forgeries that are known to be of Soviet-bloc origin. The first six forgeries are analyzed in greater detail in the
August 1987 State Department report Soviet Influence Activities: A Re-part on Active Measures and Disinformation, 1986-1987. Copies of the alleged NSC memorandum, Weinberger speech, USIA letter; and Reagan memorandum are included at the end of this section.

The Casey-Feulner Letter Forgery

On July 28, 1987, the August 1 issue of the Indian English-language weekly Blitz ran a front page story “CIA Dagger Behind Plot to Oust Rajiv,” which relied on a supposed letter from former CIA Director Casey to Heritage Foundation president Edwin Feulner, Jr. as the main evidence for its story. The letter is a forgery, apparently of Soviet origin.

Blitz has been described by a Soviet defector, Aleksandr Kaznacheev, as having “close ties with Soviet intelligence.” In his 1962 book, Inside a Soviet Embassy, Kaznacheev reported how Soviet intelligence planted a forged letter purportedly from a Cambodian opposition figure in Blitz in 1960.19

In addition to the surfacing of the forgery in Blitz and its anti-American content, the subsequent pick-up and replay of the article by Soviet media and news services fits the typical pattern associated with a Soviet disinformation campaign.

As for the factual issues involved, the purported Heritage report to which the forged letter refers, “The Rajiv Gandhi Dilemma: A Policy Framework for Tomorrow,” does not exist. The Heritage Foundation issued a statement on July 29 saying that it never produced any such report, nor received any such letter from Mr. Casey. A CIA spokesman also said, on July 28, that no such letter had been sent by Mr. Casey.

Despite these denials, TASS ran a story on August 1 citing the Blitz story and alleging that the CIA was trying to overthrow Prime Minister Gandhi.

The August 8 issue of Blitz (published on August 5) ridiculed U.S. denials and printed what it claimed was the complete text of the alleged Casey/Feulner letter, now with a handwritten note purportedly signed by Edwin Feulner in the margin (see attached article). The Heritage Foundation examined a copy of the article and confirmed that the note was not in Dr. Feulner’s handwriting.

Both forgeries are also identifiable by their poor use of English, and mistakes in format and style. For example, the letter would have been addressed to Dr., not Mr. Feulner; the date on the first forgery is on the same line as the address; Dr. Feulner would have been addressed as “Ed,” not “Edwin,” and so on.
Nevertheless, the letter has been cited by TASS, Pravda, and Krasnaya Zvesda as if it were a real document. It has also had an impact in India. Some elements of the Indian press and some members of the ruling Congress-I party, including Prime Minister Gandhi himself, have pointed to it as evidence that outside forces are interested in destabilizing India. The Blitz allegations have been reported in several other countries as well.

The controversy touched off by the forgery also led to a violent demonstration against the USIS office in Calcutta. Although many Soviet forgeries may damage U.S. interests, they usually do not pose a direct threat to U.S. lives. This forgery did, however. Fortunately, the attack against the USIS facility occurred on a Sunday and no individuals were harmed, but the potential for loss of life existed.

In late 1979, a similar Soviet disinformation effort led to the death of a U.S. serviceman. In that case, Soviet agents spread the false rumor that the United States was behind the seizure of the Grand Mosque of Mecca, which occurred at that time. A report on a Pakistani radio station repeating these rumors resulted in a riot that culminated in the burning of the U.S. embassy in Islamabad, in which an American was killed.

The Ed Fox Forgery

In late September 1987, a forged letter purportedly from Assistant Secretary of State J. Edward Fox to Senator Jesse Helms surfaced in Reporte Privado, a periodical in Venezuela. The forged document alleges the State Department wishes a “prolongation of the U.S. military presence in the Panama Canal area till [sic] well after the year 2000.” The English may not have been perfect, but the forgery was well designed to exacerbate U.S.-Panamanian relations.

Prensa Latina reported the story from Caracas and it was picked up by a Communist Party daily La Hora, in Uruguay. A facsimile of the forgery also began circulating shortly thereafter in Panama. It also surfaced in England, where it appeared in a Spanish-language newspaper.
COPIES OF RECENT FORGERIES

1) Alleged National Security Council memorandum
2) Forged Weinberger speech
3) Fake USIA letter
4) Bogus Reagan memorandum
5) Phony Casey-Feulner letters, with press articles reporting on them
6) Forged Ed Fox letter
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
MEMORANDUM FORGERY
The attached is a copy of a summary paper on U.S. foreign policy approved by the National Security Council in February, 1985.

- 1985-1988

to safeguard peace maintain superior interdiction of

security requires a could give us firm mitigate exploitation al potential of our e Free World must be Soviet expansionism.

istration, the world in our favor. This economic and the lost their social

- from, and their expansionism is maintained only by their military power. By contrast, our own performance has been one of spectacular growth.

It is in the interest of the United States to deny the Soviets the prospect of future prosperity under Communism by taking advantage of Western technological achievements. Our attitude in this respect might be modified only if the Soviet Union gave convincing proofs that it was changing its international behavior. In view of long-standing Communist claims to world domination, such a change is highly improbable. Therefore, active opposition to Communism must continue to be the long-term policy of this Administration.
SUBJECT: U.S. Strategy in Foreign Policy, 1985-1988

The supreme aim of U.S. foreign policy is to safeguard peace through strength. To that end, we must maintain superior military capability to ensure successful interdiction of Communist expansion.

Strategic Domination and the Soviet Union

An effective guarantee of U.S. national security requires a system of military-political blocs which would give us firm control of strategic raw materials and facilitate exploitation of the economic, scientific and technological potential of our allies. The policies of all nations of the Free World must be closely coordinated in rigid opposition to Soviet expansionism.

During the first term of the present Administration, the world balance of power has swung significantly in our favor. This is due, in part, to Soviet backwardness in economic and technological performance. The Soviets have lost their social and political appeal, and their expansionism is maintained only by their military power. By contrast, our own performance has been one of spectacular growth.

It is in the interest of the United States to deny the Soviets the prospect of future prosperity under Communism by taking advantage of Western technological achievements. Our attitude in this respect might be modified only if the Soviet Union gave convincing proofs that it was changing its international behavior. In view of long-standing Communist claims to world domination, such a change is highly improbable. Therefore, active opposition to Communism must continue to be the long-term policy of this Administration.
In pursuit of that policy, strong measures must be taken to undermine and weaken Soviet influence wherever it is seen to operate. Nations of the Free World should be encouraged to heighten awareness of, and opposition to, Soviet subversion. States affected by Soviet behavior should毫不犹豫地 apply the appropriate economic sanctions and political reprisals.

Strategic superiority is a key element of U.S. security, and our lead in strategic weapons must be maintained. Priority must be given to vigorous development of new generations of weapons systems rather than to strategic parity or to so-called "strategic stability." It must be kept in mind that progress in military technology may suggest the feasibility of, or even demand, a pre-emptive strike. Our strategic doctrines and technological initiatives should pay due regard to such a possibility, while at the same time guaranteeing a reliable defense of U.S. territory.

A pre-emptive strike, coupled with guidance, communications and intelligence systems of high sophistication, would guarantee our security to a degree which would permit us to exert severe pressure on the Soviet Union, to the point of issuing an ultimatum if necessary. In order to minimize chances of retaliatory strikes against U.S. territory, offensive actions in the European, Middle Eastern and Asian theaters must be considered.

The President's SDI should be implemented to the full in order to add space-based ballistic missile defense and anti-satellite weapons to the existing strategic nuclear arsenals. Accelerated implementation of SDI should ensure the establishment of an effective first-strike capability by the year 1995 which would mean victory in a nuclear war and survival thereafter. Further advantages to be gained by persisting with SDI are the ruinous effects on the Soviet economy which would result from any attempt to match our effort, and the deterrence of strength which it would yield to U.S. negotiators vis-à-vis their Soviet counterparts.

Negotiations on nuclear and space weapons should continue. They help to maintain our lead in arms control issues and to restrain pressures at home, from our NATO allies, the Third World and world public opinion. On the other hand, such talks should in no way curb our freedom to develop new weapons systems. If negotiations fail, responsibility must be shifted on to the Soviets alone. Our allies must be persuaded to accept our view that the Soviets have already breached SALT II and the ABM Treaty.

The Soviet Union should be exposed to the Free World as a constant offender against standard international behavior and against the human rights of their own peoples. It should be
forced to permit free emigration for Jews, Christians and peoples of the oppressed minorities. We are responsible to history for the elimination of the menace represented by the Soviet Empire.

Central Europe

The time has come to reassess our attitude to the situation in Europe which emerged as the result of the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences. The decisions adopted at the conferences are symbolic of a past which must be rethought for the sake of a free world in the future.

We must exert growing pressure on the Soviet Union to grant its satellites more independence and free initiative in both domestic and foreign affairs. This should encourage increasing restlessness among the East Europeans, the widening of fissures in the communist community and, ultimately, fragmentation of the Warsaw Pact.

We should use our considerable political and economic leverage to advance this strategy. There is a tendency in the Warsaw Pact countries for greater autonomy and pluralism in Central Europe which should be encouraged by using the appeal of Western material and spiritual values. Soviet difficulties can be significantly increased by enlargement of the list of trade restrictions on strategic items and sophisticated technology, and by reduction of the flow of Western credits to Moscow and its allies. Soviet difficulties could be compounded by intensification of the arms race which, by diverting resources from consumer-orientated industries, must increase dissatisfaction throughout the Soviet bloc, thus reinforcing the wish for economic ties with the West and speeding the destabilization of the Warsaw Pact.

These economic pressures must be carefully reinforced by vigorous political insistence on the compliance with all international agreements on human rights, such as the 1975 Helsinki Final Act and the U.N. Declaration on Human Rights.

Western Europe

It is an axiom of American policy that Soviet domination of Western Europe would constitute a fatal danger to the United States. At the same time, the Administration has grave reservations on the emergence of Western Europe as a new force which might develop political, economic and military policies conflicting with those of the United States.

Western Europe must realize that the Soviet military threat can be met only by the integrated power of NATO. The U.S. deployment of new intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF)
in Europe is a reliable protective shield against any Soviet policy of intimidation. It also serves as a vital positive factor in preserving the unity of the Western alliance by stimulating the readiness of our allies, particularly the non-nuclear nations, to conform to U.S. policies. This constitutes a powerful rationale for implementing the project for deploying American INF in Europe.

The nations of NATO seek a common objective, but their interests are not identical. The most striking difference lies in the global nature of American interests while those of Europe are mainly of more modest regional scope. For that very reason, the United States must resolutely insist on its leading role in NATO. Any strengthening of centrifugal forces within NATO would present grave dangers for the Free World. We must seek maximum support from our Western allies in all aspects of East-West relations, especially in the sphere of an augmented European contribution to our common defense. West European support for SDI is of the utmost importance in this respect.

The scope of NATO activity should be extended beyond Europe into the Middle East, Asia, and Southwest Asia. U.S. strategic interests require a permanent NATO military presence in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf area. Efforts should be made to establish multinational rapid deployment units under the NATO Command.

Within NATO, we should pay special attention to our relationship with West Germany. The continued division of Germany and German discontent with the situation suggest that West Germany will become America's principal ally and the vanguard of Western defense in Europe.

Reservations about NATO principles which are becoming evident in Greece, the Netherlands and Denmark, and the emergence of neo-Gaulist trends in France, are simply inadmissible. All the nations concerned should understand clearly that the guarantees of West European security are in the hands of the United States alone.

The independent attitude of the Greek leadership represents a significant danger. The infrastructure of NATO's southern flank needs to be broadened, particularly in Turkey and Cyprus. In this context, the withdrawal of U.S. bases from Greece would set a highly undesirable precedent. The Administration is entitled to expect that its European allies would join it in exerting the necessary influence on Athens. The deployment of Pershings in Turkey would help secure the southern flank.
In the same connection, political, economic and military pressures on Turkey with a view to upgrading our cooperation to the strategic level would do much to enhance the effectiveness of our policies in the Middle East and toward the Soviet Union.

At the other end of the Mediterranean, the accession of Spain and the return of France to the integrated military structure of NATO are both highly desirable goals.

Switzerland, Austria and Sweden lack the means to maintain an adequate defense. We must take measures to integrate their economic, industrial and human resources into the NATO framework in the event of critical confrontation with the East.

The levels of national discussion on nuclear-free zones, demilitarized corridors and bans on chemical weapons are reaching dangerous proportions in West European countries. We must neutralize such talk which plays into the hands of Soviet-dominated European anti-nuclear movements.

**Latin America and the Caribbean**


The basic threat to democracy in the Western hemisphere remains the Marxist regime in Cuba. Castro retains his past interest in the export of Communism and terrorism. It is unlikely that the regime will evolve in a direction satisfactory to U.S. interests or that it will be overthrown by internal forces even after Castro’s departure from the political scene. In reply, we must adopt an uncompromising stance against this breeding ground for Marxism, to the point of blockade if necessary.

An even higher priority of the present administration is the elimination of an increasingly totalitarian Nicaragua. The major destabilizing factor menacing the Sandinista government is the military threat from the Nicaraguan armed resistance. We are working to secure broad support and recognition for the Nicaraguan armed resistance by West European and Latin American governments. As a last resort, U.S. military intervention cannot be ruled out, keeping in mind the lesson of Grenada.

Repeated outbreaks of guerrilla activity in El Salvador, controlled and directed from Moscow, Managua and Havana, and incessant efforts to destabilize Guatemala necessitate an increase of military aid to friendly regimes in Central America and the strengthening of the U.S. military presence there.
The necessity of gradually involving Latin American states in
our military and political programs requires that resolute
steps be taken to ensure that Mexico, and nations which have
overthrown their military dictatorships (Brazil, Argentina,
Bolivia, Uruguay), refrain from policies inimical to our
interests. They must be made aware that the Monroe Doctrine
is still the strongest foundation for U.S. policy throughout
the hemisphere, and that the United States disposes of the
power to exert heavy economic pressure.

In recent years, the activities of the OAS have often run
counter to U.S. interests. This is a tendency which must
be curbed. The Organization should be made to accord with
our national interests, leaving the inter-American treaty
system as a whole unchanged.

As in the past, the contrast forces in the Latin American states
are likely to be our most dependable allies in the struggle
against Communism. We must maintain close relations with the
military elites and other elements with the will and ability to
promote our interests in the region. High priority must be
given to the speedy creation of mobile regional forces capable
of averting dangers to freedom and democracy and of uniting all
regional states against our common enemy.

Asia and the Pacific

Our national security and our interests in Asia are endangered
by the Soviet Union, North Korea, and Vietnam. In reply, the
Administration must implement programs for providing aid and
security to the front-line states of South Korea, Thailand and
Pakistan, for maintaining and modernizing defense facilities
in South Korea, Japan, the Philippines, and for increasing the
U.S. military presence in the Indian Ocean.

Major attention should be paid to Pakistan, our main ally in
Asia. It provides an instrument for influencing Indian domestic
and foreign policies and for channeling assistance to the freedom
fighters of Afghanistan in their efforts to block a solution
of the Afghan problem on terms agreeable to Moscow and the
present regime in Kabul. It is possible to envisage circumstances
in which Pakistan might actually become a theater of war for
the United States and its allies.

Efforts to weaken ties between India and the Communist bloc
should be continued. Our main leverage in India would be its
gradual involvement in the economic system of the West and a
more generous injection of Western capital under appropriate
guarantees. The sale of modern armaments to India by the United
States and Western Europe would help to ensure a measure of
Indian dependence on NATO.
While Pakistan is our main ally in Asia, Japan, because of its strategic position, economic might and military capabilities, is the cornerstone of our security system in Asia and the Pacific. To reinforce our potential for deterrence, the Japanese government must be pressed to agree to the deployment of stronger American forces in Japan. The growth of Japan's own military power should be closely linked to the purchase of U.S. arms and to increased financial support for the maintenance of our forces in Japan.

The concept of a Pacific Basin community could become an effective factor in strengthening our influence in Asia. The first step in this direction must be support for Japan in a leading role as a political instrument. Support for this concept among non-Communist states in the Pacific, even allowing for some reservations in ASEAN, would attach them more closely to political and military plans for ensuring U.S. security interests in Asia.

A negotiated settlement of the Cambodian problem between Vietnam and ASEAN in no way corresponds with U.S. interests. ASEAN governments must be in no doubt about our attitude. Meanwhile, we must substantially raise the level of our direct assistance to anti-government groups in Cambodia.

CHINA

China is a factor which contributes to the prevention of further Soviet penetration into Asia and to the diversion of Soviet resources which might be deployed elsewhere. But we must not repeat past mistakes in overestimating China's ability to provide an effective counterbalance to Soviet policy. It will not be realistic in the foreseeable future to consider China as a potential strategic ally in view of its unpredictable political future and the absence of stable power succession procedures.

Furthermore, successful implementation of the modernization program designed by the Chinese leadership to make China a new superpower might lead to rivalry and even confrontation with the United States.

Today China plays a useful role in keeping alive the Afghan and Cambodian problems and curbing Vietnamese expansionism. It also mounts a significant challenge to Soviet influence in the Third World and in the Communist movement itself. The Administration should seek to hold China to policies corresponding with U.S. global interests.

We could acquire important leverage by the further integration of China in the economic and financial systems of the Free
World. Ultimately, we have in mind a situation when China’s trade, economic and financial relations with the industrial West become a decisive factor in the modern functioning of the Chinese economy. The transfer of advanced technology, including dual-purpose systems, should be considered as a means of securing the long-term attachment of China to Western interests, without fostering the growth of its military potential to a threatening degree.

None of this should occur at the expense of Taiwan. Adequate defense capabilities for Taiwan require modern arms systems which we should continue to supply. Our attitude is that Taiwan lies in the sphere of vital American interests, and that further concessions to China on Taiwan are unacceptable in view of those interests and of our long-term strategic goals.

The development of economic relations between China and the Soviet Union in their current form is inevitable, and it is unlikely to harm U.S. interests. But a political and ideological rapprochement between the two Communist giants, permitting them to coordinate their actions on a global scale, would be a different matter. Alongside the above-mentioned economic and military measures designed to draw China into the Western orbit, the Administrations should try to nurture the deep-rooted distrust in Sin-Soviet relations and to contribute to its growth.

The Middle East

To preserve and encourage recent favorable developments in the Middle Eastern situation, we must intensify our efforts to exclude the Soviet Union from the search for a long-term solution of the problems of the region. This implies further isolation and weakening of the radical regimes in Syria, Libya and South Yemen and the continued neutralization of the PLO as an independent political force.

The strongest measures toward the leaders of totalitarian regimes such as Libya are wholly justifiable. Nothing short of Gadafi’s assassination will bring any significant change in Libyan policies of support for international terrorism.

We must continue pursuit of constructive American initiatives and secure the consolidation of the position of Israel in the region and beyond. It is necessary to maintain and strengthen Israel’s military edge over any possible combination of Arab states. While using Israeli capabilities to support U.S. interests, we should retain some leverage over the Jerusalem government to prevent it from launching uncontrolled ventures which might result in detriment to U.S. policy.
Our approaches to the Arab states must be governed by the bilateral relationships existing between us, the overriding consideration being the interdiction of a united Arab front against Israel. Of primary importance is the diminution of Soviet influence in Damascus, and the involvement of Syria in the Camp David peace process.

The Middle East is of major strategic importance to the United States. An enhanced U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf is necessary to ensure effective control of its wealth from oil. By arousing the apprehensions of the Arab states bordering the Gulf, the Iran-Iraq war offers us favorable opportunities of making our weight felt. Special attention should be paid to the use of bases in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Oman and other Gulf states for pre-emptive operations of the Rapid Deployment Forces whenever a threat to our interests may arise.

The Soviet military presence in Afghanistan gives us a propaganda bonus which may be exploited to inflict political, economic and military damage on the Soviet Union. The invasion convincingly demonstrates Soviet expansionist aims in Asia, and gives irresistible credibility to our claim that Soviet aggression justifies the strengthening of our own military and political position in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf and even the restoration of American influence in Iran.

Africa

The main lines of U.S. policy in Africa require stable access to its mineral resources, increased investments, and support and assistance to those African regimes which share our ideals and deserve our credit.

At present, our attention is directed to the south of the continent, a region of vital interest to the United States. The policy of constructive engagement with Pretoria has justified expectations. It has ensured the stability of the regime and strengthened our position throughout the region.

The basic principles of a settlement in Namibia are threefold: the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola; the rule of representatives of all strata of society chosen on the basis of free and fair elections; the interdiction of Marxist SWAPO participation in any future administration. The United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibia is outdated and no longer reflects the actual situation or the wider interests of the Free World.
We should encourage the dialogues which the governments of Angola and Mozambique are conducting with South Africa. Solution of their problems depends on their outcome. The Administration should urge the Angolan and Mozambican leaders to adopt a more balanced and independent course. In the name of national reconciliation, they should open negotiations with opposition movements for the creation of democratic coalition governments which would win wider recognition from American and world public opinion. Meanwhile, our assistance to the opposition movements should be increased and coordinated with that of Pretoria.

An actual U.S. military presence in the Horn of Africa and East Africa is necessary now. We should contribute to the creation of a political and military alliance of Somalia, Kenya, Uganda, Sudan and Egypt to defend our common interests in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean and to isolate the Marxist regime in Ethiopia.

The United States favors strengthening the regimes of Zaire, Morocco, Liberia and Cameroon, and pursuing with them a coordinated political course on the African continent. Although the internal situation in Nigeria is unstable, the prospects for widening and strengthening the American presence there are highly favorable. We must seek to develop economic and military cooperation and to influence internal political processes, exploiting in this connection the capabilities of Nigerian emigrants.
WEINBERGER FORGERY
CONSEQUENCES OF NUCLEAR WAR. AND THAT IS THE ULTIMATE AIM OF THE SDI. THE COMPLETE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SDI PROGRAM WILL ENABLE US TO PUT AN END TO THE INTOLERABLE DEPENDENCE OF THE VERY SURVIVAL OF THIS COUNTRY ON EXTERNAL FORCES WHICH WE CANNOT CONTROL. IT WILL ALSO CONTRIBUTE TO THE UNITY OF NATO AND PREVENT THE DEVELOPMENT OF UNFAVORABLE TENDENCIES IN THE ALLIANCE.


WHEN WE SPEAK OF RESTORING AMERICA'S MIGHT AND CREATING A SAFETY FACTOR TO SECURE PEACE AND FREEDOM, WE DO NOT HAVE IN
mind a return to the American nuclear superiority of the 1950s. A return to the past is impossible. Strategic nuclear missiles do not have much additional mileage in them for serious qualitative improvement. Judging by the latest scientific discoveries, the power of a country in the 21st century will be determined not so much by its nuclear forces as by post-nuclear types of weapons based on the latest technologies and on others which will be developed in the future. Deployed at vantage points in space, they will enforce complete control over the entire Earth-Moon system. Given a sufficient resolve on the part of the Presidents and the unity of the nation, we can achieve such power.

Even today, the SDI provides the United States with a relative advantage in its confrontation with the Soviet Union. The Soviets are now facing a problem which they are incapable of solving without increased military spending and drastic changes in their defense and even civilian structures. This poses a serious threat to the stability of the communist regime. The Soviet Union, which has already pushed its military spending to the limits, will be forced to follow in our footsteps and start creating a space-based ABM system, in spite of the serious technological gap. Thus, the SDI program will enable us to influence the Soviet military buildup more effectively. The implementation of the SDI will make a decisive contribution to our ongoing
TRANSITION FROM DEFENSIVE TO OFFENSIVE EFFORTS. THE SOVIET
RULERS MUST BE LEFT IN NO DOUBT THAT THE CREATION OF A SPACE-
BASED MISSILE DEFENSE WILL GIVE THE UNITED STATES INCONTESTABLE
SUPERIORITY, INCLUDING THE ABILITY TO THREATEN THE SOVIET UNION
WITH A KNOCK-OUT BLOW. THE GUIDELINES AIMED AT PREVENTING THE
EXPANSION AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE SOVIET EMPIRE WILL AT LAST
RECEIVE SUBSTANCE. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE GUIDELINES HAS
ALWAYS BEEN ONE OF OUR MAJOR GOALS IN THE FIELD OF NATIONAL
SECURITY. WE SHALL BE IN A POSITION TO COERCER THE SOVIET UNION
TO BEHAVE IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA AND MAKE A PRACTICAL
CONTRIBUTION TO THE LIBERATION OF ALL THE NATIONS ENSLAVED
BY COMMUNIST TOTALITARIANISM, INCLUDING, POSSIBLY, EVEN THE
RUSSIANS THEMSELVES.

MEANWHILE, THE SDI PROGRAM MUST NOT DETRACT FROM OUR EFFORTS
IN THE FIELD OF OFFENSIVE NUCLEAR ARMS AND IN MAINTAINING OUR
MILITARY FORCES AT A HIGH LEVEL OF EFFICIENCY.

OUR SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS MUST VIGOROUSLY PURSUE IMPORTANT
NEW TECHNOLOGIES SO THAT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SDI WOULD
RESULT IN TECHNOLOGICAL BREAKTHROUGHS. OTHERWISE, WE SHALL FACE
THE DANGER OF LONG-TERM STAGNATION OF THE ECONOMY, A SHARP GROWTH
IN BANKRUPTCIES AND IN UNEMPLOYMENT.
The SDI will be a booster for the American economy over the forthcoming decades, a guarantee that U.S. corporations will keep their lead in technology and consequently remain ahead of their rivals.

Only in this way can the United States maintain and strengthen its leading role in the world.
FORGERY

April 29, 1986

Senator David Durenberger
375 RSOB
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Durenberger:

Now that there is conclusive evidence that a reign of a Chernobyl nuclear power plant reactor produced a considerable quantity of radioactive fallout, we have a chance to utilize this fact for propaganda purposes. Furthermore, it is good for us that Mosco has made no official statement on the event.

Therefore we suggest that following steps should be taken:

- Reports should be spread by our associates in European information media giving the public the details of Chernobyl disaster;

- Number of victims should be alleged to be somewhere between 2,000 and 3,000;

- Mass evacuation of population from the 100-mile zone;

- Transport problems, shortage of various goods, chaos, and panic should also be given publicity;

- Appropriate illustrations and textual material should be provided;

- A campaign should be organized by USIA officials who should also supply the material needed.

- In view of the forthcoming Tokyo summit date should be provided for the statement on the Chernobyl disaster to be issued by the seven leaders.

- Considering the facts about the increased air pollution, our allies should be recommended to stop imports of food and other commodities from Eastern bloc.

- Our allies should be influenced so as to make a request for compensation for contamination of their territory.

We will keep you informed of any future measures.

Best regards,

[Signature]

Herbert Romerstein
REAL LETTER TO GENERAL SCHWEITZER THAT WAS USED TO CREATE THE ROMERSTEIN - DURENBERGER FORGERY
August 16, 1985

Dear General Schweitzer:

Enclosed is a copy of the forgery attributed to you. We are able to draw some conclusions at this time.

1. The copy of the forgery in our possession was placed on the desk of an Italian journalist by an unknown person. It was in a plain white envelope. This method of surfacing a forgery is a well-known Soviet technique.

2. Based on information supplied by General Schweitzer, USIS Rome was able to convince the journalist that the letter was a forgery. As a result the perpetrators were compelled to use a Guatemalan "news service" known to be associated with the Cuban-Nicaraguan-backed insurgents to provide credibility to the Italian news agency that surfaced the forgery. This revealed the Cuban-Nicaraguan hand in the forgery.

3. General Schweitzer's evidence, provided to the Italian press service, was widely distributed both by them and USIA. Thus, the facts about the forgery are now well-known. Such exposes raise the cost to the forgers.

The following are preliminary findings of an unofficial but expert forensic examination of the forgery:


2. Text: Possibly, the letterhead and the text were all printed on one machine, although it is difficult to determine from a copy. The letterhead does not appear to be "spliced" on.

3. Signature: Because the letter is a photocopy and the note provided was signed with a felt-tip pen it is difficult to say anything about the signature. However, it appears to be well executed. Lab would need several samples of the General's signature to determine such things as where he signs his name in relation to the signature bloc.

4. Comments: Based upon a cursory examination, it appears the document is an excellent forgery.

A linguistic examination of the forgery is now being done.

Lt. General Robert L. Schweitzer
Inter-American Defense Board
2600 16th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20441
I am sorry that I did not get back to you earlier on this matter. We will continue to pursue this forgery and will keep you advised as we gain additional information.

Best regards,

Herbert Romerstein
Senior Policy Officer
on Soviet Active Measures

Enclosure: Letter
Su Excelencia
Augusto Pinochet Ugarte
Presidente de la República de Chile
Cap. Genl. del Ejército
Palacio de la Moneda
Santiago

Estimado Sr. Presidente:

Me complace informar a Su Excelencia que la entrega a Chile del nuevo armamento solicitado será decidida en el más corto plazo. Me ha causado agrado el saber, a través del Sr. Hotley, que usted ha mostrado vivo interés por ampliar nuestra cooperación en el terreno militar. Estimamos su profundo conocimiento de las particularidades de la nueva situación internacional y de las iniciativas del presidente Reagan, encaminadas a fortalecer nuestra capacidad defensiva común.

Quisiera asegurar a Su Excelencia que seguiré usted contando con nuestro decidido apoyo en sus esfuerzos por fortalecer la libertad y la democracia en Chile.

Con respecto a nuestras acciones conjuntas en América Central, quisiera sugerirle la conveniencia de que las primeras unidades chilenas sean trasladadas a El Salvador y Honduras ya en marzo. Nuestros representantes en dichos países recibirán instrucciones dentro de dos semanas. Junto con su representante trataremos los demás problemas de nuestra cooperación en una de las próximas reuniones de la JIB.

Con los mejores testimonios de mi más alta consideración y estima personal hacia Su Excelencia, saluda a usted

Muy atentamente,

[Signature]

ROBERT L. SCHWEITZER
Lieutenant General, U.S. Army
Presidente

APP XV A
REAGAN MEMORANDUM FORGERY
MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
THE DIRECTOR, CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

March 10, 1963

FORGERY

The importance of Latin America in U.S. global strategy is steadily growing and adequate machinery must be created to avoid the expansionism of the Soviet Union in Latin America. We must never forget that Latin American countries are our neighbors nor that huge risks are involved in the possibility of power passing to governments liable to establish ideological and military links with the Soviet Union.

To achieve our aim it is necessary to maintain a high level and rapid qualitative development of all components of our military capability in the region, sufficient to guarantee stable logistics and the establishment of a number of defense lines. Control must be exercised over all bases, human resources, strategic raw materials, etc. It is necessary to ensure defense in vast depth in the event of a massive Russian nuclear strike.

We must lock as much of Latin America as possible in U.S. strategic policy. To this end we need a new U.S. program toward the region of which the central feature must be the establishment of Inter-American Permanent Peace Forces (PPF). The main thrust of the new program must be to encourage the assumption of increased responsibility for collective security in all Latin American countries. This involves a general renewal of good-neighborly trust in the United States.

Formation of the PPF must be realized with general consent that they be used in the event of U.S. interests in Latin America being threatened by the expansionism of Cuba and the Soviet Union or other antagonistic influences. The security of U.S. bases and other special installations in the area of U.S. bases and other special installations in the area would be the primary concern of the PPF. But they would also be required to counter all threats to U.S. security, including attempts to undermine the Inter-American system.
The PPF program would redound to the prestige of our Latin American allies. Its realization would raise their morale and foster their determination to stand up to external and internal dangers to the stability of the Hemisphere.

Establishment of the PPF is an integral part of U.S. measures to counter Communism and international terrorism. This objective must be given priority in our activity for years to come.

Ronald Reagan
TWO VERSIONS OF THE CASEY - FEULNER FORGERY
Dear Edwin:

I appreciate receiving your report, "The Rajiv Gandhi Dilemma: A Policy Framework for Tomorrow," which I have circulated to the offices concerned within the Agency. In reviewing our own channels in India and allocation of collection and analytical resources we shall bear closely in mind the issue priorities that you and your distinguished colleagues have pinpointed.

I was particularly interested in what the Foundation had to say about Gandhi's political opponents within the National Congress and among the opposition and their ability "to inflict on the wrong side at the right time." Your point that "a clever move by the opposition might bring about an avalanche of accusations against Rajiv--his inner circle and later against Rajiv himself," is right on the mark. One of my objectives is precisely to stimulate analysis of the implications for U.S. security of Gandhi's disappearance from the political scene--notably with respect to winning India away from the Russian embrace.

I commend you for the clear-cut policy formulation and your associates will turn your attention to the somewhat complex task of identifying the specific policy options that best balance the often conflicting general objectives you discuss in the paper.

Yours,

William J. Casey
OFF TO AMERICA!
WILLIAM J. CASEY

10 December 1986

Dear [Name],

I appreciate receiving your note recently. The [Name], Casual will be released soon and I want to thank you for sending along the gist of your thoughts and ideas. As you know, I am currently reviewing and refining my position on various matters. I hope to complete our discussions soon.

Yours,

[Signature]

William J. Casey

---

MRS. EDITH J. FOULJER, JR.
The Heritage Foundation
Washington, D.C. 20006

[Handwritten note: Signed by William J. Casey]
FRONT PAGES OF BLITZ WITH TWO VERSIONS
CASEY - FEULNER FORGERY
Here's proof...
FORGERY?  HERE'S FINAL PROOF

S O OURS was a "total and complete" forger, was it Mr. Ugly American?? We now give YOU THE LIE "total and complete".

We reproduce alongside, once again, the same document in full. WHY? Because, sooner or later we will find out with it the first time, the Americans unleashed a diatribe against us. As we well know they would, basing their case on such invasions as the insulting between the embassy, the plane, all this and more, though even by their own admission Casey's signature was authentic.

Lying through the teeth

Now they walk into the trap and by their own device. A trap also laid by deliberately withholding smaller parts of the document, knowing that would be encountered thereby to lie through the teeth. We reproduce here the same document with the "RECEIVED" claim of the Heritage Foundation, and with the notification made by Edwin Feulner, Jr., President of the Heritage Foundation. We challenge them to show this Feulner's handwriting is a forger!

On top left of the fully restored document is the "RECEIVED" stamp of the Heritage Foundation in capital letters. Below, the date "December 7, 1986" is stamped in smaller letters. On the right is a note by Edwin Feulner, Jr. in his own hand. It says: "Dear Sirs, I am enclosing a copy of the document attached to your letter of December 7, 1986. I hope it will be of assistance to you in your efforts to verify this material. I am available to discuss this matter further at your convenience. Please feel free to contact me at the above address."

Copy the signature

1. The alleged signature is that of the oil minister, L. P. Desai, which is correct. The letter is addressed to the oil minister. It is indeed correct.

2. The signature of the document is that of the oil minister, L. P. Desai, which is correct. The letter is addressed to the oil minister. It is indeed correct.

3. The alleged signature is that of the oil minister, L. P. Desai, which is correct. The letter is addressed to the oil minister. It is indeed correct.

4. The alleged signature is that of the oil minister, L. P. Desai, which is correct. The letter is addressed to the oil minister. It is indeed correct.

5. The alleged signature is that of the oil minister, L. P. Desai, which is correct. The letter is addressed to the oil minister. It is indeed correct.

Consistency shall be demolished

We are no more concerned with the lies of the US Embassy at New Delhi nor the attention in a column by the US State Department.

We submit this positive and incontrovertible proof of the authenticity of the case document. The copy of the letter, directed to President Ronald Reagan and of the Secretary of State, Dr. Shultz,

We charge them with a conspiracy to defraud

— R. K. KARANJIA

BLITZ

BLITZ 1-DAY SPECIAL

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi speaks to the nation on "40 Years of Freedom" through Blitz's long-run newsreel. The premier issue, which contributing its views are such eminent personalities as P. D. Kakar, President of the North America, and D. P. Mehta, Postmaster of the North America, will be on the airwaves.

NEXT WEEK
FOX - HELMS LETTER
FORGERY
Dear Senator Helms:

The State Department shares your view that when the Carter-Torrijos treaties are being renegotiated, the prolongation of the U.S. military presence in the Panama Canal area till well after the year 2000 still be brought up for discussion. The continuing power of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, the activities of the Salvadoran insurgents and the influence of communist Cuba in the region make it urgently necessary for the United States to strengthen its position in Central America.

The continuing polarization of the political forces in Panama may lead to a crisis in the country which would pose a serious threat to stability in the region. The State Department is of the opinion that in order to avoid such a situation, steps should be taken to bring about the resignation of General Noriega as Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard and to set up an interim government, consisting of sober-minded politicians and senior military officers, which will also be principal aims the promotion of the process of democratization and the safeguarding of U.S. strategic interests.

I want you to know that the importance of these problems is fully appreciated in the White House and here, in the State Department, and that effective steps will be taken to solve them.

Sincerely,

J. Edward Fox
Assistant Secretary
Legislative and Intergovernmental Affairs

The Honorable
Jesse A. Helms,
United States Senate.
FRONT GROUPS AND SOVIET “MASS ORGANIZATIONS”

Introduction

Soviet “front” organizations are ostensibly independent, non-governmental organizations (NGO’s) that, in reality, are Soviet-controlled. They function as disguised instruments-of Soviet foreign policy, and are particularly useful for influencing those wary of official Soviet initiatives.

Since the end of World War II, the Soviets have maintained a network of more than a dozen international fronts, each aimed at a particular constituency: trade unionists, youth, women, students, lawyers, journalists, peace activists, and even Christians, which they influence through the Soviet-controlled Christian Peace Conference. Each front is controlled, indirectly, by the Soviet “mass organization” that is an affiliate of the international front. These “mass organizations” are, in turn, under the direction of the International Department of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

The Soviets also utilize the “unofficial” Soviet mass organizations, friendship societies, and foreign-policy related academic institutes for direct, bilateral influence activities. They have also made a concerted effort to influence the composition and policies of newly formed international “peace” forums and groups, composed primarily of professionals, academics, prominent public figures, and businessmen, in an effort to open another influence channel to Western elites.

Recent Developments

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, a main goal of the Soviet active measures apparatus in the West was to prevent the deployment of the enhanced radiation weapon, the so-called a neutron bomb,” and NATO’s intermediate-range nuclear forces. During this era, the Soviets relied heavily on the traditional Soviet-controlled international front organizations, such as the World Peace Council, to influence events. This model worked well during the campaign against the enhanced radiation weapon, and was relied on extensively but without success during the campaign against INF deployment.

Now that the main target of Soviet active measures is SDI, the overall thrust of Soviet tactics in the West has also changed. Whereas the earlier campaigns were largely designed to inflame political sentiments in Western Europe against American weapons, current Soviet influence operations are now more soothing in tone. As one indication of this shift, Soviet “mass organizations,” which have previously exerted their influence through the Soviet-controlled international fronts, have begun to expand direct contacts with Westerners, especially Americans.
The activities of the Soviet Peace Committee (SPC) provide one example of this new trend. Yuri Zhukov, the former Chairman of the SPC said at a meeting on December 31, 1986, “the situation taking shape today worldwide in the antiwar movement calls for serious restructuring work at the Soviet Peace Committee. Whereas earlier the SPC’s activities boiled down mainly to participation in actions called by the World Peace Council,... today the SPC has acquired a much more diversified character and calls for drastically stepping up activity and raising the quality of work.” Genrikh Borovik, who replaced Zhukov as head of the SPC in March 1987, has moved rapidly in this new direction. Although he has had a lengthy and close relationship with the KGB, he has recently cultivated an image of openness and willingness to cooperate with Westerners.

U.S. government officials who have recently been in contact with other ostensibly independent Soviet “mass organizations,” such as the Committee of Youth Organizations of the USSR and the Soviet-U.S. Friendship Society, found their leaders to be remarkably open in their discussion, knowledgeable, and articulate. It was clear from discussions with them that the Soviets want broad contacts with Americans, especially conservatives. They indicated that they hoped that such contacts would enable them to convince Americans of the logic of Soviet views on SDI and disarmament.

In addition to the new approach adopted by the Soviet “mass organizations,” the traditional Soviet-controlled international fronts have adopted a much more “glasnostian” attitude. The most active Soviet international front, the World Peace Council, has tried to improve its image and appeal to a more mainstream audience by reprinting statements by U.S. government spokesmen. Other fronts are attempting to do the same. The World Federation of Democratic Youth has even published the identities of those member organizations that have opposed their officials resolutions. In the past, such groups would have been expelled; today their views are heard.

In addition to these new approaches by the “mass organizations” and the fronts, the Soviets have shown keen interest in a new type of organization that they apparently believe is well suited for present-day influence operations. In contrast to the traditional fronts, the activists of which were usually well known communists, the new groups are composed of a much broader and generally more elitist group of people. Gorbachev signaled the importance the Soviets place on these new groups in June 1987, when he told the World Congress of Women in Moscow, “professional organizations -- of scientists, doctors, former servicemen -- have now assumed ... a considerable weight on the scales of peace and war. Their competence has enabled them to become an already-unremovable factor of the present alignment of forces.”
In addition to shifts in the target, approach, and forms favored in the present era, the themes articulated by Soviet active measures practitioners to Westerners have also changed. Indeed, Soviet policymakers appear to have a keen appreciation of the ways in which Western perceptions about “glasnost” and “perestroika” can advance Soviet foreign policy goals. As Soviet Communist Party General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev told the Soviet Trade Union Congress on February 25, 1987: “the words ‘perestroika’ and ‘glasnost’ are considered everywhere abroad to be synonymous with the words ‘progress’ and ‘peace’. Gorbachev did not say that these words were synonyms, only that they were perceived this way abroad.

Gorbachev has also attempted to create the impression, on a number of occasions, that internal Soviet changes have foreign policy implications. He told the February 1987 Moscow “peace” conference, “our foreign policy is today to a greater extent than ever before determined by domestic policy...” Similarly, during his speech at the dinner for Margaret Thatcher, on March 30, 1987, Gorbachev stressed this theme, saying, “Our foreign policy today stems-directly from our domestic policy to a larger extent than ever before.”

In reality, the link between internal and external Soviet developments is far from clear. Past events have demonstrated that internal liberalization may not necessarily translate into a more benign foreign policy. For example, Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union reached a peak in 1979, the same year that Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan. Similarly, the dramatic de-Stalinization after the 20th Soviet Communist Party Congress in 1956 was followed by the invasion of Hungary, the erection of the Berlin Wall, and the emplacement of Soviet missiles in Cuba. The relationship between internal and external Soviet policy is not nearly as simple as Gorbachev has encouraged Westerners to believe.

To accommodate and direct these changes in the targets, forms, approaches, and themes of Soviet active measures undertaken in the West, corresponding changes have been made in the Soviet active measures apparatus. In an unprecedented arrangement, the top two Soviet policymakers responsible for active measures are now experts on North America, with long years of residence here. Former ambassador to Canada Aleksandr Yakovlev is a full Politburo and Secretariat member in charge of propaganda operations, and-former Soviet ambassador to the United States Anatoly Dobrynin is a CPSU Central Committee Secretary and head of the Central Committee’s International Department, which coordinates active measures with the Propaganda Department and the KGB.

In sum, in the era of glasnost, the main target for Soviet active measures undertaken in the West has become SDI and U.S. arms control positions. In designing influence operations aimed at these targets, Soviet active measures practitioners have developed new, more direct approaches to
dealing with elite groups of Westerners primarily through Soviet “mass organizations.” New themes, which the Soviets believe will be appealing to the new target audiences, have been constructed. New policymakers intimately familiar with the thought processes of these target audiences and their leading personalities have been brought to the center of power. And these new policymakers have evolved new forms for carrying out Soviet influence activities in the West that appear well-suited to the tasks of influencing U.S. defense and arms control policies.

The broad-based thrust of the new line of Soviet thinking was indicated by General Secretary Gorbachev at the 27th Soviet Communist Party Congress in February 1986, when he pointed out, “The Soviet public is prepared to go on promoting links with non-communist movements and organizations, including religious organizations, that are against war.” Gorbachev also indicated a desire to work with Western socialist parties despite the “fact that the ideological differences between the Communists and the Social Democrats are deep ....“ Indeed, the new Soviet tactics include vigorous attempts to reach out to people who, just a few years earlier, were treated by the Soviets as enemies.
COVERT MEDIA PLACEMENTS IN NIGERIA

The United States Information Service (USIS) post in Lagos, Nigeria has uncovered and documented a massive effort by the Soviets and their surrogates to covertly place Soviet and Soviet-bloc written articles in the Nigerian press. Soviet or bloc authorship is typically concealed because the articles appear either unattributed or falsely attributed, often using the by-lines of Nigerian writers to make it appear as if the opinions expressed in them are of local, rather than Soviet, origin.

In the 30-month period from mid-1985 to the end of 1987, USIS Lagos recorded more than 1,250 articles that it considered to contain misinformation or disinformation, which had been written by Soviet or Soviet-bloc press agencies and placed in the Nigerian press. Novosti was the source for most of these articles. The vast majority of the placements, more than 90 percent, were unattributed or falsely attributed.

USIS Lagos has identified 20 Nigerian and 12 non-Nigerian writers who lend their names to Novosti-produced material. In three cases, it matched two identical or largely identical articles purportedly written by different authors -- authors known to write for Novosti. After USIS Lagos reported on this phenomenon, a Nigerian newsmagazine, The Insider, exposed the practice in its November 25, 1987 issue, in an article entitled *Diplomatic Plagiarism.* It also revealed that:

Sources at the Information Section of the Soviet embassy in Lagos told The Insider that the supposed writers were in fact not the real authors of the published articles. According to an official of Novosti who wants to remain anonymous, these articles are indeed written for Novosti by Soviets. They are then distributed to Soviet embassies all over the world. Here in Lagos, said the source, the “materials are handed out” to these writers who regularly visit the information section. But they just ‘kill off’ the real authors and append their names and get them published “without editing.” “Instead of rewriting and re-editing in your own English,” the source said, “they just publish.”

The article continued:

Although our anonymous source denied fervently that these writers “are not our paid agents and are not on our payroll and are not our staff,” he admitted that they do get a “bonus” (financial) when they successfully place any of the articles in the newspapers.”

The entire mechanism of covert, paid Soviet media placements is thus revealed. USIS Lagos
reports this duplicitous dissemination of Soviet views under false pretenses has given these views greater credibility to the average Nigerian newspaper reader. It says that “it is not at all unusual to find even pro-American or well educated professionals reciting, as gospel, some of the diatribe fed to them in this manner.”

USIS Lagos also reports that the efforts of this stable of paid authors is supplemented by another group of Nigerians who are self-professed “comrades” or home-grown radicals. It says that this “red/rad” group frequently draws on Soviet-produced material in their writing.

In addition, USIS Lagos reports that:

Whenever a USIS officer visits any provincial media institution, he or she inevitably discovers a huge pile of Novosti releases stashed away in some corner or on some editorial desk. It is these reserves that are drawn upon whenever, and that can be often, the sub-editors have to fill an empty space for lack of material generated by their own employees.

USIS Lagos reports that the covert Soviet propaganda effort has not diminished in scale or intensity during the “glasnost” era. During this period, it has continued to publicize a bleak, vile image of the United States and the West:

In character and style, there has been no notable change in Soviet mis- and disinformation output from mid-1985 until now. It has been an unrelenting campaign to malign the U.S. in particular and the West in general. But, clearly the U.S. and its foreign policies/international relations have been the main target of Soviet active measures.

An attempt has been made to create an image of the U.S. as a predator living off of, and endangering the Third World. For Africa, Novosti portrays the U.S., “Zionist” Israel, “racist” South Africa and their respective secret services as the main predators. The jackals are the Savimbis and Mobutus: the weapons are IMF, the World Bank and multinational corporations including the international news services. The consequences for the Third World are staggering debts, AIDS, apartheid, environmental degradation, lack of development, abject dependency on the West, assassinations, coup d’etats and general political instability.

USIS Lagos concludes:

The daily output of Novosti has consistently and maliciously inundated the Nigerian press with misinformation about the West,
the United States in particular, and all the issues which are pertinent to Western/U.S. international interests and policies. The record that USIS has kept of bloc placement in the Nigerian press reveals an impressive, effective implementation of a plan of action employing innuendo and outright lies to influence Nigerian thinking (and eventually actions) in regard to these issues. As one Nigerian professor, who wrote on the subject of disinformation, said, “the Nigerian viewpoint on world issues, something especially crucial in the determination of how we are to realistically behave to the outside world, is missing.”

This system of covert paid media placement of Novosti and other Soviet and Soviet-bloc material also occurs in other countries. Its accusatory tone and massive scale present the West with an extremely serious and harmful informational problem that merits further serious attention.

USIS Lagos’ full report follows.
**USIS LAGOS REPORT:**
**SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES IN NIGERIA**

**Summary**

The Soviet-bloc press agencies, particularly Novosti, have placed over 1,250 articles that can be labeled mis- or disinformation in Nigerian newspapers during the last 30 months. In addition, several cases of confirmed forgeries, some originating in Nigeria, some replayed from abroad, have also appeared. All articles employed deliberate misrepresentation or outright falsehoods. Their authors play repetitively on certain interlinking topics and themes, in particular, arms control, development aid, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), multi-national corporations, AIDS, chemical and biological warfare (CBW), South Africa, Israel, and always the “nefarious” CIA plots to destabilize the Third World. The following analysis is based on a reasonably accurate and comprehensive data base of Soviet propaganda and disinformation activities maintained by the USIS post in Lagos, Nigeria since August 1985. If anything, the data recorded errs on the side of not reflecting the full extent of Soviet-bloc influence on the Nigerian press.

**Forgeries**

Forgeries have been part of Soviet active measures in Nigeria. They have included some of the “usual suspects” that appear internationally, but they have also included some that were manufactured specifically to discredit USIS in Nigeria. The former included a bogus NSC memorandum covering the spectrum of U.S. policy, described in the previous chapter on forgeries, and a forged Zairean document on commando training camps. The latter included two articles attributed to the former USIS Lagos Assistant Information Officer, Steven Smith. One article, the “Home Truth about our U.S. Military Doctrine” appeared in one of the Lagos dailies, but quick USIS action averted any additional appearances and headed off the publication of a second or any other similar forgery.

**Media Placements using Disguised Attributions**

The Nigerian press is usually rather derelict in identifying the affiliations of the authors of articles it publishes. In addition, the Novosti press agency distributes its articles on plain, non-letterhead paper, making proper attribution more difficult. Even those articles in the Nigerian press credited to authors with Soviet-sounding names are usually not identified as coming from Novosti. Only official speeches, communiques of the Soviet government, messages from the Supreme Soviet and the like are released by Novosti on letterhead paper. The vast majority, certainly over 90 percent, of the 1,250 plus placements containing mis- or disinformation that
are analyzed in this chapter appeared in unattributed [or falsely attributed] form.

This deliberate effort at hiding the source of the materials is abetted by a large, active stable of Nigerian “writers” who lend their names to Novosti-provided material, making these articles appear to be of local, rather than Soviet, origin. According to a recent article in a local newsmagazine, citing a source in the Soviet Embassy Information Office, these writers are paid a “bonus” each time one of their stories appears.

It is not difficult to spot such Novosti material. When it is published without a specific byline but rather attributed to a correspondent, a special correspondent, diplomatic correspondent or foreign correspondent, its style is a dead give-away. When the articles are published over Nigerian names, again the style makes the origin clear. In all cases where an experienced USIS officer pegged the Nigerian as a Novosti cat’s paw, this was eventually corroborated by public attribution in one or more Nigerian newspapers, but even inexperienced individuals can soon spot the characteristic Novosti style. In addition, the USIS campaign to have Nigerian editors correctly identify authors of feature stories and opinion pieces must be given at least partial credit for the public identification of 32 Novosti “writers” by Nigerian newspapers.

Principal Themes

In 1987, there were four instances of Novosti disinformation activities on the subject of AIDS. Novosti fabrications alleged the invention and manufacture of AIDS at Fort Detrick or CIA experimentations with prisoners in the United States.

Twenty of the 28 Novosti articles on Afghanistan alleged involvement by CIA mercenaries, U.S. manufacture of pens and toys that explode and maim children and other innocents, Israeli collusion in aiding the mujahadin “bandits” and/or mujahadin use of chemical weapons supplied by the U.S.

On the subject of arms control, Novosti accounted for 171 placements during the period from April 1, 1986 to March 31, 1987. These 171 articles implied that Pershing missiles were stationed in Pakistan; alleged U.S. chemical weapons and Tomahawk missiles being used by South African forces; charged that an *ethnic weapon* was being co-produced by the Israelis, South Africans and the United States; claimed that Somalia was being used as a nuclear dumping site by the United States; claimed that Third World debt was equal to and caused by U.S. defense spending and that disarmament would naturally free more funds to aid developing countries; and, most recently, after the signing of the INF treaty, implied that U.S. missiles removed from Europe would be stationed in Africa and pointed at African countries.
Third world debt, the IMF, the World Bank, MNC’s, and U.S. development aid are all targets of Soviet active measures. These economic issues and institutions have received an increasing amount of attention from the Soviet propaganda apparatus during the past two and a half years. Themes in this area are closely woven in with arms control themes. Over and over, the Soviet canard is that the United States controls and manipulates the IMF and the World Bank in order to control and manipulate the Third World, and keep it in perpetual debt, totally dependent on the West.

In Soviet-bloc press agency accounts, debts, including Nigeria’s, to Western nations or banks are depicted as “phony;” the West, in particular the United States, controls Third World oil wealth through MNC’s; MNC’s threaten the environments of Third World countries, unfairly exploit their natural resources, sell them inferior or even poisonous goods. These companies are also portrayed as the main prop of racist South Africa; U.S. development and humanitarian aid is designed to keep Third World countries dependent on the West; U.S. aid is used as blackmail; SDI is being financed solely at the expense of African development and the U.S. arms buildup is the main cause of Third World debt; even African corruption is caused by Western capitalist mores. All these themes repeatedly issue forth from the Novosti gristmill.

As a natural point of focus, the issues surrounding Southern Africa continue to receive a great deal of Novosti attention. Data compiled through April 1986 showed that Novosti accounted for about 52 percent of the anti-American articles appearing in Nigerian newspapers on this subject. The accusations were that the United States is the main supplier of arms to South Africa, that the AFL-CIO attempts to suborn South African black unions, that the United States and South Africa control 90 percent of Namibia’s minerals, that the U.S. uses MNC’s to keep Namibia in bondage, that a secret CIA report confirmed joint Israeli, South African and U.S. nuclear testing, and that the U.S. uses South African radio stations to broadcast misinformation to Zimbabwe. As late as 1986, Novosti was still spreading disinformation about former U.S. ambassador to Ghana and Nigeria Smith’s alleged CIA plot to overthrow the Rawlings government in Ghana.

How It’s Done

In mid-1985, Bruce Koch, the USIS Public Affairs Officer (PAO) in Lagos, designed a computer program to track and analyze press coverage of key issues and concerns. Only feature articles, letters to editors, editorials and opinion pieces are tracked. Regular news articles are not. The resulting USIS computer records beginning with that time show that Soviet/bloc activities to influence the Nigerian press have been intensive and extensive through the end of 1987. Bloc news agencies (the three most active being Novosti, clearly the leader; Sofia press, and the
Cubans) have had notable success in this regard. Generally, the larger circulation, more reputable federally and privately owned newspapers have not carried much bloc propaganda, but even they have periodically fallen prey to Soviet disinformation efforts.

Bloc propagandists achieve their greatest influence through a stable of paid Nigerians who allow their names to be appended to the more egregious misinformation, which is actually authored by bloc writers, mostly Soviets. Out of 32 authors who have been publicly identified in Nigerian newspapers as writing for Novosti, 20 have Nigerian names, but as a recent article on “Diplomatic Plagiarism” in a Nigerian publication revealed, the “authors” do not always write the articles to which their names are appended. Because of this duplicitous attempt to pretend to Nigerian authorship, the bloc mis-/disinformation takes on an aura of greater credibility to the average Nigerian newspaper reader. In fact, it is not at all unusual to find even pro-American or well educated professionals reciting, as gospel, some of the diatribe fed to them in this manner.

In addition to the 32 publicly identified Novosti “writers,” the Soviets frequently make use of other “writers” drawn from Nigerian academic and journalist ranks. Since 1985, Nigerian newspapers have reported that 33 other journalists have been sent to a bloc country by these countries, most for a course in journalism. This information can not be considered complete. Many more journalists have traveled to bloc countries on bloc grants during this time than have been acknowledged in the press. At least six of these 30 were given Soviet grants relating to Muslim concerns in the Soviet Union or the Afghanistan issue starting with the last quarter of 1986.

As a result of these six grants, coverage in the Nigerian press on these Soviet Muslim and the Afghanistan issues has become generally more favorable to the Soviets, and mis- and disinformation about the use of U.S. chemical weapons in Afghanistan has made its first appearance in the Nigerian press. Several of the other grantees are sub-editors, who in the Nigerian media context have considerable control over what is published in their newspapers. One other notable bloc grantee is George Izobo, the president of the Nigerian Union of Journalists (NUJ), who has had his way paid to attend several East European journalism meetings. For the past three years, Mr. Izobo has been elected vice-president of International Organization of Journalists (IOJ), a Soviet-controlled international front. He was accompanied by one of the national secretaries of NUJ to Prague and Warsaw in 1986 to sign exchange/training agreements with IOJ and PAJ respectively.

One other group of Nigerians who collaborate with the bloc news agencies are those who are self-professed “comrades” or home-grown radicals. Many in this “red/rad” group write
regularly as free lancers, and many invariably follow the bloc line on international affairs. Frequently, but not always, it is clearly evident in their written articles that they have used Novosti releases or pamphlets for their research material. These “free lancers” significantly complement the Soviet active measures campaign, having accounted for 20 or more published articles per month since mid-1985.

Whenever a USIS officer visits any provincial media institution, he or she inevitably discovers a huge pile of Novosti releases stashed away in some corner or on some editorial desk. It is these reserves that are drawn upon whenever, and that can be often, the sub-editors have to fill an empty space for lack of material generated by their own employees. Even if the Soviets were to refrain from disseminating more of the same, the material on hand in offices of Nigerian newspapers is more than sufficient to maintain Soviet active measures for several months without additional input, since much of the propaganda does not require updating.

In addition to press releases (usually 90 percent or more without Novosti attribution), Novosti distributes many magazines and booklets in Nigeria. Some of these are distributed through all 21 Nigerian university bookstores and trade union offices throughout the country; many are given out at the Soviet cultural center and many are given selectively to journalists, to graduates of bloc universities, or former recipients of bloc travel/study grants. In many cases, these publications become source materials for articles appearing in the Nigerian press.

The Soviets regularly distribute three monthlies and one weekly, and USIS has seen copies of about thirty different special Novosti booklets circulating in Nigeria. The regulars, like the unattributed Novosti press releases, misrepresent all the same themes; the specials are sometimes innocuous, covering only such things as the glories of socialism, but more often they promote the same invidious Soviet propaganda themes as the periodicals and the press releases.

One other outlet for Soviet canards is the monthly Nigerian Marxist publication, New Horizon, which regularly carries a reprint of the World Marxist Review, Problems of Peace and Socialism. We have no accurate distribution figures for this periodical, but it is circulated through all university bookstores and widely through the labor union offices, including the academic staff union of universities, to which all faculty of all higher institutions of education belong.

The Scone of Disinformation in Nigeria

In character and style, there has been no notable change in Soviet mis- and disinformation output from mid-1985 through the end of 1987. It has been an unrelenting campaign to malign the
United States in particular and the West in general. Clearly, the United States and its foreign policies and international relations have been the main target of Soviet active measures. An attempt has been made to create an image of the United States as a predator living off of, and endangering the Third World. For Africa, Novosti portrays the United States, *Zionist* Israel, “racist” South Africa and their respective secret services as the main predators. The jackals are the Savimbis and Mobutus; the weapons are the IMF, the World Bank,’ and multinational corporations including the international news services. The consequences for the Third World are staggering debts, AIDS, apartheid, environmental degradation, lack of development, abject dependency on the West, assassinations, coup d’etats and general political instability.

These anti-U.S. Scenarios and images are repeated by the bloc news agencies continuously, and since August 1985 have accounted for more than 50 percent of Soviet (Novosti) direct article placement in the Nigerian press. Quantitatively, the (Novosti) output on this image and scenario has averaged direct placements of 42 articles per month in Nigerian newspapers, but it has been as high as 87 in a month. The contribution from the Bulgarian and Cubans to the press campaign to discredit the United States has never amounted to more than 10 percent of bloc article placement.

In the case of nuclear disarmament, the Soviets have almost single-handedly made this an issue in Nigeria. There has been a steady stream of Novosti-inspired and -written articles on this subject. In the 1987 annual survey of the Nigerian press, the bloc accounted for 58 percent of the anti-American articles and for 42 percent of all articles in the Nigerian press on this subject. If one takes into account those articles that reflect Soviet influence, i.e., those indirectly attributable to bloc active measures, one finds that over 70 percent of what appears in Nigerian newspapers on arms control related issues can be traced to bloc efforts.

Monthly spot checks have been made on Soviet contributions to the Nigerian debate on the Structural Adjustment Program (A Nigerian government economic reform program), the foreign exchange market, foreign investment, and the issue of which economic system is most suitable for Nigeria. One month was a particularly active one with bloc (mostly Novosti) placement of 38 articles on economic issues in Nigerian newspapers and periodicals. The gist of these articles was: Africa is an hostage of the IMF, the MNC’s bleed the Third World, the U.S. arms build-up takes priority over aid to Africa, the West is keeping Africa in an eternal debtor’s position, U.S. development aid is used as blackmail, the United States forced oil prices down, and capitalism only benefits the West in exploiting Africa.

When USIS surveyed certain newspapers to determine how much they relied on “foreign” input to cover world issues, it was evident that, while the large privately and federally-owned newspapers are relatively free of Soviet input, bloc impact on the smaller, state-owned papers is consid-
erable. The circulation of these papers, taken as a group, exceeds that of the nationally distributed dailies. An analysis of two of these papers is instructive.

From mid-1985 to the end of 1987, 80 percent of the articles carried by Anambra state-owned “The Star” on disarmament came from Novosti, and for Rivers state-owned “The Tide” the figure was 69.5 percent. Of all the articles both newspapers carried on multinational corporations during this period, 100 percent came from Novosti. On the subject of IMF/debt issues, 60 percent of what the papers carried came from Novosti or other bloc sources. On the issue of African affairs and U.S. interests and policies, the average percentage of articles that could be attributed to bloc sources was again 60 percent during this period.

Conclusion

As egregious as Soviet disinformation and forgery activities in Nigeria may seem, these are just the tip of the proverbial iceberg of overall Soviet active measures. The daily output of Novosti has consistently and maliciously inundated the Nigerian press with misinformation about the West, the United States in particular, and all the issues which are pertinent to Western/U.S. international interests and policies. The record that USIS has kept of bloc placement in the Nigerian press reveals an impressive, effective implementation of a plan of action employing innuendo and outright lies to influence Nigerian thinking (and eventually actions) with regard to these issues. As one Nigerian professor, who wrote on the subject of disinformation, said, “the Nigerian viewpoint on world issues, something especially crucial in the determination of how we are to realistically behave to the outside world, is missing.”
SOVIET DISINFORMATION IN INDIA

The Soviet Union’s largest propaganda and disinformation operation in the non-communist world occurs in India. India has several characteristics that make it a particularly inviting target for the Soviets, and which magnify the results of Soviet efforts there. In addition to its inherent geopolitical importance, India’s status as the world’s largest democracy, its free and diversified press, with almost 21,000 newspapers and periodicals, and its prominence in the Non-Aligned Movement enhance its importance in the eyes of Soviet active measures practitioners. One reason is that when the Indian press is quoted in the Soviet Union and other countries, it lends the story a certain credibility.

As mentioned in the sections on AIDS disinformation and the Casey-Feulner letter forgery, the Soviet Union has the ability to place disinformation stories in newspapers such as the Patriot and Blitz. The pro-Soviet bias of these newspapers is well known in India, but when disinformation stories that have been planted in them are circulated by TASS or Novosti, which commonly refer to these publications as “respected” Indian newspapers, editors and readers on different continents have little chance of realizing that these publications serve as Soviet mouthpieces and are not representative of the Indian press. By utilizing the credibility the Indian press possesses abroad in this fashion, Soviet active measures undertaken in India can have a much wider impact. The AIDS disinformation campaign, for instance, was initiated by an anonymous letter to the editor that was printed in the Patriot.

USIS New Delhi’s complete report follows.
Major Disinformation Campaigns Since 1984

The following major Soviet disinformation campaigns and active measures activities have taken place in India during the last four years:

Bhopal Disaster as Result of Chemical Warfare Experimentation

In December 1984, shortly after the disaster at the Union Carbide plant in Bhopal, India, which resulted in the deaths of approximately 2,000 people and serious injury to tens of thousands, the Press Trust of India (PTI) reported that researchers from chemical warfare laboratories abroad were journeying to the city to collect data on the victims of the world’s worst gas poisoning incident. Pravda picked up the story, claiming the experts were from the United States and NATO, and were studying the effect of methyl isocyanate on humans. This version was replayed in the Indian press. The Indian head of the World Peace Council, a Soviet international front organization, then charged that Union Carbide was experimenting with methyl isocyanate as a chemical weapon. This, too, was disseminated by TASS and carried by some Indian newspapers.

Ambassador Kirkipatrick’s Alleged “Balkanization of Indian Speech

In 1983, the pro-Soviet daily Patriot printed a forged “secret” cable, initiating the “Balkanization of India” disinformation campaign. This campaign, which alleges that then U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Jeane Kirkpatrick had developed a blueprint for destabilizing India, is still replayed in the leftist press here. As the disinformation story developed, it was claimed that the cable contained the text of a speech delivered by Kirkpatrick to the annual American Conservative Political Action Conference held in Washington in February 1982. In fact, Kirkpatrick had neither delivered such a speech nor spoken at that conference. Despite incontrovertible evidence that the document was a forgery, occasional references to it still appear in an ongoing disinformation campaign in the leftist press alleging U.S. involvement in various destabilization plots and insurrections in India.

U.S. Support for Separatist Movements

Alleged U.S. support for the Khalistan (Sikh) and other separatist movements has been a major theme of Soviet disinformation for several years. Usually the United States is paired with Paki-
stan in allegedly financing, arming and training separatist groups and terrorists, although sometimes China, Canada and/or the United Kingdom are also said to be involved. The vast majority of these stories involve Sikh separatists, by far the most active such movement in India. However, other groups such as the Gorkhaland separatist movement involving ethnic Nepalese living in India and the Nagaland separatist movement on the Burmese border are sometimes alleged to be benefiting from U.S. support.

The Assassination of Indira Gandhi and Others

within hours after the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in late October 1984, Radio Moscow announced that those responsible for her murder had allegedly “received their ideological inspiration” from the CIA. Radio Moscow also claimed that the CIA was involved in the assassination of other Third World leaders, such as the Congo’s Patrice Lumumba, Chilean President Salvador Allende, and Panamanian leader General Omar Torrijos. The following day, two pro-Soviet Indian dailies, the Daily and the Patriot joined this campaign. The allegations also spread to some of the Indian vernacular press. The December 22, 1984 edition of Patriot added a new charge with a front page banner headline proclaiming “U.S. State Department Studies Mrs. Gandhi’s Death Eight Weeks Before Assassination.” The accompanying story, supposedly based on a report prepared by well-known U.S. South Asian scholar Robert Hardgrave, claimed his “CIA-sponsored study” had laid out the political scenario for Mrs. Gandhi’s murder.

Subsequently, CIA complicity in the assassination of Sweden’s Olof Palme and in attempts on the life of Rajiv Gandhi has been charged here.

U.S. Biological Warfare

AIDS: One of the nastier disinformation campaigns launched by the USSR in the last few years alleges that AIDS is the product of biological warfare experiments at Fort Detrick, Maryland. The campaign was launched on October 30, 1985 by Literaturnaya Gazeta which quoted a July 16, 1983 letter to the editor from an American scientist who wishes to remain anonymous,” which was run on the front page of the pro-Soviet Indian daily “Patriot”. The disinformation campaign did not really catch on until the late summer and early fall of 1986, when the Soviets again launched the story just prior to the Non-aligned Movement (NAM) summit in Harare, Zimbabwe. It has become a major disinformation story worldwide, although Soviet scientists have publicly disassociated themselves from it.

VAP: A joint Indo-U.S. Vaccine Action Project (VAP) aimed at developing vaccines to eradicate or control several diseases endemic in India and other Third World countries came under attack
in August 1987, when a Press Trust of India (PTI) article raised security concerns over releasing “sensitive” epidemiological information on Indians “because of its potential uses to biological warfare specialists”. The debate triggered by this disinformation story continued through November, with Government of India officials and various Indian scientists taking the lead in defending the program. Although the post has been unable to trace this particular story through any identifiable Soviet sources, the pattern, writer, and purposes served make it highly suspect as Soviet-inspired.

**Casey/Heritage Foundation Letter Forgery**

In late July 1987, the pro-Soviet anti-U.S. weekly tabloid *Blitz* carried on its front page the photostat of a letter purportedly from deceased CIA Director William Casey to the President of the Heritage Foundation praising the foundation for a report allegedly laying out a blueprint for destabilizing Rajiv Gandhi’s government. The allegations in the paper were used to divert attention from accusations of government corruption being brought by important segments of the independent press, opposition politicians and dissidents from within the ruling party itself. In the face of charges that the letter was a forgery, Blitz printed two subsequent versions of the same letter, altering some of its more obviously forged features. This forgery was so ineptly handled it is generally believed in India that it was not a Soviet campaign, although it is possible that some of the raw materials for it may have been supplied from East European sources. [An analysis of the forgery in Washington indicates that it is consistent with other known Soviet forgeries, which are often crudely done. For more details, see the chapter on “Forgeries.”]

**Subsidiary Disinformation Stories**

The following examples of articles in the press, while not representing the beginning of major disinformation campaigns, often supplement ongoing campaigns or are isolated attacks intended to damage the United States, but apparently not thought worthy of major exploitation. The list is by no means comprehensive, but merely a sampling of the many hundreds of such items that appear annually here.

### 1984

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
<th>THEME: SPECIFICS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Topic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 2</td>
<td>The Telegraph</td>
<td>Destabilization/terrorism:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 26</td>
<td>Hindustan Times</td>
<td>Chemical/Biological Warfare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 25</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>Destabilization/terrorism:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 6</td>
<td>New Age (Communist Party weekly)</td>
<td>Chemical/Biological Warfare (CBW):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 15</td>
<td>Hindustan Times</td>
<td>Destabilization:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 13</td>
<td>Punjab Kesari (Hindi-language daily)</td>
<td>Destabilization/espionage:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 16</td>
<td>Hindustan Times</td>
<td>Destabilization:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 1</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>Destabilization/assassination:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nov. 15 The Statesman, Destabilization/espionage: Amrita Bazar Alleged CIA training Centers in Patrika, and Pakistan for agents to subvert the Hindu Afghan and Indian governments.

1985

Jan. 19 Blitz Destabilization: Edward Griffin, who “guided” Prof. Hardgrave on State Department study of political situation in India if Mrs. Gandhi died, awarded “top CIA decoration”, “10,000 dollars.”

Jan. 19 Blitz Espionage/Ambassador Dean: Claims that Ambassador Dean has links with the CIA.


March 20 Patriot CIA/narcotics: Quotes from a book by a Danish journalist which alleges that CIA raises funds for counter revolutionaries by selling narcotics.

April 7 Tribune, Espionage/foreign bases: Gwadar, a Pakistani naval base, has become a major U.S. electronic listening post. Many U.S. officers in the Embassy, American Center and USAID offices are from the CIA.


June 15 Patriot, to 27 Daily, Blitz Destabilization/terrorism: Alleges suspected terrorist involvement in blowing up the Air India flight linked to the CIA.

July 13 Daily Destabilization/terrorism: CIA disinformation specialists aim to confuse Air-India crash investigation
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Newspaper/Source</th>
<th>Article/Section</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>August 13</td>
<td>Aj (Hindi-language daily)</td>
<td>Destabilization: Claims U.S. lobby involves Ecuador in supporting Khalistan (Sikh) separatist movement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 2</td>
<td>Times of India</td>
<td>Espionage: KAL 007 destroyed by Soviets was on alleged spy mission.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 21</td>
<td>Patriot, Daily</td>
<td>Destabilization/Afghanistan: CIA-sponsored “Independent Media” venture launched to bolster flagging campaign of vilification and distortion against Kabul regime and Soviet presence.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 29</td>
<td></td>
<td>Patriot Destabilization/terrorism: Ecuador acts as proxy in support of Khalistan terrorists in hope of receiving benefits from U.S.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 16</td>
<td>Blitz</td>
<td>Destabilization: Alleged report by Univ. of Pittsburg Professor Marshall Singer predicting Rajiv Gandhi’s death similar to “CIA funded Robert Hardgrave’s prediction of Indira Gandhi’s death”; seems to be “old game of situational analysis which invariably is program of action for U.S. agents or hit men.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 28</td>
<td>Nav Bharat Times, Hindi-language daily</td>
<td>Destabilization/terrorism: Multinationals headquartered in U.S. accused of financing Christian missionaries and voluntary organizations to destabilize India and carry out terrorist activities.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 14</td>
<td>Hindustan Hindi-language daily</td>
<td>Espionage: Alleged U.S. intelligence sharing with Pakistan against India.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Issue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr 5</td>
<td>Indian Express</td>
<td>Destabilization: “Established” Pakistan and American links with Sikh terrorists may also include a Chinese connection.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 8</td>
<td>Patriot</td>
<td>Espionage/terrorism: TASS - “The CIA, in collusion with the Israel secret service MOSSAD, engineered the explosion at the La Belle Disco in West Berlin.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 5</td>
<td>Nav Bharat Times</td>
<td>Destabilization: CPI(M) accuses the USG of backing separatist demands for a “Gorkhaland” homeland for the Nepalese minority in India.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 29</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>Economic/technological discrimination: Secret deal for transfer to Pakistan of advanced U.S. technology, including super computers not available to India.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 29</td>
<td></td>
<td>Espionage/destabilization/terrorism: Release here of Kunhanandan Nair’s book “Devil and His Dart”, an attack on the CIA, timed for distribution at the NAM Summit in Harare. (Nair, an Indian, is the East Berlin-based correspondent for “Blitz”, a pro-Soviet weekly tabloid from Bombay.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 16</td>
<td>Patriot</td>
<td>Destabilization: Conspiracy hatched by the U.S. in connivance with Pakistan and China to create changes in Indian policy in keeping with the demands of the U.S.-Pak-China strategic consensus.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Article</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 1</td>
<td>The Statesman, Indian Express and Patriot</td>
<td>Destabilization: Soviet Foreign Minister charges CIA’s “neoglobalist policy” supports extremists in the Punjab.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 3</td>
<td>The Statesman, Patriot</td>
<td>Human rights/terrorism: Soviet Book ‘A Drama in Jonestown CIA Crime’ - alleges that 1978 ‘Kool-Aid’ massacre was carried out by the CIA.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 12</td>
<td>Calcutta, papers, The Statesman</td>
<td>Destabilization: U.S. assistance to Pakistan used to train Sikh extremists at six camps located inside Pakistan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 26</td>
<td>Patriot</td>
<td>Destabilization: CIA fanning fundamentalism among Indian Muslims.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 6</td>
<td>Patriot</td>
<td>Human rights abuses: Moscow-datelined PTI story quoting Pravda dispatches from Mexico City accuses Americans of adopting “thousands” of Honduran children to use their body parts in organ transplants.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 17</td>
<td>Patriot</td>
<td>Destabilization/Afghanistan: U.S. is interested in keeping Afghanistan in perpetual turmoil to fulfill its imperialist designs of world domination according to a leftist Indian jurist.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 23</td>
<td>Indian Express, Patriot</td>
<td>Destabilization/Afghanistan: According to the official Afghan news agency Bakhtar, the CIA and Pakistan plan to kill Najibullah.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 16</td>
<td>News Today,</td>
<td>Destabilization/coups:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Story Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 17</td>
<td>The Hindustan</td>
<td>Coup overthrowing Bavadra government in Fiji was allegedly engineered and executed by the CIA.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 17</td>
<td>Times</td>
<td>VOA/subversion: VOA transmitter on Sri Lanka powerful enough to broadcast subversion world wide according to Sri Lankan Communist Party daily “Attha”.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 16</td>
<td>Several papers</td>
<td>Destabilization/coups: Alleged U.S. involvement in Fiji coup.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 10</td>
<td>Blitz</td>
<td>Espionage: Former U.S. Embassy political officer Paul Kreisberg accused as CIA spy.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 24</td>
<td>Several papers</td>
<td>Disinformation/destabilization: Chronology of a disinformation campaign alleging a U.S. conspiracy to disrupt the NAM Summit held Sept. 1-6 in Harare, Zimbabwe.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 22</td>
<td>Hindustan Times</td>
<td>Destabilization/Sri Lanka: According to the Sri Lankan Communist Party, the CIA has established links with Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and is assisting LTTE oppose implementation of the Indo-Sri Lankan accord.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 12</td>
<td>Blitz</td>
<td>Chemical/Biological Warfare: Cites the text of an intercepted communication from a rebel leader to allege that U.S. ‘toxic bombs’ are being used against the Kabul government.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Countering Soviet Disinformation**

**The Organizational Structure**

As the Soviet government has a long tradition of capitalizing on the diverse, easily penetrated press in India to launch anti-U.S. disinformation and propaganda campaigns often intended for world-wide audiences, USIS efforts at tracking and countering these Soviet attacks are more extensive than is usual at U.S. diplomatic missions abroad.

Actual tracking of disinformation is centered in the USIS Research Section of the Policy and Program Support Office (PPSO), and depends largely on the part-time efforts of a senior Indian employee and a second contract worker, who monitor the English-language press. Additional monitoring of various vernacular newspapers is handled by specialists in the four branch posts.
An attempt is made to review all important Soviet publications distributed in India, tracking propaganda and disinformation themes and recording violations of the “Third Country Rule” for submission to the Government of India. The “Third Country Rule” forbids diplomatic missions in India from criticizing other nations with which India has relations.

Countering Soviet disinformation directly with the media is handled through the efforts of the Country Public Affairs Officer, the Information officer, the four Branch Public Affairs Officers or by senior Indian employees on the media staffs, with backstopping from PPSO and Washington. Reporting on disinformation and propaganda is handled by the PPSO office through two Indian employees and the American section head. Some material for countering disinformation is prepared at post in the PPSO office, but most such material is supplied by Washington.

**Countermeasures Adopted by USIS India**

USIS India maintains regular contacts with the press leadership, especially with the nationally distributed independent English-language daily newspapers, which are the preferred targets of Soviet disinformation. These contacts include regular discussions of U.S. policies and frequent alerts concerning emerging disinformation themes. This has made Soviet placement of anti-U.S. disinformation much more difficult in these papers and has forced the Soviets to initiate their disinformation campaigns here in the less-credible pro-Soviet press. This complicates, but does not eliminate, their attempts to gain access to the legitimate independent press, and has forced them to do a great deal of their placement work late at night on weekends and holidays, when the more senior editorial staff are away from the papers and skeleton crews of low ranking journalists, more susceptible to enticements, are in charge. Examples of post countermeasures against Soviet disinformation include the following:

1) Hindi Language Press:

Considerable success with placement and combating disinformation has been achieved in the Hindi-language press. Because of its need for prepackaged material and the susceptibility of some papers and individual journalists to financial inducements, the Hindi press has been a fertile ground for Soviet-sponsored articles, many produced by so-called free lance Indian writers who offer the same article under different bylines to several publications. For example, during 1983 and 1984, Hindi papers carried a spate of disinformation articles released by Soviet-funded feature agencies that alleged CIA sponsorship for the troubles in the Punjab. In response, the post initiated a campaign to inform editors and owners about active Soviet sponsorship of this mate-
rial. This included personal contacts with many provincial newspapers on the same day an offensive story appeared and written denials and/or clarification to each hostile piece. A special effort was made to contact not only the senior editor, but also the real “gate keepers,” the news editor and chief sub-editors. As a consequence, most reputable Hindi publications no longer automatically carry articles they receive from free lance writers and private feature agencies, and frequently contact USIS for clarification on suspicious stories.

2) U.S. Policy Material--Press Distribution:

Regular U.S. policy material on issues of proven or potential interest to Soviet propaganda and disinformation are distributed to about 350 newspapers and periodicals, 10 news agencies and 145 key national and state government officials. In this regard, USIA’s “Soviet Propaganda Trends” service has been quite helpful in identifying possible areas of disinformation.

3) Indira Gandhi Assassination:

The Soviet attempt to blame the U.S. government for Mrs. Gandhi’s assassination proved counterproductive as independent Indian newspapers identified these allegations with the Soviet media. The Patriot’s claim that the “U.S. State Department studied Mrs. Gandhi’s death eight weeks before (her) assassination” through a “CIA-sponsored study” by South Asian specialist Robert Hardgrave was refuted as a result of USIS actually showing the misrepresented report to individual editors of major newspapers and press services. As a result, the Patriot was widely condemned, and there was editorial criticism of Soviet crassness in attempting to exploit the tragedy.

4) AIDS Disinformation Campaign:

USIS India’s counterattack against the Soviet “AIDS” disinformation campaign has clearly paid off. The campaign first surfaced in October 1985 with the Soviet publication Literaturnaya Gazeta citing an anonymous letter to the editor in New Delhi’s pro-Soviet daily Patriot of July 16, 1983 as the source of the story. Prompt action by the post at that time blocked Soviet attempts to insert the story in the respectable independent press here.

The October 1986 appearance of the story in the Sunday Express of London was the peg used to reintroduce the campaign in India. In November 1986, the Soviets managed to slip it past the weekend editorial staff at the prestigious English-language daily The Hindustan Times. The story was also carried in some of the vernacular press and a truncated version in the prestigious English-language daily The Times of India.
Predictably the pro-Soviet segment of the Indian press also carried the story. The post immediately counterattacked with personal calls on the editors of the most important daily newspapers and the two main press agencies. Additional material debunking the AIDS disinformation campaign was provided to a much wider range of media contacts. As a result of these efforts, during November 1986, three prestigious English-language dailies prominently featured editorials and analytical pieces strongly criticizing the Soviet “AIDS” disinformation efforts. A USIS telepress conference on AIDS was also widely reported and material was provided to the Government of India countering accusations that led to a parliamentary inquiry as to the origins of AIDS. In subsequent weeks, two other editorials denouncing Soviet disinformation were run. By then, the AIDS story was clearly established as a Soviet disinformation campaign in the eyes of the independent and responsible segments of the Indian press.

5) Vaccine Action Project (VAP) Disinformation Campaign:

Government of India defense of joint U.S.-Indian projects is the ideal countermeasure against disinformation campaigns aimed at disrupting Indo-U.S. cooperation. In the case of the VAP disinformation campaign, the Indian Government decided enough was at stake to warrant its investing the political capital to defend the program. The decision appears to have paid off. With the assistance of non-government scientists supportive of the research, and with some backstopping from the mission, the Indian government appears to have turned the press and public opinion around sufficiently for the program to move ahead. A joint Indo-U.S. project for the genetic control of mosquitoes in the mid-1970s was discontinued by the Government of India after a similar disinformation campaign was originated by the same source that began the attack on the VAP.

6) Casey/Heritage Foundation Letter Forgery:

Aided by extremely quick backstopping from Washington and the clumsiness of the forgery itself, USIS was able to hold a press conference exposing the Casey/Heritage Foundation disinformation ploy for what it was within twenty-four hours of its publication. This was followed up by individual calls on the editors of the major newspapers and further aided by the panicky printing of two additional altered versions of the letter by Blitz in an apparent attempt to correct errors in the original forgery and increase its credibility. Even Parliamentary debate on the subject failed to produce any further promotion of the charges in the major papers, which saw the ploy for what it was and poked fun at its perpetrators in cartoons and commentaries.
7) Adoption for Organ Transplant Disinformation:

In April, USIS intervened when a Soviet disinformation story released by Pravda and the Cuban Prensa Latina news service accusing Americans of adopting Latin American children to use their body parts in organ transplants was carried by the major Indian news agency Press Trust of India (PTI) and, subsequently, ran in several Indian newspapers. The post’s prompt intervention, relying heavily on material provided by USIA’s policy guidance office, halted the story before it could build into a major disinformation campaign. Newspapers initially taken in by the story printed the embassy denial.

Analysis of Disinformation Trends

Not surprisingly, Soviet success in placing disinformation stories in the Indian press appears to fluctuate with the state of bilateral relations between India and the United States. After each of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi’s two visits to the United States, there has been a reduction in the amount of disinformation material appearing in the independent press here, although this trend was not necessarily mirrored in pro-Soviet publications.

On the other hand, during periods of domestic political crisis the Government of India often turns to foreign scapegoats to explain away or distract attention from problems at home. Such a period occurred beginning in December 1986, when the ruling Congress (I) Party was increasingly besieged by scandals involving alleged corruption in overseas arms purchase contracts. The Party leaders reacted by blaming their problems on a “foreign hand,” allegedly attempting to politically destabilize India by unfairly damaging the reputations of leading politicians and the circle of advisors surrounding the Prime Minister. This provided an ideal atmosphere for disinformation campaigns and several were launched or pursued vigorously during this period. Some examples include the Casey/Heritage Foundation letter forgery and the attack on the Vaccine Action Project, a heating up of the AIDS disinformation campaign over the fall and winter of 1986-7, and a series of smaller disinformation attacks such as the Latin American baby adoption-for-transplant story.

In addition to fluctuations in disinformation placements corresponding to changes in the bilateral relationship, there also appears to be a general reduction in placement in the independent English-language press here. There are approximately one dozen nationally circulated English-language dailies that have a disproportionate influence on Indian elites. The sophistication of the editorial staffs and foreign correspondents employed by these newspapers is increasing. They appear more capable of recognizing disinformation attempts and are less inclined to go for the sensationalistic value of such stories regardless of their suspicious origins. As mentioned
earlier, the Soviets are now frequently reduced to attempting to make placements late at night on weekends and on holidays, when the regular editorial staff is off duty. Even these late night placements are increasingly rare and often result in reprimands for the responsible sub-editor.

There also appears to be some reduction in disinformation placements following General Secretary Gorbachev’s trip to Washington in December, although this is difficult to measure given the fall-off that naturally followed Prime Minister Gandhi’s visit in October. It is too early to tell whether or not this apparent additional reduction represents a trend or merely a temporary aberration. Certainly the major disinformation theme alleging U.S. attempts to destabilize India continues to appear, especially in the pro-Soviet press. Furthermore, an increasing Soviet propaganda attempt is being made in India to hang responsibility on the U.S. government for ending the conflict in Afghanistan by cutting off military aid to the Afghan resistance movement.

Finally, it should be noted that although the Soviets may achieve more disinformation placements in the Indian press than anywhere else in the Third World, there are almost 21,000 newspapers and periodicals published here in English and fifteen regional languages. The vast majority of these publications are independent organs playing a legitimate journalistic role in the country’s information network and they seldom or never run disinformation material. Those that consistently lend themselves to disinformation activities invariably have some link with Communist organizations, are partially financed by the USSR or have key staff members suborned by the Soviets.
THE U.S. GOVERNMENT EFFORT TO COUNTER
SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES

The Organizational Structure

U.S. government efforts to counter Soviet active measures are coordinated by the Active Measures working Group (AMWG), an interagency committee chaired by the Department of State which was established in 1981. The AMWG includes, in addition to State Department members, representatives from USIA, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Department of Defense, the Department of Justice, the National Security Council, the Defense Intelligence Agency, the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. The director of the State Department Bureau of Intelligence and Research’s Office of Active Measures Analysis and Response chairs the AMWG. Other State elements dealing with Soviet affairs are members of the group.

The AMWG provides overall guidance, publications and data, and research backstopping capabilities to posts and embassies in the field, which respond to active measures operations in their particular countries. In dealing with disinformation in the foreign media, United States Information Service (USIS) posts are the front lines of defense. The chapters describing the activities of the USIS posts in India and Nigeria give excellent, detailed examples of how USIS posts actively counter local media disinformation and active measures efforts.

Efforts to Counter Soviet Active Measures

One basic method of the AMWG is to counter Soviet active measures by exposing them. In line with this, the State Department has published and distributes in the United States, and USIA and the State Department have distributed abroad the following Foreign Affairs Notes and Special Reports dealing with active measures related subjects since 1981:

Oct 81 Forgery, Disinformation, Political Operations
Feb 82 Expulsion of Soviet Representatives from Foreign Countries, 1970-81
Apr 82 World Peace Council: Instrument of Soviet Foreign Policy
May 82 Religion in the USSR: Laws, Policy, and Propaganda
Jul 82 Soviet Active Measures: An Update
Aug 82 Moscow’s Radio Peace and Progress
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>PUBLICATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dec 82</td>
<td>Communist Clandestine Broadcasting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 83</td>
<td>Explosions of Soviet Officials Worldwide, 1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr 83</td>
<td>Soviet Active Measures: Focus on Forgeries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 83</td>
<td>The World Peace Council’s “Peace Assemblies”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 83</td>
<td>World Federation of Trade Unions: Soviet Foreign Policy Tool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 83</td>
<td>Soviet Active Measures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec 83</td>
<td>Human Rights in the USSR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul 84</td>
<td>Soviet Fronts: Women and Youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul 84</td>
<td>New Soviet Legislation Restricts Rights, Strengthens Internal Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 85</td>
<td>Expulsions of Soviets Worldwide, 1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr 85</td>
<td>Soviet Active Measures: The World Peace Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 85</td>
<td>Anatomy of an Active Measures: The Rome Embassy Cables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 85</td>
<td>Soviet Active Measures: The Christian Peace Conference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun 85</td>
<td>Soviet Active Measures: The 12th World Youth Festival in Moscow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 85</td>
<td>Soviet Use of Active Measures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec 85</td>
<td>Update: The 12th World Youth Festival in Moscow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 86</td>
<td>Expulsions of Soviets Worldwide, 1985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 86</td>
<td>Recent Anti-American Forgeries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 87</td>
<td>Expulsions of Soviet Officials, 1986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 87</td>
<td>Moscow and the Peace Movement: The Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul 87</td>
<td>Recent Anti-American Forgeries: An update</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul 87</td>
<td>The USSR’s AIDS Disinformation Campaign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 88</td>
<td>Expulsions of Soviet Officials, 1987</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the efforts of its officers in the field, USIA utilizes its full range of media and programs -- guidances and research information cabled to posts overseas, wireless file articles, press and publication packets, books, films, Worldnet television broadcasts, VOA radio broadcasts, overseas speakers, and so on to respond to and expose Soviet active measures operations.

**U.S. Versus Soviet Efforts**

In responding to disinformation, the United States has the tremendous advantage that the truth is inherently more powerful than lies. But if lies go unchallenged, they can have a damaging effect. In terms of resources devoted to responding to disinformation and active measures, the U.S. government effort to counter Soviet active measures is severely outmanned by the Soviet apparatus. First, the AMWG has only existed since 1981, whereas the modern Soviet active measures apparatus dates from 1959, when a special department for such activities was established within the KGB. Second, the Soviet active measures apparatus is several orders of magnitude larger than the U.S. government organization set up to counter it.

Each of the main Soviet organizational units responsible for directing active measures operations from Moscow, Service A of the KGB’s First Chief Directorate, the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, and the Central Committee’s Propaganda Department, have several hundred people working on active measures activities. Other Moscow personnel are also involved as well. For example, according to a statement by former CIA Director William Casey in 1985, “Novosti headquarters in Moscow contains a section of 50 KGB officers who work full time on disinformation programs.”

The organizational units in Moscow are, of course, only part of the Soviet active measures apparatus. Soviet embassies contain corresponding elements to carry out active measures operations in the field. For example, approximately half of the KGB personnel posted overseas are in line PR, which is responsible for political intelligence. Each line PR unit contains a section for active measures operations. In addition, all line PR personnel can be called upon to execute active measures tasks.

The U.S. government effort to counter these activities occurs mostly in the field. In dealing with media-related active measures and disinformation, USIS posts are the front lines of defense USIS personnel with a variety of responsibilities devote considerable time to this activity. Foreign
Service Nationals are particularly valuable for identifying disinformation stories during their normal survey of the local press. The chapters on “Soviet Disinformation in India” and “Covert Media Placements in Nigeria” describe the superb efforts of the USIS posts that devote the most resources to these tasks.

The number of Washington personnel available to provide support for State Department and USIA efforts in the field is limited. The State Department’s Office of Active Measures Analysis and Response is staffed by an office director, USIA Foreign Service Officer Donald Sheehan, and one part-time and three full-time professionals, for a total of 4-5 equivalent full-time professional positions. The United States Information Agency has two full-time officers, Herbert Romerstein, USIA Coordinator of Programs to Counter Soviet Active Measures, and Todd Leventhal, Policy Officer on Soviet Disinformation, and a secretary/research assistant dedicated to analyzing and responding to Soviet active measures and disinformation. Other USIA officers, in particular the Rapid Response officer, also provide assistance in responding to active measures activities, but the bulk of the USIA effort occurs in posts overseas, where information, press, and public affairs officers respond to problems as they arise. With limited headquarters personnel, the U.S. government effort does not come close to matching the vast Soviet commitment of resources in this area.

Budgetary Implications

The U.S. government has built a structure in the 1980s to respond to Soviet active measures and disinformation in a systematic, effective way. It has been successful in countering the AIDS campaign and much other Soviet disinformation, as the chapters on USIS activities in India and Nigeria indicate. There now is a much greater and broader awareness in USIA and in the U.S. government more generally than there was five or ten years earlier about Soviet active measures and the need to respond to them. Increased efforts in this area have led to significant improvements. U.S. government publications, overseas briefings of journalists, academics, and friendly governments, and the constant work of USIS posts have had their effect. It is now—very hard for the Soviets to have a forgery placed in a West European newspaper, as journalists have become sensitized to the extent of Soviet forgeries and how to spot them. Now, when forgeries surface in Western Europe, journalists will almost invariably contact the local USIS post in order to ascertain the authenticity of the document. There is increased awareness in the rest of the world as well.

These efforts respond only to a portion of Soviet active measures operations, however. There are many Soviet active measures activities that simply go unanswered and even unnoticed as a result of the large number of personnel engaged in such activities on the Soviet side as opposed to the much smaller number on the U.S. side. Indeed, as the U.S. government ability to monitor the
array of Soviet active measures has evolved, it has become increasingly apparent that a much greater U.S. government effort could be usefully employed to respond to the vast Soviet effort in this area.

While it is neither feasible nor necessary to match the Soviet effort on a person-for-person basis, more resources devoted to this area would have a positive impact. Present U.S. government staffing levels make it difficult to make the response we would like to the panoply of Soviet active measures directed against the United States. Given the constraints of this era of fiscal austerity, we are not now requesting more resources for USIA for this activity, but when a more favorable budgetary environment emerges, an augmentation of the U.S. effort and, in particular, the USIA effort in this area would yield many positive benefits.
FOOTNOTES


8 Congressional Report, p. 17.

9 Ibid., p. 17

10 Ibid., p. 313-315.

11 Ibid., p. 315.

12 Ibid., p. 309.

13 Ibid., p. 309.

14 Ibid., p. 21.

15 Ibid., p. 21.


20 Twentieth Century and Peace, Moscow, no. 2, 1987, p. 3.


APPENDIX:

SOVIET DISINFORMATION DURING PERIODS OF RELAXED EAST-WEST TENSION, 1959-1979

by Stephen Schwartz

prepared under contract for the USIA Office of Research
January 1988
The Purpose of this study is to examine whether Soviet disinformation activities historically have ceased during periods of relaxation in tension between the Soviet Union and the United States. A review of the record shows that one of the most remarkable aspects of the long-term relationship between the Soviet bloc, on the one hand, and the United States and its allies, on the other, consists in the continuation, during such periods, of Soviet disinformation and related activities. They have been aimed at undermining the influence of western governments, and particularly the United States, and at sowing dissension between them. The present study briefly examines some outstanding examples of this phenomenon, beginning with the 1959-1960 period, characterized by the “spirit of Camp David,” and concluding with the 1971-1979 period known as an era of “detente-”

This study concentrates on forgeries, the most obvious and damaging example of disinformation activities. The sources utilized include official U.S. government publications, information provided by Soviet-bloc defectors, and official Soviet publications. The Soviet Union has been identified as the origin either because Soviet agents adopted and used the forgery in question or because Central Intelligence Agency analysis of the forgery concluded that Moscow was the originator.

‘THE SPIRIT OF CAMP DAVID,’ 1959-60

The phase of East-West cordiality traditionally placed by historians under the rubric of Camp David begins in September 1959 with the visit of Soviet Communist Party chief Nikita Khrushchev to the U.S. The mood in the U.S. was hopeful; the common term for the relationship between the two superpowers was “dialogue,” and both public and governmental opinion in the U.S. genuinely sought evidence that the Soviets had changed since the death of Josef Stalin six years before. In propaganda terms, Party leader Khrushchev was portrayed as a “human” figure, strongly contrasted with the Stalin who had in reality been Khrushchev’s mentor. The sources of this benevolent image included Khrushchev’s attack on Stalin in the “secret speech” at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1956 as well as his somewhat bumptious, rural cultural mannerisms, which were found endearing by American media and the public. By contrast, U.S. president Dwight David Eisenhower was perceived as something of a naive bumbler, politically unsophisticated, and highly dependent on his advisers. But above all, the accent in the U.S., in Europe, and elsewhere was on hope on the belief that “the spirit of Camp David” would herald a new era in U.S.-Soviet understanding.

However, it soon became clear that in one significant area, at least, little had changed in the conduct of the Soviet Union toward the West: that is, the area of disinformation and forgeries. It was during the “Camp David” period that two of the most significant applications of this political weapon, were detected. These were the fraudulent “Sam Sary-Kellogg letter” on Cambodia and the
forged “Rockefeller document.” Both of these items illustrate central elements in the overall pattern of Soviet disinformation.

1. The “Sam Sary/Kellogg Letter,” January 16, 1960

This fake document appeared in the Indian newsweekly BLITZ on January 16, 1960. BLITZ is a leftist periodical with a long history as a source for Soviet propaganda attacks on the U.S., and the manner of its functioning was described in the late 1950s by a defected Soviet intelligence officer, Aleksandr Kaznac, as follows: “(one) of the (newspapers) most notorious by (its) close ties with the Soviet intelligence, as I. learned during my service with the KGB.” The false document, a purported letter from Cambodian political figure Sam Sary to a U.S. Embassy official named Kellogg, appeared in BLITZ under the headline “US Uses Traitor Sam Sary’s Bid to Suck Cambodia Into SEATO.” The document itself was presented as a handwritten letter from Mr. Sary to Mr. Kellogg, in English. The gist of the document was that Mr. Sary sought intervention by the U.S., Thailand, and then pro-Western South Vietnam in a conspiracy to overthrow neutralist Prince Norodom Sihanouk. Kaznacheev noted in his book INSIDE A SOVIET EMBASSY that Mr. Kellogg had left Cambodia three months before the date on which, as stated in the letter, he supposedly met with members of the anti-Sihanouk opposition. The apparent goal of this forgery was to excite suspicion within Cambodia as to the intentions of the country’s neighbors, Thailand and South Vietnam, in the context of their commitments to SEATO and the alliance with the U.S.


On February 15, 1957, the East German daily NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, official organ of the ruling Socialist Unity Party (SED), published, under the headline “Secret Rockefeller Document,” an extensive forgery presented as a private letter from Nelson A. Rockefeller to President Eisenhower. This forgery circulated throughout the world during the “Camp David” period, appearing in such media as Radio Moscow, the Soviet party organ PRA VDA and USSR news agency TASS, Radio Hanoi, the Czechoslovak domestic press, and Radio Beijing as well as the official news agency of the People’s Republic of China.

In the “letter” then-Governor Rockefeller was portrayed as the advocate of a “bolder program of aid to under-developed countries,” as a cover for what the East Germany press referred to as “supercolonialism” (“superkolonialismus.”) The “letter” was printed in its “original” typewritten form. Its obvious aim was to discredit the U.S. commitment to the removal of the old colonial powers from their involvements in Africa and Asia.

A cursory examination of the “letter” by any reasonably-literate American clearly showed its faked character. To begin with, its opening paragraph is couched in language completely inappropriate for a Republican politician addressing a President of the same party, referring to a “tiresome
discussion” supposedly held between the two men at Camp David. Secondly, the “letter* displays spelling and other usage characteristic of a writer whose native language is not American English. The words “emphasizing” and “economize” with an “s” rather than a “z,” and the word “favour” with a “u,” reflect British rather than American style. Further, selected sentences in the “letter” suggest its composition by an individual not wholly familiar with the rigorous canons of English grammar to be expected from someone of Rockefeller’s education. Finally, the blatant tone of the document’s “superkolonial” recommendations certainly indicate a spurious origin.3

The “Camp David” period ended in May 1960 when Khrushchev refused participation in-summit talks with President Eisenhower because of the U-2 overflight of Soviet territory.

THE TEST-BAN TREATY PERIOD, 1963

In the aftermath of the Cuban missile crisis of October 1962, a second period of East-West rapprochement emerged in summer 1963, with the signing of the nuclear test-ban treaty by President John F. Kennedy. The beginning of this period of optimism is often identified with a speech on U.S.-Soviet relations by President Kennedy at American University on June 10, 1963.

During the Kennedy administration, a theme that has remained a major one came to the fore in disinformation: that of the criminality of the Central Intelligence Agency and, especially, its director. As stated in a pamphlet titled SPY NO. 1, issued by Gospolitizdat, the State Publishing House for Political Literature in Moscow, in June 1963, then-CIA Director John McCone was described as “the organizer of dirty political intrigues and criminal conspiracies.”

With the assassination of President Kennedy in November 1963, and notwithstanding the hopeful attitudes expressed by both sides following the test-ban treaty signing, this theme increased in stridency, featuring the additional suggestion that the President’s murderer, Lee Oswald, was a CIA operative. Simultaneous with the death of President Kennedy, two faked issues of NEWSWEEK magazine appeared in Paris, France, laden with anti-American propaganda regarding the progress of the civil rights movement in the U.S. Aside from their covers the NEWSWEEK forgeries were obviously inauthentic -- their contents were limited to photographs and captions in a style wholly unlike that of the actual newsmagazine. The manifest goal pursued in this instance was to cast doubt on the reality of the U.S. administration’s support for civil rights.5

In a report to the House of Representatives on September 28, 1965, Rep. Melvin Price (R-IL) noted that “14 new forgeries” had appeared by the end of July 1965.6
By the time of the brief “spirit of Glassboro,” Soviet party First Secretary Khrushchev had been replaced by the team of Aleksei Kosygin and Leonid Brezhnev. Kosygin met with President Lyndon B. Johnson at Glassboro, New Jersey in the wake of the June 1967 Mideast war. It was during this period that one of the most long-lived forgeries appeared in Western Europe, namely, the “Top Secret Documents on U.S. Forces in Europe.” This melange of real and false U.S. contingency plans for war in Europe, subtitled in published form “Holocaust Again for Europe,” claims to demonstrate that “U.S. thinking is still dominated by preparation for war.” Its first appearance came in the Norwegian periodical ORIENTERING in 1967. It reappeared in London in June 1980 and subsequently.7

DETENTE, 1972-1979

The most recent era of relaxation in U.S.-Soviet relations began with the visit of President Richard M. Nixon to Moscow in 1972, and included, inter alia, the signing of both the SALT I and SALT II agreements, the latter at a meeting between Leonid Brezhnev and President Jimmy Carter at a summit in Vienna in 1979. Like the “Camp David” period, that of “detente”, as this one came to be known, was characterized by great initial hope that the Soviets would demonstrate a change in their basic attitudes toward the West. Between 1972 and 1976 a possible hiatus in forgery activities was noted by the Central Intelligence Agency. It may be that the appearance of such a diminution of “active measures” was a product of Western failure in data collection rather than an absence of Soviet actions.

Analyzing the possibility of a hiatus in terms of Soviet intentions, Professor Ladislav Bittman, a defector from Czechoslovak intelligence with an extensive knowledge of disinformation operations, has concluded that overall disinformation activities increase during periods of East-West relaxation, when Soviet operatives act to exploit the fact that the West’s guard is down. Bittman has noted that the period of continuing “detente” following the possible hiatus saw a “forgery offensive” and a campaign of general active measures against the U.S. and its allies nearly unparalleled in the data assembled by Western observers. The temporary “fall in demand” for forgeries did not lead to the shutdown of the disinformation industry. While forgeries, for example, may have declined in frequency, other disinformation practices increased.8

The following are thirteen instances in the four years ending with the 1979 invasion of Afghanistan -- the official closing event of “detente” -- that delimit the “forgery offensive.” items 1 through 3 are taken as of Soviet origin because of their adoption and use by official Soviet media, or by the testimony of Soviet defectors. Items 4 through 15 were provided to the U.S. Congress by the
Central Intelligence Agency as examples of Soviet-originated forgeries.


In January 1976, four years after the U.S. opening to the People’s Republic of China, an invented “last will and testament” supposedly from the hand of recently-deceased PRC premier Zhou Enlai appeared in the Japanese daily SANKEI SHIMBUN. SANKEI is one of the most respected newspapers in Japan, and is quite conservative. The fake will was highly convincing in that it put forward a view that was known to be characteristic of Premier Zhou, namely, a repudiation of the post-1966 “great proletarian cultural revolution.” However, it also purported to show sympathies on Zhou’s part toward reconciliation between China and the Soviet Union. The clear aims of this forgery were varied: to encourage political turmoil in China, including stimulation of anti-U.S., pro-Soviet elements, by exploiting Zhou’s great popularity, and to heighten suspicion toward China on the part of Japanese public opinion, which tends to view Soviet intentions in the region -- and particularly the possibility of a renewed Soviet-Chinese association -- with great concern. The official Soviet news agency, TASS, redistributed the article throughout the world, citing SANKEI, with its conservative reputation, as its source. KGB defector Stanislav Levchenko, who served in Japan before coming over to the West, has stated that this fraud was perpetrated by Service A of the KGB First Chief Directorate. Further, according to Levchenko the KGB-recruited editor of SANKEI responsible for placing the forgery was later promoted to a position as managing editor of the paper.


Perhaps the outstanding incident in the “forgery offensive,” in terms of its sophistication, its impact, and its continued use, as well as its utility for Western analysts, is the case of “Field Manual 30-31B,” a concoction purporting to be a U.S. military-issue manual for support to leftist terrorism. “30-31B” is claimed to be a secret supplement to two authentic military procedural guides, FM 30-31, and 30-31A. The title of the fake is “Stability Operations-Intelligence.” In form, it is a poor photocopy of a typewritten document, accompanied by a spurious letter over the signature of former Army chief of staff Gen. William C. Westmoreland. Its unarguable intention is to attribute leftist terrorism around the world to U.S. intelligence operations, with the probable dual aim of undermining U.S. prestige with foreign governments and of diverting attention from Soviet and bloc involvements with such terrorists. This point in the Soviet disinformation agenda has proven to be a major one.

“FM 30-31B” first surfaced in Thailand in September 1976, on a bulletin board at the embassy of the Philippines, along with a cover letter addressed to Philippine president Ferdinand Marcos. At this time, the leftist movement inside the Philippines was clearly dominated by
pro-Chinese elements hostile to Soviet interests. The Soviets had embarked on a process of flirtation with Marcos that years later would culminate, just before the fall of his regime, in Soviet support to his electoral campaign. However, it seems the forgery did not reach Marcos, and its application to Southeast Asia was negligible. Its main use has come in Europe, and most importantly in a nation beset by a non-ethnic, purely ideological, far-leftist terrorism: Italy. Its impact in such an environment can be impressive. Marked “TOP SECRET,” “FM 30-31B” purports to demonstrate that the U.S. military sanctions “the use of extreme leftist organization to safeguard the interests of the United States in friendly nations where communists appear close to entering the government,” according to the fake letter attributed to General Westmoreland.

In Italy in 1978, soon after “FM 30-31B” was surfaced on the European continent, the “Red Brigades” had reached the zenith of their armed offensive against the Italian state, by kidnapping and murdering Aldo Moro. Moro, a Christian Democrat politician, was the architect of an understanding with the Italian Communist Party that many believed might lead to a “grand coalition” administration of the Christian Democrats and Communists.

The medium for the appearance of “FM 30-31B” in Europe, on September 18, 1976, was the eminent Spanish daily, EL PAIS which, although considered Spain’s most prestigious media organ is characterized by a strongly critical line on U.S. foreign policy that frequently allows its use as a Soviet propaganda platform, although it seldom provides such access to domestic Spanish leftists. On September 23, 1976, an extended version of the forgery appeared in another Spanish publication, the newsweekly TRIUNFO, which had emerged in the twilight of the Franco era as a tolerated voice for the left. Fernando Gonzalez, a Spanish Communist party (PCE) member who presented the forgery in TRIUNFO, attributed its ostensible discovery to a Turkish newspaper that supposedly had been closed down for revealing its existence. Turkey, even more than Italy, was then beset by leftist terrorism in the form of Dev Yol and Dev Genc, two armed mass groupings that acquired a considerable following in the youth of the country, and fought a kind of “mini-civil war” against the Turkish right, producing many hundreds of deaths. The Turkish crisis resulted in the fall of democratic rule and a period of military dictatorship. Similar preoccupations were widespread in Spain, where it was feared that the post-Franco “transition to democracy” would be destroyed because of Basque and Maoist terrorism. The forgery than appeared in the Paris daily LE MONDE, and in the Netherlands, followed by Italy, Greece, and Portugal. As noted, it is in these countries that its effect was most pronounced: Portugal, like Italy, Turkey, and Spain, had undergone a serious terrorist experience, and Greece had long been a fertile ground for anti-American propaganda. In addition, and most importantly, most of the five “Mediterranean” republics -- Portugal, Spain, Italy,
Greece, and Turkey -- at one time or another have suffered vulnerabilities in the structure of institutionalized democracy.

(“FM 30-31B” has also surfaced in the U.S., through the gadfly publication COVERT ACTION INFORMATION BULLETIN, and has been officially sanctioned for Soviet public use in two publications as recent as 1983: INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM AND THE CIA: DOCUMENTS, EYEWITNESS REPORTS, FACTS, and Yu. Pankov, editor, POLITICAL TERRORISM: AN INDICTMENT OF IMPERIALISM. Both of these publications appear under the imprint of Progress Publishers, Moscow, in English and other non-Russian languages. In these publications, it is linked to a conspiracy against constitutional government in Italy, identified with the ultra-rightist pseudo-Masonic P-2 lodges organized under the control of one Licio, Gelli. In addition, in 1985 a forgery was detected in Italy in which the theme of U.S. involvement in the Red Brigades was reintroduced.)


On November 7, 1976, THE TIMES of London revealed the existence of a forged State department document, “Airgram A-8950,” which consists of a largely authentic document altered to support the claim that U.S. officials were pursuing a campaign of bribery and undercutting of the economic effectiveness of America’s foreign trade competitors. The bogus airgram was then adopted by the official Soviet news agency, TASS, without mention of the TIMES’s clear description of its spurious nature.


December 1976 saw the appearance of a series of forgeries aimed at disrupting the improvement of U.S. relations with the Arab Republic of Egypt. The first of these was a fake copy of the journal AMERICAN ECONOMICS, which is published by the United States Information Agency, in Athens, Greece. The content of this item was an invented speech by U.S. Treasury Undersecretary Edwin Yeo, replete with insulting remarks about Egyptian president Anwar al-Sadat.


A “second round” of forgeries aimed at poisoning U.S.-Egyptian relations surfaced in 1977. The first was a film negative of a spurious letter from U.S. Amb. H.F. Eilts, to the Saudi Arabian Ambassador to Cairo, ostensibly recommending a joint intervention policy by the U.S. and Saudi Arabia in the Sudan, Egypt’s southern neighbor. The second was a forged collection of notes supposedly by U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, containing critical statements about Sadat, King Hussein of Jordan, President Hafez al-Assad of Syria, and the leaders of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. The target area for this particular document, which was noted in April 1977, was a broader range of Arab states. The third such product, surfacing in June 1977, was another fake letter from Amb. Eilts, this time addressed to the State Department in Washington, and attacking the leadership.
President Sadat. The first Eilts forgery and the bogus Vance notes were brought to public attention through delivery to, respectively, the Sudanese embassy in Beirut and the Egyptian embassy in Rome. The second Eilts fraud was sent to Egyptian newspapers.\textsuperscript{14}


In August 1977, the Egyptian embassy in Belgrade, Yugoslavia received by mail a fake dispatch supposedly originating in the U.S. embassy in Teheran, Iran. This item purported to demonstrate that the Shah of Iran and Saudi Arabia were plotting to overthrow Sadat, with Israeli support and American acquiescence, in line with an overall U.S. strategy to install conservative regimes in the Middle East. It should be noted that while items 2 and 3 in the “forgery offensive,” namely the fraudulent field manual and airgram, reflect a high quality of editorial work in English, and although the items under 4 and 5 -- the Egyptian forgeries -- show a fairly low incidence of obvious errors, the Teheran dispatch was clearly the work of a non-English native speaker.\textsuperscript{15}


In December 1977, a fraudulent “speech” by President Jimmy Carter was mailed to a number of Greek newspapers, and published in the leading Athens daily TO VIMA as well as in the daily organ of the pro-Moscow “Exterior” faction of the Greek Communist Party, RIZOSPASTIS. The forgery contained very negative remarks about Greece along with statements calling on the Greek government to strengthen its commitment to the NATO alliance. Like item 6, the Teheran dispatch, the faults of English usage in the Carter speech clearly indicated its fabrication by a non-English speaker.\textsuperscript{16}


On March 17, 1978 then-member of the Greek parliament Andreas Papandreou, a representative of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement who is at the time of this writing prime minister of Greece, had tabled a copy of what he claimed was a September 1976 telegram from the State Department titled “Greek Turkish Dispute in the Aegean,” in which fraudulent evidence was presented for a U.S. policy in favor of Turkish claims in the area. It is not known how Papandreou came into possession of this item.\textsuperscript{17}


Toward the beginning of 1978 the Greek daily TO VIMA obtained a copy of a fabricated Defense Intelligence Agency document calling for political surveillance of 43 Greek leftwing political groupings. TO VIMA perceived the falsity of the concoction and declined to publish it. Although procedural instructions included in the document were obsolete at the time of its supposed preparation, its language was close to American English standards for such documents. In analyzing items 7 through 9, the “Greek forgeries,” it is interesting to note the range of Greek concerns
targeted by the authors of the fraudulent materials -- Greek involvement with NATO, which remains a sensitive subject in that country, Greek fear of Turkey and concern over possible internal political interference.  


In the first week of June 1978 a spurious letter from NATO Secretary General Joseph M.A. Luns, addressed to U.S. NATO Amb. W. Tapley Bennett, was received by Belgian newspapers. The intention of the forgery, as in item 9, the fake DIA collection document, was to sow suspicion regarding possible U.S. interference in the internal affairs of the target country, in this instance through the suggestion that U.S. authorities sought harassment of journalists “showing a negative attitude to the neutron bomb.” This action coincided with a worldwide Soviet-coordinated campaign against the so-called “horror bomb.” The Luns fake was published in at least two leading Dutch-language dailies, without noting its bogus character.


A fraudulent U.S. Embassy press release outlining a fabricated interview between Vice President Walter Mondale and a nonexistent “Karl Douglas” was received by Paris newspaper and news service correspondents in July 1978. The content of the fake included disrespectful remarks about Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin and Egyptian president Anwar al-Sadat. The poor English usage in the document indicated its obviously phony character.


Late in 1978 and through the beginning of the next year a spurious letter from U.S. Air Force Col. Allen P. Heard, Chief of the Foreign Liaison Division in the U.S. Department of the Air Force, addressed to Col. Armand Troquet, Belgian defense attache in Washington, was received by members of the Belgian cabinet. Errors in English usage betrayed its corrupt origin. The disinformation content of the letter purported to demonstrate the existence of a U.S. agreement with the People’s Republic of China for interference in Zaire, the former Belgian Congo.


AL-DAWA, a Cairo magazine published by the ultra-orthodox Muslim Brotherhood, published in January 1979 what it asserted was a “highly confidential” document originating with the CIA. The content of this forgery ostensibly indicated that U.S. authorities sought to combat Muslim
Brotherhood opposition to Israel-Egypt peace negotiations through bribery and intrigue. This fraud was reprinted in May-June 1979 by THE MUSLIM STANDARD, a periodical in Port of Spain, Trinidad.\textsuperscript{22}


In April 1979 a fake letter from U.S. defense attache in Rome CPT William C. Green, USN, was received by newspapers in Naples, Italy, clearly intended to associate infant deaths in the Naples region and destruction of oyster beds with storage and spillage of chemical and bacteriological war materiel at a U.S. military facility.\textsuperscript{23}


The Syrian newspaper AL-BA’TH, published by the ruling party in Damascus, on October 1, 1979, presented a third bogus letter supposedly by U.S. Amb. to Egypt H.F. Eilts. In this instance, the text purportedly consisted of a private letter to Director of Central Intelligence Stansfield Turner. The document ostensibly showed a U.S. intention to “repudiate and get rid of” Egyptian leader Sadat should he prove recalcitrant in accepting U.S. demands. The fraudulent letter also sought to demonstrate negative U.S. intentions toward the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).\textsuperscript{24}

In summary, because Marxist-Leninist ideology presumes and indeed mandates irreconcilable differences between “the two social systems,” periods of “warmth” have not brought about a cessation of hostile disinformation activities by the Soviet Union. The persisting Soviet search for advantages in Europe, Latin America, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific has made continued disinformation efforts an irresistible temptation, particularly in those eras when the climate of opinion in the West is most receptive to the view that Kremlin leaders are bent on reforming Soviet domestic and foreign policies. To use a favorite Soviet expression, “it is no accident” that it is precisely in these regions that the bulk of disinformation and forgery enterprises are detected.
FOOTNOTES

1 Alexander Kaznacheev, INSIDE A SOVIET EMBASSY, Philadelphia and New York, Lippincott, 1962, pp. 177 and ff.


5 “Soviet Covert Action (The Forgery Offensive),” Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Oversight of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, February 6, 19, 1980, pp. 190-246.

6 Price, remarks cited, p. 24479.

7 “Soviet Active Measures,” Hearings Before the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, July 13, 14, 1982, pp. 74-86.


9 “Soviet Active Measures,” hearings cited, pp. 87-88.


13 Ibid, pp. 183-144.


16 Ibid, pp. 117-121.

Works Consulted


U.S. Government Publications Consulted


***