

KGB Chief Vows Purge

'Vicious State Within State' Denounced

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By David Remnick
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, Aug. 30—The new KGB director, Vadim Bakatin, has begun a massive purge of the Soviet secret police. His first victim was his son.

"I don't want him working under his father," Bakatin said gruffly, without mentioning what his son did for the KGB. "This way it will be easier for him."

At the KGB, Bakatin has set himself a moral and administrative task of nearly incomprehensible scope. As he told reporters today, he is faced with a "vicious state within a state," a system of deception and force that fed its president on lies and then organized his betrayal. And despite a round of firings and decrees, it is a system still staffed with those who did what they could to help last week's coup leaders to prevail.

"This is not a suspicion—it's a fact," Bakatin said. "The leaders of the KGB and the prime minister and the defense minister pulled off a coup d'etat. How did it happen? It happened because the system of state security was a monopoly and it was used as a screen to enact the will of the Communist Party and its Politburo. The KGB was



VADIM BAKATIN

... 'The KGB was uncontrolled'

uncontrolled by anyone or anything. They had a free hand in the coup."

To guard against a repetition of the coup or any acts of terrorism, Bakatin has ordered his agents to be ready for attacks on elected officials. "But what kind of revenge do you expect?" Bakatin said. "Do you think you can defeat an entire people and reactivate the coup? The coup demonstrated to all irresponsible and dogmatic people that it is impossible to stop the march of history."

See KGB, A20, Col. 1

AFTER THE COUP
Purging the Secret Police

New KGB Chief Vows to 'Get Rid of Reactionaries'

KGB, From A1

The former KGB chief, Vladimir Kryuchkov, was clearly in the inner core of the coup. While other ministers around him suffered from doubt and confusion, sources said, Kryuchkov was on the phone at the Kremlin issuing commands to the guards watching Mikhail Gorbachev in the Crimea and the KGB military units outside Moscow.

Bakatin has always been everything his predecessor despised. A Gorbachev loyalist who made concessions to the Baltic states while he was running the country's police network, Bakatin lost his job as interior minister last winter when Kryuchkov and hard-liners in the parliament delivered an ultimatum to Gorbachev. Bakatin told The Washington Post at the time that he did not believe Gorbachev really wanted to fire him and that it was the conservative Soyuz faction in the parliament that had pressed the Soviet leader the hardest.

Last spring, Gorbachev brought Bakatin back into his circle of advisers. Bakatin routinely criticized Gorbachev—"We have no economic policy"—but the Soviet leader valued his competence and his surprising self-confidence.

"Bakatin is a pure Gorbachev man—but in the best sense this time," said former KGB general Oleg Kalugin. Bakatin's political base is mainly Gorbachev himself. He ran for Russian president two

months ago and finished last in the six-man race.

With Kryuchkov in jail and singularly unrepentant, Bakatin has moved to turn the KGB into an intelligence service of the Western type. He said he must begin with a game of "who is who," of finding out which agents he can trust.

"I remember telling you I didn't believe there could ever be a coup," he said today. "Well, now I have to admit I was naive. At best, it was an illusion to think that law-enforcement bodies, which still bear the imprint of the punitive system of the past, would protect the individual and society."

A thorough purge, he said, "has to happen quickly to get rid of the reactionaries still [in the KGB] and to keep in the honest people and the real professionals. . . . Of course, there are still people here [who supported the junta]. I only wish I knew the percentage."

Bakatin, who won overwhelming endorsement from the Supreme Soviet Thursday, has begun his new job with a stunning series of directives and admissions.

He said the KGB will "in the very near future" allow the wife and children of its top defector, Oleg Gordievsky, to leave Moscow and join him in London. He has already lifted their round-the-clock surveillance.

He also said he will end all spying on politicians and legislators, and will soon end the phone taps on journalists and foreign business

people. He said he will even create a civil advisory panel for the KGB similar to the CIA's adjunct intelligence board.

Bakatin speaks in the language of "rule of law" and the "protection of human rights."

But Kryuchkov too once used the lexicon of modern democracy—that is, unless he was accusing the Soviet leadership of bowing to the CIA or destroying the union. His public relations campaign included a series of winsome interviews. "The KGB chairman's life is no bed of roses," he told one magazine. His office even ran a pageant in the basements of Lubyanka, the KGB headquarters, to select a "Miss KGB 1990."

"I guess they think I'll be the new face of the KGB," the winner, Katya Mayorova, said in an interview at Lubyanka at the time. "We'd like people to think that we're not monsters working here."

Kryuchkov clearly deceived Gorbachev, flattered him and made him believe that his fiercest enemies were the "so-called democrats," those around Yeltsin and dissident Andrei Sakharov who the Communist Party and the union to ruin.

Kryuchkov, Gorbachev said last week, had always impressed him with his "erudition." "I figured he was less professional than the others. You have to be careful of the professionals," he trusted him.

But Kryuchkov and other aides fed Gorbachev "lies and truth mixed with

lies" to confuse him, said Alexander Yakovlev, Gorbachev's closest confidant in the first years of reform. Bakatin, a former Communist Party boss in the Siberian city of Kemerovo, agreed with Yakovlev. He said that perhaps the biggest sin of the KGB was constantly creating an imaginary, manipulative picture of the world for Gorbachev.

"The work that has been done up till now in keeping the top leadership informed only distorted the vision of the leadership about the genuine state of mind in society," Bakatin said.

"Gorbachev is of course guilty of being too trusting because he had all these people around him who betrayed him. He was, at the same time, a victim and a perpetrator."

But Bakatin dismisses any "crazy accusations" that Gorbachev helped plan the coup. "I don't think the people who began this mad adventure were so stupid that they were just playing a joke with tanks and guns for three days and then were going to turn to the man they called their 'dear friend.' This is a crime punishable by the firing squad."

Bakatin now will try to dismantle and reshape an intelligence service that is extremely divided. Although there are no illusions about the level of support for Kryuchkov and the coup, especially in the upper reaches of the KGB, the secret services also had officers who proved loyal to Yeltsin.

KGB sources were the first to

alert the Russian government that Yeltsin was to be arrested as the coup began. They provided the Russian government with crucial information about the communications systems of the Ministry of Defense and the KGB itself. Moscow News reported that the KGB provided Yeltsin's team with a printing press to publish its leaflets, and former agents now in business contributed more than 1 million rubles to a Russian defense fund. During the pitched, middle-rank officers in the KGB drafted a statement denouncing the junta. And it was the refusal of the KGB's anti-terrorist Alpha Group to attack the "White House," as the Russian parliament building is known, that effectively ended the military threat of the coup.

Bakatin said he now inherits a vast archive of historical documents "describing crimes against humanity" and files on individuals and informers. What he does with those papers and computer discs will have a tremendous effect on the country's mood and its image abroad.

Asked about charges that the KGB engineered the 1981 assassination attempt on Pope John Paul II, Bakatin said, "I don't think there was involvement there. But if there was, you'll know."

But Bakatin said he refuses to open personal archives, that the personal and social consequences would be too grim to imagine. "We live in a state that created a system that involved our citizens in a dirty game," he said. "We cannot now hold these people responsible and feed them to the mob."

A Norwegian reporter asked Bakatin if the KGB would continue to lure foreign officials into betraying their countries. The reporter referred specifically to an Oslo foreign office official who is serving a 20-year jail sentence for spying. "I'd advise your people not to chomp on the hooks set out by Soviet intelligence," Bakatin said.

For the moment, there are no effective laws governing Soviet intelligence. The mechanisms of surveillance and repression are still in use even if the great symbols of the "Sword and Shield" have been torn down and defaced. Bakatin wielded as much power as his predecessor.

Gorbachev and Yeltsin will have to depend on his good intentions. "Look," Bakatin said, "our democracy is so young that we live in a legal vacuum. We could either abolish everything or demonstrate a degree of trust. I'm begging for a certain degree of trust."

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