

# LOBSTER

INTELLIGENCE      PARAPOLITICS      STATE RESEARCH

13

**THE RHODES-MILNER GROUP**

*Jan Nederveen Pieterse*

**TWO SIDES OF IRELAND**

*David Teacher*

**THE VIEW FROM MIS**

*Robin Ramsay*

**MORE NOTES ON THE RIGHT**

- **The British Watergate**
- **The View From MI5**
- **The Rhodes-Milner Group**
- **Two Sides of Ireland**
  - *The Stalker Affair*
  - *The Genesis of Revolution*
- **Parliamentary Questions; Anti-Labour leaflet**
- **Letter from David Atlee Phillips**
- **More Notes on the Right**
- **Groupings on the British Right**
- **Books:**
  - *The Craft - a history of English Freemasonry*
  - *The rise and fall of the Bulgarian Connection*
  - *Terrorism: how the West can win*
  - *Inside the League*
  - *The Holocaust Denial*
  - *Get Gough! The loans affair conspiracy*
  - *More Books and Pamphlets*
- **Articles**

## Editorially

First, most important, our thanks to those Lobster subscribers who responded to our appeal for money. Your response, and a bit of 'consulting' with Fleet St. on the content of Lobster 11, has halved our debts. We shall survive.

It is tempting to say something about the developing crisis re the Wilson-MI5 story (Lobstergate?). I write this 24 hours after Colin Wallace made his first speaking appearance on British television, and very impressive it was too, despite the interview apparently being edited by a blind man. By the time this gets through the production cycle there should have been others. For while the mainland UK media have spent the past 3 months talking to Wallace (and us) but printing almost nothing, in Ireland, North and South, Wallace and Fred Holroyd have been making headlines every week. The strange silence of the British press cannot last for ever.

Fitting up Wallace was a big mistake; indeed, rumour now has it that while MI5 and Special Branch were stuffing Wallace into prison, the Ministry of Defence were trying to prevent it happening. MOD, by implication, knew better. Well, so far, the mud hasn't been flung at MOD. In all accounts so far - ie the Wright-derived accounts - there is a single, central villain - MI5. We are getting a British version of the 'CIA as rogue elephant' theory of the late 1970s. And that isn't even likely to be the whole story. While getting control of MI5 is obviously the first political task, while the politicians are doing that (or, perhaps, just thinking about doing that), we might think about the 'rogue elephant' theory of MI5. Some body, some section, gave them permission (if only by not turning them off). There was a wider.....climate.

Wallace was interviewed by Godfrey Hodgson who professed to find his claims "astonishing". "There were rumours in the '70s", he said, "But...." To us what is astonishing is that Wallace's first (heavily edited) statement on British television should have to wait 11 months after we splattered the whole of the British media with copies of Lobster 11. Just for the historical record, reproduced on this page is a much-reduced copy of the press release we sent out with Lobster 11 (April 1986).

We haven't changed our minds about this.

Finally, a word of explanation. Steve Dorril's name has been absent from Lobsters 12 and 13 because he has been writing a book. It will be out this summer and should strip a few more rolls of faded paper from the tatty edifice which is official British history.

**Robin Ramsay**

## **The British Watergate**

**This is the press release issued to the media with *Lobster 11*. (April 1986)**

Embargoed until 3pm, April 30th

Something very strange happened in British politics almost a decade ago. A Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, and the journalist with the closest links to the British intelligence services, Chapman Pincher, both said that elements of MI5 had been trying to bring down the Labour Government during 1974-76 - and nothing happened. There was no serious investigation by British journalists, the Labour Party or the Labour Government.

*In Wilson, MI5 and the rise of Thatcher: Covert Operations in British Politics 1974-76*

using as their starting point information from former members of the security services and the British Army, and, in particular, certain accounts of the period written by Colin Wallace, the authors demonstrate that the outlines of a series of ramified psychological and disinformation operations against the Wilson Government of 1974-76 are visible.

Among the elements analysed are:

- the smear campaign against Labour Party figures during 1974 and 1975;
- the so-called 'private armies' episode of 1974 with the first information on the sources of funding and support for General Sir Walter Walker's 'Civil Assistance';
- the role of the British Army's 'psy-ops' unit in Northern Ireland (Information Policy), including some of its activities against Northern Irish and mainland U.K. MP's, the struggle in 1975 to control it, and a list of political 'psy-ops' targets from this period;
- the campaign of leaks and smears run from Northern Ireland - partly by Information Policy - against the policies of Merlyn Rees, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland;

The authors examine:

- the role of MI5 in domestic politics;
- the struggle between MI5 and MI6 for control in Northern Ireland;
- the National Association for Freedom, and, in particular, that organisation's links to British intelligence;
- and show the links between some of the personnel involved in these events and

Margaret Thatcher's rise to power.

The authors show that a great deal of the political activities in Britain and Northern Ireland during 1974-76 were the work of the British intelligence and security services, or their fronts; that the period was, in effect, a protracted psy-ops campaign directed against the Labour Party (and, to a lesser extent, the Liberal Party); that, in short, Harold Wilson's charges against the British 'secret state' made in 1976 were *correct* and not mere paranoia.

Captain Fred Holroyd, former Special Military Intelligence Unit Officer in Northern Ireland, and Colin Wallace, former Senior Information Officer in the psy ops unit, Information Policy, became the victims of an internecine military-intelligence struggle in Northern Ireland.

Captain Holroyd, who has contributed an appendix on the trial and wrongful conviction for manslaughter of Colin Wallace, Kevin McNamara MP, who has written the foreword, and the authors, Stephen Dorril and Robin Ramsay, are launching the publication of *Wilson, MI5 and the rise of Thatcher* at the House of Commons:

\*\*\* Jubilee Room, Westminster Great Hall, 10.30, April 30th \*\*\*\*\*

At the press conference, a full account of the on-going cover-up of these events will be given.

For further information ring Robin Ramsay 0482 447263

## **Hansard**

15 December 1986

787 Security Services

(Mr. Campbell-Savours)

If such allegations were raised in the United States, Congressional Committees of inquiry would be set up to examine them. That is what happened over Watergate, and it is happening today over the supply of weapons to Iran. When Americans feel that their constitution is being challenged by anti-democratic bodies, the first thing they do is to bring into action their Congressional investigative committees to establish the truth. That is the sort of thing that we should do. If such an inquiry were held here, it would reveal the truth. That is at the heart of the first part of the motion. Such an inquiry could well take us down some strange routes and could lead to some interesting doors.

The inquiry would have to take evidence from a number of organisations and individuals. It would need to take evidence from Sir Martin Furnival Jones, the former head of MI5, and from MI5 and MI6 officers, including Mr. Wright, if he could be induced to come back to the United Kingdom. It might even have to take evidence from General Sir Walter Walker about civil assistance, and from David Stirling's GB75 - and what about the elusive Mr. Greenwood, with his so-called 700 security vetted members, or perhaps from Mr. G.K. Young, a former deputy director of MI6 and his UNISON committee for action?

At first glimpse they may not appear to be elements within MI5, but these fringe organisations operated in conjunction with MI5 officers. That is what an inquiry would establish. Indeed it might establish that some of the people involved were in the mainstream of British politics. As I have said, two Conservative hon. Members are identified by Mr. Wright.

## The View From MI5

### Robin Ramsay

#### Colin Wallace and 'Clockwork Orange 2'

In 1974, while working for the British Army's Northern Ireland psy-ops unit, Information Policy, Wallace was asked (told) by an MI5 officer to work on a psy-ops project, 'Clockwork Orange 2'. Wallace's job spec. for CO2 was to produce a document, a first-hand narrative, apparently written by a supporter of the Republican forces in Northern Ireland. In this narrative a number of Westminster MPs were to be smeared with various illegal and/or politically or socially embarrassing allegations. (Wallace got the job as the only Northern Ireland-born psy-ops officer then in the British state's employ: only he could get the 'feel' of such a document right.)

For reasons that have been elaborated in *Lobster 11* (and, more recently, in the interview I did with Wallace and Holroyd in *Tribune* 23 January 1987), the project never got beyond its initial stages. But I have a copy of Wallace's first notes for CO2 and they offer an unprecedented insight into MI5 thinking. For to produce his narrative Wallace was given MI5 information - files and briefing documents - on a wide variety of British politicians, political parties and groups. From these sketchy notes of Wallace's - and they are little more than preliminary musings and jottings - something of what the content of MI5 information gathering (and misinformation generation) actually looked like is visible. Wallace made these notes between the two general elections of 1974 and it is the anticipated second election which hangs over them.

The central theme is MI5's claim, that the Labour Party of 1974 was under the influence of the Soviet Union: 'It is estimated that between 20 and 30 Labour MPs are members of the Communist Party.' And there is a list of Labour politicians "who are believed to be communists and who hold positions of influence"; viz. Labour MPs Benn, Mikado, Owen (David), Heffer, Hart (Judith), Driberg, Castle, Foot and Stonehouse.

The obvious question, 'Does MI5 really believe this stuff?' is probably answered by the presence on the list of Tom Driberg, who in 1974 had been an MI5 informant for nearly 30 years, and David Owen, even then hardly a 'man of the left'.

Let no-one accuse MI5 of misplaced subtlety: "Civil unrest, political violence and industrial disputes in Britain engineered by the Soviet Union through Labour Party activists and left-wing organisations".

The actual reasons for MI5's hostility to the Labour Party are probably contained in a list in these notes viz: "Labour policies which endanger Britain:-

1. Defence budget cuts

2. Nuclear weapons
3. South Africa
4. Anti Arab
5. Anti South Africa -Rhodesia (growth of Soviet influence there)
6. Arab terrorism in Britain
7. Increased strikes/union power
8. Communist Party members in government
9. Freedom of Information Act and repeal of OSA
10. Withdrawal from Common Market
11. Lack of financial confidence - less investment in Britain"

Discounting No 8, which is bullshit, and ignoring 'repeal of OSA' which I don't understand, the rest is pretty much the standard picture - although Arab terrorism in Britain sounds very much like an anxiety specific to MI5.(They have to do the work.)

The focal point of much of this anti-Labour activity is, of course, Harold Wilson.

- Wilson "can be shown" to be under Soviet control through Dick Vaygauskas. (Note the use of 'can be shown' rather than 'is': it crops up again, below.)
- Wilson "received approximately £60,000 from East German sources for campaign funds".
- Wilson "has a friend in the Soviet government"
- Wilson is "pro Israel"
- Wilson "bowed to the pressure (of the Communist Party members who are MPs) by removing the embargo on CP membership for members of the Labour Party."
- Wilson had as a "close confidant" Wilf Owens MP, a Czech agent.
- Wilson "shielded John Stonehouse"
- Wilson ignored MI5 advice on what to do about Soviet agents in Britain.

Another recurring theme is the alleged link between Labour MPs and groups alleged to support the IRA - the Campaign for Democracy in Ulster, Anti-Internment League, Troops Out Movement, British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Group, Irish Political Hostages Release Committee and the Campaign for Social Justice are all listed as "Labour's New Left in Northern Ireland" - an interesting if wholly misleading and barely intelligible description.

Named in this context as "key personalities" are Paul Rose (who gets lots of detailed attention) and Orme, Ogden, Owen, Delargy, Heffer, Miller, Brockway, Newens, Allaun and Cunningham, as well as those notorious left-wingers of the period, Brian Walden, Reg Prentice and Bob Mellish!

Edward Heath gets a lot of attention. He "can be shown to be under Soviet control through Lord Rothschild" (notice the 'it can be shown ' again). This, I presume, is a reference to the '5th man' story which surfaced in 1986 during the early fall-out and disinformation coming from the Peter Wright case in Australia and must be related, based upon Mr Heath's appointment of Rothschild to head of the Central Policy Review Staff (the 'think tank'). Heath is mentioned later in the context of "a homosexual link Heath/Thorpe" and in another section among MPs who can be controlled through "homosexual or other blackmail". The others mentioned are Driberg, St. John Stevas, Van Straubenzee, Humphrey Berkeley and Harold Wilson - Wilson's vulnerability alleged to be his relationship with Marcia Falkender,

presumably all the rumours of their having had a sexual relationship.

Included in these notes is a fairly detailed analysis of voting patterns in the General Elections from 1964 onwards, and an analysis of the Tory Party leadership stakes when Heath goes. This last section is preceded by this sentence, fairly startling in what it takes for granted:

"The key issue is, therefore, whether there should be cosmetic treatment to help elect a weak government under Heath, or 'major surgery to bring about a change of leadership *before* the next elections." (emphasis in the original)

And in a prescient paragraph Wallace (presumably quoting MI5 estimates) notes:

"If Heath loses the next election and is forced to give up the leadership then the field is wide open and one of the 'new' faces may come to the fore to depose the 'old brigade'. In that event there will certainly be a marked swing to the right."

In the lines which follow that section James Callaghan gets the only positive reference of any of the 40 or so Labour MPs mentioned in these notes:

"He would be a good choice (as leader of the Labour Party) because of his role as Police Federation representative."

But this is immediately followed by the snag:

"he also has 'financial skeletons' relating to the Welsh banking matter in his cupboard."

This must be a reference to Callaghan's relationship with the Welsh money-lender Julian Hodge which was first analysed in detail in the now defunct Welsh radical magazine Rebecca, and subsequently ripped-off by Hitchens and Kellner in their 1976 biography of Callaghan.

MI5's analysis of the changes in the Tory leadership, after Heath goes, includes this list of "likely key figures": Whitelaw, St. John Stevas, Pym, Wall, Mather, Knight, Mitchell, Boyson, Goodhart, Biggs-Davison, Churchill, Maude, Fox, Soref, Amery, Carlisle, Onslow, Buck, Baker and Powell.

Of this group, 10 - Neave, Wall, Mather, Knight, Goodhart, Biggs-Davison, Churchill, Maude, Soref and Amery - would be called 'right-wingers', with Wall, Knight, Biggs-Davison, Churchill, Soref and Amery (and possibly others) being members of the Monday Club. (And Onslow, of course, was/still is a spook, having worked for MI6/IRD.)

Other fragments of interest in these notes include:

- the story about Marcia Falkender refusing to be positively vetted;
- the story of the possible legal action by the widow of the civil servant Michael Halls who blamed the stress of working for Wilson and Marcia for the early death of her husband;

- the story that Gaitskell was murdered by the KGB;
- talk of engineering a split in the Liberal Party over the role of power-sharing with either of the other two parties;
- talk of engineering a split between Harold Wilson and the NEC of the Labour Party.

Chucked into all this are two little groups of names from the British Right, from the context obviously there as some kind of allies. They are:

- The Society for Individual Freedom,
- G.K. Young (SIF member, ex MI6, Unison Committee for Action, Monday Club),
- Gerald Howarth (now a Tory MP: at the time in SIF),
- Francis Bennion (SIF, the brains behind the attempt to bring a private prosecution against Peter Hain),
- Geoffrey Stewart-Smith (then a Tory MP, Foreign Affairs Circle, editor of East-West Digest),
- Lord Salisbury (then Chair of the Monday Club),
- Joseph Josten (now dead, then a Czech journalist and British intelligence agent, probably MI6),
- John Slessor (Marshall of the Royal Air Force, backer of Walter Walker's Civil Assistance and a member of the mysterious Resistance and Psychological Operations Committee - see *Lobster* 11 p11)
- and *Leonard Schapiro* (ISC).

The role of these gentlemen in Wallace's thinking in 1974 isn't clear (and Wallace now can't remember what it was) but I would guess they were there as probable conduits for MI5 misinformation. Put it this way: either Wallace noted their names down as possible contributors to CO2 or as possible recipients of the output of CO2, and of the two the latter seems infinitely more likely. (It is also of considerable interest to us that, with the exception of Lord Salisbury, all the other names are in *Lobster* 11. We were obviously on the right track.)

Included with these Wallace notes is a draft of a short essay written by him around this time (September 1974), 'Ulster - a state of subversion', in which some of MI5's notes have been synthesised, albeit not in the form that CO2 would have taken. Nonetheless, in this essay, the essential causal picture MI5 were driving at is clearly visible.

Starting with the question, 'How do we explain the Labour Party's lack of "moral courage in dealing with unrest?"', the essay proceeds through the following steps.

1. "There must be deep-rooted causes behind this sinister abdication of responsibility" - viz. the desire of the Labour Party to see a "Red Shamrock Irish Workers' Republic."
2. 1. above is connected to the presence of the 20-30 Labour MPs who are communists.
3. 2. above is then linked to the presence of various KGB and GRU officers in Ireland; and from there we move to East German intelligence helping to fund the Labour Party's 1974 election campaign.
4. Increasingly tenuous, Ernest Mandel (of the 4th International) is linked to this. He visited Ireland in 1972 and met "extra-parliamentary socialist groups". The point here is that many of these groups are, in turn, linked (alleged to be



linked) to groups "which have close associations with Labour politicians involved in the Campaign for Democracy in Ulster and the Troops Out Movement".

Thus, sliding across the causal terrain, we move from the Provos, via the KGB and Mandel, to the Labour Party.

*Lobster* readers even slightly aware of the British left's history will be amused to see Mandel's name looming so large in the scenario. But then, for MI5, his usefulness is simply his 'link' - albeit twice removed - to the Labour Party. Indeed, one of the strongest impressions that comes off these MI5-generated notes is that if the Trotskyists/'revolutionary' socialists didn't exist, then MI5 would have to invent them. The entire 'new left' mentioned in these notes serves no apparent purpose other than as a stick with which to beat the Labour Party.

And if all this seems bitty, it is just unavoidable: Wallace's notes are mere jottings, outlines, sketches. I have not bothered to list all the alleged 'Soviet fronts' (although it is worth noting that IMG is included in the list!), or all the politicians - from all three parties - 73 MPs - whose names appear in these notes, mostly in hostile, 'enemy' contexts. But I hope I have included enough detail to show that MI5 were, and presumably still are, engaged in massive domestic intelligence operations against legitimate British politicians and groups, from the Prime Minister of the day downwards. MI5 clearly believes that politics is too important to be left to the politicians. Indeed, if the comments about 'cosmetic or major surgery' above are taken at face value, MI5 appear to believe they can control the direction of British politics.

Much of the content of the files is already familiar. The picture in this essay is not dissimilar to that presented in *Lobster* 11, drawn from Wallace's prison recollections and from The Pencourt File and Pincher's *Inside Story*, especially the latter. Pincher was obviously being fed the same derogatory material on British politicians, as was the Transworld Newsagency, in the United States, mentioned in The Pencourt File.

The significance of all this is hard to exaggerate. If it is too strong to say that Parliamentary politics is a sham, a cover for the real events going on elsewhere, it is quite obvious from these notes of Wallace's, that MI5 are a considerable and unaccountable force in the land, a danger not just to the Labour Party but to all parties.

## **The Rhodes-Milner Group**

### **Jan Nederveen Pieterse**

This is an extract from a chapter called 'Continuities of Empire' from Pieterse's forthcoming book *Empire and Emancipation* to be published by Praeger, New York. If the rest of the book is as good as this is, we are in for a treat.

"So marked was the Anglo-American rapprochement that many informed people suspected a secret alliance had been concluded ... the Kaiser in later years believed that the Fatherland had been encircled since 1897 by a secret Anglo-American understanding." Charles S. Campbell Jnr. (1957)

Information has subsequently come to light suggesting, even confirming and detailing precisely this, in a study by Professor Carroll Quigley, *Tragedy and Hope* (1966) (1) Since the information presented by Quigley is not included in the general literature on imperialism nor in diplomatic histories concerning this period, I will quote from this work repeatedly. Quigley introduced his account as follows:

There does exist, and has existed for a generation, an international Anglophile network which operates, to some extent, in the way the radical Right believes the Communists act....I know of the operations of this network because I have studied it for twenty years and was permitted for two years, in the early sixties, to examine its papers and secret records .... the American branch of this organisation (sometimes called the 'Eastern Establishment') has played a very significant role in the history of the United States in the last generation.(2)

Quigley is referring to the *Round Table Groups* set up in the early 1900s, which formed part of a more informal grouping whose period of activity has been described as ranging from 1884 to about 1915. The leading figure in this group was Cecil Rhodes.

Rhodes and associates had been inspired by John Ruskin who held the chair of Fine Arts at Oxford since 1870; it was from Ruskin that Rhodes derived his particular brand of 'ethical racism' in which ideas of English aristocracy, civilisation and progress intermingled, against a backdrop of lurking danger threatening all of this. Rhodes, who has been described as a 'mystical imperialist' (3) held deep convictions on this question: "In 1877, at 34, he made his first will, leaving his money for the formation of a secret society to extend British rule across the earth."(4) Another influential figure was William T. Stead, "England's most sensational journalist", "an ardent social reformer and imperialist". Together they brought about an association of like-minded Oxford and Cambridge groups:

This association was formally established on February 5, 1881, when Rhodes and Stead organised a secret society of which Rhodes had been dreaming for sixteen years. In this secret society Rhodes was to be leader; Stead, Brett (Lord Esher), and Milner were to form an executive committee; Arthur (Lord) Balfour, (Sir) Harry Johnston, Lord Rothschild, Albert (Lord) Grey, and others were listed as potential members of a 'Circle of Initiates'; while there was to be an outer circle known as the 'Association of Helpers' (later organised by Milner as the Round Table organisation).(5)

Alfred Milner, governor-general and high commissioner in South Africa in the period 1887-1905, headed the Rhodes Trust after Rhodes' death in 1902. He once formulated his philosophy as follows: "It is a question of preserving the unity of a great race, of enabling it, by maintaining that unity, to develop freely on its own lines, and to continue its distinctive mission in the world." (6) As governor-general of South Africa Milner recruited a group of young men, notably from Oxford, to assist him in organising his administration. This group, known as Milner's Kindergarten, was responsible for devising the Union of South Africa. Quigley continues from here:

As soon as South Africa was united in 1910, the Kindergarten returned to London to try to federate the whole empire by the same methods. In

1909-13 they organised semi-secret groups, known as Round Table groups, in the chief British dependencies and the United States. These still function in eight countries ... In 1919 they founded the Royal Institute for International Affairs (Chatham House) for which the chief financial supporters were Sir Abe Bailey and the Astor family (owners of the *Times*). Similar Institutes of International Affairs were established in the chief British dominions and in the United States (where it is known as the Council on Foreign Relations) in the period 1919-27. After 1925 a somewhat similar structure of organisations, known as Institute of Pacific Relations, was set up in twelve countries holding territory in the Pacific area...

From 1884 to about 1915 the members of this group worked valiantly to extend the British Empire and to organise it in a federal system. They .... hoped to federate the various parts of the empire as seemed feasible, then confederate the whole of it, with the United Kingdom, into a single organisation. They also hoped to bring the United States into this organisation to whatever degree was possible.(7)

The official design for the modernisation of the British Empire had been formulated by Chamberlain as an Imperial Federation: a single economic unit with imperial tariffs (modelled on the German *Zollverein*), a common defence organisation and foreign policy, and an Imperial Parliament. In Hobson's classical study of imperialism of 1902, the "root idea of empire" is defined as "a federation of states, under a hegemony."(8)

The backbone of what Quigley calls the "English-speaking axis" of "the English and American Establishments" was the relationship between the financial circles of London and those of the eastern United States: the financial and economic nexus between the City of London and Wall Street. In Hobson's study "the great financial houses" were identified as "the central ganglion of international capitalism" and "the prime determinants of imperial policy", for they had the largest stake in it and the amplest means of shaping policy.(9) Hobson's assumption is confirmed by Quigley:

The chief backbone of this organisation grew up along the already existing financial cooperation running from the Morgan Bank in New York to a group of international financiers in London led by the Lazard Brothers. Since 1925 there have been substantial contributions from wealthy individuals and from foundations and firms associated with the international banking fraternity, especially the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, and other organisations associated with J.P.Morgan, the Rockefeller and Whitney families, and the associates of Lazard Brothers and of Morgan, Grenfell and Company.(10)

The City of London at the time was at the peak of its influence, financing the bulk of the world's trade, while in the U.S. the pinnacles of economic and financial, and, to a large extent, also political power, were Morgan and Company in New York and the Rockefeller family of Ohio.(11)

Contemporary observers such as Hobson also noted, or at times only suspected, that the great financial houses controlled the press. (12) Quigley is more specific about the influence of the Rhodes-Milner group:

This group dominated *The Times* from 1890 to 1912 and has controlled it completely since 1912 (except for the years 1919-1922) .... Numerous other papers and journals have been under the control or influence of this group since 1889. They have also established and influenced numerous university and other chairs of imperial affairs and international relations.  
(13)

Hobson remarked on the role of the financial houses in "high politics", and argued that "finance manipulates the patriotic forces which politicians, soldiers, philanthropists, and traders generate." (14). Indeed, on both sides of the Atlantic there was a revolving door between Big Banking and high politics. For instance, Lord Milner, after refusing a partnership in the Morgan Bank in London,

became director of a number of public banks, chiefly the London Joint Stock Bank, corporate precursors of the Midland Bank. He became one of the greatest political and financial powers in England, with his disciples strategically placed throughout England in significant places.  
(15)

In 1915 Milner became one of the four members of the War Cabinet and in this capacity created the Imperial War Cabinet by adding Dominion Prime Ministers, notably General Smuts. After the war, as Colonial Secretary, Lord Milner negotiated independence for Egypt, self-government for Malta, and was involved in the arrangements for self-government for India (1919) and the partition of Ireland (1921)

These then were the politicians of *Anglo-Saxonism*, directly connected to the core financial, economic and political power structures in Britain and the United States. The "spectacular efflorescence of Anglo-Saxon legend" in 1898, mentioned above, occurred first in Britain, then in the United States as a chorus of political leaders and newspapers eulogised the "Anglo-Saxon alliance". There was the Birmingham speech of Chamberlain ("I hope that blood will be found to be thicker than water"), the Earl of Rosebery's lecture on the English-speaking Brotherhood, and these voices were echoed across the Atlantic by Senator Beveridge ("God has not been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years for nothing ... No! he has made us master organisers of the world to establish system where chaos reigns"), Andrew Carnegie ("I am a race patriot") and so forth. (16)

An Anglo-American League was set up in London and an Anglo-American Committee in New York. In England, "so many Britons sought to enlist in the American forces that the embassy in London had to publicise a statement discouraging applications." (17)

This outburst of Anglo-Saxonism may be considered as the culmination of an effort of many years on the part of W.T. Stead, inspired by Rhodes. "Fraternal union with the American Republic" had been the central purpose for which Stead's *Review of Reviews* had been established according to the manifesto of its first issue of January 1891: "To all English-speaking folk." (18) Independent sources, unaware of the existence of the Rhodes-Milner group, report the same names, the same configuration of influence as the trend-setting speechmakers and founders of organisations as those identified by Quigley as belonging to the Rhodes-Milner network of influence. (19)

The political record of this group, the politicians of Anglo-Saxonism, should be

discussed in conjunction with the demise of the empire and the rise to hegemony of the United States - as one of the strands in the continuity of empire. But before doing so it may be worthwhile to pause and review a few specific situations in which members of the Rhodes-Milner group have been directly involved. It is a common observation that as part of the process of dismantling the British empire and decolonisation, time bombs have been planted and situations created with such in-built contradictions that sooner or later grave conflicts were bound to ensue. If the Rhodes-Milner and Round Table groups should be credited with being the chief architects of the modernisation of the British Empire, their record with respect to South Africa, Palestine and Ireland should be taken into account as well.

South Africa was one of the places where the political formula of the Anglo-Saxonists - federation and dominion status, as the new beacons of the latter days of British hegemony - was first applied, producing the Union of South Africa. Noteworthy in view of his later role is one of the members of Rhodes' circle, "a brilliant young graduate of Cambridge, Jan Smuts, who had been a vigorous supporter of Rhodes and acted as his agent in Kimberley as late as 1895 and who was one of the most important members of the Rhodes-Milner group in the period 1908-1950 .... became the chief political adviser to President Kruger", and after 1910 emerged as the dominant political figure in the Union of South Africa.(20)

The political basis of the Union of South Africa was the Anglo-Boer class alliance, founded on harsher terms for the African population than those of the Boer Republics, as evidenced by the constitution and legislation such as the Land Act. "By the Land Act of 1913 about 7% of the land area was reserved for future land purchases by natives and the other 93% for purchase by whites. At that time the native population exceeded the whites by at least fourfold." (21) Thus the Anglo-Boer consensus was framed at the expense of the native population. It was then that the basic structure of apartheid was put into place: "the British conquest and creation of the Union, whose constitution decreed political servitude for the African, set up the conditions and structures that made it possible for Afrikaner racial nationalism to play its present role in South Africa."(22)

Theodor Herzl, the founder of political Zionism, considered himself a "Jewish Cecil Rhodes" (23) and acted accordingly. "Herzl's stencil for obtaining a territory and then clearing it for settlement was", as Desmond Stewart pointed out, "cut after the Rhodesian model".(24) As Rhodes had been backed financially by Lord Rothschild and Alfred Beit in setting up Consolidated Gold Fields, and later the South African Company, Herzl sought the backing of de Hirsch and Rothschild for his plans. As Rhodes had found an imperial sponsor to charter and legalise his company (in 1889 it became the British South Africa Company under a Royal Charter), Herzl likewise sought imperial sponsorship. The envisioned Jewish Company or National Fund was to be the equivalent of the British South Africa Company. If Rhodes had first befriended a local potentate, King Lobengula of Matabeleland, and then crushed him and machine-gunned his people when they resisted the whites taking over their land, Herzl, once his choice had settled on Palestine as a future place of settlement for Jewish people, strove to use the Sultan.

As early as 1896 Herzl had thought of enlisting South Africans, such as "the South African goldmine billionaire Barnato", to buy up the debt bonds of the Ottoman Sultan - if he would surrender Palestine. Herzl, however, was not as well-connected nor as successful as Rhodes. In the later years of his disappointment he sought to contact

Rhodes through W.T. Stead, who reported "that he wanted to discuss with the one founder of States that modern times had produced." In January 1902 he wrote to Rhodes that he was approaching him because "it is something colonial" (25) but the meeting never came about as Rhodes died in March that year.

While the founders of political Zionism approached the Kaiser, the Tsar, the Porte, it was from the British government that they obtained the first official recognition of their aspirations. In 1917 Chaim Weizman, one of the leaders of the World Zionist Organisation, sent a note to the Imperial War Cabinet stating that "we entrusted our national and Zionist destiny to the Foreign Office and the Imperial War Cabinet, in the hope that the problem would be considered in the light of Imperial interests.. ." (26)

The case for a national home for the Jews in Palestine was accepted by the Cabinet after they had been persuaded that a Jewish presence in Palestine would help to protect British interests in the Suez Canal, an argument pressed by Herbert Samuel. (27) The Balfour Declaration - less than eleven lines in a letter of 2 November 1917 from Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour to Baron de Rothschild - was the first demarche in the process that eventually led to the creation of the state of Israel. The timing of the declaration, five days before the Bolshevik take-over in St. Petersburg, was related, it has been argued, to a British attempt to deploy the Zionist network in Russia against the influence of the Bolsheviks, and was aimed to support the Kerensky government. (28)

It is relevant to note that the key parties involved in the Balfour Declaration were part of the Rhodes-Milner Group: Balfour, Milner, Smuts, and on the receiving end, Rothschild as one of the leading figures in the Zionist movement in England. General Smuts, an influential member of the Imperial War Cabinet, and Chaim Weizman (later the first president of Israel) became close friends. This historical background is also of importance in view of the close relationship which developed later between South Africa and Israel. (29)

The Rhodes-Milner group was also involved in the settlement of the Irish question. It was in *The Round Table*, the journal of the Round Table group, that the design of the settlement was first formulated: Lionel Curtis "advocated in the March 1920 issue that Northern Ireland and Southern Ireland be separated and each given Home Rule as autonomous parts of Great Britain. This was enacted into law eight months later as the Government of Ireland Act of 1920." (30) The settlement was rejected by the Irish Republicans and the guerilla war continued. Curtis was appointed adviser on Irish affairs to the Colonial Office, then headed by Milner. Then General Smuts was called in as a mediator. "He wrote a conciliatory speech for King George to deliver at the opening of the Ulster Parliament, and made a secret visit to the rebel hiding place in Ireland to try to persuade the Irish Republican leaders to be reasonable. He contrasted the insecurity of the Transvaal Republic before 1895 with its happy condition under dominion status since 1910 .... Smuts arranged an armistice and a conference to negotiate a settlement." (31) Out of this conference came the agreement of December 1921 which confirmed the status of Northern Ireland under the act of 1920 and gave the 26 counties dominion status as the Irish Free State. As Liam de Paor and others commented, the left republican movement and institutions were destroyed, and in a matter of years counter-revolution was triumphant in Ireland north and south. (32)

Had the same formula of federation been followed as in Australia and South Africa, a Union of Ireland would have been the more plausible format than the partition of

Ireland. Through partition, a *colonial settler state* of Loyalists, descendants of the Cromwellian conquest, was created in Northern Ireland. It is in this sense that all three instances are similar: South Africa, Northern Ireland, and the Balfour Declaration which, in effect, called for another colonial settler state.

The accomplishment of the Balfour Declaration was defined by Arthur Koestler thus: *one nation solemnly promised to a second nation the country of a third nation.* (33) In each of these instances the 'third nation' was not taken into account in the imperial settlement. Africans, the Irish nationalists in the six counties, and Palestinians were the betrayed parties, and, more than half a century later, they still have to fight for the right to be recognised - to be, of course, branded 'terrorists' in the process.

What *was* taken into account were the geostrategic needs of the reformed empire - control of the Cape route and the South Atlantic, the security of the Suez canal, and naval bases in Northern Ireland. Thus they served as the usual 'outposts of Western Civilisation' - and figure among today's major issues. South Africa, the question of Palestine, and the Irish question, sharing the same formative period, owing their creation to the same decision-making network, serving the same geopolitical ambitions, stick out among the remaining shadows of empire.

According to Quigley the Round Table group was a front organisation for an inner circle which he usually refers to as the Rhodes-Milner group. Apparently this does not refer to actual persons - for Rhodes died in 1902 and Milner in 1925 - yet Smuts, for example, is mentioned as a member of the group from 1908 until 1950 (i.e. until his death). The concentric structure of the secret society reportedly set up by Rhodes in 1891, with its inner circle, outer organisation and associated helpers, resembles that of many organisations such as the Freemasons and the various esoteric organisations which were in vogue at the time. Rhodes, Rothschild and other members of the group were Freemasons as well, as were many of their counterparts across the Atlantic.(34) But Rhodes' model in forming his organisation, according to statements made repeatedly over the years, were the Jesuits rather than the Masons: "He aimed at the foundation of a Society composed of men with strong convictions and of great wealth, which would do for the unity of the English-speaking race what the Society of Jesus did for the Catholic Church immediately after the Reformation."(35)

The Counter-Reformation is a defensive model, appropriate to an empire in decline. Desmond Stewart characterises Rhodes as "the prophet of a complacent victorious people".(36) But this is an erroneous assessment. Rhodes' outlook was marked by anxiety, a sense of power circumscribed by an awareness of danger, as was Ruskin's - the self-appointed guardian of the old and decaying order. (37) Oswald Spengler, for reasons of his own, also branded Rhodes as the harbinger of a new age who pointed the way out of the decline of Western civilisation: "Cecil Rhodes is the first man of a new age. He stands for the political style of a far-ranging, Western, Teutonic and essentially German future....."(38) To Spengler Rhodes appeared as one of the *Caesar-men*, announcing the arrival of the *Imperial Age*:

Before them the money collapses. *The Imperial Age, in every culture alike, signifies the end of the politics of mind and money.* The powers of the blood, unbroken bodily forces, resume their ancient lordship. "Race" springs forth, pure and irresistible - the strongest win and the residue is their spoil ... Once the Imperial Age has arrived, there are no more political problems.(39)

Rather than being the harbinger of a new age, Rhodes stood at the cusp of ages, at a point in time when Britain's power was still vast but already waning. Britain is commonly described as being in a state of decline, uninterrupted decline, from 1870 onwards. (40) Threatening the old order from within were democratisation and the worker movement, and threatening the empire from without, rival powers as well as budding nationalisms in the colonies. Rhodes' expansionist fever - "expansion is everything", "I would annex the planets if I could" - seems an attempt to overreach a deeper anxiety of power slipping away, the expression of a very fin de siècle state of mind. Like Rhodes, Oswald Spengler, at another cusp in space and time, was clinging to two of the intoxicants of the epoch - empire and race. When the Imperial Age, of which Spengler sought to be prophet, came for Germany it took the shape of the Third Reich. It is telling, revealing a certain consistency in crisis of Western civilisation, that Adolph Hitler, like Rhodes before him, was fascinated with the example of the Society of Jesus which served as a model for the S.S..(41)

The need for an infrastructure of confidence beyond quid pro quo relations is not unusual, particularly in precarious times. Our social world is, by definition, an organised world, a world also where the course of affairs for certain parties involve high stakes and uncertain outcomes - hence attempts on the part of power elites to increase their grip on the course of affairs by means of setting up organisational infrastructures are plausible. (42) The Rhodes-Milner group is described by Quigley as still functioning, as an "Anglophile network", at the time of his writing (1966). From Milner the leadership of the Round Table group passed to Lionel Curtis, who was succeeded by Robert (Lord) Brand, and, after his death in 1963, by Adam D. Marris. (The latter two were both former managing directors of Lazard Brothers).(43) But it would appear that as time went by this infrastructure became less central, as official and overt organisations took over much of the management of the course of affairs once a structure of cooperation, in particular between Britain and the United States, had been established. (44)

A prima facie impression might be that by and large, due to the outbreak of the Great War and other circumstances, the aspirations of the Rhodes-Milner group have not been realised. The five colonies of Australia were joined into the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901, the Union of South Africa came about in 1910 - but instead of the once envisioned *Imperial Federation* what was achieved was the feeble structure of the Commonwealth of Nations. This, in fact, was the title of a book written in 1916 by Lionel Curtis. It was a turn-about which gave the Round Table group at the time a reputation of being moderates, liberals, even enlightened idealists, by comparison with the die-hards of empire and jingoism. The turn of the century ideas of Imperial Federation and Anglo-American Reunion were left behind for a reformation of the British Empire into a federation of self-governing and dominion states under the sovereignty of the Queen of England. Still, the underlying project of Anglo-Saxonism, of Anglo-Saxon c.q. Anglo-American hegemony, was not abandoned, and this notion of an enduring infrastructure of Anglo-American ruling class influence was more important than the specific forms this might take in terms of international law.

From the turn of the century, the British Empire, supreme and solitaire through most of the 19th century, began to surround itself with alliances. The Anglo-American alliance which became a public fact after 1898 was followed by the alliance with Japan in 1902, concluded at a time when for a European power to ally itself with an oriental power was an unprecedented step. This followed on Russia's occupation of Manchuria. In 1904 Tokyo obtained loans in preparation for war via a Hong Kong



banking group from London and New York. "In 1904-5 Anglo-American *haute finance* as much Anglo-American *haute politique* was thus co-operatively attached to the Japanese side. (45)

During the Russo-Japanese war Japan was given passive protection by the Royal Navy, while Roosevelt discretely notified Germany and France that in the event of their combining against Japan, the U.S. would intervene on its behalf: all of which indicates the extent of Anglo-American co-operation. Like Britain and the U.S., Japan was a naval power. "Through the alliance with Japan and the destruction of May 1905 of the Russian navy the need had disappeared for the China Battle Fleet .... Most British ships were therefore recalled from the Far East .... To her Japanese ally, whose naval growth had been rapid, Great Britain thus assigned the major share of policing the coast of China."(46)

The Anglo-French entente cordiale of 1907 stabilised the situation in Persia and the Near East where Germany with the Baghdad railway, was pressing toward the Persian Gulf, and in Asia, where a revolutionary movement in India was active contrary to the interests of both Britain and Russia. (47) Thus, in a short space of time, Britain, which had been isolated in the early 1890s, managed to conclude alliances which turned the tables on Germany, making its *cauchemar des coalitions* into a reality. Among these alliances the Anglo-American rapport was the most fundamental and enduring, the core structure of a transnational ruling class alliance into whose orbit other allies were recruited. If in its early days the British Empire had been put together with the assistance of "martial races" enlisted to fight for the imperial cause, in its latter days it was defended with the assistance of martial powers, enlisted to check the advance of other rising powers, and through settlements with colonial settler states and other regional allies: that is, through a politics of redivide and rule on a global scale.

The significance of this period of decline of the British Empire is that at the same time the framework was established for 20th century geopolitics. In particular, the groundwork was laid for United States hegemony, although this did not fully unfold until after two world wars. Anglo-American co-operation was one of the factors that went into building the position of the United States as a global power.

The Anglo-American links forged by the Rhodes Trust and the Round Table group derived their significance from their comprehensive nature, including political links, the nurturing of "racial affinities" and financial-economic links between London and New York, connecting the financial hegemony of the City of London as the hub of a receding empire to the rising fortunes of Wall Street. The subsequent shift of the centre of gravity of Anglo-Saxon hegemony from one side of the Atlantic to the other was thus already built into the design of the Anglo-Saxon alliance. The reality of the "Anglo-Saxon legend" was that in this way a doomed and decrepit empire was inconspicuously transformed into a trans-Atlantic combine of finance capitalism.

## NOTES

1. Carroll Quigley, *Tragedy and Hope: a history of the world in our time*, Macmillan, New York, 1966
2. *ibid* p950
3. Richard Shannon, *The crisis of imperialism, 1865-1915*, Paladin, London 1974 p322-3
4. James Morris, *Pax Britannica, the climax of an empire*, Faber and Faber,

- London 1968 p417. The will is reproduced in W.T. Stead *The last will and testament of Cecil John Rhodes*, in *The Review of Reviews* (London) 1902 pp58-60
5. Quigley op.cit. p131
  6. Quoted in J.R. Jones 'England' in Hans Rogger and Eugene Weber (eds) *The European Right*, University of California Press, 1966 p36
  7. Quigley op.cit. pp 132,133,144
  8. J.A. Hobson, *Imperialism, a study*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1902/1965 p8
  9. Hobson *ibid* pp56, 59
  10. Quigley, op.cit. p951
  11. cf Ferdinand Lundberg, *America's sixty families*, Vanguard, New York, 1937 p34
  12. Hobson, op.cit. pp59-61
  13. Quigley op.cit. p133. Mention is also made of relationships between the *Round Table* journal and the *New York Times*, *The Herald Tribune*, *Christian Monitor*, *The Washington Post* and *Boston Evening Transcript*; *ibid* p953
  14. Hobson, op.cit. p59
  15. Quigley op.cit. p951 Cf. John Evelyn Wrench *Alfred Lord Milner, the man of no illusions*, Eyre and Spottiswoode, London 1958.
  16. Quoted in Lionel Gelber, *The rise of Anglo-American friendship: a study in world politics 1898-1906*, Archon, Connecticut, 1938/1966 p25; Charles S. Campbell Jr. *Anglo-American understanding 1898-1903*, Baltimore, 1957 p42; H.C. Allen *Great Britain and the United States; a history of Anglo-American relations 1783-1952* Odhams, London 1954, pp98-108
  17. Campbell *ibid* p43
  18. Stead op.cit. pp99-102
  19. See, for example, the list of some 70 prominent figures who contributed statements advocating Anglo-American 'reunion' to the June 1898 issue of Stead's *Review of Reviews*, an issue devoted to propaganda for "an informal Association of Friendly Fellowship" for promoting common action throughout the English-speaking world. On the list are many figures who were members of the Rhodes-Milner circle, including Rhodes himself. Several of these names recur as founders and members of the Anglo-American League established in London on July 13 1898; cf Campbell, op.cit. pp 44,46.
  20. Quigley op.cit. pp137,139
  21. Quigley op.cit. p139
  22. Bernard Makosezwe Magubane *The political economy of race and class in South Africa*, MRP, New York, 1979 p53
  23. Lenni Brenner, *Zionism in the age of dictators*, Croom Helm, London, 1983 p8
  24. Desmond Stewart, *Theodor Herzl, artist and politician*, Quartet, London, 1974/81. This paragraph encapsulates Stewart on pp180, 90, 285, 290-292
  25. Roger Garaudy, *The case of Israel*, Shorouk International, London, 1983 p56
  26. *ibid* p58
  27. John Marlow, *Milner, apostle of Empire*, Hamish Hamilton, London 1976 p331. According to a memo sent by Samuel to Milner in December 1916. Samuel also mentioned the possible danger of a French occupation of southern Syria. By summer 1917 Milner was a "convinced supporter of Zionism". The Round Table group discussed Zionism in March 1917. The June 1917 issue of *The Round Table* discussed Palestine as a British protectorate with a prospect of being able to grow into a British dominion. When the Balfour Declaration, which had been drafted by Leo Amery at the request of Milner, was presented

- to the War Cabinet on 4 October 1917, the three arguments used by Balfour to persuade the Cabinet were that the Declaration would (1) recruit support for the Allies among Russian Jews who were thought to be influential in Russian revolutionary circles, (2) forestall an expected German pro-Zionist commitment, and (3) attract to the Allied cause the powerful support of American-Jewish finance. *ibid* pp332-3.
28. See above note 27; Brenner *op.cit.* pp9-12; Maxime Rodinson, *Israel: a colonial settler state?*, Monad, New York, 1973 p47. The implication of this is that from its conception a "Jewish national home" in Palestine (c*q* Israel) figured as part of an anti-communist coalition.
  29. The most extensive discussion is James Adams, *The unnatural alliance: Israel and South Africa*, Quartet, London, 1984. One may add Rhodesia in this context.
  30. Quigley *op.cit.* p174. The theme was not without irony for Rhodes himself had been a supporter of Irish Home Rule and had relied on the support of the Irish party in Parliament. cf Stead, *Last Will* *ibid*, pp 129-30
  31. Quigley *op.cit.* p175
  32. Liam de Paor, *Divided Ulster*, Penguin, London, 1970 p107
  33. Quoted in Garaudy *op.cit.* p48
  34. William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt (as well as FDR, Trueman and others) are among American Presidents listed as Masons in H.L. Haywood, *Famous Masons*, Richmond, USA, 1946.
  35. Stead, *Last Will* pp62-3, also 66, 83. Stead spoke of Rhodes as "the first of the Millionaire Monarchs of the Modern World ... more than an empire maker.. more than the founder of a dynasty ... he wished to found an Order as an instrument of the will of Dynasty, and while he lived he dreamed of being both its Caesar and its Loyola"; *ibid* p56. In a letter from Rhodes to Stead in March 1891, accompanying his fourth will, he wrote: "Please remember the key of my idea discussed with you is a Society, copied from the Jesuits as to organisation"...and as to "the object of England everywhere and united"... "the only thing feasible to carry this idea out is a secret one (society) gradually absorbing the wealth of the world to be devoted to such an object." *ibid* pp64 and 73.
  36. Stewart, *Herzl* *op.cit.* p188
  37. cf Holbrook Jackson on Ruskin in *The rise and fall of 19th century idealism*, Citadel, New York, 1969, p95f
  38. Oswald Spengler, *The decline of the West*, Vol.1, Knopf, New York, 1918/1980 p37
  39. *ibid.* Vol 2 p432 Emphasis in the original.
  40. E.g. Bernard Porter, *The lion's share: a short history of British imperialism 1850-1983*, Longman, London 1984 2nd edition p259
  41. Hermann Rauschning, *Hitler Speaks*, London 1939
  42. It may be appropriate in this context to cite what William Domhoff wrote in connection with his work on the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR): "Critics of a power elite theory often call it "conspiratorial", which is the academic equivalent of ending a discussion by yelling Communist. It is difficult to lay this charge to rest once and for all because these critics really mean something much broader than the dictionary definition of conspiracy. All right, then, if "conspiracy" means that these men are aware of their interests, know each other personally, meet together privately and off the record, and try to hammer out a consensus on how to anticipate or react to events and issues, then there is some conspiring that goes on in CFR, not to mention in the Committee for

- Economic Development, the National Security Council and the Central Intelligence Agency." G. William Domhoff, "Who made American Foreign Policy 1945-1963?" in David Horowitz ed. *Corporations and the Cold War*, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1969 p34n
43. For current information on the Round Table group see Robin Ramsay "Changing the guard: notes on the Round Table network and its offspring" in *Lobster* No. 6, pp16-19.
44. Carroll Quigley's work is standard fare among American right-wing conspiracy theorists. E.g, Des Griffin *Fourth Reich of the Rich*, Emissary, California, 1976; Howard S. Katz, *The warmongers*, Books in Focus, New York 1979. Here, along with works such as E.C.Knuth's *The empire of the city* (1946), it serves as part of a line of thinking that is anti-British, anti-Semitic and anti-communist. Yet Quigley's work does not itself belong to this category\*\*. Its findings, on the Rhodes-Milner group and the Round Table network are corroborated by all sources, whether in a general sense (as by Hobson's work on imperialism) or in specifics. It is remarkable therefore that his work and the questions raised by it are almost entirely absent from mainstream scholarship. The Round Table group, or the Rhodes-Milner network do not figure in standard works such as T.D. Lloyd, *The British Empire 1558-1983*, OUP, Oxford, 1984. "The history of the Round Table movement has yet to be written" wrote A.L. Burt in 1956. Walter Nimmocks, *Milner's young men: the 'Kindergarten' in Edwardian imperial affairs*, Hodder and Stoughton, London 1968/70 mentions no more than an unpublished PhD dissertation and three articles (one of them by Quigley on the subject). John Marlow's 1976 study *Milner, apostle of empire*, devotes one chapter (10) to the Round Table, which generally confirms the observations of Quigley. He quotes Lloyd George who described the Round Table group as "a very powerful combination...behind the scenes they have much power and influence" (p215).
45. Gelber *Anglo-American Friendship* p172
46. *ibid* p130
47. The Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907 divided Persia into a Russian northern sphere and a British (Southeast and Persian Gulf) sphere. William Woodruff, *Impact of Western man: a study of Europe's role in the world economy 1750-1960*, St. Martin's New York, 1966 pp24-25. It was one of the developments that lead Lenin to say "Russia has been appointed gendarme over Asia by the European powers" (as quoted by W.F. Wertheim in a personal letter drawing my attention to this issue).

\*\* Quigley himself, in parentheses, says of the right-wing interpretations made of his work that they are 'garbage' - as quoted in Robert Eringer, *The global manipulators*, Pentacle, Bristol, 1980

# Two Sides of Ireland

## David Teacher

### *The Stalker Affair*

**Frank Doherty**

(Mercier Press, Cork, Ireland, 1986)

### **The Genesis of Revolution**

**James Kelly**

(Kelly-Kane, Dublin, 1976)

Frank Doherty, whose reports in the Dublin *Phoenix* and the Belfast *Sunday News* have frequently featured in *Lobster*, has uncovered a fascinating mass of information relating to covert cross-border operations by the Ulster security forces, and the subsequent "shoot-to-kill" inquiry conducted by the new retired Deputy Chief Constable of Greater Manchester, John Stalker. Basing himself largely on the evidence of Captain Fred Holroyd, Doherty unravels a whole series of covert operations during 1974, made possible by the presence of a British informer in the Gardai.

Codenamed 'the badger', this informer was recruited by the Special Military Intelligence Unit, MI6's connection with the RUC, and, although of low rank, was (and still is) in a key position to assist the British clandestine border crossings: 'the badger' is responsible for scheduling the Gardai border patrols.

Through 'the badger's' knowledge of Gardai operational details, the RUC's paramilitary Special Support Unit and E4A covert surveillance team, and Loyalists on orders from the SMIU were able to launch a series of cross-border incursions which, according to Holroyd, involved one murder, two attempted kidnaps and several undercover surveillance missions. One of these operations, in March 1974, is the beginning of the Stalker saga - an attempt by Loyalist paramilitaries briefed by the SMIU to kidnap INLA man Seamus Grew, later to be one of the victims of the 1982 'shoot-to-kill' incidents.

According to Holroyd, three Loyalist paramilitaries from Lisburn were briefed by an NCO from the SMIU for a kidnap operation mounted against Seamus Grew and Patrick McLoughlin, with whom Grew lived in the border town of Monaghan. The Loyalists were given maps of Grew's house, surveillance photographs (some taken by the Gardai) and details of Grew's movements. They were to be paid £500 from intelligence funds to kidnap the two suspects and deliver them to a rendezvous point on the border where they could be collected by intelligence officers. 'The badger' would ensure that the Loyalists did not run into the Gardai.

In reality, the operation collapsed when neighbours noticed the Loyalists behaving suspiciously around Grew's house and called in the Gardai. Two of the kidnappers were arrested in possession of the dossier of maps and photographs, the Loyalist leader escaping.

However, so certain was he that the Gardai were in the know that he walked into a Garda station to demand the release of his two companions! He was promptly arrested, and the three were sentenced to five years each at the Special Criminal Court in Dublin in June 1974. On appeal, the sentences were increased to seven years, but no notice was taken of the Loyalists' repeated references during interrogations to the "English soldier who had given them the photographs".

The case was linked directly to the killing of Grew and Carroll on December 12th 1982, a key part of the Stalker enquiry, not only through the identity of the victim, but also through that of the organisers of both operations: 'the badger' had also ensured the border would be clear on the night of the Grew-Carroll killings, and one RUC officer investigated by Stalker in connection with the incident had previously been named by Holroyd as involved in the kidnap attempt 8 years earlier. Holroyd was in a position to know, as he had taken over the handling of 'the badger' during his service in the SMIU from 1974-1976.

Doherty also reveals that less than one month before their killing, Grew and Carroll had been threatened with death after being detained at a UDR checkpoint. A statement issued by six priests from the parish of Armagh hours after the shootings in December reads:

"Following a message at midday on November 19th, 1982 to the parochial house that Seamus Grew and Roderick Carroll were being threatened with death at a UDR checkpoint, a priest from the parish went to the scene, verified the threat and, seeing their distraught state, stayed for about 20 minutes until he was ordered to leave by the UDR officer in charge. The priest concerned assured the two men that they were safe because he had tape-recorded his interview with the UDR officer at the scene."

Details of the two men's movements on the evening of the shooting are also given: after attending the funeral of Carroll's grandfather in Magherafelt, Co. Derry, the two drove Carroll's sister back to her home in Monaghan, and then went on to visit a veteran Sinn Fein member in Castleblaney, Co. Monaghan, 8 miles south of Armagh.

The English-born man they met had been closely associated with the IRA in Monaghan/Armagh for years, and also maintained contact with local INLA members like Grew and Carroll. But unknown to the two INLA men, the Castleblaney man had been recruited by 'the badger' as a Garda informant in the early 1970s, and since 'the badger's' recruitment by the SMIU in 1974, had been providing information that went to the British.

Alarmed by the mention of an unidentified informer and of details of a cross-border incursion that night aimed at kidnapping or killing INLA leader Dominic McGlinchey made by a Special Support Unit constable during his trial for Grew's murder, the Castleblaney man slipped over the border to Keady, walked into the RUC station, and disappeared. Three days later he contacted his family, admitting that he had been working for British intelligence, and said that he would not be returning home.

Whilst Doherty's book had produced a goldmine of information from Holroyd, Colin Wallace and others on the Grew-Carroll case and other covert operations in Ireland, it suffers from the mishap of going to print just too soon: the last few months of 1986

provided much valuable information about the Stalker inquiry that does not appear in the book. In particular it is premature in its assessment of another key killing in the Stalker enquiry, that of Michael Tighe, the 17 year-old with no record of paramilitary involvement, killed in the "hayshed shoot-out" in November 1982.

Doherty is critical of early reports of the existence of a tape-recording of the incident made by E4A using an MI5 bug, and dismisses it as a red herring. This seems unlikely considering the amount of information about the tape, and Stalker's struggle to obtain it which has since been reported, notably by Peter Murtagh in the *Guardian* (17 June, 16 July and 7 October 1986). However, the official explanation of the incident as a blunder caused by indistinct noises relayed by the bug being mistaken for the sound of a rifle being cocked does not ring true: the hayshed had been examined by E4A officers planting the bug, and they cannot have overlooked the rifles on open display, even visible through the window from outside. They would not have failed to examine the rifles and notice that the rifling of the three old weapons was corroded, that one rifle lacked a bolt, and that there was no ammunition.

Doherty is also premature in his rejection of an RUC hand in the smearing of Stalker: evidence published in *The Observer* (29 September 1986) reveals that the allegations of improper conduct between Stalker and his friend, Manchester businessman Kevin Taylor, were made by an RUC informer, David Bertlestein.

In 1980 Bertlestein had given the RUC accurate information about how Manchester criminals were arranging to have their property in Northern Ireland blown up by the IRA so as to make fraudulent compensation claims to the Northern Ireland Office. Bertlestein's allegations were not investigated sufficiently by West Yorkshire Chief Constable Colin Sampson to reveal Bertlestein's RUC connection, or to discover that the RUC enquiry set up on Bertlestein's leads was headed by Chief Superintendent Bill Mooney, a former head of RUC CID, who knew of Stalker's friendship with Taylor. Bertlestein himself was later convicted and died in prison in March 1985, by which time the smear had had effect.

Doherty's book closes with John Stalker reinstated. Since then, crippled by a legal bill of £21,000, subjected to intense publicity, and frozen out of the Myra Hindley case (*Observer* 21 December 1986) by Chief Constable Anderton, Stalker has resigned and taken up a contract as adviser to Mersey Television. His Deputy and senior detective on the Stalker team, Chief Superintendent John Thorburn, has also resigned from the Greater Manchester police, having been demoted by Colin Sampson (*Guardian* 25 October 1986)

Unfortunately Doherty was right when he wrote in conclusion: "It is too early yet to say if the final chapter will ever be written on the Stalker case", but his remains an invaluable source of information on the clandestine war in Ireland, and no doubt the Stalker affair is not the last we shall hear of it.

If the Stalker affair is the most recent chapter in the history of intelligence involvement in Ireland, Kelly's *The Genesis of Revolution* takes us back to a watershed in the past - 1969.

Kelly served in the Irish Army for 21 years and was editor of *An Cosantoir*, the Journal of the Irish Defence Forces during the sixties. In August 1969 he was posted to Irish Army headquarters as an Intelligence Officer concerned solely with the Northern

Ireland situation. In his book he unfolds the story of how, on October 25th 1969, a meeting took place between Irish Military Intelligence (G2) and representatives of Northern Ireland Defence Committees at a hotel in Bailieboro, Co. Cavan. On the following day a report was submitted to the Ministry of Defence, recounting that the Defence Committees considered the supply of weapons essential to guarantee the protection of the Nationalist community in the North, and indicating that money was available to pay for them, but that weapons training would be needed. The Dublin Government was requested to assist the Committees in this.

In fact, the Dublin Cabinet had been discussing plans for intervention in the North since August, discussions which culminated in the Minister of Defence, Mr Gibbons, instructing the Chief-of-Staff on February 6 1970 to prepare for incursions into the North, and to set aside gas masks and surplus arms and ammunition for supply to the Nationalist community. Mr Gibbons further authorised the undercover importation of arms and ammunition for distribution in the North.

As the situation in Belfast worsened, and the imported weapons had not yet arrived, he ordered the transportation of arms and ammunition to the border on 2nd April 1970. These preparations for military defence of the Catholic population did not go unnoticed by the British: indeed, a British agent calling himself Captain Peter Markham-Randall was exposed in November 1969 when he came to Dublin to uncover the extent to which Eire was prepared to go in arming the North. Later, when the weapons were actually purchased in West Germany, it was common knowledge in European intelligence circles that they had been purchased by Eire for supply to the North.

Unfortunately, by that time the political winds had changed and the Taoiseach, Jack Lynch, had decided against any move to intervene militarily in the North - including the supply of arms to the Defence Committees. Lynch cancelled the order but, unable to conceal his original intentions from the British, attempted to have the importation plan declared illegal, so as to show 'good faith' towards Westminster. His bringing of charges against those involved also allowed Lynch to bring down three of his ministers in favour of intervention - Boland, Blaney and Haughey. Lynch was not the only one anxious to undermine the three ministers' popularity. Kelly recounts that

"After the attack on the Nationalist areas of Belfast in 1969, the one action sure to short-circuit the Official IRA's plan (of a take-over on the Cuban model) was Dublin intervention in Northern Ireland. When this seemed likely, a major propaganda campaign was mounted (by the OIRA), directed primarily against Blaney, Haughey and Boland, the three ministers who, in varying degrees, were seen as supporting some kind of intervention. In that period of relative calm between August 1969 and mid-1970, the portrayal of the ministerial triumvirate as war-mongering opportunists, capitalising on a situation for their own dubious aims, was so effective that it was a factor which influenced Jack Lynch in accepting Northern Ireland as a British area of responsibility".

Having brought charges, Lynch then suborned his Minister for Defence, for, if his role in the plan had become known, the importation could not have been declared illegal - the Minister for Defence being the relevant statutory authority for weapons orders. Mr Cosgrave obliged by declaring, despite the information in his possession to the contrary, that Gibbons had not been involved. This subterfuge failed when Gibbons'



evidence fell apart under cross-examination in the High Court and the judge ruled that the importation *had* been authorised by the Dublin government. Despite this setback, Lynch had succeeded in making it publicly clear that from now on Eire regarded the North as a solely British concern. On July 2 1970 with the threat of military intervention from the South lifted, the British Junior Minister of Defence visited Belfast and authorised the use of troops for the ransacking of the Falls. British military rule in Northern Ireland had begun.

Kelly himself resigned on May 1 1970 in protest at Dublin's abandonment of the North, and later emigrated to Australia. Before he left, however, he wrote a detailed account of the Dublin arms trial, *Orders for the Captain*. Like *The Genesis of Revolution*, privately published by Kelly-Kane, *Orders for the Captain* is unfortunately unobtainable - Kelly's insider position during this period would make it interesting reading.

Although he resigned his commission in 1970, Kelly evidently kept in contact with the Irish security forces for some while, as *The Genesis of Revolution* also sheds some more light on the Littlejohn episode in 1973.

Although Bloch and Fitzgerald (in their *British Intelligence and Covert Action*) give a more exhaustive account of the affair, their description of the MI6 informer inside the C3 subversion branch of the Garda as "Sergeant Patrick Crinnion" belittles his significance as an MI6 source. Kelly records that Crinnion was in fact the chief confidential clerk of C3 and, as such, had access to all of C3's most secret files. Kelly also details (and Bloch and Fitzgerald omit) the complicated bargaining conducted by Eire and the UK after the Littlejohn/Wyman/Crinnion exposures.

Kelly describes how, a few days after the admission on 3 January 1973 that the Littlejohns were MI6 agents, the British Director of Public Prosecutions flew to Dublin to meet the Irish Attorney -General Condon and Justice Minister O'Malley to obtain an affidavit that the Littlejohns would not be charged with political offences but only with their criminal activities. In this way the role of British-paid agents provocateurs in criminal violence in Eire could be suppressed.

The deal that the three men finally struck was that Wyman and Crinnion (an Eire subject) would be allowed to leave Eire for the UK in return for the extradition to Eire of the Littlejohns on charges of armed robbery. Eire further demanded a series of assurances from the UK which could be used to quieten public unease at the Dublin government's actions. The assurances, listed in a public statement by Lynch on August 13 1973 were:

1. An assurance from the UK that the Littlejohns were not employed "to suborn the Irish security forces";
2. An assurance from the UK that the Littlejohns had not communicated to Her Majesty's Government any information obtained from the Irish security forces;
3. A guarantee that the affidavit issued in favour of the Littlejohns would not be used as grounds for a protest against Wyman's trial;
4. A declaration that there was no connection between the Littlejohn and Wyman cases.

That the assurances demanded were a sham intended to deceive the Irish public is transparent from their wording; the Dublin government knew full well that the

Littlejohn's mission had been to infiltrate the IRA, not to suborn the Irish security forces - that was Wyman's role. The same applied to the second assurance. The trial of Wyman mentioned in the third clause was never a serious proposition under the terms of the deal struck between the DPP and the Irish Ministry of Justice. As for the fourth assurance, Wyman was the Littlejohn's MI6 controller.

Kelly's book provides a fascinating insight into the murky world of inter-governmental conflict and cooperation over the Northern Ireland question. It is a pity that his revelations have had such limited publication in the past.

## Parliamentary Questions; Anti-Labour leaflet

### **Parliamentary Question for Priority Written Answer on Thursday 27th November 1986**

#### **Question 58W**

MR. KEVIN McNAMARA: To ask Mr. Attorney General, if he will ask the Director of Public Prosecutions to investigate allegations published in the magazine *Lobster* in April concerning covert operations by the security services against Her Majesty's Government in 1974 to 1976 with a view to prosecuting those responsible.

Member's Constituency: Kingston Upon Hull North (Lab)

**Answer:** the Attorney General:

No.

### **Parliamentary Question for Priority Written Answer on Thursday 27th November 1986**

#### **Question 160W**

MR. KEVIN McNAMARA: To ask Mr. Attorney General, if he will prosecute Mr. Colin Wallace, former senior information officer, Psychops, Army Headquarters, Northern Ireland for revealing details of secret service operations against Her Majesty's Government in the period 1974 to 1979 in the magazine *Lobster* in April.

Member's Constituency: Kingston Upon Hull North (Lab)

**Answer:** the Attorney General:

No.

### **Anti-Labour leaflet**

Much reduced, this is the front cover of an anti-Labour leaflet put out by Information Policy in Northern Ireland. The text, on the other side in the original, is now rather indistinct and not worth reproducing, but it says at the bottom: 'published by Merlyn Rees, Stan Orme, David Owen, Paul Rose'.

# ULSTER IS BRITISH

**INTERNMENT**

**SPECIAL POWERS**

**DISCRIMINATION**



**INTIMIDATION**

**ASSASSINATION**



British capitalism has long exported its violence to its imperial possessions: it does so in full measure to its nearest vassal territory—the police state which it maintains in Northern Ireland. Irish workers and peasants have, however, a revolutionary heritage, both of class struggle and of combat against British imperialism. This tradition has powered the civil rights association in the North, a movement whose radical component—People's Democracy—is attempting to transform a sectional fight for elementary civic rights on the part of the Catholic population into a class assault of both Protestant and Catholic workers, peasants and students against their exploiters. Such a development threatens not merely the maintenance in power of the Northern Irish client régime—it menaces the equally reactionary 'independent' régime in the South.

The struggle in Northern Ireland has attained a higher level than on the English mainland. The Left there has traditionally failed to win any important section of the working class to anti-imperialist positions, even where it is subjectively anti-capitalist. The situation in Northern Ireland highlights the urgency of doing so. If effective solidarity action is to be achieved, a considerable work of propaganda and demystification in Britain will be needed.

## VOTE LABOUR

7 Carfax Street, London, W. 1

### ULSTER IS BRITISH

- Internment
- Special Powers
- Discrimination
- Intimidation
- Assassination

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VOTE LABOUR

7 Carlisle Street, London, W1

## Letter from David Atlee Phillips

**David Atlee Phillips**

**Post Office Box 34320, Bethesda, Maryland 20817, Telephone (301) 385-2238Mr**

Steven Dorril  
Mr Robin Ramsay  
The Lobster  
Voice, Unit 51  
260 Wincolmlee  
Hull, United Kingdom

Dear Sirs

The Anthony Summers allegations that I might have been "Maurice Bishop" have been the subject of two libel actions. The first, in the U.S., was settled in my favor early in 1986. The second, in London, was settled in my favor in October.

In the name of journalistic fairness I ask that you print the above information. If you do, I will consider the matter closed.

If you do not, I intend to bring suit for defamation. My London solicitor assures me that with the two victories behind me a suit against you would certainly prosper, and quickly.

I look forward to hearing from you.

David Atlee Phillips

# More Notes on the Right

## Robin Ramsay

*Critique*, mentioned in these columns before (*Lobster* 8), is a California-based "Journal of Conspiracies and Metaphysics". Its editor, Bob Banner, has had the good taste to reprint pieces from *Lobster*. *Critique's* slogan - now available on T-shirts! - is; Question consensus reality. Well, amen to that. However, the bit of 'consensus reality' - and Banner really means consensus *history* - which seems to be getting questioned most in the California of Mr Banner, is the existence of the Holocaust. *Critique* is slowly becoming a 'Holocaust revisionist' mouthpiece. Bob Banner might just be an anti-Semite, but more probably he just doesn't know much about the neo-fascists who have taken to rubbing up against him.

In the current issue (1) Banner describes a seminar he attended on "The struggle for the world", organised by 'The Anglo-European Fellowship' sometime last Autumn. The name of the group, so reminiscent of the Anglo-German Fellowship of pre WW2 England, should have set Mr Banner's alarm bells ringing, but didn't. Neither, it appears, did the speakers, who included Eric Butler, Ivor Benson, Ron Gostick, David Irving and Eustace Mullins. Let's unpack this group a little (i.e. make things more complicated).

Butler, the Australian anti-Semite (2) and Irving should be well known. Ron Gostick is the head of Butler's League of Rights' Canadian branch and is currently a member of the Canadian affiliate to the World Anti-Communist League.(3) As far back as 1967 Gostick and Butler were referred to as 'associates' of the Candour League of Rhodesia.(4) Two of the other 'associates' mentioned are of some historical interest. One was Robert Gayre, whose career on the pseudo-intellectual racist right was analysed recently by Kevin Koogan.(5) The other was Major Edgar Bundy. In 1967 Major Bundy - 'Major' from his US Air Force days - was director of the Church League of America (CLA), a far-right intelligence operation directed against America's "subversives" -i.e. the left and the unions.(6) Remove the CLA's veneer of Christianity (sic) and what is left looks rather like Britain's Economic League.

The CLA is currently of interest as an early employer of John Rees. Rees edited the CLA's journal, *The National Layman's Digest* in 1969/70 just before he formed his own organisation, National Goals Inc., and his now famous newsletter, *Information Digest*.(7) Rees, like *Information Digest*, seems to have been absorbed into Western Goals (8) Rees is a British subject and any information on him in this country before his move to the US would be welcome. Reliable information from the US reports Rees, with our old friend Robert Moss and Arnaud de Borchgrave, currently editing the Moonie paper, *Washington Times*, forming a kind of right-wing Trilateral Commission.

This long digression, to 1967 and back again, is intended to illustrate both the historical continuity and the international nature of these right-wing networks. In 1967 Butler (Australian), Gostick (Canadian) and Bundy (American) are (somehow: I don't know how) associated with the Candour League of Rhodesia - the latter named after *Candour*, the journal put out by A.K. Chesterton of National Front and League of Empire Loyalists fame. 20 years later Gostick and Butler turn up in California with Ivor Benson (South African), Ray White (Australian), David Irving (British) and

Eustace Mullins (American).

Ivor Benson is a racist apologist/agent for the South African government. (9) Ray White is the managing director of Veritas Publishing, Australia's leading publisher/distributor of racist and anti-Semitic literature.(10) Eustace Mullins I've just come across in the pages of *New Age Monitor* (11). Mullins, it is reported, is one of the leaders of the Christian Identity Movement (whatever that is: information would be welcome), and author of *Secrets of the Federal Reserve*, a title which alone almost certainly locates Mullins in the middle of mainstream right-wing crackpot conspiracy theorists.

Stranger and stranger, *New Age Monitor* describes Mullins as the Theosophical protege of no less than Ezra Pound, and a former correspondent to the English journal, *The Social Creditor*. What is striking here is the fact that Eric Butler and A.K. Chesterton were both Social Credit adherents at one time.

Which means what? I don't really know yet. Something is almost visible here, some kind of network of Social Credit people who all ended up as anti-Semites. (Or were they all anti-Semites to begin with?)

None of which would be of more than minor historical interest were it not for the fact that the anti-Semite network of today is thoroughly integrated into the World Anti Communist League (WACL), and WACL *does* matter.

WACL is a brilliant operation in which hard-core nazis, anti-Semites, war criminals from WW2 and the death-squad politicians of today's Central and South America are able to associate publicly with the respectable right-wing of the world's democracies. In *Lobster* 12 I listed some of the Tory MPs recently associated with the WACL. A similar process has happened in New Zealand where half a dozen or so MPs from the National Party (New Zealand's equivalent of the Tory Party) have attended WACL functions. (12) (This, I suspect, could be repeated through all the democracies which now have links to WACL, given access to WACL affiliate lists.)

Just how powerful WACL is, or how well integrated it is into the foreign policy/intelligence operations of its affiliate states is impossible to evaluate. I presume it varies from country to country: in Britain, hardly at all; in the U.S.....every once in a while there are hints that the lines between WACL and the CIA, for example, are virtually non-existent. Item: WACL's role as the public 'cover' for CIA funding of the Contras. Item: reports that WACL's General John Singlaub and WACL supporter, ex-DDCIA, Ray Cline accompanied Manila CIA station chief and the CIA's General Sweitzer on a visit to messers Enrile and Ramos, just before the abortive coup against Mrs Aquino's government. One need not jump to conclusions: the Americans may have been trying to call the coup off. Either way, the presence of Singlaub and Cline in that kind of company, in those circumstances, is very interesting. (Singlaub's presence may have had something to do with the fact that the head of the WACL affiliate in the Philippines is one General Luis Villareal, the head of the Philippines' major intelligence agency, and appointed to that position by Mrs Aquino. (13))

At the minimum WACL is a network, long established, with CIA connections from its earliest days (through Ray Cline, for example), which is now virtually global in scope. Any such right-wing network is going to be the witting or unwitting vehicle for the CIA, KCIA et al.

If asked, the current American-dominated leadership of the WACL would probably acknowledge that in the late 1970s there were a number of fascists and anti-Semites within its ranks, but would claim that they have been removed and WACL is squeaky clean again. This would be a lie. WACL has always been a base for ex-nazis and anti-Semites and Anderson and Anderson deserve credit for making this plain in their *Inside the League* (reviewed in this issue).

The high profile of WACL qua anti-Semitic international since Reagan took office is merely one example of the way the anti-Semitic groups have become emboldened under the Thatcher-Reagan-Kohl axis. Another is the increasing anti-Semitism of the broadcasts from Radio Liberty, the US government-funded anti-Soviet radio station which broadcasts from Munich to the Soviet Union.(14) Much of this anti-Semitic material is coming from Ukrainian emigres working for Liberty.

In Britain it is the Ukrainian community which has provided the backbone of this country's support for WACL. Until his death last year, the public figurehead of the Ukrainians in exile was Yaroslav Stetso, the self-styled former Prime Minister of the Ukraine. Stetso was head of ABN, the Anti Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, formed after WW2 with British and American intelligence support and funds. What is less widely known is that Stetso's OUN (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists) had worked with the Nazis and participated in the pogroms.(15) This unpleasant fact about Stetso/OUN got buried after WW2 when they were put on the US/UK's payroll.

ABN (in the shape of Stetso) have been with WACL from its earliest days. It was thus appropriate that Stetso's death should be remarked on at the 1986 WACL AGM. General Singlaub told that gathering that Stetso's widow had received a personal message from President Reagan which said, inter alia, that his (Stetso's) "courage and dedication to liberty will serve as a continuing sense of inspiration to all those striving for freedom and self-determination and an abiding reminder of the timeless struggle of mankind to break the chains of tyranny." (16)

Puke.

The striking thing about ABN is that it never tried that hard to conceal its anti-Semitism. Publicly associating with people like Eric Butler would have given the game away - had anyone been taking notice.

Butler was one of the main speakers at the Anglo-European Fellowship meeting with which I began this essay. In his account of that meeting Bob Banner described Butler as the author of *Red Pattern of World Conquest* (the Butler book regularly advertised in *Monday World*, the Monday Club journal, in the early 1970s), but not as the author of *The International Jew*, Butler's post WW2 gloss on The Protocols of the Elders of Zion.

With Butler at that meeting was David Irving. Irving last came to widespread public attention when he produced a book arguing that Hitler didn't know anything about the 'Final Solution' - it had all been done behind his back by the SS. That this is a spectacularly difficult thesis to hold rationally may explain why Irving has a new position. For on Banner's account of the meeting, Irving is now claiming to have found a letter from Hitler which says 'I want the Jewish problem postponed until after the war'.

Hula hula.

At this point in his report Banner comments: "It's that kind of information that established historians can't tolerate for it questions their immediate assumptions and risks their cherished careers." Mainlining on iconoclasm, junky Banner can't smell a whole room full of anti-Semitic rats.

One of the things anti-Semite watchers in this country must be waiting for is the arrival of anti-Semitism close to the leadership of the present Thatcherite faction in the Tory Party. When it comes, if it comes, it will be coded. It may have already happened. Just before Christmas Mrs Thatcher expressed her hope for a third term in office to enable her to rid this country of socialism "an alien creed". This use of 'alien' is very curious, for 'alien' used to be international (and British) code for 'Jew'. (17) Further, one of her senior parliamentary supporters, John Biggs-Davison (now Sir John: she knighted him) recently wrote of Marx and Engels as "false Hebrew prophets".(18)

What does this mean? Has the American far-right's obsession with the Wall St Jew-financed-the-Russian-revolution been implanted here? Does Mrs Thatcher read the John Birch Society's *American Opinion*? I hardly think so: our Tory Party eats drinks and sleeps with the City of London, and could hardly bring itself to believe in the 'Jewish banker conspiracy'. But these remarks are curious, nonetheless. Mrs Thatcher's equivalents in the US are a pretty dotty bunch. Reagan and Weinberger, and probably others, are waiting for the Old Testament 'Apocalypse' to arrive. (19) Why should we expect much more from their British counterparts?

The US has come a long way since the days when Richard Nixon's choice for the Supreme Court, Judge Carswell, was rejected by Congress, essentially because he was stupid. Among some of the upper echelons of the Republican Party Carswell would be as a giant among pigmies.

An undeniable upsurge of anti-Semitism in Europe and America is underway. Yet we have a right-wing Israel, an 'ally' of the 'West' - i.e. the Americans. Life is complicated still further by the existence of anti-Zionism, and the claims by some Jews that anti-Zionism is simply anti-Semitism in light disguise.(20)

While this is obviously true in some instances (21), is it always true? What are we to make of Jewish anti-Zionists? It will not do to simply dismiss such people - as some Jews do - as 'self-hating Jews'.

These (barely relevant) thoughts have been provoked by the furore surrounding the Jim Allen play *Perdition* which didn't quite make it onto the stage of London's Royal Court Theatre. What struck me reading some of the recent articles describing the Israeli state's dickering with some of the most obnoxious, neo-fascist regimes in the post-war world (22) is why anyone should be surprised to discover that some Zionists collaborated with the Nazis during WW2. Shits are universal and it would have been remarkable indeed if some Jews hadn't collaborated: members of almost every other ethnic/national group which encountered the Nazis did. (I have to write 'almost every' because I have never heard of gypsies collaborating.)

Writing this section I am acutely conscious that this *Lobster* is full of material critical of the Israeli state and thus I/the *Lobster* run the risk of being labelled 'anti-Semitic'.



Well, so be it. If anyone wants to get into the extremely complicated and superheated area of Nazi-Zionist collaboration, they could try *Nazi-Zionist Collaboration*, a largish pamphlet produced by BAZO (British Anti-Zionist Organisation) which I was sent some time ago.(23) I know nothing of BAZO but can report that Gill Seidel includes BAZO in a section on 'left anti-Semitism' in her recent *Holocaust Denial*, reviewed in this issue. If BAZO is, in fact, anti-Semitic, it is either well concealed in this pamphlet or I just am not able to 'read' anti-Semitism yet. (Or both.)

## NOTES

1. No.23/24, \$8 from PO Box 11368, Santa Rosa, CA, 95406,USA
2. See *Lobster* 12, p32
3. Some recent details on Gostick and other Canadian WACL people is in George Martin Manz's column in *Briarpatch* (November 1986), Huston House, 2138 McIntyre Street, Regina, Canada.
4. *Pattern of Prejudice* (London) Vol 1 No 5.
5. See articles section in this issue.
6. On CIA see *Danger on the Right*, Arnold Foster and Benjamin R. Epstein (New York 1964) especially pp144/50. Also index references to Bundy in Derrick Knight *Beyond the Pale* (CARAF, Leigh, Lancs, 1982)
7. Rees has been of intense interest in the US for some time. A *Lobster* reader said he would send me 'some clippings' on Rees, and it turned out to be an inch- thick pile. Rees and his wife, Louise, spent the first half of the seventies as police agents and agents provocateurs inside the American left/anti-war movement. Rees recycled some of the information thus obtained back to the 'Red Squads' of American police departments through his newsletter *Information Digest*.
8. Rees was in at ground level with this. See references in *Lobster* 12 p37.
9. See Knight, *Beyond the Pale* (above, note 6) index references.
10. See Freney, *Nazis Out of Uniform* (details in *Lobster* 12, p33)
11. See review in this issue.
12. See *CIA threat to New Zealand*, the January 1985 issue of the journal of the New Zealand Nuclear Free Zone Committee, PO Box 18541, Christchurch 9, New Zealand. Price is given as \$1 (NZ). With airmail postage, perhaps £2 would cover it. This is very good, the best single document on NZ and current US attempts to undermine its government.
13. Dennis Freney in *Tribune* (Australia) 17 December 1986
14. See reviews (articles) section in this issue.
15. *Inside the League* (reviewed in this issue) pp 22-24
16. *Asian Outlook* September 1986, p6
17. Used to be? Maybe still is?
18. Ruth Levitas ed. *The Ideology of the New Right* (Oxford 1986) p123
19. *The Messianic Legacy*, Baignet, Leigh and Lincoln, (London 1986) pp188-200. This is the sequel to *Holy Blood and Holy Grail* and is basically junk but includes one chapter, no.24, which contains a reasonable summary of post-WW2 attempts to 'assist' the formation of a united Europe by CIA et al.
20. A good example is Bernard Levin's article in *The Times* 2 February 1987.
21. In the case of *Imam*, the journal put out by the Iranian embassy in London.
22. For example the Niederense article reviewed in this issue.
23. Available from George Mitchell, 90 St. John St., Glasgow Cl, £1.50

## **It's Not Over... 'Til it's Over**

Rumors to the contrary, the twin conspiracies that murdered President John F. Kennedy and that covered up the facts of that murder are *still* the subjects of intensive research by a group of dedicated investigators writing for:

### **The Third Decade**

A Journal of Research on the John F. Kennedy Assassination.  
1963, 1973, 1983, 1993.

The Journal has been publishing bimonthly since November, 1984. The readers of *The Third Decade* have been able to examine for themselves the evidence for such startling revelations as the following:

- That the Zapruder film of the murder took a secret and unauthorized trip on the night of the murder to a CIA photographic laboratory in Washington D.C.
- That a second rifle (not the Mannlicher-Carcano supposedly used in the slaying) was found and **photographed** on Nov. 22.
- That Lee Harvey Oswald was deliberately dressed in "black clothing" immediately before his murder to emphasize his evilness as compared with the white-suited detective on his shoulder.
- That members of the Dallas police department knew before the assassination that Oswald was to be collared as "the suspect".
- That there was extensive forgery to produce a bogus record of Oswald having visited Cuban and Soviet embassies in Mexico City.

Subscriptions to *The Third Decade* are \$15 per year, \$26 for two years, \$36 for three years. A sample issue may be obtained at the \$3 single issue price. Write: *The Third Decade*, State University College, Fredonia, New York, 14063.

## **Groupings on the British Right**

### **Media Monitoring Unit**

This looks like another case of the British Right imitating its American counter-parts, in this case AIM (Accuracy in Media - analysed in great detail in *Covert Action Information Bulletin* No 21, available from PO Box 50272 Washington DC 20004 \$3.00). The main people behind MMU appear to be Julian Lewis and the ubiquitous Lord Chalfont (*The Independent* November 11 1986). Lewis, one of the founders of the Coalition for Peace Through Security, is a member of something called Policy Research Associates, with Chalfont and Norris McWhirter said to be its patrons. (*Daily Telegraph* 19 November 1986). MMU seems to have come out of Policy Research Associates. Funds for MMU were raised by Sir Peter Tennant. His Who's Who entry makes interesting reading.

### **Institute for the Study of Terrorism**

Its existence was announced in the *Times* letters column (22 September 1986). Chair is Lord Chalfont, and Jilian Becker, author of books on the Bader-Meinhoff gang and the

PLO, is its Director. (I'm not sure why but I associate Becker with the British Libertarian Right.) No information on its funding, size, or purpose is available yet, but to judge by the contributions by Chalfont and Becker at the 1984 Jonathan Institute conference on terrorism (see book reviews in this issue) its purpose will be to spread misinformation and propaganda. The name reminds me of the Institute for the Study of Conflict and this may turn out to be another in the evolving sequence of intelligence fronts which includes ISC, Forum World Features and Control Risks.

## **Moral Re-armament**

MRA last appeared on the fringes of the miners' strike. Now Manchester Chief Constable James Anderton is revealed as a member. (*Observer* 5 October 1986.) I believe, though can't prove yet, that MRA was one of the hundreds of groups funded by the CIA after WW2 - Tom Driberg suggested this in his 1961(?) *The Mystery of Moral Rearmament*. Thus far the mass media in this country seem unaware that Anderton's now notorious remarks on being in touch with God merely reflects MRA thinking. Mrs Mary Whitehouse is another MRA alumnus.

## **The Institute For European Defence and Strategic Studies**

Subject of a useful profile in *City Limits* (14 August 1986). Formed in 1979, apparently as part of the response to the British peace movement. Reproduced here is its Board of Management of a couple of years ago. (1984) Feulner is Heritage Foundation, Haseler is rumoured to be straight CIA these days, and Allen was NSC advisor to Reagan until he got caught (or set up) taking a bribe. IEDSS appears to be run by Gerald Frost whose perambulations around the British Right go back to the early 1970s when he was in the Thatcher/Joseph Centre for Policy Studies. Groups like the Institute for the Study of Terrorism and IEDSS are current examples of the endless, self-reproducing groups on the Right: the same small group of people, many of them probably intelligence agents of one kind or another, play musical chairs.

### Council of Management

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- Richard V Allen
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- Professor Pedro Schwartz
- Frank Shakespeare
- Dr Philip Towle

- Dr G R Urban

#### Director

- Gerald Frost

### **The Craft - a history of English Freemasonry**

John Hamill

(Guild Publishing, London 1986)

The author is the librarian and curator of the United Grand Lodge of England. The book is 191 pages and contains 23 black and white illustrations, appendices containing the historical record of the Grand Masters of England, the structure of the Craft and a chronology. Notes are provided, although they do not always accord with the note references in the chapters. A 5 page bibliography and a 4 page index are useful.

Although the introduction states that the book has been written principally for non-Masons (p11) it is probable that anyone reading this book without some prior understanding of Masonry would find it difficult to follow.

The book examines theories of the origins of Freemasonry, concentrating on 1717 as representing the emergence of the present-day movement. The Grand Lodge system is explained and the development of individual lodges is examined. The social side of Freemasonry is outlined in general detail, as is the development of overseas Freemasonry. The examination of the English Royal Arch and the additional Degrees and Orders is highly detailed: these are chapters which may need careful reading and re-reading. There is the expected account of the charitable work of Freemasons and the final chapter examines the history of attacks on the craft.

It is clear that this work has been prompted by recent public concern and appears to reflect a policy decision to make the Masonic movement more open to public scrutiny. While the book provides a comprehensive historical account of the development of Freemasonry in England and elsewhere, one is still left with the impression that important parts of the story have been omitted. One simple example is the repeated use of the Star of David in Masonic regalia without any explanation of its meaning.

Nevertheless, for those who find the history of Freemasonry interesting, this new publication is recommended for its comprehensive and authoritative treatment.

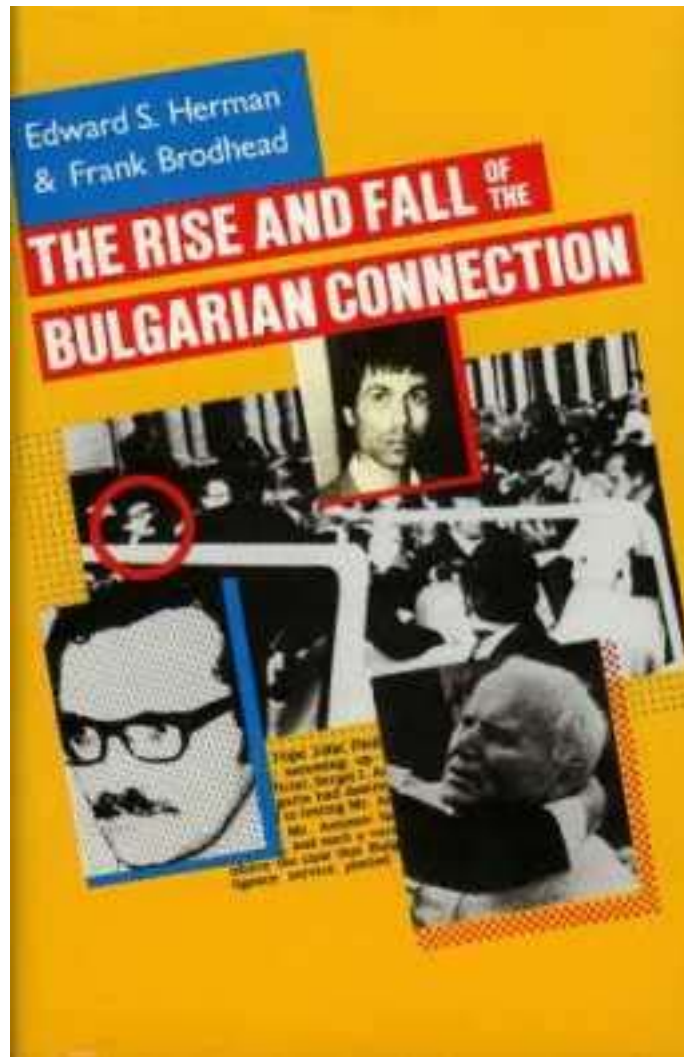
It is a useful reference work which, if augmented by readings of some of the works referred to in the bibliography - and others - should provide the careful researcher with a reasonable insight into the arcane practices of the craft.

John Clayton

## The rise and fall of the Bulgarian Connection

Edward S. Herman and Frank Brodhead

(Sheridan Square Publications, New York, 1986)



When the Turkish Grey Wolves hold rallies they howl collectively. So, at times, do journalists of the 'free press'. In 1979 Edward Herman wrote *After the Cataclysm* with Noam Chomsky in which they shredded Western reportage of Khmer Rouge rule in Kampuchea. Useful leftists like Pilger and Fenton lined up to help convince the world that a few thousand Maoists, rather than U.S. foreign policy, were responsible for millions of deaths from starvation in a terror-bombed economy.

This time Herman, with Brodhead, targets 'the Bulgarian connection', and in particular a clique of disinformation agents starring the 'Big Three' - Claire Sterling, Paul Henze and Michael Ledeen. Not only did these three have access to the most widely viewed TV slots and the most influential papers, they could also insist that no opposition views were aired alongside their own. Countless millions were fed 'KGB shoots Pope', while the acquittal of the Bulgarians last March was lucky to hit the back pages.

The real plot against the Pope - by Ali Agca and his Grey Wolves comrades - is clearly visible within the context of their politics. Likewise their motives. For the last 50 years Turkish fascism has laid claim to vast portions of the USSR. In WW2 the Nazis recruited 100,000 Soviet POWs from Soviet republics such as Turkestan. Pan

Turkish plans to attack the Soviet Union were only abandoned after Stalingrad and support was switched to the Allies - a move heralded by the banning of the pro-Nazi party.

By the 1970s however, the fascist NAP and its Grey Wolves 'youth wing' were operating 'legally' and helping the state to smash the Turkish left. By 1977 the NAP was in the coalition government and controlled the Education Ministry (in order to terrorise students) and the Customs Ministry (which facilitated the flow of drugs, guns and terrorist cadre in and out of Turkey.)

Then in September 1980 the military took over again and the Wolves were banned. They'd served their purpose. Some were even indicted for some of the thousands of murders committed during the terror. But the challenge to the Russian Empire by Solidarity in Poland gave a measure of hope to desperate men. Moscow promised not to invade Poland if the Church could dampen the struggle (and, presumably, give the Polish Stalinists time to organise the coup). Some Grey Wolves came to believe that if the infidel Pope would not inflame anti-communist revolt, it would be better if he was assassinated in a way that would make the KGB look like culprits. Poland would rise in fury, signalling the break-up of the USSR.

Although Agca may have been a nut, Herman and Brodhead show he was no lone one, but an experienced and valued terrorist assassin who worked with the Wolves right up to the shooting in St. Peter's Square on May 13 1981.

This still leaves the question of a larger conspiracy. The Wolves had strong links with the Italian and German far-right. In the early 1980s the Munich Beerfest and the Bologna Station massacre were just two manifestations of the fascist Strategy of Tension that cost hundreds of lives in Western Europe (and included a plan to use British Nazis to bomb the Notting Hill Carnival - fortunately thwarted).

Herman and Brodhead argue that there is no hard evidence to suggest the CIA led or even allowed the plot against the Pope. The KGB certainly look less guilty than the CIA. But the CIA played a crucial role in the second conspiracy - the cover-up. To return to the 'big three', Henze, author of 'The Plot to Kill the Pope' was CIA station chief in Turkey. Ledeen, of the Georgetown Centre for Strategic and International Studies, and author of 'Grave New World', is a colleague of Francisco Pazienza who acted as a Mr Fix-it between P-2, Italian intelligence and the far right. Sterling acts as a conduit for Ledeen, Henze and their agencies behind her front as Readers Digest hack and archetypal American abroad innocently stumbling into the intrigues of the 'Evil Empire'.

Herman, Brodhead and Chomsky work with the Institute for Media Analysis (145 West Fourth St. New York 10012). After encountering their work you will never read your quality liberal daily in the same way again.

David Black

## **Terrorism: how the West can win**

editor Benjamin Netanyahu  
(Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1986)

This is a collection of papers read at the 1984 Jonathan Institute conference on terrorism held in Israel, and because these were originally papers there is no documentation: what we have is 230 pages of assertions. The contributors range from current "experts" on terrorism - Paul Johnson, Michael Ledeen, Claire Sterling, Lord Chalfont, Arnaud de Borchgrave - to a group of US government officials including Kirkpatrick, Schultz, Meese and Webster of the FBI.

The major themes here are:

- a. The Soviet Union is behind world terrorism;
- b. the PLO is a major Soviet agent in funding and encouraging world terrorism.

The minor theme is, of course, that the Soviet Union was behind the attempted assassination of the Pope.

But covertly the important theme - and presumably the point of the exercise for the Israeli state - is that the PLO is simply a terrorist organisation, the Israeli state is justified in its war against the PLO (qua Soviet terror front), and Israel, fighting Soviet-sponsored terror, is thus part of 'the West', despite being in the Middle East.

The quality of the contributions varies enormously and anything like a proper critique would take pages. However, a number of obvious points can be made briefly.

Totally absent, of course, is any mention of the US (and Israeli) supported state terror in Central and South America where the annual global death total from alleged Soviet-sponsored terror would account for, say, 1 week's casualties in El Salvador. In attempting to distinguish between 'our' terror and 'terror' George Schultz actually says (p19):

"it is not hard to tell ... who are the terrorists and who are the freedom fighter .... the Contras in Nicaragua do not blow up school buses or hold mass executions of civilians."

This is preposterous, of course. I can't be bothered doing it, but I'd bet a trawl through the press on the war in Nicaragua in the past three years would turn up examples of both - and worse - by the Contras. (But for *Lobster* readers this particular horse is not only dead but stinking.)

Such definitions of 'terrorism' that are attempted merely produce problems. The version offered by the editor (p9) is:

"terrorism is the deliberate and systematic murder maiming and menacing of the innocent to inspire fear for political ends."

Which just about covers the whole of American foreign policy since the late 19th century, but only just includes the IRA, for example. (To his credit, the editor does not mention the IRA in his essay.) Yet elsewhere Paul Johnson does include the IRA (and,

incidentally, offers one of the real misinformation gems of the volume: "the IRA finances itself through the drug trade").

Other gems, at random:

- Moshe Arens (ex Israeli defence minister) "By June 1982 there were about 15,500 armed PLO terrorists in Lebanon."

(Presumably, on the definition of 'terrorism' given above, 15,500 people engaged in "the deliberate and systematic murder" etc. Which is absurd. 15000 armed men is an army. Perhaps there will be a shift to a "terror army"?)

- Claire Sterling, attempting to get round one of the real problems for her Bulgarians-shot-the-Pope thesis, namely: why, if the Bulgarian embassy officials were guilty, did they stay in Rome? points out that:

"One did not leave until 15 months after the Pope was shot ...  
Another ... until the investigating judge began to inquire into his diplomatic immunity... (and) Antonov was the only one who *did not get out in time.*"

Thus, it appears, "getting out in time" means anything up to *15 months later!* (This really is vaguely insulting to one's intelligence.)

- Jilian Becker, now part of the new London-based terrorism institute (see elsewhere in this issue), writes of captured PLO documents showing:

"that the Soviet Union, through the PLO, actively sought groups of *malcontents* and rebels." (emphasis added); and, later writes of "fun revolutionaries" from Europe coming to Lebanon to "experience the thrill of killing people" and of thousands visiting the PLO mini-state in Lebanon who were "given a license to satisfy their *instinct to kill*" (emphasis added); and alleges that the bombings in 1980 at Bologna railway station and the Octoberfest in Munich "were carried out by Germans and Italians working closely with the PLO".(She can't bring herself to state that they were fascist outrages.)

Given the patience these absurd examples could be multiplied 10, 20-fold. This book is mostly junk, mere propaganda. I had it with me to read on the train when I visited Colin Wallace. I showed him the list of contributors and mentioned the Jonathan Institute. "Oh, a Mossad front, you mean", he said, and put it down. A Mossad front? I don't know. But misinformation at worst, wilfully partial at best, this sort of crude propaganda can only do the Israeli state harm in the long run.



## **Inside the League**

*Scott Anderson and Jon Lee Anderson*  
(Dodd, Mead and Co., New York 1986)

This is the only book I know on the World Anti-Communist League. Most of it is new to me but the few bits I am familiar with look accurate, and it is reasonably well documented. It is really in two distinct sections. The first half is a shortish history of WACL, its prominent supporters and founders, and though it is patchy and incomplete, this is by far the best account I know of. The second half is really an account of the rise of the death squad politics of Central and South America, and while the people described are indeed linked to WACL, the authors do not show that WACL per se had much to do with the slaughter.

The first section, WACL's history, is particularly useful for this country because it contains the best extant account of the Anti Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and its figurehead Yaroslav Stetso, a bunch of Nazi-collaborators, murderers and anti-Semites funded after WW2 by the US and UK governments. As the scabs of the history of the immediate post-war years are picked, ABN and Stetso will get more and more attention. (Incidentally, there is not the slightest chance of the British government doing anything about the ex-Nazis now living in this country. To expose them would entail exposing their links to British intelligence. It is a safe bet that not a sheet of official paper with their names on it now exists in Whitehall.)

As this is the first book on WACL I am in no position to evaluate it. However, as the first book it is, for the moment, invaluable. Somebody in this country should put it out, and fast.

## **The Holocaust Denial**

Gill Seidel  
(Beyond the Pale Collective, Leeds 1986)

This is very good and should prove useful for some time. Although it is focused on the groups and individuals - chiefly in France, the UK and the US - which are the chief participants in attempts to revise the Holocaust out of existence, it offers the only attempt I am aware of at an integrated survey of recent and current neo-nazi activities. Much of this will be familiar in outline to readers of *Searchlight*, but even the familiar sections - WACL, Northern League, Pearson, GRECE - have been nicely summarised and, best of all, thoroughly documented. The 28 pages of chapter 3 have 111 footnotes, all of them appropriate.

The last chapter, Contemporary racism and anti-Semitism, I'm less sure of. I'm not at all sure that I accept, as Heidel claims, that all anti-Zionists are anti-Semites. Heidel has also contributed a chapter to the *Ideology of the New Right* (ed. Ruth Levitas, Oxford 1986) which is more or less an expansion of this final chapter. My opinions on the current 'line' in anti-racist strategies are of no relevance here, but when I read in Heidel's essay that "the racism of the neo-conservative New Right is cultural" it seems to me that something has gone wrong. 'Cultural racism'?

## **Get Gough! The loans affair conspiracy**

Dennis Freney

(Dennis Freney, PO Box A716, Sydney, New South Wales 2000, Australia - £4.50 airmail, £3.75 seairmail: international orders only)

In *Lobster* 11 (p31) we referred to CIA operations in Australia in the middle 1970s. Since then we have received Freney's *Get Gough!*, the most detailed account of those episodes we know of. This is A4 format, 75 pages, many photographs, and although it is difficult to follow in places - a profusion of new names and organisations - there is enough that can be understood to make it worth acquiring. There are lots of interesting trails here, Nugan-Hand, Task Force 157 among them.

This period takes on a new significance at the moment because it appears that the CIA is running the same 'loans affair' operation against the Lange government in New Zealand. The background, the four year anti-NZ campaign by the US government, is detailed in *How the US tries to subvert Lange*, Robin Ramsay, in *Journal of European Nuclear Disarmament* No 26 (from END, 11 Goodwin Street, London N4 3BR - £1.00 plus postage). But this piece, written in mid-January, finishes just as the NZ 'loans affair' began. A mid-February update on the 'loans affair' by Owen Wilkes appeared in *Wellington Confidential* February 1987 (PO Box 9034, Wellington, New Zealand - no price, but £1.00 should secure a photocopy).

Other NZ sources of information of interest are:

- *Watchdog* - the journal of the Campaign Against Foreign Control of New Zealand, from PO Box 2258, Christchurch, New Zealand;
- *Big Sister* - newsletter of the Organisation to Abolish the Security Intelligence Service, Box 1666, Wellington, New Zealand;
- New Zealand Nuclear Free Zone Committee, PO Box 18541, Christchurch, New Zealand, which publishes and distributes material on US/CIA operations in the region.

As multi-national capital shifts east in search of cheap labour and new markets, the focus of CIA et al operations is shifting also. The Pacific, including Australia and New Zealand, is going to be the 'hot' area for the foreseeable future.

## **More Books and Pamphlets**

### **Counter-insurgency in Rhodesia**

J.K. Villiers

(Croom Helm, London 1985)

An expanded Masters thesis, full of descriptions of psychological operations by the Rhodesian forces (which failed utterly: and no wonder, they were useless), and rather less about pseudo-gang activities which, like their equivalents in the British operations in Kenya, were a success - i.e. they killed a lot of people.

## **Britain's Civil Wars: counter-insurgency in the 20th century**

Charles Townsend

(Faber and Faber, London 1986)

Rather slight, introductory skim across the subject, the whole thing in 200 pages. But, as far as I can recall, this is the only such skim of its kind, and is thus worth taking note of. In such a short text only the bare bones get covered and the 'dirty' aspects of British counter-insurgency campaigns are almost entirely omitted. The chapter on Northern Ireland, for example, is only 5 pages, very bland and wholly misleading.

## **Oxford and Empire**

Richard Symonds

(MacMillan, London 1986)

I include this because of chapter 4, 'The Round Table and their friends', which is another good example of what happens when academics write about the Round Table groups without the benefit of Quigley's information. (See the Rhodes-Milner Group essay in this issue). Lots of interesting details here, much of the group's activities are summarised, yet lacking the structural insights of Quigley, Symonds shows us lots of trees and misses the wood. Quigley's two books are time bombs ticking away inside the academic history world.

## **Operation Brogue**

John M. Feehan

(Mercier Press, Dublin 1985)

This is an intense disappointment. The subtitle - "a study of the vilification of Charles J. Haughey, code-named Operation Brogue by the British Secret Service" - promises much, none of which is delivered. There isn't a single honest-to-goodness fact in the entire book: no names of agents, no details of any kind about this "operation" other than a couple of fragments which appeared in the Irish press some years ago. The author quotes from books without giving the publication date, quotes from authors without even giving the title of the book from which the quote was taken, and even refers to newspaper stories without giving the date of publication!

## **The K/V Papers**

edited by Barbara Goodwin

(Pluto Press, London 1983)

This is a real oddity. Put out originally under "Current Affairs", i.e. as non-fiction, it bombed. I remember picking up a copy and wondering how on earth Pluto had been conned into publishing such obvious nonsense. It purports to be a series of suitably cynical letters exchanged between a Soviet and American general, both arms salesmen, about geo-politics and the arms industry etc.. For example, "In terms of increasing world demand for non-nuclear goods - which is, I take it, our common long-term objective".

In fact, it was meant to be satire, written not edited by Barbara Goodwin. It is thus an interesting new member of a very small category, the geo-political conspiracy theory satire. (Only Report from Iron Mountain and the various books by Robert Anton Wilson spring to mind in this area.) For this reason alone it is worth getting. (How effective a piece of satire, and how good a piece of writing, is a matter of opinion.)

Copies are available from Barbara Goodwin, 1 Norland Square, London W11 4PX. (£1 in UK)

## **The Target is Destroyed**

(What really happened to 007)

Seymour Hersh, (Faber and Faber, London 1986)

There isn't much worth saying about this that hasn't already been said by R.W. Johnson in his long review in *London Review of Books*, 23 October 1986. (Curious that LRB has become the only journal in this country to take the 007 debate seriously.) Whatever Hersh has done he hasn't begun to show "what really happened". He's failed to examine too many of the fragments of information that have appeared since the shoot-down. Johnson lists most of the important omissions in his review.

A more accurate title for Hersh's book would be something like: "Post shoot-down bureaucratic politics in Washington". Talking to people in Washington, Hersh has written a very Washington-orientated book. And its very interesting too, illustrating yet again that in politics "the truth" is never the goal: power is the rational objective of politics. Thus Hersh tells us quite a lot about *the use* of the shoot-down of KAL 007 but relatively little about the shoot-down itself.

## **Come wet this truncheon**

Dave Douglas

(Direct Action Movement/Canary Press 1986)

Despite the naff title, this is a good 36pp A5 format pamphlet on the role of the police during the miners' strike, mostly eye-witness accounts. (The author, Douglas, was an NUM delegate from Hatfield Colliery.) There isn't a lot here that hasn't already been described elsewhere - in *State of Siege* for example - but it's nicely done (apart from forgetting to number the pages) and, as you might expect from DAM, impressively and, in my view, correctly paranoid about the police.

Available from the author c/o PO Box 96, Doncaster, Yorks. £1.00

## **Constance Cumbey's New Age Monitor**

PO Box 3078, Centre Line, Michigan 48015-0078, USA.

\$40 per annum for foreign airmail: 8-12 issues per year.

Two issues of this arrived courtesy of the American writer Richard Gilman. Quite what this is I don't know yet. From two 8 page large-type issues I can't get a fix on it.

For example, what exactly is 'The New Age'? Cumbey appears to be hostile to, and is monitoring the activities of the far-right Christian fringe of America. If the Freedom Council, Pat Robertson, the 300 Club, CAUSA and the Christian Identity Movement are of interest, this might be for you.

The most interesting section to me is some strange material on the American poet Ezra Pound, claimed by Cumbey to be the 'missing link' between the Theosophists, the Fabian socialists, the A.R. Orage Gurjieffian circle, the Bolinger Foundation and hard-core fascism. Given that I don't know who several of these groups are, it's hard to say what I make of it, but I can report that I have heard that a couple of substantial US parapolitics researchers are currently getting interested in the Ezra Pound connection.

Richard Gilman, who knows the far-right in the US much better than I do, thinks Cumbey important.

### **Covert Action Information Bulletin**

I wrote the lines above about Constance Cumbey before receiving *Covert Action Information Bulletin* No 27, a special issue on the religious Right in America.

This is by far the best single issue of CAIB I have read - the section on the religious Right being 50 pages of minutely researched and footnoted essays on the fascist Christians (sic) now operating in the United States. As well as essays on the better known figures like Moon and Pat Robertson, these essays range across dozens of other groupings. In the first three pages are Christian Broadcasting Network, Gospel Outreach, National Religious Broadcasters, Christian Voice, American Coalition for Traditional Values, Freedom Council and the 700 Club.

This is very strange and depressing stuff. Are these (mostly) white evangelical Christians mutants, the end product of junk food, US tv, pesticides, pollution, rising background radiation levels? Presumably not (because other people have the same environment and aren't crazy like these loons.) Is it a 'white trash' reaction to the growing weight of the other ethnic groups in America? Or it just another example of US capital's ability to head off potential trouble by funding people who will fill the heads of the population with garbage? It certainly is striking how much of this activity is going on in the 'sunbelt' states where the struggle between capital and the US union movement is at its most bitter. This idea certainly receives some support from the pages of CAIB, and rather more from the recent biography of Jesse Helms, *Hard Right*, Ernest B. Ferguson (W. W. Norton, London and New York, 1986) .

This current CAIB also includes more from the splendid Herman and Brodhead on disinformation surrounding the 'Bulgarian connection' and the best biographical essay I know of a super-spook, Frank Carlucci.

CAIB - \$5 (US) with \$2.50 (US) for foreign airmail, from PO Box 50272, Washington DC 20004.

# Articles

## **Jackboots and Sporrans: the strange world of Robert Gayre**

Kevin Koogan in *ANARCHY* No.38 (Box A 84b Whitechapel High St., London E1 7QX)

This is fascinating stuff, the history of some of the more obscure corners in the neo-nazi American/European right-wing since WW2. But it has an odd feel to it, as if it were slightly out of focus. In tracing the connections between Robert Gayre (in current UK Who's Who), Roger Pearson and the upsurge of Euro-fascism since the 1950s, Koogan takes in WACL, Permindex, Freemasonry, Kenneth de Courcy, the World Wildlife Fund, the House of Savoy and Mitch Werbell - and that's just the text. The footnotes, as long as the text, are, if anything, even more interesting and more complex.

On first reading this is almost impenetrable; on second it becomes clearer, and on third doubts begin to set in. Inarguably, Koogan has done some wonderful digging - he just hasn't quite got the synthesis right. Very interesting stuff, though.

## **Stable force in a storm; Harry J. Anslinger and United States's narcotic foreign policy 1930-62**

Douglas Clark Kinder and William D. Walter in *Journal of American History*, March 1986

This makes an interesting companion piece to pp2/3 of the P.D. Scott essay in *Lobster* 12. Anslinger was the primary originator of the basic US foreign policy move of accusing your enemies of running drugs into the otherwise innocent bodies of the US citizenry (China, Cuba, Nicaragua), while allowing your political allies (KMT, anti-Castro Cubans, Contras) to fund-raise by dope-dealing.

This essay focuses on Anslinger as manipulator of Congress, media and the American public, rather than the content of his anti-communist bullshit or his acquiescence in drug-running into the US by the KMT.

## **US cover-up of Nazi scientists**

Linda Hunt in *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* April 1985

Very important, immaculately researched piece documenting the way US government official policy of not employing ex-Nazis/war criminals was subverted by the US War Department.

"The solution was very simple. If State would not approve immigration due to derogatory OMGUS (Office of Military Government US) reports, the JOIA (Joint Intelligence Objectives Agency) would change the reports."

## **Date-line Washington: anti-Semitism and the airwaves**

Lars-Erik Nelson in *Foreign Policy* No.65, Winter 1986

Since Reagan took office Radio Liberty, the US-funded anti-Soviet radio station based in Munich, has become increasingly anti-Semitic. Emigre groups, especially Ukrainians, are being allowed to broadcast their rewrite of WW2 in which they didn't collaborate with the Nazis, didn't participate in the mass murder of Jews in the Ukraine, and didn't form a Ukrainian division in the SS, etc.. Anti-Semitism seems to be built into Ukrainian nationalism. This should be read alongside the Anderson and Anderson's account of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists in their *Inside the League* (reviewed in this issue).

## **Israel's state terrorism and counter-insurgency in the Third World**

Jan Nederveen Pieterse

Occasional Paper No 7, 1986, from NECEF Publications, PO Box 1708, Kingston, Ontario, Canada. No price stated.

Pieterse is the author of the Round Table piece in this issue. The first thing that should be said is that for someone for whom English is a second language, Pieterse writes really well. This is excellent, the perfect concise, detailed, documented exposition of the Israeli state's profitable games of footsie with some of the most obnoxious regimes in the world. In South America, for example, that list includes Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, El Salvador and Guatemala.

The most plausible rationale for this apparently odd behaviour (odd in the sense that these states are famously sympathetic to neo-fascists, harboured Nazis after WW2 etc) is that the Israeli state has hitched its wagon to US foreign policy interests and is thus paying the price, acting as a US surrogate in areas where overt US intervention is difficult.

Pieterse is highly critical of contemporary Israeli foreign policy and will no doubt be called an anti-Semite. He isn't.

RR