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June 7, 1985

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The Honorable William J. Casey  
Director of Central Intelligence  
Washington, D.C. 20505

Dear Mr. Casey:

As you may be aware, the Washington Times on May 6 published an article, of which I have taken the liberty of enclosing a copy, claiming that the Soviets have been testing chemical weapons on unwilling human "guinea pigs." These tests were reportedly conducted at the Shikhany test range southeast of Moscow beginning in 1980 and are apparently continuing. According to the Times, quoting an unnamed intelligence source, one of the intelligence agencies under the DCI umbrella has actual photographs of human beings tied to posts on the test range. I further understand that the posts shown in these photographs are the same as those depicted in a 1983 DoD report, "Continuing Development of Chemical Weapons Capabilities in the USSR." I have enclosed relevant portions of that report, including the sections on the Shikhany range and artists' renderings, presumably extrapolated from satellite photos, of the test range.

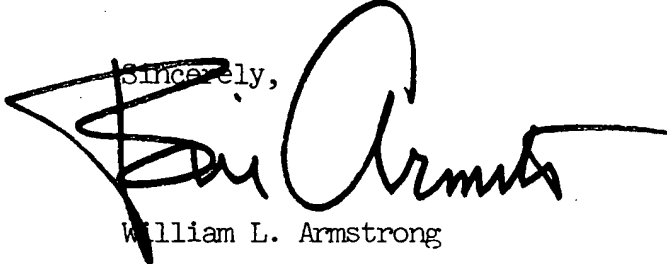
I don't have to tell you of the impact such photos would have on public perceptions, specifically, on the chemical weapons issue and, generally, on overall perceptions of the nature of the USSR and how we should deal with it. I fully understand the sensitivity of the sources and methods involved in the acquisition of such information, in this case highly-capable satellite photography. In addition, the Times cites human intelligence data to the effect that the test subjects are (or were) political prisoners.

I strongly urge you to consider how these photographs might be made available to the public -- or at the very least to Members of Congress in closed briefings. While I understand the difficulty in "sanitizing" such material for release, I also point out the uselessness of having certain information unless it can be enlisted in the public debate on national security issues. I note that the Department of Defense made some very difficult decisions in releasing some of the data contained in Soviet Military Power because the public impact was deemed to outweigh the exposure of the methods involved.

Page Two  
The Honorable William J. Casey  
June 7, 1985

In this case, the pictures, if they exist, would be worth many thousands of words in terms of giving people a realistic understanding of the Soviet threat. I hope you will give the possibility of using them for that purpose careful consideration.

Best regards.

Sincerely,  
  
William L. Armstrong

WLA/jjb

# Soviets seen testing chemical weapons on humans

By Tom Diaz  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Soviet Union is testing deadly chemical and biological weapons on unwilling human subjects "tied to stakes" at a range near Moscow, two defense analysts have charged.

In 1980, soon after the invasion of Afghanistan, the Soviets conducted lethal chemical and biological tests against men and women tied to stakes in

target areas at the gigantic Shikhanj Chemical Test Range located southeast of Moscow and... such tests are apparently continuing," Quentin Crommelin Jr. and David S. Sullivan charge in their book, "Soviet Military Supremacy," which was released last week.

Angelo Codevilla, an aide to Sen. Malcolm Wallop, R-Wyo., and a former staff member of the Senate Intelligence Committee, confirmed that the Soviets are known to have conducted such tests.

## TESTING

From page 1A

But another source familiar with national intelligence matters, who spoke on condition that he not be named, said U.S. intelligence officials have "plenty of evidence" of such testing.

"There is loads of photographic evidence plus human intelligence reports," he said. He said he has seen satellite photographs and human intelligence reports documenting the tests.

Other sources in the intelligence community said the Soviets generally know when U.S. spy satellites are in a position to observe their activities and doubted the Soviets would allow such tests to be observed.

Mr. Sullivan, an aide to several conservative senators, worked as an analyst for the Central Intelligence Agency until 1978. Since then, he has worked on Capitol Hill, with the exception of a short stint with the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Many regard him as an expert on the subject of Soviet violations of strategic arms limitation treaties.

Mr. Crommelin is a Washington lawyer who has worked on the staff of the Senate Armed Services Committee, among others, and on the Defense Department transition team for the first Reagan administration term.

The book, written as a project of the Defense and Strategic Studies program of the University of

"That is true," he said in an interview last week. He said he knew that "from regular intelligence briefings given to U.S. naval officers 15 years ago" — not, he emphasized, from information obtained while serving on the intelligence committee.

Mr. Codevilla said he doesn't know if the Soviets are still conducting tests on humans.

Experts in the field of chemical and biological warfare said rumors of such

Southern California, was cleared for publication by the Central Intelligence Agency, because of Mr. Sullivan's past employment with the agency. A CIA spokesman emphasized, however, that CIA clearance is concerned only with whether a book contains classified information, not with the accuracy of the allegations in it.

The CIA declined to comment on the allegations themselves.

"It [Soviet chemical and biological weapons testing] is a very sensitive subject, and we just haven't released any information on it at all," the spokesman said.

Spokesmen for the DIA, the State Department and the ACDA responded similarly.

"I am unable to confirm the information," a DIA spokesman said.

"We don't have any information on that at all," said an ACDA spokesman.

But the source who claims to have seen the evidence of the tests insisted that U.S. officials are well aware of the tests.

"We've seen the stakes, we've seen the people," he said. "We've seen just animals [tied to the stakes], we've seen just people, and we've seen both together."

"They are testing the [chemical and biological] agents to see how long it takes to kill," the source said. "We've seen people down. We don't know if they're dead or wounded."

The source said "humint," or human intelligence reports, "told us they [the victims] are political prisoners."

testing are widely known, but they said they had not seen supporting evidence. Spokesmen for the Central Intelligence Agency, the Defense Intelligence Agency, the State Department and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency declined to confirm the charge.

Neither Mr. Sullivan nor Mr. Crommelin would give details of the information on which their charge is based.

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He also said, "We've seen crematoria nearby."

"We know they cremate the animals," he said. "We don't know how they dispose of the [human] bodies. We assume they cremate them."

The source said the United States has been able to observe the alleged testing "only fortuitously."

But, he said, "We've seen hundreds [of people tied to stakes], and we have to assume that if we've seen hundreds they've tested many more."

Other analysts were cautious in their reactions to the charges.

"I have heard the allegations," said Brad Roberts, a fellow at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies. "They are fairly widely known. But I don't know if they are accurate."

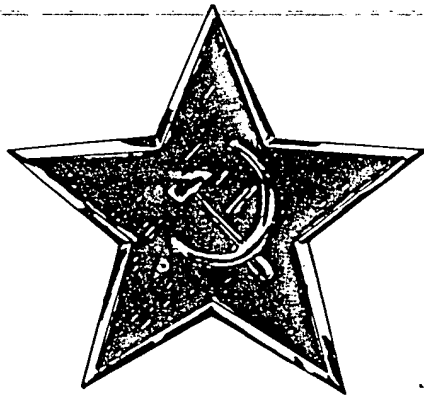
Mr. Roberts said the allegation is "not incredible," but that he would be "surprised" if it were true because the Soviet chemical warfare program is so advanced there is little need for such experimentation.

The Shikhanj complex was built in the 1920s and is "one of the Soviets' primary chemical weapons test areas," according to a 1983 Defense Department report on Soviet chemical weapons capabilities.

"It [the allegation] is sometimes confused with the fact that the Soviets train on a very large scale with the real stuff and they sometimes lose troops," Mr. Roberts said.

Robert H. Kupperman, director of science and technology at CSIS, said, "I've heard it, but I've seen no evidence."

The Washington Times 5/6/85



# *Continuing Development of Chemical Weapons Capabilities in the USSR*

*October 1983*



## SOVIET CHEMICAL WEAPONS TESTING, PRODUCTION, AND STORAGE ACTIVITIES

Since the late 1960's the Soviets have continued to test, produce and stockpile chemical weapons. What we have observed over the past 15 years is not what we would expect of a nation that was maintaining a status quo. Although the Soviets have claimed they are pursuing only a defense against chemical weapons, the size and scope of their activities demonstrate a formidable capability to carry out offensive chemical operations.

### SOVIET CHEMICAL WEAPONS TESTING

The Shikhany Chemical Warfare Proving Ground is one of the Soviets' primary chemical weapons test areas. It was established in the mid-1920's, and a number of chemical weapons tests were conducted in the late 1920's and 1930's. World War II reconnaissance photography confirmed that Shikhany was an active chemical weapons test facility. Since that time it has grown in size and sophistication and today continues to be a highly active chemical weapons testing facility. Figure 8 indicates its location in the Soviet Union.

Since the late 1970's, the Soviets have constructed several new chemical agent/weapon test facilities at Shikhany and construction is continuing. The sampling devices used to determine the efficiency of chemical weapons are arranged in grids which have a circular or rectangular pattern. These distinctive grids measure the agent concentration and how well it was dispersed. The shape of the grid and complexity of its pattern depend on the kind of weapon (bomb, artillery, rocket, etc.) and the type of agent being tested.

One of the new grids is of a circular design and is shown in Figure 9. It is used to test the efficiency of a munition in dispersing effective concentrations of chemical agent.

Figure 10 shows an example of a chemical weapons test at Shikhany. The impact craters were caused by an exploding chemical munition. The sampling devices are positioned downwind to measure concentration of the agent released. All testing of this kind is done under predetermined wind and temperature conditions. A test similar to the one shown in Figure 10 was conducted at Shikhany in early 1980 shortly after the Soviets invaded Afghanistan and such tests are continuing.

### SHIKHANY CHEMICAL PROVING GROUND USSR

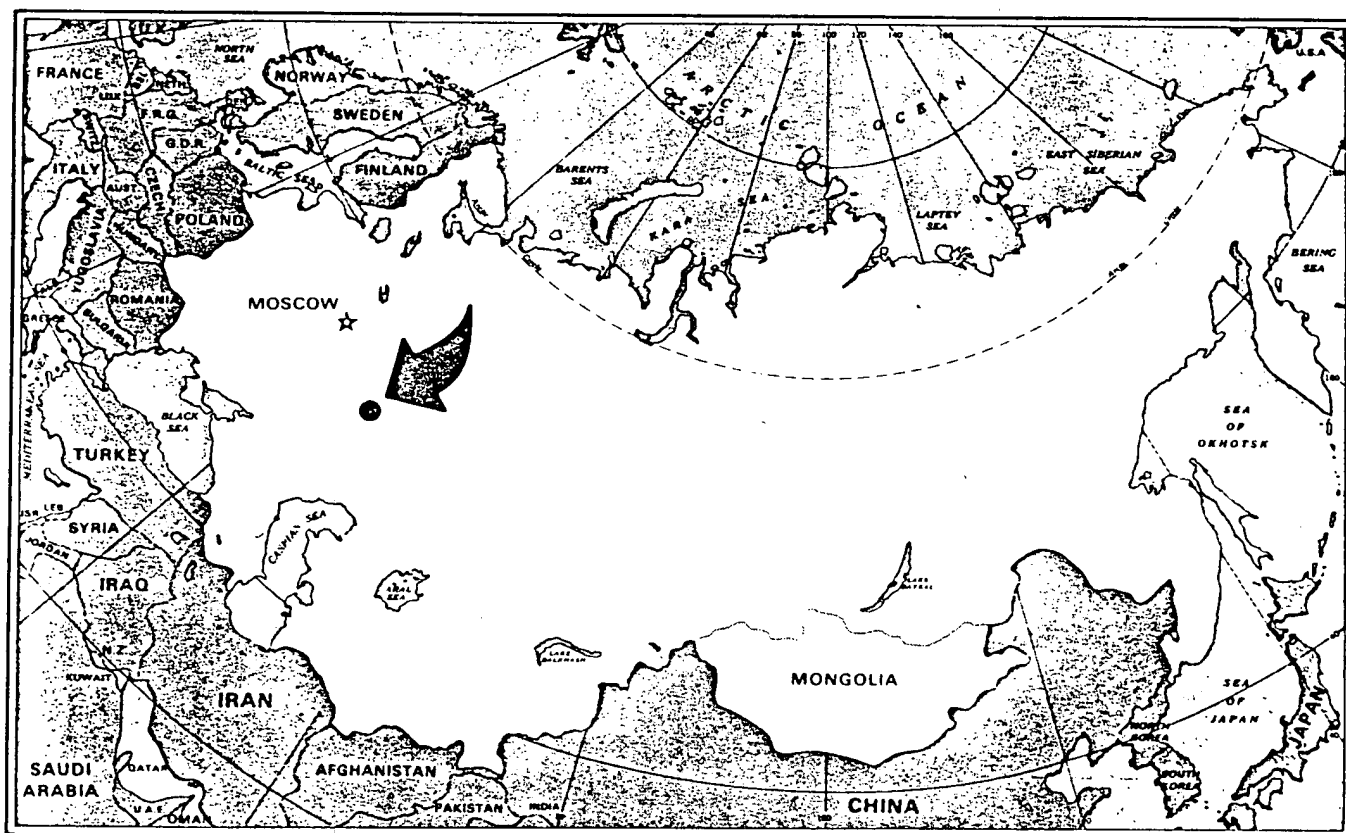
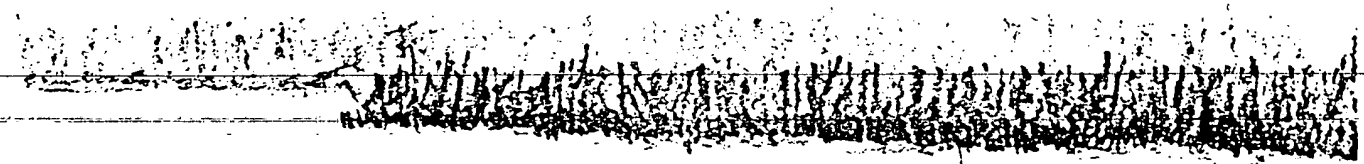


Figure 8.

# CIRCULAR GRID



AGENT RELEASE  
TOWER

AGENT  
SAMPLING  
POLES

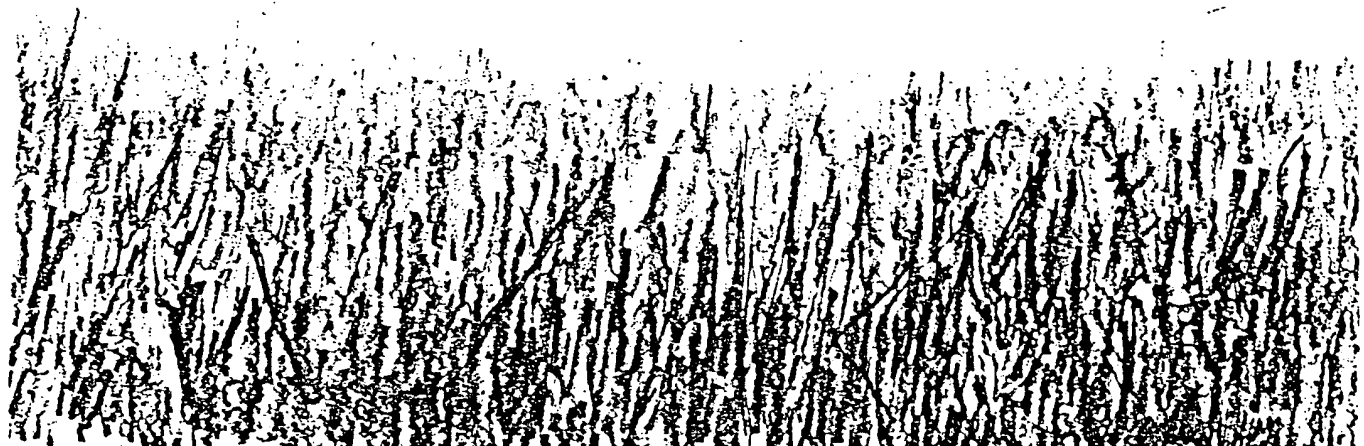
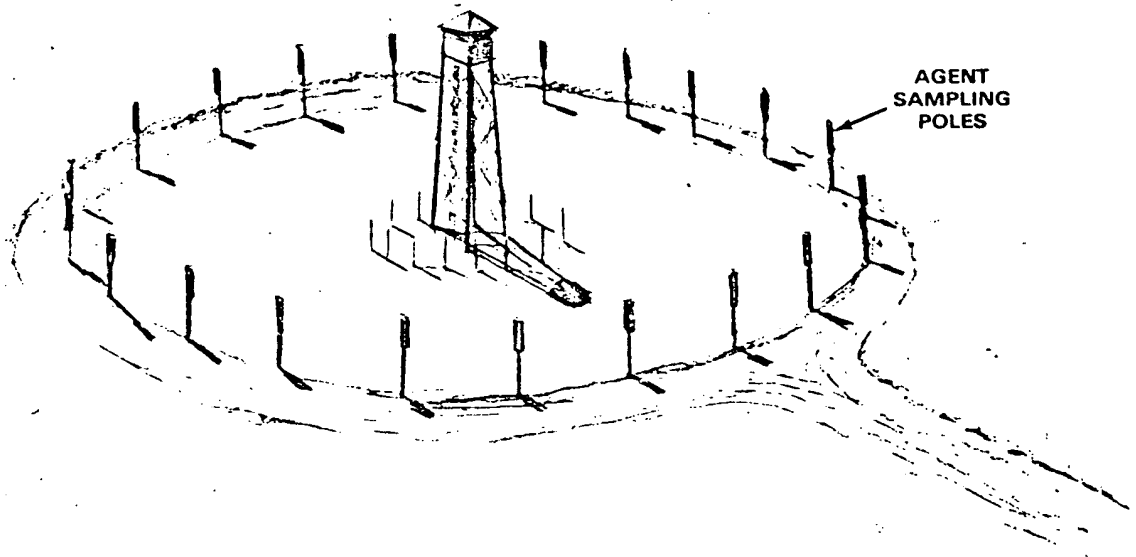


Figure 9. Chemical agent weapon test grid.



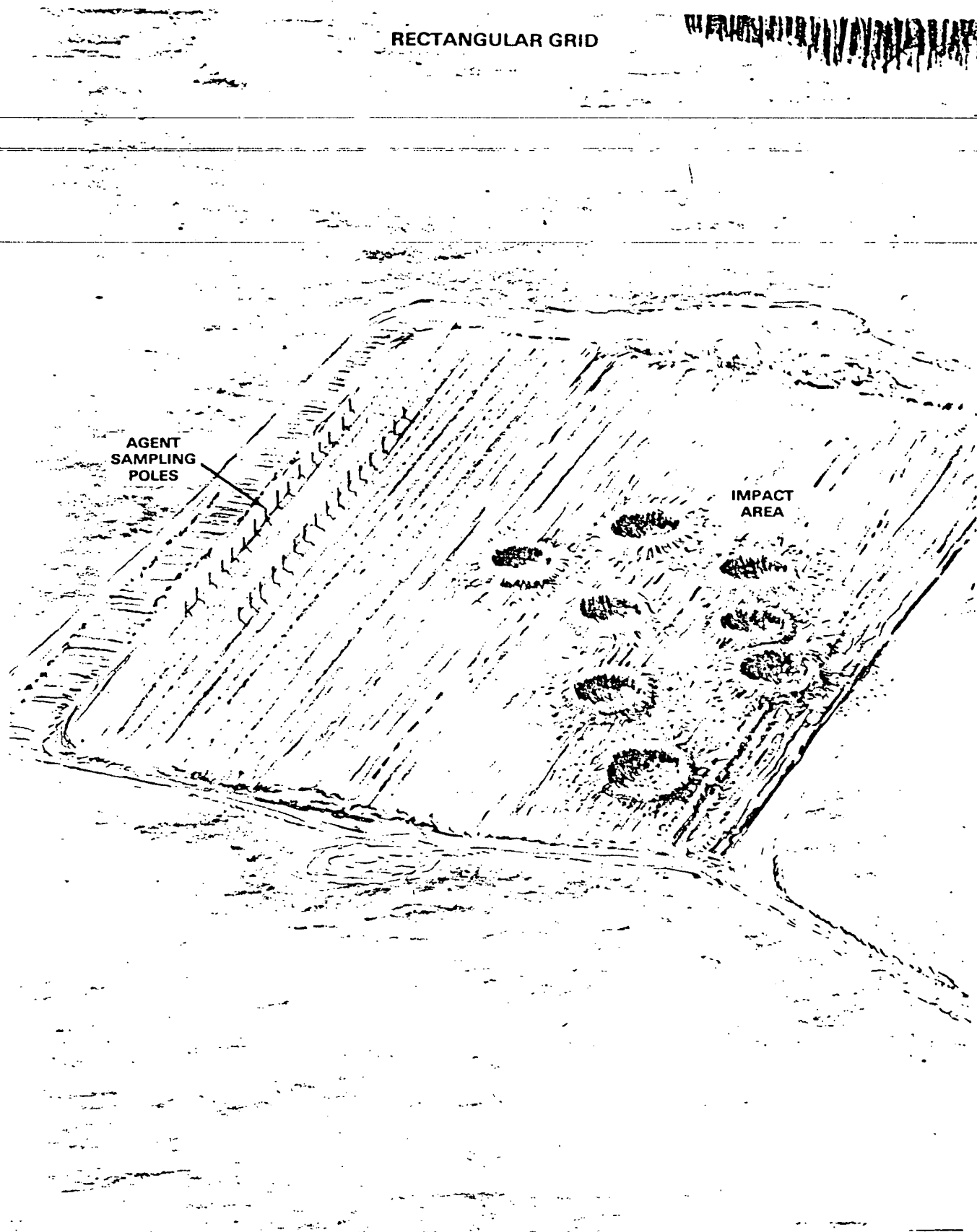


Figure 10. Chemical agent weapon test grid.