

Big brother

by EDWARD
CRANKSHAW

KGB by John Barron
(Hodder and Stoughton £4.25)

MR BARRON is a senior editor of *Readers Digest* and this comes out in the style and arrangement of his book. But what at first sight might appear to be a colourful compilation of Soviet cloak and dagger stories is, in fact, the product of a very serious investigation: a sober and valuable study of the extra-territorial activities of the largest and nastiest of all secret services. The sensationalism lies in the subject, not in Mr Barron's treatment of it.

The KGB, lineal successor of Lenin's Cheka and Stalin's GPU, is the fine flower of a conspiratorial system of government, the instrument through which the Soviet leadership maintains itself in power. Its present chief, Mr Andropov, sits on the Politburo presided over by Mr Brezhnev. Before he became head policeman Andropov secured his niche in the hall of shame when, as Ambassador to Hungary in 1955, he double-crossed Imre Nagy and lured General Maléter with promises of negotiation and assurances of safe conduct to his death.

Mr Barron has performed a useful service by surveying in its entirety the huge and costly apparatus commanded by this disgusting man, thus exposing the organic connection between the bread and butter activity of his army of domestic operatives, which is straightforward repression, and the high fantasy which marks so many of the KGB's exploits outside Russia.

Thanks to the courage and persistence of a handful of Soviet critics of the regime, we have lately been given more than a glimpse of the sheer weight of this hidden body as it presses on the lives of every Soviet citizen. What could be more telltale than the abject spectacle of high-sounding professional organisations—from the Academy of Sciences to the Union of Writers—instantly, at a word from the KGB, turning on some of their most distinguished members, denouncing them in terms of the gutter, depriving them of their means of livelihood, casting them into the

is applied to the business of espionage, subversion, sabotage, disinformation, throughout the globe.

There are a great many facts. The KGB apparatus with its formidable hierarchy of Chief Directorates divided into innumerable special departments covering every conceivable field of destructive activity is laid open and exposed in detail. Many hundreds of agents are named. The bare bones of the organisation are given flesh by vignettes of routine activities selected to illustrate the moral climate in which it operates.

But this is only a beginning. Mr Barron's main concern is to illustrate with carefully chosen episodes the whole gamut of the KGB's compulsive, sometimes insane industry. These range from major political interventions in unsettled parts of the world to the laborious and infinitely patient compromising with a view to blackmail of a senior French diplomat with a taste for girls; from exercises in classical espionage, such as the one which resulted in the successful penetration of the strongroom of the headquarters of the American communications system for Europe, to the inside story of various assassination attempts, some successful, some not.

But Mr Barron brings the KGB directly into our own life, too, as he shows their agents, disguised as diplomats, supervising the systematic feeding of false information, the winning of the confidence of highly placed individuals by flattering their vanity, the seduction of harmless girl secretaries—all for Lenin and Mr Brezhnev.

Much of Mr Barron's information has been available in bits and pieces before now but there is a very great deal that is new. He has had access to KGB defectors who have never before spoken openly, and he has been helped by the Intelligence services of the Western Powers. He is so accurate where I myself have been able to check his facts that I accept as truth what I did not know before. For the general reader his book will be a revelation and a warning. Parents, yes, of Mr Brezhnev's tiny beam but Mr Andropov is watching you.

FOUNDED ON TERROR

By STEPHEN ROSKILL

All Secret Services must, by definition, be prepared to act ruthlessly if a need regarded by their bosses as critically important arises. But in democracies the degree of ruthlessness is restricted by what public and Parliamentary opinion will stand for; and, sooner or later, real "dirty tricks" are almost certain to be brought to light. In dictatorships no such sanction exists, and horrible acts have been perpetrated on the orders of tiny, all-powerful caucuses.

In *The Nazi Secret Service* (to be published on Thursday) André Brissaud, a French journalist of long experience in this field and equipped with remarkable persistence, recounts in full detail about a dozen of the most horrific incidents in the story of the rise of Reinhard Heydrich to the command of Hitler's directorate of State Security (R.S.H.A.) in October 1939 and that of his close associate Walter Schellenberg to an extremely

The Nazi Secret Service by ANDRE BRISSAUD. Bodley Head, £3.

K.G.B. The Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents by JOHN BARRON. Hodder, £4.25.

influential position in the S.S. Secret Service.

M. Brissaud had an astonishing stroke of luck when, in 1952, a car breakdown in North Italy led to his meeting Schellenberg, with whom he had long interviews soon after he had been released from prison as a "war criminal" and shortly before he died of cancer. Schellenberg evidently then spoke of his past activities with unique frankness, and M. Brissaud has made good use of what he learnt from him.

The book is neither a history of the S.S. Secret Service nor a biography of its chief characters—though their personalities come through clearly enough. It is episodic, telling or re-telling stories such as that of "the night of the long knives" (June 30, 1934) when the S.S. slaughtered about 500 of Hitler's possible rivals, the murder of the anti-Nazi radio operator Rudolf Formis in Czechoslovakia in 1935, the notorious Munich Beer Cellar bomb attempt on Hitler in November, 1939, and the kidnapping of the British agents Rest and Stevens at Venlo in Holland (after they had acted astonishingly naively) in the same month.

Though I dislike the style of such chapter openings as: "Bidding boot to boot, Schellenberg and Canaris (the head of the Abwehr or Military Intelligence) brought their mounts to a halt..." and mistrust a book in which long conversations which cannot have been recorded verbatim at the time are reproduced in quotation marks, M. Brissaud is a competent guide through the murderous jungle of the various German Intelligence Services.

And his accounts of the horrible deeds of men like Alfred Naujocks, here described as "the chief of the S.S. thugs," make the blood run cold. Perhaps the story of how the Soviet Marshal Tukachevsky was betrayed to Stalin by a masterpiece of forgery, and so liquidated in the great purge of 1937, is the most important one, since Hitler's decision to come down on Stalin's side decided German policy up to 1941.

The reader who turns straight from the shocking deeds of the S.S. and S.D. to John Barron's *The Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents* will already be

acquainted, at once finds himself on familiar ground, since the methods and personalities of Soviet Secret Service men are remarkably similar to those of the Nazis.

Furthermore, Mr. Barron is also a journalist and he has collected his evidence and told his tale in a manner very like that of M. Brissaud.

In spite of the "thaw" which followed Khrushchev's famous exposé of Stalin's methods at the 20th Party Congress in February, 1956, the author is undoubtedly right to declare that the K.G.B. is still "the very foundation of Soviet society," and to claim that little or nothing has changed since the Stalin era. The methods employed to find and train agents, the infiltration into any area where trouble can be stirred up (from Mexico to Ulster), and the ruthless use of blackmail and physical threats against any person unwise enough to have compromised himself, still go on.

Yet there is a brighter side to the story—namely the large number of well-informed, high-level defectors who have given away many of the most closely-guarded secrets of the K.G.B., and have enabled the Western Security Services to strike back.

And perhaps even more encouraging is the number of countries, including many newly independent States like Egypt, Zaïre (Congo), Sudan and Ghana, whose rulers have acted vigorously to expel the hordes of pseudo-diplomats with which the K.G.B. has infested Soviet embassies.

Though there are certainly no grounds for complacency Mr. Barron concludes that our expulsion of 195 Soviet "diplomats" in September 1971 was one of the most effective and successful counter-measures ever taken, and he urges that other countries should act equally severely to limit, if not abolish, what has become an intolerable abuse of diplomatic intercourse.

Mr. Barron, like M. Brissaud, has been obliged to conceal some of his sources—in order to safeguard their lives; but one would like to know which of the "Western Security Services" have helped him. None the less, his indictment is on the whole convincing and the book cannot be dismissed merely as a sensational propaganda piece. The threat of which the author speaks is still very real, and will be feared.

KGB: THE SECRET WORK OF SOVIET SECRET AGENTS. By John Barron. 462 pages. Reader's Digest Press. \$10.95. As Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn has so vividly shown, one cannot begin to understand the Soviet Union without an intimate knowledge of its mammoth secret-police system—the KGB and its numerous espionage branches (one was newly formed in 1971 to infiltrate and stifle internal Jewish dissent). John Barron, a former Naval intelligence officer and award-winning journalist, demonstrates that the KGB's pervasive power touches not only the lives of Soviet citizens—and leaders—but American lives as well. A 1973 study showed a marked increase in the number of Russian agents in Western Europe over the last decade; three out of every four accredited Soviet "diplomats" in NATO countries are reputed to be KGB operatives.

Barron's coolly comprehensive, authoritatively researched book is strongly persuasive. He reveals (often in the best spy-novel prose) numerous cloak-and-dagger intrigues, many garnered from notable defectors. He unveils bold KGB moves to "destroy" Mexico, subvert China, and cripple the U.S. by recruiting vast networks of spies. One of these was Robert Lee Johnson, a disgruntled Army sergeant who stumbled onto a clutch of military secrets so juicy that they were rushed directly to Premier Nikita Khrushchev. In hard, geopolitical importance, this book outranks and helps illuminate Solzhenitsyn's "The Gulag Archipelago."

—S. K. OBERBECK

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A Chilling Reminder

KGB Props Red Rule

KGB: THE SECRET WORK OF SOVIET SECRET AGENTS. By John Barron. Reader's Digest Press/Dutton. 462 pp. \$10.95.

By JOSEPH C. GOULDEN

Kissinger and Brezhnev are locked in embrace on the front page, and President Nixon lauds U. S.-Soviet detente as a personal gemstone. But let us pause before we cheer: John Barron's "KGB" is a chilling reminder of the character of the people who run the Soviet state, enough to make one queasy at the ascendancy of diplomatic pragmatism over common decency in our new-found friendship.

The KGB is the police-intelligence agency conceived by Lenin as the "sword and shield" of the Communist Party, an *apparatus* without parallel elsewhere in the world.

At home, it is the "basic means of regulating Soviet thought, speech and behavior, of controlling the arts, science, religions, education, and

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the press, police and military." Through the KGB, Soviet rulers tell citizens where they may live, work, study and travel.

THE KGB RUNS the prison camps Alexander Solzhenitsyn described in "The Gulag Archipelago" (and sent him into exile for so doing). The KGB has a special "Jewish Department" (a charmingly reminiscent title) to curtail emigration to Israel. The KGB, writes Barron, is the

"principal force" through which Soviet rulers "sustain their dictatorship over the Soviet people and try to project it into other societies."

Abroad, the KGB is a spy agency that uses murder, disinformation, and entrapment to further Soviet aims. My sole quibble is that Barron at times gives the KGB more credit than it deserves. One episode of which I happen to have first-hand knowledge is the student disturbances in Mexico — events with more deep-rooted causes than the machinations of Oleg Nechiporenko, the KGB's man in Mexico in the 1960's.

NO MATTER. Barron, an editor of Reader's Digest, had the help of the CIA and other secret services in interviewing defectors who give an insider's look at the KGB. The result is a combination of fast-paced journalism and meticulous scholarship.

We have the minutiae of training; the tedium of a resident posing as a native-born American as he spies in the U. S.; the strains (reflected in adultery and drunkenness) in a Soviet embassy where as many as 75 percent of the "diplomats" and wives are KGB agents, as bent upon spying upon one another as the host country.

Barron's foreign spy accounts, for all their fresh, authentic detail, had less impact upon me than his description of what the KGB does to its own people. And the bosses of the KGB, let it be remembered, are our new partners in detente.

Joseph G. Goulden is a Washington-based writer whose next book will be a study of the American judiciary.

The real rulers of Russia

KGB

The Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents.

By John Barron.

Illustrated. 462 pp. New York: Readers Digest Press. \$10.95.

By HUGH TREVOR-ROPER

What is the basic strength of Soviet Communism, the power which animates and sustains that huge fabric? It is not what we once thought it to be. The original appeal of Communism was material, moral and ideological. It claimed to improve the welfare of the workers, to restore their self-respect, and to do so in tune with historical necessity. In fact, 50 years after the Revolution, real wages had hardly regained the level of 1913; rural serfdom, abolished by the Czars, has been reimposed; and the ideology convinces no one. What the Bolsheviks have created is a new system of power: power that has no basis in society, no reference to consent, no moral justification. We used to think that Lenin gave to Marxism a temporary political form; now we recognize that he used Marxism as the temporary ideological justification of a new structure of naked political power.

The essential motor of that structure is now the Secret Police. Lenin's Cheka, Brezhnev's K.G.B., is the effective sovereign in the Russian state. It is stronger than the party, it controls the organs of state. It is above the law. Accountable to no one, it can destroy anyone. Even Stalin only ruled by dividing it and murdering its successive heads, Yagoda and Yezhov. His successors similarly murdered Beria. Khrushchev tried, but failed, to escape from dependence on it. He abolished its Special Bureau for Assassination, but had to revive it three months later, and ended by setting up a public statue of its founder, the terrible Dzer-

zhinsky. Now the K.G.B. is stronger than ever, and three of its members sit openly in the Politburo. If it no longer seems as terrible as under Stalin, that is largely because it has so grown into Soviet society that it can afford to dispense with "the wasteful mass murder of former times." Its new sophistication is a sign of new strength.

How the K.G.B. functions, how it uses its unchallenged, arbitrary power, is the subject of Mr. Barron's book. He has produced a remarkable work of synthesis. In spite of a somewhat diffuse and journalistic style and a love of dramatic reconstruction (always suspect to the professional scholar) the book inspires confidence. It is based on evidence supplied by several non-Communist security services and "all post-war K.G.B. defectors except two." It is authenticated by Mr. Robert Conquest, one of the greatest authorities on Russian affairs. I have no doubt that it is as accurate a general study of the K.G.B.'s secret activities as we are likely to get. It is also the work of a highly intelligent man who can analyze and explain as well as gather and narrate.

Many of Mr. Barron's chapters describe individual espionage operations carried out by the K.G.B. abroad, as related by its defectors. We can read of the subversive activities of Vladimir Sakharov in the Middle East, the penetration of the secrets of N.A.T.O. by means of the American traitor Robert Lee Johnson, the quest of American secrets through the Finnish-American Kaarlo Tuomi, the successful extension of direct Soviet power over Castro's Cuba, the unsuccessful efforts to subvert governments in Mexico and Africa, the arrest in Russia of Professor Barghoorn, the attempts to compromise, and so afterward to use, a British member of Parliament and a French ambassador. These are readable spy stories, and others could be added to them. However, it is not these that make the K.G.B. unique. All great powers go in for espionage. It is part of power politics, and as such has

a certain conventional legitimacy. No doubt similar stories could be told of the C.I.A.

What makes the K.G.B. so sinister is not the huge resources which it invests in these foreign adventures. Rather, it is its even greater investment in repression at home. Foreigners observe, and resent, the K.G.B.'s palpable interference in their affairs, the grotesque over-staffing of Russian embassies and delegations abroad. But, as Mr. Conquest points out in his Introduction, "the major part of the K.G.B.'s effort, the greater number of its employees, are used in the massive and continuous work against its own populations." Moreover, it is there, naturally enough, that it is most successful. Abroad, its failures have been more conspicuous than its successes. It has failed in Mexico, in Egypt, throughout Black Africa. Its agents desert in a continuous stream, and are expelled in periodic shoals. But at home it is irresistible. With 70,000 full-time censors it stamps on literature. Even bus tickets must be passed by the censor. With an army of informers, it inhibits conversation. By means of internal passports it controls movement. It has turned the Russian Orthodox Church hierarchy into its agents to pervert religion. With concentration camps and "psychiatric institutes" it stifles thought. No government in history has used so monstrous an engine of repression against its own people: and no people in the world has tolerated such a tyranny.

How is it done? By what mechanism does "a tiny oligarchy," whose leadership is at the mercy of internal gang warfare, so cow a whole people? This is the most important political question raised by the existence of the K.G.B. Mr. Barron is well aware of it, and touches on it, if too lightly. It deserves to be brought out and emphasized: for it is the central mystery of totalitarian power.

Mr. Barron agrees with the Yugoslav philosopher Milovan Djilas that the essential basis of power in Communist countries

—bourgeoisie, workers, peasants—But a "New Class" of bureaucrats and party workers which, having once installed itself in power, exercises absolute control over rewards and punishments. In no country does such a class rise naturally: in Russia it was created by revolution, in Eastern Europe it was imposed by conquest. But once in power, by bureaucratic centralism, the abolition of legal guarantees, and unqualified "reason of state," it can perpetuate itself against all comers. With time, and in a rigorously controlled society, the rewards and punishments themselves can be reduced: bribery becomes trivial, blackmail is expressed in mere hints. But whether the system is operated crudely, as under Stalin, or more subtly, as now, the background of terror is essential. Without terror, the system could not be installed; without the long shadow of terror, it could not be continued. For this reason, our hope must be that progressive sophistication will wear out the practice of terror and destroy the cohesion of the New Class. The heroes of this book are the defectors who have begun that process: the men who, in the end, could not endure "the daily squalor" of a system by which they have profited but which has ultimately repelled them because it has no moral base. □

Hugh Trevor-Roper, the British historian, has written extensively on European affairs.

A New Book Uncleaks Russia's Dagger:

By JERRY GREENE

Washington, March 23—Secretary of State Kissinger's long arm of detente, which he will be stretching again in Moscow next week, hasn't yet reached far enough to encompass the subject of espionage and subversion—the one danger area that could do with a lot of cooling.

There are responsible officials here who are convinced that a substantial cutback in Russian espionage operations would do more to safeguard world peace than a massive reduction in nuclear missiles.

However, since the world's governments do not normally admit publicly that they maintain extensive spy organizations, much less sabotage networks, it can be understood that Kissinger will never have mentioned the matter to Leonid Brezhnev, the Communist Party boss. He won't be bringing up this question as an item for the agenda on President Nixon's next Moscow junket.

An Inside Look

This is a pity, for in their own peculiar way of blowing hot and cold in the same breath, the Russian intelligence people are as busily engaged in undermining detente today as their bosses are in promoting "peaceful coexistence" at the White House level.

Kissinger, of course, knows the dirty facts, yet must keep moving toward global harmony anyhow. Now the rest of the public has a chance for a deep, inside view of what goes on beneath the surface in a fascinating new book, "KGB: the Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents," by John Barron.

(Reader's Digest/E.P. Dutton & Co., New York: \$10.95).

This is a definitive study, remarkably up to date, a 462-page warning against the furtive, creeping and crawling Soviet netherworld built to keep the Kremlin bosses in power and to direct the Russian imperial drive for world domination.

With due apologies to the author, we did a little personal checking on his work and found that it is given highest marks for accuracy and authenticity



in the American intelligence community. With this unofficial stamp of approval, the book thus becomes a frightening compilation of horror writing, a grim warning to those who might think it can't happen here. It is happening here. Today.

Barron wrote—and it is obvious that he had wholesale cooperation from American agencies—that while Soviet bosses seek detente, they expand "clandestine KGB aggressions that make a mockery of normal, stable, mutually beneficial international relations."

He laid out names, dates and places to show how the Soviets have set machinery in motion to use expanded trade relations for promotion of ulterior practices.

"While the Soviet leadership tries to negotiate a relaxation of tensions with the West," Barron wrote, "the KGB plans to sabotage Western cities; encourages civil strife in America; plots to incite civil war in Mexico and Ireland; nurtures the Palestinian guerrillas in their worldwide terrorism; strives to corrupt and subvert Western officials and politicians; and, through a variety of deceptions, vilifies the same nations whose economic and political favors the leadership courts."

The author accurately called the KGB—the initials of the Russian words for Committee for State Security—"a unique phenomenon of this century." It might be compared to a combination of the FBI, the CIA, the Secret Service and all other U.S. intelligence agencies with their own private army, given total exemption from all constitutional restraints, operating at the whim of whatever political group should have momentary dominance.

Almost Caused War

The KGB came close to provoking a civil war in Mexico in 1971—the same year that Britain, alarmed at potential dangers, clamped down on the Russians and kicked out 105 KGB officers and agents in one giant sweep. Barron recites the details.

The U.S.A. was and is the No. 1 target of the KGB; Western intelligence officers obtained a top-secret training manual spelling out methods and objectives. And these are by no means immodest.

The manual said: "The basic targets of our agent penetration (operations) are as follows: the President's cabinet, and the National Security Council . . . the State Department . . . the Department of Defense . . . the CIA and the FBI . . . the National Association of Manufacturers and the most important monopolies and banking houses."

Nobody has blown a whistle for an armistice in this shadow war. The American public ought to know about it.

the KGB

Books

Soviet Spying

It would be hard indeed to find any spy organization that has been in business as long as and has the track record of Russia's Committee for State Security (KGB). With its breadth of experience, extensive resources, and range of targets, the KGB has few rivals in history.

Organized during the chaos that ensued after the November, 1917, Bolshevik Revolution, the Cheka (secret police) quickly became the most powerful organization in the Soviet Union.

AUTHOR John Barron says that because the preservation of the Soviets' power depends so upon the KGB, the Soviet leaders have vested it with resources, responsibilities, and authority never before concentrated in a single organization.

After four years of research that included high-level cooperation from the FBI, CIA, and foreign counter-intelligence services, Barron here focuses on the KGB operations directed at influencing and subverting foreign governments. During his research, Barron was able to contact, with only two exceptions, every KGB defector and former agent, and he has re-told their stories in a fast-paced narrative.

Barron describes elaborate operations in the Mideast, Mexico, Latin America, the U.S., and Europe. One of the most interesting operations involved Sgt. Robert Lee Johnson of the U.S. Army. Initially contacted by the KGB in the early 50s in Germany, Johnson became one of the KGB's best sources for classified documents. After many years of KGB preparation and patience, and with luck, Johnson was assigned as a security policeman at the heavily guarded Armed Forces Courier Center near Paris.

KGB technical resources eventually permitted Johnson to enter a triple set of locked vaults to obtain highly classified NATO war plans, military assessments, and cryptographic materials.

Subsequently, after several successful penetrations,

KGB: The Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents. By John Barron. Reader's Digest Press. 446 pages. \$10.95.

ation to avoid detection by U.S. Army counter-intelligence. Johnson was not even suspected until years later when the FBI questioned his wife after he deserted. Her incoherent babbling about her "traitor husband" and "Russian spies" led to Johnson's arrest, trial, and conviction in 1965. The bizarre case finally ended in 1972, when Johnson's only son, a Vietnam veteran, visited his father at a federal penitentiary. Walking up to greet the prisoner, the son plunged a knife into his chest, killing him.

IN A CHILLING analogy that illustrates the rationale for using violence in some of the KGB operations, a KGB officer-instructor explained to one of his students: "You must absolutely understand the morality of socialist intelligence. You must think of humanity. All acts that further history and socialism are moral acts."

Barron does not foresee the Soviets mitigating the KGB's influence or operations. In the spirit of detente that is celebrated in the West, the KGB has already tightened its grip on the domestic society. Barron says that at this time, when the Soviets are desperate for foreign technology and commercial benefits, governments should not accommodate the Soviets by keeping KGB foreign operations under wraps. The Russians would probably call the wholesale expulsion of KGB agents operating out of embassies, the UN, the Soviet trade and cultural delegations an attempt "to revive the Cold War." However, elimination of KGB nests around the world would in the end have a salutary effect upon international relations.

Although not a popular or probable consideration, it would at least test the Soviets' dedication and true intentions vis-a-vis a meaningful detente.

Jack Erickson has recently studied in the Soviet Union.

WASHINGTON POST

26 FEB 1974

An Absorbing Report on Russia's KGB

Reviewed by
Stephen S. Rosenfeld

The reviewer is a member of The Washington Post's editorial page staff and The Post's former Moscow correspondent.

Now, any American who's spent time in and on Russia fancies he knows quite a bit personally about the KGB, which is, in its foreign aspect, the Soviet CIA; at home it's the political police. I recall: the wires in our Moscow apartment wall that the flustered workmen failed to plaster over before we came in; the colleague slipped a drug and then undressed and photographed in company; the "disinformation" letter written about me to my editor by the "diplomat" who's now the Soviet consul in San Francisco; the luncheon invitation from a "journalist" here asking how Premier Kosygin might be received on American TV, on which Kosygin later did appear.

But this sort of thing, nasty or normal as it might be, is trivia along side John Barron's calm-voiced, detailed, absorbing and—I'm prepared to believe—authentic report on selected foreign operations mounted by the KGB in the '50s and '60s and on up to the present day.

From former Soviet agents who defected and from American and foreign intelligence sources, Barron, a Reader's Digest senior editor, has produced an account which goes well beyond being a catalog of KGB dirty tricks and becomes a sobering challenge to what the Soviet Union professes to mean by "detente." This is what, at this time of second thoughts about Soviet-American relations, lives "KGB" manual to life.

One can understand, for instance, why the KGB,

thinking (in the mid-'50s) that Ambassador Maurice Dejean might use his friendship with De Gaulle to influence him, should have gone to strenuous lengths—elaborated splendidly by Barron—to get Dejean to fall for a succession of "swallows" to entrap him even without his knowing that he had been caught by the KGB, and to . . . But at this point, a KGB man defected in Paris and told all. Recalled at once, Dejean was dismissed by De Gaulle in one sentence: *Eh bien, Dejean, on couche.*

Similarly, one can understand why the KGB would have gone to equally strenuous lengths to recruit a flabby disgruntled Army NCO and, when he became a guard at the super-secret Only Airport courier center in 1962 to arrange for him to spirit out documents for months. His wife later flipped out and raved to the FBI. On July 30, 1965, Robert Lee Johnson and a confederate were each sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment in Federal Court, Alexandria. His son, visiting him at Lewisburg in 1972, murdered him with a knife.

And—one more—there was a certain logic to the KGB's planting Michigan-born Kaarlo Tuomi, whose family had returned to Russia when he was 16, back in the United States in 1953 as a secret agent. (A mentor, riding up the elevator one day in the building housing the apartment in which Tuomi was learning to act like an American, found himself standing next to Eleanor Roosevelt, who was being shown a "typical" Soviet flat.) Arriving in New York, Tuomi had barely sent his first coded postcard to the Soviet United Nations mission when, somehow, the FBI picked him up. After a while he went to work for the FBI, giving up his family life. . . .

Book World

KGB: The Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents. By John Barron

(Reader's Digest/E. P. Dutton, 452 pp. \$10.95)

The KGB, according to a favored son of the New Class who got fed up and came over to the CIA, had honeycombed Egypt with agents, one being a classic case of "a little man" (recruited early) who became "a big man" presidential adviser Sami Sharaf. Egyptian President Sadat wiped out Sharaf and other agents in May 1971, crushing an "imminent coup" and creating "absolute pandemonium at the Kremlin," Barron says.

In March 1971, Mexican officials uncovered an astonishing plot, coordinated through the Soviet Embassy, to create on a large scale "another Vietnam." Through an offer of a scholarship to KGB-run Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow, an angry Mexican had been recruited who became the chief agent. At KGB bidding, he led a group of unwitting Mexicans through Russia to North Korea for guerrilla training—to disguise the Russian hand. A Mexico City bank was robbed, elaborate subversion and propaganda plans prepared. But the police found out. Five Soviet diplomats were expelled.

In September, 1971 (a bad year for the KGB, evidently), a severely provoked British government expelled at one stroke no less than 105 intelligence officers from the incredibly overmanned Soviet mission. The simultaneous defection to the British of a KGB officer in the sabotage and assassination branch induced the Soviet Politburo to recall other "Department V" members. . . . The KGB seems to have, along with its core of brutal-

ity, a compulsion to distrust as thick as the walls of its Moscow headquarters on Dzerzhinsky Square; its new building for foreign operations, by the way, sits hidden off the Moscow beltway, like the CIA, and is of a design uncannily like CIA's. To the KGB, good relations with a particular country, or detente, is not a signal to relax but an opportunity to exploit foreigners' relaxation and to use the expanded channels of trade, culture and the like to burrow deeper.

Whether this tendency flows from a political decision by the whole Kremlin, or whether the KGB has the

power to demand a longer leash for foreign operations, as its price for letting other Kremlin factions pursue detente, or whether the KGB is partially self-steering, are questions which Barron does not really address. Nor does he ask what real difference KGB operations make in a given context, apart from preoccupying those who conduct and combat them. Ask yourself, for instance, why in 1964 the KGB sent here (through the Czech pouch) thousands of copies of a pamphlet depicting Barry Goldwater as a racist.

Suppose Henry Kissinger said, quietly, to the Soviet ambassador, "Anatoly, enough." It would be a legitimate test of Soviet intentions and a fascinating exercise in Soviet-American dynamics. Naturally, the reciprocity principle would have to be applied.

The KGB Realities Behind Solzhenitsyn's Parables

Ernest W. Lefever

Detente is a many-splintered thing. With one hand Moscow reaches out for American wheat and trade concessions. With the other it exiles Alexander Solzhenitsyn for telling the truth about Soviet repression. In one gesture it sends its artists and performers to the United States. In another it threatens to strip Valery Panov, former star of Lenin-grad's Kirov Ballet, of his citizenship because he wanted to migrate to Israel.

IT MAY STILL be fashionable in some circles to overlook or downplay unpleasant realities that do not fit the illusion of detente. But after a great Soviet writer has been declared a non-person and with almost daily reports of repression against other Soviet nonconformists, it is increasingly difficult to turn a blind eye to the moral and political schizophrenia of the Soviet regime.

Or perhaps it is not the Soviets who are afflicted with a split-level ethics, but we who are confused by split-level perception. Many of us want to believe that the era depicted in Solzhenitsyn's "The Gulag Archipelago" is in the distant past and that the post-Stalin leaders have moved toward a new and less repressive political order. We want to think of the Soviet Union as an ordinary state operating by ordinary rules. When the rules are dramatically broken we are shocked and disappointed.

What kind of a political system does Moscow have today? Is it significantly different from that of the Stalin era? Important light is thrown on this question by John Barron's impressive book on the KGB — the massive clandestine agency created by Lenin to be the "sword and shield" of the Communist party, the instrument of the Politburo to enforce its will and confound its opponents. The KGB is the current manifestation of the state security apparatus originally established in 1917 as Cheka. Today, says Barron, "the KGB has the same relationship to the Politburo under Brezhnev that the Cheka had with the Council of People's Commissars under Lenin."

SOLZHENITSYN, Panov, and millions of other Soviet citizens have felt the brutal, often lethal, force of the KGB and its predecessors. The vast concentration camp system portrayed in "The Gulag Archipelago" and the present system of exile are their handiwork. At least 20 million Soviet citizens have died in the ruthless pogroms of the secret police. But silencing or neutralizing troublemakers is only a small part of the KGB's far-flung assignments.

As an instrument of totalitarian control, the KGB has no peer, past or present. If the Soviet Communist Party is a state within a state, the KGB is in fact the "sword and shield" of the party. It penetrates every nook and cranny of Soviet life to control the words, actions, tastes, loyalties, and even thoughts of Soviet citizens.

As the obedient agent of the party, the KGB operates a Border Guard, an elite military force of 300,000 equipped with tanks, artillery, and armed ships. In 1965 KGB patrols captured more than 2,000 Soviet citizens attempting to escape. The KGB oversees the entire military establishment and has agents and informers assigned to the Ministry of Defense and in every military headquarters and unit down to the company level. "The slightest evidence of ideological deviation among the military can provoke swift KGB retribution." It was only in the late 1960s when "the military finally persuaded the leadership that it would be impractical to use atomic weapons in a future internal struggle" that the KGB relinquished custody of nuclear warheads.

Through its complex of directorates, the KGB penetrates the

Of the 17 Politburo members in 1973, three have spent "significant portions of their careers in the apparatus." While the full-time staff of the KGB may be as small as 100,000, its influence is vastly expanded by a network of informers — from the concierge in Kiev to the U.S. ambassador's chauffeur in Moscow — at home and abroad that may run into the millions.

THE KGB CONTROLS job and housing permits, internal and external travel, and all forms of police activity. Former KGB chairman Shelepin runs the Soviet trade union organization. The KGB monitors industry and the economy to detect and bring to justice perpetrators of crimes such as "incorrect planning," unauthorized private enterprise, and blackmarketeering.

It keeps watch on education from kindergarten through the universities and on all academic and research institutes. In 1970 the KGB launched a large new division, the Fifth Chief Directorate, "to annihilate intellectual dissent, stop the upsurge in religious faith, suppress nationalism among ethnic minorities, and silence the *Chronicle of Current Events*, an underground journal.

The following year it established a special Jewish Department to intensify infiltration into Jewish circles to curtail emigration of educated Jews and to silence protest. The KGB oversees 70,000 full-time censors who control the printed word. It works through the criminal justice system and operates special KGB "mental hospitals" where prominent citizens who do not conform to "official doctrine" are taken for forcible treatment, including the use of brain-washing drugs.

All foreigners in the U.S.S.R., including tourists, are placed under the surveillance of the KGB. In 1963, an American visitor, Prof. Frederick C. Barghoorn, who was on open academic business in Moscow, was drugged, falsely accused of espionage, arrested, and held hostage by the KGB for the release of a real Soviet spy, KGB agent Igor Ivanov, who was caught red-handed by the FBI in New York. Prof. Barghoorn was released only after the intervention of President Kennedy.

KGB: The Secret Work of Secret Soviet Agents. By John Barron. Reader's Digest Press, 1974. \$10.95.

entire state bureaucracy, starting with the Politburo. "The KGB today probably had more officers and alumni in positions of power than at any other time in Soviet history."

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BOOKS

The devastating work of the Soviet's KGB

KGB: THE SECRET WORK OF SOVIET AGENTS. By John Barron (E. P. Dutton, \$10.95).

Reviewed by Bill Anderson

The breaching of national security of the western world nations and how the Russians did it has now been told because of some remarkable investigative reporting that is the backbone of this extremely credible book.

"KGB" is a devastating, detailed work that clearly shows the devious lengths employed by the USSR to maneuver the Arabs in the oil-rich Middle East — as well as to open any number of doors to the secrets of the Pentagon.

It draws out in detail how their spies have infected everything from the United Nations high command to the government of Egypt. Also detailed is absolute control held by the KGB over the Russian people and the fear it engenders even within the ruling class of the Soviets.

The author, a senior editor of the Reader's Digest, is an award winning Washington investigative reporter after a stint with U.S. intelligence. He does a dream job of reporting that formally began in 1967. The reporting was backed by the world - wide resources of Reader's Digest — plus a lot of help from the FBI, CIA and other western world intelligence agencies.

Sources also included lengthy statements from KGB defectors to the United States, cross-checked in detail with official spokesmen from a variety of governments. The net of the painstaking effort brings to the public at a crucial time of American national security arguments an account that puts a lot of pieces in a deep and responsible perspective.

This writer's opinion is triggered due to a personal involvement which we found out by accident while reading the January issue of Reader's Digest. In this issue is a condensed chapter from the book, "The Sergeant Who Opened the Door." The story revolves around the late Sgt. Robert Lee Johnson, an American army courier who passed American military secrets and passed them to the

you've got a spy in the Pentagon by the name of Johnson. I hear he is stealing us blind, but can't prove it."

Neither could I. The best I could do was find out that Johnson was AWOL — absent without leave. The Army said the FBI was looking for him. But, added the Army, Johnson was just a routine low-level courier.

Then Johnson surrendered, went to trial and was convicted. Not even during the trial did any information surface to indicate the Johnson case was anything other than "routine" espionage. The real news was suppressed by the Justice Department. As a result, the Johnson story got very little display in the media.

Yet, the book clearly shows Johnson and his Russian friends photographed hundreds of the military secrets of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization that passed through a major courier point in Paris. This chapter noted the location of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe were discovered and the spy work enabled the Russians to break a variety of western codes. The damage to the United States alone ran into millions.

"There is no loss of classified information," the Army told me at the time (Nov. 13, 1964).

If you read "KGB," it will be clear that that lie was a big one. It will show, too, that American national security isn't a myth.

The chapter vividly lays out the Johnson story, from his love - life to the artful way Russian agents maneuvered him into a number of positions in the army so he could steal top - secret information. It puts on the record the awful agony of investigative work, not to mention the good luck agents sometimes need to break a case.

This chapter of "KGB" also illustrates some inadequate reporting on my part in 1964 and 1965 while covering the Pentagon. I knew specifically the army lied to me at the time and smelled a coverup in the case of Johnson — but it took the research in the book to show how deep the deception by the American government at the time really was. My story

In late 1964 I received a call from Wilford Edwards