

Espionage Journalism

April 14 news conference in New York City

Protest Pulitzer Prizes for Russian Propagandists

For Immediate Release: Contact Phil Kent at philkent@philkent.com or (404) 226-3549.

Declaring that espionage does not equal journalism, Cliff Kincaid, President of America's Survival, Inc. (ASI) and director of the Accuracy in Media Center for Investigative Journalism, has announced a news conference in New York City on April 14 to protest the anticipated awarding of "distinguished" Pulitzer Prizes to media mouthpieces for National Security Agency (NSA) leaker Edward Snowden.

Snowden is charged with espionage for aiding America's enemies and may have assisted Russia in its invasion of Ukraine.

The news conference, at 11:00 a.m. at the Women's National Republican Club (the 3 West Club) at 3 West 51st Street in New York City, is scheduled the same day that the Pulitzers are being announced at Columbia University. Doors will be open at 10:00 a.m. to accommodate advance set-up by the media. After the event, Cliff Kincaid and his associates will leave for Columbia University, where the Pulitzer Prizes are scheduled to be announced at 3:00 p.m., to be available for comment on the historical developments.

Snowden is charged with "unauthorized communication of national defense information" and "willful communication of classified communications intelligence information to an unauthorized person," brought under the 1917 Espionage Act. That makes Snowden's journalistic collaborators potential conspirators in an espionage operation against the United States. The other charge against Snowden is theft of government property.

A Department of Defense assessment concludes that Snowden downloaded approximately 1.7 million intelligence files -- described as the single largest theft of secrets in the history of the United States -- and that "much of the information stolen by Snowden is related to current U.S. military operations."

America's Survival, Inc.

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Kincaid said, “Journalism awards for Snowden’s collaborators, two of whom remain on foreign soil for fear of being arrested as his collaborators in espionage, would undermine whatever credibility the media have left with the American people. Saluting Snowden’s media collaborators would give the Pulitzer another black eye, in the same way that New York Times reporter Walter Duranty’s cover-up of Stalin’s murder of millions of people in Ukraine was given a Pulitzer Prize in 1932.” Accuracy in Media (AIM) has sought the revocation of Duranty’s Pulitzer for decades (see AIM Chairman Reed Irvine’s 1999 letter on page 8 of this report).

Walter Zaryckj, Executive Director of the Center for US-Ukrainian Relations (CUSUR), will address the continuing controversy over Duranty’s Pulitzer Prize, which was never withdrawn and is still featured on the Pulitzer website. Copies of the ASI book by Professor Paul Kengor, *All The Dupes Fit To Print: Journalists Who Have Served As Tools Of Communist Propaganda*, which examines the Duranty case, will be available at the news conference.



The Walter Duranty Scandal

The Pulitzer Prize Board announced in 2003 that it would not revoke the foreign reporting prize awarded to Duranty because there wasn't “clear and convincing evidence of deliberate deception” on Duranty’s part. However, a document from the U.S. National Archives on Duranty’s reporting on Russia and Ukraine, written by A.W. Kliefoth of the U.S. Embassy in Berlin and dated June 4, 1931, proves there was deception. Kliefoth reported to the State Department that Duranty had told him that “in agreement with The New York Times and the Soviet authorities, his official dispatches always reflect the official opinion of the Soviet government and not his own.”

handed over to the jurisdiction of the OGPU.⁵⁶

The OGPU also helped to prevent news of the famine from crossing the borders it had sealed. One of the most successful Soviet “active measures” of the 1930s was to persuade most of the outside world, as well as gullible Western visitors and journalists actually in the Soviet Union, that one of the worst famines in modern history was no more than a piece of anti-Soviet propaganda. After five days in the Ukraine, spent in official receptions, banquets, and carefully conducted tours, Édouard Herriot, the French radical leader, twice prime minister of his country, “categorically denied the lies of the bourgeois press about a famine in the Soviet Union.” After a tour of Potemkin villages, Bernard Shaw announced: “I did not see a single under-nourished person in Russia, young or old. Were they padded? Were their hollow cheeks distended by pieces of india rubber inside?” The *New York Times* correspondent in Moscow, Walter Duranty, awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 1932 for his “dispassionate, interpretive reporting of the news from Russia,” claimed in August 1933 that “any report of a famine in Russia is today an exaggeration or malignant propaganda.” The gurus of British Fabian socialism, Beatrice and Sidney Webb, reached the same conclusion after their tours of Russia in 1932 and 1933. They blamed the “famine” on the “bourgeois press.”

From *KGB: The Inside Story*

It also appears the Pulitzer board did not take into account the revelations of former KGB colonel Oleg Gordievsky, a former highest-ranking Soviet spy who wrote in the book, *KGB: The Inside Story*, that “One of the most successful Soviet ‘active measures’ of the 1930s was to persuade most of the outside world, as well as gullible Western visitors and journalists actually in the Soviet Union, that one of the worst famines in modern history was no more than a piece of anti-Soviet propaganda.” He names Duranty as one of these “gullible” journalists.

The term “active measures” refers to influence operations conducted by Soviet intelligence agencies. The OGPU was the early political police of the Soviet Union and a forerunner of the KGB.

Target: Ukraine

It was in 1932 that Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin declared, “We may lose Ukraine,” and began the process of genocide in Ukraine known as the Holodomor -- death by starvation -- in order to crush the anti-communist resistance. Duranty was Stalin’s agent in concealing this from the outside world, in order to solidify Stalin’s control and pave the way for U.S. recognition of his regime.

As if history may be repeating itself, a March 24 report in the Wall Street Journal indicates that Snowden’s crippling of the NSA through illegal disclosures of stolen classified information may have facilitated Vladimir Putin’s invasion of Ukraine. “Some U.S. military and intelligence officials say Russia’s war planners might have used knowledge about the U.S.’s usual surveillance techniques to change communication

methods about the looming invasion,” the Journal said in its front page story. “U.S. officials haven’t determined how Russia hid its military plans from U.S. eavesdropping equipment that picks up digital and electronic communications.”

Ukraine’s territorial integrity was supposedly guaranteed by a 1994 document, the Budapest Memorandum, signed by Russia.

In another recent case, operating on the basis of access to documents reportedly supplied by Snowden, the March 22 New York Times reported ways in which the NSA has spied on China’s telecom giant, Huawei. Such disclosures of the NSA’s sources and methods can only benefit the communist dictatorship in Beijing.

The “Snowdenistas” (to use a term coined by writer Edward Lucas) under consideration for Pulitzers are Glenn Greenwald, Laura Poitras and Ewen MacAskill for their reporting at The Guardian, as well as Poitras and Barton Gellman for their stories about Snowden’s disclosures at The Washington Post. (MacAskill is the Guardian’s defense and intelligence correspondent.)

Greenwald, one of Snowden’s closest collaborators, has a record of anti-American activities and pronouncements that includes:

- Speaking publicly in favor of “weakening” America and declaring that al-Qaeda’s 9/11 terrorist attacks on America were “very minimal in scope compared to the level of deaths that the United States has been bringing to the world for decades—from Vietnam to illegal wars in Central America...”
- Describing Anwar al-Awlaki, the American al-Qaeda leader killed in a drone strike, merely as “someone who the U.S. government hates because he speaks effectively to the Muslim world about the violence that the United States commits regionally, and the responsibility of Muslims to stand up to that violence.”
- Collaborating with Leninist groups such as the International Socialist Organization and Islamist organizations such as the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), a Muslim Brotherhood front.
- His eager acceptance of a journalism award named for Soviet agent I.F. Stone. Greenwald said the “smear” of Stone by the “truly deranged, sex-obsessed, conspiracy-monger Cliff Kincaid will make me place my Izzy Award on an even more prominent shelf in my office.”

Pulitzer Prize-winning national security reporter Thomas Ricks tweeted this question on March 15:



tom ricks
@tomricks1



@ggreenwald @DuffelBlog Glenn, any comments from you or Edward Snowden on the recent round of media shutdowns in Russia?

Then he said this on March 17:



tom ricks @tomricks1 · Mar 18

@ggreenwald Why is it so hard for you to say anything critical of Putin?

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Bob Cesca of The Daily Banter said “Ricks is right to question the deafening silence from Team Snowden on Russia and, come to think of it, Brazil.” He added, “...when it comes to the nation that’s provided Snowden’s asylum and the nation where Greenwald resides as an expat (Brazil), it’s absolutely appropriate for these heroic crusaders against surveillance and authoritarianism to have spoken out at some point.”

He then cited:

“Brazil’s domestic spying program, conducted by its NSA counterpart, the ABIN, recorded phone conversations between a Brazilian Supreme Court justice and one of its senators. Brazil has its very own PRISM surveillance database. It’s spying on social media. It’s spying on activists who oppose the construction of the Belo Monto Dam. It’s currently spying on potentially violent protesters in advance of the World Cup. And six journalists have been murdered in Brazil over the last couple of years.

“Russia is far worse. There essentially aren’t any warrants or court orders needed for mass surveillance of its own citizens. The Russian surveillance apparatus dwarfs the United States’ NSA, and there aren’t any protections or oversight restricting its activity. Russia has a history of imprisoning and even killing journalists and activists alike.”

Laura Poitras, another media mouthpiece for Snowden, has, by her own admission, been stopped by U.S. immigration officials on many different occasions, traveling to and from the United States, reportedly because of allegations of terrorist ties. (The book, *The Devil’s Sandbox: With the 2nd Battalion, 162nd Infantry at War in Iraq*, reports that Poitras had foreknowledge of a November 20, 2004 ambush of U.S. troops in Iraq but did nothing to warn them.)

As for Snowden himself, in his statement from Moscow international airport, he said that the countries which have stood “against human rights violations carried out by the powerful rather than the powerless,” and which offered him “support and asylum,” included Russia, Venezuela, Bolivia, Nicaragua, and Ecuador. These anti-American regimes, many of them Marxist, have his “gratitude and respect,” he said. Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador and Nicaragua are members of what the Russian media sympathetically described as the “left South American bloc ALBA.”



Snowden and Ströbele

Snowden’s key German contact, a member of the German Green Party, Hans Christian Ströbele, is a member of the German Parliament who represented the communist terrorist group, the Baader-Meinhof Gang -- also known as the Red Army Faction (RAF). In Moscow, Ströbele handed Snowden the “Honorary Diploma of the Whistleblower Award 2013,” in honor of his theft and release of classified documents on NSA surveillance programs.

The RAF kidnapped and murdered German corporation executives, bankers, and police; bombed U.S. military bases; and attacked U.S. military personnel in Europe in the 1970s and 80s. One of their victims was U.S. Army Specialist Edward Pimental, who was abducted and executed with a bullet to the back of his head. One of his terrorist killers was released in 2007. “The prisoners should have the chance for a new life,” Stroebele said, referring to the terrorists being released from prison.

The famous KGB archivist, Col. Vasili Mitrokhin, revealed in the book, *The Sword and the Shield*, that the Soviet KGB, mostly through the East German intelligence service, was behind this campaign of violence and terrorism by the Baader Meinhof Gang/RAF. The purpose was to undermine the U.S. and the NATO Alliance—of which Germany is a member -- in Europe.

Snowden and Russian Active Measures

In the same way that Duranty was used in a Soviet active measures operation, Jason Matthews, a CIA operations officer for 33 years, was quoted in The Huffington Post as saying about Snowden:

“Since Snowden's arrival in Russia, we have been seeing what the Kremlin does best: aktivniye myeripriyatiya, active measures, political propaganda. It was a mainstay activity of Soviet intelligence during the Cold War.”

He added, “With the Snowden story, the active measures target audience is Europe and Asia. President Putin's message from the start was measured, forthright and so, well, reasonable. He did not want Snowden to stay; there had not been contact with Russian secret services; Moscow did not want Snowden's leaks to harm the American partners.”

Citing various well-timed stories said to be based on Snowden's documents, Matthews went on, “The Russians know very well the effect this will have, from domestic calls for NSA reform, to shattered foreign liaison relationships, to heightened security on the parts of adversaries, either states or terrorists. It marvelously suits the Kremlin to have a weakened NSA across the Atlantic.”

We have seen the results in the “domestic calls for NSA reform” from such figures as Senator Rand Paul, who compared Snowden to Martin Luther King Jr. and has even sued the intelligence agency, and the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

Edward Lucas, a journalist who understands and exposes Russian intelligence and espionage operations, argues in his new book, *The Snowden Operation: Inside the West's Greatest Intelligence Disaster*, that Russian intelligence manipulated Snowden through third parties such as WikiLeaks and Glenn Greenwald. This does not mean, he emphasizes, that Snowden's collaborators were “conscious agents” of Moscow. Instead, they operate in a certain “propaganda environment” in which “political movements in the West can serve the Kremlin's purpose without hands-on control.”

Lt. Gen Ion Mihai Pacepa, the highest-ranking Soviet bloc intelligence official ever to defect to the West, says that Snowden's arrival in Russia was “the result of a well-prepared Russian intelligence operation” against the United States. Snowden “is an agent of the Russian foreign intelligence service,” he has concluded.

Snowden's associates freely admit that he is being guarded in Moscow by the Russian security service, the FSB.

Among other things to be addressed at the news conference, Kincaid will explain why Snowden's media collaborators are different than New York Times reporter Neil Sheehan, who was given access to a stolen history of U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War, the “Pentagon Papers,” provided by Daniel Ellsberg, an employee of a think tank.

Former Defense Secretary Mel Laird felt that over 95 percent of the material could be declassified. The charges against Ellsberg, who did not flee to a communist country, were eventually dismissed because of allegations of government misconduct. The Pentagon Papers stories won a Pulitzer Prize for the paper in 1972 and have been compared by apologists for Greenwald et al. to stories about Snowden's disclosures.

Bios for speakers:

A veteran journalist and media critic, **Cliff Kincaid** concentrated in journalism and communications at the University of Toledo, where he graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree, and writes the "World Revolution Report" newsletter. America's Survival, Inc. (ASI) is engaged in a long-term effort to reform journalism and journalism education and has launched a national television channel on the Roku streaming player in cooperation with Jerry Kenney of Kenney TV in Florida. "We believe the answer to media bias is better journalism education and the building of responsible news operations and companies," Kincaid says. In addition to publishing the book *All The Dupes Fit To Print: Journalists Who Have Served As Tools Of Communist Propaganda*, by Paul Kengor, ASI has developed a syllabus for colleges and universities entitled, "All the Dupes Fit to Print: An Undergraduate Lesson Plan to Introduce Students to Journalistic Malpractice Through Reporting on the Ukrainian Holodomor of 1932 – 1933."

Walter Zaryckyj is Executive Director of the Center for US-Ukrainian Relations (CUSUR). The Center provides "informational platforms" or venues for senior-level representatives of the political, economic, security, diplomatic and cultural/academic establishments of the United States and Ukraine to exchange views on a wide range of issues of mutual interest, and to showcase what has been referred to as a "burgeoning relationship of notable geopolitical import" between the two nations. Dr. Zaryckyj completed his undergraduate and graduate work at Columbia University; he taught political science at NYU for nearly three decades before moving on in recent years to do postdoctoral research work on Eastern Europe.

Letter from Reed Irvine: Revoke Duranty's Prize

July 2, 1999

Mr. Seymour Topping
Administrator
The Pulitzer Prizes
Columbia University

Dear Mr. Topping:

As you may know from your days at The New York Times, Accuracy in Media has been critical of award of the Pulitzer Prize to Walter Duranty for many years. We urged Punch Sulzberger to return it. He said he would gladly do so if the Pulitzer Prize Committee withdrew it, and we twice suggested to Robert Christopher, the Pulitzer Prize administrator, that the prize be revoked.

Since you have covered the Soviet Union, I need not tell you the many reasons why the prize should be withdrawn, but for the benefit of others to whom I hope you will circulate this letter, allow me to list some of them.

Duranty was awarded the prize for his coverage of the Soviet Union in 1932, the year when the great famine of 1932-33 began in the Ukraine. His biographer, S.J. Taylor, calls it "the greatest man-made disaster ever recorded, exceeding in scale even the Jewish Holocaust of the next decade." Eugene Lyons said that Duranty privately put the number of dead from the famine as high as 10 million even though he was reporting that there was not and could not be a food shortage in the Soviet Union and that there was no starvation.

The chasm between what Duranty was reporting and what he said privately has been confirmed by other journalists who knew him. One of them was the late John Chamberlain, who reported that he heard Duranty casually mention in an elevator at the Times the millions who had died in the famine, something that Duranty had never reported.

In communicating the board's decision in November 1992 to reject our request that Duranty's prize be revoked, Mr. Christopher pointed out that the award did not constitute an endorsement of Duranty's overall career. It was only for "a specific set of stories." The Pulitzer Prize citation for the award to Duranty said his stories on Stalin's economic plans were "marked by scholarship, profundity, impartiality, sound judgment and exceptional clarity...."

The famine was planned by Stalin to destroy the opposition to his collectivization program in the Ukraine. The famine itself was one of Stalin's economic plans and Duranty's failure to report it truthfully refutes every word in that citation.

It would make good sense for the Pulitzer Prize judges take into account the reputation of the nominees for integrity. A Janet Cooke or Steven Glass might be capable of producing a story truly deserving of a prize, but it ought to undergo very careful scrutiny.

Would the judges who awarded the prize to Duranty in 1933 have done so had they known that the Soviet government was providing him with both a mistress and a car and giving him special privileges that were designed to influence his reporting. And they did. Duranty is reported to have told a U.S. embassy official in Berlin in 1931 that his dispatches always reflected the Soviet position.

Mr. Christopher also said that the Pulitzer board had decided that revoking the prize would be "inappropriate and set a bad precedent" and would be "second-guessing an earlier board." That board richly deserves to be second-guessed. There were a few reporters in the Soviet Union who told the truth about what was going on. The board disregarded those who were telling the truth. When the Duranty prize is revoked, as it must be, it could be given posthumously to Malcolm Muggeridge, one of the few who had the will to investigate the Ukrainian tragedy and the courage to report it.

Correcting errors is supposed to be a hallmark of good journalism. Awarding the Pulitzer Prize to Walter Duranty was obviously a monumental error, and it cries out for correction. Of course, it is not the only one that has ever been made. I don't recall the board refusing to accept the Washington Post's return of the prize awarded to Janet Cooke in 1981. Admitting that her selection was a serious mistake was the honorable thing to do. It is hard to conceive of the board allowing that award to stand had Ms. Cooke refused to give it up.

Revoking an award given 76 years ago would set a precedent, but it would be a very good one. It would signal that honesty and accuracy are indispensable requirements both for stories nominated for Pulitzer Prizes in the future and for those that have won them in the past.

If this is not done, the prize will lose respect. It will signal that the standards for integrity and honesty demanded of journalists are lower than those demanded of pop singers by the National Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences.

In 1992, the Academy revoked a 1989 Grammy awarded to a group called Milli Vanilli, when it was discovered that the "singers" did not actually sing their songs. They lip-synched the voices of others. Officials of the Academy made it clear that if there was reason to question any nomination they would investigate aggressively and take appropriate action. You should do the same.

Trust in journalists and the media is at a low ebb. One journalistic organization recently recommended that those who hand out awards to journalists pay more attention to the accuracy of the stories they honor. When flawed stories win prizes, respect for journalism plummets. It is an embarrassment to The New York Times and to the Pulitzer Prize board to have to put a note alongside Duranty's picture in its hall of fame, saying that his work has been discredited.

I have two suggestions. First, revoke those prizes, beginning with Duranty's, that have been exposed as seriously inaccurate. Second, require the nominees to submit not only the praise their stories have received, but also the criticism. This would help weed out the unworthy nominations and assist the judges in reaching sound decisions.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Irvine
Chairman
Accuracy in Media

The 2014 Pulitzer Board

- Allen, Danielle, UPS Foundation Professor, School of Social Science, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, NJ
- Beck, Randell, president and publisher, Argus Leader Media, Sioux Falls, SD
- Blau, Robert, executive editor for projects and investigations, Bloomberg News, New York, NY
- Bollinger, Lee C., president, Columbia University, New York, NY
- Boo, Katherine, staff writer, The New Yorker
- Coll, Steve, dean, The Journalism School, Columbia University

- Collins, Gail, op-ed columnist, The New York Times
- Daniszewski, John, vice president and senior managing editor for international news, Associated Press
- Dehli, Joyce, vice president for news, Lee Enterprises
- Díaz, Junot, author and Rudge and Nancy Allen Professor of Writing, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
- Engelberg, Stephen, editor-in-chief, ProPublica
- Gigot, Paul, editorial page editor, The Wall Street Journal, New York, NY
- Gissler, Sig, administrator, The Pulitzer Prizes, Columbia Journalism School
- Hahn, Steven, Roy F. and Jeanette P. Nichols Professor of History, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
- Hudes, Quiara Alegria, playwright
- Marques Gonzalez, Aminda, vice president and executive editor, The Miami Herald
- Robinson, Eugene, columnist and associate editor, The Washington Post
- Tash, Paul, chairman and CEO, Tampa Bay Times, St. Petersburg, Fla.
- Willey, Keven Ann, vice president/editorial page editor, The Dallas Morning News

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

for the Eastern District of Virginia

JUN 14 2013

United States of America v. Edward J. Snowden

Case No. 1:13 CR 265 (GMH)

Defendant(s)

UNDER SEAL

CRIMINAL COMPLAINT

I, the complainant in this case, state that the following is true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

On or about the date(s) of May 2013 in the county of Not Applicable in the District of Not Applicable, the defendant(s) violated:

Table with 2 columns: Code Section, Offense Description. Rows include 18 U.S.C. 641 (Theft of Government Property), 18 U.S.C. 793(d) (Unauthorized Communication of National Defense Information), and 18 U.S.C. 798(a)(3) (Willful Communication of Classified Communications Intelligence Information to an Unauthorized Person).

This criminal complaint is based on these facts:

See Attached Affidavit.

Venue is proper pursuant to 18 U.S.C. 3238.

Continued on the attached sheet.

Reviewed by AUSA/SAUSA:

[Redacted signature box]

[Signature of John A. Kralik, Jr.]

John A. Kralik, Jr. Special Agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Sworn to before me and signed in my presence.

Date: 06/14/2013

[Signature of John F. Anderson]

John F. Anderson United States Magistrate Judge

City and state: Alexandria, VA

Hon. John F. Anderson, U.S. Magistrate Judge