# THE KGB'S OPERATION SIG: A 50-YEAR CAMPAIGN TO INCITE HATRED OF ISRAEL AND JEWS [RESEARCH IN PROGRESS]

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## ABSTRACT

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| Aim/Purpose | The paper explores the success of KGB Operation SIG to incite hatred for the purpose of overthrowing a democracy. |
| Background | About 50 years ago, the KGB created the means to create upheaval in the middle east. This paper explores one such campaign and reveals some disinformation techniques in use today. |
| Methodology | The paper brings together literature from many fields in its exploration of Operation SIG. |
| Contribution | The paper reveals the role of the KGB in the PLO's campaign to replace Israel with an Arab Muslim state |
| Findings | Operation SIG is an early and extremely successful example of the Soviet/Russian campaign to disrupt democracy. |
| Impact on Society | The recurrence of antisemitism, particularly on campus, can be attributed to Operation SIG. |
| Keywords | Operation SIG, disinformation, Israel, propaganda, bias, KGB, Nazi |

# INTRODUCTION

*The great masses of the people... will more easily fall victim to a big lie than to a small one.*
—Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*

The news today is full of reports of Russian successes in fomenting hatred and division in the US, Lithuania, Estonia, Cyprus, Bulgaria, Hungary, Greece, Italy, Denmark, Macedonia, United Kingdom, Poland, Czech Republic, Belarus, Germany, Spain, Finland, Canada, Turkey, Ukraine, Montenegro, Moldova, Indonesia, Brazil, France, Georgia, and others (Bisen, 2019; Collins, 2012; Dorell, 2017; Ellick & Westbrook, 2018; Mintz , 2012; Nance, 2016; Stanley, 2015; Gricius, 2019). Some of the methods used by the Russians have been exposed elsewhere (Engel, 2019).

While in the past the most pressing concern of nations has been cyber-attack from adversaries (Clarke & Knake, 2010), now nations are becoming aware of another, even older danger, the use of media and psychologic warfare to spread misinformation. Time Magazine reported on recent Russia's social media attacks on American democracy (Calabresi, 2017, pp. 30-35) and the New Republic reported on Russian disinformation attacks on Ukraine (Cain, 2019). However, the Russian use of media to attack democracy is far from new; it started many decades ago. This paper describes one such program, Operation SIG, the now 50-plus-year-old successful KGB campaign to enlist middle east agitators to incite hatred against Jews and Israel. Many of the techniques perfected then by the KGB are still in use, not only by the government actors but also by organizations and individuals seeking personal profit (Holiday, 2013) and partisan political gains (Mayer 2017).

## CREATING AGENTS OF CHAOS

The Soviet (now the Russian) State early on engaged in disrupting democracies by creating discord among factions. Much of the success of the Russian disinformation has been due to their ability to keep their active measures hidden. This paper exposes the reader to some of these activities as they relate to Israel. These tactics include creating an alternative version of truth via a false narrative, spinning the truth, recruiting useful idiots and gentlemen witnesses, creating and disseminating propaganda, using loaded words to spin and misrepresent events, and embracing age-old prejudice against those who are different.

In 2018, the US indicted 12 Russian intelligence officers for interfering in the 2016 elections (Mazzetti and Benner, 2018). During the Soviet era, the Kremlin operated up to 15,000 agents operating disinformation campaigns throughout the world (Ellick, quoted in Gross, 2018). A report by Mark Galeotti (2017) for the European Council on Foreign Relations describes how Russian President and former KGB chief Vladimir Putin now employs "active measures" to advance Russia's agenda.
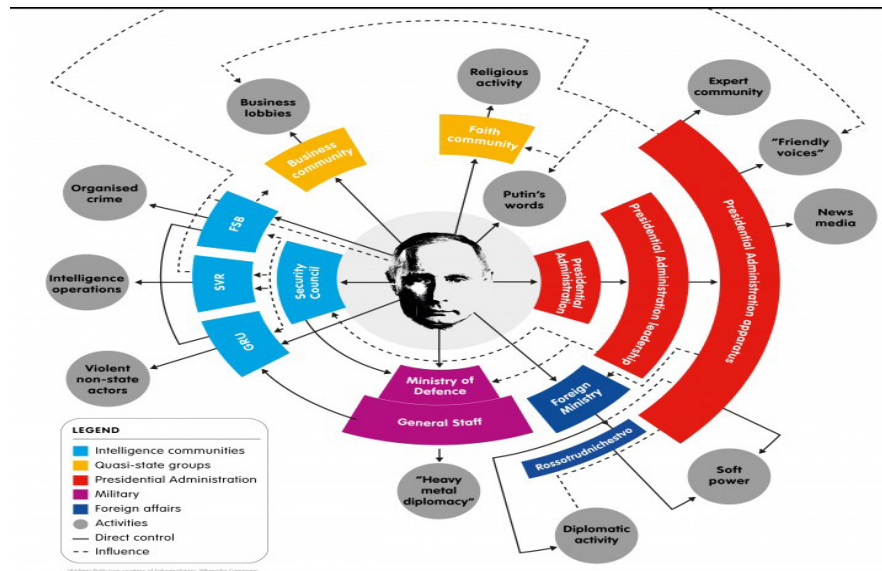
**Figure 1. How Putin Coordinates Russia's Active Measures**. (Source: Galeotti ,2017)

However, the Russian use of disinformation and using agents of chaos is far from new Indeed, even the term "disinformation" (дезинформация) was coined by Joseph Stalin about 100 years ago as he set up a tactical office, later moved to the KGB, to deliberately mislead audiences, both within the USSR and more importantly in other nations (Golitsyn, 1984; Jowett & O'Donnell, 2005, pp. 21–23; Manning & Romerstein, 2004, pp 82-83; Pacepa & Rychlak, 2013; Schoen & Lamb, 2012; Taylor, 2016). This paper explores a particular disinformation campaign, operation SIG; SIG in the Russian language is a shortcut for the Jewish (Zionist) Government. The campaign was created and guided by the KGB over 50 years ago to turn world opinion against Jews around the world and particularly the Israeli democracy. Operation SIG has proven itself to be remarkably successful and indeed may be the most successful Russian disinformation campaign until recent years.

Disinformation differs from misinformation. Misinformation is false or misleading information based on error or ignorance, but *"disinformation has a clearly malicious intent — it implies deception. The official Great Soviet Encyclopedia defines disinformation as 'the dissemination (in the press, radio, etc.) of false information with the intention to deceive public opinion.'… Disinformation is a carefully constructed false message leaked into an opponent's communication system to deceive the decision-making elite or the public."* (Bittman, 1985, p. 49)

The essence of Soviet and Russian control discussed here is *reflexive control* for information warfare as opposed to purely military control. One of the principle goals of reflexive control is to interfere with the decision-making process of those whom you wish to control: "*specially prepared information to incline him to voluntarily make the predetermined decision desired by the initiator of the action*" and "*to 'control' the 'reflex' of the opponent by creating a certain model of behavior in the system it seeks to control. The most fundamental way to do this is to locate the weak link in the system and exploit it through moral arguments, psychological tactics, or appeals to specific leaders' character*" (Thomas, 2004).

Thomas (2004) points out that there is even a Russian academic journal devoted to research and dissemination of this topic and its techniques. While the journal is relatively new, Russian military has been heavily involved in deception for over a century. He writes that as early as 1904 Russia used as tools of war *maskirovka* (deception) and misinformation, including creating a Higher School of Maskirovka (College of Deception) to develop and advance such concepts.

Related to disinformation is agitprop, abbreviated from Russian agitatsiya propaganda (agitation propaganda) (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, n.d.). Agitprop is focuses on the emotional, non-rational parts of the brain "to arouse [the] audience to indignation or action."

## THE ORIGINS OF, RATIONALE FOR, AND EVOLUTION FOR PRESUMING ISRAELIS ARE TO BLAME FOR ARAB PALESTINIAN PROBLEMS

### The Apartheid Smear.

This paper would never have been researched and written had it not been for a colleague in the UK emailing one of the authors. Upon learning that the 2019 international conference of the Informing Science Institute would be held in Jerusalem, he wrote: *"I cannot in conscience has (sic) anything at all to do with this apartheid state."* What disinformation or agitprop led this colleague to believe that the State of Israel is apartheid? After all, Arabs are integrated into Israeli society, as Ambassadors, in its cities and beaches, in sports, in popular culture, in its Parliament and Foreign Ministry, on its Supreme Court. Certainly, Israel is pro-Jewish: it is the realization of the Jewish people's movement for the restoration of their homeland, known by the term Zionism. However, unlike the neighboring nations, Israel has citizens of all religions and colors. Professor Alan Johnson (n.d.) explores this smear in great depth. His research includes the following quote from a journalist who is an Arab citizen of Israel, Khaled Abu Toameh:

*If Israel were an apartheid state, I, for example, would not be allowed to work for a Jewish newspaper or live in a Jewish neighbourhood or own a home. The real apartheid is in Lebanon, where there is a law that bans Palestinians from working in over 50 professions. Can you imagine if the Knesset passed a law banning Arabs from working even in one profession? The law of Israel does not distinguish between a Jew and an Arab.*

Contrast this with the declaration by the ruler of the Palestinian Arabs, Mahmoud Abbas, who wrote that the Palestinian Authority "will never allow a single Israeli (Jew) to live among us" (Wallace, 2012, p. 40). The same is true of Arab Palestinian State of Jordan.

Since calling Israel apartheid makes no rational sense, let us explore the source of this popular, but irrational belief. This paper offers evidence that the KGB planted the seed for this antisemitic propaganda campaign as part of Operation SIG.

**Early KGB Use of Reflexive Control.** The role of the Soviets in influencing elections has been explored in great depth, e.g., Mueller's (2019) report on Russian interference in the US 2016 election. Kowalewski (2017) notes that Russians used reflexive control as part of their interference in this election. This paper shows how the KGB use of reflexive control was used at least 50 years ago to turn world opinion against Israel. One of the elements of reflexive control is propaganda.

Propaganda is effective, as Reed Anfinson (2018) points out, because the truth cannot compete with lies on social media. Antisemitism, under the guise of anti-Zionism, proclaims that despite Biblical and historical accounts and archeological and genetic evidence, Jews were never indigenous to their ancient homeland. It declares that they now return as colonizers on behalf of some foreign, but unstated, country. Irrational beliefs like this enable people otherwise of good will to endorse antisemitism.

### What are the motives for advancing propaganda?

Propaganda's use is not limited to gaining of political gain. Propaganda can create sympathy or antipathy. It can provide financial or personal gain. In other cases, the motivation is love, hate, or political power.

Lying and faking events for personal financial gain is easily understood. On the web, clickbait "news" sites that show misleading headlines are designed to entice visitors to click a link and thereby to increase the website's advertising revenue (Holiday, 2013). According to Deb and Healy (2019), actor Jussie Smollet reportedly orchestrated a fake attack on himself to garner sympathy (and fame) for himself to advance his personal cause (and thus his net worth).

However, who gains from faking events to make Israel seem like an aggressor? For example, Suffragan Bishop Gayle E. Harris from the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts testified at a July 13, 2018 meeting of the denomination's House of Bishops that <u>she saw specific instances of Israeli soldiers harming Arab youths</u>. Later she admitted that she lied to the assembly of Bishops (Harris, 2017). We cannot be sure of her motive for fabricating this lie. It was not for personal or financial gain. Perhaps it was for love or hate. Perhaps she experienced a false memory (Loftus, 2005) that was implanted by the antisemitic propaganda to which she has been exposed. Maybe she was manipulated to become an unwitting "gentleman witness", willing to testify to something that never happened (Gieryn, 1999, pp. 150, 200).

Who gains from this antisemitic propaganda? How did nascent Muslim Arab anti-Jewish and anti-Christian sentiment turn into this virulent hatred of Israel and Jews? Part of the answer is bias, and any study of bias, misinformation, disinformation, and propaganda needs to start with an acknowledgment of the authors' bias and a better understanding of bias.

## Bias: Perspectives across disciplines

**This paper, as indeed much academic research, is biased.** Given the pervasiveness of bias, it behooves both the reader and the author to acknowledge our fallibility to be biased. All academic authors are biased, at the minimum in which topics they choose to explore and which to ignore. Bias is universal and mostly unacknowledged in science. The authors of this paper are American Jews who care about the Jewish people, including those in Israel. The authors often disagree with the policies and decisions of the then current Israeli (and US) government leadership; this is part and parcel with democracy. Such discussion of ideas is in sharp contrast to that of the antisemites described below who call for the violent overthrow of the government.

With that in mind, the paper briefly examines bias from the distinct perspectives of several different academic fields.

**Philosophy**. In writing about papers in the field of the philosophy of biology, Andersen, Anjum, and Rocca (2019) argue that since bias is unavoidable, it needs to be acknowledged. The late Zbigniew Gackowski (2006) wrote about the philosophical roots of bias and misinformation from an informing science perspective. Philosophers Cailin O'Connor and James Owen Weatherall's book *The Misinformation Age* (2019) describes the role of bias in the spread of false beliefs.

**Journalism.** It might seem evident that journalists should acknowledge in their writing the bias of the people they interview and explore and own up to their own biases. Those trained in the old-school journalism expect journalists do a thorough job of searching for the truth (Dean, n.d,). However, some, such as Doyle (2018), are pleased with the permission journalists now give themselves to be advocates of their preferred causes. For example, Neil Kressel (1987) studied press coverage of the Arab-Israel conflict and found disturbing evidence of media bias through the publication of untruths, double standards, slants, and failure to follow journalist norms. An in-depth quantitative study by the Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting (2001) replicated this finding, as did Kalb and Saivetz (2007). Weimann (2000) shows how this and other abuses of modern media create "fake realities", perhaps a precursor to the term "fake news".

**Psychology**. Psychology has much to tell us about ways to manipulate how reality is perceived. The fields of memory, attention, cognition, and decision-making all connect and interconnect with what we believe and how we come to believe it. The crux of the finding is that, simply put, humans are not rational machines; instead, we humans are fallible, prone to error, and our perceptions can be and often are influenced and manipulated. Psychologist Thomas Gilovich (2008) outlines the problem in his book *How we know what isn't so: The fallibility of human reason in everyday life* that human reasoning and cognition is biased, even without manipulators introducing misinformation and disinformation.

**Advertising**. American Edward Bernays applied techniques of psychology to influence people's thinking, including in advertising. Bernays, the double nephew of Sigmund Freud, is considered a

father of public relations, modern advertising, and psychological warfare, and his books, including *Crystallizing Public Opinion* (1923) and *Propaganda* (1928), explore his ideas. His "accomplishments" include convincing the public to use disposable paper *Dixie* cups instead of glassware and making it socially acceptable and desirable for women to smoke cigarettes.

**Historians**. Samuel Huntington (1996) points out in depth that the global conflict among civilizations is made manifest in the Middle East. More pointedly, Karsh (2000) documents a concerted effort to falsify the history of Israel, even among those who claim to be historians. That is, the historian can be biased, some by taking writings of others out of context and some even by fabricating Israeli history.

**Communications**. The field of communications also has much to say about bias. Marshall McLuhan (1964) titled chapter 1 of his book *Understanding Media* as "The medium is the message," pointing out the medium used to convey a message impacts (biases) the receiver. For example, images of a crying or dead child, like the one in Figure 2, convey a greater impact on the receiver than providing statistics about children's health. Images evoke emotions that can bypass the ration parts of the brain as so are ripe for agitprop.



**Figure 2. A Palestinian mother weeps for her child and blames Israel tear gas for the death after taking the child to a Hamas organized riot. In fact, baby died of a blood disease and Hamas paid the parents $2,200 to falsely accuse Israel in the tragic death.** (Source: Konn & Lam, 2018; Zikri, 2018)

David Konn and Pok Fu Lam (2018) write in the South China Morning Post, "Pictures of children killed or injured make great 'copy' and fulfil the narrative of Israel as an 'oppressor state'." In reality, the baby in this photo died of a rare blood disease and Hamas paid the family to lied to the press, saying that it died when they brought it to where Israeli soldiers dispensed tear gas to break up a riot.

**Linguists/Semantics**. Cognitive linguist and philosopher George Lakoff (2008) writes about the influence the choice of terms used has on people's perception. Words convey both denotation (meanings) and connotation (feelings). Words have both rational and emotional loading (Condon, 1966). One's bias is revealed by one's choice of preferred terms: pro-life or pro-choice; death tax or tax on unearned inherited wealth.

The journal *Israel Studies* (2019, Issue 2) provides an intellectual inquiry into the use and misuse of terms used regarding the Arab/Israel conflict over the last 70 years. Eighteen research papers point out how words such as apartheid, occupation, and colonialism systematically have been misused in (successful) attempts to demonize Israel, and how these misuses have made their way into academia and the media. When it comes to defining terms in the Middle East, the words used by reporters, college teachers, and politicians convey their bias and presupposition of narratives.

Indeed, the selection of terms impacts the "spin" of the narrative.

**Spin**. Lakoff (2008) developed a theory on the idea of "spin" as part of his Conceptual metaphor theory. One example of spin conveys a death of a criminal at a public hanging as "while attending a large public event, the individual died when the platform on which she had been standing suddenly collapsed." In this case, the spin, while wholly accurate, hides from the reader essential facts and context.

Here is one example of KGB anti-Israel spin cited in Hazan (1976, p. 231): In 1971, the Israeli Government offered a few juveniles in jail on minor offenses the option to join the army with the hopes of keeping them from developing into seasoned criminals. Via its New Times Weekly publication in English, Moscow spun this as follows: *"Twenty hardened criminals were recently released from the Tel-Mond prison before the expiry of their sentences and drafted into a tank unit."*

Today, the whole truth can be even harder to separate from the spin. As O'Sullivan (2019) reports, "Agents of disinformation today mix factual and false information, making it more difficult for audiences to determine what is real and what is fake."

To avoid spin, the full context needs to be provided and understood. For this reason, this paper provides context on the Arab/Israel conflict. Likewise, being aware of how the selection and use of words makes a difference in how people perceive the message, this paper endeavors to remove bias in its choice of terms for some territories and some people.

**This paper attempts to reduce bias in terminology choices**

Avoiding bias may be impossible. As noted above, the very selection of which topic to study is arguably the product of a type of bias, confirmatory bias. Encyclopaedia Britannica defines confirmation bias as the mostly unintentional "tendency to process information by looking for, or interpreting, information that is consistent with one's existing beliefs" (Casad, n.d.).

Confirmation bias hurts social science writes Robert George (2019). For this reason, to reduce biases in loaded wording, this paper will avoid using value-laden terms like "Judaea and Samaria or West Bank" and "Palestinian or Arab Refugee." Instead, we will use the terms "Territories" and "Arab Palestinian."

When we use the term antisemitism, we follow the definition of antisemitism published by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (2018) which acknowledges that *"criticism of Israel similar to that leveled against any other country cannot be regarded as antisemitic."* In contrast, treating Israel and Israelis disproportionally is antisemitic. See Figure 3.

**Figure 3. Disproportionality in judging Israel (using a double standard) is antisemitism, according to the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance.** (When one of the authors, the only Jew in the class, was in the fifth grade, an antisemitic teacher graded his essay low for containing split infinitives, a topic not covered until high school. This standard was not used for any of his classmates, a double standard.) Source: Bookworm room, 2016

**Perspective on disproportionally and antisemitism**. In 2017, Indianapolis had 175 homicides, Jacksonville, Florida 133 homicides. These cities all have similar populations as Jerusalem which had a homicide rate of 27 (Friedman, 2018; Epstein, 2018). Numbeo (2019, March) reports that the crime rate in Jerusalem is quite low and the safety rate is quite high. Israel's murder rate (including by terrorism) is 62% less than the US.

Yet, some college administrators tell their faculty that Israel is too dangerous, perhaps encouraging them instead to attend a conference in popular high crime cities like Indianapolis or Jacksonville. Other US cities popular for holding conferences are even more dangerous. Las Vegas had 141 homicides in 2017 (Manna, 2019) and according to the Chicago Police Department, Chicago had 555 murders in 2018 (Charles, 2018).

Despite the fact, some college administrators assume Israel is not as safe as these other locations. Facts cannot compete with bias and disproportionality against Israel. Rationality cannot compete with propaganda, and truth cannot contend with deceits on social media.

## The Context for Operation SIG

To avoid spin, the paper now provides some needed context to understand the Arab/Israel conflicts. This context provides perspective on the region and its history that enables us to understand the success of the KGB in its antisemitic propaganda industry. We start with a short recounting of the history of the region as part of this context; *"Although people can certainly point out the faults with Israel's dealing in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, those criticisms become antisemitic when they are made out of context,"* according to Holocaust expert Deborah Lipstadt (as cited in Morrison, 2019).

Until recent years, the lands in the Middle East were controlled from afar by foreign rulers. Two thousand years ago, the Roman Empire ruled the region from Rome. The indigenous Jewish population resisted Roman occupation and rebelled more than once. In 135 CE after crushing the Bar Kokhba uprising, the Romans, to spite the rebellious Jews, renamed the country on its maps from

Judea to "Syria Palestine" after the Philistine invaders from a millennium earlier who had disappeared from the history centuries earlier.
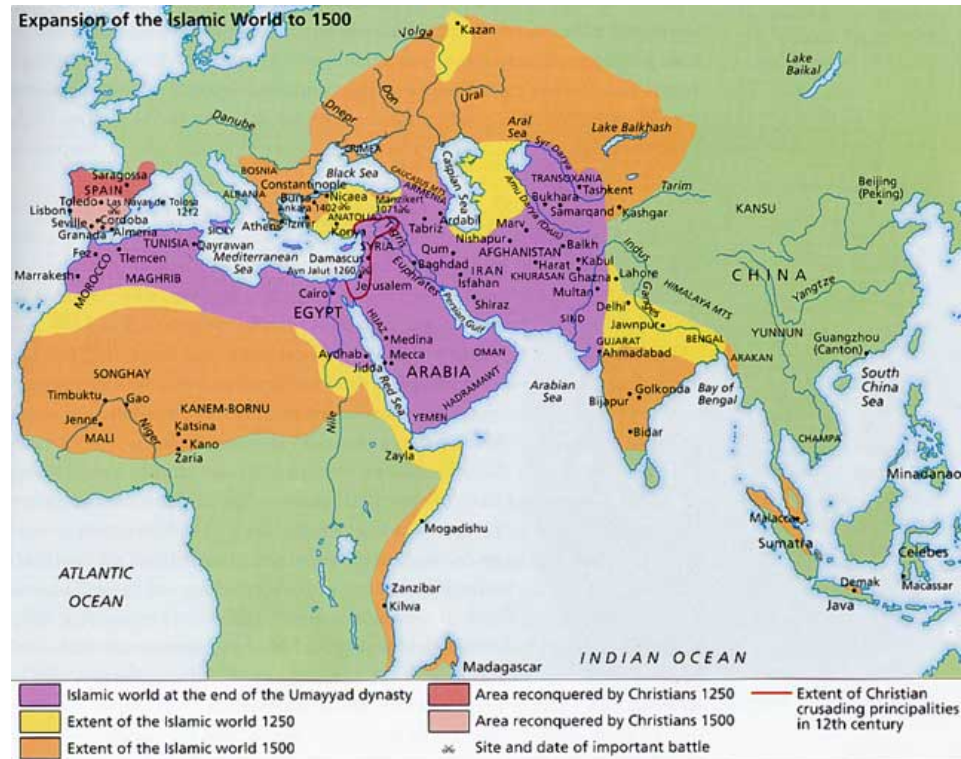


Figure 4. The Islamic Empire in 1500.
Source: Edmaps (nd). https://www.edmaps.com/html/islamic_world.html

Beginning in the 7th century, Arabs from the Arabian Peninsula conquered much of Africa, Asia, and Europe in the name of Islam, as denoted in Figure 4. From the 13th to 20th century, Palestine was ruled from Turkey by its sultanate, caliphate, grand vizierate, and then the absolute monarchy of the Ottoman Turkish Empire. The Turks lost hegemony over these lands to the British at the end of WWI. The British and the French conquers carved up much of the Ottoman Empire in their Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916. See the British controlled Mandate for Palestine in Figure 5.
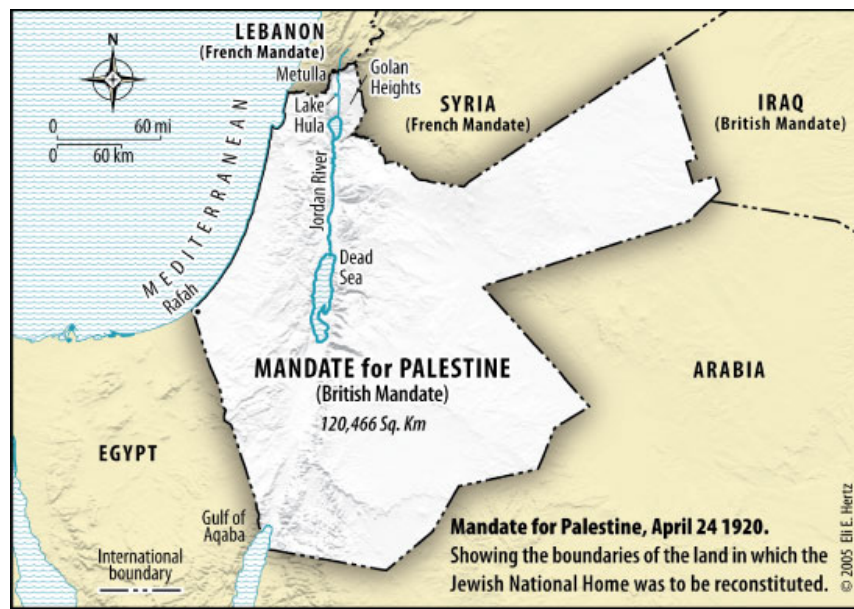
**Figure 5. Map of the Mandate for Palestine. Source: Terre Promise (2015).**
In April 1920 at San Remo, in accordance with existing League of Nations resolution divided the Mandate for Palestine into the Arab land of Transjordan and the Jewish homeland. The land reserved for the Jewish homeland continued to be administer by Britain as the British Mandate for Palestine until 1947.

Professor of International Law Eugene Kontorovich (as cited in Abelow, 2019) writes:

> "According to international law the last time the international community made a legally binding decision on the lands in Judea & Samaria, aka the West Bank, was at the San Remo conference in 1920. At that post-World War I conference, the powers of the world divided up the Middle East into 22 Arab states and one Jewish state. … The San Remo Resolution was a legally-binding foundational document under international law that placed all of Israel, including Judea & Samaria in Jewish control. Therefore, according to international law, Judea and Samaria belongs to the Jewish people, in addition to the eternal and Biblical Jewish connection to the land.

> "The only time Judea and Samaria has been occupied has been by Jordan! After the 1948 War of Independence, Jordan illegally occupied Judea & Samaria, aka the "West Bank". Jordan was part of the Arab military effort to destroy the fledgling state of Israel and throw the Jews into the sea. This was their words, not ours."

In 1921, the British administered the Emirate of Transjordan as a protectorate, installing its selected Hashemite ruler and in 1923 Britain severed Transjordan from the rest of the Mandate for Palestine (Wasserstein, 2008; Transjordan, the Hāshimite Kingdom, and the Palestine war, n.d.). In 1946 Britain relinquished its control and the area became the Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan. The Hashemites are members of a Saudi Arabian princely family claiming descent from Hashim, great-grandfather of Muhammad. Britain and France previously installed Hashemite kingdoms in Iraq and in Syria.

## British Imposed Borders Created Refugees

The British and French action of carving up ancient lands and imposing new borders created refugee migrations. For example, when in 1947 Britain partitioned the Indian subcontinent into two dominions, India and Pakistan, the result was over 14 million refugees relocating to join co-religionists. Many Buddhists, Christians, Hindus, Jains, and followers of other religions resettled as refugees to

India which imposed no state religion. Most Muslims of the subcontinent escaped to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan (Partition of India, n.d.).

The following year, to comply with a UN resolution, Britain withdrew its forces from the remainder of Palestine. The armies of 5 Arab nations invaded the region to prevent the establishment of a non-Arab non-Islamic State and, according to the Grand Mufti, to murder the Jews (Meir-Levi, personal communication). The Arab military lost their war against the infant State of Israel. As a result of this war and subsequent antisemitism against Jews living in Arab countries, about 800,000 Jewish refugees fled from Arab lands to Israel and over 500,000 Arab refugees migrated from Israel to Arab lands. The Jewish refugees were absorbed, most in Israel, but the Arab nations, other than Transjordan, refused to absorb the Arab refugees. Transjordan occupied territories west of the Jordan river, renaming them as their West Bank, and renaming itself from Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan to Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The Arab Palestinians declared King Abdallah of Jordan the King of all Palestine (Jericho Congress [1948] Conference of Palestinians organized by King Abdullah, n.d.; Nevo, 1996). The Gaza Strip became Arab Palestine, a puppet state of Egypt, with stated jurisdiction over not just Gaza, but also Israel and the territories, which were then occupied by Jordan. For 19 years, these territories were occupied by Arab countries.

## The UN and refugees

In the aftermath of WWII, the UN created the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to protect refugees (that is, forcibly displaced communities and stateless people) and assist in their voluntary repatriation, local integration, or resettlement to a third country. However, to help refugees from Arab war against Israel of 1948, the UN established a separate agency, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). UNRWA offered no assistance to Jewish refugees fleeing Arab lands, only to Arab refugees. Initially, UNRWA's mandate was like UNHCR's mandate, to repatriate refugees where possible and to resettle the remainder (UN 1950). However, a decade after its establishment, UNRWA redefined its mandate to assist not only Arab refugees, but also all their descendants. That policy encouraged refugees to refuse resettlement since doing so would take them off the dole, ending payments to them and their descendants. Research reveals that UNRWA cooperates closely with Hamas, an Iranian-backed terrorist organization that currently controls Gaza (UN Watch, 2018) and with the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, another designated terrorist entity (Center for Near East Policy Research, March 21, 2019).

In 1967, Arab nations once again mobilized their armies to attack Israel and stated clearly their intent to eliminate Israel. Egypt removed UN peacekeepers and, in a definitive casus bello under international law, closed the Straits of Tiran to Israeli shipping. In the war that resulted, Jordan, Syria, and Egypt lost lands they conquered during their 1948 invasions.

This brief review of events and dates provides the context needed to understand the success of the KGB actions.

# SOVIET ANTISEMITISM

Izabella Tabarovsky (2019a) writes "*For many decades, virulently antisemitic forms of 'anti-Zionism' were central to the cold war propaganda of the Communist states*." Part of the plan was to disassociate anti-Zionism from antisemitism and claim that in WWII, the Zionists colluded with the Nazis in the holocaust. These false statements, repudiating reality, were part of "*a massive Soviet anti-Zionist campaign that entered a particularly active stage in 1967*". In that year, following the defeat of Soviet armed Arab nations' war against Israel, KGB employee Yuri Ivanov published the article "What is Zionism" which echoed the Czarist's forgeries of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion claiming that Jews controlled politics, world finance, and sought to control the world. An article written by Kichko reads in part '*Weren't the actions of the Israeli extremists during their latest aggression against the Arab countries in keeping with the Torah?*', thus reversing the logic that anti-Zionism is different from antisemitism.

# KGB'S INFLUENCE TO MANIPULATE WORLD OPINION AGAINST THE JEWISH PEOPLE

As noted by Judith Bergman (2016), *"the full extent of the KGB's influence and disinformation operations is not nearly as well-known as it should be."* Much of what is known comes from KGB officers who defected to the West and shared their knowledge, including Vasily Mitrokhin, Lt. General Ion Mihai Pacepa, and Czech intelligence officer Ladislav Bittman.

Mitrokhin was an officer in the Soviet Foreign Intelligence Service and later a KGB archivist who defected to the UK in 1992. He made secret copies of many of the documents while still in the Soviet Union that he brought with him when he defected. The documents, including his notes, have been translated and stored at the Wilson Center (Mitrokhin, 2004). They are described in books authored by Christopher Andrew and Vasili Mitrokhin (1999, 2000, 2005).

Ion Mihai Pacepa was a three-star general in the secret police of Communist Romania. He defected to the US in 1978 and is the highest-ranking defector from the former Eastern Bloc. He co-authored a book (Pacepa & Rychiak, 2013), has given many interviews (Pacepa, 2003, 2006), and continues to give talks and write articles about his experiences.

Before Ladislav Bittman defected after the Prague Spring of 1968, he was a high-ranking Czechoslovakia intelligence officer specializing in disinformation and worked with the KGB. Following his defection, he founded at a center at Boston University School of Journalism about disinformation (Richman, 1994, p B6).

Russia had an ambivalent view of the Jewish people and Israel prior to 1967. It supplied and trained the armies of Arab nations that invaded Israel in 1967. That changed after the Six-Day war when its side lost the war. The worldwide campaign to liberate Soviet Jews infuriated the Soviets and made the Jews and all Zionists their enemies. Now the Soviet operatives started writing about "Israel, Zionism, and International Imperialism". The KGB sought to redefine Zionism from the Jewish National Liberation Movement to those who ally themselves with the US as anticommunist 'and imperialist' (Hazan, 1976, p 150-151).

The KGB brought together Arab adherents to three distinct but related ideologies: Arab Nazi philosophy, pan-Islamism, and pan-Arabism.

**1. Arab/Muslim adoption of Nazi antisemitism.** Jeffrey Herf's research (2009) explores Nazi antisemitic propaganda activities to inflame nascent Arab's and Muslim's antisemitism in the Middle East during World War II and the Holocaust. During WWII, Mohammed Amin al-Husseini, Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, worked as an agent of the Nazis and introduced to the Arab world the Nazi themes that Jews are sub-human, cruel, baby killers, not worthy of living, and so should be eliminated (Meir-Levi, 2007a). After WWII, we see these themes most clearly in the activities of Hassan al-Banna, who founded the fundamentalist Muslim Brotherhood in 1928. It, like its later affiliates of ISIS, Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and Al Qaeda, called on all Arabs to drive their Jewish neighbors into the sea (New York Times, 1948). Other Arab leaders repeated al-Banna's calls for hatred of Jews (Elder of Ziyon, 2014). Indeed, according to one recent analysis, had it not been for Nazi officials cooperating in secret with the pan-Islamist Muslim Brotherhood, the Arab nations would not have attacked Israel in the 1948 (Kuentzel, 2019).

Figure 6 shows examples of the use of this theme of the "Jew as despicable creature" that has been taken from Nazi propaganda and used in Soviet, Russian, and Arab countries to spread antisemitism.

Nazi cartoon (Germany, 1930)
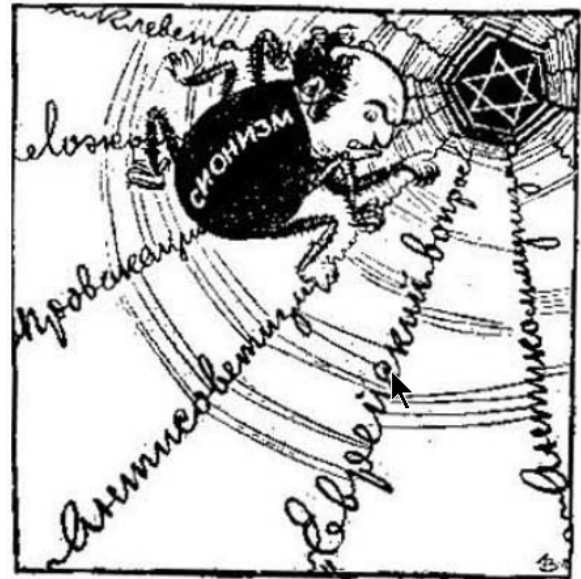


Soviet cartoon (1971)



Al-Hayat Al-Jadida (2001)



Official PA daily, Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, Sept. 20, 2018
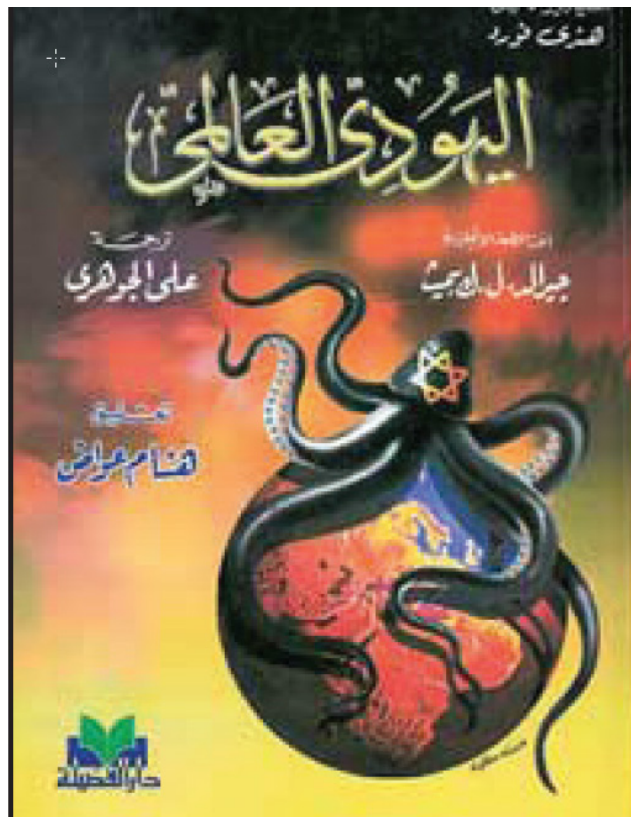
**Saudi cartoon depicting Jews as rats**

**Nazi**



**Egyptian Cover of "The International Jew"**

Anti-Zionist caricature from the Soviet magazine, Krokodil, 1972. Reddit.

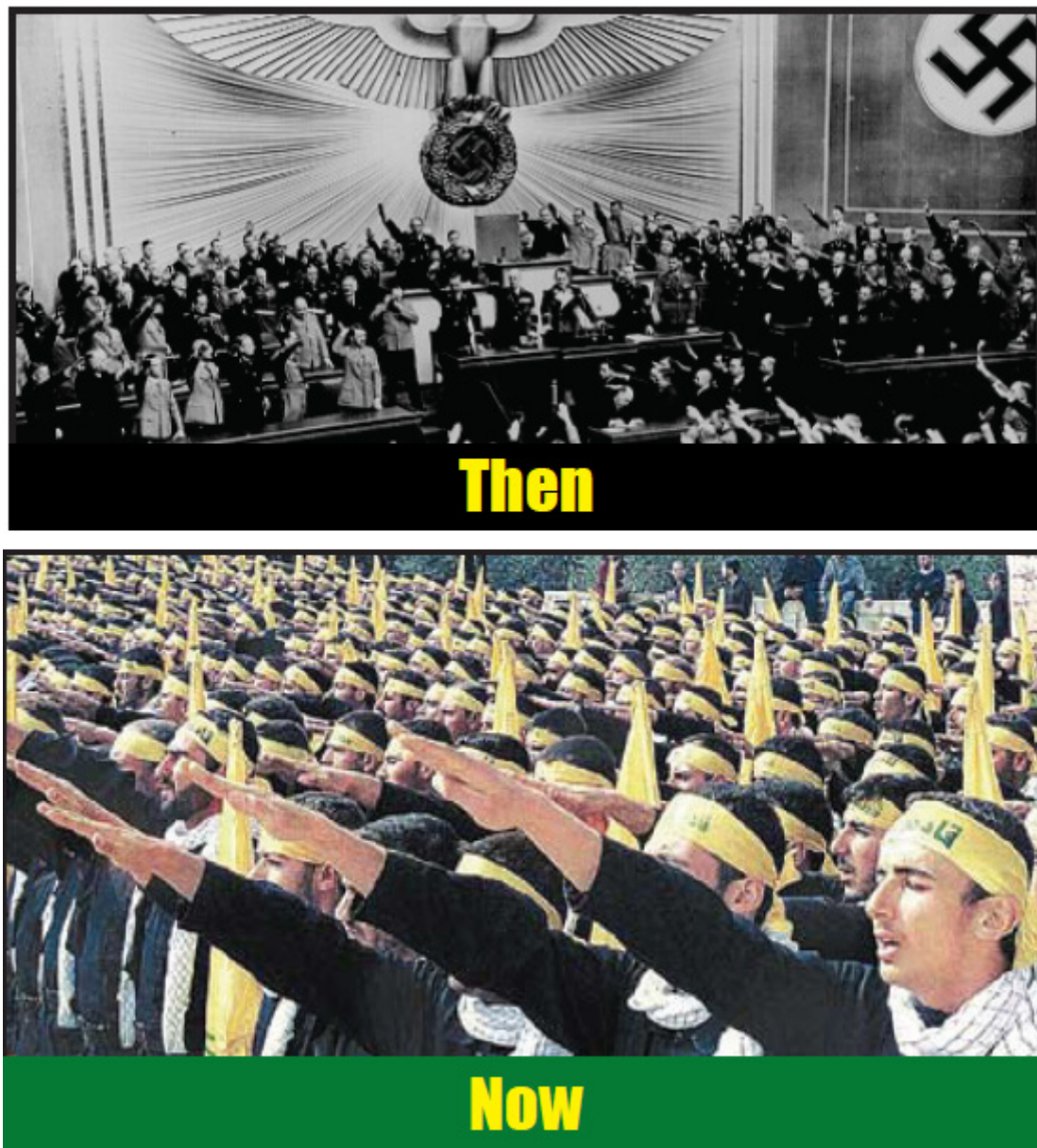**Jews as snakes in Nazi and Arab Palestinian Press**

Figure 6. Jews as despicable creatures in Nazi, Soviet, and modern times.
Source: Kirchen, 2010; Palestinian Media watch; Arabnews.com (n.d.); Library of Congress; Dar al-Fadila (2001), The Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, Reddit.

**2. Pan-Islamist ambitions** are to create a single caliphate that unites all the ummah (the whole community of Muslims) into a single political entity under Islamic law. That is, the aim is replace individual Islamic countries with a single one controlled by a Caliph. ISIS, Muslim Brotherhood, Islamic Jihad, Hamas, and Hezbollah are examples. Currently, the Islamic Republic of Iran finances much of these military and terrorist actions.

**3. Pan-Arabist ambitions** are to unify all lands that ever were under Arab hegemony into a single Arab State. The Syrian and the former Iraqi governments espouse pan-Arabism. (see Figure 7 below)

خريطةُ الوطنِ العربيِّ السِّياسيّة

**Figure 7. A map of the Arab homeland as it appears in the 2017 Palestinian textbook
"National and Social Fostering; Part 1, page 22" for the fifth grade.
Palestine appears on the map with the Palestinian flag. The map omits Israel.**
(Source: Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, 2018)

## GOAL: OVERTURN DEMOCRACIES

The genius of the KGB was to bind adherents of all three ideologies around what they had in common, hatred for Jews, Israel, and Western democracy. The USSR's intelligence service, the KGB, orchestrated efforts to overturn democracies throughout the world by recruiting and outfitting locals into guerrilla armies. The countries included Bolivia, Columbia, Italy, Armenia, Ireland, Germany, Canada, the United Kingdom as well as Israel (Terrorism and the Soviet Union, n.d.).

In the middle east, the KGB brought together existing antisemitism with these irredentist movements to advance its aim to turn world opinion against Israel. Previously this paper used the term Reflexive Control to describe their efforts. Another term for the same or similar activities is *Active Measures*. Active Measures warfare was used widely against the west, that is, political warfare using media manipulation, trained guerrillas, and such to disrupt democracies. Ronen Bergman (2016) writes that the KGB defined Active Measures as *"operations carried out by agents or fighters, meant ... to solve international problems, deceive rivals, weaken their status and disrupt their ability to successfully execute hostile (to the Soviet Union) plans."*

As mentioned above, the particular Active Measure program to turn the Islamic world against Israel was called Operation SIG (*Sionistskiye Gosudarstva*, or "Jewish or Zionist Governments"). Operation SIG created joint ventures and recruited:

> *thousands of doctors, engineers, technicians, professors, and even dance instructors. All had the task of portraying the United States as an arrogant and haughty Jewish fiefdom financed by Jewish money and run by Jewish politicians, whose aim was to subordinate the entire Islamic world.* (Pacepa, 2006)

Pacepa (2006) writes that *"the Kremlin decided to turn the whole Islamic world against Israel and the U.S"* According to Pacepa, he was told by KGB chairman Yury Andropov, *"We needed to instill a Nazi-style hatred for the Jews throughout the Islamic world, and to turn this weapon of the emotions into a terrorist bloodbath against Israel and its main supporter, the United States."* Pacepa recounted that by the time he left Romania in 1978, the Soviets *"had sent some 4,000 such agents of influence into the Islamic world."* In addition, they

*spread throughout the Islamic world an Arabic translation of the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion, a tsarist Russian forgery that had been used by Hitler as the foundation for his anti-Semitic philosophy."*

## KGB's DISINFORMATION WARFARE TECHNIQUES

As previously mentioned, Stalin created a special tactical office for disinformation (Manning & Romerstein, 2004). In 1954, after Stalin's death, the USSR tasked the KGB, more properly the First Main Directorate of the Committee for State Security (PGU KGB), with political warfare, including disinformation, propaganda, and forgery of official documents. The world learned more about the KGB's campaigns to disinform once the USSR fell in 1991 through exposes written by its operators, such as in the book *KGB and Soviet Disinformation: An Insider's View* written by former intelligence officer specializing in disinformation for the Czech Intelligence Service Ladislav Bittman (1985). His book points out psychological warfare techniques perfected by the KGB. More revelations were exposed in the book *Disinformation* written by former spy chief Lt. Gen. Ion Mihai Pacepa and Prof. Ronald Rychlak (2013).

From these books, we now know the immense success the KGB had in the past. (The techniques used by the KBG outlined in these books are still being used by Russian intelligence services.) These books provide evidence of the enormous success the KGB had in creating world opposition to Israel.

The success of the Soviet disinformation campaign is extraordinary. Today the narrative expressed by various governments, NGOs, and the mass media is not of the relentless Arab aggression against Israel, but of Israel being the aggressor against the Arabs. Starting around 1967, the KGB created media (films, printed matter in various languages) to promote its new narrative:

1) The Jews (the Zionists) create or fake antisemitism (and this is why there has been antisemitism for the last several thousands of years),
2) Zionist organization worldwide engage in espionage (and this is why Jewish organizations are helping the poorest countries and the poorest people),
3) Zionism is a Trojan Horse for Imperialism and Racism in the third world (Hazan, 1976, pp 151-152),
4) The Jews collaborated with the Nazis during WWII, and
5) Holocaust Inversion, that Israelis are the new Nazis (Hazan, 1976, p. 151-155

Hazan (1976, p. 230ff) points out the methods used by the Soviets to carry out their propaganda campaign. Most of these should be familiar to the reader since they are still in use by the Russians and many were used in Nazi Germany. We explore specific instances of these throughout the paper.

1) Deception. Deception includes out and out lying as well as the more effective "distortion", including spin.
2) Guilt by association (or blame the victim). When Arab terrorists murder athletes, airline passengers, Leon Klinghoffer (the invalid murdered as part of the Achille Lauro hijacking, or French shopkeepers, blame the Jews.
3) Repetition. Adolph Hitler wrote that to convince the masses, just keep repeating the lie. In the context of the middle east, just keep repeating "blame the occupation" and "Israeli aggression", no matter what the question. When a Christian tourist to Israel set a fire in the Al Alsa Mosque in 1969, the Soviets called it an Israeli criminal act for occupying Jerusalem. (The mosque is under the authority of the Muslim Waqf.)
4) Deliberate misuse of sentiment. As early as 40 years ago, the KGB was using themes of children being brutalized to invoke anti-Israel sentiment. Even the death of Anne Frank, Jewish victim of Nazi terror, is misused to turn world opinion against Israel.

In addition to these methods mentioned by Hazan from 40 years ago, other techniques include the follow:

1) infiltrating organizations that have their own agenda to inject an antisemitic agenda.
2) Using "useful idiots" (well-meaning but ignorant people), for example, to participate in anti-Israeli days on campuses.
3) Telling the "big lie" as Hitler wrote about in Mein Kampf.

*It is no exaggeration to say that the cumulative effects of fake news – especially if it takes the form of defamation, privacy invasion, war propaganda and hate speech – can seriously undermine democratic societies. As such, it is a real danger* (De Baets, 2019).

This change in narrative is one of the greatest successes of the Soviet propaganda machinery. This paper shows how they accomplished this.

## OPERATION SIG: 1960S TO NOW

According to Ion Mihai Pacepa (as cited in J. Bergman, 2016), the "Palestinian Liberation Army" was contrived by the KGB much like it devised the Bolivian National Liberation Army. The KGB created this army in the early 1960s following the failure of the troops of various Arab states to destroy Israel. Pacepa (2006) stated that the KGB drafted the Palestinian National Charter and handpicked the 422 members of the PLO council that approved it. Andropov told Pacepa *"We needed to instill a Nazi-style hatred for the Jews throughout the Islamic world, and to turn this weapon of the emotions into a terrorist bloodbath against Israel"* (Pacepa, 2006). Likewise, both the Palestine National Covenant and Palestinian Constitution were drafted in Moscow (Pacepa as cited in J. Bergman, 2016). Meir-Levi (2007b) and Shaw (2019) note the prowess of the KGB in establishing an anti-democratic and anti-Zionist sentiment via the Arabs.

In his review of Pacepa and Rychicak's book (2013), former Director of Central Intelligence R. James Woolsey (2013) comments: *"Gen. Pacepa writes that there were more in the Soviet bloc working on dezinformatsiya than in the armed forces and defense industry!"*

While this paper focuses on the disinformation campaign, we note in passing the other element of the KGB/Arab asymmetric warfare against Israel, terrorism. Pacepa notes that with KGB-financing the PLO hijacked 82 planes. PLO strongman Yaser Arafat and KGB General Aleksandr Sakharovsky both lay claim to being the inventor of airplane hijacking. Following Pacepa's revelations, Muammar Gaddafi and Yasser Arafat each offered US$1 million for the assassination of Pacepa (Stan, 2013).

More recent Russian disinformation campaigns against Ukraine and the US echo the Russian playbook described below. Cain (2019) writes, *"The Crimean annexation was an early masterstroke of fake news and pseudo-history…Fake news plunged parts of Ukraine into a post-truth, alternate reality. President Vladimir Putin's disinformation machine convinced his supporters that fascists and enemies lurked everywhere…"* Below we explore KGB success in portraying Jews as fascists and creating a fake history.

According to Pacepa (2003), the KGB singled out Yasser Arafat to help it in its campaign of disinformation. It trained Arafat at *"its Balashikha special-ops school east of Moscow and in the mid-1960s decided to groom him as the future PLO leader."* In a February 1972, discussion with KGB chairman Yuri Andropov, Andropov told Pacepa that the KGB would mold Arafat's Marxist ideals into a rabid anti-Zionist. Pacepa wrote, *"In 1969 the KGB asked Arafat to declare war on American 'imperial-Zionism'… It appealed to him [Arafat] so much, Arafat later claimed to have invented the imperial-Zionist battle cry.* **But in fact, 'imperial-Zionism' was a Moscow invention, a modern adaptation of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, and long a favorite tool of Russian intelligence to foment ethnic hatred** [emphasis ours]. *The KGB always regarded anti-Semitism plus anti-imperialism as a rich source of anti-Americanism."* See Figure 8.

In the next section, we examine techniques used to turn world opinion against the Jews and Israel and to create a new narrative.



**Figure 8. PLO chief Yasser Arafat and KGB Agent Vladimir Putin: Source:** Wallace Edward Brand (2014) https://thetruthsoldier.files.wordpress.com/2014/08/plo-kgb1-e1407022872526.png
**(date of photo unknown)**

## CREATING A REPLACEMENT FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE.

Following the Holocaust, world opinion briefly favored the Jewish people. One tactic to counter this positive sentiment was for the KGB to create an alternative people to replace the Jews. In the early 1900s, before Israel's establishment, the term "Palestinian" primarily referred to the local Jews and their institutions. For example, the Palestine Post newspaper, books on Palestinian folk songs and folk tales, and the Palestinian Philharmonic all related to the Jewish people living there and to their institutions. The Arabs living there identified themselves as people of Greater Syria or Transjordan. (Modern Syria leadership still aspires to control not only Lebanon but also Israel and Jordan.) While some Arab families (like the Jews) had lived the pre-British Mandate Palestine for generations, most were immigrants from other parts of the Ottoman Empire, many forcibly relocated by their Ottoman rulers (Blumi 2013).

The KGB's creation of a new, separate identity for the Arabs living in British Mandate Palestine as a distinct and ancient people was met with skepticism. In 1977, Zahir Muhsein, executive committee member of the Palestine Liberation Organization, admitted in an interview by a Dutch newspaper (Dorsey, 1977), *"The Palestinian people does not exist. The creation of the Palestinian state is only a means of continuing our struggle against the state of Israel for our Arab unity. In reality, today there is no difference between Jordanians, Palestinians Syrians, and Lebanese. Only for political and tactical reasons do we speak today about the existence of a Palestinian people … to oppose Zionism. … The moment we reclaim our right to all of Palestine, we will not wait even a minute to unite Palestine and Jordan".*

Historian Jerold Auerbach (2019) writes in "When were the 'Palestinians' invented:

> *Testifying before the Peel Commission in 1937, Syrian leader Auni Bey Abdul-Nadi asserted: "There is no such country as Palestine. … 'Palestine' is alien to us. It is the Zionists who introduced it."*

> *Even Columbia history professor Rashid Khalidi, an expert on Palestinian identity, would acknowledge that before World War I "Palestine" did not exist in Arab consciousness. Zionist land development served as a magnet for Arabs from Middle Eastern countries who came to Palestine in search of a better life and eventually became "Palestinians."*

> *Shortly before the birth of the State of Israel, Arab historian Philip Hitti conceded: "There is no such thing as Palestine in history." Even the UN General Assembly Resolution in 1947 referred to the area west of the Jordan River as Judea and Samaria. A distinctive Palestinian identity did not emerge until the humiliating Arab defeat in the Six-Day War.*

Creating a national identity of Palestinian Arabs as a pre-existing people required creating a new history. The oldest academic journal with this claim, the *Journal of Palestine Studies*, was created in 1972, four years after the Arab armies failed a second time to annihilate Israel. The importance of this is that once an academic journal publishes a paper, it takes on a reputation of credibility and its papers are repeated as true by reporters, politicians, and textbook writings. This has been called "fake history" (De Baets, 2019).

## Inventing a new narrative: Claiming Jews as the aggressors

In 1948 the fledgling democratic State of Israel was attacked by five Arab armies bent on its destruction. This reality did not support the ambitions of the USSR, and so the KGB created a replacement narrative of Israel as the aggressor. That new narrative started by talking about the Arabs of the region as a distinct people, the Palestinians, even though these Arabs failed to meet the commonly held criteria of peoplehood. Peoplehood typically is understood as having distinctness in language, religion, history, culture, historical sovereignty, national literature, and such. For example, the Kurds, Armenians, Catalonians, Bangladeshis, Slovakians, Slovenes, and Jews are peoples. The uniqueness of Arab Palestinians needed to be constructed whole cloth but was and is essential to claim the land of Israel as the homeland for Arab Palestinians. *"Historically, the Palestinian 'desire for statehood' and 'need for liberation' was invented in large part by the Soviet Union"* according to Christopher Fish writing in the Stanford Review (2008). He writes *"Palestinian nationalism is, therefore, a historical fabrication born out of a communist thirst for expansion and an Arab resentment of the existence of Israel."*

The KGB plan was to fight an asymmetrical war against Israel, using an Arab guerrilla army to conduct terrorism against Israeli civilians and Jews throughout the world. The plan also included creating an alternative narrative of Arab Palestinians as a people with an association with the land, and creating (or fanning) antisemitism both with the Islamic people and among non-Muslims, and creating political structures for international recognition.

## Building on Nazi antisemitism

Above we noted, the KGB re-used the Nazi's propaganda of Jews as subhuman or even vermin. These memes live even today on campuses throughout the world where students portray Jews as Nazis and the Arab Palestinians as their victims. (For example, see Lipstadt, 2019)
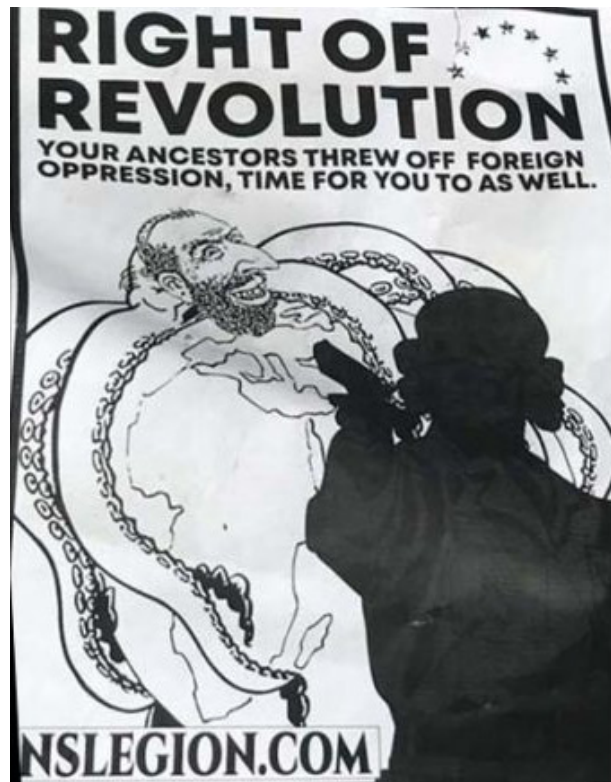
**Figure 9. Antisemitic poster at Duke University using Nazi themes found on May 1, 2018**.
Source: AMCHA Initiative Antisemitism Tracker, 2018.

The image in Figure 9 is similar to one shown above that was published in the official newspaper of the Palestinian Authority Al-Hayat Al-Jadida the same year. Figure 10 is an example of the teaching of antisemitism from the pulpit of a mosque



Figure 10. Example of Portraying Jews as despicable animals, as shown on Official Palestinian Authority TV. Source: Case Study: Portraying Jews as "Apes and Pigs" (2015)

Klaff (private communications) notes a contrary view,  that "*most Nazi antisemitism originated in Christianity, and even in pre-Christian Greece and Rome, and was prominent in the Middle Ages. The blood libel, which originated in England, was also prominent in Germany from the 12th or 13th century. I think the contribution made by Czarist Russia was The Protocols, which strongly reinforced and re-energised the conspiracy libel.*"

Czarist's fabricated antisemitic tomb *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* spread to Nazi Germany and via the KGB to the Arabs. Lt. General Ion Mihai Pacepa (2006) wrote: "*In the mid-1970s we also started showering the Islamic world with an Arabic translation of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, a tsarist Russian forgery that had been used by Hitler as the foundation for his antisemitic philosophy. We also disseminated a KGB-fabricated "documentary" paper in Arabic alleging that Israel and its main supporter, the United States, were Zionist countries dedicated to converting the Islamic world into a Jewish colony.*"

Lesley Klaff (private communication), an expert on contemporary antisemitism, noted that images like Figure 9 found on campuses are from neo-Nazis and need to be identified as Holocaust Inversion (conflating Jews with Nazis). She notes that Holocaust Inversion was the creation of the British following WWII, not the Nazis. And while it was heavily deployed by the Russians in the 60's and 70's, its origin lies in Britain, not Russia (Klaff, 2019).

## Pan-Arabists and Pan-Islamists unite with Arab Nazis to fight Jewish nationalism

When Zahir Muhsein gave his interview with the Dutch newspaper (Dorsey, 1977) he was speaking as a Pan-Arabist, that is, one who seeks to unite all 22 Arab countries into a new, single Arab nation. Another ideology, which competes with the pan-Arabism, is the ideology of a pan-Islamic state, promoted by the Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas, Hezbollah, and ISIS. For example, the Hamas charter (Hamas Covenant, 1988) calls for an Islamic state throughout all Palestine (meaning Israel, Gaza, the territories, and Jordan) and is opposed to the PLO's efforts to create a secular state where Moslems and the dwindling number of Christians (but no Jews) are welcome.

To oppose the Israeli democratic state, the KGB succeeded in uniting pan-Arabist, pan-Islamist, and Arab Nazis into a consistent power. The Fatah army got its start in 1959 in Kuwait ("Fatah", 2006) by two agents of the KGB, Yasser Arafat and Mahmood Abbas (BBC News, 2016; Pacepa, 2003). Five years later in Jordanian-occupied Jerusalem, Fatah added civil organizations from then Jordanian-occupied Judaea and Samaria (the Territories) to establish the PLO.

The PLO charter unequivocally states that its goal is to destroy Israel (Palestinian National Charter, 1968).

Following Arafat's death, Mahmoud Abbas assumed control of the PLO, and KGB influence continued. The Mitrokhin documents note that the KGB began to recruit Abbas around 1979 when he arrived in Moscow for graduate studies. While there he wrote as his dissertation *The Other Side: The Secret Relationship Between Nazism and Zionism*, a conspiracy theory about the Holocaust that included accusations that the Zionists had helped Hitler (R. Bergman, 2016). Abbas is now in the 19th year of what was to be a 4-year term.

## Reframing terrorism

David Meir-Levi (2007b) writes: "*Arafat was particularly struck by Ho Chi Minh's success in mobilizing left-wing sympathizers in Europe and the United States, where activists on American campuses, enthusiastically following the [propaganda] line of North Vietnamese operatives, had succeeded in reframing the Vietnam war from a Communist assault on the south to a struggle for national liberation. Ho's chief strategist, General Giap, made it clear to Arafat and his lieutenants that in order to succeed, they too needed to redefine the terms of their struggle. Giap's counsel was simple but profound: the PLO needed to work in a way that* **concealed its real goals, permitted strategic deception, and gave the appearance of moderation**: "*Stop talking about annihilating Israel and instead turn your terror war into a struggle for human rights. Then you will have the American people eating out of your hand.*"

Fish (2008) quotes advice to Arafat from Algerian Minister of Information Muhammed Yazid: "*wipe out the argument that Israel is a small state whose existence is threatened by the Arab States, or the reduction of the Palestinian problem to a question of refugees; instead present the Palestinian struggle as one for liberation like the others. Wipe out the impression that in the struggle between the Palestinians and Zionists, the Zionist is the underdog.*"

*Now it is the Arab who is oppressed and victimized in his existence because he is not only facing the Zionists but also world imperialism."*

In summary, the KGB led propaganda mechanisms spun the narrative of the Arabs as an indigenous population whose human rights have been violated by Israel.

## Lie to the West and expand terrorism

The KGB and other communist leaders continued to influence, if not control, the PLO. Pacepa (2003) reports that *"in March 1978, I secretly brought Arafat to Bucharest for final instructions on how to behave in Washington."* He writes that Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu instructed Arafat to pretend that he would break with terrorism and recognize Israel and say this over and over, a fake offering of the olive branch.

Most Westerners think that when the PLO and Hamas refer to "occupied lands" they mean the territories that Arab nations lost to Israel during the 1967 war. However, it is clear from the various Palestinian Arab documents and speeches that the current Palestinian Arab leadership refers to all of Israel as "occupied land."

The tactic of deceiving the West worked in changing public opinion, giving the illusion that strongman Arafat was willing to become a statesman, offering peace with the Jewish State in exchange for land to create a homeland for the Arab Palestinian. Israel handed control of territory to the PLO in return for the promise of peace. Two years after Israel signed and complied with the Oslo accords, it became clear that Arafat's commitment was a lie. Arab terrorism against Jews increased under Palestinian semi-autonomy. The number of Israelis murdered by Arab terrorists increased by 73%. Bedein (2019) write "People do not generally know that the PA [Palestinian Authority], the PLO administrative arm, has enacted an unprecedented ordinance to provide an automatic gratuity – for life – for anyone who murders a Jew."

In a 1994 speech in Johannesburg, Arafat confessed that he misled the world and used an interpretation of Islamic law as his rationale (Arafat, 1994).

**Is Lying Kosher?** Was Arafat's use of lying about seeking peace permissible within Islam? Professor Joel Hayward, Professor of Strategic Thought at the National Defense College of the United Arab Emirates, researched this topic in his book *War is Deceit* (2017). Hayward found that the approach of lying to advance an Islamic cause is in accord with Islamic law.

**Arafat's Nazi antisemitism.** Using Arafat, the KGB also built on the Nazi antisemitism advanced by Mufti al-Husseini. The KGB *"also selected a 'personal hero' for him [Arafat] -- the Grand Mufti Haj Amin al-Husseini, the man who visited Auschwitz in the late 1930s and reproached the Germans for not having killed even more Jews"* (Pacepa, 2003).

Dalin (2012, p 131) writes *"the PLO recruited two former Nazi instructors, Erich Altern, a leader of the Gestapo's Jewish affairs section, and Willy Berner, an S.S. officer in the Matthausen extermination camp. Another former Nazi, Johann Schuller, was found supplying arms to the Fatah. The Belgian Jean Tireault, secretary of the neo-Nazi La Nation Européenne, also went on the Fatah payroll. Still another Belgian, the neo-Nazi Karl van der Put, recruited by the PLO. … Arafat always revered al-Husseini."*

## Useful idiots and willing collaborators

Another tactic of the KGB used to weaken or destroy Israel is the "Useful Idiot." The term, attributed to Vladimir Lenin, refers to recruiting a useful pawn of a propagandist, one who is not aware of being manipulated for the other's cause. The device works well with young, impressionable youth looking for a cause to support. Rachel Corrie, for example, died while standing in front of a bulldozer clearing out tunnels in Gaza used by terrorist to attack Israeli civilians. Her death became a huge propaganda success.

For reporters, the technique can involve planting a fake story that looks like legitimate news in some friendly outlet (such as RT or Aljazeera). *"Then they (the Russians) use fake accounts to amplify the story — repeatedly tweeting it, making it appear like it is being shared by real people, making it 'trend' — until someone like a journalist, or maybe a politician, shares it and it goes into the mainstream"* (O'Sullivan, 2019, citing David Halevy, a Jerusalem-based correspondent for Time Magazine).

Other times, reporters needing a news report to file, collaborate with their Arab handlers who arranges for an event. For example, Tuvia Tenenbom (2015a) posed in the Territories as a naïve German reporter and learned (and reports to the reader in a humorous way) how the Palestinian Authority (PA) organizes fake news events for reporters who show up needing a story. He showed up with his PA handler, and they asked him to document for his newspaper the event they showed for him. In his book, he points out the truth behind the staged events provided for him.

Still other times, the technique involves locating those already convinced that Jews are evil. Tenenbom's (2015b) reports and interviews also assured him that outsiders, such as NGOs, use their money to *"implant hate in the heart of the Palestinian against the Jew… They (the NGOs) believe to the core of their being that the Jews are bad"*. He writes that they bring in naïve European youth to "to catch the Jew" (the title of his book). Gerstenfeld (2015) provides details on how NGOs provide economic and political support to collaborate with those who produce fake anti-Israel propaganda. At other times, the tactic is to create an event. Recently Hamas massed thousands of civilians intermixed with their armed soldiers to cross into Israel. They use the resultant deaths in their propaganda war, taking the spotlight off Hamas's failure to build an economy for those it governs, e.g. Morris & Balousha, 2018. (NGO Monitor publishes descriptions of the funding and activities of NGOs in the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict.)

### Unwitting collaborators via tribalism

Robert Cialdini (2007) notes that an effective way to influence and persuade people is by reciprocation (I will march in your parade if you march in mine). We seek out information sources from like-minded people. To sway US elections, the Russians set up or joined social media groups on various topics, including Black lives, religion, even animal lovers, and used the trust given by those who subscribed to these social media groups to sway opinions toward their preferred presidential candidate. In the US, antisemites joined special interest groups, even ones with contrary viewpoints, to sway those groups toward antisemitism (Engel, 2019). Lipstadt (2019, p. 195) writes, *"Using a language of shared oppression, progressive groups have made Israel part of the matrix of their concerns."* For example, Singer (2018) and O'Sullivan (2019) point out infiltration of the Women's March and the Black Lives Matter movement by antisemites, even though, unlike many Islamic countries, in Israel men and women are treated equally in society and under the law. Followers of Louis Farrakhan, a self-proclaimed racist and antisemite, infiltrated both groups. Farrakhan, the head of the Nation of Islam, calls for separation by races, antisemitism, opposes LGBTQ rights, and is against treating men and women equally. The United Kingdom has for 30 years prohibited him from visiting or even giving a videotaped or live stream message to a UK audience. According to Queen's Counsel Nicholas Blake, Farrakhan has not only targeted Jews in his speeches but also "said unkind things about whites, Catholics and gays" ("Farrakhan banned from Britain", 2002; Muhammad, 2017).

# FUTURE RESEARCH

This paper is still research in progress. The next step is to explore the fake news industry known as Pallywood which uses actors, directors, and film crews to create fake news.

We will also explore the intimidation of reporters in the areas controlled by Hamas and the Palestinian Authority and the need for a free press in these areas.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS: ANTISEMITISM DID NOT START WITH ISRAEL AND WILL NOT END WITH THE JEWS

This paper contains direct quotes from various KGB agents. Other parts relate unquestionable history of the problem. The paper has been scrupulous in citing its sources. Yet we, the authors, feel sure that some readers will reject its conclusions because they conflict with the reader's preconceived notions. Before starting this research, we too would have been skeptical of its findings.

What the research found is, to create chaos, the KGB organized Operation SIG to portray Israel as a Pariah State. It built on existing Arab desire to create a Pan-Arab Empire (or a Pan-Islamic Empire) that replaces the Jewish homeland with a greater empire rules by Arab Muslims. Operation SIG was perhaps the most successful disinformation campaign in history, until recently.

*At its core, the Soviet anti-Zionist campaign of 1967-1988 was a campaign of propaganda and disinformation. It built and weaponised narratives based on made-up or twisted facts. It distorted history. It employed classic propaganda tools such as deception, guilt by association, and repetition to inculcate the key messages. It shamelessly played on people's sentiments, and it used both Soviet Jews and Muslims as instruments of propaganda* (Hazan, 1976).

Some antisemites prefer to characterize themselves as only anti-Israeli and feel comfortable dealing disproportionately Israel. There is no problem with people criticizing the Israeli government; in fact, it is the state sport of Israel and has been since before its founding. But advocating actions that jeopardize Israel's existence and the lives of Israelis is antisemitic. Operation SIG created the cover for antisemites and antidemocratic forces thus fulfilling the KGB's ambition to create chaos in the middle east.

The authors believe that the "peoples" of the middle east deserve their own nations. Besides the Muslim Arabs and Turks, other peoples deserving homelands in the middle east include the Armenians, Kurds, and Jews, all of whom who fear being driven out of their ancestral homelands. These peoples have millennial-old beliefs, traditions, stories, language, and religion distinct to themselves.

Jews are a people, not a race nor just a religion. The idea of race came from the Nazis. Thirty years after the fall of Nazi Germany, in 1975 the UN resurrected this Nazi antisemitic ideology by adopted resolution 3379 (later revoked) that the aspirations of the Jewish People to restore their homeland was racist. Even with this revocation, the lies continue. The UK defines Jews as a race. While many Jews carry the genes of their Jewish parents, over thousands of years of intermarriage, Jews are black, white, and yellow. Others, without Jewish parents, joined the Jewish people through their commitment to living as Jews. Identifying as a Jew and member of the Jewish people is what makes one Jewish.

Antisemites don't stop their hate with just the Jews living in Israel. Former KGB chairman Yuri Andropov said *"We have only to keep repeating our themes that the United States and Israel are fascists, Imperial-Zionist countries bankrolled by rich Jews"* (Shaw, 2019). The KGB chairman's thoughts resonate in the US Congress where congressmen freely tweet abhorrent Nazi and KGB antisemitic slanders; on the far left by Representative Ilhan Omar (Shaw, 2019) and on the right by Kevin McCarthy (Hansler, 2019). European legislators spout the same antisemitic themes. Even the wording of the neo-Nazi Institute for Historical Review and the far-left Dissident Review are virtually identical, referring to "Jewish Power" (Stand With Us, 2019, p.7).

In the UK, the antisemitism exhibits by the leaders of the Labour Party has its origins in Operation SIG (Tabarovsky, 2019a)

On campuses around the world, Jewish students fear to reveal their beliefs to fellow students and professors who profess antisemitic beliefs. Misinformation and disinformation is repeated creating "passive misinformation", an echo chamber in which deceptions are repeated and amplified.

This leads to a "Spiral of Silence", a theory proposed by Elisabeth Noelle-Neurmann in 1974 that holds that people will tend to remain silent when they feel that their views are in opposition to the majority view out of fear of isolation or reprisal.

Contemporary antisemitism is a big deal. Kirby (2018) notes that 95% of French Jews see antisemitism as a fairly big or very big problem. Antisemitism that has spread worldwide and continues to grow (Astor, 2018).

*"We have yet to understand fully how Soviet anti-Zionist propaganda influenced the world. In those individual instances where this influence is evident, it is apparent just how negatively it impacted the lives of Jews around the globe."* (Tabarovsky, 2019b).

This paper's focus has been on antisemitic propaganda targeted against Israel. But its message needs to be generalized. Recently the Data Society published a paper exploring how the media was hijacked to amplify message of hate from 2016 to 2018 on a different issue, the US election (Phillips, 2018). The reports show that the KGB used similar tactics in their election interference. The exposure of KGB operations in the US election has led some people to question that propaganda's message. We hope that the research in this paper will lead those who write that Israel is apartheid to do the same. But we are not sanguine. Research on cognitive dissonance shows that when challenged by solid evidence, many people become *even more entrenched* in their false beliefs.

We scholars need to recognize and fight against the recurrence of antisemitism and other forms of hate on campus and within the academic community. Remember the words of Martin Niemöller (n.d.) about the cowardice of German intellectuals:

> *First they came for the socialists, and I did not speak out—because I was not a socialist.*
> *Then they came for the trade unionists, and I did not speak out— because I was not a trade unionist.*
> *Then they came for the Jews, and I did not speak out—because I was not a Jew.*
> *Then they came for me—and there was no one left to speak for me.*

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## BIOGRAPHIES

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