

11. "Interview with Urbano", op. cit., p. 284.
12. "Thirty Questions to a Tupamaro", in Labrousse, op. cit., p. 133.
13. Marighela, *For the Liberation of Brazil* (Harmondsworth, 1971), pp. 57-58.
14. Idem, "Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla", in Kohl & Litt, op. cit., p. 101.
15. Quoted in *Generals and Tupamaros* (London & Leeds, 1974), preface.
16. Tupamaro interview in Kohl & Litt, op. cit., p. 302
17. Ibid, p. 193.
18. "An Interview with a Tupamaro", (MLN founder Julio Marenales, in fact) in Maria Ester Gilio, *The Tupamaros* (London, 1972), p. 132.
19. Che Guevara, *Guerrilla Warfare* (Harmondsworth, 1969) p. 14.
20. Personal interview with leading Montonero, Manuel Pedreira, August 1978.
21. Julio Marenales interview, op. cit., p. 135.
22. ENR communiqué, republished in *La Causa Peronista* (Buenos Aires), no. 8, 27 Aug. 1974, pp. 25-29.
23. *Actas Tupamaras*, op. cit., p. 19.
24. Debray, *The Revolution on Trial*, vol. 2 of *A Critique of Arms* (Harmondsworth, 1978), p. 164. Debray himself was not entirely blameless for this state of affairs — he was the anonymous author of the first part of the Tupamaro manual, *Actas Tupamaras*, op. cit.
25. Socialist Workers Party (PST) communiqué, quoted in *La Opinión* (Buenos Aires), 8 Oct. 1975.
26. Kohl & Litt, op. cit., p. 25.
27. Rubén Pedro Bonet, in Francisco Urondo, *La Patria Fusilada* (Buenos Aires, 1973), p. 132.
28. Tupamaro balance-sheet for 1971, in Debray, *The Revolution on Trial*, op. cit., p. 154.
29. FAR interview in Kohl & Litt, op. cit., pp. 380-1.
30. This paper was presented by its author at the Annual Conference of the Political Studies Association of the United Kingdom, held at the University of Exeter, 31 Mar. to 2 Apr., 1980.

BOOK REVIEW

SPIKING THE MEDIA

by *Maurice Tugwell*

Arnaud de Borchgrave and Robert Moss
The Spike
Crown Publishers, Inc, New York, 1980

"In Moscow they speak of détente and co-existence between East and West. Yet the great war in the shadows between the two major world power blocs continues day by day, week by week, year by year. Thus if the Soviets realize that they cannot conquer from *without*, by military force, they will try to do so from *within*, using subversion, corruption, blackmail, bribery; and there are enough fools — and rogues — in the West always prepared to become their tools."

Josef Frolik's career as a Czechoslovak intelligence agent and "dirty tricks" operator² provided ample evidence to back up these words, which he wrote after defecting to the West. In the same book he observed that the libel laws in the West acted as a more powerful form of censorship than any bureaucratic blue pencil wielded behind the Iron Curtain.

The hero of *The Spike* is one of the fools, and the villains are in Frolik's second category of Soviet agent — the rogues. Moreover, the decision to write this book in the form of fiction rather than as a documentary evidently arose out of the inhibiting danger of libel action, which in Frolik's view protects Soviet agents from exposure.

Bob Hockney is the crusading young Berkeley graduate who, alienated by the Vietnam war, determines to expose the evils of American society through a career as an investigative reporter. He makes valuable contacts who feed him embarrassing material on the CIA. This he turns into front-page sensations which earn him fame and fortune, never suspecting that his sources are controlled by another intelligence agency — the KGB — and that he is unwittingly an agent of disinformation.³ When, eventually, the penny drops, our hero abruptly changes course and sets off to expose the *osnovny agent* — the fully committed traitors, the *doveryonnoe litso* — the "trusted persons", and the *tyomhaya verboura* — the unconscious sources of which he had so recently been one, who between them partially control and manipulate United States public opinion through the news media and by infiltrating the institutions.

The book is a best seller, which may testify more to the intrinsic interest of its subject matter and the challenge of attempting to match real names to the fictionalized characters and institutions than to its literary quality. A novel is, or should be, about people: events and actions provide the means by which the characters develop and interact, revealing something truthful about the human condition. In *The Spike* this formula is reversed: the characters exist solely as the means by which a complicated plot unravels before our eyes. Consequently one ends up knowing nothing about Hockney and, being unable to believe in him as a person, one is apt to dismiss as weak fiction the unlikely sequence of events and the multitude of cardboard characters that are packed into the book's 374 pages.

De Borchgrave has been one of *Newsweek's* top correspondents for more than twenty-five years: Moss edits the *Economist's* "Foreign Report". These authors can be credited with knowing their field — the reporting and the editing of news⁴ — and with being familiar with KGB disinformation techniques. One is tempted to think that, in their haste to record every example of Soviet skulduggery that their combined careers have fathomed, the authors have given too low a priority to fiction's craft. Spy stories are immeasurably strengthened by mystery and suspense, by leaving the reader baffled and confused, even to the final page, and by some concession to that reality of existence which paints its characters in shades of grey, seldom in blacks or whites. Their moral indignation and frustration seem to have driven de Borchgrave and Moss to screaming point, and this affects their work. As though in an attempt to hold their readers, the authors have placed a bed on almost every page, and a nymphomaniac on every bed. Yet the story plods. This is a pity, because the book's theme — Soviet attempts to anaesthetize the Western media and opinion-makers to their real intentions — is

important. We need to be informed about any penetration of our news services.

One source of information is the Soviet human rights activist, Andrei D. Sakharov, whose "letter from exile" is reprinted in this issue. In his letter Sakharov writes:

A totalitarian system conducts its policy through control from a single center — diplomacy, information and disinformation services inside and outside the country, foreign trade, tourism, scientific-technological exchanges, economic and military assistance to liberation (a word that must sometimes be used with quotes) movements, foreign policy of satellite countries and all kinds of clandestine activities — all these are coordinated from a single center. Special attention must be paid here to clandestine activities, since a person is inclined to forget something if it is not waved in front of his eyes. The West and developing countries are filled with citizens who by reason of their positions are able to promote Soviet influence and expansionist goals.

Some of them are motivated by ideas that at least merit discussion. After all, in the Soviet Union, the ideological epicenter, and in China as well, Communist ideology is not a complete fraud, not a total delusion. It arose from a striving for truth and justice, like other religious, ethical and philosophical systems. Its weakness, its failure and its degradation — evident from the very beginning — represent a complex historical, scientific and psychological phenomenon that requires separate analysis.

There are others among such people who conduct themselves in a "progressive" manner because they consider it profitable, prestigious or fashionable.

A third category consists of naive, poorly informed or indifferent people who close their eyes and ears to the bitter truth and eagerly swallow any sweet lie.

Finally, there is the fourth group — people who have been "bought" in the most direct sense of the word, not always with money. These include some political figures, businessmen, a great many writers and journalists, Government advisers, and heads of the press and television. Over all, they make up quite a group of influential people.⁵

The "spike" referred to in the novel's title is the instrument on which editors impale news stories they do not want to print. At the point in the book where Hockney, having uncovered some of the truth about KGB disinformation, presents his story to his editor — who spikes it — the action suddenly comes to life. Here, one feels, the authors are writing from first-hand experience. The dialogue rings true, and the frustration and impotence of the victim of the conspiracy of silence, who is trying to operate contrary to a prevailing climate of opinion, are chillingly real. *The Spike* deserves to be read because the issue involved is important, and because it has for too long been ignored by the media itself. Most professions, it would seem, tend to stick together, concealing their members' misbehaviour even when circumstances warrant a thoroughgoing

public inquiry. The Law, Medicine and of course the intelligence community have at various times forfeited public confidence in this way. The news media, which so often seem to claim a monopoly of moral virtue, possess another more tangible monopoly — the power of censorship. If there is any truth to the allegations implicit in the novel — that some members of the western media use the spike to conceal the extent of hostile influence — then there is a genuine threat to the principles they so vocally claim to defend.

Footnotes

1. Josef Frolik, *The Frolik Defection* (London, 1975).
2. Frolik's departmental dirty tricks including a plan to assassinate the London-based Czech author, Josef Josten, director of the Free Czech Information News Agency.
3. See *The Spike*, pages 125-26.
4. See J. William Fulbright, Raymond Price and Irving Kristol, *The Press and American Politics* (Washington, 1978); and Barry Rubin, "International News and the American Media", *The Washington Papers*, no. 49 (1977).
5. Andrei D. Sakharov, "A Letter from Exile", translated Raymond H. Anderson, *The New York Times Magazine*, 8 June 1980.