

---

# LOBSTER

## 15

**Inside 'Inside Intelligence'**



**The Tory Right between the wars  
Smearing Wallace and Holroyd  
Secrets from Germany  
Fiji coup update**

- Inside 'Inside Intelligence'
  - Intelligence Personnel Named in 'Inside Intelligence'
- Smearing Wallace and Holroyd
- Christic's version of Dealey Plaza
- The Tory Right between the wars
- Fiji coup update
- Secrets from Germany
- Publications: *Orders for the Captain*
- More Publications
- Journals

## **Editorially**

Writing in mid-January...good news is the arrival of *The Digger*, apparently set fair to replace *Private Eye* as the major outlet - major above ground outlet - for British parapolitics. (*Lobster*, as one British academic said to me, is 'underground'...). The new Kincora-Blunt trail, opened up by Ken Livingstone in the House of Commons (12/1/88) will run for years. The Cavendish book is an unprecedented public manifestation of the MI6-MI5 wars, and more is bound to follow. (And its quite an interesting book, though perhaps not for the reasons Cavendish intended.) Wallace and Holroyd seem to have survived the *Independent* smear, even though Neil Kinnock, we hear, has used that smear as the excuse not to take their allegations on board.....

(Ironically, during the debate on the bill to reform the Official Secrets Act, Roy Hattersley read out passages from Cavendish's book - the bits of material from Wallace which first appeared in *Lobster 11*.....)

# *Inside 'Inside Intelligence'*

## *Inside Intelligence*

Anthony Cavendish  
Palu Publishing Ltd. 1987

Although many hundreds of books have been written on British Intelligence, very few have tackled post-war intelligence in any kind of depth or with any degree of reliability. By contrast, we tend to believe that we know quite a lot about the workings of the CIA. But even this isn't true. The major part of the CIA's work is concerned with the National Intelligence Estimates, collating and assessing information on the perceived Soviet threat, and not covert operations as many would like to believe - and as most writers on intelligence imagine. Even so, we know virtually nothing of any substance about the operations of MI5, MI6 and GCHQ.

It may be asked, 'But what about Nigel West, Christopher Andrew and Chapman Pincher?'. Andrew has written nothing on the post-war intelligence world and is overrated. Pincher's books are a rehash of the material which he puts before the public every so often to supplement his pension. And West has only one book on the post-WW2 period, 'A Matter of Trust', about MI5. Although valuable, because books on MI5 are rare commodities, it gives a totally distorted picture of what MI5 is about. Reading West's account one has the impression that MI5 is primarily concerned with dealing with defectors and imaginary moles. Wright's *Spycatcher* topples that idea very easily. West fails to mention all those areas which made *Spycatcher* so interesting: the surveillance of political groups, of embassies, liaison with GCHQ, the use of computers, operations abroad, contacts with the CIA etc.

The picture is less distorted when we look at MI6 - there are more sources. Quite rightly, Cavendish suggests that Anthony Verrier's 'Through The Looking Glass' is the best. It is choc full of inside information, and what makes it so good is that Verrier has a point of view. Although we may disagree with the perspective, at least it recognises that the subject we are really dealing with is politics; or, more precisely, parapolitics. Where the West books are little more than the dissection of bureaucratic entrails, like *Spycatcher*, *Inside Intelligence* adds flesh to the bones and is therefore a most welcome addition to the subject.

Cavendish's intelligence career is well known. He served with SIME in the Middle East which was controlled by MI5. There he met Maurice Oldfield who was to become a life-long friend. Cavendish makes great use later of the friends he met in intelligence work. (One of the alleged anti-Wilson MI5 conspirators, Harry Wharton, began his intelligence career in SIME).

In the late 1940s Cavendish followed Oldfield into MI6 where he served in the counter-espionage and sabotage section, R5. His postings abroad included West Germany, and these chapters read very much like Le Carre - David Cornwell served in Bonn 10 years later. There are no major revelations but they do have the atmosphere and detail of working in an intelligence organisation. It is like *Spycatcher* in this respect, which makes this section of interest in comparing the two organisations. One begins to get the feel of how they work, and the influence of personalities on the

operations. Most people will recognise the descriptions: they read very much like a version of typical small office politics.

One of the sub-texts is the poor relationship between the two allied services. Early on Cavendish was privy to the intelligence war: "...those of us who worked with MI6 officers knew that that organisation was the tops and that they - not us (MI5) - were the real professionals." (p38) A year later, when he joined MI6, "I said apropos dictating a letter, 'How rude can we be to MI5? ". (p47) Peter Wright, from the other side, has similar views on MI6: "They invariably planned operations which, frankly, stood little chance of success... There was, too, a senseless bravado about the way they behaved which I felt often risked the security of the operations ... (MI6) was operating in the modern world with 1930s attitudes and 1930s personnel..." (p72 *Spycatcher*)

Cavendish goes into some detail about his involvement in anti-Soviet operations in Communist-held Latvia. In discussing the book the newspapers have said that we have read about this before. In a limited sense that is true, but there is still a great deal more to tell. There have been minor mentions in other books, primarily when dealing with the role of Kim Philby. But, as Cavendish makes plain here, Philby's role has been greatly exaggerated. Just as in the better known Albanian operations, failure in the Baltic was most likely due to other sources.

Comparatively little is known about these MI6 operations. The only books so far on the subject have been E. H. Cookridge's book on Gehlen, based largely on Soviet publications, and Bethel's flawed book on the Albanian episode. Neither book takes on board the fact that the emigres used were largely ex-nazi collaborators, or how MI6 came to be involved with such people. The big secret that Philby and the other defectors took with them was the involvement of MI6, through Ellis and Menzies, with these proto-fascists before, during and after the Second World War. Cavendish's minor account of the anti-Bolshevik campaigns will help those currently digging away in this area.

Cavendish confirms that MI6 was planting agents on newspapers and recruiting journalists - something, although not a secret, which has been officially denied. He mentions Kemsley newspapers who, according to Cavendish, even took on MI6 officers as foreign correspondents. This practice ended, he claims, in 1959 when Kemsley stopped publishing. Cavendish also confirms that Count van den Heuvel was known as 'Z' (a title that went back to the days of Claude Dansey's Z network). The importance of that is the publication in December 1968 of articles, apparently based on MI6 documents, in the Soviet press. In these articles the Count is referred to as Z-1 and they allege that he was responsible for contacts with journalists.

The journalists went by their coding: BIN-1 etc. As Cavendish also confirms, MI6 were using a three letter coding for agents and staff. That Soviet list now makes interesting reading. Included were Lord Arran on the *Daily Mail*, W. I. Farr, Michael Berry (Lord Hartwell), Roy Pawley, Tom Harris, Michael Field of the *Telegraph*, Wing Commander Paul Richey at the *Daily Express*. At the *Observer*, David Astor, Mark Arnold-Foster, Wayland Young (Lord Kennet) and Edward Crankshaw. Brian Crozier at the *Economist*, Stuart McLean, vice-chairman of Associated Newspapers; John S. Whitlock, managing editor of Butterworth Publications; P. Morgan, editor British Plastic; G. Paulton of Arbeiter Zeitung (Vienna), and Henry Brandon at the *Sunday Times*.

In this period Kemsley owned the *Sunday Times*. In 1945 Ian Fleming, who had spent the war in Naval Intelligence and had had his own 'secret army', became Foreign Manager of Kemsley newspapers, and set up a separate department, Mercury News, to provide foreign news for the group's newspapers, including the *Sunday Times*. Fleming was responsible for taking on the foreign correspondents and giving them postings. It is hard to believe that Fleming, who had such an exhilarating career in intelligence, and whose character and drive hardly fitted him for a desk job, just sat back as a newspaperman. Was Fleming the MI6 link man to Kemsley?

Fleming's brother Peter, the writer, had been connected to MI6 in the past and Ian's work for Reuter, the *Times* and for the Foreign Office before the war make him an ideal candidate. The foreign correspondents at Kemsley included: Anthony Terry, Stephen Coulter, and Donald McCormick. Terry, in Army Intelligence during the war, was married to Sarah Gainham (nee Stainer), the spy novelist. Coulter was with Reuters and SHAPE staff officer in France and Scandinavia during the war. From 1945-65 Coulter was staff correspondent in Paris and then wrote spy novels. McCormick, now better known as the writer 'Richard Deacon', did field work for Fleming in Naval Intelligence during the war and was later roving correspondent for Kemsley. He became Foreign Manager of the *Sunday Times* in 1963. One of his correspondents said of him in 1985: "He was tremendously discrete, but gave one the impression of knowing much more than he let on." (*Sunday Times* 24/2/85).

This long digression leads us nicely into the next part of Cavendish's life when he became a journalist in 1953. He writes (p53) "Since I had been both a genuine journalist and a merchant banker it is often difficult to persuade people sufficiently knowledgeable about intelligence matters that that is the case." Indeed it is. I accept that Cavendish was no longer an agent, though those who met him in every obscure town in the Middle East might disagree. But it is really a matter of splitting hairs. Cavendish did keep in touch with MI6, was a source of intelligence, and makes plain that he enjoyed using his old 'six' contacts.

In Paris he obtained one of the first copies of Khrushchev's anti-Stalin speech to the 20th Party Congress in Moscow. In Poland he "was privy to the Intelligence games ... I was able to take a surreptitious photograph of anything of interest, I did so and passed it on." (p106). In Washington, during the Kennedy years, he "knew much of what was going on." (p117). During the same period, "The unedited versions were filed for Intelligence." (p119)

The Intelligence world, the 'twilight world' never really left his blood. When he became a director of Brandts bank in the early 1970s, he took on three ex-MI6 men for his International department. (He also notes that at the same time there "were half a dozen ex-MI6 men working in the City of London."(p76))

It is this period, when he made his fortune, that becomes the most interesting. From 1965 onwards, Cavendish was meeting Oldfield on a regular basis for lunch and bridge. His other close friend was George Kennedy Young who supplies the unusual foreword to the book. 'Unusual' because Young, who is generally regarded as a racist and political extremist, appears as a reasonable human being. Like Young, Cavendish was accepted as a Conservative candidate in the early seventies, though their politics were to the right of the party. Cavendish, in Diana Menuhin's account, was "so British as to belong to a past backed by an Empire that ruled the waves," a world where "theft, deception, lies, mutilation and even murder are possibilities."

(p13)

Cavendish and Young were to work together from 1973 in Unison, the co-ordinating committee which was to play its part in the anti-Wilson - or, at least, anti-Heath - plots. One has to ask why Oldfield, a man who is generally regarded as being something of a liberal, was close friends with these two. Is everything we know about Oldfield wrong? Was the man a closet reactionary, or a man admired as a true professional, oblivious of politics and only interested in protecting the service?

Part of Oldfield's Chinese horoscope, a copy of which he carried around with him, includes this passage: "While he can be tender and benevolent to his friends and those he loves, there is a latent ruthless streak in him which sometimes surfaces. Then one needs to beware, if one has anything to fear, because one might find oneself deep in his clutches. He can dig in his claws when he wishes." (p105, 'C' by Richard Deacon) Was Wilson the victim? Cavendish would like to think so.

"It was always clear to me from things he said that Maurice was somehow involved in the sudden departure of Harold Wilson from the premiership. I also linked to this the fact that on Maurice's retirement from MI6 the new Prime Minister (Callaghan) recommended him for an advancement in the Order of St. Michael and St. George. The Queen awarded him the Grand Cross of that Order, and he was the first and so far the only Chief of MI6 to be so honoured." (p149)

"Maurice always insisted to me that Harold Wilson, after his retirement, was at great pains to avoid him. Since Wilson lived in Lord North Street and Maurice in Marsham Street, they were neighbours and Maurice said that Wilson would always avoid passing him by. Similarly, if they both appeared at the same gathering, Wilson would make every effort not to be near or even in the same room as Maurice."

This is not a new story. A version of this appears on p183 of Deacon's autobiography of Oldfield, 'C'. There, another MI6 source, who seems to be Hugh Trevor-Roper (Lord Dacre), says

"I can only say that Harold Wilson told me, quite spontaneously, in January 1977, that he had the highest opinion of MI6, whereas of MI5 he would utter no good word. Indeed, he accused MI5 of conspiring against him and trying to bring down his government. MI6 at the time of which he was speaking, was under Oldfield."

Dacre had told the same story to Chapman Pincher (See *Inside Story*, p1 and *A Web of Deception* p106).

The waters are now becoming very murky. Wilson supposedly likes MI6 but distrusts Oldfield. Added to which, although Deacon wrote a very sympathetic biography of Oldfield, he was not a champion of MI6. On the contrary, reading closely his other books, his sympathies clearly lie with MI5. What is going on?

The Deacon biography looks more and more like a deliberate ploy to counter the MI5 smears against Oldfield which were then current. Cavendish is a source for that book. But was he a major one? On p 142 of Deacon there is the Sefton Delmer link to

Oldfield; on p146 there is the story about the MI6 agent and the poison pill; on p181 a Russian story favoured by Oldfield; on p186 the story of Oldfield's kindness to his bodyguard. All of these - and there are many others - appear in Cavendish's book.

Cavendish, p149: "A lot of suggestions have been made about why Wilson went as he did. I have the good fortune to be a friend of the Baroness Falkender who, as Marcia Williams, worked closely with Wilson."

Poor old Marcia! Not only does she suffer the shock of discovering that her good friend James Goldsmith has been accused of being one of the conspirators with Peter Wright, but another friend turns out to have been a member of Unison, possibly the co-ordinating committee for the whole damn thing.

"While I believe her when she rubbishes various smears that have been put about as reason for why Wilson retired and insists that Wilson had made it known when he returned to Downing Street for the last time that he intended to retire before the end of the Parliament - I believe there was something which triggered Wilson's abrupt resignation, and it is related to something about which no outsider knows all the details."

Here it comes, the one we have all been waiting for.

"Wilson travelled a great deal, both when in and out of office and particularly to Warsaw Pact countries. This may be one of the facts which so worried MI5. One is forced to ask, therefore, what action would the KGB take if they had evidence of some theoretical indiscretion on the part of a British prime minister. There could be no consideration of approaching the PM directly or indirectly. What the KGB would probably do in such a circumstance, therefore, is to pass what they had to the CIA or to MI6, secure in the knowledge that it would cause chaos."

Whether there is any truth in this story in the end doesn't matter. What is important is that it is being peddled by a member of Unison, an ex-MI6 officer, a friend of Marcia, and a close friend of both Oldfield and George Young. The story has been told in a number of versions before. The most explicit are those from the pen of Auberon Waugh - "my old friend Maurice Oldfield" - and one version is reprinted below.

## ***Inside Intelligence***

### ***Chapter 7***

*At the time that these various aggressive activities were taking place against the Soviet Union and satellite countries I was unaware of them. So there was some initial surprise when I was given my new assignment, which was to be the MI6 liaison officer with the Royal Navy in Hamburg, in an operation which involved the covert transporting and landing of agents on the Latvian coast.*

*When I use 'aggressive' I in no way mean the word in the sense in which the Russians would use it. Merely in the sense that we were actually getting up and doing something, the attendant risks of which could all too easily cause a major diplomatic incident. In later years, it has always amazed me that these various operations were authorised by a Labour government in London and I attributed this to the power of the Foreign Secretary at that*

time, Ernest Bevin.

*Part of my briefing covered the fact that the Germans, during the war, had used their very fast S-boats to carry agents on to the beaches of the Baltic States. We intended to recruit one of the most successful of the S-boat captains, Lieutenant Commander Hans Helmut Klose, to carry out similar operations for SIS using one of the S-boats. The S208, which had been built by Lurgens in Vegasack, was taken to a British yard near Portsmouth, stripped down and then souped up so that she would do almost 50 knots. The cover of the operation was that Klose, his German crew and the S208 were part of the British Control Commission Fishery Protection Service which operated in the Baltic to keep an eye on West German fishermen's rights. The East Germans had already set up a miniature navy with armed sea-going vessels as part of their border protection service. I was not involved in recruiting the Baltic agents who, in the main, were enlisted from Displaced Persons camps in Germany with the aid of emigre organisations with whom we were in contact.*

*Youngish men were recruited. Those who were, firstly, ideologically sound, secondly, were prepared to return to their homelands and about whom a fitting cover story could be produced and, thirdly, who could successfully complete our training course which involved instruction in radio, weapons, explosives and subjects essential to secret communications such as codes, cyphers and the use of secret inks.*

Another voice

*Spectator* 19 June 1976

## **Westminster fringe benefits**

Auberon Waugh

Oddly enough, I have been working on the outlines of a political sex extravaganza for some time, without ever having the opportunity to write it. No doubt the plot, when explained, will prove too preposterous for any West End impresario or mogul of Independent Television, most of whose minds are on higher matters. No audience will invest much credibility, in it either, so resigned are we all to the gloomy proposition that our political leaders are sexless as well as incorruptible. But since nothing else has happened this week for me to write about, I suppose I might as well set it down.

The hero is a youngish, fairly idealistic politician - I suppose we had better make him Labour - who falls from grace just once. Although he is already married, he embarks on an affair with a lady from work. The affair only lasts a comparatively short time - about two years - but he makes the mistake during this time of taking his lady friend to Russia with him, where he is visiting on business, not one but three times. During the first or these visits, they are photographed in compromising circumstances by agents of the Soviet security police at a hotel where they are both staying.

The plot, as I say, is a preposterous one - anybody who knows anything about politics will know how absurd it is to suggest that a politician could ever have an affair with anyone who was not his wife - but this is the least preposterous part of it. Those who have made a study of such matters assure me that the KGB take infinite pains, and every single applicant for a tourist visa to the Soviet Union - even half-witted students or journalists on a Thomson package tour - is made the subject of a KGB decision on whether the applicant should be recruited, compromised or merely neutralised (that is,



prevented from seeing anything unsuitable). The risk of a politician visiting Russia with a lady friend being made the subject of such attentions is so great as to be a virtual certainty, and where repeated visits are involved, it is more than a certainty.

At any, rate, our hero comes back from the Soviet Union to disclose that the KGB have the screws on him, and the only person in England who knows this is his lady friend. Fortunately, she remains loyal to him, and in fact stays by his side like the proverbial limpet long after their sexual passion has run its course. But the knowledge undoubtedly gives her a certain moral purchase.

His career progresses, as politicians' careers are wont to do, and in time he finds himself the leader of his party, and eventually (why not?) Prime Minister of Great Britain. As the former lady friend approaches a certain age, her influence becomes unsettling. The demands she places upon his loyalty become more strenuous, and the threats more overt. Eventually he inexplicably resigns, his last actions in obedience to her demands leaving a noticeable question mark over the whole episode.

The truth finally comes out when, in a fit of hysteria, either the politician, or his lady friend - or possibly both - institute libel proceedings against a brave, handsome, much-loved journalist who has guessed their secret. In the final court scene it is recalled that the former Prime Minister has been an agent of the Soviet Union - albeit an unwilling one - throughout his entire period of office.

Are there any takers for this preposterous fiction?

This fantasy/smear had first appeared in Waugh's diary column in *Private Eye* in April 1975.

Cavendish continues: "...if something came into Maurice's hands relating to the Prime Minister of the day, his duty would be clear, he would show it to one of three people: the Prime Minister himself, the Cabinet Secretary or his immediate boss, the Foreign Secretary. I believe from things Maurice said that something may have come into his hands and that he showed it to the Foreign Secretary, James Callaghan."

Writing about the Prime Minister in June 1975, Waugh added this intriguing touch to the tale:

"Another factor may have been the discussions we had over the matter of some photographs that had come into my possession. They are of an interesting nature, taken in the summer of 1959 when we were all so much younger and less inhibited - and there was still sap rising in these withered old branches".

Waugh had been a friend of at least one MI5 officer, its boss and also victim of a smear campaign, Sir Roger Hollis.

According to this scenario, Big Jim, the first to know of Wilson's resignation plans, turns out to be the secret beneficiary of the Wilson plots. No doubt redoubtable Jim will issue a writ for this smear, or at least a statement which will explain his long silence over the plots.

It is here, in the tales of Wilson from ex-MI6 sources, that the connection between

*Spycatcher* and *Inside Intelligence* begins. It is too complicated at this stage to go into fully, and is, in any case, merely a speculation, but it looks increasingly clear that Oldfield was 'running' Peter Wright. It looks something like this. It was to Wright that Oldfield turned in 1975 when he wanted to know if Wilson's fears about an MI5 plot against him were true. The following year Wright indicated to Rothschild that he was putting a book together. (Pincher *A Web of Deception* p 128). The project was revived in June 1980, the same time Oldfield returned from Northern Ireland convinced, according to Cavendish, that he was the victim of an MI5 smear campaign. He was so concerned that he decided to go to Sir Robert Armstrong to inform him that he had lied over his positive vetting and had had an early homosexual affair. The only other person Oldfield could or would tell was Rothschild (p142) It was the time when Rothschild became worried by veiled smears appearing in the media, principally a piece in the *Spectator* (14/6/80), again by Auberon Waugh. In September of that year, Wright travelled to Britain, a trip organised by Rothschild. Wright has said that he thought he was being drawn into some kind of intelligence operation. Surely Wright, for once, was correct!

Stephen Dorril

(A message from Mr Cavendish's sponsors at Century House)

(From *Inside Intelligence*)

## **Appendix A**

23/4/87

Sir Maurice Oldfield

You will have seen accounts of the statement made by the Prime Minister today about Sir Maurice Oldfield.

An event like this, with all the innuendo and ill-informed press comment which accompanies it, is bound to be a shock to all of us. Those who served with Maurice will feel dismay and concern and sadness, particularly those who knew him well.

It is perhaps important and of some comfort to separate the personal aspects from the wider professional considerations. As the Prime Minister indicated, the facts became known after Maurice left the Service, and his PV certificate was then withdrawn. There is no evidence that the security of our work was in any way prejudiced, of which the best confirmation is that during his period in office the Service's record of achievement was very high. That record and your own contributions to it still stand, and we can all be proud of them. It is this that we must remember during these difficult days. The fundamental integrity of the Service remains intact, and our determination to continue to perform our tasks remains undiminished. And we of the current generation are determined at least to try and match your own achievements.

# Intelligence Personnel Named in 'Inside Intelligence'

## See also:

- Part 1: Forty Years of Legal Thuggery (Lobster 9)
- Part 2: British Spooks "Who's Who" (Lobster 10)
- Philby naming names (Lobster 16)
- First supplement to *A Who's Who of the British Secret State* (Lobster 19)
- Spooks (Lobster 22)

for Cohen, Brooman-White, De Haan, see *Lobster 9* and *Lobster 10*.

*EASTON*, Air Comdr. Sir James Alfred KCMG (1956), CB (1952), CBE (1945)  
B.11/2/08

1926      RAF  
1929-32   Served Northwest frontier, India  
1935      Egypt  
1937      Canada  
1940      armaments advisor to Dept. of National Defence  
1941      Group Capt.  
1943      Dir. Air Staff Branch, Air Ministry, Royal Air Force Delegation, Washington  
1945      MI6 Dept. Dir. (Air); then Asst. Chief  
1958      Consul General, Detroit, USA  
1968      Retired. Resident consultant on trade development of the Great Lakes area, USA  
1975      Associate member, Overseas Advisory Associates Inc., Detroit

*GIBSON*, Col. Harold Charles Lehrs (Gibby)

CMG (1947)

B. 1897, D. 24/8/60 - suicide: official reason, money problems

1919-21   Constantinople

1922      Bucharest  
1930      Riga  
1933      Prague, head of station  
1939      Istanbul, head of station  
1945      Prague  
1949      Germany  
1951      Broadway, head of Russian section  
1955      1st Sec. Rome, head of station - centre of Soviet operations  
1958      retired: member RIIA  
Married two Russian exiles. His brother Archie did similar work running

agents behind the Iron Curtain: 1940, ISLD Middle East

*RAYDON*, Major-General (Joseph) Charles

CB (1948) DSO (1940) OBE

Sandhurst

B. 1899

1914-19 Irish Guards

1938 Mil. Asst. to Sec.of State for War

1939 Col. Irish Guards

1942 Vice-Chief of Combined Operations Staff

1944 Command 1st Brig. Guards, Italy

1944-45 British Jnt. Services Mission, Washington

1946-47 Brit. Army Rep. Jnt Chiefs of Staff, Australia

1948 Chief of Int. Division, Control Commission,  
German

1951 Retired

MI6 Dir. of Finance and Admin: Senior Personnel  
Officer

1958 Retired

*ISHAM*, Sir Gyles

B.31/10/03, D.29/1/76

Magdalen College, Oxford

Beefsteak Club

President, Oxford Union: leading actor

1939 Irish Rifles (TA) London

1940 2nd Lt. KRRC Egypt

1941 8th Army

1943 GSOI (Intelligence) HQ 9th Army

1944 War Office

1945 Defence Security Officer (DSO) MI5,  
Palestine

1946 Demobbed Lt.Col. MI6

1950 Contested (for Cons.) Kettering

1952 Deputy Lt. Northants

1958-59 High Sheriff

*MENZIES*, Maj. Gen. Sir Stewart Graham

KCB (1951) KCMG(1943) CB (1942) DSO MC (1914)

B.30/1/1890, D.29/5/68

Whites, St. James

1909 Grenadier Guards

1910 Life Guards

1915 Int. Officer to General Haig

1919 MI6

1939 Chief of MI6

1951 retired

*MILNE*, Ian Innes

CMG (1965), OBE (1946)

B.

16/6/12

Christ Church, Oxford

1935 Advertising

1940 Lt. Col R.E.

1946 MI6

1948 2nd Sec. Teheran, Head of Station  
1951 FO  
1955 1st. Sec Berne  
1956 FO  
1960 1st Sec Tokyo  
1963 FO  
1968 Retired  
1969 Senior Clerk, House of Commons  
1976 Retired  
(There were two Milnes, brothers, and they get confused. Sometimes referred to as Tim and Tony)

*MILNE*, Tim

1940 MI6 Sect. V (Iberia) under Philby  
1948 Dept. Head R5, Staff Officer, worked with local CIA rep.  
1959 Witness at Philby's wedding  
1962 Beirut  
*OLDFIELD*, Sir Maurice  
CCMG (1978) KCMG (1975) CMG (1964) CBE(1956) MBE (1946)  
B.16/11/15, D.11/3/81  
Manchester University  
Athenaeum (committee member)  
1941-46 Int. Corps Lt Col SIME Cairo (MI5)  
1947 FO Section 9 Control Commission Germany; control for Otto John  
1950 2nd Sec. Singapore (Office of Commissioner General)  
1953 FO  
1956 1st Sec. Singapore, Dept. Head of Station  
1959 FO  
1960 Counsellor, Washington, Head of Station  
1973 Chief of MI6  
1977 Retired  
1978 Fellow of All Souls, Oxford  
1979 Recalled by Thatcher: Sec. and Int. Co-ordinator, Northern Ireland  
1980 retired

*PERKINS*, Col. Harold (Perks)

Prague University  
Merchant Navy Officer (Master Mariner)  
Owner of a steel mill in Poland  
1939 Mil. Int. (Research) MI (R)  
1940-45 SOE Responsible for operations in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary. Retained close links with Polish emigre groups.  
1946 operations against Jewish emigration to Palestine  
1949 Albanian operation (planning) - an 'operational wizard'  
*RANSOM*, Charles Frederick George  
CMG (1956) OBE (1950)  
B.9/7/11  
University College London  
1936 Schoolmaster, lecturer  
1940 York and Lancaster Regt., Italy

1946 FO MI6 section R5 (investigation of Communism)  
 1958-61 1st. Sec. Rome  
 1966-67 FO; Supernumerary fellow, St. Antony's College, Oxford  
 1972 Historical Section, Cabinet Office  
 1973-74 Dir. Centre of Cont, European Studies, University of Sussex  
 Joint author of *British Intelligence in the Second World War*  
 (HMSO)

**ROBERTS**, Brig. C. Douglas  
 1914- Royal Artillery  
 18  
 1919 ADC to Gen. Pierrre Wrangel in the White Russian Army campaign against the  
 Bolsheviks. Timber trade in Finland and Russia. (E. and A. Harriman)  
 1940 Defence Security Officer (DSO) MI5, Istanbul  
 DSO Beirut  
 DSO Syria  
 Head of SIME (MI5)

1946 MI6  
 1947 ?Head of Section 9

**SILEM** Bobby  
 1948 'an older officer': is this, in fact, *SILLEM*, Captain  
 John

1939 Riga  
 1940 Stockholm  
 1952 FO Security Dept

**SINCLAIR**, Maj. Gen. Sir John Alexander (Sinbad)  
 KCMG (1953) CB (1945) OBE (1940)  
 B. 29/5/1897, D. 22/3/77

1914-16 Midshipman Royal Navy  
 1918 RMA Woolwich  
 1919 RFA  
 1929 Adjutant HAL  
 1932-35 Staff College  
 1938-39 Instructor Staff Coll., Lt.Col  
 1941 Deputy Dir. Military OPS BGS South Eastern  
 Command  
 1942 CRA 1st Division DCGS Home Forces  
 1943 MGGS Home Forces  
 1944-45 Dir. Military Intelligence  
 1952 Chief of MI6  
 1956 Retired - displaced following Crabb affair

**SLOCUM**, Cpt. Frank Alexander  
 CMG (1953) OBE (1935)  
 B.30/9/1897, D. 22/5/82  
 Gonville and Caius Coll. Oxford

1914-18 Royal Navy, Grand Fleet  
 1920 2nd Lt. destroyer, Home Fleet  
 1931 Persian Gulf and Med.; R.N. Staff College  
 1935 Staff of Tactical School  
 1937 MI6  
 1939 Dept. Dir. Ops. Div. Admiralty  
 Asst. Chief Staff Officer (ACSO) MI6  
 1940 Auxiliary patrol flotillas. In charge of MI6 private

navy.  
 1946 Chairman Intelligence Co-ordination staff  
 1954 1st Sec (visa) Oslo  
 1956 retired; trials captain for contract built ships  
 VANDEN HEUVAL Count (Maj.) Frederick (Fanny)  
 CMG (1945) OBE(1918)  
 B.24/11/1885, D.25/4/63  
 1914-18 Maj. European war worked for MI6; Dir. Eno's Fruit Salts Ltd.  
 1938 part of Claude Dansey (MI6) Z-network  
 1940 Vice consul Zurich; Vice consul Geneva  
 1941 Press attache, Berne, head of station. Dansey's principle Lt. in  
 Europe  
 1945 Controller Central Europe  
 1947 Rome, head of station; FO, ran journalist agents  
 YOUNG, Rollo  
 1949 Malta and FO: Albanian  
 operation  
 YOUNG, George Kennedy  
 CB(1960) CMG(1955) MBE(1945)  
 B.8/4/11  
 1936 editorial staff, Glasgow Herald  
  
 1938 British United Press - pre war MI6  
 1939 commissioned Kings and Scottish Borderers  
 1941 despatches East Africa  
 1943 specially employed list, Italy and West Europe  
 1944 Rome  
 1946 Vienna. Berlin correspondent. BUP, FO  
 1949 Economic relations dept. FO; Cyprus - part of the Albanian operation  
 1951 Head of Middle East desk, Cairo. BREO Cyprus. Operations against Iran  
 1953 attached MOD. Specialised in 'economic and defence intelligence'  
 1956 Operation Struggle against Syria. Middle East Director of Production.  
 Assassination attempts against Nasser. Deputy Chief  
 1960 Under-Sec.  
 1961 Retired. Kleinwort Benson Ltd til 1976  
 1969 President, Nuclear Fuel Finance SA

## Smearing Wallace and Holroyd

This continues where *Lobster 14*'s reprint of the piece from *Tribune* stopped. It was unfortunate that the debate over the status of Colin Wallace and his allegations really got going just as *Lobster 14* went to the printer. Below is what followed.

1. 27th August 1987. Colin Wallace letter in response to the John Ware article of 6th August in *The Listener*.

2. September 2 1987. *The Independent* publishes an entire page plus part of its front page attacking Colin Wallace and Fred Holroyd: stories by David McKittrick, with an additional blast from John Ware. This page plus was wrong in almost every detail. Part of the McKittrick assault on Holroyd was some photographs and a report which had come from the Royal Ulster Constabulary. McKittrick/*The Independent* didn't know or didn't care that the same information/pictures had already been offered to a number of other papers, including the *Sunday Times*, by Chris Ryder. All had rejected the package. (On this see *Time Out* 22 July 1987 and *Private Eye* (item 7 below).

This *Independent* smear - which is what it was - included all the standard anti-Wallace material plus one or two of the new lines developed by the M.O.D. during the summer. It included a variant on the Ulster Citizens' Army smear analysed in *Lobster* 14. This is quite the most astonishing - and astonishingly inaccurate - attack on anyone in recent years to have been run by a non-tabloid British newspaper.

3. September 5 1987. Steve Dorril and I send out a refutation of the attack on Wallace - 12 pages of text/analysis and 28 pages of accompanying documents, 6 pages of which was the analysis of the UCA smear published in *Lobster* 14. We sent out 50 copies to various people in the media known to have been interested in the story and the handful of politicians who had been active in the Wright/MI5 story earlier in the year. *The Independent* got 4 copies. We didn't tackle the attack on Fred Holroyd because he was on holiday and out of contact at the time of this attack.

Steve Dorril sent *The Independent* a letter of response which they refused to print - as they have refused to print *any* critical response to their attack, including one from Wallace. Dorril's letter is printed here.

4th. September 1987.

### **Letters to the Editor**

Sir,

I realise that I must temper my language in reference to the recent article by David McKittrick, 'Doubts over Ulster murder claims' (*Independent* 2/9/87). Anger at such an appalling piece is not the way to respond to this totally biased reporting. A close look at the facts is required to correct this farrago of smears.

It would take a full page of your paper to rebut all the points - Such a rebuttal is on the way - so, in the interests of brevity and not to bore your readers I will take up only a few but telling points.

1. 'The Wallace-Holroyd claim of having discussed smears on Labour politicians with Mr. Neave'. The simple fact is, Holroyd never met nor had any form of contact with Airey Neave.
2. 'The *Independent* has examined the original photograph and obtained a copy'. Untrue. The picture which you reproduce is not the Polaroid



(emphasis add, please) which is central to the claims of Holroyd concerning Capt. Nairac and the murder of John Francis Green. Holroyd has been trying for five years to retrieve the colour Polaroid from the RUC. It may interest your readers to know that Holroyd's ex- wife was interviewed in Zimbabwe in the last two weeks. She told a researcher that she gave material, including the photograph reproduced in the article, to the British High Commissioner in December 1986 (emphasis add, please). The RUC therefore, only had this particular photograph in their possession many years after they had received the Nairac Polaroid from Holroyd, which they refuse to return. Did McKittrick know this or is he just sloppy with his research. What is even more damaging is that this photograph has been hawked around Fleet Street. Other newspapers turned it down realising that this was a plant and part of a smear operation against Holroyd. The question of the Polaroid is absolutely central to Holroyd's claim that Nairac was involved in the Green killing. Which is why such great efforts have been brought into play to conceal it's existence.

3. There is a less than subtle attempt by McKittrick to suggest that because Holroyd learned of the connection between the Green killing and the Miami Showband massacre from the RUC that this therefore invalidates Holroyd's claims. I would suggest the reverse is the case. McKittrick chooses to ignore the following, 'Forensic experts, whose reports we have also seen, later established that two guns were used to shoot Green; one is thought to have been a Luger, the other a Spanish-made Star automatic pistol.' and 'The link is the cartridges from the Star automatic pistol found at the scene of the killing. With the secret help of the Garda, these were tested by a scientist attached to the RUC forensic staff, Norman Tulip, and found to be identical with cartridges left at the scene of four sectarian murders, committed between 1973 and 1976.' (Duncan Campbell *New Statesman* 4/5/87). These included the Miami Showband killings of July 1975. Besides this forensic evidence Holroyd had knowledge of the history of these guns. He knew, through his own intelligence work, two of those involved in the massacre and that they were 'used' by a RUC Special Branch officer, who he has named. That officer Holroyd believes supplied the uniforms worn by the killers. And there is more. Perhaps instead of spending a page on an exercise in character assassination *The Independent*, if it wishes to live by that name, could actually try to investigate Holroyd's claims in the manner and professionalism they deserve.
4. Mistakes concerning Wallace are contained in virtually every paragraph, for example those on the front page where McKittrick accuses Wallace of making 'statements that are clearly untrue'.
  - a. 'A profile of him in a south of England newspaper describes him as a graduate of Queen's University.' Wallace has never made such a statement. Is he to be responsible for a newspaper's reporting error? He did regularly visit Queen's when he was working with the Officer Training Corps which is on record.

- b. McKittrick says Wallace 'demonstrably was not' a member of the Widgery Tribunal on the Bloody Sunday killings in 1972. As McKittrick himself claims, how can you prove a negative, what is this proof that McKittrick has. I can supply the names of at least four people who sat at the same desk with Wallace. Were they contacted?
- c. 'He has said he was three times recommended for decorations, but there is no record of this.' Untrue. I can supply a reference written by Commander Public Relations Northern Ireland, Tony Stoughton, who writes that he recommended Wallace twice for a decoration. Wallace also has in his possession a copy of the citation for one award.

It just goes on and on. How could a respected journalist print such untrue material. One wonders where the *Independent* lawyers were when this was put together. McKittrick proudly reports, 'Another report from a Harley Street psychiatrist - written in 1976 and obtained by *The Independent*.' *Is this not unethical and deserving of a protest to the Medical Council? This is journalism of the lowest quality. The Independent was set up with higher standards, Holroyd and Wallace deserve a full apology.*

- 4. September 3 1987. John Ware writes to editor of *Tribune* in response to Ramsay article on Ware, the one reprinted in *Lobster* 14, threatening legal action unless his reply is printed.
  - 5. September 10 1987. Paul Foot in *Daily Mirror* refutes some of the central points in the McKittrick/Ware attack on Wallace.
  - 6. September 14 1987. Colin Wallace writes letter to *Independent*. They don't print it.
  - 7. 18 September 1987. Anonymous piece in *Private Eye* explaining Chris Ryder role in first attempt to float the RUC package smearing Holroyd, explaining McKittrick's previous use of Wallace as apparently reliable source, and John Ware's role in the BBC *Panorama* 'investigation' of the Wright/Wallace/MI5 plots story.
  - 8. 21 September 1987. Wallace receives report of polygraph (lie detector) report done on him and his central allegations by Polygraph Security Services, the company which were consultants to the government on the proposed use of polygraphs at GCHQ. Report states: "I am pleased to confirm his responses were truthful."
- A story on this appeared in *Time Out* 16 September 1987, and a much bigger piece, which included the actual questions asked, appeared in *Irish News* 21 September.
- 9. 25 September 1987. Duncan Campbell refutes McKittrick attack on Holroyd in *New Statesman*.

10.25 September 1987. John Ware response to Ramsay article (the one reprinted in *Lobster* 14) in *Tribune*.

11.2 October 1987. Ramsay and Colin Wallace respond to Ware (item 10) in *Tribune*.

12. October 23 1987. Anonymous piece in *The Digger* pointing out that *The Independent* (a) got it totally wrong and (b) had yet to print any response.

13.27 November 1987. Anonymous piece in *Private Eye* similar to item 12.

We haven't printed our refutation of the *Independent* smear in this issue because it would take too much room. However, here is a sample. Reproduced below are Ware's contribution to the smear in *The Independent*, and two documents. We included (a) in our refutation package; (b) is a letter from the magazine *Sports Parachutist* February 1974. The author of the letter, Andre Dennison, is now dead. Both Wallace and Holroyd knew him in Ireland. We didn't have (b) at the time we put our package together.

*The Independent* September 2 1987

### **Parachutist who was all waffle and no action**

By John Ware

COLIN WALLACE claims to have been an experienced freefall parachutist who "founded and commanded" an Army display team called The Phantoms in Northern Ireland.

He also says he jumped with an elite free-fall Army display team called The Black Knights, attached to the Royal Horse Artillery. There is no evidence for either claim.

Mr Wallace concedes that proof of his parachuting exploits is the key test of his overall credibility. He accepts that it is hard to provide clinching proof of all his allegations, but says his parachuting is so well documented that "it's a weird one to choose". He says that "all I've ever asked is that people check out the facts. But nobody ever does."

Mr Wallace claims to have completed more than 200 free-fall jumps. The proof, he says, can be found at the headquarters of the British Parachute Association in Leicester. Journalists have accepted his story because BPA files do indeed show that he was granted the highest parachutist's certificate - a D licence, No 1615, on 5 June 1974. But several display parachutists active in the early Seventies say that the D licence system was open to abuse until it was tightened up by law under the Air Navigation Order of 1984.

Our inquiries show that far from commanding the Phantoms in the air, Mr Wallace was the organiser on the ground. The Phantoms were an informal group of Army enthusiasts who performed displays for pleasure and charity. But none can ever recall Mr Wallace actually carrying out a jump. They say he has wildly exaggerated his role.

One former Phantom, Jeff Page, now a civilian, said: "Wallace did all the fixing. He provided us with a Q car [unmarked] so we could travel safely to events. He organised the flares for the drop zone and he often did the ground commentary.

"He loved doing that. He always used to arrive in full jumping gear as if he was going to jump with us. He was what we call a 'Woofy' - all waffle and no action."

Mr Wallace claims to have done much of his jumping at the Ulster Flying Club in Newtownards. But the three club pilots who flew civilian and Army parachutists cannot remember him.

As for his claim to have jumped with The Black Knights, the co-founder of the team, Tim Andrews, said: "I have never heard of Colin Wallace".

(a)

3rd Bn. The Parachute Regiment  
British Forces Post Office 801

22 April 1974  
British Parachute Association Ltd.  
Artillery Mansions  
75 Victoria Street  
London SW1H 0HH

Dear Bill

Thank you for your letter BPA/STC-1 dated 11 April 1974 and the enclosed report written by Sgt Whitney. I have only been able to discuss the reported incident with Major Koldaway and Major Dennison by phone as I have not had the opportunity to visit them.

Major Dennison admits that he installed the offending kicker plate as he considered that it was better than nothing and no proper plate was available. He claims that he did not appreciate the dangers involved. I have explained to him the consequences of what could have happened if the reserve had had to be used and cautioned him against carrying out any further illegal modifications.

I agree with Sgt Whitney that greater control of sport parachuting is required in Northern Ireland: The reported incident is typical of the sort of thing that can happen when a relatively large number of keen but sometimes inexperienced parachutists are scattered around the area for short tours, all trying to get in the odd jumps when they can. In fact, significant steps have already been taken to tighten up the control of the sport.

All displays are now co-ordinated by Headquarters Northern Ireland (HQ NI): There is only one display team (The Phantoms) which is composed of suitably qualified members from all units and which is now registered with the APA. Army aircraft will in future only be used for parachuting if approved by HQ NI and when the activities are properly controlled. The only civil aircraft available are those operated by The

Ulster Flying Club at Newtownards; - again, parachuting there is now run on a regular basis with proper supervision.

The man chiefly responsible for promoting parachuting among servicemen in Northern Ireland and for getting the sport properly organised is Mr Colin Wallace who works in the Press Office at HQ NI. He is himself a keen and fairly experienced parachutist with about 300 jumps. Unfortunately he is a very busy man and has to rely on experienced parachutists from units on emergency tours to organise a lot of the routine parachuting. We are currently discussing a means of obtaining a resident instructor who could take care of a lot of the day to day problems under the overall direction of Mr Wallace. I will shortly be raising this matter with the APA Committee.

Copy to:  
Secretary  
Army Parachute Association  
Airfield Camp  
Netheravon  
Wilts

Colin Wallace Esq  
Press Officer  
Headquarters Northern Ireland  
Lisburn

X. Copy: S. Boyd (C.R.) A. Branch

(b)

*Sport Parachutist* FEB 1974

Dear Charlie,

As you printed most things twice in the October magazine I assume you are pushed for material so I thought I might galvanise my ageing bones and write a few words on the throbbing Ulster parachute scene.

You have mentioned Dave Pusey in the same issue - the thing is there is an ad hoc display team over here run by Colin Wallace, UDR Officer, TAVR Officer and PR man extraordinary. He works on the PR desk at HQ Northern Ireland and organises displays around Belfast at any function you care to name, from garden fetes through motor-racing meetings to school open days. He gets his jumpers from the merry band of odds and sods serving over here and only when the plane finally takes off is the actual composition of the team known. In my limited time over here the mainstays of the team have been Roger Ireson of Netheravon fame, Tony Morpheou (however you spell it) and that jump-hog of the decade Arthur Gibson. The normal jump-ship is a Beaver but on occasion we rate a Scout, though Scout hours are like diamonds they tell me. You really haven't lived until you've opened over the Ardoyne then run downwind like a frightened rabbit for some distant school playground - the old half-crown-sixpence-half-crown-sixpence routine really applies in those circumstances! My personal answer to this problem is to utilise one of my two human streamers, Rick Kelly and Richard Koldewey. I just give them their busfare kick them out (usually by

stamping on their clutching fingers) and correct from where I see the stone-throwing mod forming.

Richard Koldewey commands the 1 RTR Air Squadron here in Omagh and is a dead keen novice with about 40 free-falls to his name. He's just got to be the most intrepid student ever - I'll spare the Safety Committee the more exciting details of his career in Showbiz so far!

Newtownards Flying Club and the local Air Traffickers have looked favourably on our activities so far, and on a couple of weekends we have hired a 172 and done a bit of fun-jumping there. We pay £12 an hour which compares quite well with some of the better known cut-purses around (ears burning Charlie?) and a good time is usually had by all. The gorgeous Liz Davis came over from England last time to bring a bit of glamour into our dull military lives - Morpheou got so excited he actually spotted us on to the airfield!

Anyhow, the point is - all you service jumpers whom the Queen (God Bless Her) has signed up for an all-inclusive four month package holiday in your actual Emerald Isle - make sure you bring your rigs. The pressure of work is still fairly high here and quite often one or more of the Regulars cannot get off and a one-man display team never impressed anyone.

The name of the game is to prove to the local school kids - and others - that British soldiers don't have horns and a tail, and apart from that it's free innit?

Andre Dennison, D1075

The real surprise about all this was that the attack on Wallace and Holroyd should have appeared in *The Independent* rather than, say *The Daily Telegraph*. It was a very odd business. For example:

1. The RUC smear on Holroyd had not only been offered around London, it had actually been *reported* as such (see item 2).
2. David McKittrick had known Wallace in Ireland and had used him as an apparently reliable source - indeed, McKittrick (quoting an unidentified Wallace) was one of the first journalists to break the stories of MI5 operations against the Wilson government.
3. Some of the McKittrick material (and the piece by Ware which accompanied it) is very bad journalism, and by a long way the worst thing *The Independent* has ever put out. Normal editorial standards appear to have been abandoned just for that page.
4. *The Independent's* refusal to print *any* response to their attack, even from one of its victims, is very odd indeed for a non-tabloid paper.

Why it was done we don't know. When the editor finally agreed to meet Fred Holroyd, despite having had the entire piece demolished, he just said that he stood by the story. At which point Fred walked out. If we have any readers on *The Independent's* staff we would be interested to hear from you.

\* \* \*

In his *Tribune* attack on me (item 10 above) Ware says I called him an agent of the state in a letter sent to *The Listener*. Actually I didn't, and have no reason to think this. Ware's behaviour can be explained quite simply in other ways. He started out thinking Wallace was a phoney (reported in item 7 above) and the British state facilitated his finding of the evidence to support his beliefs. Ware - described to me by one of his former colleagues at *World in Action* as the "best investigative journalist in television" - is apparently naive enough to think, as he wrote in his *Tribune* piece (item 10 above)

"....it is abundantly clear from the way the evidence was given to me by past and serving soldiers that it could not have been engineered by the MOD."

Shades of Robert Kennedy! In 1963, immediately after his brother's assassination, Robert Kennedy is said to have asked the then head of the CIA, John McCone, if the agency had done the dirty deed; and to have "asked the question in such a way that he couldn't lie to me." I've always wondered which way that was. Evidently John Ware knows.

Looking back over the year since Wallace got out of prison in December 1986..... the story did get going - some of it even got onto Channel 4 News - but the politicians flunked it, and without them the story died. Throughout the summer there was talk of a group of the victims of the smear campaigns in the mid 1970s - an all-party group, some Privy Councillors - forming to take on the secret state. It never looked like materialising.

The Parliamentary Labour Party ran a mile, leaving Dale Campbell-Savours, Dalyell and, latterly Ken Livingstone, to throw stones at the fortress. In what I think is one of the best things he has ever done, Duncan Campbell described in the *New Statesman* (11 December 1987) how, in the middle of the Zircon affair he was

"asked not to continue phoning his (Neil Kinnock's) press secretary, Patricia Hewitt ... on the grounds that Tory MPs might hear of the calls and criticise him - as they had done in the Peter Wright affair - for permitting his staff to speak to the country's 'enemies' ."

Patricia Hewitt, lest we forget, used to be the head of the National Council for Civil Liberties (UK equivalent of the American ACLU) before she joined Mr. Kinnock. The Parliamentary Labour Party continues to behave as though none of it - Wright, Wallace, Holroyd, Massiter, Ponting, Piers Wooley (who blew the 1983 MI5-Tory Party plots against the CND) - had ever happened.

Still ... unlike 1975, '76, '77, '78 and '81, when the story surfaced and disappeared again, this time it isn't going to go away. We know of 5 books being written about the Wallace-Wright-Wilson-plots area. And as I write this, about to print a review of, and extracts from the Cavendish book, there are obviously other aspects of the story to be developed.

Robin Ramsay

# Christic's version of Dealey Plaza

The Christic Institute's allegations that there has been a 'secret team' of CIA and ex CIA personnel operating since the early 1960s right through to the present day have had a surprising amount of publicity in Britain considering that this is the kind of conspiracy theorising which is normally anathema to our straight media. It must help being a radical Christian!

The central document in their allegations is *The Affidavit of Daniel P. Sheehan*, 45 A4 pages with appendices and an index. Most of it is extremely solid, but there is a section, reprinted below, dealing with the mid sixties, which is very interesting, amounts to an explanation of the assassination of John Kennedy, but is, in my view, wrong. At any rate, I have never seen anything resembling this in any other serious look at the assassination. That this *is* an explanation of November 22 1963 isn't stated but is definitely implied by the juxtaposition of paras 70.9 and 70.10.

It is also worth noting that there is a glaring error in 70.3: Resorts International had not been formed when the Mafia were expelled from Cuba.

However, overall the affidavit is worth getting: \$10.00 (US) from *The Christic Institute*, 1324 North Capitol St. N.W., Washington DC 20002, USA.

\* \* \*

## **The First "Contra War": Organized Crime and Right-wing Terror-Politics**

70. Sources #48 and #49 described above, as well as Sources #67 and #68, who are tenured professors at accredited universities in the U.S. who conduct professional research into government documents, interview persons in the U.S. intelligence community, and teach accredited courses regarding the history of the activities of our American intelligence community - as well as Source #69, who is a retired official of the United States Customs Department and the Federal Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs (now the Drug Enforcement Administration), and Source #70, who is a former Southeast Asian Border Police officer, and Source #71, who is a retired CIA official - have communicated evidence to Plaintiffs' Counsel which constitutes probable cause to believe that the following facts are true regarding the Defendants in this case:

70.1. That, in late 1959, immediately after Fidel Castro drove Dictator Batista out of Cuba, former United States Vice President Richard M. Nixon established, and chaired, a Special Committee within the United States National Security Council with the express assignment of developing - and executing - a plan by means of which to mount a covert "Contra" war against the socialist government of Cuba, utilizing expatriate indigenous right-wing Cubans who had been loyal to dictator Batista. The objective of this non-Congressionally authorized operation was to undermine, weaken, and eventually, overthrow the revolutionary socialist government of Cuba. It appears that this secret operation was then code-named "Operation 40."



70.2. That, in late 1959, then Vice President Richard M. Nixon, with the direct participation and cooperation of United States Central Intelligence Agency Director Allen Dulles, undertook the supervision of the recruiting of expatriate, right-wing Cubans who had fled from Cuba to Miami, Florida - and caused to be established two secret military training bases for their "Contra" forces, one south of Miami, Florida, and one in Guatemala. CIA Director Allen Dulles assigned CIA Agent and former Marine Corps officer Carl Jenkins to supervise the training of these "Contra" forces in guerilla warfare tactics in Florida and Guatemala. The objective of this Nixon-Dulles supervised operation was to train and to secretly infiltrate these expatriate Cubans back into Cuba, where they would set up centers of guerilla military resistance to the Castro-led socialist government. These forces would also mount terrorist military attacks against the economic infra-structure of Cuba, making it difficult for the new revolutionary government to organize and operate the economy.

70.3. With this covert NSC-CIA program underway in early 1960, then Vice President Richard M. Nixon secretly "reached out" to one Robert Maheu, the Chief of Staff and de facto Director of billionaire Howard Hughes' financial empire. At the time Maheu was working with Nixon on a secret, non-Congressionally approved project which may have involved underwater activities and been named "Operation Desktop". Because of Maheu's secret status known only to Richard Nixon and President Eisenhower, Richard Nixon selected Maheu to attend an equally secret meeting, in early 1960, in Florida, with two men representing former Havana Mafia "Don" Santo Trafficante - whose fabulously wealthy Havana Casino, Hotel and prostitution operation run by Resorts International, Inc. (a Meyer Lansky Mafia company) had been driven out of Cuba, along with Trafficante's business associate Batista in 1959.

70.4. At this early 1960 Florida meeting between Robert Maheu (representing Richard Nixon) and John Roselli and Sam Giancana (representing Santo Trafficante, a Meyer Lansky Mafia Lieutenant), it was agreed between Richard Nixon and Santo Trafficante that the NSC's secret Operation 40 would be secretly "supplemented" by secreting, within this operation, a "private" sub-operation - which was to be supervised directly by the Mafia's Havana Lieutenant Santo Trafficante. This secret, "private" unit was to be a political assassination unit assigned to murder Cuban President Fidel Castro, his brother Raul Castro, Che Guevera and five other revolutionary Cuban government leaders.

Former associates of Cuban dictator Batista and of Resorts International boss Santo Trafficante were, according to this early 1960 Nixon-Trafficante agreement, to be selected out of the Operation 40 participants by Santo Trafficante - and then secretly trained, as political assassins, by Trafficante and his Mafia associates, at a secret "Triangular-Fire Training Base" to be located in Mexico. Those selected from Operation 40 by Santo Trafficante to become members of the "Shooter Team" were:

1. Rafael "Chi Chi" Quintero;
2. Felix Rodriguez (AKA "Max Gomez");

3. Luis Posada Carriles (AKA "Ramon Medina");
4. Rafael Villaverde,
5. Raul Villaverde;
6. Ricardo Chavez;
7. Frank Fiorini (AKA Frank Sturgis);
8. Rolando Martinez; and two other Cuban Americans.

One of the "supervisors" of the group was to be E. Howard Hunt, code-named "Eduardo." This secret "Shooter Team" began training in early 1960.

70.5. When John F. Kennedy received the Democratic Party nomination for President in the Summer of 1960, he was briefed by a CIA officer about the existence of Operation 40 and its objectives - but it does not appear that he or Robert Kennedy were ever briefed about the existence of the Shooter Team. However the Shooter Team continued to train - and, indeed, between 1960 and 1963, initiated several efforts to assassinate Cuban President Fidel Castro.

70.6. Between January of 1961 and April of 1961, the low-profile, guerilla-infiltration strategy of Operation 40 was transmuted in a plan for a full-scale military invasion of Cuba, to be staged at the now-infamous Bay of Pigs. This invasion, using the personnel of Operation 40, failed disastrously in April of 1961.

70.7. However, by June of 1961, Robert Kennedy had re-grouped the tattered remnants of the old Operation 40 forces and re-initiated the old, lower-profile, strategy of infiltration and guerrilla "raids" into Cuba. This re-born Operation 40 was named "Operation Mongoose." This covert "Contra" war was secretly pursued by the Kennedy Administration from June of 1961 to November of 1963.

The supervisor of "Operation Mongoose" was, then 34-year-old, Theodore Shackley. His Deputy was Thomas Clines.

This operation, functioning in a working partnership with Mafia Lieutenant Santo Trafficante, operated from a base located in a few buildings on the campus of the University of Miami. This base - and the operation itself - came to be called "JM/Wave."

These "Contra" war operations - and their associated Trafficante-lead political assassination sub-operation - were directed by Theodore Shackley and Thomas Clines from 1961 to 1963.

70.8. During 1963, several participants in Operation 40 were caught smuggling narcotics into the U.S. from Cuba and the use, by the program, of former Batista and Trafficante criminal associates in the program began to cause "problems of control" of illegal "profiteering" in the program. But the program continued - as did the operations of the "Shooter Team."

70.9. In November of 1963, President Kennedy was assassinated in

Dallas, Texas.

70.10. In 1965, "Operation Mongoose," and JM/Wave, were shut down and Theodore Shackley and his Deputy, Thomas Clines were transferred to Laos.

For Kennedy assassination buffs: as well as the excellent *Third Decade* and Robert Cutler's idiosyncratic *Grassy Knoll Gazette*, we receive Paul Hoch's newsletter *Echoes of Conspiracy*, now in volume 9. *Third Decade* and *Echoes of Conspiracy* are the best there is. Send \$5.00 (US) to Paul Hoch, 1525 Acton Street, Berkeley, CA 94702. That should get a year's worth (four issues).

We received a circular from the *Assassination Archives and Research Centre*. Items of particular interest:

1. *The Second Gun* is a film by Ted Charac about the assassination of Robert Kennedy. We haven't seen it but from reports of it Charac's film documents the facts about the second gun in the attack. The real assassin of Kennedy is widely presumed to be Thane Cesar who was standing behind Kennedy at the time - the autopsy showed that Kennedy had been shot at point blank range *from the rear*. Sirhan Sirhan was blasting away in front of Kennedy. Charac's film is now available on VHS video from him at PO Box 396, Beverley Hills, Ca 90213. Said to be \$55.00 (US) but inquiries from outside the US might find additional postage charges. With 1988 the 20th anniversary of RFK's death, some UK TV people might do worse than look at Charac's movie.
2. AARC is planning an International Journal on Political Assassinations, perhaps in 1989, and is looking for people in as many countries as possible to send them articles/clippings on assassinations.

For general information, membership details, AARC services, write to AARC, 918 F Street N.W., Suite 510, Washington DC 20004, USA

## The Tory Right between the wars

- Anti-Alienism in England after the First World War - **David Cesarani** - in *Immigrants and Minorities*, March 1987
- Pressure Groups, Tory Businessmen and the aura of political corruption before the First World War - **Frans Coetzee** - in *Historical Journal*, December 1986
- Military Intelligence and the defence of the realm: the surveillance of soldiers and civilians in Britain during the First World War - **David Englander** - in *British Society for the Study of Labour History*, Volume 52, No.1, 1987
- *The Ideology of the British Right, 1918-39*  
**G.C. Webber** - Croom Helm, London 1987
- Ideological Hegemony and Political Control: the sociology of Anti-Bolshevism 1918-1920 - **Stephen White** - in *Scottish Labour History Society Journal*, No.9, June 1975.

- 'In the excess of their patriotism': the National Party and threats of subversion - **Chris Wrigley** - in *Warfare, Diplomacy and Politics*, ed. Wrigley, London 1986

The essays by Wrigley, White and Coetzee describe, in some detail, many of the right-wing groups which appeared in Britain during the protracted crisis for British capital just before, during and after World War I. All three dovetail, more or less; continuity is carried by individuals and themes spanning the period. Patrick Hannon, Harry Brittain and Henry Page-Croft, all Tory MPs during this period, appear before the first World War and were still politically active at the start of the second.

**Croft, Henry Page**, 1st Bt. (1881-1947)

Con. MP Christchurch, Jan. 1910-18; Bournemouth, 1918-40. Parliamentary Under-Sec., War, 1940-5. A tariff reformer who created the National Party in 1917 and was associated with almost every dissident Conservative organisation thereafter, including the EIA, the Imperial Economic Unity Group, the IDL and the anti-appeasement lobby. He was also a director of the *Morning Post* after 1924 and Chancellor of the Primrose League, 1928-9. His sister, Lady Pearson, was prospective parliamentary candidate for the BUF in Canterbury. Croft was described by E. T. Raymond as 'most impressive on first acquaintance ... [and] ... better heard only once' (*Outlook*, 31.1.20).

**Hannon, Patrick** (1874 -1963)

Irish businessman and Con. MP Birmingham Mosley, 1921-50. Associated with the BCU and the EIA. Vice-Pres. of the Federation of British Industries from 1925. Later a council member of the IDL.

Hannon and Page-Croft came out of the Tariff Reform League, one of the three groups - the others being the Navy League (another of Hannon's creations) and the Anti-Socialist Union - whose sources of finance are examined by Coetzee. Coetzee concludes that none of them had the kind of funds attributed to them by rumour at the time: there were no 'Tariff Reform League Millions'.

In *Lobster* 12 I reported some of Barbara Lee Farr's research into the role of Patrick Hannon's British Commonwealth Union (BCU) in attempts to buy off the rising British labour movement after World War I.

**British Commonwealth Union**

Originally estd. c. 1915 as the Anti-German Union, then as the British Empire Union. Its titular heads after WWI were Lord Derby and the Duke of Northumberland, but its chief organiser was Patrick Hannon. This was an 'anti-Bolshevik' organisation funded by industry. It gave birth to the Economic League and in 1926 appeared to merge with the EIA.

Alfred Milner, leader of the Round Table group, was involved in another attempt at this, the British Workers' League (BWL).

### **British Workers' League (1919-c.1925)**

A 'patriotic labour' movement. Initially estd. as the British Workers' National League in March 1916. This organisation grew from Victor Fisher's anti-pacifist Socialist National Defence Committee (created 1915) but also attracted prominent Conservatives such as Lord Milner and Waldorf Astor MP. In 1918 the BWL estd. the National Democratic and Labour Party which returned 10 MPs, but the movement was practically dead by 1922 and in 1925 the organisation changed its name to the Empire Citizens' League after which it became increasingly orthodox in its conservatism. Published the *Empire Citizen*.

The BWL was secretly funded by Hannon's BCU, the money laundered through another of Hannon's creations, Comrades of the Great War. Havelock Wilson, founder of the Seaman's Union, one of the union leaders bought by Hannon, was Vice President of the BWL. (1)

Some of these operations were detected at the time. The *Hull Times* of September 28, 1918, carried a story headlined, "Hull Central Labour Party; attack on the British Workers' League". A Doctor Webster (correctly) "alleged that the British Workers' League was being subsidised by capitalists and the government."

The BWL was just one of the groups organised by Milner during the war. According to Wrigley others included the National Service League, the Royal Colonial Institute, and the Socialist (sic) National Defence Committee - this last, apparently, the forerunner of the BWL. (2)

Wrigley writes that

"Milner appears to have acted out that favourite of right-wing fantasies - immortalised in the writings of such authors as Arthur Conan Doyle and John Buchan - of the eminence grise working to save the nation through his public school, Oxbridge, army and Whitehall contacts."

Were Carroll Quigley's work on the Round Table movement known by British historians of this period, Wrigley would know that Milner wasn't acting out a 'fantasy'. The reference to John Buchan is really rather amusing. Buchan was a minor member of the Round Table group and one or two of his novels drop hints about the massive network that Milner was operating. (3)

Milner crops up in Wrigley's preamble to his account of the National Party, a right-wing splinter of the Tory Party, founded by Henry Page-Croft MP in 1917.

### **National Party (Estd 1917)**

Founded by Henry Page Croft with Richard Cooper and Lord Amphill (elected President in 1919). An ultra-Conservative organisation designed to appeal to 'Patriotic labour'. Manifesto written by F. S. Oliver. The party was a flop. It originally took eight MPs from the Unionist Party but two resigned early, one died before the 1918 election, another was too ill to stand, a fifth member returned to the Conservative Party, and a sixth

withdrew in the face of Conservative opposition. The party eventually fielded 27 candidates in 1918. Eleven lost their deposit and only Croft and Cooper (the two remaining MPs) were returned - both without Conservative opposition. The party was disbanded in Jan. 1921 and reconstituted as the NCA. Croft and Cooper re-joined the Conservative Party in April 1921.

The National Party was something akin to a Monday Club of its day, a group of Tariff Reform League members alarmed at the growing uppitiness of the working class and their declining enthusiasm for the war with Germany. In part, like the BWL, the National Party seems to have been a response to the anti-war activities of the Union for Democratic Control - roughly, very roughly, the CND of its day. (4)

As the crisis for British capital peaked and began to wane after 1920/21, many of the groups described in these essays, including the National Party, fizzled out. Page-Croft and his little group of MPs and Peers re-joined the Tory Party. Like the BWL, the National Party preached 'class peace', and these two groups, largely funded and supported by the same members of the ruling elites, are almost a right and left 'face' of the anti-socialist, 'class peace' propaganda movement which dominated much of British domestic politics in the decade after the Russian revolution. (5)

These 'class peace' groups form almost half of the 20 or so groups discussed in White's wonderful essay. For some of them - the Christian Counter-Bolshevik Crusade, the Anti-Bolshevik League of Great Britain, the Moderate Party - little more than the name appears to have survived, and White concentrates on three of the better documented: the British Empire Union, the Liberty League, and the Middle Class Union.

#### **Middle Classes Union (Estd 1919)**

Pres., Lord Askwith. Founded 'to withstand the rapacity of the manual worker and profiteer' (*The Times*, 7.3.1919) and to provide essential services during a general strike. In 1921 it became the National Citizens' Council and by 1926 this had become the National Citizens' Union.

#### **Liberty League (Estd March 1920)**

An 'anti-Bolshevik' organisation headed by H. Rider Haggard (author of *King Solomon's Mines* etc.). Rudyard Kipling and Lord Sydenham. It collapsed within a year because the treasurer ran off with the money. It was subsequently incorporated within National Propaganda which was run by Admiral Hall.

White wants to distinguish between the hard-right anti-socialist groups and the 'class peace' campaigners.

I would be happy to accept White's suggestion that the 'class peace' and the hard right groups were funded by different sections of British capital, but we need more evidence. It's a nice idea, though, and the conflict between the Confederation of British Industry (remember Beckett's speech about a 'bareknuckle fight' with the government?) suggests that the kind of distinction White wants to make may still be

meaningful. The Thatcher wing of the Tory Party certainly represents the revival of a militant, anti-socialist, anti-working class strand in the party which had almost disappeared - gone underground - in the 1950s, to re-emerge in the 1960s as the Monday Club. Mrs Thatcher would have felt very comfortable in the Tory Party of the 1920s - something that comes across very strongly in Webber's book.

Table 1  
Taken From White's essay

<b>Name:</b>	<b>Foundation :</b>	<b>Directorships (directors identified):</b>	<b>Interests represented by directors:</b>	<b>Methods:</b>	<b>Objects:</b>
<b>National Alliance of Employers and Employed</b>	1916	63 (13)	predominantly engineering, banking and railways; many prominent members of FBI	propaganda, literature, social meetings, 'economic education'	class peace and constructive reform
<b>Industrial League and Council</b>	1919	78 (22)	manufacturing, metallurgy, chemicals, brewing	propaganda, formation of works committees etc	Whitley councils, industrial harmony, constructive reform
<b>Reconstruction Society</b>	1908	32 (7)	foreign manufacturing, oil, mining and assurance; also coal, mining and railways and the <i>Daily Express</i>	propaganda, literature, meetings	opposition to socialism, defence of the Constitution, 'true social reform'
<b>British Empire Union</b>	1916	16 (3)	colonial oil and mining, landowning	patriotic propaganda, intervention in strikes	opposition to Bolshevism and aliens
<b>Middle Class Union</b>	1919	14 (4)	foreign manufacturing, engineering	propaganda, lobbying	representation of middle class interests, opposition to Bolshevism
<b>National Security Union</b>	1919	12 (3)	colonial oil, mining and navigation; the <i>National Review</i>	propaganda, policing	'to combat Bolshevism'
<b>Liberty</b>	1920	9 (2)	colonial land,	propaganda	opposition to

League			tea, rubber investment and banking	Bolshevism and aliens, 'constructive reform'
--------	--	--	------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------

**Sources:**

- *Directory of Directors* 1919, 1920;
- *Who was Who*;
- *Stock Exchange Yearbook*;
- *Worker* 19 July 1919 (for M.C.U.);
- *Workers' Dreadnought* 6 January 1923 (for B.E.U.)

A constant feature of the Tory right-wing has been its xenophobia. Since the Monday Club's appearance the targets have been black and brown people in Britain. Before the second World War it was the Eastern Europeans in general and the Jews in particular. These were the 'aliens'. Immediately after World War I, the Tory right found itself in the ecstatic position of being able to conflate all its hate figures: socialism, bolshevism and the 'alien menace' were all perceived to be Jewish.

Mrs Thatcher has described socialism as 'an alien creed', a theme which reappeared in the Tories' 1987 election campaign. Are these echoes of the Tories' themes of the 1920s and 1930s deliberate? Henry Page-Croft's National Party, the Monday Club of its day, was part of the 'anti-alien' agitation which Cesarani shows was much more wide-spread and politically respectable in the 1920s than most commentators have previously acknowledged.

Cesarani shows how, after the forced repatriation of Germans, Austrians, Hungarians and Russians - maybe 40,000 in all - in the decade straddling the war, 'alien' became virtually synonymous with Jew - and almost with left-wing Jew. The deportations of this period he describes are reminiscent of the 'Palmer Raids' in the United States at this time, and Cesarani even has quotes from one or two people on the right in this country who seem to have seen the 'Palmer Raids' as a model to be copied here.

Much of this anti-Jewish activity was encouraged by the Tory Home Secretary, Joynson-Hicks, and Cesarani produces enough evidence to justify this conclusion:

"It is almost a truism among historians of anti-Semitism in England that the state and the political parties were immune from contamination. Yet the evidence of 'anti-alienism' shows that the politicians openly manipulated an 'anti-alien' sentiment that was entirely identified with the Jews and that ministers of state and senior civil servants consciously operated policies that discriminated against Jews on the basis of racial criteria... the harsh anti-Jewish atmosphere in the post-war years prompts a reevaluation of the 1930s and Mosley's movement in particular. It had been suggested that there was nothing new about Mosley's appeal. The history of 'anti-alienism' reinforces this view; political parties and the state had already pre-empted much of his programme and enough of his violent language to make him seem to some extent, passe.

This may account for the limits of his success. It surely necessitates a re-reading of the relations between Mosleyism and British politics. In the light of 'anti-alienism', Mosley was not just a flash-in-the pan, an



aberration that serves to affirm the essential stability of the liberal state and its political system. The state was, itself, already deeply incriminated in anti-Jewish discrimination and political parties had already experimented with a national chauvinism defined largely against the Jews."

In the crisis of the 1970s the military rewrote their manuals on counter-insurgency and talked of coups they might run. In 1920 the Army had just finished three years of being responsible for "monitoring and managing industrial and revolutionary unrest in the UK".

"From the close of 1917 to the start of 1920 it was the Army that was responsible for monitoring and managing 'industrial and revolutionary unrest in the United Kingdom'. The intelligence organisation created for this purpose consisted of an Intelligence Branch of the General Staff located at General Headquarters, Great Britain, with Intelligence Officers at all Command Headquarters. Intelligence networks reporting direct to GHQ and Commands were also established at 'centres of possible aggravated disturbance'."

David Englander's essay, from which this is taken, is absolutely fascinating, but is just a beginning. He describes the structure of this operation but is as yet unable (I presume) to evaluate it. A string of interesting - but isolated - anecdotes is not enough. For example, he flatly asserts that "the ACMA's (Authorised Competent Military Authorities) were both conduit and catspaw of MI5", but gives only one example. (Do we even know how big MI5 was at this point?)

Part of this national surveillance effort was done by "an elite corps of volunteer observers under the supervision of the Security Services." How many? We don't seem to know. And this is strikingly similar to the FBI's attempt to use the American Legion as an informer network in post World War II America. (6)

Webber's book is the first attempt at a survey of the inter-war period from the point of view of the British right. As the sections I have used from his brief 'Who was who' appendix suggest, he has touched many of the known bases - and some entirely new to me - though some of the information has to be dug out of the book's wonderful footnotes. This is a revised PhD and a lot of the detail - and its the detail that is interesting - has been shovelled off into footnotes, presumably in the interests of narrative clarity. As this is the first crack at the subject this will be invaluable to anyone interested in the field or the period. (And how much more valuable it would have been had the notes been included in the indexing process!). However, at £22.50 for less than 200 pages, this might be a library and photocopier job.

Steve Dorril and I heard Webber give a paper at a conference on the British right during the summer. The conference was well over-subscribed - the subject is exploding - and I had the wonderful experience of being in a room with people who know a great deal more about this subject than I do.

Richard Thurlow was also speaking. He presented what amounted to a precis of a large chunk of his recent book *Fascism in Britain* (Basil Blackwell, 1987) delivered in a frenetic mumble which rendered about half of what he said unintelligible. However, it was apparent that he had already revised one of the key sections in his book, the

account of Captain Ramsay MP, the Right Club, Nordic League and the 'coup' being planned in 1939/40. While in his book Thurlow accepts the received version that the 'coup' was nothing more than a pretext on MI5's part to justify putting them in detention, there is now some evidence that the 'coup' was somewhat more serious than that. Most of this evidence has been put together by John Hope, another of the speakers at the conference, and Thurlow should have acknowledged this fact.

Robin Ramsay

NB The boxed sections which punctuate this essay are from the 'who was who' appendix in Webber's book.

## NOTES

1. Barbara Lee Farr, *The Development and Impact of Right-wing Politics in England 1918-39* unpublished PhD thesis, University of Illinois, 1976. (Available in the UK through the public library system.) p169
2. There is a little confusion here. Wrigley attributes the SNDC to Milner, while Webber says it was founded by Victor Fisher. The answer may be simply that Fisher fronted Milner's money and connections.
3. Carroll Quigley, *Tragedy and Hope*, McMillan, US, 1966; and *The Anglo-American Establishment*, Books in Focus, US, 1981
4. The only full-length account I know of is *The Union of Democratic Control in British Politics during the First World War*, Marvin Swartz, Oxford, 1971.
5. It isn't that difficult to follow the trail of Milner's 'class peace'/corporatism right through to the present day: Round Table - Council on Foreign Relations - CIA - right-wing Labour Party revisionists - Social Democratic Party. But *demonstrating* it .....
6. *The FBI and the American Legion Contact Program, 1940-66*, Athan Theoharis in *Political Science Quarterly* Summer 1985

## Fiji coup update

In *Lobster* 14 we printed a piece on the USA's alleged role in the first Fiji coup, originally published in *Wellington Confidential*. Since then, due to the ill-health of *Wellington Confidential's* editor/publisher, it has been cut back and is now being sent to a very restricted list of people. Fortunately, *Lobster* is still on its overseas distribution list, and we will continue to print interesting bits from it. (If anyone is interested in buying photocopies of the future copies of *Wellington Confidential* from us, get in touch.)

Though the W/C piece on the Fiji coup was anonymous, an educated guess would be that its author was New Zealand's leading parapolitical researcher/writer, Owen Wilkes, who turns out immaculately researched material at an astonishing rate. Wilkes has now started his own newsletter, *Wellington Pacific Report* (details of how to get this at the end of this piece). In WPR Wilkes has continued the documentation of the

Fiji coup and what follows is almost entirely extracted from the first six issues. And WPR isn't just interested in the bits which fit: like all good parapolitics people Wilkes is more interested in the truth than in defending any fixed position.

## **WPR No 2**

"It has been confirmed by Ross Surber of the US Department of State that ex-CIA Director and coup-master, Vernon Walters, met with Colonel Rabuka in Suva two weeks before the coup. (*Fiji Sun* 6 July 1987). The conversation was supposedly concerned with Fiji Army forces on UN peace-keeping operations in Lebanon.

There have been many independent reports of CIA officers/agents in Suva at the time of the coup. David Robie (*New Zealand Outlook* July 1987, p43) adds another. He cites CBS news as having identified 11 CIA agents as being present in Fiji at the time of the coup.

Evidence for the US embassy in Suva having advance knowledge of the coup is that riot shutters went up at the windows about half an hour before the coup took place."

The W/C piece in *Lobster* 14 remarked on the presence of Paul Freeman in Fiji. WPR adds information on Freeman, mostly from the *Fiji Sun* 9th July 1987.

"Paul Freeman was involved in a destabilisation action against a NZ labour government in 1975. He received a Security Intelligence Service (SIS) file from an SIS employee, Rohan Jays, with embarrassing information about a Labour MP. Freeman publicly handed the file to the Prime Minister, thus ensuring that a scandal would develop over whatever was in the file. The scandal was exploited by then leader of the opposition (later PM) Robert (piggy) Muldoon. Apparently it had been intended that Freeman hold onto the file and feed out information from it to various opposition candidates during the 1976 election campaign (*Evening Post* 22 August 1975). Paul Freeman was a real estate entrepreneur (linked with Ian McClean, later MP for Tarawera) and political lobbyist (he claimed to be the only one in NZ) and on one occasion, after drinking, boasted about having been at a CIA training centre in Houston, Texas, although he also denied that he had any connections with the CIA. (*NZ Herald* 2 August 1975). He had earlier convictions for theft and receiving stolen goods.

In 1977 Freeman was in the news again when he applied for a private investigator's licence. This was opposed by the NZSIS on the grounds that Freeman had, on several occasions, falsely claimed to be an SIS employee or to be acting on behalf of the SIS. His application was unsuccessful, and in 1978 he turned up in Fiji and set up a firm called External Trade Organisation (ETO). ETO now has branches registered in Auckland, Honiara (Solomons), Taipei (Taiwan). For what it is worth some people in Suva are willing to swear that ETO is a CIA front and that Freeman is the CIA chief there. Freeman seems to enjoy extraordinary close links with several in Mara's cabinet. He was in Western Samoa when the coup happened, and immediately the news

broke he went to 'American Samoa', and after a short sojourn there he returned to Suva where he and his secretary spent the best part of a day going through and destroying ETO files. Thereafter he had more than daily contact with Mara associate and cabinet minister Peter Stinson. In July he accompanied Mara on his first post-coup travels to various Asian capitals, seeking trade contacts to substitute for trade links previously maintained with Australia and New Zealand. According to Col. Rabuka, as quoted in the *Fiji Times* (9th July 1987) the trip was also to investigate arms purchases - helicopters, armoured cars, landing craft, guns and ammunition. Paul Freeman and an ETO executive Rupini Tuiloma (nephew to Rabuka) were part of Rabuka's entourage."

Freeman crops up again in *WPR No 4*

"Paul Freeman, close associate of Ratu Mara and Peter Stinson is boasting in Suva about formerly being employed by the CIA, a good source has told WPR. The same source warned us, however, that what Freeman says does not always turn out to be true...."

Freeman was the subject of a long article by Australian TV journalist, Wendy Bacon, based on a TV programme she did for the Australian SBS company (Somebody's Man in Fiji, *The Listener* December 26 1987). Freeman *looks* like a CIA agent, actually *boasts* (eg to Bacon) that he is CIA, and he has ex US military and special forces people working for him. He fits the bill almost too well .... (That 'Listener', incidentally, is the *Australian Listener*, not the UK version).

In *WPR No5* Wilkes reports on official US government refutation of the alleged US involvement in the coup, written by a USIS officer in Wellington. We reprint this here. The annotations and comments are by Wilkes.

## **East/West Issues**

USIS

### **DISINFORMATION AND THE FIJI MILITARY COUP**

On May 14, 1987, Colonel Sitiveni Rabuka seized power in a military coup in Fiji, displacing the elected government of Dr. Timoci Bavadra.

The coup was condemned by the United States Government which stated its opposition to the overthrow of a democratically elected government and, under the requirement of U.S. law, suspended aid to Fiji.

#### **Background**

Communist media were quick to imply some U.S. involvement in the coup. Many of these implications were repeated by non-communist media world-wide, and in some cases repeated and cross-sourced until they assumed a mantle of veracity.

On May 16, Radio Moscow World Service stated that the Vice President of Fiji's Labor Party had told Associated Press that a white man who spoke with an American accent participated in the coup, indirectly "confirming" reports of Washington's possible involvement in the coup. "Izvestiya" and Tass on May 17

A

B

also carried stories implying U.S. involvement.

On May 18, the Radio Moscow Domestic Service quoted a statement issued by the World Peace Council in Helsinki (a Soviet front organization), saying the military action in Fiji was similar to those that had taken place in Chile, Grenada and a number of other countries. The broadcast drew attention to the newspaper "News on Sunday", which noted that U.N. Ambassador Vernon Walters, a former Deputy Director of the CIA, was in Fiji at the same time as when the coup was "being planned". The broadcast also claimed that Washington was nervous about the Fiji Government's anti-nuclear policy. They said an eyewitness from the "News" newspaper said U.S. citizens took part in the coup. (The "News" is a London-based left-wing paper which commenced publication about a month before the coup took place).

The Czechoslovak Communist Party daily "Rude Pravo" on May 18 carried a front-page article charging the U.S. with involvement in the coup. The article implies a connection between the visit of Vernon Walters and the coup, said U.S. citizens took part in the coup, and also drew attention to the anti-nuclear policies of the newly-elected government. Some of the material was sourced to the British "News on Sunday".

On May 18, Radio New Zealand's "Morning Report" carried a phone interview with Honolulu-based political scientist Dr. James Anthony, who linked the visit to Fiji of Vernon Walters to the coup. Anthony has long been identified with anti-U.S. activity. C

Moves to implicate Vernon Walters in the coup were also made by New Zealand "peace researcher" Owen Wilkes whose claims were carried by "The Press" (Christchurch) on May 16. Following the allegations by Dr. Anthony, Wilkes revived his claims which were carried by some of the private radio stations.

Radio New Zealand's "Morning Report" on May 19 carried further allegations of U.S. involvement. Dr. Wayne Robinson, a senior lecturer in politics at Waikato University claimed American influence behind the coup. He further claimed that U.S. Military intelligence about the supposed Libyan involvement in Vanuatu was supplied by Vernon Walters and was a subject of discussion between Prime minister David Lange and Australian Foreign Minister Bill Hayden. Robinson said this was to provide a diversion and set the scene for what was going to happen in Fiji. He also implied some sort of understanding between former Fiji Prime Minister Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara and unnamed Americans.

On May 15, the "Sydney Morning Herald", commenting on the coup, said, "There is no evidence that outside powers played any part..." However, on May 18 the "Sydney Morning Herald" published from Fiji a major article by Mary-Louise O'Callaghan and Tony Stephens headed "CIA Link With Coup Claim". The article said five employees of the CIA were active in Fiji and one of them had been present in Parliament House when the coup took place. O'Callaghan and Stephens attributed their claims to a "senior intelligence source" and said although there was circumstantial evidence for CIA involvement, theories also included Libyan, Iranian and Russian intervention.

This theme was repeated by Sydney journalist Peter Fray in a second part to the article. Fray said several speakers at a Fijian rally in Sydney had spoken of "strong circumstantial evidence of either CIA or Pentagon involvement". Evidence for these allegations included a build-up of U.S. naval activity in the South Pacific.

On May 16, Papua New Guinea's "Weekend Nuis" carried two wire service reports from Australia. One article quoted the spokesman for the anti-nuclear group "People for Nuclear Disarmament", Richard Bolt, who said that prior knowledge of the coup by the U.S. and Australian governments was "a distinct possibility". The other article quoted New South Wales University law lecturer David Weisbrot who said that U.S. influence in the coup "could not be discounted". D

The "Sydney Morning Herald" (SMH), on May 19, published a report by David McKnight headed "The CIA's Long Interest in the Pacific". McKnight focussed on a meeting of the "Pacific Basin Development" project designed to be undertaken in conjunction with the Pacific Democrat Union (PDU) which was meeting in Fiji at the time of the coup. McKnight's article opened with a reference to "the presence of an official from the Central Intelligence Agency in the Fiji parliament." at the time of the coup. The "senior intelligence source" quote of the day before in the SMH had somehow become an actual presence of an official. Again this was presented with no supporting evidence or comment.

This particular example of flawed journalism is examined in depth by Sam Lipski's "The Press" column of the Australian magazine "The Bulletin", August 18 page 70. Lipski says ".....it is now admitted at the SMH the story was probably overplayed. But nobody has said so in the paper." Lipski said SMH editors did seek further corroboration from Suva, but communications with Fiji were sporadic and unreliable. "When it became clear there was nothing further to substantiate the CIA angle the story was dropped." At this stage the SMH story had become "historical record" and was being quoted by other media as fact.

The PDU - main target of McKnight's article - membership consists of conservative political parties from Australia, Canada, Columbia, Fiji, Japan, New Zealand, and the U.S. New Zealand representatives at the meeting were former National Party President Sue Wood, Brian Talboys and Brian Eardley-Wilmot.

Funding for the meeting was provided by the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), a U.S. private bipartisan organization which openly funds democracy-building programs which are carried out by Institutes of Labor and Business, the Republican and Democratic political parties and a number of other private sector organizations. Substantial disinformation efforts have been directed against the NED in the past.

On 20 May, Australia's "Network Nine" current affairs program interviewed, via satellite, former CIA agent Ralph McGehee. According to McGehee, the events in Fiji matched the pattern "of how the Agency goes around the world overturning democratically-elected governments" and replacing them with military dictatorships. These charges were consistent with McGehee's practice of tailoring allegations to fit the country under discussion at the time. He also took the opportunity to repeat his belief that the CIA was involved in trying to overthrow the Lange government in New Zealand.

The weekly *Times of Papua New Guinea* on May 28 carried an article which referred to "a letter from a friend at the University of South Pacific in Fiji". Supposedly written on May 1, the letter accused the U.S. of conducting a destabilization campaign against the Bavadra government.

A letter to the editor in Papua New Guinea's leading daily "Post-Courier" of May 30, supposedly from an American citizen, endorsed the military coup and lauded U.S. Government involvement. The newspaper would not confirm that such a person existed and refused to give an assurance of the letter's authenticity.

Disinformation on the Fiji coup escalated on June 1 when the Soviet news agency Tass blamed the CIA and "U.S. Secret Services" for engineering the coup.

Tass quoted "New Zealand peace activist Gerald O'Brien", in an interview with the Japanese Communist Party newspaper "Akahata", as saying that "a lot of U.S. servicemen and other agents, operating under the cover of the notorious Peace Corps, were involved in the coup." [The Peace Corps is the American equivalent of New Zealand's Volunteer Service Abroad scheme.] Tass identified O'Brien as a member of the New Zealand Peace Council, an affiliate of the World Peace Council (a Soviet-sponsored front).

This Tass story was repeated in Africa and Latin America. It was carried on June 2 in Zimbabwe by Harare's "Daily Herald" and on June 3 by Uruguay's Communist Party Daily "La Hora". The article in "La Hora", from the La Prensa wire service, gave the London paper "Morning Star" as its source, which in turn quoted "Japanese sources".

On June 7, Zimbabwe's "Harare Sunday Mail" carried a further article by an unidentified "special correspondent" which repeated allegations that the U.S. was behind the Fiji coup.

As "evidence" it cited the visit to Fiji by Ambassador Vernon Walters, U.S. pressure on New Zealand over ship visit bans, and what they termed "the recent barrage of U.S. propaganda on growing Libyan interest in the South Pacific."

Other newspapers from across the political spectrum which carried or repeated similar articles on the Fiji coup included India's "Deccan Herald", May 19; Finland's "Tiedonantaja", May 22; Britain's "Guardian", May 31; Malta's "Il-helsien", June 5; Botswana's "Mmegi Wa Dikgang", June 6.

Dr. Timoci Bavadra, accompanied by Dr. James Anthony, held a press conference June 16 at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C.

Dr. Bavadra told his audience that six of the ten men who entered parliament and arrested his government were U.S. citizens; U.S. officials had known in advance of the coup; the coup had been funded by William Paupe, regional director of the U.S. AID program; that Paupe was a CIA agent who had channelled US\$200,000 to the former Alliance Party minister Tora for the purpose of undermining the Bavadra government; and that U.N. Ambassador Vernon Walters and retired general John Singlaub were in Fiji at the time of the coup.

These charges were carried by media world-wide, in many cases regarded as "proof" of earlier speculation.

Following the technique of quoting Western publications to revive disinformation campaigns, the "Press Trust of India" (PTI) carried a news release on the Fiji coup. The release quoted the New York magazine *The Nation* as the source. The PTI release was carried in several English-language newspapers including the pro-Soviet *Patriot* on September 12, in the prestigious daily *The Statesman* on September 13, the weekly *Sunday Observer* on September 13 and in the business-oriented daily *Financial Express* on September 14.

This article levelled many charges to provide "proof" that the U.S. was responsible for the coup in Fiji. It said, in part; "The USA had been looking for bases for its armed forces in the region. It was 'eyeing' properties for a naval and air base on the country's



second largest island of Vanua Levu."

The article also, characteristically, presented many of its "facts" in the form of sweeping statements - eg: "Ratu Mara paid regular visits to the U.S. Pacific Command (CINCPAC) headquarters in Hawaii and kept in touch with pro-American elements, including one Mr. William Paupe, Director of the South Pacific Regional Office of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID).

The article continued: "Mr. Paupe, whose record shows his very close connections with organizations having CIA links ... " "...Ratu Mara, Col. Rabuka and two CIA men were seen together ..." "... On May 14 Lt. Col. Rabuka stormed Parliament taking many officials and members of the Bavadra government hostage. Ratu Mara himself told an AP correspondent that he knew and approved of the coup in advance", the article said.

The PTI release repeated many of the allegations carried in the original release and also built on the statement by former Deputy Speaker of the House, Mr. Noor Dean, that he was convinced the men who arrested him "were not Fijians".

PTI quoted Mr. Jack Terrell "an investigator in the Philippines for the Washington-based International Center for Development" who claimed a special squad was brought to Fiji on a C-130 charter flight. PTI also said Mr. Terrell "who is closely connected to the mercenary community" claimed there were at least two Americans and two South Africans in the group. J

"While Mr. Terrell says that four C-130's may have been in Fiji around the time of the coup, Mr. Noor Dean said that a U.S. C-130 carrying 15 American troops landed unannounced and uncleared at Fiji's Nadi International Airport two days before the coup."

The article also claimed that William Paupe gave a minister in Ratu Mara's government, Mr Apisai Tora, a substantial amount of money "to foment anti-government demonstrations and racial riots" after Dr. Bavadra assumed power. This allegation has appeared in a number of publications with the amount of money ranging from \$200,000 to \$2 million.

The article appearing in "The Nation", written by Managing Editor Joanne Wypijewski, was quoted in Washington as being based on a "highly inaccurate and conspiratorial" account of the coup which appeared in the June issue of a privately circulated newsletter from New Zealand, "Wellington Confidential". Both stories were filled with unsupported allegations, innuendo, conspiracy and inaccuracy. K

"Wellington Confidential" attempts to model itself on a U.S. publication "Covert Action Information Bulletin" which claims to reveal U.S. intelligence activity, but often replays Soviet propaganda and disinformation themes.

The dissemination of the article about the Fiji coup through PTI followed an often-used pattern for spreading Soviet disinformation. A forgery or fabrication is first planted in a Third World newspaper or news agency. Once the story has been reported by other papers and wire services it is then "discovered" by Soviet and pro-Soviet publications who will then cross-play it, citing its supposedly non-communist source. L

A careful blend of known fact with innuendo and outright lies, repeated often enough to an uncritical audience, gathers credibility, especially if unthinkingly repeated by an established and reputable media outlet.

In the race to be "first with the news," the media seldom, if at all, spent any time on checking the veracity of claims, nor the background and motives of some individuals ready to "prove" U.S. involvement in the coup.

## **The Facts**

Much of the disinformation which has surfaced concerning the coup in Fiji has named individuals and linked them with supposed dates or events.

Early claims focussed on the activities of Sir Ratu Kamisese Mara, U.S. AID Director William Paupe and the visit of the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Vernon Walters, to Fiji.

It was inferred that Ambassador Walters made a "special" pre-coup trip to Fiji. In fact Fiji was one stop on a 10-country pre-UNGA consultation trip and the Fiji Government was informed of the Ambassador's travel plans in March - well before the elections were held. Ambassador Walters left New York on his 10-country tour on April 10.

The Fiji elections held April 12 resulted in the election of the Bavadra government. Prime Minister Timoci Bavadra was sworn in by the Governor-General on April 13 and announced his cabinet April 14.

Between April 15 and 25 non-violent protests took place in Suva and elsewhere over the election of the Bavadra coalition government.

Ambassador Walters arrived in Fiji April 28 to discuss U.N. related matters which included a meeting April 29 with Coalition Foreign Minister Krishna Datt. Ambassador Walters did meet with Lt. Colonel Rabuka as claimed, however, the reports failed to add that Lt. Colonel Rabuka was in the presence of his Commanding Officer as he briefed Ambassador Walters on the Fiji battalion's peacekeeping role in the Sinai. The meeting was not, as inferred, some clandestine affair.

Ambassador Walters left Fiji April 30 (9:00am) for Western Samoa.

On May 14 Colonel Sitiveni Rabuka seized power in a military coup.

Because Ambassador Walters held an executive position with the CIA some years ago, conspiracy theorists find it convenient to believe he is still "active" and have been quick to hold him responsible for trouble in any of the many countries he has visited over the years. Their knee-jerk reaction of linking Ambassador Walters to the Fiji coup, simply because he had been in the country close to when the coup took place, was an expected and somewhat familiar move.

The U.S. Government condemned the coup and also suspended all aid and direct assistance to Fiji. This suspension was made under the terms of a U.S. law which applies if a government is overthrown by illegal or violent means.

This suspension of aid has not been given a high profile by those claiming the U.S. has

been granting "massive" security aid to Fiji.

U.S. security assistance authorized for Fiji in FY87 (fiscal year 1987) was, in fact, \$125,000 in International Military Education (IMET) and \$300,000 in Foreign Military Sales (FMS) grants. This hardly constitutes the "heavy subsidy" claimed by critics who rarely mention the fact that Fiji received greater military assistance from others, including Australia and New Zealand. O

Vague and non-specific claims of various forms of U.S. military assistance to Fiji continue to surface from time to time, despite the fact that all military assistance was suspended on the day of the coup.

In a Radio NZ phone interview on May 18, Dr. James Anthony dwelt at length on USAID South Pacific Director William Paupe's attendance at a meeting of the Pacific Islands Development Program (PIDP) Standing Committee meeting in Honolulu April 27-28. Some effort was made to establish a link relating to the coup between William Paupe and Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara who also attended the meeting. "Facts" were quoted to show that Paupe and Ratu Mara "were always together".

In fact, Paupe was invited to attend the meeting by the Director of PDIP and traveled separately from Ratu Mara.

Dr. Anthony states: "When Mara goes to this meeting at the East-West Center, Bill Paupe is with him". The same statement could be made of all the attendees at the PDIP conference. As one of those attending the meeting, William Paupe was in the same venue as Ratu Mara. One of the functions at which Paupe and Mara were both present was a dinner on the evening of April 28. This was hosted by the East-West Center President Victor Li and was in honor of the resigning Chairman of the PDIP Standing Committee. The guests of honor were Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara and his wife.

It was patently untrue that, as Dr. Anthony stated, "Bill Paupe is with him (Mara) all the time." Paupe did not stay in the same hotel as Mara.

Dr. Anthony's claim on Australian ABC radio May 19 that "Paupe accompanied Ratu Mara to CINCPAC on April 29" was patently untrue. Paupe had already left Honolulu by that date and he had not visited CINCPAC. P

Anthony also stated in that interview that Paupe was a "special operations officer" in Southeast Asia (Vietnam) for many years. From 1966-1970 and 1971-75 William Paupe was, in fact, the Deputy Assistant Director for Public Health at the USAID Mission. This, according to Anthony, establishes the "close links" he alleges Paupe had with the CIA. Q

William Paupe, in a letter published in the *Fiji Times* July 6, wrote: "USAID (Vietnam) was able to carry out a number of beneficial programs in public health and nutrition, education, agriculture development, and rural and community development. My own involvement in those activities was to assist in the management of a massive public health program, a highly visible and not at all sinister endeavor."

This is not the first time that Dr. James Anthony has made allegations of U.S. involvement in island affairs. He has misrepresented U.S. Motives and criticized any U.S. involvement in the South Pacific region at a variety of fora for several years.

It is ironic that, contrary to Anthony's claims, William Paupe spent much more time with the new Bavadra government leaders, including a meeting with Timoci Bavadra to discuss development issues, during the period immediately preceding the coup than with any Alliance politicians or with Ratu Mara.

Finally, the allegations regarding C-130 aircraft visits do not match mission records and service logs which show there were no U.S. C-130 aircraft in Fiji around the time of the May 14 coup. A chronology of all U.S. C-130 landings in Fiji before and after the coup shows the following:

February 02 A U.S. Coast Guard C-130 Search and Rescue aircraft was in Nadi for a meeting with the Fiji Civil Aviation Authority.

June 08- 09 A C-130 USNS "Mercy" (hospital ship) support aircraft landed at Nadi and Nausori to pick up 30 Fiji School of Medicine students and staff to transport them to Rabaul, Papua New Guinea.

June 13- 14 A C-130 "Mercy" support aircraft landed at Nadi to drop off seven "Mercy" medical personnel in transit to Tuvalu by commercial aircraft on June 14.

June 20- 22 Three C-130 aircraft arrived and departed Nadi in connection with a medical evacuation from the USS "Bellau Wood", which was then west of Fiji after a visit to Sydney. The evacuation was well publicized and involved a young sailor injured in a fall.

June 26- 30 Two C-130 "Mercy" support aircraft landed in Nausori and one at Nadi to drop off 30 passengers for USNS "Mercy" teams from Tonga and Kiribati and to transport 12 passengers to Guam.

All of the landings were cleared through normal diplomatic channels. None carried troops to Fiji, nor were any arrivals hidden from public view.

## Conclusion

It can be seen that, apart from deliberate disinformation, a fair amount of sloppy work in the initial coverage of the Fiji coup also helped to contribute to disinformation concerning the event.

Media outlets appeared more ready to embrace the spectacular claims than to look more closely at some of the domestic elements behind the coup.

Speaking in general, not much attention was given initially to traditional tensions between Fijians and Indians in Fiji, nor the long-time concern of Fijians with their land.

Claims by conspiracy theorists that "the CIA was behind the coup" immediately captured the continuing attention of some journalists who seemed unconvinced that Fiji's domestic problems could be the reason behind the coup. Whether this attitude was caused by a basic ignorance of Pacific affairs or pursuit of the "easy story" remains unclear.

A. Not true. The US stated its opposition to overthrow of democratic governments in general but did not condemn this coup.

- B. The first paragraph is not supported by the following paragraphs. What is demonstrated is merely that the Soviet bloc media made their usual knee-jerk response. No examples are quoted of Western media or peace movements repeating the unsubstantiated Soviet allegations.
- C. As the cited dates show, allegations in the West about US involvement appeared simultaneously or earlier than they appeared in Soviet bloc media.
- D. Funnily enough the USIS did not pick up on David Weisbrot disowning the allegations attributed to him - it was reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald* a few days later.
- E. The Sam Lipski quotes in fact refer to the O'Callaghan/ Stephens story mentioned four paragraphs earlier, not to the McKnight story. What Lipski also wrote, but which the USIS did not quote, was that "Tony Stephens is confident that his source was reliable."
- F. Another strange mistake - the hotel registers and news reports at the time indicated that it was Ms Margaret Eardley-Wilmot, not Brian E-W. Or does USIS know more about the PDU conference than we do?
- G. This illustrates the normal pattern of Soviet bloc reporting of events in the West - apart from initial knee-jerk reactions (see B) they are content to repeat allegations already made in western media rather than introduce fresh information based on their own investigations. In general Soviet-bloc media selectively plagiarise western media, and not the other way round as Gould claims.
- H. O'Brien claims that while mentioning Peace Corps people being in Fiji, he did not claim they were responsible for the coup.
- I. It was unfortunate that Bavadra made these wild allegations, which WPR understands he has since withdrawn. It is believed that it was Jim Anthony who pressured Bavadra into making them, and that Noor Dean and Jack Terrell embroidered upon them. There is ample evidence that the soldiers who raided parliament were Fijian.
- J. Jack Terrell's claims are indeed rubbish. He had no first-hand knowledge of Fiji events.
- K. It is interesting that while accusing *Wellington Confidential* of being filled with "unsupported allegations, innuendo, conspiracy and inaccuracy" not a single example of these supposed failings is actually quoted or refuted.
- L. This paragraph is quite incomprehensible. What forgery in what third world newspaper? PTI was in fact quoting the US weekly *Nation*, as mentioned 10 paragraphs earlier.
- M. Protocol slip: the hereditary title should precede the bestowed title: hence Ratu Sir Kamisese.
- N. Vernon Walters certainly did make a 'special' trip to Fiji. On what previous

occasion has someone as important as Walters spent 3 days in a place as unimportant as Fiji? Certainly he visited 9 other Pacific countries - and left a trail of Libyan scare stories which aided the coup. Certainly his trip was planned well before the Fiji election - but well after it was known that there would be an election, and that Bavadra's Coalition had a good chance of winning it.

- O. In addition the US pays all expenses for 500 Fiji soldiers in the Sinai. This produces a substantial foreign currency surplus for the Fiji government. The US has continued to pay for all these expenses, amounting to perhaps US\$5 million per year. Only about one twelfth of US payments to the Fiji military have been suspended.
- P. Another strange discrepancy. As noted in WPR No 2, a CINCPAC source says that Paupe *did* visit CINCPAC, but Mara did *not*. USIS and CINCPAC apparently don't try to make their refutations compatible.
- Q. The title 'special operations officer' is quite likely an invention of Anthony's, but there is still evidence, which will be presented in future WPR issues, that Paupe was working for the CIA in Vietnam, and subsequently in Korea.
- R. This is the most fascinating revelation of all. Prior to the coup there had been only one US military aircraft visit to Fiji in four months. In one month alone following the coup there were eight aircraft on four occasions. We are asked to believe that these were all 'medical' missions. See following item.
- S. The conclusions do not tally with the rest of the report or with what happened in the wake of the coup. By far the bulk of western reporting about the coup was concerned more with racial and tribal interpretations of the coup. Hardly any western newspapers picked up the *Sydney Morning Herald* stories about CIA activity.

The USIS has totally failed to prove any 'active' or 'passive' disinformation activity, with the possible exception of O'Brien's reported allegation about the Peace Corps. The final 'NB' is laughable - the USIS has failed to disprove any of the serious allegations about US involvement in the coup, but has concentrated instead on disproving what is already obviously rubbish - e.g. the allegations that the coup was carried out by US marines. Fully one fifth of the paper is taken up with quoting and refuting the patently untrue allegations of Jim Anthony.

Rather than disputing the facts Mr Gould has tried to squeeze them into the standard USIS 'Soviet disinformation' mould. And they just don't fit. One standard USIS thesis is that Soviet bloc media promulgate the official line on a particular incident and western peace movements then slavishly follow and repeat the line. Another standard (and somewhat contradictory) thesis is that the Soviet Union 'plants' disinformation in obscure third world publications so that Soviet-bloc media can discover and repeat the disinformation as fact. Gould conspicuously fails to prove either thesis. He also fails to disprove the thesis that the US *was* involved in the coup.

Owen Wilkes

In *WPR No 6* Wilkes suggests that the USIS piece was, in fact, intended as a pre-emptive strike against the Wendy Bacon TV piece, broadcast on 15th November 1987 (the USIS piece was 28th October). The Bacon piece was followed next day by a piece in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (November 16th) by US Ambassador (to Australia, presumably) William Lane Jnr. On this Wilkes commented in *WPR No6*:

"It (Lane's piece) responded to 'allegations that the US was involved in the two military coups', although, as far as WPR knows, no-one is suggesting that the US was involved in coup 2. Lane doesn't really answer any allegations - he instead points out that since May 18 he himself has consistently labelled all such allegations as "utterly ridiculous", as though this somehow proves (or disproves) something. He backs this up by noting that the US government now has no ambassador in Fiji, has advised US citizens not to travel to Fiji, and has called for democracy to be restored in Fiji, as though these actions somehow prove US non-complicity.

Straw-man Jim Anthony (who caused Bavadra considerable embarrassment by claiming in his name in Washington, on purloined Fiji embassy letterhead, that US marines, not Fijians, carried out the coup) was knocked down yet again; the US government had 'no evidence that Gen. John Singlaub was involved' etc. "

One final piece. In the Australian paper *Tribune* (25th November 1987) Denis Freney reported that the stepson of the current Fijian Minister for Fijian Affairs, Rati Meli Vesikula, had recently left the British Army, had been serving in Northern Ireland as an intelligence officer, and had been a member of the National Front. Freney reports that Vesikula himself had spent 23 years in the British Army, much of it in Northern Ireland. Can anybody supply more information on either of these two people? And the Fijian SAS?

#### GETTING WPR

WPR is monthly, average so far 10 sides of A4. Send 25 dollars New Zealand (or equivalent) to WPR, Box 9314, Wellington, New Zealand.

## Secrets from Germany

*GEHEIM* ("SECRET") is West Germany's representative in the international stable of state research publications. *Geheim* has appeared three or four times a year since 1983, and its editors are experienced state research journalists in the Federal Republic - Rudolf Gossner, author (with *Geheim* contributor Uwe Herzog) of an exhaustive work on the undercover activities of the German police, Jurgen Roth and Michael Opperskalski, co-author of three books on the CIA (1).

*Geheim* sets out to expose both the secret side of the German state and foreign clandestine operations in West Germany, and the most recent issue (No2, 1987) is certainly no disappointment. Articles on German activities cover participation by the German Army in the Afghan War, security measures of the Berlin police for VIP

visits, the condemnation by the ILO of the German state's practice of excluding "extremists" from public employment (Berufsverbot); and, amongst the three contributions from members of the Green Party (two evaluating the recent census boycott campaign), a detailed expose of a regional branch of the Verfassungsschutz (Office for the Protection of the Constitution, Germany's MI5). Using his former position as Green representative in the Baden-Wurtemberg regional parliament to prepare an in-depth account of the Verfassungsschutz, Thilo Weichert gives names, addresses, telephone numbers, staffing levels and budgets in such detail as to remind British readers how secretive their own security service is.

Not surprisingly, *Geheim* devotes a fair amount of space to the CIA: five articles in this issue. Barbara Muller continues the listing (begun in issue No1/87) of American intelligence bases in Germany. She lists over 100 locations in Central and Northern Germany used by either the CIA or US Military Intelligence. Michael Opperskalski presents a comprehensive list of US and UK diplomats expelled from various countries for "spying activities" since 1980; and, in a second article, describes the power struggle between the CIA, Pentagon and State Department over the NSC and its new head, Frank Carlucci. Two other articles on American parapolitics are reprinted from American publications - on Vernon Walters from *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, and on John Singlaub from *National Reporter* (formerly *Counterspy*).

Perhaps the most interesting article is "Gunning for Libya - anti-Libyan operations in West Berlin" by Peter Niggel. Niggel investigates Mossad involvement in assassinations of Libyan officials and in operations designed to ensure that terrorism remains on the front page of the Western media, thus souring Arab-European relations. He refers specifically to operations aimed at incriminating Syria and Libya in terrorist activities, such as the case of Hassan el Harti, a Palestinian and Mossad agent provocateur, who was arrested in 1979, with six accomplices, on bomb charges, then allowed bail and given back his passport.

The article describes a trio of shady individuals involved in anti-Libyan operations: Rageb M. Zatout, a Libyan exile and member of the Libyan National Salvation Army; Hilmar Hein, a German scaffolding contractor with links to the underworld and who claims to have met John Poindexter and colonel Oliver North in Bangkok in 1983; and Moshe Ben Ari, an Israeli alleged to be head of the 'Third Eye of Zion', a group which carries out Mossad's dirty work in West Berlin. Niggel recounts in considerable detail (passport numbers, car number plates, telephone conversations, extracts from British and German police reports) how, between them, Zatout, Hein and Ben Ari organised the assassination of Libyan officials in London, Rome and Vienna; planned the assassination of Gadhafi in the attack on his Tripoli barracks in May 1984; and had a hand in the shooting of WPC Yvonne Fletcher in April 1984 in London.

Niggel also sees the Nesar Hindawi case as a Mossad operation designed to disrupt Syria's relations with Europe. He points out that Hindawi's father, a long-time employee of the Jordanian Embassy in London, was sentenced to death in absentia by the Jordanians for being a Mossad agent, and that Nesar's brother Hasi, arrested after the Berlin night-club bombing that served to justify the American bombing of Libya, underwent a sudden change of heart about making a statement after receiving a prison visit from two Arab-speaking 'Englishmen', accompanied by German security official Norbert Boer. This statement came at the time when the Western media were at the peak of their campaign to portray Syria as the sponsor of world terrorism. It is perhaps significant that at his trial Hasi did not stick to his previous declarations and states that



one of the 'Englishmen' had presented himself in Arabic as an Egyptian, and could have been from Israel. Peter Niggl has opened up the subject: it is certainly worth further investigation.

*Geheim* is a well-documented and wide-ranging source of information on covert activities with reference to Germany. The only snag is that it is only published in German. Perhaps its editors could be persuaded, like *Le Monde de Renseignement* (Intelligence/Parapolitics), to produce an English-language version. But for those who can cope with the German, not to be missed.

David Teacher

## Notes

1. *Im Schatten des Rechts*, Gossner and Herzog, Kiepenheur and Witsch, 1984. Also see their earlier work *Der Apparat*, Kiepenheur and Witsch, 1982, updated 1984.

*CIA im Iran* (including Teheran Embassy documents), *CIA im Westeuropa* (including US Army procedures in event of war in Europe), and *CIA im Mittelamerika* - all by Gunter Neuberger and Michael Opperskalski available from:

*Geheim* Lutticherstr 14, 500 Koln 1, West Germany.

## Publications

### *Orders for the Captain*

James Kelly  
(Kelly-Kane, Bailieboro, Ireland, 1971/86)

Kelly's *Genesis of Revolution*, reviewed in *Lobster* 13 gave an overview of the Irish situation during the period 1969-73, from the Dublin arms trials to the failure of Sunningdale. It advanced the theory that a war of attrition between the British Army and the Provisional IRA became inevitable after the Dublin Government backed down from intervening in the North in 1970. *Orders For The Captain* is Kelly's detailed account of his personal role in the crisis period of August 1969 to May 1970, when, on secret orders, he liaised between Northern Defence Committees and the Dublin Government, and arranged for undercover importation of arms for distribution to the North should the situation demand it.

Captain James Kelly (b.1929) joined the Irish Army in 1949 and, after other duties, was transferred to G2 (Intelligence) in 1960. On the appointment of Col. Michael Hefferon to the post of Director of Intelligence in 1962, Kelly became his Personal Staff Officer until Hefferon's retirement in April 1970. While on leave in August 1969 Kelly had been in Derry at the outbreak of the Battle of the Bogside, the beginning of the present war. Kelly reported his experience and a subsequent visit to his home by a Northern delegation asking for arms to Col. Hefferon who detailed him to develop these contacts and to concentrate solely on the North.

Accordingly, Kelly arranged a visit to Belfast for the second week in September and

there met John Kelly (no relation), a veteran of the IRA's 1956-62 campaign. John Kelly had served six years in prison for his activities and was then Northern Ireland Co-ordinator for the Citizens' Defence Committees.

The message from the committees was clear - they believed that only arms would guarantee safety for the minority in the North, and they looked South for assistance in procurement and training. On his return to Dublin Captain Kelly reported these meetings to Col. Hefferon (who reported to Minister of Defence, James Gibbons), and to two of the Ministers on a special Cabinet sub-committee on the Northern situation, Charles Haughey (Finance) and Neil Blaney (Agriculture).

At this time the Dublin Government felt a certain responsibility for the Nationalist community in the North: on the 13th August, Taoiseach (Prime Minister) Jack Lynch had made a speech which read, in part: "It is clear now that the present situation cannot be allowed to continue... the Irish Government can no longer stand by and see innocent people injured and perhaps worse." By the early months of 1970 the Dublin Government's policy had erred more towards public concern but diplomatic hesitancy, and ended in May 1970 with the abdication of responsibility for Northern Ireland altogether. Back in September 1969, however, the mood was for intervention. Steps were taken to come to the aid of the North - Minister of Defence James Gibbons authorised secret weapons training for 9 men from Derry at Fort Dunree, Co. Donegal.

As a subterfuge the Derry volunteers were enrolled in the FCA, Ireland's Territorial Army, allowing the Minister of Defence to deny, if need be, that the Irish Army was training any other than Army or FCA personnel. The training programme was to be extended by the arrival of another 20 Derry volunteers on 4th October, but this was hastily cancelled and the training programme shelved when it was rumoured that the programme was to be exposed in the press. The opening of the Scarman Tribunal in Derry prevented the programme's reactivation: any mention of official, if covert, weapons training in the Republic for Derry men would cause international embarrassment for Dublin.

Despite this setback, a conference was arranged for the weekend of 4/5 October in a hotel in Bailieboro, Co. Cavan, where Captain Kelly met representatives of Citizens' Defence Committees from most parts of the North. His report on the Monday indicated that the CDCs felt arms and weapons training to be essential for the defence of the Nationalist minority, and they pressed for a resumption of the Fort Dunree programme and assistance in procuring weapons.

Kelly's report was handed to Col. Hefferon, who informed Lynch, Gibbons and Peter Berry, Secretary to the Department of Justice. As a result, an account was opened in the fictitious name of George Dixon at the Lower Baggot St., Dublin, Branch of the Munster and Leinster Bank to handle funds from the North for weapons purchases.

Having drawn a blank at weapons supplies from America, and uncovered an MI6 agent called Captain Peter Markham-Randall who came to Dublin posing as an arms dealer, Northern representatives began negotiating with a Hamburg arms dealer called Otto Schleuter and, around the turn of the year, paid £3,000 to him from the Dixon account. Having been asked to assist in the negotiations Captain Kelly flew to Dortmund on 19th February 1970 to meet Schleuter and to hand over another £10,000. The two discussed transport arrangements but Kelly was disappointed not to be able to inspect the arms ordered - 500 pistols, 400 machine guns, 180,000 rounds of

ammunition and a number of bullet-proof vests.

On 3rd March a meeting took place between Gibbons, Kelly and a Northern delegation led by John Kelly, at which the Minister of Defence, Gibbons, reaffirmed Dublin's support, military if need be. The next day Captain Kelly briefed Gibbons on developments and obtained his permission to fly to Antwerp on 10th March for another meeting with Otto Schleuter. After some delays the first shipment from Schleuter arrived in Dublin on March 25, to be met by Captain Kelly, John Kelly and the Customs Surveyor who had been informed as to the nature of the cargo. However Schleuter's shipment turned out to consist only of 40 bullet-proof vests, the arms having been held up in Antwerp because of paperwork. Fearful that the arms deal might end up a swindle, Kelly arranged to return to Hamburg on 1 April to see Schleuter, this time bringing an interpreter, Albert Luykx, a Belgian-born friend of Neil Blaney's.

On April 2, however, the situation in Belfast worsened and, as an interim measure, Gibbons ordered 500 rifles to be transported to Dundalk on the border. The rifles had been stockpiled with this in mind - against the advice of Kelly, as they were traceable to the Irish Army - after a potential purchaser in August 1969 turned out to have links with the Ulster Volunteer Force.

Kelly returned on the 4th, briefing Gibbons on his talks with Schleuter. On 10th April Kelly's superior, Director of Intelligence Hefferon, reached retirement age and was replaced by Gibbons' protege Col. Patrick Delaney. On the 17th Kelly and Luykx flew to Vienna and made final arrangements for the £30,000 cargo of arms to be delivered to Dublin by air. However, while in Vienna, Kelly received a phone call saying that the Garda Special Branch were waiting to seize the arms and arrest him. Kelly cancelled the shipment and flew back to Dublin on the 22nd. Nothing more transpired until the 28th when, in the course of an interview with Gibbons, it became clear that the Minister of Defence was going to deny authorising the shipments and use the change-over of Directors of Intelligence to break with the previous (though unfulfilled) policy of support for the minority community in the North. Kelly immediately resigned and on that morning was arrested under the Offences Against the State Act, together with Charles Haughey, John Kelly, Albert Luykx and Neil Blaney (the latter to be released without charge).

On May 6 Jack Lynch fired Haughey and Blaney, and Kevin Boland, Minister for Local Government, resigned. James Gibbons was promoted to Blaney's old position of Minister for Agriculture - a coveted post in the Irish Cabinet - and on July 2, reassured that Dublin would do no more than protest, General Freeland, GOC Northern Ireland, sent his troops into the Falls, and a bloody war of attrition became inevitable.

The trial of the 4 "conspirators" began on September 22nd 1970 before President of the High Court Mr Justice Andreas O'Keefe, who had publicly aired his reluctance to try this particular case. In the first week, the inconsistencies of Gibbons' testimony, particularly in denying government knowledge of the arms plan before 20th April, were highlighted by clear and unequivocal evidence from Col. Hefferon that Captain Kelly had been following orders at all times and that the Minister of Defence had been kept informed. This was too much for O'Keefe who stopped the trial on 29th September and ordered a retrial which opened on 6th October under Mr Justice Seamus Henchy. In this second trial Col. Hefferon was not allowed to appear as a prosecution witness, but, despite this, the court took only two weeks to hear the

evidence and clear all 4 defendants.

It is interesting to follow the careers of some of the participants in this episode. As might have been expected, Col. Delaney, who stood by Gibbons through both trials, was promoted to Major-General and appointed Chief-of-Staff in April 1971 after only one year as Director of Intelligence. He died in July 1971.

The publication of Peter Berry's papers in *Magill* magazine in 1980 (extracts reprinted in the 1986 version of *Orders for the Captain*) confirms Kelly's version of events: the former Justice Minister Desmond O'Malley affirms that Lynch and O'Malley were both kept informed of Captain Kelly's activities from the Bailieboro meeting onwards.

Otto Schleuter's disappearing trick with the money (never traced) was not forgotten. In David Leigh's *High Times - the life and times of Howard Marks* (Unwin, London 1984) the IRA arms smuggler Jim McCann untruthfully brags about how he and his men "robbed a Hamburg arms dealer called Otto Schleuter of £30,000 worth of machine pistols, because the Irish government had secretly paid the man in 1970 for arms that were never delivered." (p 189)

But it is three of the main players in the arms crisis who are in positions of importance today. Haughey made it to Taoiseach, but hangs on only thanks to the support of two Independents, one of whom is his old "co-conspirator", Neil Blaney. As for Captain Kelly, he is back in his native Bailieboro, having been elected to Fianna Fail's National Executive in 1986.

Perhaps angered by his republication of *Orders for the Captain*, Fianna Fail has done its best to freeze Kelly out. It rejected him for a place on the party panel for a Radio Telefis Eirann "Questions and Answers" session to be filmed in Bailieboro, preferring an obscure county councillor. Undaunted, Kelly found a place in the audience, only to be advised that that part of the room was not covered for sound. During a break he changed places and succeeded in speaking. But in the broadcast version not a word of his was heard. (*The Phoenix* 3 July 1987)

*Orders For The Captain* is stocked by Greene's Bookshop, 16 Clare St., Dublin 2. £5.00 (or its equivalent) should cover book and postage. On the Arms Crisis see also *What Kind of Country? Modern Irish Politics 1968-83* Bruce Arnold (Cape, London, 1984)

David Teacher

The article above was written for *Lobster 14* but held over because of shortage of space. Since writing it, Teacher has been reading some of the work of Roger Faligot, the French writer on intelligence matters.

On Kelly, Teacher notes that in Faligot's recent *La Piscine*, Faligot states:

Otto Schlutter had supplied weapons to the FLN during the Algerian war which drew the attention of the SDECE (now DGSE) on to him. Their 'Service Action', masquerading as a terrorist group 'La Main Rouge' (Red Hand), carried out several bombings and assassination attempts against FLN weapons suppliers between 1956 and 1960. Their first two attacks were against Schlutter - 28 September 1956 his Hamburg offices were

bombed, killing his deputy Mr Lorenzi; and on 3 June 1957 Schlutter's mother was killed by a bomb in her car.

And in Faligot's *Geurre Speciale en Europe (le laboratoire irlandais)* he offers this on the Kelly episode:

When the SIS learned that Charles Haughey was keen to provide 'concrete assistance' to the Catholic ghettos under siege in the North, Sir John Rennie decided to entrap the Irish leader. 'Jock' Haughey, the Finance Minister's brother, and the Deputy Director of Irish Military intelligence (G2), Captain James Kelly, contacted an arms salesman in London, Captain Peter Rakham-Randall (sic). When they discovered he was an SIS agent, they opted for a continental solution. Otto Schlutter of Hamburg had supplied weapons to the Algerian FLN in the past and would surely do the same for the IRA. But Schlutter, victim in the 1950s of several attempts on his life by the Red Hand group organised by the SDECE, did not want to run the gauntlet again. The SIS was alerted and they passed the information onto the Opposition in Dublin. Scandal was inevitable.

### ***Origins of the Vigilant State: the London Metropolitan Special Branch Before the First World War***

Bernard Porter

(Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1987)

Porter is an academic historian working an interesting new seam, and this is really very good indeed. If anything his account of the SB's fabrication of an 'anarchist' and 'Irish threat' in the 1880s and 1890s is the more convincing for the extreme caution he displays in handling the material. Porter shows, in enormous detail, that not a lot has changed in the last 100 years: the SB was *set up* without political control.

Working his way through such original material as there is, Porter has opened up a number of interesting subsidiary trails. One is his discovery that 'Nigel West's' book on the Special Branch is junk. In a paper in Vol.1 No.3 of *Intelligence and National Security* (see journals in this issue) Porter describes 'West's' book as "the most unreliable history book ever written by anyone who has not deliberately set out to deceive." (Would we share Porter's assumption that 'West's' deception was mere incompetence?)

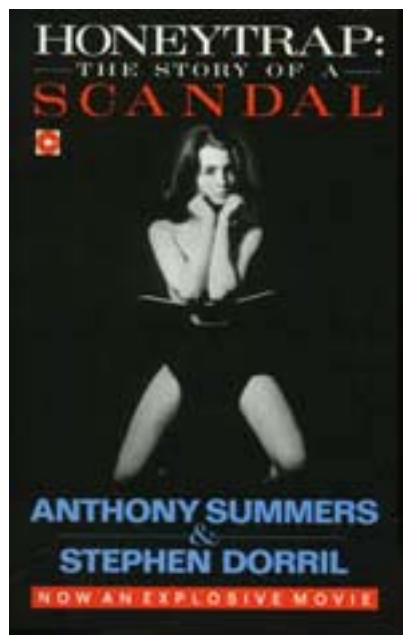
The other interesting area that is being forced on Porter is what might be called the methodology of British historical research. In researching his book Porter found he couldn't get access to SB files, not even for the 19th century (and maybe had his phone tapped for the attempt). In an article in *Times Higher Educational Supplement* (24 April 1987) he wonders:

"Does Britain really have a secret conspiratorial history which nobody is to be allowed to get wind of? The scraps of intelligence that have got through the fence suggest that it may be of some importance .... As a nation, our history may have been more subject to conspiratorial forces than we ever credited."

It may not sound like much to the hard-core paranoids reading *Lobster*, but for a senior academic, that is close to heresy, and rather a bold step to take.

### ***Honeytrap***

Anthony Summers and Stephen Dorril  
(Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1987)



This isn't really the place to do more than mention this. I think it's great, really very important, chiefly for what it shows can be done in recent history if the work is done. Most of the reviews it received were sloppy, non-comprehending or egocentric. The best of a poor lot was David Sexton's in the *Spectator* (31 May 1987) which at least had the intelligence to see that the rival version by Kennedy and Knightley was pretty poor.

### ***A Putney Plot***

Peter Hain  
(Spokesman Books, Nottingham, 1987)

In which Peter Hain reads *Lobster* 11, goes to see Colin Wallace and re-examines the attempt to frame him for bank robbery. A very good summary of both the Wallace material and the South African (BOSS) connections to the plots in the 1970s. Hain, who unfortunately failed to unseat the dreadful David Mellor in Putney at the General Election, made some forthright and astute comments on the Labour Party's failure to take all this on board in *Time Out* (15 April 1987).

## ***Vague No 18/19 Programming Phenomena and Conspiracy Theory***

Not really a book, but not a magazine either, this is 147 A4 pages of borrowed, ripped-off articles, graphic and assorted fragments on everything from the Bilderberg 1986 meeting personnel to an essay from *Lobster* 8, encompassing Quigley, Situationist slogans, right-wing US conspiracy theories, JFK assassination, Charles Manson and P2. The whole thing has been slung together by 'Tom Vague' who has apparently spent the last 15 years mourning the loss of OZ and IT: every page is overprinted in various colours, which looks nice, but makes it hard to read. Full of interesting bits and pieces, none of them evaluated, this is a kind of psychedelic conspiracy theory soup. £2.00 from BCM Tanelorn, London WC1N 3XX

Robin Ramsay

## **Journals**

### ***Intelligence and National Security***

Started in 1986, *Intelligence and National Security* is co-edited by Christopher Andrew and Michael Handel, and is the first British academic journal devoted to the area. I've seen 3 issues and while the standard of writing and research is extremely high from contributors like Lawrence Freedman, M.R.D. Foot and Bradley Smith, the contents of most of the pieces is 'safe' verging on dull. What this journal is never going to do is tell us anything about recent intelligence operations or recent operations aimed at the left - in other words, the important stuff. Which is not to say that it is worthless or entirely uninteresting. Vol.1 No.2 has an interesting survey of British counter-insurgency by Keith Jeffries and there are a couple of interesting pieces on operations before WW2. It's just that an academic journal is never going to get into the funky areas, especially when one of its co-editors, Andrews, apparently sees his academic role as including some discrete recruiting for Her Majesty's spooks. It is published by Frank Cass, London, and is £12.00 per issue of around 180 pages.

### ***Survival In The 21st Century***

*Survival In The 21st Century* first appeared in July 1985 but I didn't catch up with it until tipped off about it by Roger Sandell. Subtitled "Things Japanese and Provocative Information", *Survival* is a bizarre mixture of anti-Semitism, US far-right conspiracy theories (mostly reprints from *Spotlight*), some of the freakier bits of the US Christian (sic) right, with large doses of psychological gibberish, misinformation about AIDS and - perhaps the ultimate point - special pleading on behalf of Japanese economic expansion. And the April and June 1987 issues have large inputs from ABN.

Picking a representative sample is impossible but try this whizzer from June 1987:

"Drug use and homosexual behaviour began with the worship of John Lennon, a member of the Beatles. Those who live in the US, including drug addicts, are invariably exposed to the danger of AIDS because of the liberalists (sic), the leftists of the Democratic Party (sic) and the US leftist news media (sic) that continue to be lenient towards drug use and homosexuality."

The whole thing is expensively produced, free copies are sent to British libraries, and someone is going to a lot of trouble to get this nonsense circulated.

A free sample should be forthcoming on request from "Friends of the UK" PO Box 76D, New Malden, Surrey, KT3 4BB, UK. In the US from PO Box 597004, Department 608, San Francisco, CA 94164-9004.

### ***Coming In From The Cold: British Propaganda and Red Army Defectors 1945-52***

Wesley K. Wark in *International History Review* February 1987

This is an interesting addition to what little information we have on the early years of the Information Research Department (IRD) and the uses to which IRD put Soviet defectors. It also contains a couple of names to add to the list of known IRD people. Wark states flatly that IRD's work fell between 'white' and 'black' propaganda - which I don't believe. One former British diplomat to whom I spoke about IRD (and who wouldn't thank me for being named) told me of one example in the period covered by Wark when IRD put out a briefing document on Soviet bloc armoured strength in which the actual figures were exaggerated by a factor of 40. More on this, perhaps, in a later *Lobster*.

Robin Ramsay

### **JFK Sources**

For JFK assassination buffs, two mail order bookshops specialising in the assassination and related areas.

1. *The President's Box* PO Box 1255, Washington DC 20013 USA
2. *M and O Bookdealers* PO Box 2422 Waco, Texas, 76701, USA.

For those interested in right-wing conspiracy theories there is a rich crop now available by mail order from Angriff Press, PO Box 2726, Hollywood, CA 90078, USA. Be warned, those of a sensitive disposition, that most of the stock is anti-Semitic, neo-fascist junk. However, there among the rubbish is Carroll Quigley's *Tragedy and Hope*. Ask for their catalogue.

### **Whole Earth Review**

This section has been reproduced from a recent issue of *Whole Earth Review*, which we've never seen. One other journal *Whole Earth* missed is *CASIS* newsletter, the quarterly publication of the Canadian Association for Security and Intelligence Studies. We've seen issue No 9, 40 pages A4, a mixture of articles, clippings and book reviews. This is the academic end of things but this is very good, especially as a source of information on books. The newsletter is apparently circulated to *CASIS* members. Membership is \$10.00 per annum (possibly more for overseas members) from *CASIS* Treasurer, Stuart Farson, Room 8001, Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto, 130 St. Georges St., Toronto, Ontario M5S 1A1. Canada.

- Access Reports/FYI: Harry Hammitt, editor. \$250/year (24 issues) from



Monitor Publishing Co., 1301 Pennsylvania Ave./Ste. 1000, Washington, DC 20004. USA

- Big SISter: \$5/4 issues from OASIS, Box 1666, Wellington, Aotearoa NZ.
- Counterpoint: Stanislav Levchenko and Peter Deriabin, editors. \$35/year (12 issues) from Ickham Publications Ltd., Westonhanger, Ickham, Canterbury CT3 1QN, England.
- Covert Action Information Bulletin: \$15/year (3 issues) from Covert Action Information Bulletin, PO Box 50272, Washington DC 20004. USA.
- Espionage: Jackie Lewis, editor/publisher, \$21/year (6 issues) from Leo 11 Publications, PO Box 1184, Teaneck, NJ 07666. USA.
- First Principles: Sally Berman, editor, \$15/year (6 issues; \$10/year for students) from Center for National Security Studies, 122 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington DC 20002. USA
- Foreign Intelligence Literary Scene: Marjorie W. Cline and David L. Thomas, editors, \$15/year (6 issues) from National Intelligence Study Center, 1800 K Street NW, Washington DC 20006. USA.
- Geheim: DM 90/year (4 issues) from: Lutticher Strasse 14, 5000 Koln 1, Federal Republic of Germany.
- Intelligence and National Security: Christopher Andrew, editor, £22/year (3 issues) from Frank Cass & Co., Ltd, Gainsborough House, 11 Gainsborough Road, London E11 1RS. England.
- Intelligence/Parapolitics: Olivier Schmidt, editor, \$25/year (12 issues) from Association pour la Droite a l'information, 16 rue des Ecoles, 75005 Paris, France.
- Intelligence Quarterly: Michael Speers and Nigel West, editors. \$30/year (4 issues) from Michael Speers, PO Box 232, Weston, VT 05161. USA.
- International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence: F. Reese Brown, editor-in-chief, \$10/year (quarterly) from Intel Publishing Group, PO Box 188, Stroudsburg, PA 18360. USA.
- Lobster: Robin Ramsay, editor. \$14/year (4 issues) from Lobster, 17c Pearson Avenue, Hull HU5 2SX. England.
- Military Intelligence: Capt. William A. Purciello, editor, \$14/year, (4 issues) from Superintendent of Documents, US Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20009. USA
- The National Reporter: John Kelly, editor, \$13/year (4 issues) from The National Reporter, PO Box 21279, Washington, DC 20009. USA
- Nightwatch: Free (12 issues/year) from Security and Intelligence Foundation, 1010 Vermont Avenue, Ste 1020, Washington DC 20005. USA.

## Subscriptions

Lobster has appeared in a variety of shapes and sizes and appears as often as we can get it together. Thus we base subscriptions around 4 issues of the size of nos. 9, 10, 13: bigger issues, such as 11, 12, 14, are counted as doubles and deducted from subscriptions accordingly.

## Costs

- UK (£4.00);
- US \$16.00 (a falling dollar and usurious bank charges here)
- Europe/New Zealand/Australia £6.00 (or equivalent)

Send cheques payable to Lobster to 17c Pearson Avenue, Hull, HU5 2SX, UK.

Please make it clear which issue you want the sub. to begin at.