

# Red Smoke, Commie Mirrors

## *Revealing the Ultimate Soviet Plot*

SA 12/8/91

By George Lardner Jr.

**T**HE COLD WAR isn't over for Anatoly Golitsyn. Since last summer's failed coup in Moscow, he has been churning out memos for the CIA, warning them of what he regards as the true import of the tumultuous events taking place in the former Soviet Union.

It is all "pretense," he says—an elaborate exercise in strategic deception, designed to gull the West into embracing what is still an evil empire, still run behind the scenes by communist ideologues. Mikhail Gorbachev is in on the scheme. And so, too, says Golitsyn, is Boris Yeltsin.

"At the end, when they win," Golitsyn declares, "they [will] get rid of capitalists forever."

Golitsyn, you may remember, is the KGB defector whose assertions about Soviet moles at Langley once threw the CIA into a turmoil. The great mole hunt, actively pursued by the late CIA counterintelligence chief James J. Angleton, Golitsyn's indefatigable sponsor, lasted more than a decade, but never unearthed a single mole at the agency. According to the recently published "Cold Warrior" by Tom Mangold, a detailed study of Angleton's work, Golitsyn was actually a "minor and undistinguished KGB officer" whose paranoid finger-pointing ruined the careers of many of the CIA's finest officers and blackened the credentials of genuine Soviet defectors who threatened his standing.

Since he was not quoted in the book, I asked to see him to get his side of the story. For only the second time since his defection almost 30 years ago, (he sat down with New York Times columnist William Safire recently) he consented to an interview—but only to discuss

See GOLITSYN, C4, Col. 1

George Lardner Jr. is a Washington Post reporter. Staff researcher Ralph Gaillard contributed to this report.



PETER ALSBERG—THE WASHINGTON POST



# The Ultimate Red Plot

GOLITSYN, From C1

the changes taking place in the Soviet Union. He wants to save his side of the counterintelligence wars until later, perhaps for his memoirs.

A man who has long portrayed the West as putty in Moscow's hands, Golitsyn, you might think, would be blushing shamefacedly in light of the failed August coup in Moscow and the quickening dissolution of the Soviet empire.

Not so. There wasn't a trace of embarrassment on his ruddy face. A chat with Anatoly Golitsyn is like a plunge into another dimension where everything is turned upside down or inside out, a universe where all sorts of strange things can happen. If nothing seems real in this odd place, Golitsyn will assure you, that is not because he is fantasizing but because the West is so blind.

"Soviet-style democracy is cuckoo-clock democracy," he said. "The present Soviet-Western cooperation is only temporary. They will successfully rebuild. Then they will turn on the hated capitalists and a new holocaust will result, based on class, not race. The principal victim will be the Western political, military, religious and managerial elite."

Even more startling is Golitsyn's claim that the seeming chaos in the Soviet Union is the result of a KGB plot cooked up back in the late 1950s and early 1960s, just before Golitsyn defected. Then-KGB Chairman Alexander Shelepin, Golitsyn says, laid down the plan—a long-range, systematic program of "strategic disinformation"—at a May 1959 Moscow conference attended by some 2,000 KGB officers.

From that, all sorts of deceptions flowed. One, says Golitsyn, was the split between the Soviets and China, which he contends was faked to trick the West into thinking the monolithic communist world had been shattered. Another, he claims, was creation of a fake dissident movement in the Soviet Union, led by Andrei Sakharov, who, until his death in 1989, Golitsyn maintains, was "a major KGB agent of influence... a knowing agent."

Sakharov? The Soviet Union's most persistent campaigner for human rights? The political outcast hounded by the state for his

liberal views and sent into internal exile? The Nobel laureate who called more than 20 years ago for peaceful cooperation with the West and the internal transformation of the Soviet Union into a democracy?

Yes, Sakharov, Golitsyn said firmly. "It is inconceivable," Golitsyn wrote in a 1984 book called "New Lies for Old," that "if [Sakharov] were seriously at odds with the regime and therefore a security risk, he would have been given the opportunities he has had to maintain contact with Western friends and colleagues." Sakharov's "so-called exile," Golitsyn claims now, was simply "a KGB device to build up his credibility and increase his influence with the West."

If that sounds plausible, it should be easy to see, Golitsyn suggests, that the democratic trends in the Soviet empire are the KGB's idea, not Sakharov's. *Perestroika* is simply a plot, cooked up decades ago to overcome the West by pretending to become more like it.

Fortunately for capitalism, Golitsyn was present at the creation of this intricate scheme, back in 1959-60 when no one in Western intelligence was looking and when, by Golitsyn's account, all was set in bedrock for the rest of the century. He faults Western intelligence agencies for not knowing of all this until he arrived to enlighten them.

Golitsyn added ominously that any KGB defector or source who described the 1959 KGB conference and Shelepin's report as "routine" should be viewed with "serious doubt." Anyone who disagreed with him, in short, should be suspected as a fake himself.

There is little in Golitsyn's past that signals such omniscience. He was born in a small Ukrainian village near Poltava on Aug. 25, 1926. He does not like to be called a Ukrainian. He stresses that his parents brought him to Moscow when he was seven. "I am Russian by culture and education," he said.

In Moscow, Golitsyn joined the Communist youth movement (Komsomol) at age 15, while a cadet in military school, and won a medal digging anti-tank ditches to help defend the city against the Nazis. In 1945, he entered military counterintelligence school and shortly after graduation the next year, joined the Soviet intelligence service. He did an undercover stint in Vienna in 1953-54, but many of his years at the KGB were spent as a student, in High Intelligence



PETER ALSBERG—THE WASHINGTON POST

School, in High Diplomatic School and at the KGB Institute where he spent four years (1955-59) earning a law degree.

After his defection, he told CIA officials that disillusionment began to set in when the Soviets invaded Hungary in 1956 and that once he decided to defect, he began to collect and memorize what he thought might be useful to the West, including the purported text of Shelepin's remarks. He claims in his 1984 book it was Shelepin's report, signifying the adoption of a "new, aggressive long-range communist policy" that precipitated Golitsyn's decision to break with the regime.

Sent to Finland as vice consul for the Soviet embassy there, KGB Maj. Golitsyn turned up with his wife and daughter on the doorstep of the U. S. ambassador, Frank Friberg, on Dec. 15, 1961. Heartily supported by Angleton, Golitsyn brought havoc to the CIA, and the British and French intelligence services, for more than a decade.

Mangold reported that Golitsyn was given unprecedented access to secret files, which Golitsyn used to charge, on the flimsiest of indicators, that numerous intelligence officials, Soviet defectors and Western politicians were tools of the KGB. According to Mangold, it made no difference that shortly after the defection, the chief psychologist of the CIA's clandestine service found that Golitsyn was suffering from a form of paranoia and had a tendency to exaggerate. Mangold writes that Angleton told a secret congressional hearing in 1978 that the psychologist's assertions were the product of "imprecision and unprofessionalism."

The reign of terror lasted more than a decade, until Angleton was finally fired by then-CIA director William Colby in 1974.

"It really wasn't Anatoly's fault," one CIA



veteran said recently of the Golitsyn-inspired mole-hunt. "The people at CIA should have known better. Jim [Angleton] should have known better. [Former CIA director] Dick Helms should have known better, too. If you took everything [Golitsyn] said since 1961 and put it down on paper, it would be amazing. It shook the government and it was a lot of crap."

Golitsyn, an affable, burly man with thick eyebrows and a pepper-and-salt beard, kept slugging. And on paper, some of his predictions seem remarkable.

For example, in a memo to the director of Central Intelligence, dated Jan. 15, 1978, titled "The Long-Range Political Objectives and Intentions of the Soviet Leaders," Golitsyn asserted that among the goals "Soviet rulers are trying to achieve through the 'dissident movement' " were:

"The introduction of economic reforms . . . an apparent curtailment of the monopoly of the Communist Party . . . an increased role for the Soviet parliament, reform of the KGB and amnesty for 'dissidents,' greater artistic and cultural freedom and freedom to travel . . . the emergence of a younger party leader to initiate the reforms . . . similar reforms in Eastern Europe including . . . perhaps the demolition of the Berlin Wall."

So far, not bad. But then Golitsyn added: "The liberalization, however, will be false and will be aimed at breaking up NATO, dismantling the 'U.S. military-industrial complex' . . . [It] will be accepted as genuine and spontaneous and will be blown out of all proportion by the media . . . It may generate pressure for real detente and far-reaching changes in Western societies."

Sniffed one former senior CIA official: "When the Berlin Wall went down, he claimed he was the only one who predicted it. That's nonsense. And it went down for reasons totally different from what he had in mind."

**G**olitsyn, who has packaged his memos for a proposed second book, insists that all is deception and disinformation, that there is no chance the democratization process will get out of hand. A true believer, he cannot conceive of a Russia where disorder prevails, where dictatorship has lost control. He insists that the "Soviet strategists," whom he describes as smarter than Marx and Lenin, are still firmly in charge.

So who are these guys?

"It's a collective body," Golitsyn said. "It's creative-thinking people. They know the West. They know their own country . . .

People like [Alexander] Yakovlev [a top political adviser to Gorbachev] and [Georgi] Arbatov [director of the USA-Canada Institute]."

By this standard, of course, the failed coup was a fake coup, staged to make it seem that the good guys won and to get the West to open its pockets. Even the siege of the Russian parliament building and the defiant holdout of Russian President Boris Yeltsin were parts of the show.

"The word goes out," Golitsyn said with a shrug. "Yeltsin will do this. Crowds will do that. The KGB will do this and that."

As evidence that the CIA still thinks highly of his work, Golitsyn displayed a photograph of the medal the agency awarded him a few years ago, on then-CIA director William H. Webster's watch. It is the Distinguished Intelligence Medal, the highest honor the CIA can bestow for outstanding service. Then-CIA counterintelligence chief Gardner Hathaway awarded it to Golitsyn in 1987, four months after Angleton's death.

CIA spokesman Peter Earnest said: "On Sept. 21, 1987, the agency awarded Mr. Golitsyn a medal for his many years of diligent service. Although we cannot disclose its title . . . the award was considered appropriate recognition by those assessing Mr. Golitsyn's contribution at the time."

One CIA insider predicted sharp criticism within the agency at the disclosure of Golitsyn's award in light of the ruined careers he left in his wake. Several sources described it as a consolation prize. One said Angleton years ago promised Golitsyn "national recognition" if they ever found the mole they were looking for. Other sources said Golitsyn felt he deserved a Medal of Freedom from President Reagan and that Hathaway gave him the CIA honor "to get him off our back."

Still drawing what he describes as sort of "a pension" from the agency, Golitsyn is starting to draw rapt attention from far right circles. But his outlines of the Soviet end-game remain a bit puzzling. The aim, he said, is "convergence" with the West in a world government. There, Golitsyn said, "the communists will be advantaged because they are more skillful politically." Their goal, he warned, will be nothing less than "a classless society," achieved by parliamentary means.

At the same time, he kept predicting "a bloodbath" for recalcitrant capitalists. But he never explained why the communists would resort to bloodshed when they will be winning all the votes. Come the revolution, it may all become clear.