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After graduating, he worked for Novosti, then spent two years in India as an interpreter and public relations officer with Soviet Refineries Constructions. He returned to Moscow in 1965 to work for Novosti, serving as Economic Editor for the Hindi, Urdu and English Editions of Sovietland Magazine. In 1969 he went back to India and continued propaganda efforts for Novosti in New Delhi, working out of the Soviet Embassy in a department called Research and Counter-Propaganda. Due to his growing disgust, he began to plan defection.

In February of 1970 he disguised himself as a hippie complete with beads and wig and joined a tour group to escape to Athens. He contacted the United States Embassy and, after a long debriefing by U.S. Intelligence, was granted asylum and went to Canada.

In Canada, he studied political science at the University of Toronto for two years, taught Russian language and literature and in 1972 was hired by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's International Service as a Producer/Announcer, broadcasting to the Soviet Union. The K.G.B. forced him out of the job in 1976, so he began free-lance journalism and worked on a variety of projects.

Today he is a political analyst for PANORAMA in Los Angeles. He is married, and has two children. He is the author of two yet unpublished books.

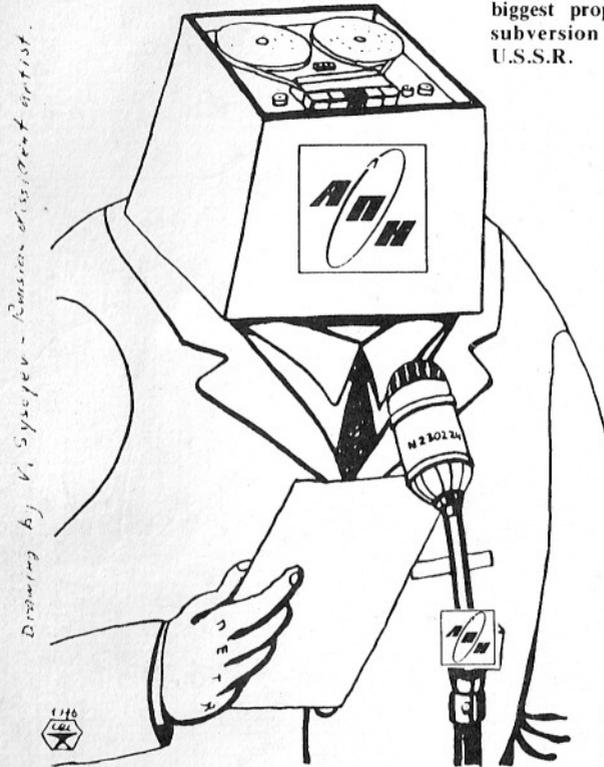
TOMAS SCHUMAN has been personally involved with the world-wide propaganda efforts of the Soviet regime. Like a true-life Winston Smith, from George Orwell's "1984", Tomas Schuman worked for the communist equivalent of Orwell's Ministry of Truth - The Novosti Press Agency. Novosti, which means "News" in Russian, exists to produce slanted and false stories to plant in the foreign media. The term for this K.G.B. effort is "disinformation".

Mr. Schuman was born under the name of Yuri Bezmenov in Moscow in 1939, the son of a senior officer in the Red Army. Consequently, he went to good schools. At the age of 17 he entered the Institute of Oriental Languages of Moscow State University.

You can order this book by mailing your check made to N.A.T.A. (New American Talent Association) — \$5.00 plus 60 cents for postage — to: Almanac, 501 So. Fairfax Av., Suite 206, Los Angeles, Ca 90036. Tapes with Schuman's talk on KGB's Active Measures are available for \$5 a piece plus postage.

ALMANAC
 Los Angeles, 1985

*Novosti Press Agency is a front of the KGB used for disinformation. It was founded in 1961 to replace Cominform (Communist Information Bureau). Working directly under Agitprop and the KGB, Novosti Press Agency is the biggest propaganda and ideological subversion organization of the U.S.S.R.



WORLD THOUGHT POLICE

by Tomas Schuman

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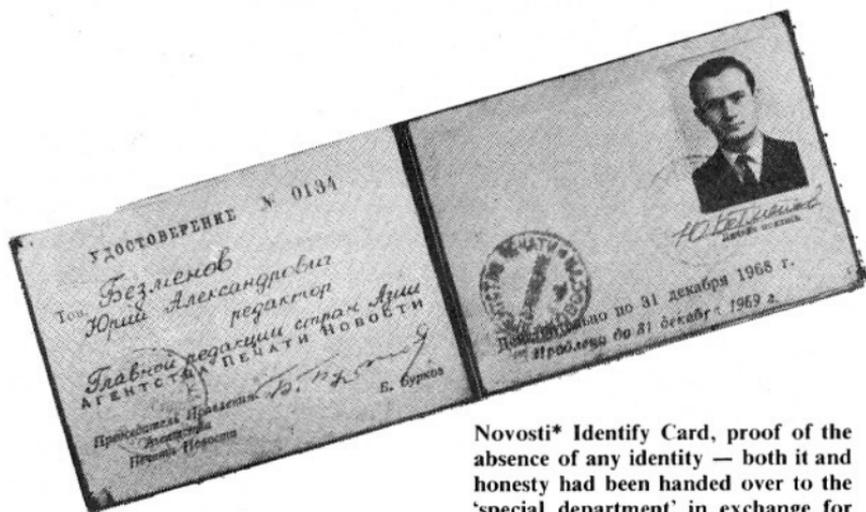
NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY (APN) — KGB FRONT FOR ACTIVE MEASURES AGAINST THE FREE MEDIA

By Tomas D. Schuman, former press officer of the Soviet embassy in India and a KGB-APN operative, defected to the West in 1970.



Emblem of Novosti

I worked for the Devil and he was a bore and mediocrity. Although the methods and goals of Novosti are devilishly evil, its daily routine is so boring that it does not produce outrage. It simply debilitates. For those in the West (and East), whose knowledge of our system is based on spy thrillers, the reality is much less exciting. If the free world wants to survive, it has to mobilize itself to take dominion over this deadly dangerous disease called in APN's newspeak "ideological subversion."



Novosti* Identify Card, proof of the absence of any identity — both it and honesty had been handed over to the 'special department' in exchange for this red-covered card which opens more doors to the bearer than the 'American Express' credit card.

During the last months of my career with Novosti, while contemplating defection, I often tried to assess the volume of evil I personally contributed to that done by my organization and my country. Was I really that guilty? Why should I feel guilty at all? My Soviet colleagues did not feel uncomfortable with their share of guilt. Neither did the foreign collaborators of Novosti. Nor the intellectuals and "progressive" Indians receiving our "blood money" in the form of some fraud like the "Jawaharlal Nehru Peace Prize". Then how come, I thought, I single out myself for doing the evil?

Observing the world-wide destruction of human minds caused by my motherland, unresisted and unpunished, and meditating about how easily all that mind-warping could be stopped, I wanted to believe that there, in the West, some people and organizations we call "reactionary circles" know the situation and how to deal with our subversion. They had not done it, for some reason unknown to me at that time. But when needed, I thought, they would stop us, for their own good.

Later, in India, I was surprised to realize that no one even thought we were doing anything wrong to their country. Are they blind and deaf? Or is there something that makes them unaware of impending danger? "I must defect and open up their eyes", I thought. So I defected and started trying to open up their eyes. But no one wanted either my information, or to open up their eyes. People prefer to remain comfortably, blissfully unaware of things unpleasant. When I arrived in Canada I used to bother all sorts of supposedly knowledgeable people: the CIA, the media, politicians, "kremlinologists" and political scientists. And finally I realized that despite the abundance of reliable data, most of them simply don't CARE. "We don't give a damn", as my former boss at Canadian Broadcasting Corporation said to me when I presented him my ideas on ideological subversion. They are "sitting pretty". Wars are being fought somewhere far away from their three-bedroom homes. They dazzle the public (and themselves) with all sorts of illusions such as "peace talks", SALT agreements, detente, etc. Some of the people I talked to were simply enfeebled snobs who wanted to be regarded as energetic and knowledgeable protectors of public interests (whatever that may mean). My impression is that they are mainly concerned with their own interests, their pathetic self importance. "What can we do about half of Cambodia being MURDERED?" Really, WHAT?

No, there are no "reactionary circles" hysterical about Communist genocide in Asia, Africa and Latin America. There are circles hysterical about apartheid in South Africa though. Hipocrites! The most "reactionary", and "hysterically" so, are the Western lib-leftist *literati*, usurping well-salaried positions in the civil services, bureaucratized media monopoly, academia — everywhere the public opinion is being forged and forced. It was these people who discouraged and obstructed publication of this material IN ANY FORM for almost a decade of "detente". It was a well-educated ignoramus in one of the Western centers of "Sovietology" who wrote me that the information in my book is "obsolete and outdated." One thing he should have known: nothing is outdated if we talk about the goals and methods of KGB-Novosti. Nothing has changed since the Chinese genius of subversion Sun-Tzu for the last 2,500 years of human history. Some of the nameplates on the doors of Novosti's bosses may have become obsolete though, and some of statistics (but again, always on the rise). Some new names have been added to the list of Novosti correspondents expelled from some countries for espionage and subversion. But what I have written about Novosti will not become outdated until and unless Novosti itself disappears, together with the whole Soviet regime and the "World Communist Movement". Until that time my book will remain an accurate, though impressionistic and highly opinionated, description of the largest subversion system in the history of mankind.

Of course, I present only a part of the whole picture. I have a suspicion that no one, including Novosti's top brass, knows the complete picture. In the Soviet secrecy-maniacal society it is typical for a right hand not to know what the left one is doing. My purpose here is not to present academic research on the Novosti Press Agency and the KGB (although some of my chapters may look as boring and as informative as that). My intention is to give you both feeling and substance in a somewhat personalized form. This is a narration, a collection of facts, stories, boring statistics and funny rumors, profound statements and superficial observations, moral assessments and dirty jokes — all put together for one purpose: to help you to realize that you, the people, are being had by the Soviets, and seem to enjoy it. The sooner you will realize that, the better chances for your survival in the "Bright Future for All Mankind" (Soviet expression meaning — One World System controlled, naturally, by the "Big Brother").

BACKGROUND & HISTORY

Press Agency "Novosti" (which incidentally means "news" in Russian) was founded in 1961 as an "independent, non-government," almost a "grass-root," organization, which in itself is implausible in a country where everything, from sputniks to washrooms, belongs to "the People," that is, controlled by the State. The Prospectus of the Novosti says that A.P.N. "is an information agency of the Soviet public organizations . . . facilitating in every way the promotion and consolidation of international understanding, confidence and friendship by widely circulating ABROAD (capitals mine — T.S.) true information about the Soviet Union and acquainting the Soviet public with the life of other peoples . . ."

From the very moment of its foundation, APN was subordinated, in fact, to two bosses: the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the Central Committee of the CPSU (Agitprop), and the Department of Disinformation of the KGB, for the purpose of planning, coordinating and conducting *active measures* against the public and governments in non-Soviet (not controlled by the Soviets or their surrogates) countries, mainly through the media of these countries.

The targets for APN-KGB manipulation also include public and political organizations, religious groups, educational systems, the entertainment industry (cinematography, TV, companies promoting "cultural exchange," etc.), as well as individuals: politicians, members of parliament, bureaucrats of civil service, labor union activists and leaders, businessmen, publishers, intellectuals (university professors, writers, scientists) — in other word, everyone who is or could be an influential person, able to shape public opinion and the policies of his (or her) nation on the level of both their attitudes (and patterns of behavior) and decision making.

Propaganda of Marxism-Leninism as such (or the "advantages" of Socialism and a "planned economy") and denunciation of "decadent Western imperialism" are only a part of Novosti's activity. At the time of Novosti's foundation, the new post-Stalin era was demanding new methods and approaches. Frontal attacks on Western ideology had often proven to be ineffective and even counter-productive, especially in the "Third World" developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The modern age of communication dictated the necessity of a more subtle and sophisticated approach to public opinion outside of the USSR. The short-term process of subversion of key personalities in foreign countries had to be combined with a long-term, but more effective and irreversible process of changing the perception of reality in the minds of millions of voters in pluralistic societies.

Under Yuri Andropov, the new generation of the KGB's "public relations" experts started to emerge: highly educated and well-trained graduates from Soviet schools, fluently speaking two or more languages, familiar with the history, literature, religion, ways of life, and socio-political structures of the target countries.

That was the time of the new "general line" of the CPSU CC (Central Committee). A new propaganda cliché was coined — a "third way" of development for former colonies of the West (non-communist, and yet non-capitalist, but definitely an "anti-imperialist," mainly anti-American, way of development). Implementation of such a policy required thousands of professional media workers, well trained in the Western style of reporting and in the processing of information and presentation of opinions and ideas in the most effective emotional way, appealing to the most basic, fundamental and primitive instincts of humans: fear (of nuclear war and/or nuclear confrontation with the USSR); self-preservation (would you rather live in a "cruel, polluted, profit-oriented capitalistic society" or in a "scientifically planned, rational, pollution-free, kind society with just re-distribution of wealth"); and love (of children, motherhood, peace, friends, class and race brothers, etc.)

At that time the ideologues and experts of the CPSU CC had worked out a new line for the KGB operations which later became known as "active measures." These measures had little to do with the classic, romantic style of espionage and subversion of Stalin's era. Reliable sources confirm my estimate that only about 15% to 20% of the time, money and labor force was planned to be used by the KGB's affiliates such as Novosti for "James Bond" type espionage. The remaining 80% of the effort was directed to the creation of an ideological climate in the target countries which would enable Soviet agents of influence simply to buy (or "borrow") the required intelligence data, using mostly rather legitimate and overt methods.

The ultimate objective of the new policy and of the activity of such an instrument of this policy as the Novosti Press Agency is not to learn more secrets about the adversary, and not even to teach the masses in the West in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist ideology, but to slowly replace the free-market capitalist society, with its individual freedoms in economic and socio-political spheres of life — with a carbon copy of the "most progressive" system, and eventually merge into one world-wide system ruled by a benevolent bureaucracy which they call Socialism (or Communism, as the final and supreme stage of this "progress").

To effect this gradual change, it is much easier and less painful (and less noticeable for the populace) to change the perceptions of reality, attitudes, patterns of behavior and to create wide-spread

demands and expectations, leading ultimately to the acceptance of totalitarianism. Thus the media is the main target of manipulation by the KGB-controlled "independent, non-government, non-political, public organization" known as the Novosti Press Agency.

Structure and Functions

Unlike TASS (The Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union) or the foreign bureaus of the Soviet official newspapers (Pravda, Izvestia etc.), Novosti's main thrust is directed from the USSR to the outside audience. Domestic services of APN are meant to play only an auxiliary role of "fabricating the truth" about the beautiful Soviet Socialism, re-circulating some of the foreign news and features in the local Soviet media and publishing Western "progressive" writers (such as British James Oldridge; Finnish Marti Larnee; Chilean Pablo Neruda; Canadian Farley Mowatt, etc.) — mainly depicting the West in the most negative terms.

Novosti Press Agency's structure is the most evident indicator of its GLOBAL ambitions. It consists of three major departments:

1. Chief Editorial Board for Political Publications (Glavnaya Redaktsia Polit Publikatsii — GRPP), previously located separately from the main office, in Kutuzovsky Prospect in Moscow. This is, in fact, a large research centre for APN-KGB, mainly staffed by KGB officers working as journalists and research analysts, shoveling through large volumes of foreign media;

2. Publishing House, turning out thousands of booklets, magazines, books, etc., in foreign languages as well as in Russian; and

3. Editorial Headquarters (in Pushkin Square) divided into a) Periodical Section and b) Press Section.

Editorial Headquarters are by far the largest part of APN, employing more than 3,000 journalists, editors, translators and public relations officers. It has an extensive teleprinter and communication system, part of which, through the APN-controlled Departments of Information of every USSR embassy, simply steals information from all major telegraph services of the world by tuning their receivers to their frequencies (which is obvious from the number and configurations of the forests of antennas on the roofs of Soviet embassies all over the world).

Editorial Headquarters controls Novosti bureaus and correspondents' offices in every major city of the world. It is divided geographically into a dozen editorial boards, each dealing with a specific target area: Africa (GRSAF, Glavnaya Redaktsia Stran Afriki); Central Asia (GRSAZ); South-East Asia (GRSUA); Latin America

(GRSLAM); Western Europe (GRSZE); Eastern Europe (GRSVE); USA & Canada (GRSAM).

Each geographical subdivision has its own Press Section and Section of Periodicals. As is clear from the title, the section of Periodicals is responsible for the preparation of materials for hundreds of magazines and newspapers, published and distributed legitimately and overtly by every Soviet embassy, consulate and other representation, in the language(s) of the target country. With rare exception, most of the articles, photographs, photo-blocks, artwork, and even typesetting for these periodicals are prepared in Moscow. Some color photographs are made in "friendly" countries such as Finland, Austria, East Germany, or even in less friendly countries such as Japan or USA or West Germany. The most impressive color printing work is normally contracted to companies in Japan or West Germany.

The Press Section of each geographical subdivision deals with preparation of articles, news items, press releases, interviews, reports, features, backgrounds and "exclusive letters from Moscow," to be planted in various foreign media through the Novosti bureaus or Departments of Information of the Soviet embassies.

P.R. Men — The Friendly Mind-Benders

Even the most sophisticated and attractive propaganda has little chance to influence the public unless and until it is actively promoted or "sold" by an army of "Public Relations Officers" of APN-KGB. And Novosti propaganda is NOT attractive. When I was concocting stories and backgrounders for the foreign media, sitting at my desk at the headquarters of Novosti in Moscow, I simply refused to believe that my boring stuff could be of any interest to anyone in the free world, least of all to convince anyone of the "advantages of Socialism" and even motivate anyone in the "struggle for progress and social change." I was wrong. I did not realize at that time, that before my article would reach the page of a foreign newspaper, it had to travel a long way through the sewers of the APN-KGB system, and then, nicely packaged, be presented to an editor or a commentator in a foreign capital after a long process of cultivating that editor.

After initiation into the secrets of the APN kitchen, I was given extensive training in P.R. activity with numerous delegations of foreign guests of Novosti visiting the USSR. A typical "package tour" would include not only regular visits to "average" collective farms and kindergartens, talking to smiling milkmaids and to nicely-dressed Eskimos who spoke fluent English and played the grand piano in the woods in Siberia. More importantly, every foreign guest must be made a part of the process of deception. And that takes a

person like myself: easy-going, friendly, knowledgeable about the country of my guest, with a small weakness for foreign liquors, slightly cynical about the thugs in the Politbureau, able to crack an anti-Soviet joke at an appropriate moment, but above all, able to arrange meetings with newsmakers, people who are usually unavailable to an average journalist.

By skillfully isolating foreign correspondents and other visitors from any sources of information and any important people in the USSR, Novosti and the KGB artificially create what we called a "deficit" of newsworthy information, whereby a foreign guest would gladly swallow a "bite" offered by a Novosti P.R. man: a visit to a nuclear research center, an interview with a "dissident" writer, an informal boozing session with a group of highly-placed Soviet apparatchiks "close to Politbureau," etc. In the absence of any other legitimate and safe access to a source for a "story," a foreigner would normally accept an invitation from a "friendly mind-bender," even if a suspicion were there that the Novosti P.R. man may in fact be a KGB plant. After all, a correspondent of an influential Western newspaper has to file some story, someday, upon arrival in Moscow.

Novosti P.R. men are given unprecedented freedoms and are able to contact Soviet bureaucrats on the highest levels — just to impress an important foreigner and to lay the groundwork for further "cultivation" by establishing their credibility. When I was assigned to important guests, the entire communication center of APN, including the "Vertushka" (Ultra-high frequency telephone network, used only by the inner Party apparatus all over the USSR), was at my service. After appropriate sanction by my superiors, I could "arrange" anything, from an interview with a Party boss to a pretty sex object working as an interpreter, for an obliging and "flexible" foreigner.

Similarly, outside of the USSR, Novosti P.R. men are often able to "navigate" an influential person to important contacts within the Soviet bureaucracy and facilitate arrangements beneficial to that person, or even to his party, government or corporation.

It all depends on a foreign counterpart's motivation, on his (or her) personal interests, moral standards, and integrity (or lack thereof), whether they will go along with the APN contact and pretend it is just "business as usual," or resist manipulation or even reject the "arrangement." In my own practice and throughout my 12-year career with the Novosti, I have seldom met foreigners who would refuse to cooperate categorically. Most of my guests or foreign contacts would prefer to go ahead, hoping that they were smart enough to see through the trickery and at the right moment stop short of becoming a collaborator with APN-KGB. Most of them did not stop.

NOVOSTI CADRES

Most of Novosti's editorial and journalistic (in other words, "creative") staff belongs to the "proletarian intelligentsia" class, or *obrazovanshchina* by A. Solzhenitsyn's definition. None of Novosti's employees are hired from the street, only and always through the *protectsia* of some influential friends and/or relatives, with processing by the personnel department, i.e. the KGB. The latter provides no guarantee of loyalty. As a matter of fact, the KGB security check guarantees nothing, except perhaps the accumulation of private information filed with the department of personnel. The most carefully checked comrades, like myself, with impeccably "proletarian" Komsomol backgrounds, may turn out to be defectors. On the other hand, the more "trusted" an APN man, the more mediocre he is likely to be.

By my own observation, the largest influx of staff into Novosti happened in the three years after APN's foundation, and most of the newcomers were graduates from special, ideologically-oriented colleges. Most typical was my own Institute of Oriental Languages, founded, as rumor goes, by an order of Krushchev, after one of the "old school" Arabic translators failed to convey his words correctly during negotiations with Gamal Abdel Nasser, in 1956. The incident is described by the former editor of the "Al Akhbar" newspaper in his book "Cairo Documents." The enraged Krushchev cursed Foreign Affairs and ordered a new generation of translators to be trained for all possible languages of the Third World.

On returning from my first assignment to India in December of 1965, I found half of my schoolmates in Novosti. They held first place among the younger generation of ideological subversives. Later we also established the record for number of defectors to the West.

Apart from us, specially trained for foreign assignments, the bulk of Novosti's fodder was hired from the armed forces, the administrative cadres of the Party and Komsomol (Young Communists League), the KGB, provincial media workers, and finally, employees of affiliated state bureaucracies, such as research institutes, art schools, socio-political organizations (e.g. Union of Friendship Societies), etc.

The main core of "journalists-internationalists" consisted of about 500 highly educated and well-travelled men and women, each speaking at least two foreign languages. Of these, about 100, working in Novosti's headquarters in Pushkin square, belonged to the "New class" of *nomenklatura* in 1965. Needless to say, getting in there was the ultimate goal of most Novosti staffers.

Generally speaking, any position in Novosti is desirable for several reasons, one of which is good pay, by Soviet standards. The average junior editor starts with 120-150 rubles a month. In three years he may make 200 rubles, with promotions to "editor" and "senior editor" positions. Knowledge of a foreign language adds 10% to one's salary. For using English, Hindi and Urdu on the job I got the maximum 25% "language additional" pay. (The level of linguistic ability and its application were tested yearly by a special examination commission.) Comrades who had the courage to write "originals" were paid honorariums, which often amounted to another 100 rubles a month. Thus, my own salary, after only three years within Novosti, was close to 300 rubles (compared with an industrial engineer's salary of some 100 rubles).

The average workload per Novosti soul is hard to calculate. In theory, each APN editor must process about 30 double-spaced typewritten pages per working day. I seldom saw any of my colleagues achieve this quota. On the other hand, I myself sometimes made more than 30 pages a day. I soon discovered that it is not the number of pages, but the number of rubber stamps you must collect on these pages, that matters. The main work consists of running up and down staircases to obtain signatures.

As to conditions of work, I have discovered, after defecting to the West and working for a newspaper and a radio station in Canada, that Novosti may only look a bit crowded: 15-20 souls in a room 20 by 40 feet, but they don't sit at their desks all the time; most of the day is spent in the corridors or cafeteria.

Apart from easy work and high monetary gains, Novosti offered a number of other benefits, extremely attractive in Soviet conditions: proximity to ideological power and access to uncensored information (the second most desirable currency in the USSR after the American dollar). There is the possibility of travel abroad (and defection); and one may create for oneself and family a way of life resembling that of the West (so, there is no need to defect). For sociable people, Novosti offers the chance to meet very interesting people, including sons and daughters of high-ranking Soviet officials. For a commoner a marriage into a *nomenklatura* family means speedy promotion and a secure career. Finally, for Soviet hedonists, Novosti gives a chance to enjoy such forbidden pleasures as casual sex, sometimes with foreigners (when working for KGB); indulgence in drinking and drugs; and the accumulation of foreign objects, from cigarette lighters to cars.

If for *nomenklatura* and loafers Novosti offers a relatively comfortable life with a touch of "creativity," for idealists APN may provide the illusion that one is doing something for "peace and under-

standing." I knew a number of junior colleagues, who though realizing the sinister nature of Novosti, still hoped that after obtaining some power they would "change the system from within." These people had a tough time preserving their ideals, integrity and sanity. Many made the painful transition from high idealism to deep cynicism. Only a negligible minority of "true comrades" could stubbornly believe in the possibility of "socialism with a human face." These would not advance: the Party does not need such dedicated idiots in its higher ranks. I do not remember an instance of an honest man atop Novosti. What I do remember is the fact commonly known in Moscow, that Novosti perhaps holds first place in the number of mentally ill, alcoholics, sadists, masochists, schizoids, graphomaniacs, etc., and is something of an asylum for all sorts of mental cases never reported to the Serbski Institute — that is, as long as they continue to pretend to be loyal to the Power. And these are the cadres who "decide all" in the business of ideological warfare against the rest of the world.



Novosti personnel of the USSR embassy in India at their favourite passtime - boozing.

PARTY LINE OF NOVOSTI

Novosti's link with the Central Committee's Agitprop is a commonly known secret some "progressive" foreign collaborators somehow overlook. But for an average Soviet citizen, illiterate or otherwise, it is as clear as day that everything, including the people of our country, belong to the Party. Every Novosti staffer is aware of the fact that our "non-partisan, non-government and independent" news agency is tied to Agitprop administratively, financially, ideologically, and by telephone.

In the Central Committee's apparatus there is a large group of *referents*, comrades responsible for the ideological brainwashing of mankind. Unsuspecting people throughout the world are born and die, eat or starve, make love or war, supposedly in strict accordance with the plans of the Central Committee of CPSU, elaborated by the *referents*. I met several comrades responsible for the Indian subcontinent. One was called Kutzobin, a skinny, sickly fellow of about 60, then head of the Indian section. Another was Yakunin, a tall, blue-eyed Aryan of about 45. Later, one of our Novosti men, characteristically my former schoolmate, Vadim Smirnov, joined the CC's Indian section and was placed in charge of the very same thing he had previously done, in India, at the orders of others.

Some of the referents are known KGB agents and informers. This fact does not bother either the Central Committee or, for that matter, the governments, parliaments, security services and media, of countries where the comrades are accepted and accredited as diplomats and journalists.

Naturally, the responsibility for the Communist remaking of the world is shared by the Central Committee with the "progressive" and "realistically minded" representatives of foreign media, actively cultivated by the APN and KGB.

On October 27, 1967, I brought a large group of editors and publishers of India's leftist and Communist papers to the Central Committee to meet comrade Yakunin; and later comrade Ulyanovskii, a boss in Agitprop. The Indians had just finished a three-week tour of the Soviet Union. I showed them all the "typical" collective farms and kindergartens Novosti could arrange, and the comrades were full of impressions and "provocative questions." They were what we call "unscared idiots" and "truthseekers," who wanted to show they took our propaganda seriously and expected us to do what we preach. They looked as if they believed they were invited to Moscow to exchange opinions.

Why, they asked, does Novosti use such incomprehensible language in propaganda literature? Isn't it possible to explain the advantages of socialism to the Indian masses in plain language? Why is the artistic form in the USSR always a standard Russian-bourgeois, whether the content is socialistic (as in the opera about an Uzbek collective farmer), or capitalistic (as in "Swan Lake")? Why had the Soviets selected from all the many Indian movie-makers a vulgar and trivial profiteer, Raj Kapur, and neglected a progressive realist, Satyajit Roy, who had won the film festival prize?

The general secretary of the Communist Party of Gujarat state, comrade P.B. Vaidhya, asked questions for which a Soviet comrade would get into deep trouble. Why, he asked, do Novosti and other Soviet public organizations in India fraternize with radical students on one extreme, and capitalist politicians on the other? The majority of young Indians, he said, wants to know more about the Motherland of Socialism, but they are ignored. It seems too, said another Indian guest, that the CPSU is reluctant to expose Soviet youth to Indian culture: the sitar player Ravi Shankar gathers hundreds of thousands of young listeners in the USA, but in Moscow he was allowed to play only to a handful of Komsomol members in a tiny hall of the Soviet Composers Club. Why?

Comrade Vaidhya was very critical of Soviet scientists, too. In the Institute of Peoples of Asia, he said, there are dozens of Soviet indologists with academic degrees and volumes of published works, but they never visit India, do not speak Indian languages, and do not bother to attend any international conferences. Instead, year after year Indian colleagues see the same Soviet functionaries, acting as scholars, visiting Delhi, often on very unscientific missions. Why?

Comrade Gopalan, a member of CPI's Central Committee, ventured into areas other than arts and sciences. I noticed that he made the Soviet *apparatchiks* rather nervous by asking repeatedly in what specific way Soviet workers participate in the administration of Soviet industry. Also he was interested in how the Central Committee resolves conflicts between federalism and self-government in, say, the Ukraine, Asian Republics and Baltic "states."

The answers of the CC comrades were cynical and straightforward. The Indian comrades were told that it is not Agitprop which must learn the "plain language" of the developing masses, but the masses who must learn the future language of all mankind: the language of scientific Communism. Artistic forms, cultural exchange, youth contacts, they were told, are the concerns of the Central Committee only so much as they contribute to the "struggle for peace and progress" (which includes cultivating radicals and

terrorists to destabilize your country, making your capitalists pay for it, and your politicians legitimize it). Workers in the USSR, they were told, are to work first, and then to “participate.” As to the “conflict” between Moscow and national republics — it simply does not exist.

My job, as a Novosti guide, was to popularize these Party directives to our guests, and as a KGB cooperative, to notice and report the reaction of the guests, and the degree of their loyalty (or hypocrisy). With each visit to the top, our developing little brothers shed more of their naivete and acquired more understanding that being a fellow-traveller is a serious and full-time job, and often hazardous. Like recruits to the Mafia, our guests were made to realize that they could not “retire.” Fortunately, I was able to report “mutual understanding” and “gratitude.”



**Delegation of Indian Communists at the APN headquarters. Marked are:
1.Comrade Yakunin, 2.Comrade Zaichikov, vice-chairman of Novosti.
3.The author.**

NOVOSTI'S CONNECTION WITH THE KGB

Most foreign media people, not to mention average readers, grossly misconceive the nature of the APN-KGB relationship in particular, and the relationship between Soviet journalists and Soviet intelligence services in general. This general misconception is obvious to me, now that I have been some years in the West, and have revealed details about my own and my Novosti colleagues' activities to several seemingly intelligent Western reporters. All of them, both “leftists” and “rightists,” made the same mistake, calling me a “former Russian spy,” which sounds very romantic, and, depending on one's political affiliation, either complimentary or derogatory. It is very far from reality.

Spying, in the classical sense of the term, is the ancient occupation of stealing secret information, or buying it for money or favors, and making it available to one's government, superiors, or a client who pays for it. Spying in itself is a profession, just like any other, requiring training and experience. By itself it is void of any moral or ethical connotation. Spying can be noble and patriotic, if it serves the cause of the security and prosperity of one's nation, and does not harm friends. It can be defensive, if it helps to protect one's country or one's friends from an aggressor. But spying can also be vile, treacherous and offensive, when it helps an aggressor, invader or robber of one's own people, or a friendly and peaceful neighbor.

Depending on the amount of money or support, and on the state of counter-intelligence in an area, spying can be dangerous and risky. It can also be a safe and pleasant indulgence in all imaginable sins. . . .

But, whatever spying is, Novosti people do not do it for the KGB more than 10% of the time. Most of Novosti's work is subversion, by definition always immoral, aggressive, dishonest and unpatriotic (the latter, because in most cases subversion hurts people in one's own country as much as the real or imaginary enemy is hurt). The Novosti specialty is ideological subversion, which often has nothing to do with either secret information or stealing.

Thanks to the permissive legal systems in most democratic countries (as well as in some right-wing “fascist and racist” regimes), the activity of Novosti-KGB agent is not considered criminal or even anti-social. Thus, we cannot be called spies: we do not risk anything, least of all our lives, in a country of the “decadent capitalist camp.” The greatest danger to ourselves comes not from the counter-intelligence services, the police or the courts, but from our over-indulgence in alcohol, sex, food, and from driving too fast. Few Novosti men have ever been apprehended as spies and expelled from foreign countries (and then mainly from “developing” ones!). It is a rare case

when a real KGB spy, pretending to be a Novosti journalist, is caught red-handed.

APN-KGB subversion may be painless, but its long-term result is more devastating than a nuclear explosion. It effects an irreversible (at least within one generation) change in the public's perception of social, political and economic reality, to such an extent that the concept of destroying individual and collective property, safety, freedom and often life itself (considering the inevitable consequences of any "socialist revolution") no longer seems to be such a bad idea. On the contrary, thanks to semantic manipulation, millions of people, regardless of race, intelligence or historical experience, have come to see Communism as an adequate or even desirable alternative to capitalism, in spite of the obvious.

Not too many people in the free world (free from the Soviets) want to understand the danger of APN-KGB ideological subversion. Every Novosti staffer, engaged in KGB work, knows otherwise. We seldom had illusions about the true nature of our activity; we could easily observe the horrible results of it. For this reason some of us would be burdened with guilt, and seek refuge in cynicism or in the accumulation of possessions, or in sex, alcohol, and drugs. The majority, though, overcome pangs of conscience, and enjoy the comforts of KGB affiliation. It goes without saying, of course, that only a few Novosti staffers, mainly relatives of the *nomenklatura*, dare to say "no" to the KGB.

On direct orders from KGB superiors, or through the KGB senior staff within Novosti, employees of APN may perform the following functions: the spreading of disinformation among both Soviet and foreign media and diplomatic representatives; opinion probes and intelligence gathering among foreign diplomats and VIPs; the screening of human material, to be recruited by the KGB, among foreign delegations and guests of Novosti; character assessment of the same; surveillance of both domestic and foreign suspects and/or potential recruits; and reference and research on specific subjects related to foreign media, public and political life in certain countries. Apart from that, Novosti staff may participate in any number of projects and operations planned by the KGB in various capacities, acting mainly as public relations representatives.

Contrary to popular Russian belief, not all Novosti people work for the KGB. Some exceptionally stupid "international commentators" are of no use to the KGB. Just like some exceptionally bright journalists who happen to have "dissident" ideas, these latter are kept within Novosti because it is an easily controllable fishbowl.

Naturally, there are no official statistics on the percentage of KGB affiliates within APN. Neither is there any Soviet counterpart of

Daniel Ellsberg (alive, that is) within Novosti to reveal the APN's atrocities by publishing "Novosti Papers" in the *New York Times*. Thus, the very question seems to be rather foolish, or too abstract to require an answer. Every time a foreign guest of Novosti asked me something like, "How much money is allotted to the KGB for surveillance of the Soviet people?" I would unhesitatingly tell him to multiply an average salary by 250 million and divide by two.

My own private observations led me to conclude that there are definite categories of people within Novosti who most certainly work for the KGB. These include all *stazhory* — temporary employees, tall, muscular, quiet men, who spend some time within Novosti prior to their assignments abroad. Usually these boys already have a rudimentary knowledge of a foreign language or two, and basic facts about the country of their future assignment. They only need to pick up Novosti talk and habits, to get acquainted with as many APN staffers as possible, and learn the ABCs of journalism, enough to use all of that as a cover for their real job. The old-timers of APN seldom express surprise at the rapid promotion of these *stazhory* to positions like senior editor or higher. We avoided asking these guys too many questions. We "understood." And tried to be helpful, just in case.

When, after three or four months, the *stazhory* departed for the capitals of exotic countries, we were not envious; they were not going to take our jobs in foreign bureaus. As a matter of fact, we might never see them when we arrived there, except at embassy receptions, where they circulate among Novosti staffers to show their foreign counterparts their APN affiliation.

Another large group of APN—KGB hybrids are those who rest in a comfortable APN job after completing a foreign assignment, having been expelled by a foreign government, or having returned quietly and anonymously if the mission was a success and a new assignment is pending. For example, Colonel Bolshakov, kicked out of Washington for his role in covering up Soviet rockets in Cuba, returned as a hero and was awarded one of the most prestigious administrative jobs on the North American editorial board of Novosti. He knew that everyone knew that he was a KGB colonel, and was as proud of his Washington affair as a demented graffiti artist in a New York subway.

In roughly the same hybrid category were those "exiled" to Novosti for various misdemeanors while on active KGB service in a foreign country. We had a dozen or so speed demons who had run over a developing brother or sister while driving their Volga cars at break-neck speeds. They were wanted by the local police, so Moscow

urgently recalled them home for health reasons. Besides, killing a *chernozhopyi* is not considered a serious crime for a Soviet citizen.

Neither are alcoholism, sex with foreigners, or trading personal effects (cameras, watches, etc.) for decadent foreign currency. But in excess, any of these might lead to "exile." In 1969, for example, burnt-out comrade Tziganov was recalled from the New Delhi bureau of Novosti, not so much for boozing (everyone drinks, but manages to walk and talk) as for stealing watches and cameras from the diplomatic staff while they were in the Soviet embassy swimming pool, selling those goods on the black market, and investing the profits in alcohol.

In the same category, we had several "sex maniacs" who took Karl Marx' slogan too seriously, thus impeding their work for the KGB. Exiled to APN, they had to subsist for several years on a diet of only local girls, while full of nostalgia and stories of their past escapades.

Such as this one: A Novosti man in Tokyo disappeared without a trace. A month later the KGB found him in a geisha's house. Brought to the ambassador, he was sternly asked to explain his unpatriotic behavior.

Have you ever screwed a teenage Japanese girl in a suspended and rotating basket? asked the Novosti man.

"Never," admitted the puzzled ambassador.

"How, then, can I *explain* it to you?!"

The elite of Novosti's KGB men are those highly placed journalists and editors who have traveled extensively abroad and established a reputation as "experts" on a country or a geopolitical area. These APN-KGB comrades sometimes are not "recruited," but rather grow into the KGB at a higher level. Some are not full-time officers of the service. In rare cases when a drunken colleague would reproach one of these "elitists," the latter would be genuinely offended. They do not consider themselves to be KGB informers. Naturally! They are the "new class," *nomenklatura*, something above the KGB in their own estimation.

The younger generation of careerists, like myself, graduating from privileged colleges (Institute of Oriental Languages, Institute of Foreign Relations, etc.), could perhaps be labeled "volunteers." We knew perfectly well that cooperation with the KGB would greatly promote our careers as journalists and open the door to foreign assignments. That's why we were behaving like teenage girls at a school dance: standing by the wall, showing indifference, but inwardly burning with the desire to be noticed and picked up. Often we created situations wherein the KGB had to notice our diligence and ability, especially when accompanying foreign guests of APN. Our ultimate desire was to become one of the "experts" to be approached

by the KGB and the Central Committee for advice. It looked so clean, so patriotic, so romantic, so intellectual! And no dirty jobs, like informing on one's friends. Well, sometimes on foreign friends, but they are *foreigners*, so it doesn't really count.

A small but highly unpleasant group of APN-KGB people are the retired KGB, who think of Novosti as a charitable institution. Into this category fall some security guards, drivers, administration officials, members of the personnel department and the "military desk," some cleaners, doormen, technicians, and, last but not least, our movie projectionist, Uncle Vasya. He was a short, chubby man, with an expressionless face bearing countless pock marks, like the face of the Great Father of All Progressive Journalists, Iosif Vissarionovich Stalin, whose bodyguard, they say, Uncle Vasya was. When I last saw him, Vasya's main occupation was screwing up the sequence of foreign film reels shown to the Novosti staff, and getting drunk in between.

Like most of his colleagues, the other KGB old-timers, Uncle Vasya never said a word about his past career. No wonder. These days Novosti employs quite a number of children of posthumously "rehabilitated enemies of the people," liquidated under Stalin. Reminiscences about the old days might result in severe fractures to Uncle Vasya's skull. It should be remembered that every second family of an intellectual, writer, journalist, etc., lost at least one relative to the GULAG death camps or Lubyanka's shooting ranges. This is one reason the old guards keep wisely silent, opening doors for the children of their victims, the Novosti's "new class." Some of the KGB's victims' children are now KGB themselves.

Naturally, we despised and avoided those who, unlike us, were *stukachi* — lower-grade sleuths and informers, provocateurs and subverters of our own Novosti personnel. Even lower, in our estimation, but somewhat more attractive, was the last category of Novosti-KGB: *lastochki*, single girls employed by the APN not so much for what they were doing officially during the daytime — typing, filing, editing copy — as for their ability to combine the three most ancient professions: espionage, prostitution and journalism. They knew that we, the male chauvinists of Novosti, had a long-established unwritten rule: never get involved with a Novosti girl, or you will give the KGB an easy time collecting information about you. Only those comrades with high Party standing could occasionally violate this rule, for the cause of the Party, no doubt.

How does one distinguish a KGB-APN from a non-KGB? Basically, by the possession of certain objects and rights which most ordinary citizens, including Novosti rank and file, are denied. The most

valuable asset, in a society which hungers for information, is freedom to socialize with outsiders and obtain information from them. So this is the first and foremost attribute of a Novosti employee working for the KGB. Relative affluence is the second.

This latter includes a rather long list of possessions granted to an employee in return for his or her services: television sets, tape recorders, cameras, or an export model of a Soviet-made car (Lada, instead of Zhiguli, for instance), or even an imported car (Fiat, VW, Skoda); a better apartment in a certain district of Moscow. Every Novosti old-timer knows that if a person lives in Kutuzovski Prospect, Naberezhnaya Frunze, or in several newly-developed areas around Moscow, chances are he is a KGB agent.

Access to a foreign currency shop (Beryozka) and possession of *sertificaty* may be another indication. This inevitably leads to foreign-made clothes and shoes, tape recorders and transistor radios, and other decadent capitalist toys.

All this in combination with frequent attendance at diplomatic parties, picnics with foreigners, an abundance of imported liquor, the presence of *lastochki*, access to "closed" libraries containing foreign magazines and newspapers, frequent trips across the USSR and outside with foreign (and Soviet) delegations, are unmistakable features of a KGB cooperative, or even a full-time KGB agent.

Even more so numerous phone calls during office hours and quiet disappearances for lunch tendentious forgiveness of blunders and professional mistakes by the bosses, or even of extreme laziness on the job, frivolous anti-Soviet anecdotes and loose talk on issues considered taboo for mere mortals.

Most of these things are easily observed by anyone with minimum intelligence and knowledge of the Soviet system. One principle remains true all through: anyone employed by a media organ of ideological significance (unlike, say, a magazine on fishery), and dealing with foreign media and their representatives, automatically falls under KGB control. There is simply no such thing, in the Motherland of Socialism, as a journalist in the international arena independent of the KGB.

Time magazine describes Soviet 'official' Oleg Benukh's activity in the USA as 'comradship' without mentioning a word about Benukh's affiliation to the APN—KGB tandem.

American Scene

In West Virginia: Comradship



Members of Soviet embassy are escorted by Salem College President Ronald Ohl, foreground



"West Virginia wants to meet some Russians! How about it? We look forward to your response."

That exclamatory request, over the signature of an official of Salem, a liberal arts institution in West Virginia, learned that just as there are areas in the world of Appalachia that are off limits to Americans, so are there counties in the Soviet Union that are off limits to Soviets. These restricted areas do not always make sense, as they would, say, if a military installation were involved. But they make sense enough to the Kremlin and to the State Department. Thus the way back was taken out of the bewildered driver's hands, and they went the long way round. The passengers did not complain, although Irina Shibko got

snacks, followed by a dinner session.

Oleg Benukh, chief of the information department at the Soviet embassy and the leader of this delegation, opened by saying there are "too many things that divide us," so he would prefer to spend the evening talking about the "things that unite us." He added, "I'm of the opinion that the Americans know about my country many times less what we in my country know about the U.S." He said Americans were more interested in themselves than in their neighbors, let alone foreigners. The audience did not make a sound. The first question, when question time came, was whether there was nature pres-

TIME, APRIL 23, 1984



Moscow, APN headquarters. Left to right: Oleg Benukh, an Indian diplomat and the author during a 'press-conference'.

THE VICIOUS CIRCLE OF UNTRUTH

An abundant source of raw material for Novosti propaganda can be found in foreign media, both "progressive" and reactionary. Any leftist or openly Communist (wherever they are legalized) newspaper as a rule toes the Soviet propaganda line and reprints an average of 40% of the materials which are supplied either by Novosti itself (directly or through the foreign bureau of APN), or written locally. Some are borrowed from press releases of TASS, and from Soviet "official" publications abroad (such as *Soviet Life*, *Soviet Land*, *Soviet Woman*), and finally from publications of various front organizations created and maintained by the Central Committee through KGB or Novosti (World Council of Churches, World Peace Council, all sorts of "anti" groups — antiwar, antipollution, anti-nuclear, some trade unions and radical student groups, etc.).

A great part of the local coverage of such events as strikes, anti-establishment demonstrations, or violent clashes between the police and "protesters," almost automatically finds its place on the pages of leftist media, and is consequently picked up by Novosti for reprocessing as "an expression of predominant public opinion."

All these reports, depicting the West (or free Eastern countries, such as South Korea, Philippines or Thailand) in the darkest possible colors, are lovingly collected by Novosti personnel abroad and sent to Moscow. Here the material is updated, distorted, supplied with editorial comments and such references as: "quoted from an influential Western (Eastern) newspaper" (*The Daily Worker*, *Aka Hata*, etc.), and re-issued to foreign countries, sometimes the countries of its origin, this time as Novosti releases.

A considerable amount of this propaganda is used by the Soviet domestic media for the purpose of convincing the people of the USSR that the outside world, in strict accordance with the prophecies of the classics from Marx to Suslov, rapidly stagnates and is ripe for "liberation" by the world Communist movement, or as the media calls it, "national liberation forces." Sometimes, for authenticity, *Pravda* or *Izvestia* would even reprint a facsimile of the front page of a foreign Communist periodical. The most common cause of such "borrowing" is the reprinting of photographs from foreign publications and supplying them to the Soviet (or socialist countries') domestic media with APN-made captions, with distorted or totally opposite meanings.

The impact of such propaganda on the Soviet public opinion is substantial. If not the content itself, then the mere fact of its existence, unpunished and unopposed by the Free World, impresses an uninformed Soviet reader in favor of the "historically inevitable advance of Communism the world over." In combination with "straight" news about various "majority rule" and "anti-colonial" wars successfully waged by the Soviet-trained and indoctrinated terrorists forces in Asia, Africa and Latin America, this further convinces the Soviet public, even those who have access to short-wave foreign broadcasts, that Communism IS victorious, invincible and desired by millions of their "developing" brothers. The final and tragic result of it for the Soviet people is that if and when a Soviet soldier were given an order to "liberate" Afghanistan, Angola or El Salvador, he would do it with unprecedented cruelty, in direct proportion to his ignorance and the volume of propaganda pumped into him, thanks to the vicious circle of untruth.

The "reactionary" media, not under the direct control of Communists or the KGB, also renders a great service to Novosti by focusing its attention mainly on bad news as though it were the only news fit to print. Such sensational stories as Watergate, CIA wrongdoings, the Pentagon Papers, etc., forcibly fed to the public, are a great inspiration for the APN, but contribute hardly anything to the restoration of justice in America. Most of the materials of that type were reprocessed by a special Department of Political Publications (GRPP), headed in the 1960's by Norman Borodin, a KGB disinformation expert.

Homemade Propaganda

The most useful internal source of propaganda material is Novosti's daily press release, some thirty pages thick, containing from six to ten articles from the Soviet or "brotherly Socialist" media (both printed and electronic), and sometimes from leftist foreign media, all pre-packaged and already translated (badly) into four European languages: English, German, Spanish and French. If, on orders from my boss comrade Makhotin, I found several appropriate articles in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* or *Krasnaya Zvezda*, before I bothered to sit down and edit them for Indian readers I would check the title list in the morning APN bulletin. If my titles was in it, I would simply wait for an English copy of the bulletin, which came to our room after lunch, tear the needed article from my copy of the bulletin, attach the *anketa*, maybe cut out two or three paragraphs, and voila! put it on Makhotin's desk.

The APN bulletin was an excellent filler, but not sufficiently high quality to meet some requests by Indian newspapers. In this case I

had two alternatives: either process the English copy myself, re-writing parts of it in an appropriate style for Indian readers, write a new original under my own name combining something from TASS, something from the clipping room files, and something from my own imagination. The latter needed a special OK from Makhotin or a senior editor of the section. Sometimes the subject assigned to me was unfamiliar to me, and I had another alternative: find an author within Novosti who happened to be an expert in the given field. This took some telephoning, some running along corridors, some chasing into the cafeteria or a restaurant, and finally, a certain power of persuasion.

Not unlike the GULAG prison “research institutes,” called *sharashki*, where our people’s state lovingly collects experts in all imaginable professions, from snake charmers to rocket designers, Novosti employs several hundred jacks of all trades good for only one thing: fabricating the “truth.” Without leaving the premises of APN, one may find an author capable of writing an article on almost any subject. They may be officially employed (*ofornleny*) as junior or senior editors, commentators, translators, layout artists or even typists, but come the chance and inspiration (in the form of a fat honorarium), they spring into creative activity.

We had our own astronomers and mathematicians in a special science department headed by a Madame Lunacharsky, the daughter of the late famous Soviet commissar of culture, who, so the story goes, saved dozens of pre-revolutionary intellectuals from Lenin’s labor camps or Dzerdzhinsky’s execution basements. Madame Lunacharsky did not have to do the same, thanks to Brezhnev: today all our worthy intellectuals are simply treated as mental cases and sent to Serbsky Institute, affiliated with the KGB.

We had our own agronomists, on a par with Lysenko, or possibly better, for during all their career within Novosti they never need bother to visit a collective farm, find a “*sabotazhnik*” refusing to grow corn Kruschchev style, and send him to the KGB prison, the way Lysenko did to hundreds of his opponents in agriculture.

Novosti Space Bluff

“Conquering space” was Novosti’s favorite subject for propaganda, from the time of its establishment. Space research was also the most salable subject in the West. Novosti, while losing money on topics like collectivization or “national liberation,” made a fortune selling rhapsodic, sweet stories about Soviet space “pilots,” from Yuri Gagarin on, to stupid Western (and Eastern) newspapers and magazines.

The initial Soviet space “ships” were nothing but tin cans launched into orbit, with a helpless Cosmonaut huddled inside, just to impress the West and to prove non-existent Soviet supremacy in the space race.

To keep the hard currency rolling in, Novosti opened a special “space center,” headed by a curly-haired young man, the son-in-law of a famous (but under an assumed name, for reasons of secrecy) Soviet space rocket designer. This curly cretin, who looked like a football player, walked Novosti’s corridors in foreign-tailored suits, imitating an American movie star. From time to time he would call dispatch for a black Volga car with a radio-telephone to rush him at breakneck speed from Novosti’s glass entrance to the “Star City.” He was one of the few APN staffers privileged with a permanent pass to the “Star City,” a small suburban township where Soviet cosmonauts and their families live in conditions similar to those of American university students. There was no need for paranoid security arrangements such as tall fences with barbed wire at the top, guard dogs and sentries with machine guns. The Soviet space guinea-pigs (called “pilots” in the Western press) didn’t know any secrets worth stealing (apart from the commonly known “secret” that the Soviet space research programs were designed mainly for military and aggressive purposes). The most insane PLO terrorist would not dare or bother to kidnap the cosmonauts, knowing pretty well that the Kremlin would not give a kopeck of ransom for the lives of the “pilots.” The main purpose of the security was to conceal the relative affluence of the Star City inhabitants from the hungry stares of common Soviet people. They say there is a self-service *gastronom* (grocery store) where one takes as much food into a cart (a cart, not a bag!) as one wishes . . .

On returning from the Star City sometimes in the company of a suspiciously happy foreigner or two, all of them breathing vodka, our curly cretin would be frantically active for a couple of days. Cosmonauts would meet foreign guests, sign autographs, give interviews and smile for cameramen. The result of all this farce was usually several articles in respectable Western magazines, such as *Pari-March*, with lots of photographs which made our space monkeys look like a hybrid of Tarzan and Einstein and Levitan and Rostropovich: they played cellos, wrote endless formulae on blackboards, painted imaginary scenery from distant planets, did unimaginable tricks on the parallel bars, and above all, were dedicated Party members and excellent family men. Large circulation foreign papers picked this up obediently, especially if we claimed that the stuff was “exclusive,” or better yet, “secret,” and de-classified only as a personal favor of APN to George Pompidu.

The space features supposedly written by the cosmonauts, and supplemented with impressive drawings and diagrams were okayed not by our Novosti censors, but somewhere high above, possibly by comrade Korolyov himself (the chief Soviet space rocket designer, who died in the early 1970's). The stuff was written, though, not by any cosmonauts, but by the same curly schizoid who headed Novosti's "space center"; and far from being "exclusively" written for any client, it was a typical APN mass production designed to convince the duped Western (even more so Eastern) public of the supremacy of the "new man of the Communist tomorrow."

Unlike the "useful idiots" of the Western media, we the Novosti men of that time knew well that the Soviet supermen simply did not have time for playing cellos and attending to their families; most of their time was divided roughly between alcoholic orgies in Moscow's *Sandoony* steambaths, and being exploited as instruments for propaganda during various "international scientific and peace forums."

After Yuri Gagarin died in a jet plane crash, we were the first "ordinary people" to hear the rumors that our lovable superman was gloriously drunk, and some of us, who knew Gagarin personally, suspected that Yuri preferred death — in space or on Mother Earth — to the miserable existence of a propaganda doll. But even this tragic event Novosti turned to the advantage of propaganda, hinting in several "unofficially leaked" reports something to the effect that, "One dare not call himself Russian if he is not fond of a fast troika ride" (an expression popularized by Gogol, a classic 19th century Russian writer).

Space mania lasted roughly from 1963 to 1969, the time of the spectacular American landing on the moon, skillfully played down by some Western media traitors. All these years we knew that our "achievements" were a bluff and could not help but feel sorry about the enthusiasm of the Western media. Few of us were brave enough to give a tip to foreign press, but would they listen to us? Several years later Soviet defector L. Vladimirov-Finkelstein, former editor of a science magazine, tried stubbornly to break through the wall of naivete and ignorance of Western publishers and to reveal the truth about the space race in his brilliant and brutally honest book "Russian Space Bluff." It took the US landing on the moon to make the West change its mind about the faked Soviet space "supremacy" and get rid of its inferiority complex. It only proves, to my mind, how deadly efficient can be Novosti's propaganda.

Human Interest Propaganda

Apart from the subject of space, Novosti would periodically have fits of propaganda on various topics of "human interest." There was

never a lack of authors within Novosti capable of concocting anything in this area. Thus, in the mid-sixties, simultaneously with the KGB-inspired student riots in Western universities, Novosti unfolded a "Youth Campaign," trying to prove to the decadent West that we do not have any "gaps" between our generations. We are monolithic, united and profoundly patriotic! More, we are internationalists, always ready to extend our helping hand to all the oppressed youth in capitalist countries (which we did very successfully!). At the time your Jane Fondas and Pete Seagers promoted "peace" in Vietnam, singing: "Felix, don't be a hero, don't go to war," our Novosti boys were busy concocting fiery propaganda songs on the "liberation struggle." Partly thanks to APN and Fondas, America stalemated by barefoot bandits in Asia and plunged into endless radical youth terrorism at home. The Novosti authors of the "youth" propaganda had sleepless nights and endless alcoholic cycles, burdened with guilt for what we did to the feeble minds of Western youth. Fondas and Seagers do not have even a hint of repentance.

Yielding to the renaissance of Russian Christianity after half a century of atheistic Communism (a phenomenon comparable to the revival of Zionism and Hebrew in Israel), Novosti in the late 60's and early 70's started vigorously promoting the "Old Mother Russia" motif in its propaganda. We wanted to prove to the world that we love our churches and keep them in perfect order as museums, and to let the tourists see our freedom of faith.

Most of Novosti's foreign periodicals carried cover photos of countless troikas, blinis, samovars, icons, etc. — the stuff naive Westerners love so much. It was fun for the foreign media, and a chance for APN to earn extra money, but also a time to shine for some genuine lovers of Russia's neglected and trampled culture. I knew a fellow who was a self-made expert on old Russian architecture and folklore. On his day off, instead of wasting his time watching football or hockey on TV, he would spend the day walking through Moscow countryside villages in search of ruins of old churches and monasteries. He had a large collection of photographs of Russia's past monuments. For several years, though officially a junior editor of *Soviet Land* magazine (part of India's section), he was an authority for Novosti's "Mother Russia" campaign.

Less spectacular authors wrote on metallurgy, postage stamps, telekinesis, heart transplants, ballet, sports, etc.

The sports section of Novosti catered very successfully to the sensationalist tastes of such media clients as Canada's CBC (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation). Obsessed with hockey, the Canadians paid Novosti astronomical sums for grossly unfair matches between such rivals as professional (in the commercial sense) Canadian teams

and the "amateur" gladiators of the Soviet Army. Naturally, Novosti never forgot the main purpose of the deal: to convince the Canadian (and other Western) hockey addicts that Socialist hockey is invincible!

Some Novosti sports commentators were of as high a journalistic caliber as their Western counterparts or higher. I personally knew Sasha Mariamov, a tall, skinny fellow of about 35 whose sports reviews read like detective stories. These pieces of propaganda I would dispatch to the Indian media feeling no guilt; they were more or less harmless and did not call for any "class struggle."

Indo-Soviet Friendship: My Cup of Tea

The privilege of writing "originals" on subjects related to Indo-Soviet relations was, of course, given to the staff of the Asian Department (GRSAS), including myself. The OK was given to me by comrade Makhotin in those cases where neither the clipping files nor any other part of Novosti's plumbing contained the needed material, or when there was a chance to cover some Indo-Soviet happening in Moscow.

The latter included such occasions as, for example, the opening of an exhibition, ironically, of Indian dolls and puppets in a branch of Moscow's Museum of Oriental Cultures. The process of covering such an event is similar to that in any other country's media, with certain peculiarities. They were always attended by exactly the same set of people, a kind of professional team of "official guests." Whether it was a puppet exhibition, or an "evening of Indo-Soviet economic cooperation anniversary" in the Friendship House, or whatever, I always met the same "representative of the Soviet public": illiterate professor of Indian languages Dr. Balabushevich, for instance. Or youngish divorcee Irina Ershova, an official of the "USSR-India Friendship Society." Comrade Ershova was a pretty lady who had the unusual ability to sit long hours in various praesidiums without showing the slightest sign of boredom or tendency to fall asleep. She was a lovely and almost compulsory decoration to any Indo-Soviet propaganda gathering.

Another must was a young but extremely promising diplomat, Igor Boni, several years a consular official in Bombay, who had acquired the reputation of a "pukka sahib" (real gentleman) among the Indian staff for his fluent Hindustani and flawless manners.

His opposite was a professor of Hindustani from the Moscow Institute of Foreign Relations, comrade Oleg Ultsiferov, an uncultivated young man speaking fluent but badly broken Urdu, especially while consuming considerable volumes of liquor at diplomatic



Tomas Schuman (right lower corner) at a meeting of the Indo-Soviet 'Cultural' organization in New Delhi.



Tomas Schuman (right) socializing with foreign students at the Patrice Lumumba 'Friendship university' in Moscow.

receptions. This character would appear to be very trustworthy; many would confide in him; and all the secrets and the gossip were guaranteed to reach the KGB in record time.

A valuable contribution to any gathering was KGB Colonel Erzin, dean of something-or-other at the notorious spy school called the Patrice Lumumba Friendship University. Comrade Colonel also spoke some foreign languages.

After these there would follow an assortment of small fry: several students from Lumumba, a couple of *lastochki* from UPDKA (the department of the KGB rendering domestic and secretarial services to foreign diplomats in Moscow), and finally, a troika of Indian diplomats: sometimes his excellency Kewal Singh, the ambassador, and a combination of first and second secretaries (Mr. Lamba, Mr. Dhume, Mr. Dhundyal, Mr. Mahajan or Mr. Sidharth Singh).

"Friendship meetings" always proceeded in the same order. First Dr. Balabushevich would read from a typewritten page something no one in the audience could understand or bothered to listen to. Several Indian students would secretly hold hands with *lastochki*, or with girls who worked in garment factories named after Rosa Luxembourg or Clara Tzetkin, invited to *Dom Druzhy* as a filler, to become a "collective member" of the USSR-India Friendship Society, in a ceremony at the end of the evening.

The ambassador of India would then take the floor and say something nice about the Russian winter, carefully avoiding mention of the Bhilai Steel Plant or any other industrial monster, for which India is supposed to be eternally thankful to the USSR. (That would not prevent me from inserting it into my report for Novosti, anyway). By the end of the ambassador's speech some Indian boys would have exchanged telephone numbers with Russian girls and move one step further, from holding hands to touching knees. When the lights would go off and a new documentary on old Bhilai started, some hands would go around waists. After the movie the lucky ones would go to dance in the adjacent hall, others — down to the buffet to have a beer and discuss politics (ever so carefully!).

Long before the party was over, I would leave for Novosti, sometimes in an office car with an APN photographer, my article almost ready. Most of it had been written in advance anyway, with blank spaces for names and percentages of growth.

During a "youth" propaganda campaign I concocted several articles for *Soviet Land*. One of them I remember with especially bitter feelings. My boss at the time, comrade Surov, a gray and humorless invalid (his leg was wounded), wanted me to find an Indian student at Moscow State University (MGU) and ask his (or her) impressions of Moscow. I found not only a student of physics,

Ashok Kumar, studying superconductivity under ultra-low temperatures in a cryogen laboratory, but also Savitri, a pretty girl from Nepal, studying medicine, who wanted to be a pediatrician in the Himalayan mountains. Both were very happy, talkative and sociable. They related to me stories about their trips across the USSR during vacations, their life in the MGU *obshchezhitnye* (dorms) where they had to share rooms with two or three other Soviet students (for more complete indoctrination, not for lack of space, but they did not know it), about the eating habits of Russians as opposed to Indians, etc. A human interest story was on the way!

But the old hack Surov rejected both interviews. According to him, they both lacked the expression of gratitude which supposedly overflows in the hearts of Indian students for their "free education" in the USSR, towards the Soviet people, our government and our glorious Party. He wanted me to include "their" thoughts, that such a paradise as MGU is possible only thanks to the scientific theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. He insisted that I put in the Indians' mouths admiration of the "fact" that in "brotherly multi-racial" Moscow there is no discrimination, unlike the USA, where our guests would hardly find a friend for being "colored."

I wasted my time explaining to comrade Surov that both my Indian students were aware of frequent racial scandals within MGU between Russian and African boys fighting over Russian girls, and the drunken orgies some of the "liberated" black brothers organized in the dorms, and the brutal treatment of some "black-asses" by the *druzhinniki* (voluntary Komsomol police). I could have explained also the surprise expressed by the Indians that any political activity except that prescribed by Komsomol is strictly banned in MGU. But the boss wanted only the "truth."

Another frequent assignment was coverage of "press conferences" with visiting Indian VIPs. I remember when, in July of 1966, Mr. Kumaraswami Kamaraj, an outstanding member of the Indian National Congress Party and an opponent of Indira Gandhi's faction, came to Moscow. The Kremlin wanted to cultivate him, as he might win the intra-party struggle for leadership and become the prime minister. On July 30, Novosti and Foreign Affairs staged a marvelous farce in the grand hall of the Metropol Hotel.

The Indian guest pretended not to notice that "media representatives" asked him only questions which already contained answers, and most of the answers were in favor of Soviet foreign policy. Every Novosti person, including myself, prior to arriving at the Metropol, had been given his "questions" typed on a piece of paper, to memorize, or to read aloud if memory failed. My question was about the positive effect of the spirit of the Indo-Pakistani peace conference of

Tashkent on the establishment of stability and mutual security on the Indian subcontinent. Getting Mr. Kamaraj's affirmative answer, I simply incorporated a few of his words into an already typewritten "report" on the press conference.

The next morning, *Pravda* and other Soviet central papers carried the rhapsody to Soviet peace-making efforts. And as far as I knew, at that very moment Soviet submarines were making a home in the Indian ports of Bombay and Visakhapatnam, Soviet air force advisors were training Indians to fly MIGs, and the Soviet Defense Ministry was pushing more and more Soviet-made military hardware on both India and Pakistan, trying to make both dependent on our supplies.

The covering of trade agreement signing ceremonies was more pleasant. One might actually see and even touch some articles of *shirpotreb* (consumer demand) which average Soviet people would never see, for most of them are sold in closed shops for *nomenklatura* only. I loved most of the exhibitions and informal parts of the ceremonies which followed the actual signing and the abstract speeches (the only interesting part of which would be the response of the Soviet trade representatives. The comrades would put so much emphasis on "mutually beneficial trade," their eyes shining with delight and expectation, that I almost visualized the concrete meaning of these words to the fat *apparatchiks* (bureaucrats): we give you turbines made by our slaves, in exchange for those lovely leather shoes for us and leopard fur coats for our wives, and copper plates and jewelry to decorate our apartments . . .).

Cocktails would follow. In the beginning of the Soviet-Indian trade era, Indian hosts would hire waiters to carry silver trays loaded with delicate cocktail glasses and exquisite Indian hors d'oeuvres: *shish-kebabs*, *pakora*, *pani-puri*, etc. Later, after learning the Soviet way of life, the Indians abandoned this etiquette. The booze would be dumped unceremoniously on one of the tables, next to a pile of plastic cups — self-service *po potrebnosti* (according to needs — a Socialist principle implemented only for the *nomenklatura*).

And finally, as an unplanned source of propaganda material, sometimes we were allowed to find our own topics for the "originals" and "exclusives." That I always did at my own risk, for there is no guarantee that a story which takes me four days to prepare may not be thrown into the waste basket, and instead of an honorarium I may get a reprimand from the Party boss. One such story was my innocent opus about pen pals corresponding between India and the USSR.

They were schoolchildren. I found them in the *Dom Pionerov* (Young Pioneers Club) on Vorobyov Hills. They were smart little devils, at the tender age of 6 already learning how to outsmart the all-



Nikita Khrushchev and Leonid Brezhnev befriending an emigre artist S. Roerich and his Indian wife in Moscow. Photo by Novosti Press Agency.



Tomas Schuman (background) with a group of 'progressive' guests visiting a 'typical' Soviet kindergarten in Ukraine.

forbidding Soviet State.

Correspondence with foreigners is unofficially prohibited in our country; it is overtly discouraged, and secretly tampered with at the special section of the main post office (*Glavpochtamt*). The clever kids invented a “collectivized” version of pen pal correspondence, writing their letters in the presence of the senior Komsonol counselor (*pionervozhatyi*). Thus there was an appearance of legitimacy and ideological control. The ratio of correspondence was about one-to-ten in favor of the Soviets: for each “collective” letter sent, the Moscow kids would receive at least a dozen replies from the Indian kids, who had not yet learned the advantages of the socialist system and wrote individually, and without any control. Thus every week the Soviet kids had a pretty large collection of Indian and Pakistani postage stamps, which they successfully converted into rubles at the black market spot in Kuznetski Most Street.

Naturally, I did not mention the profit motive, untypical for Soviet children. I wrote about peace and friendship, mentioning the stamp “exchange” only briefly. But that was enough to awaken the suspicion of my boss, comrade Surov, who, as it turned out later, was himself a postage stamp collector and was aware of the potential profit in the hobby. The opus was scrapped, and I only hoped the young pioneers were not investigated for profiteering.

A convenient source of endless “originals” was Soviet travellogues with visiting foreign guests of Novosti. I was attached to a large number of delegations from India and Pakistan during my career in Moscow. Thus I earned considerable extra money in the form of honorariums and also as leftovers from my travel allowances. During those years I took our unsuspecting guests at least a hundred times along the same officially prescribed tour of Potyomkin’s collective farms, and wined and dined them in the same Intourist hotels. I would bet that if, in some distant future, all the “progressive” Indians would get together, they might discover a lot in common about their trip to the USSR.

By the end of my Moscow era, I knew almost every waitress by name; every nurse in every “typical” kindergarten, intimately; every Soviet ballet; ad nauseum, and I could walk Hermitage, Tretyakovskaya Gallery and Sofia Cathedral in Kiev with my eyes closed and my mind switched off. Even after defection to the West, I feel nauseous when I watch on TV a Soviet ballet on a tour in the West. Also I have a strong allergy to classical paintings and daycare centers.

COLLABORATORS: WHO ARE THEY?

It is obvious to me that even the most charming and talented P.R. agent of APN-KGB would fail to plant disinformation in the foreign media unless he were assisted by the foreign collaborators. Ideological subversion, it was explained to me by my KGB supervisors, is always a two-way street. The effectiveness of Soviet propaganda depends at least 50% on the generous aid of Novosti’s foreign collaborators.

The phenomenon of collaboration with the Soviet ideological “active measures” affects a wide variety of personalities, regardless of their nationality, ethnic and cultural background, education, level of intelligence, political ideas and affiliations, or social and class origins. I have come to the realization that virtually no foreigner is entirely immune to this infectious disease.

It would be naive to expect that only the uneducated “proletarians” fall victim to Soviet propaganda and become “revolutionaries.” As a matter of fact, my KGB supervisors explicitly instructed me “not to waste my time” and APN’s money on the “true believers in Communism.” My KGB contact in New Delhi, comrade Gadin, suggested to me, after seeing my overly friendly socialization with students and young Indian radicals: “Aim higher — at the upper-middle-class intellectuals and otherwise INFLUENTIAL personalities.” True believers, he said, make the worst enemies if and when they become disillusioned with Communism, or finally see through the deception. What KGB-APN needs is a person who would be ready to compromise moral principles (if he had any) for his personal short-term advantage. According to my observation and practice, such persons suffer from one or more of the following flaws in their characters: egoism, ethnocentrism (or bigotry), greed, mental laziness, cynicism, lack of confidence (or, conversely, overconfidence), fear (especially fear of failure or fear of appearing as “misfits” and underachievers in their own careers and ventures), and the inability to be compassionate toward the sufferings of others. Often among the KGB-APN collaborators I could see persons with various physiological deviations: homosexuals, impotents, or — conversely — persons obsessed with sex and other pleasures, persons unable to establish lasting and meaningful relationships with the opposite sex, persons unable to show or receive love, etc. On top of it all, the most “recruitable” people are “materialists, pragmatists,” obsessed with the immediate and complete “success” of THEIR ventures. Another great category of collaborators are those who are unable to laugh at

themselves, who take themselves too seriously. Healthy skepticism and a good sense of humor provide one of the best remedies against Novosti infection.

I have met scores of conceited snobbish “intellectuals,” who suffered from self-importance and firmly believed that the public in their own country was too backward to understand their genius. Novosti provides a very receptive audience for such megalomaniacs, especially when they write books about their “experiences” in the USSR in surrealistic (or rather Social-realistic) terms.

To sum it up, as one Russian Orthodox priest told me, “Communism is not a political, economical, military or geographical problem. It is a MORAL problem.” Novosti Press Agency and her KGB bosses will be successful in the manipulation of public opinion in the free world as long as there are AMORAL persons ready to cooperate with APN-KGB for their own immoral gains and purposes.

The smallest category of collaborations are those who idealistically BELIEVE that Communism (and its first “civilized” stage of Socialism) is indeed a “better system” and better solution for all the problems of mankind. After 67 years of historical evidence, after hundreds of MILLIONS perished under this system, in view of its gross inefficiency in any area of human activity (except the military, an aggressive one) — such idealism borders on insanity. Therefore I would not take this category of collaborators seriously. Ignorance, to my mind, plays a major role in this type of “idealism.”

But the greatest attraction, according to my observations, is a real (or imagined) REWARD for services rendered by collaborators to the Soviet promoters of “active measures.”

Foreign Press Collaborators

It took the Novosti elite three years, after we were established in 1961, to discover that our propaganda was too boring, dogmatic and unbelievable to print in anything but foreign leftist tabloids. To infiltrate the big press of the West, Novosti had to raise its materials to the international level. In 1964, following the example of the talented chief editor of *Izvetia*, APN introduced high-quality decadent capitalist methods.

Thus, to satisfy some *solidnyi* (big press) clientele, Novosti started to invite cooperation from professional foreign journalists stationed in Moscow. Some of them cooperated willingly, trying to convince themselves that they might obtain access, through the Novosti, to “reliable sources close to the Politbureau,” and we carefully maintained that illusion. Others, reluctantly realized that they were being taken for a ride, but decided “better the APN, than nothing.” Some

did it for the extra income from Novosti, and still others because they truly believed in Communism. Until this very day, none of the foreign collaborators have enough courage to reveal the true nature of their deals with the APN.

The most common recruiting method is to approach a foreign journalist with a “backgrounder,” a crudely written collection of propaganda clichés, fictional statistics, and sometimes real names and dates. For a substantial payment, a foreigner can either rewrite this in his own style and pass it on as his own report, or edit it heavily and recommend it to the editor of his paper for what it is, an “exclusive” article by a Novosti commentator.

In our Asian section we utilized the services of Darshan Singh, a skinny, cross-eyed, intelligent Punjabi, who prior to coming to Moscow had been collaborating for years with the Delhi bureau of Novosti. He was invited to Moscow through Novosti and the Central Committee’s Agitprop and, with many other fellow-travellers, was helped to a job as translator with the Foreign Languages Publishing House. There he did routine work, translating the masterpieces of Lenin and Brezhnev, novels by Sholokhov and Gorki, etc., into Punjabi. That was his cover job, which provided his regular income. The real creativity of Darshan Singh was used for a different kind of writing, for APN. Together with our boss, comrade Makhotin, Darshan concocted weekly a gossip column entitled “Letter from Moscow,” based on regular Agitprop material, sometimes simply borrowed from *Pravda* editorials. Using his old connections with several respectable large-circulation newspapers in India, such as *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* (Calcutta) or a number of Punjabi papers, Darshan Singh established a lively traffic in propaganda, using Novosti teleprinter facilities, photographic services, and even our typists and stenographers. He was paid by the Indian paper as a regular correspondent in Indian rupees, and by Novosti in Soviet rubles.

After about a year of cultivating the foreign news desks of a couple of Indian newspapers, Novosti made them dependent on us as their source of “exclusive information.” Most Indian papers cannot afford to keep their own correspondent in Moscow, but for prestige would not mind having a regular “Moscow letter,” with the latest gossip from “diplomatic circles” planted by APN-KGB often arriving before that same news was reported on other international wire services. They would also appreciate human interest stories, including such unorthodox features as photos of a Moscow farm market, pictures from a “typical Soviet wedding party,” and even interviews with some fake Soviet “dissidents,” provided by Novosti for such occasions as slandering Alexander Solzhenitsyn.

I doubt that Darshan Singh really believed in what he was writing. He was too smart for that. Neither was he a dedicated Communist. He was too cynical to love the system, the victory of which would render people like him unnecessary, or worse. My guess is that he was simply greedy and amoral and very conceited at that. It took him one hour to create a masterpiece of propaganda, while others would spend days and weeks concocting vapid articles. Darshan looked upon us, the Novosti rank and file, as primitives, unworthy of his attention. Even our New Delhi bureau deputy-chief Oleg Benyukh did not deserve Darshan's respect, especially after Benyukh decided to become a writer and gave birth to a monstrous creation of his entitled something like "Adventures of a Ukranian in India," a rhapsody to non-existent "proletarian international solidarity." The book was, however, published in India, thanks mainly to Darshan's re-writing the whole boring thing into passable Punjabi.

Each of Darshan's "Moscow Letters" cost Novosti about as much as the monthly salary of a junior editor like myself. How much Darshan was paid by the Indian newspapers, I can only guess.

Unlike Darshan, who spent a lot of time on the Novosti premises, and was not ashamed to receive payment, there were some "clean" collaborators, who wanted by all means to look honest and independent while dealing with the APN. They would attend some of our propaganda functions, orchestrated by Agitprop through Novosti, but they would avoid taking our "backgrounders."

One such "innocent" collaborator was Dev Murarka. I met him on various occasions in the *Dom Druzhy* (Friendship House) in Kalininski Street, in the club of the Soviet Writers Union in Vorovski Street, and at numerous parties and gatherings on diplomatic or higher cultural levels. He did not like to be seen in deep conversation with APN employees. But I knew, and from very reliable sources, that Mr. Dev Murarka was in fact "our man." Most of his dispatches from Moscow were presented as "freelance" material in the Western press. But there is simply no such thing in the USSR as a foreign freelancer: a foreign correspondent can obtain a residence visa and accreditation from the foreign affairs press department *only* if he represents a known newspaper. The exclusion from this rule is made *only* for Communists, representing non-existent (or barely existing) leftist tabloids. Thus Mr. Murarka's "freelance" status was a fake.

Those stubborn journalists who consistently reject Novosti's passes and try to dig out their own stories normally do not last long in Moscow. Thus my friend Nihal Singh, Moscow correspondent for *The Statesman* (New Delhi), was recalled after my efforts to cultivate him for Novosti and the KGB failed. Naturally, I did not try hard, and did my dirty job very unwillingly, feeling respect for Mr. Singh's

integrity and common-sense conservatism. I tried to give him all kinds of signals and hints to indicate that my interest in him was strictly separate from the job entrusted to me by Novosti and my KGB contact. I am still unsure whether he realized what I was trying to convey. He and his Dutch wife were very nice to me and to Anna, my wife. We genuinely enjoyed their company and tried to make our picnics as natural as possible.

On arrival in Delhi in February 1969, I renewed our friendship, both for my own pleasure and following the recommendations of my new KGB contact, comrade Gadin. We met several times at my place in 25 Barakhamba Road, and in the Delhi press club, on one occasion where he made a rather critical speech about the decision of Indira Gandhi to nationalize India's banks.

Whether because he read my messages correctly, or simply because he was a noble man, Nihal Singh published a very complimentary article about me in *The Statesman* after my defection. He had become the chief political correspondent and news editor by that time.



Mr. Nihal Singh (second from the left) of *The Statesman* (New Delhi) with a group of friendly Novosti mind-benders.

SERVICES AND PAY

The official Prospectus of the Novosti Press Agency says: "APN enters into contacts and concludes agreements and contracts with both state-owned and privately-owned newspapers, magazines, news agencies, publishing houses, broadcasting and television companies, as well as individuals, to supply them with Agency materials for an *appropriate fee*."

The above statement is an "overstatement," if not a "bloody lie."

All through my career with the Novosti I have never heard of anyone in their right mind giving as much as a penny for Novosti's "material." Some sick-minded or uniquely stupid individuals and companies, yes indeed, sometimes do pay an "appropriate fee" to Novosti.

Thus, in 1975, editors and publishers of the world-famous *Encyclopaedia Britannica* bought from APN some 15 or 16 articles about the "Soviet Socialist Republics," wherein the flora and fauna of the Soviet colonies is described in glorious socialist-realistic detail, but not a word is said about the methods of appropriating (or rather, annexing) the national statehoods of formerly independent East European, Baltic and Asian nations. Both the origin and the current functioning of the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" are described there in mythical terms, in typical Novosti style. But again, there is not a single mention of what happened to about 40% of the native (ethnically non-Russian) populations of the "Soviet Republics": frozen and starved to death in Siberia, whence they were deported in cattle-vans, old men, women and children; able men machine-gunned by the KGB; or (the happiest ending!) forcibly assimilated by the fraternal invaders.

Also, not a word about the ethnic composition of the power organs of the "republics" — the local Central Committees of the Communist Party — predominantly Russian or Ukrainian even in (and especially in) such ethnically distant areas as Central Asia, Caucasus and the Baltics . . .

Instead the *Britannica* is full of praises to the Soviet "public and political organizations," such as the Young Pioneers, the Young Communist League, DOSSAAF (a paramilitary youth organization in the tradition of Hitler-Jugend), etc., and again, not a single word of EDITORIAL explanation about the nature of such unprecedented "political pluralism" in a country with a one-party system of power!

I can only guess about the true motivation of the *Britannica* publishers, borrowing such crude and very un-British propaganda from

the Novosti, and PAYING for it with hard (though decadent) British pounds sterling. To my mind it is either a rare case of pure idiocy, or a side effect of an infectious disease of the 1970's called "detente" — wishful thinking about the making the Soviet junta more peaceful by describing it as such.

There is no need to pay an "appropriate fee" to Novosti, because in most cases *Novosti* is too happy to pay (rubles, dollars or pounds), to anyone who agrees to publish its crap.

In fact, according to my observations and experience, confirmed by dozens of defectors from the KGB and APN, Novosti has a well-developed list of services and payments for all sorts of foreign collaborators, which I quote below.

OVERT AND LEGITIMATE OPERATIONS

In its official Prospectus, Novosti states that "APN's publications are disseminated in foreign countries in strict accordance with the laws and regulations of these countries." That may or may not be true. But let us look at the various methods of dissemination of APN propaganda from the viewpoint of LEGALITY as well as MORALITY (and I mean universal human morality, not the Communist one, where the end justifies the means).

I purposefully neglect considerations of "willingness" and "unwillingness" (due to ignorance, deceit, stupidity etc.) while observing the dissemination of APN's propaganda through the foreign collaborators in THEIR OWN countries. Why? Because it is indeed too hard to prove the degree of that "willingness" on the part of a collaborator. But it is very easy to review the "active measures" promoted and facilitated by collaborators, from the standpoint of Western MORALITY on one hand, and from the standpoint of Soviet Law on the other. This comparison is extremely important to realize, what the Soviet system itself considers ILLEGAL and CRIMINAL and what it does in foreign countries, using the legitimate freedoms of "open society" to achieve Soviet goals.

Thus, the "legitimate" or overt active measures conducted by the KGB-Novosti tandem abroad — through the foreign collaborators — include the following:

- Publication of a piece of pro-Soviet propaganda material in the Soviet media, authored by a foreign collaborator, with further re-circulation (by quotation, reference or reprinting) in the country of the collaborator;
- A public statement in the interests of the Soviet State, made by a foreign collaborator on Soviet radio, TV, or at an international forum organized by the Novosti within the USSR; replaying of

that statement in a foreign country;

- Same as above two, but originated in a foreign country and by the foreign collaborator, with further publication (and/or broadcasting or disseminating in any other way) in the foreign media;
- A speech made by a foreign collaborator at one of the CPSU-sponsored “international congresses” within the USSR, with further publication in the Novosti periodicals;
- Same as above, but in a foreign country, at a “leftist” or “liberal” forum, where the policies of the USA and its allies are being attacked;
- Publication of a book, literary work, piece of art, or scientific research, emphasizing the “virtues of a planned economy” and lambasting the “oppressive” capitalist system;
- Establishing a pro-Soviet newspaper, magazine, radical tabloid, or “liberal” periodical sharply attacking the “roots” of the “establishment” and the moral standards of Western society;
- Introduction and conducting of an academic course (or series of lectures, seminars, study groups, etc.) with an emphasis on Marxist-Leninist ideology, at any Western university;
- Establishing a pro-Socialist political or public organization in the country of a collaborator;
- Distribution of APN’s periodicals, booklets, releases and other materials in the collaborator’s country;
- Direct cooperation with APN’s bureau (in the staff) abroad.

As you can see, there is nothing very dramatic in these active, but rather legitimate (from the standpoint of Western law) measures. Now, let us see what Novosti pays the foreign collaborators for these services, and what would be a Soviet citizen’s “reward,” if he would dare to do the same in reverse — by cooperating with a foreign state or private organization — from the standpoint of Soviet law.

Service No. 1

Publication of pro-Soviet (pro-Communist, pro-Socialist, but anti-American and anti-Western) material, an article, story or a news item, in the Soviet, or Soviet-controlled media, by a foreign collaborator of Novosti, concocted on the basis of an APN ‘backgrounder’, supplied by Novosti agents, is worth an average of 25 rubles per typewritten page. (Depending on the rate of inflation, it may be more.) A collaborator may spend his rubles in the USSR, or receive his “royalty” in a currency of his own country according to the Soviet-established rate of exchange.

Now, look how the Soviet law defines this action, if committed by a Soviet (or Soviet-controlled country’s) citizen: an author (a journalist, writer, or simply a restless person) who would dare to publish a pro-Western news item or an article (or anything even distantly critical of the Soviet empire) in the Western media, will get an average of 5 years of imprisonment (or concentration camp) for this so-called “anti-Soviet agitation” as defined by Article 70 of the Soviet Criminal Code. See the difference? For 10 pages of pro-Communist crap a Western collaborator gets 200 rubles, but a Soviet citizen — 5 years of hard labor. (Daniel and Synyavsky, the two Russians who ventured to publish their essays abroad, and a Yugoslavian Mijailo Mijailov, who did the same, spent more than 5 years — but that is a pure — technicality.” Sinyavsky and Mijailov are now living in the West, so they may share their experiences with the Western collaborators of Novosti, if they were willing to listen, which they normally aren’t.)

Service No. 2

For a verbal statement of a pro-Soviet nature made by a foreign collaborator of APN within the USSR, or in a “brotherly” territory (Cuba, Nicaragua, Angola, Vietnam, Afghanistan, etc), as arranged by APN on a radio or TV station, the foreigner receives from 200 to 1000 rubles, depending on the content of his statement and the reputation (notoriety) of the collaborator.

A Soviet citizen simply cannot make a pro-Western statement on foreign radio, even if he (or she) is allowed to visit a foreign country. This is specified in the Secret Briefing at the Visa Department of the Central Committee, which every Soviet citizen traveling abroad, without exception, must read and sign before his visa is approved. But if a Soviet citizen would dare to smuggle a tape-recorded message out of the USSR, he would be treated according to the same Article 70 of the Criminal Code: five years of hard labor in Siberia or some equally pleasant location.

Service No. 3

For the same as the above two, but directed by the Novosti towards the foreign media (planted in foreign newspapers, for example), a foreign collaborator, as a rule, is paid in both Soviet rubles at Moscow APN headquarters and in foreign moneys by a foreign branch of Novosti in his country. Sometimes the collaborator is also paid by the “useful idiots” of a foreign newspaper, publishing house, or TV network. In those rare cases when the story is “unacceptable” to the foreign media, a local bureau of Novosti may “push it through” by simple bribery, intoxicating an editor at an embassy party, or coercing a publisher in some other way (by promi-

sing a free trip to the USSR to meet with Bolshoi ballerinas and famous milkmaids in Murmansk). The amount of the bribe would depend on the importance and news value of the material. To my knowledge, Novosti included several cooperative Indian publishers in the group of "Jawaharlal Nehru Prize Winners," which simply means a half-million Rupee bribe in a legitimate and rather respectable form.

Naturally, a Soviet citizen, should he dream of collaborating with, say, UPI or France Presse, will not survive for too long as a "free lancer": instead of a Pulitzer Prize he may get 10 years at a concentration camp in the GULAG for "collaboration with foreign intelligence services" (and UPI is a "stooge of the CIA," according to *Pravda*, isn't it?).

Service No. 4

A speech made by a foreign collaborator of Novosti at one of the "international forums" orchestrated by the Agitprop within the Soviet Empire. For the publishing rights of that pronouncement (the text of which is often prepared by the APN staffers long before a foreign guest lands at Moscow Airport), Novosti pays to the collaborator a one-time fee of about 2,000 rubles, plus all his travel expenses. Naturally, the collaborator has to earn the honor by being a good parrot and obedient pet. Mother Russia seldom extends hospitality to "unuseful idiots," who stubbornly refuse to read their speeches from the prepared texts.

As you may have already guessed, no Soviet citizen has a LEGAL RIGHT to make any unauthorized speech at any international forum, least of all one which is "anti-Soviet" or pro-Western. Violation of this law is considered "high treason" by Article 64 of the Soviet Criminal Code, which, by the way, provides the ultimate punishment: DEATH.

The only possible way for a Soviet citizen to address an international forum is to be ASSIGNED to make such a speech by the Agitprop. Of course, there is another, more troublesome way: to become a dissident writer, to be arrested and sent to the GULAG for 11 years, released, harassed by the KGB for another 10 years, and finally kicked out of the country to the West. Then only — yes, one may have a right to talk to an international forum, and in the process be ridiculed and offended by the Western liberal media as a "cold war paranoid" and "right wing extremist." Alexander Solzhenitsyn tried this method.

Service No. 5

For making pro-Communist speeches and pro-Soviet statements

OUTSIDE of the Soviet Empire, the collaborators of APN are paid accordingly in the currencies of their own countries, at the rate of exchange established by the Soviet bank (one progressive Soviet ruble for one decadent American dollar, or even less). Often APN-KGB funnels additional moneys to the organizers of pro-Communist gatherings, and also covers the expenses for media coverage of the event. So, the foreign collaborators again have two chances to be remunerated: from Novosti directly, and from local "useful idiots."

Naturally, pro-Western public statements or speeches are unthinkable within the Soviet Empire even if and when such a science-fictional event might be financed by the CIA or the John Birch Society.

In any case, a Western collaborator of APN-KGB would be paid some \$2,000, whilst a citizen of the Communist Block may have a choice of firing squad or psychiatric asylum with forceful "treatment" by mind-destructive chemicals.

Service No. 6

Publication of a book, literary work, piece of art, or scientific research, by a foreign collaborator, with APN's aid and ideological "encouragement," glorifying the Communist (or Socialist) way of life "collectivist" philosophy, planned economy and/or "bright future for all mankind" — a one-world system based on "progress and just redistribution of wealth," and defaming "decadent capitalism" in the process, is usually rewarded by Novosti with a lump sum in five figures in rubles, plus, very often, a similar royalty in "hard currency." All the expenses for publication, editing, technical production and distribution are normally taken over by the Novosti. The author may also be invited to visit the USSR for a "free trip" and a title of "progressive," together with some "honorable diploma" from Patris Lumumba Friendship University, which the collaborator may proudly frame and exhibit to his (or her) academic brotherhood (or sisterhood).

A Soviet counterpart of a foreign collaborator, for even trying to do the same towards the free world, may earn various "royalties" for publishing his work abroad: from 5 years of labor camp (Daniel and Sinyavsky), to public defamation in the Soviet media (Pasternak, Bulgakov, Zoshchenko), to a forced exile from the Motherland (Solzhenitsyn), to a firing squad (Babel, Mandelshtam, Meyerhold and hundreds of other intellectuals during the period of unprecedented blossoming of Socialist Realism in arts and science). If the book published abroad has any scientific value (not even a "secret" or "defense" subject, but, say, something about the sex habits of polar bears), the author, for passing his work to foreign publishers, may be

charged with "high treason," according to Articles 64, 65 and 75 of the Criminal Code (treason, espionage, and divulging of State secrets). And every schoolchild in the USSR knows, that every Soviet scientist, without exception, is the property of the State, together with all the contents of his brain. Therefore everything he writes, scribbles or utters IS a state secret.

Service No. 7

Establishing a tabloid, newspaper or magazine in a foreign country, in which, directly or otherwise, Soviet ideology and Soviet foreign policy are justified or supported, or in which Soviet-supported surrogates (Cuba, Angola, Nicaragua, the P.L.O., various 'National-Liberation Fronts') are described in positive, "progressive" terms. For this type of service collaborators of APN-KGB are rewarded through various "front organizations" formally not related to the Soviet embassy or Novosti Press Agency. In my own practice in India we gave birth to dozens of such illegitimate "children" of APN, from radical students' tabloids to "independent progressive" magazines, the circulation of which would not exceed 100 copies and the entire staff consisted of 1 person. The propaganda effect of these papers is negligible. And indeed it is not the main purpose of APN, but the creation of such periodicals gives APN-KGB a legal and overt channel to funnel money and support to the so-called "activ," a group of radicals and agitators who are officially on the payroll of this or that newspaper as staff writers, columnists, etc., but who are in fact simply signing the materials (articles, commentaries, news items) prepared by the Novosti bureau in a foreign country. Most of the time these activists are engaged in organizational work on campuses and in slums of large "capitalists" cities. Their "salaries" from the newspaper allow them to survive financially without being employed productively anywhere at all.

The money is not paid to the papers directly. It is channeled through real or fake advertising agencies, which place commercial ads for such Soviet businesses as Aeroflot, Intourist, Tractorexport, or even for some non-existent products and services. What matters is that money transfer to the "activ" becomes legitimate.

The most active and survivable organs of such media conceived with the help from Novosti are taken good care of. The editors and the "staff" are regularly invited to the USSR (or one of the "Peoples" Republics of the Soviet Empire) for prolonged visits, or for medical treatment of their V.D. and hernias acquired in the endless "class struggle" in their own countries. Some of the activists spend their vacations in Soviet Crimea, or at Bulgarian Black Sea resorts. Some send their children to Soviet schools for a "free education" (paid by

the Soviet taxpayers), or to Soviet summer camps like *Artek* in Crimea.

To realize what a mirror replica of such an activity would mean to a Soviet citizen within the USSR, try to establish a pro-Western (pro-"capitalist") newspaper in the city of Sverdlovks.

Service No. 8

Introduction of a "Marxist-Leninist" (or similarly "progressive") course of lectures, seminars, study groups, etc. in any Western school or college by Novosti's collaborators is normally compensated by either one-time payment in the form of "prizes" dedicated to "peace, friendship and mutual understanding between the nations," or by several (often regular) free trips to the USSR to attend various "international conferences" under the guise of "cultural and academic exchange." Most of the expenses for such trips are paid by the APN-KGB. Some Western scholars, suffering from self-importance, are being "bought" by simply publishing their vapid books and "scientific works" (essays, research papers, etc.) in the USSR or other "fraternal" countries. Disproportionately large "royalties" paid by the Novosti to such collaborators soon become quite an addiction to a "professor," especially if his "work" is poorly appreciated in his own country for being too "leftist" even for enfeebled Western brains.

For a comparison, try to imagine a Russian professor introducing a course of lectures on, say, profit-oriented management in . . . Leningrad University! Some Soviet academics have gotten themselves into deep trouble even for much less ideologically dangerous lectures on the subjects of genetics or cybernetics ("pseudo-science of the decadent West"). Many Soviet academics perished in the GULAG simply for quoting from Western textbooks, or for being too slow to adjust to the ever-fluctuating "general line" of the Party Ideology. Some ended up in "sharashkas" (special prisons for scientists, where they continue to work for the glory of Soviet technology, as did Tupolev, Korolyov, and many others. The "sharashkas" are excellently described by Alexander Solzhenitsyn in his novel "First Circle").

Thus: half a million dollars for a Western collaborator of APN; life-time imprisonment for his Soviet colleague for trying to "build bridges between scientists of the world."

Service No. 9

Establishing (founding) a pro-Communist public organization (such as the "Soviet-American Friendship Society" etc.), and popularization of the activities of such organizations through the local media, representing them as "true expressors of public opinion in a

democratic society," is rewarded by the Novosti through various "foundations" and front groups. Most of the funds and revenues are generated locally, in a target country, with the help of a professional fund-raiser, employed by the Novosti through intermediaries. Very often the activists of "peacenik" and "freeznik" movements do not realize that they are, in fact, on the payroll and under control of the APN-KGB. Some prefer to overlook or not to understand this sensitive issue . . . for the sake of financial comfort. An Indian friend of mine in New Delhi, an activist of the "Indo-Soviet Cultural Society" (ISCO), was paid as much as 600 Rupees a month, the average salary of a junior bureaucrat in Indian government plus some "expenses" and occasional trips to the USSR for fun, rest and further indoctrination. Surely he understood that the society he administered had nothing to do with either "culture" or "friendship" between the people of India and the USSR. But who could refuse an invitation to Sochi (a Black Sea resort) or resist the temptation to be mentioned in the world press as a "progressive and sober-thinking personality"?

The most active public figures, instrumental in the process of creation of pro-Soviet organizations and groups, are being systematically showered with all sorts of "international prizes": Lenins, Nobels, Jawaharlal Nehrus, etc. A one-time "prize" from the Novosti maybe, sometimes, as much as a million American dollars.

By comparison, a person in the USSR who would try to establish a pro-Western, pro-Democratic, or (what a horror!) pro-Jewish (pro-Israel) organization in Moscow, will get as much as 15 years in a concentration camp or even the death penalty, in strict accordance with the Soviet Criminal Code, Articles #70, 64, 65, 71, 75 (Propaganda, Treason, Espionage, Propaganda of War, and Divulging of State Secrets). Helsinki monitoring groups in the USSR (what could be more "peaceful" and "friendly"?!) were harrassed by the KGB to their complete extinction. Rare daredevils of Soviet "peaceniks" who demanded the freeze of SOVIET nuclear weaponry were put in KGB psychiatric asylums and tortured by chemicals.

In other words: a million dollars for a Western peacenik and a slow painful death for a Soviet one. Do you sleep well, Western collaborators of Novosti? Does anything bother you, aside from the Pentagon's warheads?

Service No. 10

Dissemination (distribution) of APN periodicals and propaganda booklets in the free world through legitimate circulation agencies and retail book stores, on campuses and through school libraries is rewarded by a regular salary roughly equal to that of an agent for subscription in the target country. The collaborators-distributors are



Tomas Schuman (second left) with a group of collaborators, distributors of Novosti subversive propaganda in India, visiting the Kremlin. A bonus for good work.



A. Biswas, editor of The Amrita Bazar Patrika newspaper (Calcutta) as a Novosti guest in Moscow, accompanied by an interpreter.

also rewarded by regular free trips to the USSR (or fraternal countries), and sometimes by one-time prizes and valuable presents, from a "Matreshka" doll to a camera, watch, TV set, or even a Soviet-made car.

Promotion of subscriptions to Soviet propaganda publications is also rewarded by a generous "commission" of up to 60% of the retail price of the publication, such as "Soviet Life," (officially published by the Soviet embassy in Washington, D.C.), and other magazines, and books.

A similar "service" by a Soviet citizen to a publisher in any free country is unheard of, but punishable by the same above articles of the Criminal Code.

Service No. 11

Direct cooperation with Novosti Press Agency, either in one of the foreign bureaus or within the USSR, pays regular wages, roughly equal to the wages of the media workers in the target country. Bonuses may include a variety of awards, from a free automobile to a free space at the cemetery near the Kremlin Wall, next to many other collaborators — from John Reed to Dean Reed (an American pop-singer, residing mainly in Moscow. He is not dead yet, though.)

Direct employment of a Soviet citizen by a foreign mission or a news agency is high treason, unless the employee is an officer of the UPRDK a branch of the KGB responsible for hiring domestic servants, secretaries, drivers, interpreters, etc., for foreign nationals residing in the USSR. UPRDK means "Directorate of Affairs of Diplomatic Corps" — Upravlenie Delami Diplomaticheskogo Korpusa, in Russian).

Any other Soviet citizen who would dare to be hired by a foreigner in Moscow is treated as an enemy of People, with every regular consequence.

This is a brief and far-from-complete list of "services" which the foreign collaborators of Novosti render to the self-proclaimed enemy of their own countries. These actions are OVERT: any sensible person can, if he wants, observe them and monitor the results in both short and long time spans. There is not a SINGLE law in any free country that would prevent collaborators from OPENLY and LEGITIMATELY cooperating with the APN-KGB. But there is a law in the USA, which forbids the American intelligence services to contact (or use in any other way) their own American media to even EXPLAIN (to say nothing about JUSTIFY) their operations against the KGB-controlled Novosti Press Agency, the ideological subverter that feels at home in any "belligerent capitalist country." I was told it

is a price Democracy must pay for its freedom. To my mind, it is a price the Free World pays for self-destruction.

COVERT & ILLEGITIMATE ACTIVE MEASURES

Most of the "covert" and "unlawful" actions have already been well described in many books by many Western authors (John Barron's "KGB Today" is one of the most recent). I shall list only several of them, known to be conducted through the Novosti Press Agency. Some of these active measures are harmful and unlawful enough to attract the attention of the law enforcement organs of the Free World, but remain unpunished for various diplomatic reasons, such as not wanting to "rock the boat" or "threaten the Russians," or so as not to "harm the spirit of détente," etc. Others are considered to be too unlikely to stand up in court, and, even if proven to be unlawful, too unlikely to result in punishment of the offender, that is the Soviet Government, by, say, collecting judgments or fines from the USSR, or for that matter from the administration of the Novosti Press Agency. In fact, there is a "catch": the official Prospectus of APN specifies that "Novosti will not be legally responsible for any claims against the Soviet State," and the other way around: the Soviet State is not accountable for claims against the Novosti (since it is a "non-government" organization).

Many of these active measures are "covert" only in a purely formal sense: every sensible member of the Western (or Eastern) security service knows perfectly well about Novosti mischief, and so does the media. Conservative and anti-Communist groups make this information available to the public and to government bureaucrats. It is being consistently ignored both by the bureaucrats and by the public, who prefer to remain in blissful ignorance about such unpleasant facts, leading to the uncomfortable realization that they are being duped.

So, with the support of, or in cooperation with, the KGB, with practically unlimited financing by the Soviet State (which in turn is being financed by the Western banks and the multinational corporations) with the assistance of foreign collaborators, and without any fear of being taken before any court of justice and punished, Novosti Press Agency performs the following dirty tricks and pays the following moneys (and awards) to the collaborators:

Service No. 1

Defamation and slander campaigns against Soviet citizens (dissidents, moral protesters, intellectuals, etc.) who fell into disfavor with the Soviet junta. If and when it is done in the Soviet media by a foreign collaborator, the "royalty" is paid either in Soviet rubles (the

same rate as for the "overt" publication), or in a foreign currency, or through various "bonuses," such as a free trip to the USSR. Thus, for defamation of Alexander Solzhenitzyn in the Soviet media, several Western writers and journalists were listed as "progressive" and their names were added to the lists for future invitations by the Novosti. For slandering Solzhenitsyn in *Pravda*, a Canadian writer by the name of Farley Mowatt was awarded another free trip to Siberia, where he did research for another book — a "bestseller" about the happy life of Soviet Eskimos. For slandering academician Sakharov in the *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, another Canadian "progressive" journalist, Mary Dawson, may simply have been paid some 3,000 decadent Canadian dollars in the innocent form of a "literary prize" from a Communist tabloid such as the *Canadian Tribune*.

Some of the remuneration to the collaborators comes in the form of a "valuable present," as described above.

Due to the fact that Soviet dissidents have absolutely no opportunity to bring their foreign offenders to court (a Soviet or a Western one), most of the slanderers and defamers remain unpunished and free to enjoy Novosti payments and favors. Conversely, if a Soviet citizen would dare to say something "disrespectful" about any of the foreign stooges of the Kremlin, he may be charged with "defamation and slander" according to Articles 130 & 131 of the Soviet Criminal Code. The punishment may vary from a heavy fine to 3 years of imprisonment plus exile, unless "compounding ideological evidence" is found, in which case the Soviet dissident will end up either in the GULAG or in a psychiatric asylum.

Service No. 2

The same, but in the media of the Free World. In this case the foreign collaborator (slanderer) is being paid twice: once from the Novosti (in Rubles), and the second time in a foreign currency, by the publishers of the "progressive" media in the West.

Service No. 3

Slander, defamation or libel directed against a foreign person — a politician, writer, publisher, etc., — preferably an influential and anti-Communist (conservative, patriotically minded person), resisting Soviet influence in his own country. The list of most desirable targets for the Novosti-KGB-orchestrated process of character assassination includes virtually every prominent public figure of the Free World, daring to criticize Soviet foreign policy or Soviet practices at home. In India during my career with the Soviet embassy, such target was Mr. Morarjee Desai, leader of "conservative opposition" to Indira Gandhi's ruling National Congress party. With financial

and ideological encouragement from Novosti, collaborators in the leftist liberal media poured gallons of venom on that person, describing him as a "reactionary, fascist, ultra-right-wing fanatic, lackey of Western imperialism, etc." Apart from name-calling, Novosti-sponsored radical tabloids published bits and pieces of rumors, half-truths and pure fabrications, designed to discredit this politician. It is difficult to distinguish, sometimes, a locally created hate campaign against a conservative politician from a Novosti-orchestrated one. To my knowledge, the role of many collaborators is often simply to fan the flames of slander hysteria. And it is difficult, indeed (unless one has an "insider" within the Soviet embassy), to establish the fact of payment to a collaborator. Even if payment could be proven, the law enforcement body of a target country has the problem of proving that the payment relates to specific seditious lies circulated in the media.

After my defection to the West and settling in Canada, I came across a classic example of how the libel (or character assassination) process is initiated. A Canadian journalist and broadcaster with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), a Mr. Mark Starowitz, for several years was supplying KGB agent, Konstantin Geiwandov (officially a *Pravda* correspondent in Ottawa) with all sorts of information of a rather private nature about several members of the Parliamentary Press Gallery. Mr. Starowitz was handsomely paid for his services. He knew perfectly well the purpose of comrade Geiwandov's curiosity: that information was needed for only one possible purpose — defamation. He also knew that what he was doing is described in Canadian law as "violation of privacy" and "spreading of gossip, harmful to individual(s)." But when the whole story was revealed in a conservative Canadian newspaper, *The Toronto Sun*, Mark Starowitz was not even reprimanded by the management of the CBC. On the contrary, he was promoted to the position of managing producer for one of the most popular and politically influential TV programs ("Sunday Magazine"). Interviewed by journalists, Mr. Starowitz responded to the effect that "writing for a foreign newspaper (*Pravda*), and receiving money for that, is not a crime in Canada." He was right. Legally speaking.

A recent example of a character assassination campaign in the Western media which looks to me like a typical APN-KGB trick, is the *New York Times*' charges against Salvadorian politician Roberto D'Abusson of being involved in "a plot to assassinate the U.S. ambassador to El Salvador." To this date, the *New York Times* has failed to produce a single shred of evidence, or, for that matter, any common-sense logical explanation — why would a leader of the

second biggest political party in El Salvador be interested in murdering an American ambassador? (Especially on the eve of the U.S. Congress debate on the issue of U.S. financial aid to El Salvador.)

What we did during my career with the Novosti-KGB was indeed very simple. We would first plant a fabrication like that (against D'Abbusson) in a lousy, insignificant leftist or Communist tabloid in a target country. Step two: *Pravda* (or one of APN's publications, press releases, etc.) would reprint that "news item," referring to the source of information as an "influential progressive newspaper." Step three: The *New York Times* (or *Washington Post*, or some other respectable Western paper) would quote *Pravda*, repeating the accusation. Step four: one of the Soviet commentators (Vladimir Pozner of Radio Moscow, incidentally my former colleague within APN-KGB; or Gennady Gerasimov, or George Adamov) would quote the *New York Times* during an interview, such as on "ABC Nightline" referring to the news item as an expression of Western opinion. By the time the lie reaches the western public, it is nearly impossible to trace it all the way back to the third-rate tabloid, least of all to the originator of the slander — Novosti Press Agency. This is exactly what happened to the "opinion" that the ill-fated KAL 007 was indeed "on a spy mission for the CIA" and that its shooting down by the Soviet MIGs was a justified "response." The main objective of that disinformation trick is achieved: Western public opinion is skillfully SIDE-TRACKED from the real issues, which are: 1. The cold-blooded murder of 269 passengers of a civilian aircraft; 2. Soviet violations of the SALT treaties, which fact they were trying to hide; 3. There is hardly anything "secret" about Sakhalin Island — every square inch of it has been photographed by United States satellites thousands of times. A simple and common-sense explanation of the incident never occurred to the minds of the Western analysts. The true nature of the Soviet system is being obscured again. The Western public was once more lured into wishful thinking and "forgiveness." This is exactly what "active measures" are designed for.

Service No. 4

Infiltration into political organizations and groups which are considered by the KGB to be "anti-Soviet" or "reactionary," and destroying these groups from within, using blackmail, corruption, bribery, sex scandals; exposing members of these organizations to local law enforcement agencies, and to pressure groups and "special interest" groups; filing suits in court against these organizations by charging them with "violation of civil rights," etc.; and orchestrating vicious smear campaigns in the liberal media. Here Novosti plays the role of catalyst in this process. Rank-and-file members of the Liberal

attackers seldom suspect that several (or one) of their leaders are in fact collaborators of APN-KGB. They probably would not care even if they knew it for sure.

Service No. 5

Slander campaigns against emigre groups and organizations in Western countries; spreading racial and ethnic hatred among various communities of immigrants from Communist (or Socialist, Soviet-controlled) countries, with the ultimate purpose of neutralizing them as a political force, isolating them from the natural democratic political process, preventing them from using freedom of the press and associations; preventing them from influencing and educating public opinion in the host countries by revealing the truth about the systems from which they have escaped. By calling the people from Communist countries "crazy ethnics" and "fringe lunatics," collaborators of APN-KGB among the Liberal left in the West do their greatest service to the Soviet propaganda. They dismiss the information and opinions of the immigrants as "ravings of emotionally unbalanced people, paranoids, who see a Communist under every bed."

I have met a number of such collaborators in Canada, where they are very active and effective. Some of them have a sympathetic ear in the Liberal government of Canada and the Civil Service.

Service No. 6

Financial, organizational and moral aid to local groups of radicals, militants, and outright terrorists. Novosti collaborators act in this area as middlemen, to obscure the direct Soviet involvement in subversive and terrorist active measures in foreign countries. APN-KGB maintains a large network of useful contacts in many universities, for the purpose of selecting and cultivating future recruits for "national liberation movements" and similar organizations. During my career in India, for example, one of my functions was to compile lists of young "progressively minded" people, who could be recommended later for enrollment in "studies" at the Patrice Lumumba Friendship University in Moscow. The first step to such an objective is to befriend young people by regularly inviting them to various "social occasions" organized by the APN together with the "Cultural Department" of the Soviet embassy.

Financial aid to such groups in target countries (when they are created and led by graduates of Lumumba University) is effected through the above-mentioned front organizations and Novosti-created "organs of progressive mass media. Moral support comes in the form of a steady flow of propaganda literature, edited and translated in Moscow by APN, but printed by friendly local publishers.

Service No. 7

With the help of foreign collaborators, APN-KGB orchestrates defamation and disinformation operations directed against the law enforcement and intelligence agencies of the target countries. This process is well described by John Barron ("KGB Today"), and by Arnaud de Borchgrave & Robert Moss in their classic novel "The Spike."

What I have described here is nothing new. Thousands of defectors from Communism have been telling the same stories for the past half-century. One of the latest defectors from the KGB, incidentally my former schoolmate from the Institute of Oriental Languages, Stanislav Levchenko, succeeded where I have failed for the last 14 years since my defection: he convinced John Barron to present the sensitive issue of ideological subversion (active measures) to the Western public. In its essence, the process of subversion is also not new — it has not been invented by the Russians, or Communists — it is as old as mankind itself. In 500 B.C., Chinese philosopher and strategist Sun-Tzu formulated the main principle of subversion very simply: "The highest art of war is not to fight on a battle field, but to subvert the enemy by destroying all the moral values in your enemy's country."

The core of active measures consists of a consistent effort to demoralize the public, the majority of the population in the West. The media is the most convenient vehicle for such demoralization. Whether the "useful idiots" of the media do it for profit, for self-glorification, or due to ignorance or fear of "Mother Russia," is totally immaterial. The rewards which APN-KGB collaborators receive are pathetic by Western standards, but they have to be taken into consideration. Here they are:

Material rewards

Regular payments in Soviet or foreign currency; free trips to the USSR for tourism, pleasure, indoctrination, or medical treatment in special clinics and sanatoriums; valuable gifts, from "Matreshka dolls" to automobile.

Rewards of a material nature

Moneys paid in the form of "Lenin's (or some other dictator's) Prizes" which accomplishes two jobs at one time: vindicating a dictator and corrupting the prize-winner); covering expenses for publications of the collaborator's books and other works; admitting the collaborator's children to Soviet schools and universities for "free education."

Rewards of a prestigious nature

Granting the title of "progressive" journalist (or writer, etc.); invitation to an international forum or a conference organized by APN-KGB; arranging meetings with "rare and famous" personalities in the USSR (space pilots, ballerinas, etc.); invitation to attend a celebration of something or other (like the October Revolution) at the Soviet embassy with lots of booze and nice girls (KGB "Lastochkas"); a trip to a "closed location," such as a nuclear research center; an honorary scientific "degree" from one of the Soviet universities; a replica of "Sputnik."

Rewards of amoral nature

Sex (often perverted), alcohol, drugs.

And in exchange for these miserable (by Western standards) rewards, the foreign collaborators of Novosti trade to the Soviet tyrants something priceless — the collective consciousness of their own nations, freedom of thought and sanity of judgment, and — in the long run — FREEDOM itself.

If we believe that the Communist threat is a MORAL problem, the solution to it exists, probably, somewhere in the realm of the IMMATERIAL, moral, or even SPIRITUAL existence of humans.



Another collaborator of Novosti - Mr. Kumaramangalam, accompanied by the author during his trip to Samarkand. Mr. Kumaramangalam refused to yield to the KGB-Novosti pressure to influence his brother — Chief of General Staff of Indian armed forces. Several years later he died in an air crash.

PENTAGON'S GUN FODDER OR AMERICA'S CONSCIENCE?

For a long time I refused to believe that our anti-American propaganda, even with a little help from such friends as Jane Fonda and Harrison Salisbury, could so successfully mislead the world that no one seemed able to see who was the real aggressor in Vietnam. Until I met four US Army deserters.

It happened on September 16, 1968, while Novosti staffers were still recuperating from the shock inflicted on us by the "normalization" of fraternal Czechoslovakia by our tanks. I was summoned by our Asia Department boss, comrade Pushkov. In his office I was introduced to an unsmiling comrade in civilian clothes, whom I identified as a GRU (military intelligence) officer. For a KGB he lacked that peculiar expression of dishonesty and artificial politeness on his face. It was explained to me that, together with the serious comrade and an APN photographer, I was to visit a group of Americans, "honest young men, the conscience of America," said the boss. "Communist defectors," I thought. "How boring!"

A black APN Volga took us by Leningradskoye shosse about 70 km north of Moscow. It was getting dark when we turned east into an unpaved country road, and went on through mud and large puddles for another half hour. On the way we passed two small gray collective farms, where, despite the total electrification achieved after the seventh five-year plan, not a single "Ilyich light bulb" was to be seen. Finally we entered an old estate on the bank of a small river. It looked like a large neglected park or a pioneer camp, with sandy driveway, rare flower beds, and numerous propaganda posters on plywood boards stuck wherever possible. The slogans were in English and Russian.

In a large guest room of an ancient pre-revolutionary mansion, we found four young boys in blue jeans and worn-out sweaters, looking like anything but the US Army soldiers we used to see on photographs in the Soviet media, with sarcastic captions such as "Pentagon's gun fodder," "American military war criminals," etc. Two of them had long, untidy hair, one sported a beard "a-la-Russ", and the fourth desperately wanted to look like Che Guevara. The "gun fodder" or "America's conscience" were playing billiards and were obviously bored. Our arrival was a welcome change for them.

Their story sounded like many other stories about Vietnam I had read in West European and Canadian newspapers. Charles Nathan Smith, Sarry Tipton, Robert Fiorris and Joseph Parra met in a

hospital in Japan, where all four of them had been sent for treatment of minor wounds and detoxification from drug abuse. Released from the hospital, the GIs spent some time with Japanese girls, following the Beatles' slogan, "make love not war," and decided to dedicate the rest of their lives to the struggle for peace.

For smiling red-head Sarry Tipton, it was "a hopeless war" because, as he said, the moment the Americans left, it would take the Communists two days to liberate the South. Charles Smith's excuse was "fear of becoming a professional killer." Handsome Mexican-looking field doctor Joseph Parra expressed the desire "to treat, not wounds, when it is too late, but peoples' heads, before they go to war." Robert Fiorris, the one with Czar Nicholas' beard, had a good reason to desert. It is criminal, he said, to kill the Vietnamese just because they want to live under Communism.

Having come to these profound conclusions, the four GIs one day walked right into the Soviet embassy and asked for political asylum and a chance to tell the world the truth about Vietnam. Both requests were promptly granted. The deserters were flown to Moscow and introduced to the expert on truth: Novosti.

The "press-conference" lasted hardly a quarter of an hour. The deserters, it seemed, knew all of my questions ahead of time, and I definitely knew in advance every one of their answers. Putting my tape recorder aside, I tried to get rid of the GRU comrade by inviting the boys for a walk in the park, hoping for something more sincere in an informal atmosphere. Nothing doing! Even then, the boys went on playing back our propaganda to me: the United States was bad, Hanoi was good; killing the North Vietnamese with American bombs was a crime, killing the South Vietnamese with Soviet-made rockets was an anti-colonial struggle, therefore it was "good."

The damn "rest home" had no bar, where I could pump some vodka into the Americans to make them less progressive, and the GRU agent was uncooperative when I suggested that we send our Volga to the nearest village store for a bottle. So, my efforts to get a "balanced" picture of the Vietnam war failed miserably. Time was running short, and the Novosti photographer, having exposed all his film, had lost interest in geopolitics and was impatient to go back home. So, we shook hands, pronounced meaningless "goodlucks" and "see-you-laters," and left.

On the way back to Moscow it suddenly dawned on me that the Americans may actually have been telling me the truth, the way they saw it. Why would they care who is the real aggressor and who is the victim? They wanted to survive, and to enjoy life. And any "truth" which helped them to survive was OK with them. What do they care

if that “truth” happens to be a big Communist lie, fabricated for the ultimate purpose of “liberating mankind,” which means destroying the society that has given them birth, life, and freedom, and which society now asked that they defend it by risking their lives? Their choice was clear: to die defending the better and freer society, or to survive in the worst one. Dead or red? They have chosen red and alive, and they do not want to be called traitors for making that choice. They’d rather be called “America’s conscience.”

I, too, was contemplating defection. I would gladly have changed places with these GIs. But how about dying? And what sort of truth I would offer to justify my treason? Would anyone believe me if I said that betraying my country’s inhuman and aggressive system, to help the West, is an act of conscience, self-sacrifice, and heroism?

These thoughts were driving me crazy. At moments like these, I needed a glass of vodka or a good friend to talk to. Or both. And, sending our photographer and Volga to the office, I flagged down a taxi and zoomed by the Ring Road to Kuntsevo Hospital, reserved for apparatus of the Central Committee and *nomenklatura*. There, behind the tall barbed-wire fence, in a “special” room with a TV set, my former schoolmate Vadim Smirnov was recuperating after an operation on his eye. (He had lost one eye in a stupid fight in Pitsunda, a Central Committee Black Sea resort, where, he said, a group of Georgians and local thugs trespassed onto the “Party property” and started a squabble with the Moscovites).

Kuntsevo hospital is heavily guarded by militia, but one has to know our Soviet security system. I sneaked into the area through a fox-hole under the fence, about two hundred meters away from the brightly lit gateway. Once inside, no internal guard had the right to stop me. I got to the 8th floor uneventfully, and found comrade Smirnov in a rather depressed state of mind. His eye ached, and his reputation, as the youngest *apparatchik* in the India section of the International Department of the CC, was in question.

Nevertheless, Smirnov was glad to see me, and as usual, ready to listen to my problems or crazy ideas. I relayed to Smirnov the story of my meeting with the four American deserters, including their excellent playback of our propaganda, and then I shared some of my thoughts with him. How come, I asked, we’re hysterical about the “psychological war of the Pentagon,” but the American GI’s I had just met were so shamelessly “unbrainwashed”? How come the US Army is unable to occupy the whole damn country of Vietnam, if they’re really the “warmongers” our propaganda claims? How come the war goes on — on the territory of South Vietnam, not the North, if, as we claim, the “democratic” Vietnamese are a “peace-loving

nation”? How do we, the Soviet people, benefit from supporting the Communists in Vietnam?

The young *apparatchik* was silent for a while, and then, instead of an answer, almost like a biblical prophet he told me a story, a dream he had had recently. The symbolism of my friend’s dream shook me strongly.

“I found myself in an armored personnel carrier as it climbed onto the steep bank of a marsh, coughing out clouds of exhaust. In front of us, somewhere beyond a cluster of bushes and palm trees, we could hear sharp bursts of machine gun fire and the occasional blasts of mortars. My companions were strong, healthy boys, and I could not tell if they also were feeling the same sickening fear in their stomachs, as I did. With tightly pursed lips, and calm eyes with flickers of steel in them, they serenely looked at the scenery from under their camouflaged helmets set low above their eyebrows, as if they were on a sightseeing tour of Vietnam, not at war. They sat in straight but relaxed postures, casually holding their carbines. Some quietly chatted with their neighbors. A black soldier next to me was elegantly smoking something suspicious. There were about twenty of them, plus a sergeant. Their lazy laughter and crude jokes, which I did not understand, were in screaming discord with my own mood, and they irritated me. I felt out of place among these American soldiers, with my own fears, my dogmatic ideas, in the middle of a strange war which, in a way, was inexplicably a concern of mine.

‘Laugh your stupid heads off,’ I mumbled in a trembling voice. ‘Damned cowboys! Why bother yourselves with such things as conscience?’

“Nobody responded. No one even turned his head to look at me. Fear and anger swelled in my chest, and words uncontrollably started pouring out of me, before I could realize what the hell I was talking about.

“Who gave you the right to kill the Vietnamese?” I asked in a loud voice, tense with indignation I did not really feel. ‘Why don’t you go home to your color TVs and pumpkin pies, and leave the Vietnamese alone, to decide what they really want, communism or your so-called democracy?’ I almost shouted at the soldiers.

“Again, there was no response. The black soldier looked through me and tossed a roach over his shoulder. There was an ominous pause, and in the hot humid air the sound of my voice competed with the roar of the engine and bursts of gunfire. I knew I should shut up, but I could not.

“‘You are the professional killers!’ I shouted at the top of my lungs. ‘You are the brainless gun fodder of the Pentagon! You are the

“universal soldiers,” as your own Bob Dylan calls you! You are . . . you . . .”

“Someone behind me asked in a soft voice ‘Who the hell is he?’ And I didn’t know whether he was asking about me, or Bob Dylan.

“The carrier braked sharply and stopped in a cloud of red dust. ‘Dismount!’ ordered the sergeant in a strangely un-military tone. And the soldiers started jumping out of the carrier, lightly and gracefully as cats. Several GIs stepped right over me, as if I were an object. The sounds of guns grew louder and closer. Somewhere above, an Army chopper rattled through and disappeared beyond the tops of the palm trees. While I was watching it, the American soldiers silently moved into the bush, leaving me alone in the carrier. There was a wild orgy of gunfire, several blasts, and then a deafening silence. The tops of the bushes swayed, ahead of the carrier. In a moment I saw the tip of a machine gun popping out of a grass thicket. Then the black-haired head of a Vietcong soldier. Then another. And another from the right. With trembling hands I reached into the pocket of my shirt and produced a handful of badges with Lenin’s profile on a red background, and a couple of postcards with views of the Red Square and the Kremlin.

“Don’t shoot!” I pleaded. ‘I am Friend! Russki! Freedom! Peace! Communism!’ I shouted in a strained, hoarse voice, waving the postcards at the Vietcong. They silently encircled the carrier. The leader of the group guardedly walked up to me, and with a movement of his Kalashnikov barrel ordered me to step down. Keeping the muzzle aimed at me with one hand he took the badges and the postcards with the other, and stuffed them into his tunic pocket, eyeing me all the time unemotionally. I tried to smile, and stretched out my hand as a sign of friendship. The Vietnamese pulled the trigger and shot three times into my stomach, sending me back against the carrier. The last things I saw were his calm, hateful eyes, and the steel-covered butt of his Kalashnikov crushing my skull against the steel wall of the carrier . . .”

The only way I could interpret this dream of the Central Committee’s *apparatchik* is: guilt, the feeling most of my generation of the Soviet “new class” desperately want to suppress. Because, unlike the American “peaceniks,” we know perfectly well who is the aggressor, and our conscience bothers us.