

30 October 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR:

CI Staff

(b)(3)

FROM:

John F. Pereira
Chief, Information Management Staff

SUBJECT:

Three Articles Submitted For Approval
by Anatoly Golitsyn

The three letters as sanitized are approved by the
DO for release.

(b)(3)
(b)(6)

John F. Pereira

Attachments: 3

1. Letter to Editor of Parade Magazine
2. Letter to Mr. Joseph Douglass Jr.
re "New Lies for Old"
3. Letter to Resistance International
re "Disinformation"

cc: PRB

10100-4
1988-81

23 October 1984

Letter to the Editor of Parade Magazine

Dear Sir:

The Edward Jay Epstein article which appeared in the October 11, 1984 issue of Parade Magazine contains a number of inaccuracies which not only downgrade but actually misrepresent my contributions to the National Security of the United States and its major allies. Given your magazine's high regard for truth and accuracy, I trust that you will publish my letter in order to set the record straight.

First-I did not defect from the KGB in exchange for asylum and safe passage to the United States. I requested and was granted asylum in order to become an active participant in the struggle against communism and the KGB. Specifically my intent was to warn the United States government about the new communist political and strategic threats resulting from KGB penetrations in the western governments and further to help them in counteracting these threats. I have endeavored in this effort ever since December 1961 , despite serious obstacles and many unfortunate circumstances.

Second- I resent Mr. Epstein's opinion of the impact of my contribution on the western services. He stated,"their reactions to Golitsyn's disclosures left the secret services of three western nations in a shambles". I also resent the title which he gave to this article, "When the CIA Was Almost Wrecked". In truth, it is necessary to state that my disclosures did not damage these three major services. The damage was effected by the KGB. My disclosures should be regarded as important contributions in revealing and neutralizing the KGB penetrations in the western services. The circumstances of history and my personal knowledge of the KGB have put me in the position of a diagnostician in discovering the penetrations in these services and in the position of a doctor in helping to cure the malady. In 1962 I informed leading officials of both the CIA and the FBI of the penetrations and of disinformation problems which they were facing, such as cancer, intoxication and indigestion respectively. I gave the western services an early warning at a time when they were treating these problems as insignificant and almost non-existent. At the same time the KGB and other communist services were preparing new secret

attacks against them. Subsequent developments confirmed my predictions and warnings and for the first time penetrations and disinformation were recognized as serious problems to be confronted. The validity of my warnings about KGB penetrations was further confirmed by the numerous indications of KGB successes. As you are aware KGB penetrations have now become an almost daily occurrence as evidenced by the recent KGB recruitment of a FBI Special Agent. I have played a significant role in eliminating KGB penetrations from the services of three major western countries and in restoring their effectiveness. The extent of my contribution cannot be fully judged by outsiders or by retired intelligence officers. Only senior officers of the western intelligence services are in a position to make such a judgment. I am especially proud of my contributions and my efforts. Without them some western services would have remained penetrated and would have suffered irreparable losses including the total compromise of a number of their officers and secret agents. I am convinced that my efforts would have been much more effective, viv-a-vis the American Services had it not been for the Watergate crisis. This crisis almost wrecked both the CIA and the FBI and also resulted in the stoppage of my active and fruitful efforts to neutralize KGB penetrations in the western services. If I live long enough, I may write a book on KGB penetrations and my efforts to neutralize them much in the same vein as I did on the subject of Strategic Disinformation in my current book, "New Lies for Old".

Third- I resent Mr. Epstein blaming me for the estrangement of relations between the CIA and the FBI. The issue was much more complex. The major cause for these strained relations at the time was the calculated KGB desire and effort to bring about an estrangement and to create tension between the two services using their plants and provocateurs ~~[such as FEDORA and others]~~ ^{as part of this effort.} to aid and abet. My arrival in the United States provided the western services with an opportunity to deal effectively with these KGB plants. I offered my assistance to both agencies. Unfortunately Mr. Hoover rejected my offer. This explains why ~~[FEDORA's]~~ ^{the} exposure ^{of these plants} had to wait for another fifteen years.

Sincerely,

A. Golitsyn

23 October 1984

Mr. Joseph D. Douglass Jr.
Dir. National Sec. Div. of JAYCOR
205 South Whiting Street
Alexandria, Va. 22304

Dear Mr. Douglass Jr.:

I wish to take this opportunity to express my appreciation for your review of my book, "New Lies for Old". Your review indeed shows a genuine concern for the subject of "Strategic Disinformation " and the failure of the West to deal with it. I am impressed by your credentials and I agree that we have a common interest here. However, I am of the opinion that a discussion, at the present time, would not be very fruitful. I am presently drafting a new book which, in some ways, is an extension of "New Lies for Old". It will deal, inter alia, with the technology of disinformation. I am using my own methodology and research which will require clearance by the proper American authorities. Therefore, I would like to postpone your proposed discussion until I finish this new book.

I would like, however, to make a few comments regarding your review. I concur with your comment that the book is somewhat difficult to read. This is quite natural since the book is an academic one. In fact most books on this subject, including articles such as yours, are difficult to read. As for the structure of the book, I must explain that the original manuscript was very long consisting of three volumes. Volume one dealt with the struggle for power after the death of Stalin and the adoption of the Soviet Bloc's long range grand policy. (1953-1960.) Volume two dealt with Strategic Disinformation . Volume three discussed the Communist strategies in detail. Because of its length I compromised with my publisher to publish only the second volume as "New Lies for Old", since it was the most important subject and the least known. Since it was taken out of context, both the logic and the credibility of the book was weakened, Volume one and volume three are being held in abeyance by the publisher awaiting their chances. I am convinced, however,

that they are not only important but that they are absolutely necessary background reading in order to fully understand the subject of "Strategic Disinformaion", as described in "New Lies for Old".

As a gesture of my good will and my trust in you, I wish to state that, if you are interested in reading the two unprinted volumes, I can arrange it with the publisher to have them made available to you for reading. Unfortunately, by agreement, this would have to be effected only in the New York offices of the publisher. I do believe that such a reading would be most beneficial and it would keep our ties alive. Unfortunately, all correspondence on this matter, for security reasons, must be through the Dodd, Mead Publishing Company.

Sincerely,

A. Golitsyn
A. Golitsyn

AG/jl

16 October 1984

Resistance International
102 Avenue Des Champs Elysees
75008, Paris, France
Att. Mr. Vladmir Maximov, Executive President

Dear Mr. Maximov:

Thank you very much for your kind invitation. Unfortunately, I am unable to attend and to participate in your conference. However, as one who is very concerned with the subject of "Dis-information", I would like to take this opportunity to give you my thoughts on the subject, (attached), with a request that you make them available to the participants of the conference.

I would greatly appreciate it if you would inform me of the highlights of the conference and particularly the response of the participants to my statement.

Thanking you in advance for your consideration, I remain

Sincerely,

A. Golitsyn

Att. Statement

Mr. A. Golitsyn
c/o Dodd, Mead & Co.
79 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10016
Att. Mr. Allen Klots, Vice President

16 October 1984

A Statement By A. Golitsyn To The Participants Of The Conference
On "Disinformation In The Modern World".

Gentlemen:

I am indeed grateful for the invitation to participate in the conference on "Disinformation In The Modern World". Unfortunately I am unable to attend and personally participate. However, as a person greatly concerned about this subject, I would like to offer for your consideration several points on "Disinformation" which are particularly relevant to your organization and to the political opposition in general.

1) I am alarmed by the confusion on the subject of "Disinformation". Many people talk about it and write about it providing their own definitions of the word. I am of the opinion that these erroneous definitions and interpretations of communist disinformation are the principle causes for this wide-spread confusion. Some writers confuse disinformation with limited covert operations and political action, discounting its long range strategic connection. Others confuse it with propaganda and psychological warfare. We often speak about disinformation in general terms lumping together strategic, political, military, operational and tactical disinformation. All of this confusion in my view, can be eliminated or at least reduced, by giving a more concrete and precise definition of "Communist Strategic Disinformation". My definition of "Communist Strategic Disinformation", is as follows: "Those secret operations or activities which are conducted by the entire Communist Bloc or by a number of its members in accordance with a consistent design or a strategic plan to create favorable conditions for long range communist grand policies and strategies and to contribute to the success of these policies and strategies. The essence of such operations is an active misrepresentation of the true communist principle goals and strategies in order to accomplish them by influencing and inducing their western adversaries to contribute, albeit unwittingly, to the accomplishment of their objectives. Such active misrepresentation is performed by the concealment of true information and by the calculated distortion and

dissemination of false information sometimes detrimental to themselves and contradictory to their own propaganda. The communist components involved include the Party, Assets of its Security and Intelligence Services, the controlled political opposition, Agents of influence inside and abroad, the communist press and their agents in place in the Western Media like in Pathe in France.

2) Communist leaders including diplomats like Minister Gromyko and Ambassador Dobrynin, prominent scientists and writers all play an active role in this operation. Often the KGB and the Defense Ministries of Communist Countries, such as the USSR and China, conduct special supportive actions like faked border hostilities or public protests in front of their respective embassies.

3) The more exact definition of Strategic Disinformation, if understood, provides an opportunity to detect, to understand and to analyze concrete strategic disinformation operations and to see how they serve the strategies. Let me dwell for a few moments on these concrete strategies and try to explain them, not in academic terms as I did in my book, "New Lies For Old", but in simple pragmatic terms. There cannot be strategic disinformation in general. One must first grasp the concrete strategy and then determine what specific disinformation activities serve and contribute to the success of the strategy. For example there is the long range communist policy for developing mature socialist societies and for achieving world domination. This policy includes the military strategy of achieving the Communists Bloc's military superiority through political-diplomatic negotiations with the United States and through the receipt of western military technology by the USSR in the first phase and by China in the second phase. If one grasps this strategy one can better understand how its ultimate success is served by the disinformation regarding the Sino-Soviet split.

4) Another communist strategy is its economic strategy whereby they strive to develop their economic-technical foundation so that it is superior to that of the west. This to be accomplished with the help of western technology and with credit. It does not

require much wisdom to see that the success of the second strategy is well served by the "Romanian Independence Disinformation" and again by the Sino-Soviet Split Disinformation.

5) The European strategy is aimed at breaking up the NATO alliance and at the withdrawal of United States forces from Europe through the German reunification and European security. Taking this strategy into account one can realize how well it may be served by Ceasescu's Independence Disinformation, by Honneker's rapprochement with Western Germany and by the coming introduction of the false liberalization and the use of controlled opposition in Eastern Europe.

6) Another Communist third world strategy is aimed at the elimination of western influence in this area and the achievement of a United Front with the developing countries through the support of Wars of Liberation, by active diplomacy and by the use of a variety of tactics on the part of individual communist states instead of one tactic of a communist monolith. If one takes this strategy into account one can see that the Sino-Soviet Split Disinformation, in fact the duality of actions, and particularly the Disinformation of Tito's independence, served this strategy quite well. The late Tito almost succeeded in taking these countries away from the west through the so called "Non-aligned Movement".

7) Since Communist Strategic Disinformation Operations are a product of the communist strategists ie man made, the clinical analysis of their technology should be man made as well. In my view this is a major task for western governments and their intelligence and counter-intelligence services. Without a solution of this task one cannot expect either an understanding of communist strategic disinformation in the west or a viable western policy toward the communist world.

8) The conduct of communist strategic disinformation operations and the confusion it generates are big obstacles for the successful

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functioning of genuine political opposition in the communist countries and abroad. I have come to the conclusion that unless the political opposition to the communist regimes realize the true essence of strategic disinformation and its connection with their strategies, they will make grave mistakes since they may be exploited skillfully by the communist strategists and they, unwittingly, may even serve the communist strategists in achieving their goals.

I have to be frank with you. I am concerned by your stated plans. After reading your, Statement of Principle, I have reached the conclusion that your organization is moving in the wrong direction and that you already may have made a big mistake. In your statement you state that you are trying to create and function as a United Front to fight against the Soviet totalitarianisms and against the military regimes implying in the non-communist world as well. I find this not only erroneous but also confusing and contradictory. Why is it necessary for you to combine two struggles? Why not limit your efforts to an effective struggle against the Soviet, Chinese, Polish, Cuban, Czechoslovakian, Romanian, North Korean and the rest of the communist totalitarianisms as the main threats to the non-communist world and leave the other military dictatorships or regimes to the opportunities of the democratic processes there and to the influence of other western governments and particularly to the quiet diplomacy of the United States as verbalized by the American representative to the United Nations, Ms. Jean Kirkpatrick. It appears that your plan to fight the military regimes, if applied to Latin America and Central America, might put your organization in conflict with United States policy in these areas. You may also find that your efforts to fight the military dictatorships in these areas might be exploited by the Soviets who support the struggle for liberation. Thus you may find that unwittingly you are serving Soviet strategic plans.

I sincerely hope that the foregoing on the threat of communist strategic disinformation will assist you in understanding the danger involved in your United Front of two struggles and in making the necessary corrections. Thank you for your attention and consideration.

Sincerely,

TRANSMITTAL SLIP		DATE 10/31
TO: <i>P. B.</i>		
ROOM NO.	BUILDING <i>Area</i>	
REMARKS:		
<i>GB - CA</i>		
FROM: <i>Clms</i>		
ROOM NO.	BUILDING	EXTENSION

(b)(3)

FORM NO. 1 FEB 55' 241

REPLACES FORM 36-8 WHICH MAY BE USED.