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1.

KINCORAGATE

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world of black propaganda, blackmail and assassination.

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1.

Kincoragate

Steve Dorril

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Wallace came originally from County Antrim and was working as a PR man for the Royal Ulster Rangers when the British Army moved into Northern Ireland in 1969. He was the author of a briefing document issued to British officers on arrival. He moved into the Army's headquarters at Lisburn and was promoted to Senior Press Officer, where he worked closely with the Psychological Operations Department (Psyops) then headed by Major Richard Stannard. (5) It is claimed that Wallace effectively ran the operation until 1975.

When the Army arrived in Northern Ireland they found the intelligence unit in a mess. It consisted of only half a dozen officers who were mainly involved in the vetting of military and civilian posts. A complete lack of intelligence on the paramilitary groupings was revealed when internment began in July 1971. This created great problems for the Army when its role as a 'buffer' broke down and it had to engage both Protestant and Republican forces. With 90% of the RUC Protestant, the Army saw that it couldn't be relied on for intelligence on its own community.

MI5 officers were called in to sort out intelligence gathering. At this time Army Intelligence were "strictly forbidden to give information to the RUC." (6) Even though

a working party with the RUC was set up, unofficially at least, the policy seems to have been set by the Army.

Black propaganda and covert action began once it became clear that internment had failed. 1971 saw Oliver Wright replaced by Howard Smith (later head of MI5) as intelligence co-ordinator, and the establishment of a Psyops Unit at the Lisburn Headquarters. The then head of the Information Policy Unit told reporters "there is nothing sinister in this." (7) A confidential document "Training in Psychological Operations" states that "strategic psywar pursues long-term and mainly political objectives. It is designed to undermine the will of the enemy or hostile groups to fight. ...it can be directed against the dominant political party in the enemy country, the government or particular elements of it. It is planned and controlled at the highest political authority." (8)

At the Lisburn headquarters there was close liaison between the Psyops Units, Army Intelligence and the Security Services. One of their chief sources of information came from homosexuals who were used to gather intelligence on extreme Protestant groups. (9) The Army didn't trust the RUC Special Branch. (10) Homosexuality was still a crime in Northern Ireland and provided excellent opportunities for compromise and blackmail. One of the Protestant politicians used in this manner was William McGrath.

The 65 year old McGrath became a Kincora housewarden in 1971. Since the 40's he had been well known both as a homosexual and a religious extremist. It is likely that Wallace was one of those who knew: it is understood that as early as 1973 Wallace had quietly briefed journalists about McGrath's activities. David McKittrick of the *Irish Times* has written of Wallace: "It was clear that he had access to the highest levels of intelligence data. He had an encyclopaedic memory which he occasionally refreshed with calls on his personal scrambler telephone to the headquarters intelligence sections a few floors above his office. (11)

By the spring of 1971 the authorities had become desperate to penetrate the terrorist networks. Under the influence of counter-insurgency expert, Frank Kitson, the Army organised other intelligence operations along the lines used by Kitson against the Mau-Mau in Kenya. The Military Reconnaissance Force (MRF) was created for this task. SAS trained, and including SAS personnel, the MRF numbered about 40 and specialised in covert action. They set up Loyalist and Republican 'pseudo-gangs' to infiltrate and subvert their enemies' operations. (12)

The pseudo-gangs set up in 1972 "contributed towards the stimulation of real psychosis of a 'war of religion'. It was the year of the sectarian murder. Appalling, motiveless murders. At nightfall Catholics were murdered apparently without reason: in some cases corpses were dumped in Protestant ghettos. It seemed that these were ritual killings, at times accompanied by mutilations; they terrorised the nationalist population." (13)

The pseudo-gangs were directed from the outside by the Army Intelligence. They retained a high degree of independence but were always open to manipulation and infiltration. They owed much of their training, supply of intelligence and materials to the British Army, routed through the RUC and the Ulster Defence Regiment. (14)

Among the pseudo-gangs were the 'Red Hand Commando' and the 'Ulster Freedom

Fighters'. The self-confessed head of the shadowy para-military group, Tara, another pseudo-gang, was none other than the 'Beast of Kincora' - William McGrath.

During the sixties McGrath held Sunday night meetings at his house in the University area, attended by up-and-coming Unionists. He forecast a holocaust in Ulster and portrayed liberal Unionists as IRA dupes. In 1969 he founded an Orange Lodge: in line with his claim that Protestants originally inhabited Ireland, its motto was in Gaelic. Several of the young Unionists from those meetings appear to have graduated to the paramilitary Tara. (15)

Other gangs appeared on the scene. It is known, for example, that British Intelligence was responsible for the Ulster Freedom Fighters in the summer of 1973. "Initially it consisted of a small number of ex-convicts brought together and controlled by British Intelligence. These in turn recruited and controlled others who believed they were members of a genuine loyalist secret organisation." (16) The gangs were designed to spread disinformation, dissension within the Loyalist ranks, and foment infighting.

In the wake of the successful Ulster Worker Council's strike in May, 1974, the British Government, under Prime Minister Wilson, tried to renew contacts with the Republican movement. It felt that it was still possible to extract concessions from the IRA for a possible peace settlement. The British State had learned one lesson from the failure of the 1972 Whitelaw meeting with the IRA: (17) the hardliners had to be separated off from the middle ground - and, more importantly, that included Protestants and Republicans.

While armed hostilities ceased temporarily following the arranged truce with the Provisionals, the propaganda war continued. A new committee was set up in 1974 - 'Planned and controlled at the highest political authority' - to take charge of the black propaganda operations. It consisted of Michael Cudlipp(18), the Northern Ireland Press Attache, personally appointed by Harold Wilson; David McDine, the Army's Chief Information officer; and the brain behind Psyops, Lt.-Col. James Railton, head of the Information Policy Unit. (19) They produced a confidential report a propos a campaign against extremist Loyalist politicians and organisations. 'Its targets included both Republican and Loyalist leaders. Lurid tales of their personal lives, allegations of embezzlement and involvement in sectarian assassination were fabricated and fed to selected journalists.' (20) The RUC, interrelated with the Loyalist community, opposed such a campaign. (21) It mattered little: it went ahead anyway. Wallace was already busy spreading disinformation. (22)

Major Wallace was a key figure in the campaign against the Rev. Ian Paisley, aimed at undermining the extreme Loyalists to the benefit of the moderates. On one occasion he attempted to link Paisley with McGrath's Tara group. The British Army Intelligence report, which Wallace gave to a few reporters, described one of Tara's leaders thus: "He is said to be a homosexual..he is also thought to owe more allegiance to the red flag than either to the Union Jack or to the Tricolour." (23) The story is still widely believed in Northern Ireland.

At the same time Railton's Information Policy Group was involved in a disinformation exercise producing fake Loyalist papers. Denouncing the excesses of Protestant militias like UVF and the UDA, they were designed to produce conflict between the different paramilitary groupings. They were distributed by the ghost group Tara.

More off-the-record briefings hinted that Paisley was linked to Tara, described in one anonymous tract as "riddled with homosexuals and communists." (24) At various times Tara was linked with Paisley's Free Presbyterian Church and Democratic Unionist Party, as well as with the Official Unionist Party and the Orange Order. Some journalists, including Chris Ryder of the *Sunday Times*, eagerly published these stories. By 1976 even Paisley realised that a psychological warfare operation had been launched against him.

In 1974 Wallace was involved in another black propaganda exercise producing a series of leaflets from the socialist grouping 'The Ulster Citizen's Army'. One stated that a secret faction existed within the UDA. They sent a communique to the press stating: "The Ulster Freedom Fighters operate under the control of the SAS. Numerous sectarian killings have been perpetrated by the SAS using the name of the UFF. Consequently the UCA threatens to launch retaliatory actions against British interests if this state of things does not cease."

The UCA was largely disregarded by local newsmen who rightly attributed the leaflets to Army Intelligence, as they carried both the Loyalist red hand symbol and the plough and stars of the Official IRA.(25) But it was difficult to ignore totally since some of the facts produced were true. The SAS were operating through and within these pseudogangs. The leaflets named up to 20 Loyalist politicians allegedly involved in these activities. The targets were those Loyalist politicians who seemed to be turning away from paramilitary activity towards a political role, and in some cases thought to be talking to the Republican side. They were thinking of people like Andy Tyrie, the UDA's senior spokesman, who was extremely annoyed by the leaflets. He informed some reporters that he knew the name of the leaflets' author and there was pressure on him to order the assassination of the alleged author.

What Tyrie didn't know was that the alleged author, a school teacher named Horn, had been set up by Wallace, the real author of the leaflets. Wallace was having an affair with Horn's wife, and may have hoped that this propaganda effort would lead to the death of the innocent Mr Horn. Tyrie had been given Horn's name by another English journalist who worked in the Army's Press Office and who was a friend of Wallace. (26)

The Army probably lost little sleep over the disclosure of the existence of these pseudo-gangs. By this time they were clearly becoming an embarrassment; and as the different security agencies were not fully open with each other, it was unclear who had effective control over them. Anyway the propaganda efforts were being used to promote the 'peaceful' efforts of the 'Peace Movement'. For the moment the Army took a softly-softly line.

By 1975 Wallace had gone too far with his black propaganda operations and was losing his value to the Army. He was drummed out after being revealed as *Times* reporter Robert Fisk's informant at the Lisburn barracks. (He posted a batch of classified documents through Fisk's door, and Fisk's cleaning lady, whose husband was in the RUC, handed them over to the authorities.) Fisk fled to Dublin and Wallace was taken to Preston for an extensive debriefing before being dismissed. (27) One of his last acts was to give an *Irish Times* reporter the names of four men he considered leaders of Tara. Two of them are now prominent Unionists, one in Paisley's D.U.P and the fourth has been an editor of Paisley's *Protestant Telegraph*. (28,29)

As Wallace's usefulness to the Army ended (30) so McGrath's political activities faded from view. Though many complaints were made by Protestants about the homosexual goings-on at Kincora, the Army and the security services managed to keep the affair quiet for fear of revealing their own roles. RUC detectives had had McGrath and another warden, Joseph Mains, under surveillance in 1975. But it wasn't until an article in the *Irish Independent* in 1980 that a real enquiry took place. Led by Supt. George Carsey, it lasted twenty months. Some 700 people were interviewed at the end. McGrath and two Kincora colleagues were convicted, along with two other officials from Belfast Boys Home, and a scoutmaster who had acted as an unpaid social worker.

As with most cover-ups, this one has been as messy and corrupt as the original activities.(31) During the RUC enquiries two political figures were mentioned. One was John McKeague, who played a prominent part in the sectarian disturbances in Belfast in 1969. Soon after he was interviewed and warned that he would be reported to the Director of Public Prosecutions for alleged homosexual offences, he was assassinated, January 29th, 1981. Later that evening a call to Downtown Radio claimed the murder was the work of the Irish National Liberation Army.

Nobody believes that and even detectives on the case believe he was killed to keep him quiet. (Shortly before he died he spoke of exposing others.)

The other politician involved was a 70 year old bachelor, Joss Cardwell, a former Stormont MP and a long-serving member of Belfast City Council. He had been Chairman of the Committee responsible for the running of the Kincora Home. On April 25th 1982 Cardwell was found dead in the front seat of his car in the garage of his Belfast house. At an inquest the Coroner decided that he had died of carbon monoxide poisoning and said that his death was inexplicable.

Notes

1. Chris Ryder, ST May 22nd 1983. (A list of the abbreviations used throughout this mag. is at the end of these notes.)
2. Terry is a trustee of the privately financed 'Police Foundation' formed May 1981 to carry out research and improve the public image of the police.(State Research June 1981)
3. Andrew Pollack, NS April 8th 1983
4. Littlejohn's fate is well known. On Black's experience see *Ambush At TullyWest* (later editions known as *The British Intelligence Services In Action*), Kennedy Lindsay, (Dundalk, Ireland, 1980)
5. Stannard subsequently left the Army and was hired by Ian Smith's government to head the Psyops supports to the (then) Rhodesian Army.
6. *Irish Times*, April 22nd 1980
7. G. October 28th 1976
8. Sections of the Psyops documents are printed in the WRP's anthology from Newline: *Britain's State Within The State* (New Park Publications, London. No publishing date given, but circa 1979)
9. Chris Ryder, ST 5th December 1982
10. A good account of the jostling for control of the different agencies is in *Who Dares Wins*, Tony Geraghty (Fontana, London 1983) page 190 et seq.
11. Leveller no 53
12. See Frank Kitson *Gangs and Countergangs* (Barrie and Rockcliffe, London

- 1960)
13. Roger Faligot, *Britain's Military Strategy in Northern Ireland* (Zed Press, 1983) p37
 14. In one case.. "ten proven IRA activists were arrested and given the choice between long terms of imprisonment or undercover work for the British Army. Commanded by a Parachute Regiment Captain, they were known as the Special Detachment of the MRF....(they) lived in one half of a semi-detached married quarter in the heavily guarded Hollywood barracks at Belfast." Geraghty (ibid) p185/6
 15. Pollack, NS February 12th 1982
 16. Lindsay (ibid) p150
 17. The best treatment of the IRA/ Whitelaw meeting and British attempts to reach a settlement in Northern Ireland is in Anthony Verrier, *Through The Looking Glass - British Foreign Policy in The Age Of Illusions* (Jonathan Cape, London 1983) ch. 8
 18. Cudlipp is now Director of Information for the Thompson Organisation.
 19. Railton, like most of those involved in Psyops, received training at Fort Meade, USA. From 1973 the Information Policy Unit had more than forty press officers, supported by a hundred secretaries and supplemented by twelve RUC PR officers, and twenty people from the Northern Ireland Office. i.e. more than one hundred and seventy people involved in directing Psychological warfare in Northern Ireland (Le Monde, 8th March 1976)
 20. Jonathan Bloch and Patrick Fitzgerald, *British Intelligence and Covert Action* (Junction Books London 1983, p227)
 21. One press account (Chris Ryder's) suggests that an influential group of senior officers at Lisburn opposed black propaganda and argued for a straightforward release of information. They believed it was doing serious harm to the credibility of the Army and to the Government in its efforts to find a political solution. Possible, but it sounds like a belated attempt to clean up the Army's image.
 22. Bloch and Fitzgerald (ibid)
 23. Leveller no 53 (ibid)
 24. Faligot (ibid) p70
 25. Lindsay (ibid) p243
 26. Leveller (ibid)
 27. Leveller (ibid)
 28. Pollack ('82) (ibid)
 29. "The jury found Wallace guilty of what the judge called a 'dreadful and horrifying killing ', after they heard how he had fought with the 29 year old Sussex antique dealer and then dumped his body in the river. Wallace had been having an affair with Lewis' wife, Jane. The case became known as the 'It's a Knockout' trial because the affair started when the couple organised a local heat of the BBC TV competition." (Leveller ibid)
 30. In a recent report from David McKittrick, Wallace admitted to him that British intelligence had been guilty of serious misbehaviour. This included, he said, the planting of ammunition on Republican suspects, unauthorised phone-tapping, and deliberately misleading Sir Harold Wilson and Northern Ireland Secretary, Merlyn Rees. These, I would suggest, are the milder charges that could be laid against him.
 31. When the Rev. Ian Paisley did come out and demand a public enquiry it was greeted as another cynical move. It was highly likely that an enquiry would not materialise under the expensive and cumbersome 1921 Tribunal Enquiry Act.

It is probable though, that Paisley realised that the source of the Kincora allegations was Army intelligence and didn't want to play their game.

Abbreviations

Certain names are going to recur through this magazine. For brevity's sake we will use the following abbreviations:

- G - *Guardian*
- T - *Times* (London)
- ST - *Sunday Times* (London)
- O - *Observer*
- IHT - International Herald Tribune
- NS - *New Statesman*
- SR - *State Research*
- SL - *Searchlight*

2.

Spooks - U.K.

Freedom and the Security Services - a Labour Party Discussion Document

(£1.50 plus postage from The Labour Party, 150 Walworth Road, London, SE17 1JT)

With this the Labour Party has taken a significant step towards the public recognition that, as far as the spook industry is concerned, the view of this society long held by its left-wing is fundamentally correct.

Coups, bugging, surveillance, wiretapping, Special Branch, moles - the first 60% of this reads like a precis of State Research.(With some conspicuous omissions: Agee/Hosenball and the ABC trial, both of which happened during Labour administrations).

The second half, the section of recommendations, is less impressive. The one lesson that seems totally clear from the U.S. experience is that there is no effective way of supervising spooks - or of making them accountable to elected representatives. Parliamentary accountability of the so-called security services - the core recommendation here - is rather a joke.(I suspect that the committee which wrote this paper knows this but does not feel the time is yet right to announce it .) Can anyone imagine a spook service working in the interests of a socialist democracy? Still, it's well worth the outlay for the first section alone. But be warned: there is nothing at all, not a word, on the events in Northern Ireland. The subject is entirely missing. Amazing (and rather pathetic) that the subject is still such a no-no.

(RR)

3.

Smiley's People Close Ranks Against Labour Plans For Secret Services

(Peter Hennessy. T, June 6th 1983)

If Labour had won the election, Whitehall's bureaucratic machine would have gone into action. "The first tactic of officials will be to brief Ministers on what insiders call 'reality' as opposed to 'gossip' in the Party's document." (More Hennessy 'gossip' .)

4.

Secret Intelligence

(Richard Norton-Taylor, G., June 6th 1983)

Thatcher Advisers Refuse To Face M.P.'s Questions. (Peter Hennessy T. April 21 1983)

The new Select Committees attempted to monitor the intelligence services and question the criteria for classification of MI5, MI6, and GCHQ documents. John Biffen, Leader of the House of Commons, said: "It is by no means clear that the intelligence services should come within the ambit of Select C'ttees". The Secretary of the Cabinet, Sir Robert Armstrong, refused to appear before the Select C'ttee. As advisor to the Prime Minister on security and intelligence matters, he is one of, if not the most powerful, figures in Whitehall.

5.

Telephone Tapping

In 1977, James Malone, an antique dealer, was charged with offences related to the handling of stolen goods. It emerged during his two trials (he was eventually acquitted) that one of his telephone conversations had been taped for the police, and his phone had been metered listing calls in and out.

A series of court cases followed, going as far as the European Commission on Human Rights, in attempts to get the practice declared illegal. The Commission decided (June 1st 1983) to refer its findings to the European Court. The decision that Malone's rights under Article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights had been breached, could lead to legislation on telephone tapping in Britain.

Minimum safeguards accepted by the Court in another phone tapping case included: supervision by a Parliamentary Committee; the right of a complaint against suspected interception; and notification to the victim once the interception had ceased.

Media attention to this latest phase, and to the whole case, has been minimal.

See G. and T. 2nd June 1983: also SR. nos 11 and 25 under 'telephone tapping', which followed the Malone case up to the European Commission.

Also *Phonetappers And The Security State*, Duncan Campbell (NS report no 2, 1981) for a view of the phonetapping operation and a review of the White Paper 'Interception of Communications in Great Britain' (Cmnd 7873, HMSO April 1980.)

6.

South African Connections

Peter John Caselton - SA agent sentenced to four years for raids on London offices of various black organisations. Bertl Wedin, former Swedish military intelligence officer, found not guilty.

Caselton worked with professional burglar, Edward Aspinall, through Isle of Man front co. Africa Aviation Consultants (G 12th April 1983). Details of court proceedings (T. 21 April 1983). Appeal rejected (G. 8th June 1983). Evidence that Bertl was maybe not so innocent, and had links with Tory rightwingers (SL May 1983).

Break-ins at Zambian High Commission were revealed. Head of SA Security Police, Coetzee, visited British intelligence in March. Believed SA established a new London burglary team in April (G. 27th June 1983).

7.

SA propaganda links to Tory rightwingers and funding of Foreign Affairs Research Institute (FARI) (G. 11th February 1983). In recent years FARI's members have included Cons. MP's Julian Amery, Director of Vaal Reefs Exploration and Mining; Amery is ex-British intelligence and probably still a link to SIS, Julian Critchley, Philip Goodhard and Tom Normanton, Director of Commercial Union Assurance (CUA) and Midland Bank; and Sir Ian Gilmour.

Current FARI Chairman is Sir Frederick Bennet, Director of CAU and Kleinwort Benson and a member of the Bilderberg group.

See Labour Research June 1983 - *The South African Connection*, for Tory links to SA. Also mentioned are the familiar names of G. Stewart Smith, Ian Greig and Lord Chalfont.

8.

Funding of 'cultural' links between UK and SA by Yorkshire-born millionaire, Stuart Weaver, founder of the Pennine textile group. Weaver is founder and Chairman of 'Friends of Springbok' - 100,000 members claimed in 10 countries - and Chairman of 'Weaver International Friendship Foundation', which arranges cheap fares to SA. Both organisations hold meetings in UK at which SA affairs are discussed. Weaver also launched the 'Support The Springbok Cricketers' aimed against Peter Hain's attempt to stop the tours, and may have been involved with SA front organisation 'Club of Ten'. Weaver's PR man, Geoff Wald, gave Gordon Winter a small bribe to knock down that particular rumour by writing a favourable article in *The Citizen*, Feb. 27th 1978: *British Tycoon Denies Tie-up With SA Government*. See Winter below pp488-491.

Inside BOSS - South Africa's Secret Police

Gordon Winter (Penguin, London 1981)

About to go out of print - essential reading. Caused Penguin considerable publishing and legal difficulties.

Economic Power in Anglo-South African Diplomacy

Geoff Berridge (Macmillan, London 1981).

Background to post-war UK-SA link: ***Economic Power in Anglo-South African Diplomacy*** - Geoff Berridge (Macmillan, London 1981). Was £20, now remaindered at around £2. Very good, too, if not for the economically illiterate.

11.

Broederbond, secret society said to more or less run SA, is splitting under the strains of pressure towards reform of apartheid. B' bond Ch'man Boshoff resigned (G. 6th July 1983). Described in ST 10th July as 'enforced resignation'. On B'bond's history and scope of its operations, see ***The Broederbond***, Wilkins and Strydom (Corgi, London 1980)

12.

Spooks - U.S.

After the disastrous Iranian hostage operations, the Pentagon created a new intelligence/covert ops unit called Army Intelligence Support Activity (ISA), also known, apparently, as the 'activity'. Augmenting both the CIA and the Pentagon's own DIA, ISA existed for at least a year without Presidential/Congressional knowledge or approval. The unit is said to have operated in Central America, Italy (in the rescue of James Dozier) and in Africa, with a country 'which doesn't have diplomatic relations with the US.' (Libya?) IHT (12th May) report that some of its operations were run out of Fort Bragg, as an extension of the Army's Special Forces; that the unit 'has provided military equipment to foreign forces and deployed servicemen using false identities to collect intelligence'; that one member of the House of Representatives 'on a trip to Central America..had asked the CIA operations chiefs in Honduras, El Salvador and Nicaragua(!?) whether or not they were aware of the special Pentagon operation, and that each said no.'

Robert Toth (Los Angeles Times Press Service, 15th May) reported a 'former intelligence official from the Carter administration' as saying that "this kind of unit had been discussed at the Pentagon for a long time, but no decision was made on it until the Reagan administration took over.' The same article suggests that the impetus for ISA's formation came from Robert Stilwell, Dep.Under Secretary of Defence, in 1981. Same report states that DCIA Casey has already given ISA two jobs to do, despite his

denials of knowledge of ISA's existence.

See also basic reports in: G. 12th and 16th May 1983 and IHT 21st May.

ISA first came to public attention after James Gritz, looking for POW's in SE Asia, had referred to 'parallel work by "the activity."' (G. 16th May 1983) Gritz was sponsored by *Soldier of Fortune* mag and may also have been backed by ISA without government approval. (T. 1st June 1983)

13.

The report from Robert Toth (see 12 above) also mentions something called the Federal Emergency Management Agency, which is responsible for conducting the govt.'s civil-security program against terrorism, sabotage and other civil disorders. FEMA is not officially part of the US intelligence 'community' and thus not under the jurisdiction of DCIA Casey.

14.

Maj. Gen. Richard B. Collins, charged

IHT report (19th July 1983) on forthcoming trial of Maj. Gen. Richard B. Collins, charged with ripping-off a secret Air Force fund kept in Swiss banks to finance covert ops.. Collins' lawyer says Collins will detail the way the fund was used for military and CIA ops in SE Asia. (hoho) The story has since vanished. Presumably Collins' offer was one the government discovered it couldn't bring itself to refuse.

15.

U.S. Foreign Policy Towards Radical Change: Covert Operations in Guatemala 1950-54

Gordon Bowen (Latin American Perspectives, Winter 1983)

Survey of the literature with the assistance of recently declassified CIA, NSC and State Dept. documents from the time. Nothing startling: his new analysis merely confirms that previous, less well documented studies had got it right. His conclusions, for what they're worth:

- "Guatemalan actions appear to have provided a model for later American covert action." (no shit)
- "US policy supervised at the highest levels of the Eisenhower administration...clandestine and diplomatic actors operated together."
- "Geopolitical, rather than economic considerations appear to have been the foremost matters of concern to policy makers...efforts by the United Fruit Co. should be seen as complimentary."

This is dubious (and grossly naive) in my view. Ch.6 of the recent *Bitter Fruit* (Schlesinger and Kinzer, London 1982) makes it very clear that U.F.Co.

launched a massive PR campaign in the US to persuade so-called 'policy makers' of the 'communist threat' to Guatemala. Without that campaign those 'geopolitical considerations' would never have been perceived. And then as now, 'geopolitical considerations' is merely a euphemism for 'communist threat', which, in turn is a euphemism for 'threat to US investments.'

- "The permanent political lesson of the 'Guatemala affair' was that the US learned to rely on local militants to serve as the junior partners with US covert operations in the protection of US interests."

16.

The bodies continue to pile up around Edwin Wilson and Frank Terpil. IHT (30th April 1983) reports death 'by apparent suicide' of Waldo Duberstein, senior DIA analyst, who had been indicted on charges of selling secret data to Wilson and Libyan intelligence.

17.

Vatican Connections

Curious report in IHT (14th April 1983) that an Italian radical mag., *Peace and War*, had received photocopies of telegrams indicating that the US Ambassador to Italy had worked out a plan to link the Bulgarians to the shooting of the Pope. The US embassy says they're fakes. It certainly sounds implausible that anything so sensitive would be transmitted by telegram. But then Reagan has appointed a lot of dummies as ambassadors. See the list - and comments - in IHT 31st March 1983.

18.

William Pfaff in IHT (14th April 1983) gives an account of what is said to be a Soviet intelligence document alleging that Brzezinski and Cardinal Koch (both of Polish origins), with the assistance of the West German Cardinals, organised the election of Wojtyla, the current Pope. An earlier report (IHT 16th February 1983) that the Bulgarian newsagency had a report claiming that the previous Pope had been poisoned.

Pfaff comments that the Soviet analysis shows " an astonishing fear of American power, of the effectiveness of CIA conspiracies."

Astonishing, and, in Pfaff's view, quite absurd of course.

On Brzezinski's role in all this I have seen nothing, and on the machinations behind the election of the present Pope I know only one account so far - Andrew M. Greeley's *The Making Of The Popes* (London 1979) though the recent *Pontiff*, which I haven't read yet might be of interest.

But a quick flip back through Greeley revealed that not only was Rome awash with rumours that the first Pope John Paul had been poisoned (rumours not helped by inconsistencies in the stories issuing from the Vatican), but also, on pp236-7 he gives an account of a memo -" a series of notes from the Italian government's spy in the

Secretariat of State (in the Vatican)". This memo reports that Wojtyla's candidacy was "pushed especially by the West Germans, the English-speaking North Americans and the representatives of the Third World."

Which proves nothing, of course, but which does suggest that those particular views from the East are not *that* fanciful.

19.

God's Banker

Articles on Calvi et al will no doubt appear in future issues of *The Lobster*. At the moment we would appreciate information on the following aspects:

- The big four UK banks were left holding large losses when Banco Ambrosiano folded. Information?
- The man who safe-housed Calvi in London was Freemason, Michael Morris, known to Carboni. Carboni, it is said, flew to Edinburgh with the help of British Freemasons, after Calvi's death. (T 14th April 1983)

Italian Freemason, Salvini, (an extreme right-winger) and De Steffano, Grand Sec. of the Gran Orient of Italy, both had ties to British Freemasons. De Steffano was in London 24 hours after Calvi's death. (*City Limits* 8th July 1983).

Information on British Freemasons and their links to other Masonic organisations?

- John McCaffery, of Rorsburg, Scotland. A former war-time British intelligence agent, McCaffery died in February. Just before his death he made out an affidavit stating that he had plotted with Sindona in an attempt to overthrow the Italian government. (*Parapolitics*(US) Spring 1981) McCaffery was linked to Sindona's Banca Privata Italiana which entered an international banking partnership with Hambros. In 1974 BPI collapses with 26 million dollars on deposit from IOR, the Vatican Bank. Information on McCaffery, Hambros, Sindona connections?
- Embassy International. Based in London, headed by American Gareth Reynolds. Reynolds is an arms dealer, and disappeared in 1980. He is also linked to Syrian arms dealer Henri Arsan, who is tied to the Bulgarian arms/drugs ring which leads to the assassination attempt on the Pope.

See Helbert Hellerstein in ST 5th December 1982.

20.

The Bulgarian Connection and the Media

Michael Ledeen (Commentary, June 1983)

Survey of the mainly (but not exclusively) American media's response to the Reds-Shot-The-Pope story, basically slagging off the 'elite' (his word) press for their

reluctance to see the Bulgarian (i.e. Soviet) connection.

Ledeen is one of the most prolific of the Georgetown Centre for Strategic and International Studies' roster of apologists for the new Cold War: a professional liar, in short. His piece includes this, for example:

"In the U.S. not only an explicit Presidential but Congressional approval is required for any covert act."

Nothing quite like the big lie, is there?

(RR)

21.

The Vatican Connection

Richard Hammer (Penguin, London 1983)

An enjoyable read but really a 'faction'. Some of the dialogue and settings seem to have been created for artistic rather than factual content. Contains material on some Mafia figures not well known before, and a good background to the activities of (Bishop) Paul Marinkus and his friend Sindona. Includes hints that counterfeit stocks were bought by the Vatican to shore up the Italian state; and a suggestion that John Connally is linked to Mafia figures.

(SD)

22.

Two large articles by ex-BBC Journalist Tom Bower on Klaus Barbie and his links with US intelligence.(ST 3rd July, IHT 6th July, 1983). The articles are similar, though the IHT version is longer and more detailed, and are trailers for Bower's forthcoming *Barbie: Butcher of Lyon*.

The Barbie episode has created considerable excitement in some conspiracy research circles in the US, where evidence of an enormous invisible Nazi sub-structure has long been sought. On that this writer is sceptical. There is no question that Bormann and a whole clutch of Nazis got to South America after WW2, some with the help of various members of the Vatican bureaucracy. William Stephenson's *Bormann Brotherhood* (London 1973) and Ladislav Farago's *Aftermath* (London 1972) make that very clear.

But the wider significance of all this remains unclear to me.

I'm still inclined to the view that on the subject of the Nazis and their post-war relationship with the superpowers, Bob Hope got it about right with his wisecrack on the launch of the first Soviet Sputnik: "Their Nazi scientists are better than ours."

(RR)

The Round Table

The Anglo-American Establishment From Rhodes To Cliveden

Carroll Quigley (Books in Focus, New York 1981)

This, I think, is the most important book ever written about the British ruling class and its foreign policy. In outline Quigley has rewritten the political and diplomatic history of Britain (and thus some of the world) from 1900-1939.

In his introduction the publisher tells us that Quigley had finished the book in 1949 but could not find a publisher for it. No surprise. His earlier work, *Tragedy and Hope* (Macmillan, US, 1966), was almost totally ignored by the academic press (1), and seems to have had the habit of 'disappearing' from the shelves of those few libraries in the US which did bother to stock it.(2) For writing it, or rather, for writing certain sections of it, Quigley was ostracised by the academic community and found his lecturing contracts drying up. When the journalist Robert Eringer went to see Quigley just before his death, Quigley warned him off the subject of *Tragedy and Hope*, saying it would get him (Eringer) into trouble. (3) After Quigley's death there was a (not wholly) reliable report that his papers had been stolen. (4)

The sections of *Tragedy and Hope* which caused Quigley's problems were essentially, though not entirely, a precis of this earlier work. Baldly, Quigley claims that an organisation, variously titled the Rhodes Milner Group, the Round Table, and just the Milner Group, had virtual control over British foreign policy for much of the first half of this century. The inner core of the group (which I will refer to as the Round Table), a secret society set up by Cecil Rhodes, using Rhodes' money, set up the Round Table groups in the then British Dominions, the Council on Foreign Relations in the US, the network of Royal Institutes of International Affairs, and the various Institutes of Pacific Relations; controlled the *Times* and the *Observer*, All Souls in Oxford and the Rhodes Scholarship program; was largely responsible for the destruction of the League of Nations and the appeasement policies of the 1930s; converted the British Empire into the Commonwealth; and so on.

These "gracious and cultivated men of somewhat limited social experience constantly thought in terms of Anglo-American solidarity, of political partition and federation...were convinced that they could gracefully civilise the Boers of South Africa, the Irish, the Arabs and the Hindus ...and were largely responsible for the partition of Ireland, Palestine and India, and for the federations of South Africa, Central Africa and the West Indies." (5) And so on and so on. The full list is far too long to give here.

As claims about the existence of such secret organisations are usually the trademark of the right-wing loony, it is perhaps worth giving Quigley's CV at this point. Educated at Harvard and Princeton, he taught at the School of Foreign Service, the Brookings Institute and the Foreign Service Institute of the State Department. (6) A more impeccable group of American ruling class institutions is hard to imagine.

But even with Quigley's immaculate intellectual credentials his claims raise obvious

difficulties. How do we check them? A secret society is, by definition, secret. And Quigley's books tantalise. Assertion follows assertion but the supporting evidence is patchy: surprisingly, for an academic, Quigley provides fairly scanty documentation. In part this seems to be just a consequence of the nature of the material he is attempting to handle: in part you sense that Quigley is deliberately revealing only part of what he knows - creating a mystery while (apparently) solving one. It's as if he is saying: 'Look, I'll lift the corner of this rug and..there: Did you see it?'

My fairly casual attempts to check some of his claims have neither falsified them nor confirmed them in any real sense: I just don't have the research resources to do so. But if you consider his thesis about a ramified Round Table network merely as an hypothesis and then read some of the conventional accounts of the period, his version of events is suddenly visible everywhere. My reaction was: Christ, how has no-one seen any of this before?

It's not that the Round Table people have been unknown. The names Quigley gives - e.g. in the inner group: Rhodes, Rothschild, William Stead, Viscount Esher, Milner, Abe Bailey, Earl Grey, H.A.L.Fisher, Jan Smuts, Leopold Amery, the Astors - are well known. The Round Table group are conventionally viewed as a group of enthusiastic imperialists who had a period of some visibility and influence in the 1910-1920 period. Their journal, *The Round Table*, was well known between the wars, and is in many university libraries.(It continued until the mid 1970s.)

Ellinwood, Rowse, Fry, Nimcocks, Watt, Kendle, Butler, Madden and Fieldhouse, Astor, and Toynbee, to give a selection of those who have written about the Round Table people, offer accounts of the period which are, more or less, consonant with Quigley's thesis.(7) Toynbee, for example, attributes the Royal Institute of International Affairs to the Round Table people, and Butler, himself part of the group, on Quigley's account, acknowledges that the so-called 'Cliveden Set' of the 1930s were, as Quigley claims, merely the Round Table at one of their regular meeting places.

Kendle, although he dismisses Quigley's thesis without an explanation, is of particular interest: he, at least, has read *Tragedy and Hope*. No other historian of the period seems to have done so. (8)

The one group of people who took Quigley to heart were the 'radical right' in America, for whom *Tragedy and Hope* became a kind of bible. Here was the proof, the academically respectable proof, of the great conspiracy. It may not have been quite the conspiracy they had in mind, but it was a conspiracy none the less. But apart from them, the only people who seem to have taken Quigley on board have been Shoup and Minter, and the splendid Carl Oglesby.(9) (And Shoup and Minter are only interested in the Round Table as the parent body of the Council on Foreign Relations.)

But Flint, for example, in his recent biography of Rhodes, gives a good deal of room to an account of the size and possible influence of the Rhodes Scholar network.(10) He writes of "the excessive number of Rhodes Scholars in the Kennedy administration." (11), and of the Rhodes Scholars forming a "recognizable elite in Canada." (12)

Apparently unaware of Quigley, Flint notes that "in each of the white settled Commonwealth countries, South Africa and the United States, a similar, if less

influential elite had emerged...and since 1948 India, Pakistan and Ceylon may be experiencing a similar development..Rhodes Scholars created links between American, British and Commonwealth 'establishments'... and they have played a role in creating the 'special relationship' which existed between the US, Britain and the dominions after 1945." (13).

In a sense, Quigley's work is merely the history of how that fairly singular event (and others) came about.

There have been some odd moments in the history of this vast Anglophile network. Rudolph Hess flew to Britain in 1941 with a list of people he should try and see to arrange a peace. Top of the list was a group containing Lord Home (Lord Dunglass as was then) and the Duke of Hamilton. But second on the list was the Round Table (named as such). (14) Haushoffer, the German intellectual and mentor of Hitler, who prepared the list, evidently had a better understanding of the actual nature of Britain's ruling elites than did Claud Cockburn, who, despite having worked at the *Times*, one of the key elements in the group, spent the latter half of the 1930s belabouring 'the Cliveden Set' without ever realising that they were the Round Table.

The 'radical right' in America attacked the Round Table's various front organisations in the late 1940s, thinking they were attacking the 'international communist conspiracy'. (15) More recently both Nixon and Mrs Thatcher have explicitly set themselves up as the the enemies of the foreign policy 'establishment' without ever showing the slightest signs of understanding who it is they are hostile to. (16)

Quigley's account comes to a halt after WW2. The Round Table group was one manifestation of the power of the British Empire, and as that disintegrated after the war, to be replaced by the new American economic empire, so the Round Table network's influence waned.

The Rhodes Scholar network is still there (17), and the Council on Foreign Relations (some of whose members in turn spawned the Trilateral Commission) is still pretty much the single dominant force in the formation of American foreign policy. But the idea that the CFR is still at the behest of some central British group is ludicrous. (18) The Royal Institute of International Affairs is still going strong in this country but some of its standing as an 'unofficial foreign office' has declined with the rise of other foreign policy think tanks.

The journal Round Table folded in the mid 1970s, and the last sighting of the Round Table as an organisation I have seen is a reference to it in the early 1970s. (19) One or two of the people who were on the board of the Round Table journal are now in the present cabinet, but how significant this is I am unable to work out.

Quigley's thesis presents the old problems raised by the existence of all such elite groups: how to decide whether any particular policy outcome advocated by such groups was in fact the result of their advocacy. Most of the time Quigley claims, convincingly infers, and suggests, rather than actually proving the causal connections. But while I think he may overstate the extent to which the network was ever centrally controlled, and he certainly understates the financial background to the group's apparently disinterested advocacy of its philosophy, his thesis is generally convincing. Throughout this essay I have been unable to write as though Quigley's thesis were merely provisional: in practice I accept it as proved, even though such 'proof' is

essentially lacking. In the end all I could say was: it fits.

In a sense what Quigley describes as the Round Table's conspiracy is merely the traditional behaviour of the British ruling class - only systematised slightly. Instinctively secretive, screened from public scrutiny by its control of the mass media, and from academic investigation by its control of the universities, in a sense the British ruling class is the most successful 'conspiracy' ever seen. What Quigley has done is to provide us with the most substantial key yet with which to unlock the details of its history.

Notes

1. It seems to have attracted only two, tiny, dismissive reviews. See Virginia Qrt. Review, Spring 1966, and Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, November 1966.
2. See the comments of the editor of *Lords of the Realm*, issue 2, p16 (No 26 below)
3. Eringer's account is in his *The Global Manipulators* (Pentacle Books, Bristol, 1980)
4. Mentioned in a late 1970s issue of the US mag. *Conspiracy Digest*, which I seem to have lent and lost. If anyone can supply the reference I would be grateful.
5. *Tragedy and Hope* (p954)
6. Quigley's entry in *Who's Who In America*, 1966 through 1977
 - D.C. Ellinwood Jnr. *The Round Table Movement and India 1909-20* in *Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies*, November 1971
7. A.L. Rowse *All Souls and Appeasement* (Macmillan, London 1961)
8. M.G. Fry, *Illusions of Security* (University of Toronto, 1972)
9. W. B. Nimmocks *Lord Milner's Kindergarten and the Origins of the Round Table* in *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Autumn 1964.
10. D.C. Watt *Personalities and Policies* (Longmans, London 1965)
11. J. Kendle *The Round Table Movement and Imperial Union* (University of Toronto, 1975)
12. J.R.M. Butler *Lord Lothian* (Macmillan, London 1960)
13. F. Madden and D.K. Fieldhouse (eds) *Oxford and the Idea of the Commonwealth* (Croom Helm, London 1982)
14. David Astor *Tribal Feeling* (John Murray, London 1964)
15. Arnold Toynbee *Acquaintances* (Oxford University Press, 1967)
16. Kendle (above) p305 - the last paragraph of his book
 - Carl Oglesby *The Yankee and Cowboy War* (US 1976 and 77)
17. Shoup and Minter *Imperial Brain Trust* (Monthly Review Press, London and New York 1977)
18. John Flint *Cecil Rhodes* (Hutchinson, London 1976)
19. Six in the State Dept, and at least 12 in the upper reaches of the administration. See Arthur Schlesinger *A Thousand Days* (London 1975) p181. JFK's father, Joseph, was close to the Round Table people while US Ambassador to London in the 1930s.
20. Flint provides a list, circa 1973, beginning with the Governor General, three cabinet ministers, head of the armed forces, most of the permanent officials in the civil service etc etc. (Flint, above, p244/5)
21. Flint, p 245
22. Eugene Bird *Rudolph Hess in Spandau* (London 1974) p27

23. Quigley describes this episode with some patrician amusement in *Tragedy and Hope*.
24. Nixon, of course, as a long time member of the CFR was in a fairly paradoxical position.
25. They had a great reunion recently in Oxford, attended by HRH. See *Time* July 11th 1983. (*Time* currently has six Rhodes Scholars working on it)
26. Ludicrous but still believed by the curious U.S. Labor Party - the conspiracy theorists' conspiracy theorists.
27. *Cecil King Diaries* (London 1975 p52)

(RR)

Postscript

The title, Anglo-American Establishment, is a complete con. There is almost nothing about the US end of the network in this volume. The American publisher presumably thought he could sell copies to the US conspiracy buffs with that title. Anyone interested in the American end should read *Tragedy and Hope*.

The Lobster is a journal/newsletter about intelligence, parapolitics, state structures and so forth. (The scope of our interests should be obvious from this first issue.)

We welcome clippings, articles, letters, reviews, on these areas. Although we will exercise editorial control over any material sent to us, nothing will be cut without prior consultation with the author.

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Issue 2 of *The Lobster* will be out in November and will be devoted to the assassination of John Kennedy. (1983 is the 20th anniversary of the events in Dallas.)

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