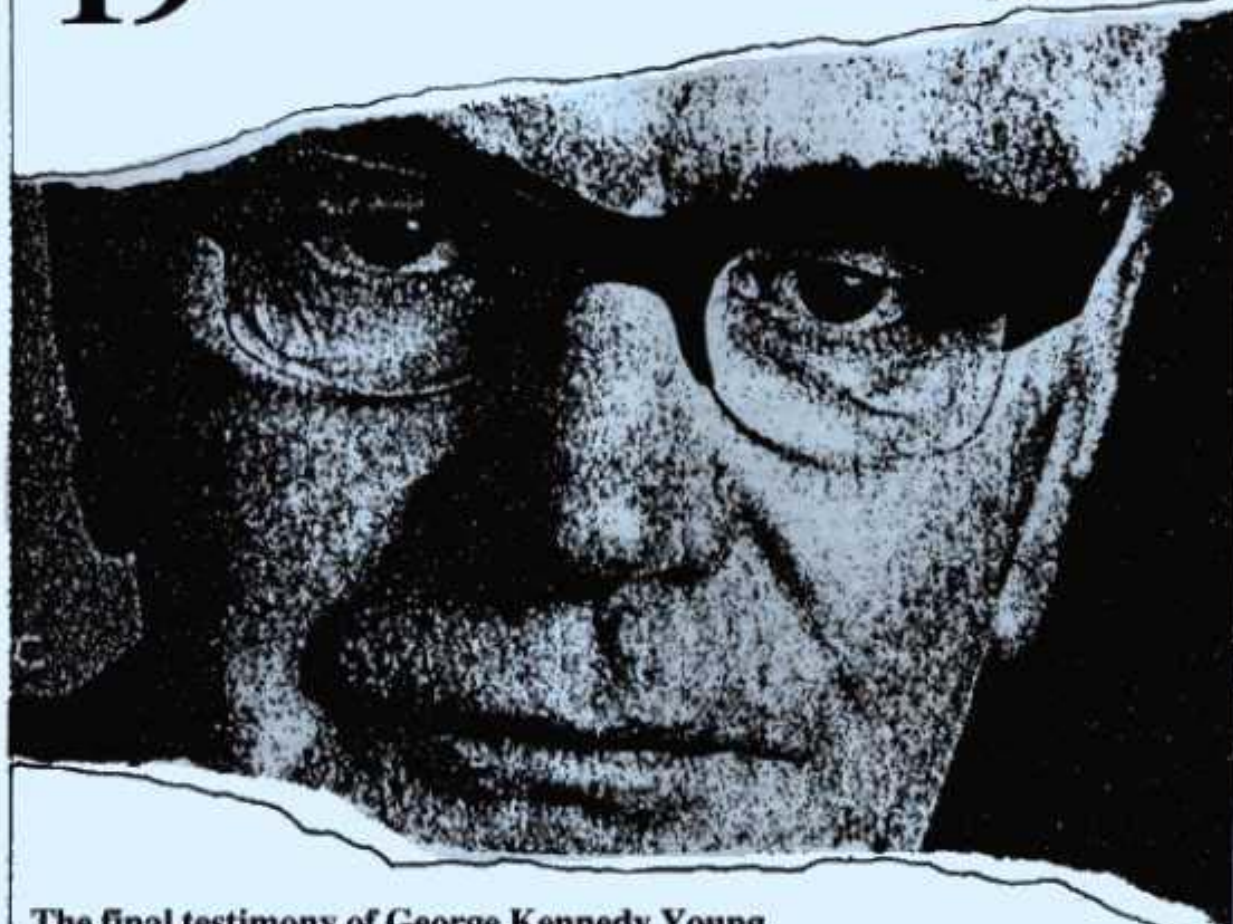


# LOBSTER

19

*Double Issue*



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# In a Common Cause: the Anti-Communist Crusade in Britain 1945-60

**Stephen Dorril and Robin Ramsay**

A small section of this appeared in *Lobster* 12. Although this is incomplete and under researched, we thought it worth putting out now.

## **The origins of IRD**

1947 saw the creation of the Foreign Office's Information Research Department (IRD). It is generally accepted that IRD was the brain-child of the then Labour M.P. Christopher Mayhew, who had served in one of the 'secret armies' (The Phantoms) and the Special Operations Executive (SOE) during the war. The received chronology is that as the result of a paper written by Mayhew to Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin in October 1947, and with the approval of Attlee, a meeting was called with a trio of the Foreign Office's senior officials, Sir Orme Sergeant, Ivonne Kirkpatrick and Christopher Warner. (1) In fact IRD's origins lie elsewhere, inside the Foreign Office.

Warner was a member of 'the Russia Committee' of the Foreign Office, set up by him in April 1946 to coordinate policy towards the Soviet Union. On May 7th the committee recognised a need for a 'defensive-offensive' policy and drafted guide-lines for a propaganda counter-offensive. Foreign Secretary Bevin, however, was not then convinced such tactics were necessary and Warner's proposals remained unapproved until November 1947, after the Cominform declaration against the Marshall Plan. Only then did Bevin -- and the Cabinet -- accept the analysis of the Russia Committee, approving at the Cabinet meeting of January 5th 1948 Foreign Office proposals for anti-communist propaganda operations. (2) Where, in all this, we should now place Mayhew's October '47 proposal to Bevin is not clear. Was it a political 'cover story', designed to show the initiative coming from within the Labour Government and not from the Foreign Office?

In Bevin's presentation of the case to the Cabinet on 5th January 1948 he spoke of Britain as a 'Third Force': 'It is for us, as Europeans and as a Social Democratic government, not the Americans, to give a lead in the spiritual, moral and political sphere to all democratic elements in Western Europe which are anti- communist and, at the same time, genuinely progressive and reformist, believing in freedom, planning and social justice -- what one might call the 'Third Force'.' (3)

The Cabinet accepted the Mayhew-Bevin proposals for a propaganda unit to promote the 'third force'. Mayhew recognised that 'since anti- communist propaganda would be anathema to much of the Labour Party, it would have to be organised secretly.' (4) But his concern was not just with the repercussions within the Labour Party. In a minute to Bevin he commented that, 'One of the problems that constantly faces us in anti-communist publicity work is to discover publicity media which are definitely non-official so as to avoid undesirable diplomatic and political repercussions when certain issues are raised.' (5)

IRD worked out of, and owed allegiance to, the Foreign Office, though it often worked

closely with MI6's anti-Soviet Section IX. It used intelligence officers from some of the war-time propaganda agencies like the Political Warfare Executive, and employed a number of emigres from Eastern Europe. There is little evidence that it ever promoted the 'third force' concept. Once the politicians' backs were turned it slipped quite easily into a straightforward anti-Soviet mode. The minutes of a 1950 meeting between IRD officials and their U.S. counterparts show no evidence at all of any 'third force' notions. Christopher Warner talks exclusively of anti-communist activities, and refers to the 1948 Cabinet decision to set IRD as 'authorising anti-communist activities'.(6) Did Mayhew or the Labour Cabinet actually think the Foreign Office would promote the 'third force' idea, would actually 'attack Capitalism and Imperialism as well as Russian Communism?' (7)

IRD had representatives in all British embassy's abroad. In the recollection of a former MI6 officer of the period, IRD was involved in 'some of the more dubious intelligence operations which characterised the early days of the cold war.' (8) These may have included domestic operations. Mayhew recalls, 'at home, our service was offered to and accepted by, large numbers of selected MP's, journalists, trade union leaders, and others, and was often used by BBC's External Services. We also developed close links with a syndication agency and various publishers.' (9) The 1950 minutes of the IRD-U.S. talks include then IRD head Ralph Murray's comment that 'Trade Union organisations and various groups are used to place articles published under the by-line of well known writers.' (10)

## **Freedom First**

Trade unions were obviously one source of 'non-official' publicity media. The TUC's International Affairs Department had established a cozy relationship with the Foreign Office in the 1930s (11): channels already existed for the secret discussions between the TUC and the Foreign Office for 'the dissemination inside the Labour movement at home of anti-communist propaganda.' (12) One such was arranged through Herbert Tracey, publicity officer of the TUC, who set up an anti-communist periodical called *Freedom First*. Subsidised by IRD and using material supplied by IRD on a 'strictly confidential basis', (13) *Freedom First's* circulation quickly rose to 20,000, most of the copies going to Western Europe. (14) *Freedom First* is the first evidence of the covert nature of the 'third force'. The anti-communist (and anti-socialist) struggle was to be fought by an alliance of American-influenced trade unions, emerging social democrats with little time for socialism -- and allies in the secret world. But this first joint TUC-IRD venture was blown almost immediately, a casualty of the Lynsky Tribunal hearings during the winter of 1948.

The Tribunal had been set up by the government to look into the activities of a Polish emigré known as Sydney Stanley who was alleged to have bribed John Belcher, a Labour M.P. and Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade. Headline news in the Tory press for several weeks, the case looked like becoming a major scandal and political problem for the Labour Party. But when the Tribunal finished and nothing of consequence was discovered, everyone wondered what this minor tale of black market racketeers in ration-bound Britain had really been about. Looking at the transcripts 40 years on it all seems a little strange - except for the tantalising references to *Freedom First*. (15)

Stanley told the Tribunal: 'As we were discussing, Mr Gibson said 'Who do you think is enemy No. 1 in this country?' and I said, 'Enemy No. 1 as far as I am concerned are

the communists'. He said it would be a good idea if we could meet together to arrange something to fight them back the way they were hitting us. There were about four members of Parliament there, including Mr Morgan Philips, the Secretary of the Labour Party, and we discussed in what way we could go to work.' (16)

'Mr Gibson', was George Gibson, a prominent figure in the TUC. He had been its Chairman in 1940 and was later a Director of the Bank of England. In 1936 Gibson had been a delegate to the annual conference of the American Federation of Labour (AFL), 'at which he made certain contacts with the American trade union leaders who figured later in his life.' (17) To Stanley's evident surprise, Gibson knew his brother, having met him during the war in the United States where he was connected 'in some legal capacity' to the other American trade union group, the CIO (possibly to Arthur Goldberg). Gibson asked Stanley to bring his brother along to a meeting at the Garrick Hotel in June 1948 where interested parties were to discuss setting up an anti-communist organisation.

Gibson explained that 'there had been exploratory meetings and this was the culmination of them when certain parties who had expressed themselves as willing to form a movement and we got them together that night.' (18) The result was the creation of the 'Freedom and Democracy Trust' (FDT) which would be responsible for publishing the IRD-sponsored *Freedom First*. The paper was closely tied to the Labour Party. Stanley told the Tribunal, 'If Mr Morgan Phillips was in my office once, he must have been there about 20 times, and we went out together ..... we went everywhere together.' (19) Little wonder that attempts were made to portray Stanley as a complete fantasist. Not only was he blowing an IRD operation, he was linking it to the office of the General Secretary of the Labour Party. The diaries of Hugh Gaitskell, then a junior Minister, reveal that he was one of those who attended the meetings. 'The centre of this is a man who goes by the name of 'Stanley' and who both HD (Hugh Dalton) and I remember at a dinner given in honour of George Gibson some months ago, at which the Foreign Secretary and a great many union leaders were present as well as ourselves.' (20)

Stanley was repeatedly asked who was behind this organisation. Eventually he admitted it was the TUC. George Gibson was quick to add that the TUC was not officially involved: 'It is a private organisation of a few individuals, 6 or 7 of whom were members of the TUC General Council.' (21) These included the Treasurer of Freedom and Democracy Trust, John Brown, and the chief organiser, Tom O'Brien. Brown was ex-General Secretary of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, while O'Brien was General Secretary of NATKE (Theatrical and Kine Employees), a Labour MP and a member of the TUC's International Committee. Although the names of the other TUC members present have never been revealed, it is our guess that they would also have come from the TUC's International Committee. Three years later Brown and O'Brien would reemerge in the anti- communist and anti-socialist group Common Cause.

The exposure of the IRD-linked *Freedom First* at the Lynsky Tribunal did not discourage the anti-communist propagandists in the British labour movement. According to one historian writing on IRD: 'Mayhew and Tracey decided that a new organisation should be formed with new influential TUC members taking the place of those who had left for one reason or another. A major change of strategy was that the international side of the organisation came to be considered the most important and domestic anti-Communist activities were the by-product, instead of vice versa. It was

also felt that the task would be better done by an unofficial organisation of trade unionists rather than by the TUC itself since an official TUC newsletter could not be such a flexible and hard hitting propaganda instrument.' (22)

Did anything emerge from these discussions between Tracey and Mayhew? We are unaware of any international organisation formed in this period fitting this description. Is there a still hidden organisation? This seems unlikely. However an anti-communist organisation, not unlike 'an unofficial organisation of trade unionists' was created. This was Common Cause, but its focus was primarily domestic.

## **From Common Wealth to Common Cause**

Common Cause has not been taken seriously by the left in this country and has been completely ignored by contemporary historians. *Labour Research*, the only people who seem to have attempted to keep an eye on it, have taken to deriding it in recent years as 'blimps', emphasising its relatively slight funding by British capital when compared to the Economic League. (23) Common Cause may have declined, but up to the mid-seventies it was the sponsoring body of a series of semi-clandestine activities and groups working against the left in the unions and the Labour Party. Common Cause also acted as a front for intelligence agencies, and for that reason it is worth looking in some detail at its origins. For the present, all we can show are the threads and some of the main influences which went towards the founding of the organisation.

Common Cause was the brain-child of Dr. C. A. Smith, one of the most interesting mavericks on the British Left in the 20th century. Smith met Trotsky in 1933 in France, was Chairman of the Independent Labour Party from 1939 - 41, quit the ILP in 1944 and joined the Common Wealth Party as its Research Officer. Common Wealth had grown out of a 1941 Committee which had been set up by Edward Hulton, publisher of *Picture Post*, the writer J. B. Priestley and Richard Acland of Forward March. 'This was an organization typical of the time, in that it sprung up spontaneously from the the desire of a number of people -- mostly in this case middle-aged or elderly and to some extent public figures -- to do more towards furthering the war effort.' (24) It appears to have had two aims: to undertake long-term planning as part of a 'Post-War New Deal' and to provide an platform for debate on war aims as a loyal opposition to Churchill.

Probably because the Committee included a wide spectrum of political figures, including left-wingers like Michael Foot and Konni Zilliacus, a myth has grown that Hulton was sympathetic towards the Labour Party and socialism. Hulton, who later joined the Common Cause Advisory Board, had earlier told his editor, 'Kindly remember that I am not only a Conservative, I am loyal supporter of Mr Neville Chamberlain.' (25) Hulton, like many right-wing Tories, may have supported corporatist aims in war-time, but never socialism. He was almost certainly a loyal agent of MI6's Section D. In 1939 he helped set up the bogus news agency Britanova and, in 1941, used the *Picture Post* as a front for another intelligence creation, the Arab News Agency (ANA). Both news agencies were resurrected after the war by IRD. (26) Tom Clarke, who was Deputy Director of News in the Ministry of Information, went onto become Hulton's representative in Latin America and head of another front news agency. Also on the Committee was Christopher Mayhew, at the time working for ANA's controlling body, the Special Operations Executive. 'Teddy Hulton ..... has a mania', Mayhew wrote at the time, for 'getting key people together and starting a new nation-wide political movement.' It was, Mayhew thought, 'shared

by every male adult in the City of London ..... One day, I suspect, one of them will catch on and really do well; but ..... not until one of them falls under the control of a really first-class man, and becomes a temptation to the Independents in Parliament and the more restive Labour MPs.' (27) Twenty-five years later, when Mayhew had also caught the 'mania', Hulton had been replaced by Cecil King.

During the war, Common Wealth supported Independent candidates like Tom Driberg, and fielded its own candidates in opposition to the National Government. But it was split between those who wanted the Party to be the left opposition to the Labour Party and those, like its founder, Richard Acland, who saw its purpose as encouraging moral revival. When a number of members left to join the Labour Party, C. A. Smith became its chair, succeeding the Quaker, Acland. In those days the ILP was still a force to be reckoned with on the left of the Labour Party and Smith's move was quite a coup for Common Wealth. But as the cold war developed in the late 40's Smith's anti-Stalinism moved him sharply to right and he became fiercely anti-Soviet. Hulton made the same shift. He had been deeply affected by what was taking place in Poland and used his personal column and his journal the *World Review* -- edited by a Polish exile -- to espouse his views. Memos rained down on the editor of the *Picture Post* accusing him of 'reiterating Soviet propaganda', and complaining that the *Post*, which -- on Hulton's instructions -- had supported the Labour Party in 1945, was now 'too left-wing'. By 1950 Hulton was writing that 'The Soviet Government, with the Communist Party, is what Mr Churchill would rightly call a "relentless foe" - determined on the complete destruction of all peoples who will not obey their dictates one hundred per cent. At this perilous moment, I am, personally speaking, appalled that the conduct of our foreign policy should be in the hands of Mr Ernest Bevin.' (28) Hulton continued to act behind the scenes, setting up 'private dinners' at the Dorchester Hotel for 'top-ranking Tories' who were briefed by intelligence personnel. (29) C. A. Smith tried to take what was left of the Common Wealth Party with him in his move to the right and, when he failed to do this, resigned along with three other members of the party's Executive Committee, and formed Common Cause. We have been unable to date this precisely yet but it appears to have been 1948 or 9. He was still writing for Common Wealth's magazine in 1947.

## **The British League for European Freedom**

Smith - and Common Cause - joined forces with the British League for European Freedom (BLEF), the first organisation formed in this country in direct response to the Soviet Union's take-over in Eastern Europe. The right-wing Tory MP and founder of the pre-war Imperial Policy Group, Victor Raikes, was one of a quartet of MP's who set up the BLEF in 1944. (The Imperial Policy Group was working with MI6 chief Menzies before the war. Raikes and Guy Lloyd were later behind a series of dirty tricks against Hugh Dalton which were part of the fall-out from the Stanley episode.) Despite being dominated by right-wing members of the Tory Party, the BLEF attracted the support of a number of Labour MP's: Ivor Thomas, who defected to the Tories in 1950 after writing *The Socialist Tragedy* in 1949, which he dedicated to 'all Social Democrats in the hope that when confronted with the choice between Socialism and democracy they will choose democracy' (30); George Dallas, former TUC General Council member, Labour M.P. and member of the Labour Party's National Executive Committee, Chair of the Labour Party International Committee during the war and a close colleague of the head of the Special Operations Executive, Hugh Dalton; and Richard Stokes MP, the intriguer and 'fixer' for his friend Herbert Morrison. Stokes was a 'socialist' of the most idiosyncratic kind. He had been a member of the pre-war,

anti-semitic Right Club and had friends amongst the many anti-socialist groups like the Institute of Directors, the Economic League and Aims for Industry. Stokes' anti-Zionists views were an influence on Clement Attlee.(31) In 1947 Stokes was among those who pushed for letting exiles from Eastern Europe into Britain to be used as cheap labour.

Although our knowledge of these events is very thin, it is clear that the two organisations were very close. In 1950, for example, Common Cause published a pamphlet, *Communism and Democracy*, by C. A. Smith, in which he was said to be writing as a member of the BLEF. The two groups shared an office in Elizabeth Street in London donated by the wealthy and extremely right-wing Duke of Westminster. (32) The Duchess of Atholl, one of the founder members of the BLEF, notes in her autobiography that the decline in the BLEF's 'purely political work' was attributable to the arrival of Common Cause and the BLEF then 'concentrated its efforts on bringing home to people the unhappy plight of the many Displaced Persons still in Germany.' (33) This is a euphemism for the BLEF's role as support group for Eastern European exile groups, such as the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), then being run by MI6. (It also possible that well-meaning BLEF members like the Duchess of Atholl were 'useful idiots', unaware of what Raikes and co. were really doing.) (34) The BLEF produced an off-shoot, a Scottish League for European Freedom, headed by Victor Raikes' Imperial Policy Group colleague, the Earl of Mansfield. (35) In 1950 the Scottish League organised a conference in Edinburgh of Eastern European exiles, many of them Nazi collaborators and war criminals, who had been recruited by MI6. They had been moved to the U.K., often with the intervention of Stokes, during the scramble at the end of World War Two by the British and American governments for good, reliable, anti-Soviet 'assets'. (36)

Smith's journey from Trotsky in the 1930s was complete. In the BLEF and Common Cause he was with far-right members of the Tory Party: Common Cause's first official joint chair was Lord Malcolm Douglas-Hamilton who turns up some years later as an associate of Kenneth de Courcy, secretary of the Imperial Policy Group before the war, and editor of the *Intelligence Digest*. (37) 'The last time Laurens Otter heard [C. A. Smith] speak was after the Hungarian uprising of 1956, addressing a meeting of Eastern European refugees.....cheered throughout to the echo by people carrying banners saying 'Kill the reds.' ' (38)

## **Into the CIA web**

The BLEF was also working with the European Movement at a time when the CIA was supplying most of the Movement's funds. The Movement had been founded in May 1948 primarily by Harold Macmillan and Duncan Sandys. It was originally an anti-communist organisation which sought 'to bring about the establishment of a European army rearming the Germans against the USSR'. (39) They had similar aims with regard to the exile groups. Later in 1948 they set up a Central and Eastern European section which supported and co-ordinated the activities of the exile groupings. Its general secretary was the Polish *eminence grise*, Dr Jozef Retinger, who had been in the Special Operations Executive. (The former operations head of SOE, Sir Colin Gubbins was also involved with the European Movement's work. Retinger and Gubbins were together at the foundation meeting of the Bilderberg Group.) In the words of one exile leader, Retinger was 'suspected of being in close touch not so much with British politics as with certain of its discreet institutions.' (40) Retinger was MI6.



## The American 'Common Cause'

In July 1948, Sandys and Retinger visited the United States to see Allen Dulles. As a result of the meeting the Americans agreed to secretly underwrite the European Movement through a front organisation, the American Committee on United Europe (ACUE). The executive director of ACUE was Thomas Braden who became Dulles' assistant in the CIA in 1950. Over the next five years they contributed nearly half-a-million pounds to the European Movement. (41) In this period the CIA was pouring millions of dollars into the exile groups. Frank Wisner, the director of the CIA's Clandestine Operations Directorate and architect of the agency's covert funding policy, 'believed in the tremendous espionage potential of its Eastern European emigre organisations, their value as propagandists and agents of influence.' (42) The CIA sponsored a front called the National Committee for a Free Europe (NCFE) which promoted activities similar to those of the European Movement but on a much more militant (i.e. military) level. It offered thinly veiled 'private sector' cover and included CIO labour executives and the publisher of *Readers Digest*, DeWitt Wallace, on its board.

Like the British League for European Freedom, the American National Committee for a Free Europe (NCFE) had a 'sister organisation'. It too was called Common Cause. Common Cause Inc. included among its personnel, 'many of the men -- Adolf Berle, Arthur Bliss Lane, and Eugene Lyons, among others -- who simultaneously led CIA-financed groups such as the NCFE and, later, the American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism.' (43) Christopher Simpson notes that it was Common Cause Inc. which, in 1948, sponsored the NTS founder Constantine Boldyreff on a tour of the U.S. There is a brief reference in the *New York Times* to the U.S. Common Cause planning a meeting in London but we have found no evidence of this meeting actually taking place. Just as the British League for European Freedom became the sponsor for the British exile groups in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), initially funded by MI6, and later the British affiliate to the World Anti-Communist League, Christopher Emmet, Chairman of the American Common Cause Inc., turns up later as head of the American Friends of the Captive Nations, the domestic support group for the CIA-sponsored Assembly of Captive European Nations (ACEN). (44) The American Common Cause was launched in January 1947, while C. A. Smith was still in the Common Wealth Party, and our *guess* is that initially the two groups were not connected. Smith's choice of Common Cause as the name for the group which left Common Wealth seems an obvious extension. However, a connection between the two 'Common Causes' a few years later, when the British Common Cause was formally launched, in 1952, seems likely to us. But we have no evidence as yet. Such a link, if established, would raise interesting questions about the source of the British Common Cause's early funding. Unfortunately, if not surprisingly, there appear to be no records available of the early years of Common Cause (Britain).

Between 1954 and 1956 - more precision is not yet possible - the Americans took over the running of the exile groups. A Soviet publication, (45) includes what purports to be the text of a memorandum of agreement between the leadership of NTS and MI6 severing their relationship. (Soviet publications are not famously accurate but this may well be the real thing, delivered by Philby or Blake.) Presumably MI6 funding of the groups ceased and they were left to concentrate on other anti-communist activities. The Americans now had the field to themselves.

The BLEF's George Dallas was one of those who stayed close to American interests.

He became preoccupied with the danger of a communist take-over in China, and formed the Friends of Free China Association in 1956 with himself as Chair and the Duchess of Atholl as President. Dallas eventually attended the 1958 foundation meeting of what became the World Anti-Communist League. The socialist farm labourer had come a long way. With him at the meeting were Marvin Liebman, one of the key members of the American 'China Lobby', the late Yaroslav Stetzko, Ukrainian collaborator with the Germans and head of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, and Charles Edison of the John Birch Society. (46)

## **Into the hidden history of 1950s Britain**

Common Cause first appears in *The Times* index in 1952 when, despite being in existence for at least three years, a brief piece (25th Feb.) announced the organisation's formal launch. This 'Common Cause' was apparently founded by Peter Crane, Neil Elles (on whom more below) and C.A. Smith. What relationship existed between this 'Common Cause' and the earlier C.S.Smith 'Common Cause' we don't know. In all Common Cause literature 1952 is given as the date of the group's foundation. The 1952 'Common Cause' had Lord Malcolm Douglas-Hamilton (then a Scottish Tory M.P.) and John Brown, (ex-General Secretary of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation), as joint chairs. The interesting name is Brown's, who links back to *Freedom First*: Brown had been the Treasurer of its publisher, the 'Freedom and Democracy Trust'. Brown is also a link to the core organisation in these anti-communist manoeuvres in the British labour movement - the Trades Union Congress. If you lived through the late 1960s and 1970s and believed much of the British media (which was being fed by MI5), the British union movement, led by those evil men of the left, Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon, was on the verge of a communist take-over of this country. It is easy to forget that for most of its existence the Trades Union Congress has been a bulwark of the right -- more accurately perhaps, of the anti-socialist forces within the British labour movement. And this was never more true than in the decade following World War Two when the international anti-communist scare was enthusiastically adopted by the TUC and applied at home. On the TUC General Council of 1954, for example, there was not a single member who could be called a socialist. There were, however, two members of Common Cause's Advisory Council -- Tom O'Brien and Florence Hancock.

A thorough account of the anti-communism of this period has yet to be written, is beyond the scope of this article, and may never be possible. Much of the activity of the anti-communist groups was clandestine: to fight the secret communist conspiracy -- real or imaginary -- they too operated in secret, set up cell structures. For example, there appears to be not a single academic article written in Britain about the Catholic labour anti-communist groups then (and still) operating. Yet in 1956 *The Times* described the work of Common Cause, IRIS (about whom more below), Moral Rearmament, the Economic League, the Anti-Communist League of Great Britain (about which nothing at all appears to be known) -- and the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. (47) This last group was founded in September 1950 and according to *The Times* Labour Correspondent, 'developed rapidly after the war and has done a good deal to restrain Communist infiltration in a number of unions. The work of Roman Catholics in defeating Communists in the Civil Service Clerical Association is perhaps best remembered.' A former Secretary, Ted Worrall, wrote to us that by the seventies the 'ACTU was no longer the considerable movement which it was in the fifties.' (48).

The Marxist historian, V. L. Allen, notes in an account of this period that, '[b]oth Catholic Action and Moral Re-Armament organised well-endowed campaigns for their own candidates and against communists', (49) but offers no details nor a source for this information. Labour historians have ignored this area of anti-socialist activities. The Catholic Church claims to this day that 'there was no organisation as such called 'Catholic Action', though it admits that 'the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists ..... saw (itself) as having a responsibility to encourage their members to play an active part in their trade unions and seek to influence them to pursue policies which were consonant with Christian principles.' (50) Other countries have had powerful Catholic groups in their labour movements. In Australia, for example, in the decade after the war, Catholic Action succeeded in totally splitting the Australian Labour Party, creating a splinter 'Anti-Communist' entity. (51) Christian principles encompassed the most extreme anti-communism. The 1950s was a period when it was 'the Vatican's desire to assist any person, regardless of nationality or political beliefs, as long as that person can prove himself to be a Catholic'.(52) That included helping war criminals escape justice. In the immediate post-war period the Catholic Church was involved in the 'rat-lines' for escaping Nazi's from Europe, all in the interest of a general crusade against communism. It also supported the British League for European Freedom and Common Cause. There were many Catholics involved - notably the British Catholic publisher, Hollis and Carter.

## **MRA**

Moral Re-Armament was another influence on the work of Common Cause. In the words of its founder Frank Buchman, 'Labour led by God must lead the world, otherwise Marx's materialism will take over.' (53) The Common Cause Advisory Board in this period included Lord Ammon, who had long been a supporter of MRA, as had George Dallas. Douglas-Hamilton was a friend of Buchman. Eventually even the right-wing International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) Secretariat was forced to conclude in an unofficial report that 'MRA interfered with trade union activities' and was engaged in 'anti-union efforts', even to the extent of trying to found 'yellow unions'. It also stated that 'MRA's results in industry are illusory' and that its 'dubious financial sources . .... mean that the movement has to make concessions scarcely in keeping with the original Buchman programme.' (54) The 'dubious sources' have long been thought to mean the CIA -- which is ironic considering that the ICTFU shared the same money -- but evidence is still illusive, though there is a hint in Miles Copeland's 1989 *The Games Player*. Certainly MRA was part of an 'ideological offensive' in the late Forties and early Fifties centreing on the same group of Americans, like Allan Dulles, who supported the Congress for a Free Europe, predecessor of the Congress for Cultural Freedom.

In Britain Common Cause went virtually unreported -- all we have are glimpses. It set up a national structure with local branches -- in 1954 there were 14; published a monthly Bulletin and distributed some of the standard anti-communist texts of the time, many of them published and/or subsidised by IRD, such as the 'Background Books' series, leaflets from the ICFTU, and some of the standard anti-Soviet texts of the period, such as Tufton Beamish's *Night Must Fall*. (55) An institutional connection with IRD seems extremely likely.

In 1955 Common Cause's 'Advisory Council' included:

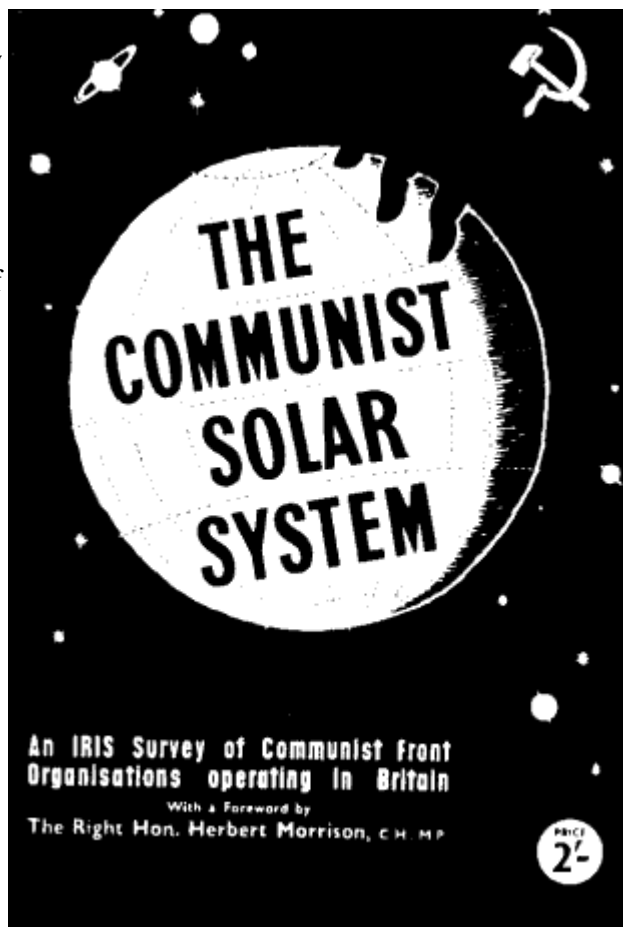
- Tom O'Brien and Florence Hancock, both of whom were past TUC Presidents.

- (56)
- Bob Edwards, General Secretary of the Chemical Workers' Union, 1947-71.
- (57)
- Cecil Hallett, Assistant General Secretary of the Amalgamated Engineering Union (AEU), 1948-57; General Secretary 1957-64.
- John Raeburn, past Secretary of London Trades Council. (58)
- Phillip Fothergill, ex-President of the the Liberal Party.
- Admiral Lord Cunningham (who as Chief of Staff had in 1945 threatened Attlee with resignation over defence policy.)
- And a coterie of other retired senior military, the Duchess of Atholl and Lord Ammon. Its General Secretary and mainspring was C. A. Smith.

That autumn its *Bulletin* reported that there had been moves at the Labour Party conference that year to get it proscribed, put on the list of organisations which a member of the Labour Party was not allowed to join, but the motion to that effect 'was among the many crowded out from discussion.' (59) Perhaps because of the threat of proscription, Common Cause created a 'front' organisation, Industrial Research and Information Services (IRIS), the following year. Its first big pamphlet, *The Communist Solar System* (1957), a study of 'Communist front organisations in Britain', (published by Hollis and Carter) announced that IRIS was founded to provide trade unionists with the facts enabling them 'to protect them from the insidious encroachments of Communists and 'fellow travellers' '.

Common Cause split soon after the birth of IRIS. At the end of 1956 C. A. Smith resigned along with Advisory Council members Phillip Fothergill, Bob Edwards, Lord Ammon, Professor Arthur Newell and Sydney Walton. According to a report in *The Times* (April 6 '57) this group complained that the organisation had become 'reactionary' and that the promised democratic structure for the organisation had not been created -- something which would have been important to ex-socialists like Smith and the trade unionists. The reactionary faction included Major-General Richard Hilton, a member of the BLEF and former Military Attache in Moscow . As this 'Council' was largely a 'note-paper job', and you got there by invitation, the choice of Hilton, who turns up a decade later in the National Front, is rather interesting.

In August 1956 'Common Cause Ltd.' had been registered, owned and controlled by the 'reactionary' faction. The timing of these events is interesting. IRIS and Common Cause Ltd must have been thought of around the same time. The first *IRIS News* appeared in September: Common Cause Ltd. was registered in August. The Smith faction split perhaps a couple of months later. The whole orientation of the



organisation was changed. A political coup seems to have been run: Smith lost the organisation he founded. It always looked like an unstable marriage -- trade union leaders, Field-Marshalls and Tory MP's in a 'common cause' against communism. We suspect, but can't yet prove, that the coup was run by people whose intelligence links were more direct, and who found the organisation too useful to be weighed down with the baggage of membership and procedure.

The split turned into a dispute: the Smith faction continued, claiming to be the real Common Cause. It organised a 'grass roots' conference in May 1958, but to no avail: the other faction had retained the funding. The Smith-led Common Cause formally dissolved in May 1959. On dissolution the Smith faction passed a resolution condemning 'the self-appointed Elizabeth Street committee, which improperly styles itself the national executive committee of Common Cause, for betraying Common Cause principles and attempting to degrade our movement into a purely negative anti-Communist organisation in order to secure financial support.' (60) The resolution suggests that the financial benefactor was calling the tune. Who was paying the piper? In 1964 one of the Common Cause Ltd. faction said that the branch structure had been abandoned because 'branches can too easily be infiltrated.' (61)

The original directors of Common Cause Ltd., the 'reactionary' faction, were: (62)

**Peter Crane** -- the director of a large number of American firms, including Dresser Manufacturing, Collins Radio of England; and later of the Reader's Digest Association. Both the Digest and Collins are now known to have substantial links to the CIA. Collins Radio was one of the many sources of 'cover' used by the CIA and the Reader's Digest has been extensively used to run CIA disinformation. (63)

**David Pelham James** -- a Conservative M.P. for fourteen years, James was a Director of the Catholic publishing house, Hollis and Carter, the publishers of the 1957 IRIS pamphlet *'The Communist Solar System'*. There were a number of Catholics in and around the Common Cause/IRIS groups. Andrew McKeown, with IRIS as company secretary and then, according to Paul Ferris, as the man running it, is a Catholic. (64) We don't have enough information to know yet, but it is our suspicion that both groups were largely run by Catholics.

**Neil Elles** -- a barrister, later a member of the spook outfit, INTERDOC, a kind of European-wide Common Cause. INTERDOC is discussed below in the appendix.

**Christopher Blackett** -- a Scottish landowner and farmer, and, we presume but can't prove, a relative of Frances Blackett, the original secretary of the BLEF. (65)

## **IRIS**

IRIS set up in the headquarters of the National Union of Seamen (NUS), Maritime House. At the beginning IRIS Ltd. listed three directors: Jack Tanner, William McLaine and Charles Sonnex. Sonnex was Secretary and Managing Director, and James L. Nash was the Manager.

**Jack Tanner** was the retired President of the engineers' union, AEU and a former member of the TUC's International Committee. Between 1948 and 1957 twenty-three people were members of the International Committee. Three were supporters of Moral Re-Armament; three - Tanner, Hancock and O'Brien - were members of Common Cause, and three of IRIS. O'Brien was also on the General Council and Executive Board of the CIA-funded and controlled, ICFTU from '51-53. A good indication of the orientation of the members of this committee is the fact that 7 of that 23 -- Yates, O'Brien, Roberts, Birch, Douglas and Williamson -- were knighted and one, Flora Hancock, was made the equivalent, a Dame.

**William McLaine** had been assistant General Secretary of the AEU from 1938 to 1947.

**James Nash** left IRIS and joined the CIA-controlled International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. (66)

**Charles Sonnex** was the link with the parent body, Common Cause.(67)

Others involved included: Stanley James, ex-assistant General Secretary and Treasurer of the NUS, and William Macklin, 'for just over twenty-five years (the) convener of the anti-political extremist group in the original woodworkers union (ASW) later UCATT. IRIS was the Common Cause 'Industrial Wing', set up independently under Jack Tanner and funded by Common Cause until 1963, 'when it established its own machinery to service politically-moderate trade union leaders.'(68) Servic(ing) trade union leaders?

IRIS, like Common Cause, is more important than has generally been thought. Labour MP and Wilson Cabinet member, Charles Pannell (later Lord Pannell) described to Irving Richter in the early 1970s his friendship with Cecil Hallett, General Secretary of the AEU (and Common Cause Council member), and 'their combined efforts to defeat the Left (n.b. *not* 'the communists') in the industrial and political wings of the movement, by building 'IRIS cells'. The work he and Hallett performed through IRIS cells, Pannell felt, did 'more than any single thing to reverse the direction of the AEU, the pivotal union, when the Left Wing was about to throw Hugh Gaitskell to the wolves' .....'(69) The AEU 'IRIS cell' structure operated under cover as 'The Club' or 'The Group'. The national co-ordinator of 'The Club' was (Sir) John Boyd who later became a director of IRIS and its recently revealed funding body the Industrial Trust. (70)

The biographer of former TUC President, Vic Feather, noted that Feather 'was prepared to use the informal channels of Common Cause and Industrial Research and Information Services to reach into union branches ..... Feather was in touch with them, but was not active within them. Their main use to him was as distributing agencies.' (71) Feather played a crucial role in the unseating of the communists from the Electrical Trades Union which climaxed with the famous 1961 court case over ballot rigging. His role was to sustain the leader of the anti-communist campaign, Les Cannon, after he had lost his job as head of the ETU educational centre. 'It meant underwriting the Cannon domestic budget. One of Feather's associates outside the Labour Movement was David James ..... They had served together on the Outward Bound trust. Feather went to see him and explained the problem. James agreed to help,

and arranged for a group of Catholic businessmen to pay Cannon a weekly subsistence allowance. It was neither the only nor the biggest outside contribution to the campaign, but it came at a critical moment.' Feather's biographer, Eric Silver, doesn't reveal who gave the larger contributions nor does he tell the reader that James was a director of Common Cause. (72)

IRIS's activities broke the TUC rules about the operation of clandestine groups inside unions, rules originally introduced to attack the Communist Party. In 1960 an embarrassed TUC General Council had to support a motion condemning IRIS for its activities. After E. Mackenzie of the Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draftsmen described IRIS activities to the conference, General Secretary Vincent Tewson, one of the corner-stones of the TUC's anti-communist/anti-socialist strategies since the end of the war, had to acknowledge that 'it would be impossible for the (General) council to reject this motion ..... (but) they have resented on many occasions in the Congress the infiltration and far more insidious propaganda which comes from some other bodies .....'. (73)

Common Cause's published lists of alleged Communist Party members and fronts - and privately circulated others. Who did the research in the early years we don't know. In 1970 Common Cause more or less acknowledged that an intelligence agency - presumably MI5's 'F' Branch - was then the source. *Bulletin* 127, Summer 1970, announced that its study of the 'communist challenge' was based on 'original sources and materials, the like of which have not been previously made public'. 'Original sources' was not an exaggeration. In 1974, with the perceived industrial and political crisis deepening, Common Cause actually published the entire structure of the Communist Party of Great Britain, right down to the membership of the most insignificant regional sub committees -- the kind of detailed information then only obtainable by comprehensive penetration of the party. Major General Stainforth, Common Cause's current administrator, told us in 1987 that this was all the work of one man, the late Jack Hill, who had 'the connections'. Hill wrote under the *nom de plume* of 'David Williams' and edited the Common Cause Bulletin in the sixties and seventies. ('David Williams' contributed an essay to the 1970 anthology *We Will Bury You* edited by Brian Crozier.)

## Conclusions

The material above is incomplete, under researched and does *not* sustain the following conclusions. Nevertheless, this is what we believe, this is how it *feels*. When the CIA took over the British exile groups, they also 'acquired' the groups' UK support networks. Acquiring ABN, for example, they also 'acquired' the British League for European Freedom; and also the BLEF's domestic wing, Common Cause. Common Cause was a useful outfit with credibility within a section of the Labour movement. So the name was appropriated by Common Cause Ltd, the membership structure dumped, new funding located, an industrial wing (IRIS) created, and the entire operation became more clandestine and more narrowly focused on the Communist Party and its fronts. In short, in our opinion the Common Cause - IRIS network, from 1956 onwards, was a CIA operation at some level, perhaps just the funding. It just is too great a coincidence that two of the chairmen of Common Cause Ltd in the 56-75 period should both be directors of companies known to serve as CIA cover - Crane with Collins Radio and his successor, Peter de Peterson, with J. Walter Thompson. For how long the Agency's role was maintained, we don't know.

By the standards of other CIA operations in Europe - eg the millions of dollars spent in Italy in Italy - Common Cause/IRIS was a small, cheap operation. But it paid off handsomely in 1961 when, as Cecil Hallett of Common Cause/IRIS describes, the AEU was able to reverse the Although Common Cause appears to have been a purely domestic operation its Articles of association state that it, 'aimed to co-operate with similar organisations in other countries.' One of those bodies was INTERDOC with whom they interlocked via Neil Elles

## **Appendix INTERDOC**

INTERDOC, the Information and Documentation Centre, collected intelligence on leftist organisations throughout Europe. It appears to have evolved from a series of meetings in the late fifties. The first, according to INTERDOC's own publications was, in the South of France in 1957 when French and German industrialists, academics, journalists and armed forces representatives met to discuss what steps they could take to combat Communism. In 1958 Dutch, British, Italian, Belgian and Swiss representatives joined them for an informal meeting.

As far as we know, the first product of these discussions was the Swiss Eastern Institute, founded in Berne, in 1959, 'to study and collect information on the development of Communist countries.' The founder and director of the Institute was 34 year old Peter Sager, a graduate of the Soviet Union study programme at Harvard University. (76). In 1958 Sager set up a bookshop specialising in books on the Eastern bloc with his wife and fellow Institute member Peter Dolder. The following August, C. C. Van Den Heuvel, a civil servant in the Dutch Ministry of Internal Affairs, - an officer of the Dutch Internal Security Service (the BVD) - set up in The Hague a foundation for research into human ecology. This appears to have been a front organisation: it soon became the East West Foundation with funding from the Dutch security service. (This use of 'human ecology' is strikingly similar to the American 'human ecology' foundations set up in the same period, later found to have been funded by the CIA. (77)

According to an Italian Secret Service (SIFAR) document dated October 1973, there was a meeting at Brabizon, near Paris, on 5-8th October 1961 where 'the participants decided to unite behind [a] new organisation all efforts and initiatives of the struggle against communism and place these on a serious and expert footing.' (78) (According to the SIFAR document, this meeting had been financed by the Dutch Secret Service.) The new organisation was INTERDOC which was formerly set up in February 1963 in The Hague with money from Royal Dutch Shell. Its aim was 'Documentation in the field of Western values and world communism and the informing of the public on these matters. This aim is to be pursued through the establishment of an international documentation centre, which will co-operate with national centres in different countries.' (79)

The organisation received material from affiliated groups throughout Europe and acted as 'an international clearing house'. According to an internal INTERDOC report 'an index system, a library, a collection of periodicals, a collection of special reports, documents etc.' is maintained in the Hague and used by 'official departments dealing with East-West Affairs; International companies and Organisations of employers.' Newspapers and periodicals are also believed to have received INTERDOC material. (80)



Founding members were Van Den Heuvel and Dr. Norman von Grote, who represented a similar institute in Munich, West Germany. Dutch representatives included a colleague of Heuvel, Louis Einthoven, Herman Jan Rijks, and Dr J. M. Hornix. Grote had been a ranking official in Wehrmacht Eastern front intelligence with special responsibility for liaison with Vlassov and the NTS. Others from Grote's organisation, the 'Verein zur Erforschung sozial-politischen Verhältnisse im Ausland e. V.' were Prof. Hans Lades and Dr. C. D. Kernig. During the sixties money appears to have come from West Germany, Great Britain and the United States. In his 1975 autobiography (published in Holland) Einthoven states that he was lobbying for support in France, Holland, Italy, Switzerland, Israel and even Indonesia. Personal links were developed with the Bilderberg group.

In the *The Black-Pincer Crab* by E. Verhoeven and F. Uytterhagen (Holland 1982) the authors state that INTERDOC was part of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), though no real proof is offered. But Van Den Heuvel was apparently the Dutch representative of WACL. A complex network, about which we know only fragments, opens up here. One of those at the INTERDOC foundation meeting was Professor Luigi Gedda, head of the Mendel Institute in Rome. (81) Gedda was on the editorial board of the journal *Mankind Quarterly* which gave a spurious academic gloss to 'intelligent racism' in the guise of ethnic diversity. The editor and founder of *Mankind Quarterly* was Roger Pearson, founder of the Northern League. The Northern League for Pan-Nordic Friendship and Co-operation was founded in Scotland in 1958, but in 1962 the World Headquarters (sic) moved to Amsterdam. (82) Pearson was a later sponsor of WACL.

INTERDOC's British affiliate body was the East West Study Group which in turn was linked to other anti-communist groups by the INTERDOC Advisory Board. In 1969 members of the Board included John Detmer, general secretary of the Economic League; Neil Elles of Common Cause (whose wife, a European M.P., was in the mid-seventies secretary of the Conservative Party International Department); and Brian Crozier, whose presence there may have been because of his involvement with *Soviet Analyst* which appears to have operated similarly to the Swiss East West Institute. (83) However, the two most interesting INTERDOC members were the former intelligence personnel, Walter Bell and Charles Ellis.

In 1963 Charles Ellis wrote to Sir William Stephenson (84) to tell him that he had been recommended to a new organization by his former boss at MI6, Sir Stewart Menzies. 'I am kept busy with this INTERDOC organization. And together with other chaps, I have formed a working committee which is organising an international conference at Oxford in September.' Ellis was at the time attached to the spooks' college St. Antony's. 'We have raised money from --- --- --- (deleted in book), and some professional groups, much to the astonishment of the Foreign Office who said that it couldn't be done.'

Who provided the money is not revealed but in this period Ellis was in close touch with the American Ambassador in London, David Bruce. (85) Bruce had known Ellis since the war when he was in the OSS and Ellis had acted as a liaison officer to the Americans in the British Security Co-Ordination organization. Ellis continued to Stephenson, 'They are now wondering if it was a good thing to kick me out of (MI6) ..... as several of us are now doing privately what they have never been succeeded in doing - getting an 'action group' going. We are keeping it 'private and confidential', as publicity could kill it.' What this 'action group' did is unknown. (86)

It has become quite widely accepted that Ellis was a spy for the Soviets. This story first took root in Chapman Pincher's *Their Trade is Treachery*. Pincher added to it in a letter (6 May 1981) in *The Times* where he refers to Ellis joining INTERDOC and goes on to tell the story that Ellis had 'confessed' to being a Nazi spy. 'The fact that he was also deeply suspected of spying for Russia has been confirmed to me during the past week by a person well-known in the intelligence world but who wishes to remain anonymous.' This would appear to be a reference to Peter Wright who was the major source for *Their Trade is Treachery* - and for the Ellis story. The published *evidence* for Ellis' alleged spying is remarkably thin. A much more likely explanation for his dealing with the nazis is that he was following the policy of Menzies and those within MI6 who were looking for a negotiated end to the war with Germany. Before the war Ellis had extensive links with exile groups and White Russians. The common thread here is anti-communism.

Walter Bell retired in 1967 from MI5 where he had acted as adviser to a number of Commonwealth governments. During the war, like Ellis, he acted as link man with the OSS in London, though for MI6 not BSC. (Bell and Ellis played important advisory roles in the formation of the CIA.) Bell was apparently responsible for securing funding for INTERDOC from British sources. (87)

We know virtually nothing about the London-based East West Study Group, or the relationship which we *presume* existed with the Foreign Affairs Circle, founded by Geoffrey Stewart-Smith in 1962. The Vice-President of the Foreign Affairs Circle was a leading Tory peer and war-time intelligence operative, Lord St. Oswald, and the President was Lady Birdwood, Council member of the British League for European Freedom and erstwhile member of the C. A. Smith faction of Common Cause. (88) The Circle's journal, the *East-West Digest*, was financed, according to Stewart-Smith, 'by some well-wishers in British industry.' Both Lady Birdwood (via the British League for European Freedom) and Stewart-Smith (via the Foreign Affairs Circle) were to become the British WACL affiliates. (89) In the 1970s, as the Foreign Affairs Research Institute, Stewart-Smith's organization distributed the journals of all the groups mentioned in this essay. Whether there were more substantial ties we don't know.

As can be seen, our knowledge of INTERDOC and its affiliates is at present extremely thin. This last section is provisional and should be treated with caution. Even so, the outlines of some kind of European-wide intelligence and propaganda network, staffed by serving and former intelligence officers, is visible. This is a rich seam still to be mined.

Thanks go to Stuart Christie, K. Koster (AMOK documentation, Holland), Morris Riley and Chris Horrie for material on INTERDOC.

## Notes

1. See e.g. Lyn Smith, 'Covert British propaganda: The Information Research Department: 1947-77, in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol.9, no.1 p.68: 'Christopher Mayhew..... was the man who created IRD.'
2. Ray Merrick, 'The Russia Committee of the British Foreign Office and the Cold War, 1946-47, in *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol.20 (1985)

- pp.453-468.
3. *ibid* p. 465
  4. Christopher Mayhew, *Time to Explain*, (Hutchinson, London 1987) p. 107.
  5. Richard Fletcher, 'British Propaganda Since WW2', in *Media, Culture and Society* vol 4 p 98.
  6. Notes on meeting between Christopher Warner and Edward Barrett, in London, Saturday May 20, 1950, in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1950* (Government Printing Office, Washington D.C. 1977) pp. 1641-6.
  7. Mayhew apparently thought, and still thinks, that it did. Letter to authors (15 April '88)
  8. Anthony Verrier, *Through the Looking Glass: British Foreign Policy in the Age of Illusions* (Jonathan Cape, London 1982) p. 52.
  9. Christopher Mayhew (note 4) p. 111
  10. As Note 6.
  11. Jeffrey Harrod, *Trade Union Foreign Policy* (Macmillan, London, 1972) p.105.
  12. Fletcher (note 5) p 98
  13. *ibid* p 98
  14. *The Times* 2 December 1948
  15. *Transcript of Lynskey Tribunal*, HMSO 1948
  16. *ibid* p. 337
  17. Stanley Wade Baron, *The Contact Man: Sydney Stanley and the Lynskey Tribunal*, (Secker and Warburg, London, 1966) p. 169.
  18. Lynskey Tribunal (note 15) p 445
  19. *ibid* p 414
  20. Philip Williams (ed), *The Diary of Hugh Gaitskell* (Jonathan Cape, London 1983) pp. 89/90.
  21. Lynskey Tribunal (note 15) p. 446
  22. Lyn Smith, (note 1) p. 71
  23. 'Maintaining Capitalism', in *Labour Research* (February 1985)
  24. Tom Hopkinson, *Of This Our Time: A Journalist's Story, 1905-50* (Hutchinson, London 1982) p. 191
  25. *ibid*
  26. On Britanova see, for example, the two long articles by Richard Fletcher on IRD in *Tribune* 2 September '83 and 9 September '83.
  27. Patrick Mayhew (ed) *One Family's War* (Futura, London, 1987) pp. 181-2.
  28. Hopkinson (note 24) p. 261
  29. Robin Maugham, *Escape From the Shadows* (Hodder and Stoughton, London 1972) p.171.
  30. See George W. Ross, *The Nationalisation of Steel* (MacGibbon and Kee 1965) pp. 85-6. After changing his name to Bulmer-Thomas, he stood as a Tory in the 1950 General Election and was defeated.
  31. Stokes in BLEF, The Duchess of Atholl, *Working Partnership* (London 1958) p 245; Stokes in Right Club, Dr. Pauline Henri, 'Verge of Treason' in *Searchlight* October 1989. When discussing new junior ministerial posts in 1951, Attlee told Hugh Dalton, that Ian Mikardo and Austen Albu 'both belonged to the Chosen People, and he didn't think he wanted any more of them'. Ben Pimlott, *Hugh Dalton* (Papermac, London, 1986) p. 596
  32. Duchess of Atholl (note 31) p. 252
  33. *ibid*
  34. The Duchess of Atholl was quite widely known before the war as - that oddity - a Tory (former Cabinet Minister) who supported the Republican cause in

- Spain. For this she was known then as 'the Red Duchess' and regarded by the right as a dupe of the left.
35. How important the Imperial Policy Group input into these two groups was we cannot yet evaluate - just as it is impossible to decide if IPG itself (or its longest surviving member, Kenneth de Courcy) are more than interesting fringe phenomena.
  36. John Loftus *The Belarus Secret* (Penguin 1983) p. 204
  37. De Courcy was a friend of the Duke of Windsor before and after the war. See e.g. Charles Higham, *Wallis* (Pan, London 1988) pp. 214-5.
  38. This, and most of the information on Smith's career, has come from an as yet unpublished profile of Smith written for the *Dictionary of Labour Biography* by Dr. Raymond Challinor, to whom our thanks.
  39. Richard Fletcher, *Who Were They Travelling With?* (Spokesman Books, Nottingham 1977) p. 70.
  40. Stefan Korbonski *Warsaw in Exile* (George Allen & Unwin 1966) p. 20.
  41. Fletcher (note 39) p.71
  42. Christopher Simpson, *Blowback: America's Recruitment of Nazi's and Its Effects on the Cold War* (Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London 1988) p. 8.
  43. *ibid* p. 222
  44. *ibid* p.269
  45. Nikolai Yakolev, *CIA target - the USSR* (Progress, Moscow, 1982) pp.104-5
  46. WACL meeting in Charles Goldman, 'World Anti-Communist League' adapted from *Under Dackke* ed. Frik Jensen and Petter Sommerfelt (Demos, Copenhagen 1978). We don't know which journal published the Goldman piece, as there are no details on our photocopy, but the style suggests an early issue of the now defunct *Counterspy*. Dallas' career, with some of the later associations glossed over, is described by his son in the *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, eds. Saville and Bellamy Vol.4 (1977).
  47. *The Times* 31/12/56, 'Many Campaigners in War Against Communism.'
  48. Letter to authors, 30 March 1988
  49. V.L. Allen, *The Russians are Coming: The Politics of Anti-Sovietism* (Moor Press, 1987) p. 285
  50. Kevin Muir, Secretary, Catholic Church's Committee for the World of Work (Letter to authors 15 April 1988)
  51. Michael Bialuguski *The Petrov Story* (William Heinemann, London 1955) p. 245
  52. Simpson (note 42) p. 179
  53. Garth Lean *Frank Buchman: A Life* (Constable, London 1985) p. 335
  54. *ibid.* pp. 423-4: *Times* 22 September 1953
  55. Information from Martin Walker.
  56. Hancock was a complete reactionary. As Chief Woman Officer of the TGWU, she was under the thumb of Deakin. With O'Brien, she was also with a Director of the Labour supporting *Daily Herald* (1955-57). Frank Cousins fought a bitter campaign to have her removed.
  57. Edwards was another radical who moved to the right. He served in Spain and was National Chair of the ILP, 1943-48. Founder of the Socialist Movement for United States of Europe, he became heavily involved in European organisations. Labour M.P., 1955-8. During 1948 the Chemical Workers Union had been involved in protracted legal proceedings over alleged forged ballot papers by the Communists.
  58. London had its own elaborate factional machine, the Progressive Labour Group. It had been formed in 1949 and was initially 'designed to thwart

- Communist attempts to capture union posts.' However, the definition of 'fellow-traveller' used by the P.L.G. tended also to embrace many on the Labour Left. Lewis Minkin, *The Labour Party Conference*, (Allen Lane, London 1978) p. 104
59. Common Cause, *Bulletin* No.42, November 1955. For which read, perhaps, 'our friends fixed the agenda'.
  60. *The Times* 11/5/59
  61. *Sunday Times* 31/5/64
  62. *Labour Research* March 1971
  63. CIA links in Fred Landis, 'CIA and the Reader's Digest', in *Covert Action Information Bulletin* No.29, 1988. Landis' analysis is concentrated on Latin America but even a casual look at the Digest's British edition shows the same pattern. Collins Radio as CIA cover in P.D. Scott, *The Dallas Conspiracy*, ch. 11 p. 3 (unpublished manuscript)
  64. Paul Ferris *The New Militants* (Penguin 1972) p. 85
  65. Frances Blackett in Duchess of Atholl (note 31) p. 250
  66. Don Thomson and Rodney Larson, *Where Were You Brother?* (War on Want, London 1978) p. 30
  67. *The Times* 6 April 1957
  68. Macklin quote and description in memorandum of The Trade Union Education Centre for Democratic Socialism, 12 May 1975.
  69. Irving Richter, *Political Purpose in Trade Unions* (London 1973) pp. 144-5
  70. Minkin (note 58) pp. 180-1
  71. Eric Silver *Vic Feather, TUC* (Gollancz, London, 1973) p. 109
  72. *ibid*
  73. *TUC Report 1960* pp. 485-6.
  74. [Footnote omitted from original]
  75. [Footnote omitted from original]
  76. *The World of Learning, 1980-81* (Switzerland) p 1236
  77. See Chapter 9, 'Human Ecology' in John Marks, *The Search for the 'Manchurian Candidate': The CIA and Mind Control* (Allen Lane, London 1979). In 1955 the CIA incorporated the Society for the Study of Human Ecology which was renamed the Human Ecology Fund in 1961 and was used as a CIA controlled funding mechanism for studies and experiments in the behavioural sciences.
  78. *Liberation* 9 October 1975 and *L'Orchestra Noir*, Frederick Laurent (Stock, Paris, 1978)
  79. INTERDOC registration papers deposited in The Hague.
  80. *The Digger* 11 March 1988
  81. See Kevin Coogan, 'The Importance of Robert Gayre', in *Parapolitics USA* No.2, 30 May 1981
  82. George Thayer, *The British Political Fringe* (Anthony Blond, London 1965) p. 102
  83. *The Digger* (note 80)
  84. William Stevenson, *Intrepid's Last Case* (Michael Joseph, London, 1984) p. 253.
  85. Unpublished Bruce Diary, courtesy of the United States State Department.
  86. For Philby's views of such 'action groups' see *Lobster* 16 p.10.
  87. *The Digger* (note 80)
  88. Lord Birdwood who had an extremely distinguished record had died and I asked Lady Birdwood to join us. There was not the slightest indication that she held anti-democratic, racist or anti-semitic views then. Over the course of

time her views changed and became incompatible with mine. She then went off on her own getting more and more extreme as time past.' Letter from Stewart-Smith to authors 21/12/87.

89. For full background on Stewart-Smith see the *Parliamentary Profile* (1974) 'Discreet Anti-Communist' by Andrew Roth.

## Gone but not forgotten

### Stephen Dorril

#### STANLEY MAYNE

A Socialist Caucus pamphlet put out in June 1984, *Cold War and Class Collaboration: Red Baiting and Witch-Hunts in the Civil Service Unions* suggested that 'A rather mysterious affair occurred in the IPCS (Institute of Professional Civil Servants). Its General Secretary, Richard Nunn, who had in April 1962 correctly realised that the Radcliffe report was an attack upon union activists, suddenly announced next October that he was resigning. He said his resignation was for 'personal' reasons. Could it be that Nunn's opposition to the Radcliffe report brought him into conflict with the IPCS leadership? Was he actually barred under the Radcliffe report?' (1)

The Radcliffe Committee of 1961 was principally concerned about the Public Service. (2) One result of the Committee's recommendations was a minor witch-hunt in the Civil Service and its corresponding trade unions. The Committee reported that Communists 'appear in fact to have achieved a higher degree of penetration here than in almost any other sector of the trade union movement'. The report recommended that 'Departments should have the right in respect of establishments or staff employed on secret work to deny access to or to refuse to negotiate with trade union officials whom they had reason to believe were Communists.' This definition was extended to those who were 'susceptible to Communist pressure.' Reginald Maudling announced in the House of Commons that the actual number of union officials barred from government departments was a mere seven, (3) though others were moved sideways. Cyril Cooper, General Secretary of the Society of Technical Civil Servants, was deemed a security risk because he had been a member of the Communist party 'many years ago'. (4)

The flames had been partly fanned by Chapman Pincher during his testimony to the Committee. He reveals in *Inside Story* (5), 'I volunteered the suggestion that it seemed rather pointless keeping Communists out of the secret departments when communists or near-communists in Civil Service unions were allowed access. When asked to give an example I cited the case of (Stanley) Mayne, stressing that I had no evidence that he had betrayed any secrets and stating that I did not think it likely that he would ever do so. My main concern was his successor. Mayne had made it plain to me that his successor would be a man of his choice. If Mayne was of the extreme Left the odds were that he would see to it that his choice was too'. Pincher says that he 'was told by a former member of the Communist Party that Mayne was not only a card-carrying member but took part in various meetings of party subcommittees.' (6)

Pincher's intervention had the desired affect. 'After he had been in office a little over a year, the defence departments made it clear that they would have no dealings with

Nunn. He asked to be relieved of his post, denying that he was a member of the Communist Party or ever had been.' (7)

Mayne, who died in December 1988, had no doubt been targeted by MI5 throughout most of his career. He had been closely involved in the National Council for Civil Liberties, and in the mid-fifties was Secretary of the Campaign for the Limitation of Secret Police Powers which produced two reports on the activities of MI5. To the probable distress of the Security Services, in May 1976 Harold Wilson made Mayne a member of a committee to 'review the rules governing the active participation by civil servants in national and local political activities'. (Attlee had set up a similar one under the Chairmanship of his friend Sir John Masterman, the ex-head of MI5's Double Cross Committee). Barbara Castle reveals in her diaries: 'On the committee I worked closely with Stanley Mayne ... and together we succeeded in edging the committee towards a greater liberalisation of the political activities of civil servants than it would have otherwise proposed.' (8) James Callaghan, no doubt with Security Service advice, refused to act on it or accept it.

## Notes

1. Page 9.
2. Radcliffe, Cyril John, Viscount. 1961 *Security Procedures in the Public Service, Report of the Committee Session 1961-62* Cmnd. 1681 xxvii (HMSO April 1962). The members of the Committee were:
  - The Right Hon. the Lord Radcliffe, who served in the Ministry of Information during the War, partly as Chief Press Censor which involved close liaison with MI5;
3. F.W.D. Deakin, who had been in the Special Operations Executive and was Warden of St. Antony's College, Oxford;
4. Sir David Milne;
5. Field-Marshal Sir Gerald Templer, who had been Director of Military Intelligence in the British Expeditionary Force in Belgium and France; was later head of the Special Operations Executive (German section X), post-war Head of Military Intelligence War Office, Overlord in Malaya, and had headed a similar, but secret inquiry initiated by Attlee.
6. The Right Hon. Kenneth Younger. Former Labour M.P. for Grimsby, the constituency 'handed on' to Tony Crosland. His cousin William Younger worked for Maxwell Knight as did 'Bill's' mother Joan (Mrs Dennis Wheatley) and sister, Diana. See Anthony Masters, *The Man Who was M: The Life of Maxwell Knight* (Basil Blackwell 1984) and Nigel West *MI5: British Security Service operations 1909-1945* (Triad/Panther 1984)
7. *The Times* 21/2/63.
8. *The Times* 10/6/63.
9. *Inside Story* (Sidgwick & Jackson 1977), p.333
10. *ibid.* p.332
11. *ibid* p.32
12. *Castle Diaries* 1974-76. p.649



KENNEDY McWHIRTER 22/10/23 -- 3/11/89

*Freedom Today*, the newspaper of the Freedom Association published this photograph in its February 1989 issue. It showed, in its view, the violence associated with peace demonstrations. There is, however, a more interesting aspect to the incident portrayed.

Like most people, I suppose, I hadn't realised that the McWhirter twins had an elder brother, apparently a renowned 'archeo-linguist'. Although Kennedy seems to have shared their reactionary political views, he remained very much in the shadows. The only reference I know of to his political activities is in *The Times*, 18th April 1958, which reports what happened when that photograph was taken.

Kennedy and his brother Norris were at the first Aldermaston anti-nuclear march. They were in a car with a loudspeaker demonstrating against the marchers. 'Marchers! Every one of you is guilty of increasing the risk of war. You are voting with your feet for Soviet imperialist domination', was the message coming from their car. According to *The Times*, the car swung into a field where the McWhirters got out and attempted to display some placards. At which point a scuffle broke out with some of the marchers. When they got back into the car people began to rock it. There was some minor damage. The police eventually appeared and managed to get the car out of the field and away from the march.

Later Kennedy told *The Times* that it was not a 'political demonstration'. Although he belonged to a political party 'he declined to say which one.' 'I am not frightened of Communist thugs'. He commented on the 'savage violence' of the marchers when 'the opposite point of view was put in words to them.' Why did Kennedy decline to reveal



his political persuasions? Did he have something to conceal?

In 1964 Norris was the Conservative candidate at Orpington. With Ross and Kennedy he was probably a Conservative in 1958. However there is evidence which suggests that they also belonged to another grouping, namely, the League of Empire Loyalists (LEL). George Thayer in his book the *The British Political Fringe* (1) noted that the LEL 'being pro-bomb made a habit of harassing the Aldermaston marches.' A member of the LEL who is now guardian of their records, Rosine D'Bouneviallel, confirms that this particular episode was a LEL stunt. Although she hasn't confirmed that the McWhirters were LEL members, she has said that they were subscribers to *Candour* the paper of the League. (2)

In the opinion of Richard Thurlow, 'the League of Empire Loyalists was to gain support from both the remnants of the Die-hard tradition, who were dismayed by the collapse of the British empire, and ex-fascists who resented Mosley's new European idea. In spite of the old-fashioned political tactics its role was to be seminal in the founding of the National Front in 1967.' *Candour* was a platform for A.K. Chesterton's 'simplistic conspiracy theory' of Jewish bankers controlling the world. (3)

## Notes

1. George Thayer, *The British Political Fringe: A Profile* (Anthony Blond 1965), p.58.
2. Thanks are due to N. T. for this information.
3. See Chapter 10, Richard Thurlow, *Fascism in Britain; A History, 1918-1985* (Basil Blackwell 1987)

## MICHAEL STEWART 1906 -- 1990

In her diary of the second Wilson Government, Barbara Castle reveals details of a Cabinet Meeting held in early July 1967 to consider the important new White Paper on Defence. 'Harold began by saying he had had a telegram from (President) Johnson asking us to go slow on defence cuts East of Suez. This was the second time a foreign power had got to know Cabinet business. In these two cases, being the U.S., it wasn't serious. Nonetheless cabinet business was secret and we should none of us chat about it at embassies and so on.' (1) The Labour Cabinet apparently had a mole.

Chapman Pincher has written that the Labour Party had been 'penetrated for many years by agents of the CIA ...' (2) 'I know the identity of one former Cabinet Minister who was in regular touch with the CIA.' (3) In what may be a reference to the same person, James Naughtie of the *Guardian* disclosed that 'the man ... was investigated as a result of an inquiry into phone tapping and was found -- to the surprise of ministers who had served with him -- to have been a regular informant to Washington.' (4)

According to David Leigh's sources the MI5 officer Arthur Martin told friends before his transfer to MI6 in November 1964, 'I did hear that ----- was a spy.' An MI5 officer from K branch confirmed to Leigh that 'We knew that ----- was a CIA agent, or, if not an agent, at least very close to the Americans.' (5) The deletions are in Leigh's account. The minister was Michael Stewart.

It is unlikely that Stewart was a full blown agent; rather he might be classed as a CIA 'agent of Influence'. Former CIA covert operations officer Richard Bissell has

described how such agents are recruited. 'The technique is essentially that of 'penetration' ... the essence of such intervention in the internal power balance is the identification of allies who can be rendered more effective, more powerful, and perhaps wiser through covert assistance ... On the whole the Agency has been remarkably successful in finding individuals and instrumentalities which it could work in this way.' He added that 'many of the 'penetrations' don't take the form of 'hiring' but of establishing a close or friendly relationship (which may or may not be furthered by the provision of money from time to time).' (6)

In the mid-fifties, according to Chester Cooper, the Labour Party 'was virtually ignored by the American Embassy during the tenure of Ambassador Winthrop Aldrich.' But he adds a rider: 'A few of us, however, tried to provide key Labour Party members with some background on United States policy.' (7) Cooper was the CIA head of station in the London Embassy. The 'us' seems to refer to the CIA and some sections of the State Department. The support was designed 'so that when they spoke against American moves in Europe or elsewhere, their opposition would at least not stem from sheer ignorance of the facts.' This isn't entirely correct since the key people they chose were already very pro-American; and contact went further than mere background briefings.

One of Cooper's closest contacts in the Party was the Shadow Defence Minister George Brown, whose work 'brought [him] in touch with various members of the CIA.' (8) 'Our relationship', confides Cooper, 'was comprised of mutual affection, respect and confidence.' (9) Brown was also a friend in the sixties of another CIA station Chief, Archie Roosevelt. (10) Both Brown and Gaitskell later received secret briefings from Cooper and Roosevelt on the Cuban Missile Crisis.

This relationship with United States agencies developed when Brown accepted 'one of the American Congressional Trusts which enabled me to spend six weeks in the United States doing anything I liked.' (11) The Trust had been set up under the so-called 'Smith-Mundt' legislation to encourage suitable foreign 'leaders' to visit the States. The Foreign Leaders Programme was designed to educate a new generation of elite managers and was something of a counter-part to the stream of Rhodes Scholars who crossed the Atlantic to Oxford. Michael Stewart was a recipient of the Americans' largess. In the United States, Brown was 'able to begin discussions, which I have kept up ever since, with American military leaders and thinkers.' (12) The same applied to Stewart. It was a cheap way of binding the two elite groups together into the Atlantic community. Those that undertook similar trips to the USSR were often accused of being 'fellow-travellers'.

A leading member of the centrist 'Keep Calm' group in the Labour Party, Stewart went to the United States in the summer of 1954. (13) He most approximated the ideology of the liberal American Democrats, being to the left on social policies but an anti-communist cold-warrior on defence and foreign policy. This was the ideal of the liberal wing of the US elite, and, for example, the CIA. In October 1955 Anthony Jay was a visitor to the U.S. with Hugh Gaitskell, though he was not as enthusiastic as his leader. 'Contrary to what I had always been taught, it was the basic similarity, despite the obvious differences, between the U.S. and Britain in habits of thought political assumptions, basic education and view of the world. At its strongest, naturally among Washington officials and Harvard academics, this similarity struck me as permeating far wider and deeper than I had been led to expect.' (14)

The pro-Americans within the Party had their most influence following the internal

debate begun in 1958 on the status of the Party's nuclear defence policy. This had been prompted by the Duncan Sandys defence review of the previous year, which had committed Britain to a reliance on nuclear weapons for its defence. To me (not a Labour Party supporter) the nuclear debate was central to the debate about the nature of the Labour Party, a core position: can socialists be pro-nuclear?

The cold-war warriors of Labour never attempted to develop a left foreign or defence policy, never mind a socialist one. Stewart remained firmly on the extreme right of the party on what were, for the Americans, key policy issues. He even went as far as advocating that 'in certain circumstances the West should be the first to use nuclear weapons.' (15) Some years later, looking back at the new policy, which became the foundation of Labour defence policy and the key to its economic policies, George Brown wrote: 'Our defence *must* be related to the defence system of the United States. But the Americans will not be willing to keep a large standing Army in Europe indefinitely.' The later fear over Vietnam was 'if the Americans were to be kicked out there, a wave of isolationism would sweep the United States, followed by a quick withdrawal from Europe.' (16)

Stewart turned out to be the most pro-American of all the Gaitskellites, supporting the U.S. involvement in Vietnam right to the bitter end. He had deep personal links with the pro-Vietnam War lobby in the Johnson Administration. 'Dean Rusk and I ... were alumni of St John's College.' (17) Stewart was a Callaghan supporter and disliked Wilson partly because of his 'equivocal attitude during the CND dispute' ... and his 'hostility to Hugh (Gaitskell)' (18) Which puts into an interesting light Edward Short's view that 'the relationship of Harold Wilson to Michael Stewart during the two Parliaments of 1964-70 was one of great regard and growing reliance -- indeed, in the late sixties, as his relationship with George Brown and Jim Callaghan weakened, he probably depended more on his advice than any other minister's. This was a development which almost everyone in the Government welcomed, for Michael Stewart was a man of considerable wisdom and versatility.' (19) And, we now know, a CIA 'Agent of Influence'. Stewart left the Government in 1970 and was later made a peer.

## Notes

1. (6/7/67) Barbara Castle, *The Castle Diaries 1964-70* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson 1984) pp. 273/4
2. p.28 Chapman Pincher *Inside Story* (Sidgwick & Jackson 1977)
3. p.159 *ibid.*
4. *Guardian* 6/5/87.
5. p.96 David Leigh *The Wilson Plot* (William Heinemann 1988)
6. Quoted in *CIA Infiltration of the Labour Movement* (Militant, 1982)
7. p.343 Chester L. Cooper, *The Lost Crusade: The Full Story of US Involvement in Vietnam from Roosevelt to Nixon* (MacKibbon & Kee 1970)
8. p.147 George Brown *In My Way* (Penguin 1972)
9. p.343 Cooper *op.cit.*
- 10.p.469 Archie Roosevelt, *For Lust of Knowing: Memoirs of an Intelligence Officer* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson 1988)
- 11.p.207 Brown *op.cit.*
- 12.*ibid.*
- 13.p.92 Michael Stewart *Life and Labour* (Sidgwick & Jackson 1980)
- 14.p.244 Anthony Jay *Change and Fortune* (Hutchinson 1980)

15. Michael Stewart, *Policy and Weapons in the Nuclear Age*, Fabian Tract No.296 (1955)  
16.p.208 Brown *op.cit.*  
17.p.153 Stewart *op.cit.*  
18.p.122 Stewart *ibid.*  
19.p.33 Edward Short *Whip to Wilson*(MacDonald 1989)

## **GREVILLE WYNNE 1919 - 27/2/90**

It was interesting to compare the obituaries of Greville Wynne which appeared in the *Times* (1/3/90) and the *Independent* (3/3/90). The first gave the standard view of Wynne as a patriot who played an important, and dangerous, role as an intelligence go-between at the height of the Cold War. The success of the operation involving the spy Oleg Penkovsky was, in the view of the *Times*, a considerable 'feather in the cap of British Intelligence'. That seems to me to be a fair view of Wynne no matter what your political persuasion, but it wasn't for Rupert Allason, aka Nigel West.

In the *Independent* Allason tore into Wynne claiming that he was 'a Walter Mitty character (the smear he has used against Wallace), fantasising a fictitious life for himself.' He went on to list a number of these fantasies. The evidence suggests that Allason is in this instance partially correct and that Wynne did indeed embroider aspects of his life. But, the fact remains, Wynne did play a part in what is generally regarded as British Intelligence's greatest post-war coup. For some reason though, Allason was not prepared to praise Wynne in any way for his role.

There is another obituary which could be written about Wynne. According to Anthony Verrier, with as good MI6 contacts as Allason's, Wynne was a 'man of outstanding courage, who also paid heavily for his service to the State.' (1) During the Penkovsky operation Wynne played a 'brave and essential part ... acting as the cut-out for verbal communication with SIS.' (2)

Another writer with what appear to be good contacts is Gordon Brook-Shepherd. His evidence suggests that Penkovsky chose Wynne as his contact man and not the other way round as has been suggested by others. This suited the operation very well because to the Soviets it appeared that Wynne was a businessman they might recruit. For this reason, according to Brook-Shepherd, Wynne never came under suspicion by the KGB. (3) In some ways then, Wynne, somewhat on the sidelines, became an innocent, though no doubt willing, pawn in a complex intelligence operation by British Intelligence. (For instance, Wynne never met the case officers dealing with Penkovsky). And according to Brook-Shepherd, it was Penkovsky who blew Wynne's name to the KGB. (4)

In his memoirs, Wynne tells us that on the evening of 2nd November 1962 he was holding a small party for commercial representatives in Varosliget Park, in the Hungarian capitol of Budapest. As he walked down the Pavilion steps away from the party two short, thickset men in trilby hats seized him and dragged him shouting and struggling into a Russian built Moskovich car. After a night in a Hungarian jail Wynne was flown by a Soviet military aircraft to Moscow. There he was taken handcuffed to the Lubyanka prison to join his friend Oleg Penkovsky, in an adjoining cell.

With the information now at hand, the events surrounding Wynne's arrest begin to look distinctly odd. The caravans of the touring exhibition were to be taken via

Bucharest by Wynne to a trade fair in Hungary which was to be held from the last week of October. The journey was a purely commercial venture and was not, according to Brook-Shepherd's sources, anything to do with a Penkovsky escape plan. 'British Intelligence had been informed of Wynne's journey and expressed some misgivings', but 'it was thought he would be safe in Budapest, where the Russians were unlikely to strike at him.' (5)

Wynne writes that he made contact with MI6 in Vienna where, he claims, the signal to go ahead to Budapest was given. Wynne believed he was already under surveillance by the Soviets. His own memoirs are not completely clear on this point, but it seems he then went on to Bucharest on the 22nd., only managing to arrive for the last days of the Rumanian exhibition. He remembered arriving just as the Cuban missile Crisis was getting dangerously out of hand. (6) Wynne left for Budapest on 31st. October.

Brook-Shepherd says that Penkovsky's arrest, 'though only known to the West on 2nd November, is thought to have been carried out at least a week, and possibly a fortnight, before.' (7) Verrier claims that MI6 learned 'within hours' of Penkovsky's arrest on the 22nd. (8) So was Wynne deliberately sent on a hopeless mission, sacrificed in some vicious intelligence game? Was there no opportunity in the following eleven days of warning the amateur spy? It would seem that Wynne was to act as a decoy, either to protect the source of the news of Penkovsky's arrest, or to be the inevitable star at a Moscow show trial drawing attention away from the real agents in (or outside?) the British Embassy. The fact that Wynne openly confessed to the KGB following his arrest, something which Allason gives prominence to, is not significant. No intelligence agent, much less an amateur like Wynne, is expected to hold out for more than 48 hours at which point he/she is free to talk openly.

Wynne paid a heavy price for his patriotism. The imprisonment did certainly damage him and in many ways it is clear that he never completely got over it -- a partial explanation for his fantasies and probable alcohol problems. The real spies, the MI6 officers in the Moscow embassy, quietly slipped away protected by diplomatic cover.

## Notes

1. p.209 Anthony Verrier, *Through the Looking Glass: British Foreign Policy in the Age of Illusions* (Jonathan Cape 1983)
2. pp.213/4 *ibid.*
3. Chapters 9 & 10 Gordon Brook-Shepherd, *The Storm Birds: Soviet Post-War Defectors* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson 1988). Brook-Shepherd mounts a systematic destruction of Philip Knightley's version of the Penkovsky/Wynne episode in Knightley's book *The Second Oldest Profession* (Andre Deutsch 1986 see pp.313-25), which Brook-Shepherd says 'averages two factual errors per page.' (p.284) After the legal problems with his book on the Profumo Affair and the disastrous appearance on the LWT programme on the trial of Hollis, Knightley's reputation is at an all time low. West's version of Wynne is to be found in his book *The Friends* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson 1988). (See pp.123-131) The book was withdrawn following legal action over West's portrayal of Wynne as an alcoholic etc., but has now appeared in paperback (1990).
4. p.156 *ibid.*
5. p.157 *ibid.*
6. pp.198-200 Greville Wynne, *Wynne & Penkovsky* and p.251 *The Man from Odessa*

7. p.158 Brook-Shepherd *op.cit.*

8. p.224 Verrier *op.cit.*

## Way out West: a conspiracy theory

### Stephen Dorril

A current example of a conspiracy theory is the continuing attempt to paint Roger Hollis as a member of the so-called 'Ring of Five'. There is, it should be said, not a shred of evidence that Hollis ever passed a single piece of information to the Soviets, nor that he had any contacts with Soviet intelligence officers or agents. But this doesn't hinder the conspiracy theorists who will seize on any scrap of evidence to bolster the Hollis theory. As history shows, conspiracy theorists are inevitably on the right, if not the extreme right.

W. J. West would seem to fit into this mould. He has been heard to say that *Lobster* is funded with Moscow Gold. Although he is a very capable researcher whose books contain some fascinating tidbits, West is incapable of putting together the material in a coherent fashion. Often the material is squeezed into a preconceived conspiracy theory. A prime example was an article in the *Spectator* (14 October '89), 'Proven Connection'.

West's view of Hollis as a Soviet mole is partly based on the possible connections with Claud Cockburn who he sees as being a 'Comintern Agent'. The two certainly knew each other in their university days. It is the view of the anti-Hollis faction that during his interrogation in 1969, as part of the investigations into a possible MI5 mole, Hollis had been less than candid about his relationship with Cockburn. Suspicions were aroused by his faltering reply to questions concerning Cockburn. Connections between Hollis and Cockburn are therefore eagerly sought after as evidence of Hollis' supposed treason. Such a little nugget landed in West's lap.

In the summer of 1963 Cockburn took up an offer from Richard Ingram to edit a special edition of *Private Eye*. It was the height of the Profumo Affair which, coinciding with Cockburn's decision to put greater emphasis on politics in the satirical magazine, propelled *Private Eye* into mass circulation and national prominence. The format has stayed pretty much the same for the last twenty-seven years.

Alan Brien, who worked with Cockburn on *Private Eye*, wrote to the *Spectator* to inform West that whilst working on this special edition Cockburn had met clandestinely with Roger Hollis. West assumes that Hollis gave Cockburn confidential information about the Profumo Affair and quotes a passage from the 9th. August issue which mentions in-fighting between MI5 and Special Branch over the scandal. When I was researching the Profumo Affair for the book *Honeytrap* one of the places to look for material was obviously *Private Eye*. Unfortunately, I searched in vain. Although entertaining, it was clear that its coverage contained little of interest. (*Private Eye*'s expert on the Profumo Affair was Christopher Booker not Cockburn. Of much more importance in that particular issue was a full-page on the still mysterious case of Hal Wolfe.)

West got it wrong. Hollis did contact Cockburn but it wasn't about the Profumo Affair. The reason is contained in Cockburn's autobiography *I, Claud* (Penguin 1967).

Because of his reputation as editor of *The Week* in the 30's and 40's, Cockburn had been told to expect problems with the authorities.

'There was, in fact, a bit of trouble, because I had disclosed as a matter of interest, the name and address of the head of MI5 ... A source I had good reason to consider well-informed, arranged to meet me in an agreeably open space without microphones - not that I believed that there were any in the *Private Eye* office - and told me that there was a terrible row going on about the naming of this man. Some important people, it seemed, were insisting that I must be arrested .....'on principal' .....To let *Private Eye* get away with publishing it would ..... 'cause jealousy' in Fleet Street and thus injure MI5's secret public relations. My informant urged me to go back to Ireland, while the going was still, possibly, good.' (pp. 410/11)

Hollis was acting in his usual diplomatic fashion. He hated getting the politicians involved and putting MI5 in the spotlight, much preferring to deal with problems in a quiet way. The fact that he had met Cockburn and dealt with the matter with restraint is probably sufficient reason for his faltering in telling his interrogators about the incident some six years later.

## The Kincora scandal and related subjects

### Tara, Colin Wallace, 'Clockwork Orange', Fred Holroyd and 'the Dirty War': a selective bibliography of Irish sources

#### Introduction

The Kincora scandal was exposed in 1980. 'The troubles' started in Northern Ireland over 20 years ago, resulting in the services of Colin Wallace and Fred Holroyd in their respective spheres. 'Tara' was originally formed in 1966 .A reading list on these subjects is long overdue and this is a modest attempt to provide it. The sole criterion for inclusion in this listing has been that the article contains some factual information. For that reason I have not listed mere news reports. However, inclusion in this list does not mean that I believe the content of the article to be true. This caveat applies particularly to 'blind' (i.e. authorless) articles in *Phoenix*. Many articles overlap into two, three or (even) the four distinct subject areas, and I hope the reader will therefore bear with my classification.

Harry Irwin

#### The Kincora scandal

- Sex racket at children's homes -- Peter McKenna, *Irish Independent*, 24 January 1980, p. 1.
- Boys' suicide brought Kincora scandal to light -- Ed Moloney and Andy Pollak, *Irish Times*, 13 January 1982, p. 3.
- Kincora complaint ignored for decade -- Ed Moloney and Andy Pollak, *Irish Times*, 14 January 1982, p. 7.
- INLA kills McKeague -- *News Letter*, 30 January 1982, pp. 1-2.
- John McKeague shot dead in Belfast shop -- Andy Pollak, *Irish Times*, 30 January 1982, p. 1.
- DUP chief rejects Kincora allegation -- *News Letter*, 30 January 1982, p. 1.

- Woman left church over alleged inaction by Paisley -- *Irish Times*, 30 January 1982, p. 7.
- McKeague a gay in private -- a hate monger in public -- John Hunter, *Sunday World* 31 January 1982 p. 3.
- Kincora a smear campaign? No its.....blackmail and whitewash -- Jim Campbell, *Sunday World*, 31 January 1982, p. 7.
- Kincora vice ring link with boy's brutal slaying -- Jim Campbell and John Hunter, *Sunday World*, 28 February 1982, pp.1,4 and 5.
- *Kincora scandal* (1) Ten unanswered questions (2) The case against William McGrath -- Andy Pollak, *Fortnight*, March/April 1982, pp.4-5.
- Why didn't Joss reveal all on Kincora -- John Carey, *Sunday World*, 16 May 1982, pp .28-29.
- Sodom and Kincora -- *Phoenix*, 7 January 1983, pp.12- 13.
- Kincora leak hinges on spies' story -- *Sunday News*, 20 February, 1983, p. 1.
- The beast who ran a boys' home, a lodge and Tara...and the people who tried to expose him -- Jim Campbell, *Sunday World* 10 April 1983, pp.18-19.
- Why the Secret Service kept McGrath free -- Jim Campbell, *Sunday World*, 17 April 1983, pp. 20-21.
- Why did it go on for so long? -- John Hunter, *Sunday World*, 24 April 1983.
- British spy link with Kincora -- *Phoenix*, 16 September 1983, pp.12-14.
- Kincora link in my child's slaying. The brutal murder that shocked war-torn Ulster -- Jim Campbell and John Hunter, *Sunday World*, 2 October 1983, pp.1-2.
- Curse of Kincora -- *Phoenix*, 11 November 1983.
- Kincora: spy's blackmail bid uncovered -- Frank Doherty, *Sunday News*, 22 April 1984, p. 9.
- Paisley's papist smoke screens -- John Carey, *Sunday World*, 2 December 1984, pp. 6-7.
- Kincora -- *Irish Communist*, (a) November 1984, pp. 1- 18; (b) December 1984, pp.7-16.
- Kincora 'leak' man to miss inquiry -- *Sunday World*, 16 December 1984, p. 8.
- Document claims RUC, Army knew all about Kincora in 1974 -- Ed Moloney and Andy Pollak, *Irish Times*, 25 June 1985, p. 7.
- MI5 knew about assault allegations, Kincora cover-up part of intelligence plot -- Ed Moloney and Andy Pollak, *Irish Times*, 26 June 1985, p. 16.
- The queer card -- *Phoenix*, 8 November 1985, p. 9.
- Epilogue on Kincora? -- *Phoenix*, 14 February 1986, p. 7.
- The unanswered questions that continue to haunt Kincora -- James Lynch, *Fortnight*, 24 February 1986, pp. 4-5.
- Who is shooting who? -- *Phoenix*, 30 January 1987, p. 14.
- Ulster gay set to blow lid on high society sex -- Liam Clarke, *Sunday World* 14 February 1988, p. 7.
- Red spy flew in for Kincora sex orgies -- Jim Campbell, *Sunday World*, 9 April 1989, p. 2.
- Kincora beast set to preach again -- Martin O'Hagan, *Sunday World*, 30 April 1989, pp. 1-2.
- MI5 and Kincora's secrets of shame. The scourge of Kincora -- Kevin Magee, *Sunday Life*, 4 February, 1990 pp. 1,8,28 and 29.
- Mountbatten was 'part of gay ring which was linked with Kincora' -- Frank Doherty and John Byrne, *NOW*, April 1990, pp. 13- 17.



## Colin Wallace, 'Clockwork Orange'

- Jailed Kincora smear chief is questioned -- John Carey, *Sunday World*, 14 March 1982, p. 14.
- Wallace whoppers. the trail of trouble from the Kincora smear king. -- John Carey, *Sunday World*, 7 July 1985, p. 24.
- Black propaganda and bloody murder -- Frank Doherty, *Magill*, December 1986, pp. 24-28.
- MI5 -- the Irish File -- *Phoenix* 19 December 1986 pp. 3 and 11.
- Wallace tells all -- at last. -- Jim Campbell, *Sunday World*, 1 March 1987, p. 4.
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- Framed? The spy caught up in his own web of intrigue. -- Liam Clarke, *Sunday World*, 31 May 1987, p. 17.
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**The object of this booklet is to touch the soul of Ireland. If it has not touched you then we have failed, for you are Ireland. If it has challenged, angered, inspired or humiliated you, we would plead with you to accept the light received. Never again will you be able to say you did not know.**

**TARA has no connection with any Paramilitary or Political organisation. TARA is a national movement for the resurgence of Irish Protestantism on behalf of the British people.**

**WE HOLD ULSTER THAT IRELAND MIGHT BE SAVED AND  
THAT BRITAIN BE REBORN!**

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**IRELAND FOREVER**

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**THE HARD CORE OF PROTESTANT RESISTANCE!  
RESISTANCE WITH RESPONSIBILITY!**

- 1987, p. 6.
- Colin Wallace -- *Phoenix*, 9 February 1990, p. 12.

- ....not any more -- Robin Ramsay, *Fortnight*, March 1990 pp. 12-13.
- Just like clockwork -- Eamonn McCann, *Magill*, March 1990, pp. 18-23.

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- Quarter-page advertisement supporting the UWC strike -- *News Letter*, 23 May 1974.
- Full-page advertisement, 'Tara proclamation', *News Letter*, 20 June 1974, p. 8.
- *Ireland Forever*, n.d. circa 1976, Belfast. 29 page booklet outlining Tara philosophy and manifesto.
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- British spies in Ireland -- David McKittrick, *Irish Times*, 22 April 1980, p. 12.
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- A captain's tale of horror -- Mervyn Pauley, *News Letter*, 24 November 1989 pp. 8-9.
- Licence to kill? -- *Sunday Life* 4 February 1990, pp. 8-9.

## **Some addresses that may be useful:**

- *Fortnight* 7 Lower Crescent, Belfast BT7 1NR
- *Irish News* 113 Donegal Street, Belfast BT1 2FJ
- *Sunday News* and *News Letter* 51 Donegal Street, Belfast BT1 2FH
- *Sunday Life* 124 Royal Avenue, Belfast BT1 1EB
- *Irish Times* 13 D'Olier Street, Dublin 2
- *Magill* 14 Merrion Row, Dublin 2
- *NOW* 15 Upper Baggot Street, Dublin 2
- *Phoenix* 44 Lower Baggot Street, Dublin 2
- *Sunday World* PO Box 645, Dublin 6.

# The final testimony of George Kennedy Young

## Introduction

*When this was published we believed that it had been written by a close friend of his. Subsequently we learned that it had been written by Young himself. As far as we were able to judge, it is accurate. But this is by no means the whole story. Hardly anything about Young's political activities in the late sixties and seventies is included. Even with those omissions this is an interesting document. We tried to meet and correspond with Young, but to no avail. This account will have to do. Whether you agree with Young's politics or not, Young was an important figure in post-war history. Apart from some minor disagreements with the author over punctuation and sentence construction, no changes have been made to the original.*

As with others in World War Two it was chance that brought Young into intelligence work. Seconded from the K.O.S.B. (presumably, King's Own Scottish Borderers) to the King's African Rifles, he arrived in East Africa in January 1941 just as the campaign against the Italians was launched. On the basis of his rather sketchy Italian, he was posted to General Staff Intelligence and on the fourth day off the troopship, and after a quick perusal of the Manual of Military Intelligence in the Field, he was bumping north in a 15-cwt truck with an African driver, three weeks rations and a 40-gallon drum of water to catch up with the 11th African Division. It had already crossed the Italian Somaliland border.

Since he was regularly switched between the forward brigades for the quick interrogation of prisoners and the examination of captured documents he saw all the major actions of the wide-ranging campaign; and when the towns of Mussolini's Italian African Empire were occupied, he took over security duties, contact with the local police and *carabinieri*, rounding up leading Fascist officials and checking for possible stay-behind agents. Young reckoned that he owed his intelligence career to Major General Santini, captured outside Addis Ababa. He was warned by Division not breach any Geneva Conventions in his interrogation but he found the General only too happy to give as much detail of the *Corpe di Armata* facing Cunningham's force, with such helpful suggestions as to where the RAF could find the Corp's HQ. When he returned with the information he was greeted with, 'Good God! How did you manage it?' 'Ha', said Young who by then was up on the state of the game, 'We in intelligence, we have our methods.' He was promoted local (unpaid) captain.

After the surrender of the last Italian garrison at Gendar he spent 1942 running cross-frontier intelligence and propaganda against French Somaliland which was still in Vichy hands. By then he had probably more practical experience of all aspects of field work than any other officer in East Africa Command and was posted to Nairobi as GSO 2(I), and Chief Instructor at the Command Intelligence School. A training programme had been started for the staffs of the East African forces going to Burma. Lengthy reports and descriptions of Pacific actions, Japanese tactics and weaponry received weekly from New Delhi, Melbourne, the U.S. Mission and Eastern Fleet were quickly analysed and turned into training and recognition aides by a team of Japanese speakers and experts. Here Young's peacetime experience as sub-editor on American

and British papers, and as a cable editor with British United Press, stood him in good stead. Young often quoted the dictum of his C-in-C, Lieutenant General Sir William Platt, for whom he had a high regard: 'The ideal intelligence report can be read by the light of a match on a restive horse on a windy night.'

But East Africa had become a backwater and Young dropped rank back to Captain to join one of the new Special Counter-Intelligence Units (SCI) in Italy. Their task was to play back captured enemy agents for both deception and counter-espionage. The first team, consisting of Malcolm Muggeridge and Aubrey Jones, had not exactly been a roaring success, and the units were restaffed with East African officers with practical security experience in Italian territory. As the Allied forces advanced up the peninsula the network of wireless agents left behind by the Abwehr and the Sicherheitsdienst was steadily rolled up and turned, as part of the deception strategy essential to the campaign as Field Marshall Alexander repeatedly had divisions removed to other fronts.

The round-up of the concentration in Rome of such agents, known in great part from Ultra, was one of Young's main achievements. From his experience he took his time in the days immediately following the Allied liberation, checked locations and identities, and at dawn a special plainclothes squad of *carabinieri* collected some dozen complete with transmitters and codes. As Young recalls, the Germans had issued each agent with his equipment in a little suitcase with a Royal Stewart tartan cover. Even after weeding out the less promising cases, there were more than the British could handle and they were shared out to the first OSS SCI Unit under Major Andrew Bording and a Free French team under Colonel Parizot. The one SD agent left behind in Rome was a Dutch girl, Helen ten Cate Brouwer, who, on interrogation by Young, mentioned his wife - under her maiden name - as having been a student friend at Leiden University. 'What happened to her?', he asked. 'I think she married a German', said Helen.

And in the same summer he was involved in the vain attempt by HMG to enlist the support, even covert and discreet, of the Vatican to halt the persecutions and exterminations in Nazi-occupied Europe. In his book *Who Is My Liege?* Young gives an authoritative account of this approach through Monsignor Montini, later Pope Paul VI, which is strangely ignored in recent lengthy and inaccurate publications on this controversial topic. For his work in Rome Young was awarded an MBE, the one decoration he said he really sweated for, as against the departmental handouts of his later career.

In October 'C' - then Major General Sir Stewart Menzies - summoned him to London to investigate the ramifications of the case of 'the Dutchman in the Tower', namely Christian Lindemans, also known as King Kong. As a lorry driver on the Atlantic coast fortifications, Lindemans had been pressurised by the Abwehr into penetrating the MI9 escape-and-evasion line from the Low Countries to the Spanish frontier. Thanks to his efforts, the Germans were able to identify most of the safe houses and *passeurs*, although they still allowed RAF escapees to reach the Pyrenees before picking them up. Lindemans, basically a simple soul caught up in the confused cross-pressures of occupation, was already under suspicion by the Dutch resistance. Despite this, after turning up in liberated Belgium, he was recruited by Prince Bernhard's intelligence staff - without any proper vetting - to contact underground groups prior to the Arnhem landings.

To establish the extent of the damage, Young had patiently to unravel the whole

unsavoury tale which revealed utter negligence by the Prince and his entourage. However it became clear King Kong's treachery had in no way contributed to the Arnhem setback nor endangered still active resistance groups. Although he had contacted his Abwehr controller, the latter had paid no particular attention to his rather general statement that a major allied landing was pending. The Germans were already on the *qui vivre* from stepped-up Allied air reconnaissance and W/T traffic while the unfortunate King Kong was detained by a suspicious Eindhoven policeman before he could do any further harm. Although the circumstances of Lindeman's death in prison after the war are obscure, a Dutch security officer told Young: 'We'll probably give him a pill'.

The final months of the war were spent in the Vosges liaising with the Americans and the French on the last playbacks - although by then it was doubtful whether the German High Command gave much credence to Abwehr reports. By the German surrender Young had been promoted Lieutenant-Colonel and was put in charge of supervising the liquidation of the Abwehr and the foreign espionage section of the Sicherheitsdienst and collecting any evidence of the success or otherwise of their operations against British targets. As he recalled, the OKH (Army High Command) pre-war files on the United Kingdom largely contained cuttings from *The News of the World*. However he once commented that corresponding Whitehall records would not have so different, relating how British United Press early in 1939 put out a series of stories 'Secrets of Goering's Air Force Revealed', giving details of its production programme, organisation and deployment. An anxious Air Ministry was soon on the phone to be told by Young that the articles had been lifted from the previous week's *Essener National Zeitung*. 'Well actually, old chap', asked the worried RAF man, 'could you let us have the original newspapers?'

On demobilization Young went thankfully back to Fleet Street and was sent to Berlin as BUP correspondent. But he could never quite disengage from intelligence. Dropping into British Army HQ he told the GSO 1 Intelligence, Colonel 'Bimbo' Howard, that he was going on a tour of the Russian zone and was there anything they would particularly like to know. 'Yes', said Howard. 'Although we have a good estimate of Soviet troop strength, we are not quite sure of the chain of command And there is a new trestle bridge at Frankfurt-en-Oder and we'd like to know how many JS tanks they can get across in an hour.'

In due course Young arrived at the Oder crossing and there was the new bridge with a Soviet engineer major standing by. 'That's a wonderful bridge built by the Red Army', remarked Young. 'How many J S tanks an hour can it take?' 'Oh', beamed the major, 'X number at normal speed but we could step it up to Y for a short period.' When the press party met the Russian commander at Karlshorst, he skilfully evaded questions on army strength and deployment.

On the wall behind was a situation map with its corps, divisional and regimental signs which Young quietly studied. While at university he realised that he had a photographic memory which enabled him to recall complete pages of text. In fact he had once been accused of cribbing! Back in Berlin two days later he shot into headquarters: 'Quick Bimbo! Have you got a map?' However the post-war reduction of daily papers to four pages and the lack of interest in 'serious' foreign news was disillusioning, and after some weeks MI6 made him an offer, with very attractive terms, of commander of the Vienna station. Apart from Ultra and the SCI effort directed by Colonel Felix Cowgill, whom he much respected, he had not been greatly

impressed by wartime SIS intelligence gathering operations. Too many British agents had been picked up by the Germans, and the most effective work was done by resistance groups, while overblown staffs, complete with FANY secretaries and pansy batmen, sat around in comfortable villas in Cairo, Algiers and Naples, writing minutes to each other. But Vienna was a challenge and an inspiration. His top priorities were Soviet troop deployment down the Danube and the Kremlin's longer-term intentions, while keeping a eye on Tito. The first proved easier than expected. With such a largely unknown target the immediate course was to follow the wartime pattern in Occupied Europe and establish a network of railway observers as far East as possible and try and encourage desertions. This soon confirmed the steady rundown of Soviet forces and their replacement by static units of virtually untrained conscripts. Former Luftwaffe officers kept a regular check on Soviet airfields. At least this calmed down the frequently recurring flaps. It was not without risks for those involved. When a Hungarian general staff officer, who was a valuable source, came out of his flat one morning, four Russian military police advanced on him. He quickly leapt on a passing tram while the Russians pursued in their jeep, firing at him with their pistols. From the rear platform the major fired back, and, spotting what was happening, the tram driver stepped up the power and careered through Budapest streets. Luckily there were no other trams ahead on the same line before the major jumped off and rushed to where he knew he could find sanctuary while the Russians gave up the chase. Curled up on the floor of Young's car with its diplomatic registration plates, the major was safely brought past the Soviet military check point east of Vienna.

Russian long-term intentions were a hard nut to crack and the KGB was a ruthless opponent. There was little doubt as to the immediate post-war Soviet aim of bringing Austria under Communist control. After the 1947 crackdown in Romania and Hungary, the main KGB staff were transferred to the Russian HQ at Baden-bei-Wien, the scene of Prince Orlovsky's ball in *Die Fledermaus*, and there was an increase in arbitrary arrests and detentions by Soviet patrols. The Austrian Ministers who nowadays do not get much credit in the British media, showed themselves tough and resolute: some of them had suffered in both Dolfuss' and Hitler's concentration camps. They got rid of the Communists installed by the Red Army in 1945 and fortunately the Allied Agreement negotiated in the summer of 1946 specified that unanimity by all four occupying powers was necessary to veto the acts of the Austrian government.

But vagueness at Yalta and Potsdam had left certain questions open to varying interpretations - notably that of German property. The Russians took this to mean all enterprises in Eastern Austria which had been taken over by the Nazis, including confiscated Jewish property. They set up a giant holding company, USIA, which ignored Austrian laws and traded with similar combines in Romania and Hungary, while its premises were guarded by a *werkschutz* of selected Communists. However by early 1948 Young established that USIA was bust: black marketeering and corruption by senior Soviet officials had left it without cash, so that it was dealt a mortal blow when the British Deputy High Commissioner, Major-General Winterton, declared that its transactions had no legal basis and its contracts were binding on no one. After this the Russians first hinted and then openly admitted that as part of a State Treaty they would give up their 'German' enterprises in return for compensation.

For the longer-term problem, one solution was to infiltrate agents into Central and Eastern European Communist parties who would be sent on activist courses and gradually rise up the hierarchy. This paid off at the end of 1948 when such sources reported that the Kremlin was calling off general revolutionary activity in Europe and

the new Communist drive would be in the Far East. This was particularly interesting as the Berlin Blockade was still operating, the French and Italian communists were at their most obstreperous, and Molotov at his most obstructive. But the break with Tito, about which we had been warned by defectors in Autumn 1947, had made Stalin think again, and this was reflected in Austria by the Russians dropping support for Slovene separatists in Carinthia.

One wartime matter had to be cleared up. From forward airfields at their deepest penetration of the USSR, the Germans had carried out systematic photo reconnaissance of a major part of the country. At the end of hostilities the photographs had been buried in Lower Austria (unfortunately in what became the Soviet occupation zone) and - as it turned out - close to a Red Army checkpoint. Retrieval involved careful planning. It was arranged that a Klagenfurt newsagency and bookseller, whose business had in fact been set up by SOE, should send a delivery van regularly past the Russian post, giving the sentry a complimentary copy of a 'girlie' magazine. One day when the soldier was happily studying the pictures, the van halted along the road and the driver and mate - a former Luftwaffe officer who had helped bury the plates - dug furiously, retrieved the mass of material and stowed it in a specially constructed compartment. When the first results of U2 flights were produced, the full value of the survey was appreciated, as the comparisons showed up the new plants, installations and railway spurs of the Soviet nuclear weapons and missile effort.

Young left Vienna in 1949 with the sense of a job well done - not the least of which had been welding into a competent team the wartime MI6 and SOE personnel who had finished up in Austria with the 8th Army. They were later to spread out into overseas stations as star performers. In London he took over the economic requirements section which was a well-run group, largely because of the specific briefs from its customers, Treasury, Board of Trade and Bank of England. They were carrying out Ernest Bevin's ruling that in Britain's shaky post-war situation economic information should be given a high priority. It was indeed satisfying when a single report could pay for the annual Secret Vote several times over. This was the pattern which, in his later appointments, Young attempted to set for the whole service. One report, however, did not meet with Foreign Office approval. As part of its brief to identify leaks in Sterling Area exchange controls, the Tangier station reported that 'a flaming pansy, one Guy Burgess who seems to be in the Foreign Office, has turned up with a boy friend, and has been telling all and sundry in the hotel bar how to get round exchange control regulations.' The barman happened to be a station informer and an account was duly sent to the Foreign Office personnel department. It came back with the comment from the departmental head, George Middleton: 'I am not prepared to listen to tittle-tattle about members of His Majesty's Foreign Service.' In 1951 Young was somewhat unexpectedly posted out to take charge of the Middle East area stretching from Morocco to Afghanistan and down to Ethiopia. It was a new area for him but Stewart Menzies had seen that the era of British ascendancy, with its garrisons at key points and police and security agencies largely run by British or British-trained officers, was over. A general complacency characterised much of the intelligence effort. Young had a foretaste of the change when the car in which he was being driven by Lt-Col Brian Montgomery from Cairo airport to the Canal Zone was stoned by mobs.

An immediate problem was that of Moussadeq. HMG came hesitatingly and reluctantly to the conclusion that his removal would have to be engineered from outside. The initial British plan for this, drawn up by C. M. Woodhouse, involved caching arms and explosives for use by the plotters. Permission to bring them in was

turned down first by the Foreign Secretary and then by the Prime Minister. But Young and Woodhouse went ahead and when the operation was successfully completed, Young sent in his resignation and was summoned back to London. When Major-General Sir John Sinclair, who had taken over as 'C' started to reprimand him, Young replied: 'I've resigned and come to say goodbye.' 'Wait a minute', said 'C', and that was that! In the evening Young met Stewart Menzies at White's and asked: 'What would you have done, Chief?' 'Posted you to Kabul', he laughed. There was a sequel several years later when a lorry coming down a winding road near Teheran got out of control and crashed into the wall of a house and out cascaded small arms, ammunition and explosives. The unfortunate owner, who had only recently bought the house, was hauled before the police and explanations had to be hurriedly sent out to the Shah, who, as always, suspected the worst.

In the meantime the Philby affair had blown up resulting in several resignations, and Young was recalled at the beginning of 1953 to take over the new post of Director of Requirements (D of R) to redirect the SIS effort more effectively on to priority targets. One of the first problems was to scrutinise the elaborate and expensive attempts to put agents into the Baltic States and Poland. Recruited among Latvian, Lithuanians and other exile groups in Britain, they were trained as W/T operators and codists, toughened up in cross-country treks over Scottish moors and landed clandestinely from a former German E-boat crewed by ex-Kreigsmarine personnel. These operations were regarded as the special pride and joy of SIS. But when Young put the whole operation under close and impartial scrutiny, studied the traffic and the somewhat meagre results, it stuck out a mile from his own wartime experience in double-agent and deception work that the whole affair was under Soviet control. At first Sinclair was reluctant to accept this, particularly as it would mean an embarrassing admission to the Foreign Office and the armed forces. Then he agreed with Young only to back down again and give way again to Harry Carr, the Controller in charge. All Young could do was to say that he would circulate reports as KGB deception material. Finally, the Russians themselves blew the operations: they had controlled them from the very beginning. Young got no apologies from Sinclair nor any expression of regret from Carr at having sent men to certain torture and death.

One of Young's objections to such operations was that they would never produce high-grade intelligence on Russian intentions and policy-making. A completely new approach was required, and after a series of informal supper parties with the brightest SIS officers, a systematic study was started of the top Soviet power structure, its various personalities and cliques, and their associates in the armed forces and the KGB. This had so far never been carried out in Whitehall, where the Foreign Office practice was to take each intelligence report in a separate docket, comment on it and file away. In fact, from both overt and covert sources there was a mass of information which had never been properly assessed and collated. The pioneering work was carried out by the late Professor Leonard Schapiro who enlisted leading Soviet studies experts from universities, and by Malcolm Macintosh. The results changed the whole emphasis in tackling Russian targets, produced expert briefing for potential sources and for the interrogation of deserters and defectors. CIA eagerly followed the British example. The success of the enterprise was underlined by Mackintosh taking over the Soviet desk in the Cabinet Office, a post he held until his retirement in 1987. But Young's attempts to improve MI6 scientific intelligence reporting were effectively blocked. This was in the hands of a complete charlatan, Commander Eric Welch, who for a number of years had bluffed the different departments over his hush-hush work. Welch's qualifications for his job were somewhat slender. He had been in the MI6



wartime Norwegian section at the time of the Commando raid on the heavy-water plant, but had no specialist knowledge of nuclear weaponry. However he did his best to impress the Atomic Energy Authority that his work for 'C' was too delicate to be revealed, while his MI6 colleagues were told that this applied to his AEA liaison: if need be his confidential exchanges with the Americans were invoked as a further excuse. In fact MI6 intelligence on Soviet nuclear development was practically nil. Professor R. V. Jones, the brilliant wartime Director of Scientific Intelligence, was brought back from Aberdeen University to try and improve matters, but he could make no progress in the face of Welch's evasions and obstructiveness. Suspecting what was going on - or, rather, not going on - Young checked with one of his St. Andrew's University friends who was a leading physicist at AEA, and who confirmed that Welch's activity was useless and even dangerous. But neither Jones nor Young were able to persuade Sinclair to remove Welch from his job and Americans and British had an unpleasant surprise when the Russians conducted their first nuclear explosion test. Only after Welch's death from a heart attack could a new scientific intelligence start be made after more than ten years had been lost.

Meanwhile Young concentrated on improving the quality of reporting and briefing of agents on specific questions rather than sending out rather general questionnaires to the field. This meant the continual education of the 'customers', not all of whom were able to produce the clear-cut requirements of the economic ministries. The Commonwealth Relations Office and the Colonial Office even disliked receiving information which clashed with their pre-conceived notions about Africa and Asia. 'It's too embarrassing to negotiate with anyone if I know that behind my back he is up to something quite different', explained one Colonial Office Under-Secretary. On the other hand, key officials such as Anthony Montague Brown, Churchill's Private Secretary, always looked forward to the yellow dispatch box in which Young put the cream of 'C's output.

As part of the effort to improve reporting, Young had each requirements section send him a weekly sample folder of 'highlights and horrors'. The former received an encouraging comment for the field station, while the latter had a range of awards from 'The Charles Adams' Prize with Blood Drips' to 'Dracula Certificate of Merit'. It seemed to work.

One disappointment however was the lack of support for the SIS proposal for an unmanned high-flying photo-reconnaissance plane. Expert specifications, plans and costing had been worked out but without Air Ministry backing Sinclair would not proceed with the scheme. Such a project would have at least avoided the embarrassment faced by CIA when their U2 pilot Gary Power was shot down. It was all the more galling when Young was tipped off by the Israeli intelligence service Mossad that they had detected very high-flying planes taking off from Turkish airfields and disappearing into the blue. He guessed what they were but at the time preferred to say nothing. It was a year or two before the Americans came clean.

He got on well enough with American agencies: he had been awarded the Medal of Freedom with Bronze Palm for his war-time co-operation with OSS. Although he accepted that with their vastly superior resources the Americans would dominate in technical intelligence gathering, reducing GCHQ to an ancillary branch of the National Security Agency, he felt it was an essential that Britain should maintain an adequate independent intelligence effort given United States policies in the Middle East, South East Asia and Africa. When the Suez crisis broke, Young was put back in charge of

the Middle East operations by Sir Dick White, who, to general relief, had taken over from Sinclair. His main task was to support any armed forces intervention with internal action against Nasser. This would obviously be easier if the Americans could be brought to co-operate as they eventually had over Mossadeq, and during the summer of 1956 Young went three times back and forward across the Atlantic in the vain attempt to persuade the Dulles brothers that Nasser was not a good progressive democrat but Khrushchev's door opener to the Middle East.

However Young went ahead with his planning which assumed a rapid descent on the Canal by a small crack British force while the main Egyptian forces in Sinai were otherwise engaged. Recalled suddenly in early October from the Bavarian Alps where his wife and he were on a mountain hut tour, Young was appalled to hear from Field-Marshal Templer what was the proposed military plan. 'But surely this is a deception scheme', he said. 'I'm afraid not', answered the CIGS. 'It's all been taken out of my hands.' Young did his best to improvise but it all ended in a shambles. 'I became an old man overnight', he remarked. In fact Nasser temporarily lost his nerve and when the Egyptians with whom MI6 was in contact telephoned him that he had better resign before the Anglo-French forces reached Cairo, he announced his resignation. The American and Soviet ambassadors rushed round to persuade him to withdraw it; while, of course, no one had foreseen the farcical situation of the British and French governments declaring they would halt their action before their troops had even landed.

However Nasser did get his uppance. Young had already left MI6 for merchant banking when Mossad approached him to find an Englishman acceptable to the Saudis to run a guerrilla war against the left-wing Yemeni regime and its Egyptian backers. 'I can find you a Scotsman', replied Young, and over a lunch in the City introduced Colonel Neil ('Billy') Maclean to Brigadier Dan Hiram, the Israeli Defence Attache. The Israelis promised to supply weapons, funds and instructors who could pass themselves off as Arabs, and the Saudis eagerly grasped the idea. Maclean's irregulars restored the Imam's rule and Nasser pulled out his troops whose morale had been badly shaken by the Yemeni practice of sending back captured troops with their lips cut cut off in a ghastly grin.

After the Suez debacle Young carried out a fresh assessment of the MI6 role in the Middle East which he saw as countering the major Soviet effort to establish sympathetic regimes and subvert pro-Western rulers. This meant close cooperation with the Israeli intelligence and security services and helping the Shah of Iran to build up his SAVAK, while making use of MI6 Arabic-speaking officers to alert Gulf rulers to the danger of Soviet activities. Young developed a personal friendly relationship with the Shah, although however tactfully he tried, he could not persuade him to keep SAVAK's intelligence role separate from that of a domestic police force - a factor, as it turned out, in the estrangement of the Monarch from his people.

Young held the then unfashionable but now increasingly accepted view that the Arab world had lost its basic balance and would be increasingly one of violence and anarchy. This opinion was part of his hypothesis that ever-heightening consciousness - the one still active element in human evolution - would lead to ever greater ethnic assertion and divergence, and not to convergence. Modern technology would only hasten this development. An Arab with a kalashnikov and a Mercedes will be even more aggressive than one with a ball musket and a camel. In his lectures to intelligence courses he would remind the students that Arab verbs decline in moods

and not in tenses, commenting: 'When the British Council premises go up in flames the odour of roasting pansy is incense in the nostrils of Allah.'

Because of this conviction he deplored the mass immigration of non-Europeans into Britain, foreseeing the breakdown of traditional common assumptions of conduct on which our notions of law are based and the resultant need for ever more authoritarian measures to maintain basic order. He put this point of view very firmly in the MI6 contribution to the Cabinet paper *The Next Decade* called for by Macmillan in 1958. In recent years the media frequently referred to him as a 'racist', but his views were based on a life-long interest in anthropology and comparative philology. That independent Africa would revert to bush and savagery gave him no pleasure, recalling his friendly relations with the Askarai, the loyalties of his assorted Galla and Somali interpreters and auxiliaries, and the hospitality of Abyssinian chiefs.

After his appointment as Vice-Chief he set off at the beginning of 1959 on a ten-week tour of MI6 Far East stations. Here he was in full agreement with Maurice Oldfield, who was the on-the-spot controller, that not all the disturbances and intrigues in South East Asia were to be laid at the doors of Peking and Moscow, although they were ready enough to exploit them. They reflected indigenous self-assertion and a deep-seated xenophobia. The CIA station commanders whom he met shared the same view, and it is one of the tragedies of history that their assessments were overruled by the academic hawks in Washington who persuaded Kennedy to embark on his ill-fated intervention. That Britain was not pulled into this is due in no small measure to the balanced input of information from Oldfield and others.

The treachery of Philby and Blake was a shock, although by then he was experienced in picking up the bits and repairing the damage. The world of espionage had always had its downs as well as its ups. Although internal MI6 security was the responsibility of 'C' himself, Young often reflected whether he could not have done more at the time. In Vienna he had been puzzled as to why certain promising cases, one involving a Russian general, had never been followed up. It was only after Philby had been asked to resign that something clicked. Looking up the files he found that either Philby or his friend David Footman, who resigned at the same time, had pooh-poohed all the suggestions. Blake he had regarded as one of the more promising young officers and given him every encouragement. But there should have been strict adherence to the rule that any personnel who for any reason had been in Soviet custody or constraint - as with Blake's internment in North Korea - should never again be employed in sensitive work. Young did not like interfering with those who were conscientiously doing their job, but in retrospect he felt he should have insisted on the active pursuit of counter-espionage leads and clues instead of the current MI5/MI6 practice of adding data to card indices and files and waiting rather passively until a cast-iron case had built up.

But after 20 years of intelligence work Young felt by 1961 that he had had enough. By then so much of the MI6 effort went into temporary propping up of overseas positions which at best gave HMG breathing space of a few years. While he liked White personally and respected his judgement in security matters, Young felt that he was too deferential to the Whitehall establishment over operations in New Commonwealth countries which Young rightly foresaw as the main trouble makers of the next decades. And Macmillan had become little more than a posturing clown, selling out what remained of British freedom of action to the Americans and conducting home affairs as an amusing game of playing off one minister against another. Just as he had

experienced how the pre-war MI6 officers had been hopelessly out of their depth in the post-war world, he saw his own experience becoming less relevant as younger men faced new problems and new techniques. So he went off to the less stressful world of merchant banking as Kleinwort Benson's European Representative. This also gave him freedom to return to his profession of writing, particularly on the issues of power and decision-making. His approach to the broader issue of the role of intelligence work and policy-making was very much that of the scholar.

At St. Andrew's University he was the top arts scholar of his final year taking First Class Honours in Modern Languages and medals in both French and German. As a Commonwealth Fellow he went on to Yale to acquire a Research M.A. in Political Science. His lectures in latter years to such audiences as the War Studies Group at Sandhurst were meticulously researched and together add up to an authoritative history of post-World War Two British intelligence.

In the face of the continual smearing and discrediting of British intelligence by the media, he was given clearance by Maurice Oldfield who was by then 'C', to speak up in its defence. But latterly he confessed himself defeated by the left-wing clique who had a grip on BBC and independent television networks, and who deliberately and effectively distorted programmes on security matters. The exceptions were Robin Day and the ITN editors who always gave him a free run in live interviews. But Young was severely critical of Mrs Thatcher's obsession over curbing former intelligence officers from expressing their views. So long as current operations were not endangered Young considered there was no reason why the achievements as well as the shortcomings of British intelligence could not be published. But he nevertheless gave a wide berth to the self-publicising academics who were increasingly setting themselves up as pundits in a field where they had no practical experience.



Originally highly sceptical of the value of special operations, particularly of the 'stinks and bangs' tricks in which a number of wartime SOE operators had revelled, he had come to the conclusion that Western governments would increasingly have to deal with proxy wars, ethnic risings and organised terrorism of one kind or another, and that HMG should recreate a service to tackle this and supplement the role of SAS. The former Chindit leader and SAS founder, Brigadier Michael Calvert, and he produced detailed studies of this in the eighties and lobbied MP's vigorously to bring pressure on the government to consider it. Mrs Thatcher was seriously looking at the questions when the botched French attempt against a Greenpeace ship in New Zealand caused a general loss of nerve. Young's hope, however, was one day that necessity would call for the files. In any case he had set out his assessment of the whole subject in his last book, *Subversion and the British Riposte* (1984).

Although generally described as 'right wing', commentators were often puzzled by his membership of such groups as the South Place Ethical Society. There was no mystery or contradiction. Young remained very much a Scottish borderer of Covenanting stock on both sides of his family, with a strong tradition of dissent and independent thinking combined with a deep attachment to Dumfriesshire hills and dales and the Solway merseland. His family had known hard times in the twenties and thirties and he was well aware that illness, in the days before the National Health Service, meant major tragedy for the less well-off. As the product of an educational system established in 1695 by the Scottish Parliament, he felt no need to decry state schooling.

So up to the late fifties his sympathies were very much with Labour until it fell into hands of what he regarded as Wilson's gang of spivs. His subsequent support for the Conservative Party was somewhat qualified and he had utter contempt for Heath after his economic U-turn in 1972, his surrender to the miners and his kow-towing to Idi Amin. So, on a pressing invitation from the local constituency association, he somewhat lightheartedly stood as a Tory candidate in the Labour stronghold of Brent East in the February 1974 General Election. It was also an opportunity to study a party machine from the inside - the one gap in his political education. He increased the Conservative vote and made a handsome profit from the exercise, collecting substantial damages from the *Guardian* for describing him as 'the man who planted Philby on a gullible British intelligence service'. When Mrs Thatcher threw her hat into the ring against Heath at the end of 1974, Young and others, with the backing of the late Airey Neave, rapidly organised a network throughout the constituencies to support her, and which is still kept in being as the watchdog group Tory Action.

It was a full life but one of strain which at times could have been too much without the sympathetic support of his wife Geryke, the daughter of a Chief Justice of the Dutch East Indies, and, like him, an accomplished linguist. Their shared taste in classical music and Alpine walking provided an essential relief from the fate, as he used to warn new MI6 officers in his introductory lecture, which befell the villain Gashford in *Barnaby Rudge*: 'He took service in the honourable corps of spies and informers employed by the Government. As one of these wretched underlings he served, now abroad now at home, and long endured the miseries of such a station.'

# Truth Twisting: notes on disinformation

## David Teacher and Robin Ramsay

This began as a review of Deacon's *Truth Twisters* by David Teacher, and grew as we both saw bits and pieces we could add to it.

Richard Deacon's *The Truth Twisters* (McDonald, London 1987; Futura, London 1988) is a classic of *Western* disinformation purporting to describe *Soviet* disinformation. Deacon lines up all our favourite state and right-wing outlets to attack CND, ecologists, socially committed clergy etc. etc., and the master brain behind them all, the KGB. As sources Deacon cites:

- **The Centre for Conflict Studies** in Canada, erstwhile base for Maurice Tugwell, the first head of Information Policy in Northern Ireland. (See *Lobster* 16). Tugwell's activities as a Director of the Canada-South Africa Society are described in *Top Secret* No 1/89.
- **Robert Moss**. Where is Robert Moss these days? The last sighting we have of him is Mid-Atlantic Research Associates Inc. (MARA) in 1985. (Any sightings since then to us, please.) MARA's Directors are/were Moss, Arnaud de Borchgrave, Moss's co-author on several of their disinformation projects and editor of the Moonie paper *Washington Post*; and John Rees. The only redeeming feature of the otherwise appalling Manos Haris book, *The Socialist International at Gunpoint*, (Picton Publishing, Chippenham, 1988) is the reproduction of a MARA report on the Socialist International, portraying it as a global socialist conspiracy. At one level this MARA report is absurd: the idea of the Socialist International meaning anything is just funny. But the level of ignorance on the American right is so high, almost anything is likely to be believed. Where too is Brian Crozier? Since the Langemann papers identified Crozier as a Pinay Circle member who was engaged in setting up a 'transnational security organisation', little has been heard of the man or of the progress of the group. Crozier's last known action -- yet another attempt to discredit the Institute for Policy Studies, the Washington-based liberal think tank with an Amsterdam offshoot, the Transnational Institute -- was a costly failure. IPS director Orlando Letelier was assassinated in 1976 by the Chilean DINA and CIA-linked Cuban exiles. Then in 1980 Moss and de Borchgrave referred to left-wing Washington and Amsterdam institutes funded by the KGB in their execrable 'novel' *The Spike* - until IPS lawyers forced changes in the text. In 1984 Crozier wrote to the *Spectator* attacking IPS director Richard Barnet (a former Kennedy aide) and accusing the IPS of being 'a front for Cuban intelligence, itself controlled by the KGB'. Barnet sued, the litigation reaching a climax in 1986 when Crozier lost a key court battle to prevent the *Spectator* retracting. Shortly afterwards, the litigation ended with Crozier paying his own costs. The case reached the headlines when Crozier tried to substantiate his case by submitting a sheaf of articles and interviews with Fidel Castro as 'proof' of the Institute's contacts. At this point MI5 began an investigation of Professor Fred Halliday who had links with IPS. After investigations lasting a year -- which included putting Halliday on the Customs 'black book' under Code J (inform MI5 of subject's movements) -- MI5

dropped the case around the time Crozier's defence against Barnett collapsed. (See *Observer* 2 October 1988.) Since then, with the exception of the occasional letter to the British press (one is quoted elsewhere in this issue), Mr Crozier has maintained a low profile.

- **Baroness Cox**, an example of what passes for an intellectual on the enervated British Right, last heard of roaming round the former Soviet satellites telling them how to convert their societies into versions of Thatcherised Britain. (The idea of Britain being offered as a successful role model is a lie at least as big as anything mustered by the Stalinist Soviet Union. Let's hope the eventual stream of corporate managers from the Eastern bloc arrive by train at Kings Cross station and have to run the gauntlet of beggars, like we do on our occasional visits to The Big Nowhere.)
- **Kitty Little**, who, for years, has been telling anyone who would listen that she was a student member of a subversive pro-Soviet group in Oxford University, lead by the young don Harold Wilson. The fact that during the period she describes Wilson wasn't at Oxford, matters not a jot. (Little's fantasies are referred to by Chapman Pincher, see *Inside Story* p. 29, and have appeared a number of times in Kenneth de Courcy's *Special Office Brief*).
- The now defunct *Foreign Affairs Publishing Company* of Geoffrey Stewart-Smith.
- **Keston College**, the British centre of the study of religion in the Soviet Union, certainly, but not yet provably, an MI6 operation. Soviet suspicion of Keston led to the collapse of a planned visit to Moscow by a British human rights mission in October 1989 when one British delegate -- the Reverend Michael Bourdeaux, Director of Keston -- was refused a visa by the Soviet authorities. (*Guardian* 11 October '89)
- **The Jamestown Foundation**, the 'private' CIA operation to handle Soviet-bloc defectors; see, for example, 'Communist turmoil brings exodus of Cold War spies', in *Guardian* 9 December '89.
- The late **Joseph Josten**.

And so on.

Deacon usefully reminds his reader of British State sponsorship of disinformation in spy fiction, a notable example of which is the 1981 'novel', *The KGB Directive*, by Richard Cox. Born in 1931, Cox is a former First Secretary in the Diplomatic Service and Defence Correspondent for the *Daily Telegraph*. He has published several novels - *Sam 7*, *Ground Zero* and *The Columbus Option*. Quoted by Deacon, from the Winter 1982 edition of the Centre for Conflict Studies's *Conflict Quarterly*, Cox wrote:

'the novelist who values democracy can strike a blow for it... conversations with various well-informed people convinced me that I should write a novel on the subject of current KGB operations in Britain....the main reason I wrote a novel is that the British laws on libel make it difficult, if not impossible, to describe the penetration of the Labour Party as the conspiracy which many people are certain it is.' (pp.

Another outstanding example of this genre also used by Deacon is Frederick Forsyth's 1984 *The Fourth Protocol*, in which, via an internal party coup, Ken Livingstone becomes Prime Minister, supplanting Prime Minister Neil Kinnock. This is achieved via a rerun of the political coup which made Livingstone leader of the Greater London Council. Such a coup is practically inconceivable, if only because, unlike the leader of the erstwhile Greater London Council, the Prime Minister is appointed by the Queen. No matter: to hint to his readers just how important this section of the book is, Forsyth dresses it up as a letter from Kim Philby (!) to the Chairman of the CPSU, and has it printed in italics, all ten pages of it; and he later confirmed, to the *Times* Diary, that he had got the idea from MI5.

Presumably it is this section that Mrs Thatcher finds so interesting. During the House of Commons debate on the Official Secrets Bill on 15 February 1989, Norman Buchan MP mocked the Prime Minister for admitting that she had read *The Fourth Protocol* twice. But she *believes* stuff like this, that was her appeal to the right-wing Tory/spook network in the mid 70's who ran her for leader of the Conservative Party. This 'Labour left coup' theme was recycled in the *Sunday Express* (October 8 '89), reporting a speech on these lines by another survivor of the original counter subversion-oriented Hard Right Tory grouping from the 70's, Cabinet Minister Nicholas Ridley.

With a straight face, Deacon assures us that the aim of Forsyth's book was to *forestall* the KGB from contemplating such an operation. Similar inversions were run by MI5 during 1987, notably through the *Daily* and *Sunday Telegraph*, the claim being that the operations against the Wilson government were designed to 'stabilise' not destabilise it; and by BBC TV producer Peter Taylor, who argued (*Sunday Telegraph* (21 January 1990) that 'there was a conspiracy to remove [John Stalker] from Northern Ireland but the purpose I believe was to *protect* the inquiry, not destroy it.' (Emphasis in the original.) Forsyth's book was, in part, a piece of psychological warfare, published just after Kinnock became leader of the Labour Party. By coincidence no doubt, the film version, starring Michael Caine, was released in Britain just before the 1987 General Election.

If you can force yourself through Forsyth's herniated prose, there are other little disinformation gems buried in it. For example, the means for the KGB to manipulate a Kinnock General Election victory turns out to be a mini-atomic explosion. 'Plan Aurora' was to infiltrate such a bomb into the U.K. and cause an apparent nuclear accident close to a U.S. air force base in East Anglia. This would 'panic the 10% floating vote into unilateralism, and support at the polls the only party pledged to unilateralism, the Labour Party.' (p.179)

An analogous theme, of radioactive waste and the KGB, surfaced in James Adams' *Secret Armies* (London 1987):

'Oleg Lyalin....brought with him documents which supplied clear proof of Soviet KGB . . . . . plans to drop radioactive isotopes into the water at Holy Loch to poison submariners and workers responsible for Britain's nuclear deterrent'. (p.160)

This 'KGB/radioactive waste/ Holy Loch' theme is also mentioned in Colin Wallace's 1974 MI5-sourced disinformation notes: 'KGB plot to leak radioactive waste near



Polaris submarine base', attributed to '1 Directorate 3 Department'.

The explanation of this theme appeared to emerge in January 1989, when a former captain of a U.S. Polaris submarine admitted on Scottish Television that the Polaris submarines used to dump their radioactive coolant water into Holy Loch in the 1960s. A Captain Bush said: 'I think we should have done it in our own country and not taken advantage of the Scots who were so wonderful and tremendously welcomed us. (sic) And we were discharging radioactivity in the harbour. I'm quite frankly ashamed.' (*Guardian* 14 January '89)

Did Lyalin bring over information about such a KGB plan? Or was his defection (in 1971) used as a convenient peg on which to hang things, and this KGB story merely exculpatory disinformation? The *Guardian* later reported that radioactive pollution in the waters around Faslane and Holy Loch U.S. bases is four to nine times higher than those recorded in official figures.(8th February '89)

Deacon's does his best to rubbish 'the Wilson plot' while maintaining some connection with the theme of his book: 'Was Wilson disinformed (by the KGB) and so caused to suspect an MI5 plot against him? Or was the right-wing faction in MI5 disinformed and thus came unnecessarily to suspect Wilson?' (p. 202) This at least shows a little grudging movement from Deacon's absurd posture in his withdrawn 1979 *The British Connection: Russia's Manipulation of British Individuals and Institutions*, in which (p. 259), using the standard ploy of denying an allegation in order to repeat it, he dismissed the 'Wilson plot' while recycling one of the disinformation themes:

'Various suggestions have been made in books and articles that some members of MI5 (past and present) turned against Harold Wilson when he was Prime Minister with the aim of forcing him out of office. The closer these writers have got to Wilsonian sources the more melodramatic and fanciful their journalistic spook goonery (sic) seemed to become. One is asked to believe that MI5 tried to force Wilson out of office, but whether this was to be done by a 'colonels' coup or staging an imaginary scandal with mysterious photographs alleged to have been taken by the KGB in Moscow.....there was never a word of truth in this hotchpotch of innuendo. It was, however, quite disgraceful that MI5 should have been smeared in this way'.

*The British Connection*, which is in some libraries despite being injuncted and then withdrawn, is in fact a pretty good guide through what some of MI5 (and others) believed, or said they believed, about Labour Party links to the KGB. Once again, by coincidence no doubt, it was issued just before the 1979 General election, and a number of newspapers ran large pieces based on it before it was injuncted. Deacon's reference to 'writers..... melodramatic and fanciful their journalist spook goonery', is aimed at Penrose and Courtiour's *The Pencourt File* of the previous year, which, for all its faults, was awfully close to the truth, especially in chapter 23. Penrose and Courtiour were ridiculed continuously while they were writing their book, chiefly by *Private Eye*, whose coverage of this now looks very much like more MI5 disinformation.

Deacon also defends old friends - the Goldsmith/ *Spiegel* case, the nuclear power lobby, SDI etc - and reveals recent thinking on the spook-connected British right:

'Russian propaganda has found its way into British schools....Christianity has in recent years been distorted into a "front organisation" for international communism . .....Friends of the Earth draws support from known communist sources.....the anti-nuclear lobby is not so much genuinely won over to the ecological cause as it is politically motivated and Soviet oriented.....Greenpeace would give the Russians excellent opportunities for studying French nuclear technology once they had penetrated the movement and gained access to some of their ships....'.

This last theme, the 'watermelon' line - green outside, red inside - crops up again in Deacon's latest publication, *The French Secret Service* (Grafton, 1989)

Other members of the British spook writing fraternity have produced fiction recently. 'Nigel West' gave us *The Blue List* (Secker and Warburg, 1989). 'West's' plot concerns the discovery of the 'blue list' of Nazi-sympathisers in Britain compiled at the beginning of the war, people the Fourth Reich would have used in the invasion of Britain. The list is found, and the finder is pursued, revelations are revealed, the leading man gets laid etc etc. Along the way 'West' drops a number of tidbits: an intricate explanation, going back to pre-war days, of how Philby was really a *triple* agent; and a version of the 'peace plotting' circa 1940 by the British right which purports to demonstrate that the 'plot' was really a *Soviet* operation - 'Pro-Nazi sympathisers organised by Soviet moles' (p. 60) - rather interesting in the light of the current interest in the 'peace plots' of the period; and, in passing (p. 105), an account of MRF, the shadowy British Army counter-insurgency unit in Northern Ireland in the early 1970s. MRF, says 'West's' character, 'only identified terrorist groups. We operated from the Palace Barracks, a couple of miles outside Belfast, and were separate from SIS and the Security Service. Once we'd nailed a suspect the others would move in.'

'West's' gratuitous introduction of MRF is just one of a number of such references to the outfit in the past year or so. The first was in the memoir of Field Marshall (Lord) Michael Carver in which, though not naming MRF, Carver acknowledged the existence of 'surveillance operations by soldiers in plain clothes .....initiated by Frank Kitson when he commanded the brigade in Belfast, some of them exploiting ex-members or supporters of the IRA, of which I was aware, and for which I had obtained Ministerial approval.' (*Out of Step, Memoirs of a Field Marshall*, Michael Carver, Hutchinson London 1989 p. 429) 'Ministerial approval'? Why is Carver keen to tell us this? The second was 'West's', and the third is in Michael Asher's *Shoot to Kill: A Soldier's Journey Through Violence* (Viking, London 1990). Asher served in Northern Ireland in the Parachute Regiment and on p. 143 describes MRF:

'.... ordinary soldiers recruited from the 29 battalions then working in Northern Ireland.....the army had arrested ten former IRA men and persuaded them by a combination of threats and promises to turn informers. The 'Fred's' lived with a section of ten MRF soldiers at Holywood Barracks. Their objective was to penetrate hard-line Republican areas.'

It may just be coincidence that in the space of a year we have had three references to an outfit which had hitherto rarely been mentioned. On the other hand, these MRF

references may be part of the on-going joint Ministry of Defence/MI5 effort to contain and discredit Fred Holroyd's account of the SAS undercover units in Northern Ireland. In 1988 the MOD fed a barrow-load of disinformation to a trio of *Sunday Times* journalists, led by James Adams, about a unit called 14th Intelligence. Formed in the early 1980s, as far as we know, Adams and co. 'back-dated' 14th Intelligence to the early 1970s to account for the SAS troops then (secretly) in Ireland. (See Alexander Platow in *Lobster* 18.) Now we have MRF, and Asher, for example, is quite explicit: 'There's no SAS on the ground, only us', he quotes one MRF member saying. (p. 143)

Chapman Pincher also produced a novel in 1989, *Contamination* (Sidgwick and Jackson, London 1989). This 'snappy roman a clef about life in the cloak and dagger world' would, said the *Daily Telegraph* (7 October '89), 'enrage' Britain's security chiefs. In case prospective reviewers didn't get the point, with review copies came a press release from the publisher, which, after announcing that 'because of the advent of the tough new Official Secrets Act..... spy-expert Chapman Pincher has been driven to disguise his disclosures about the world of secrets in the form of fiction', helpfully listed the pages on which such 'disclosures' were to be found. (None of these seem terribly interesting, but, for anyone who wants to try, pp. 44, 45, 126, 170, 281, 287, 288 are suggested.)

## Spetsnaz

Someone could usefully re-analyse the post 1945 period of British anti-Soviet propaganda in terms of the information delivered by Soviet defectors. This isn't done by Gordon Brook-Shepherd whose excellent *The Storm Birds* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1988) describes their information rather than the uses subsequently made of it. One such (we are told) was Vladimir Rezun, who brought the information about Spetsnaz (Soviet special forces; their SAS, or Green Berets) on his defection in 1978. Rezun is better known in Britain as 'Victor Suvorov', under whose name a stream of books have emerged since 1981 which illustrate perfectly the manipulation of defector testimony by the host intelligence service. 'Suvorov's' first book was *The Liberators* (Hamish Hamilton, London 1981), a sardonic account of the Soviet Army as a ghastly, brutal, shambles, about as threatening to NATO as the CPGB is to the British state. This, clearly, wasn't quite what his intelligence mentors had in mind at that stage of the re-launched cold war, and 'Suvorov' (or, perhaps, some wise-guys somewhere in the British state) quickly put out another book, *Inside the Soviet Army* (Hamish Hamilton, London 1982) which returned to the traditional Red Army-as-gigantic-super-efficient-threat-poised-to-destroy-NATO theme. (This has been followed by *Soviet Military Intelligence*, *Aquarium* and *Spetsnaz*.) 'Suvorov's' major contribution to British state disinformation has been the information (or disinformation) about Soviet Spetsnaz, on the back of which an ocean of print - and a good deal of military spending - has been launched in the past decade or so.

The best example of disinformation using the 'Spetsnaz threat' began in January 1986 when *Jane's Defence Weekly* ran, as its cover story, 'Spetnaz at Greenham'. 'Several sources have indicated that the Soviet activities around Greenham Common are a 'near perfect' example of Soviet preparations to deal with the GLCM (Ground Launched Cruise Missile) threat.' Etc., etc. The story was absolute junk: no information, no sources; classic disinformation. Nonetheless, perhaps because of *Jane's* general reputation, (and perhaps because *Jane's* article was merely the first part in a pre-planned campaign, the major media in Britain picked up the story and repeated it. The

*Daily Telegraph* (22 January) began its piece, 'Russian agents were involved at Greenham.....Defence Ministry officials have indicated to Mr Younger, Defence Secretary, that there is *some truth* in the reports...' (Emphasis added.) On 26 January the *Telegraph* ran the story again, this time headlined 'As Soviet special forces dig in at the perimeter fence'. (By this time Duncan Campbell and Claudia Wright had destroyed the story in the *New Statesman* [24 January 1986].) Undaunted, in that *Telegraph* piece the author, 'expert' on the British left, Blake Baker, used the 'Spetsnaz threat' to urge support for a campaign called 'Defence Begins at Home'.

## **Defence Begins At Home**

'Defence Begins at Home' began in 1983 with a cluster of retired British military big-wigs on board, Lord Hill-Norton, General Anthony Farrar-Hockley, etc., and was an attempt to launch the idea a 'home army', 'capable of defending Britain against the threat of Soviet raiding parties'. (*Sunday Telegraph* 6 November '83). But 'Defence Begins At Home' never got off the ground, at least not in public, and by the time Blake Baker came to recycle the 'spetsnatz' story in '86 -- an improved version of the 'Soviet raiding parties' of '83 -- he had to report that 'Defence Begins At Home' was being 'wound down'.

The person running 'Defence Begins At Home' was Colonel Michael Hickey, who had retired from the General Staff at the MOD in 1981. On 29 December 1986, 10 months after the 'Spetsnaz at Greenham' nonsense, the Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies (on whom see *Lobster* 13) published its Occasional Paper No. 23, '*The Spetsnaz threat: can Britain be defended?*' -- by Michael Hickey. And there 'Defence Begins At Home' seem to have petered out. There has been just one more noteworthy reference to it. *Searchlight* (March 1988) reported the trial and conviction of one Reginald Cox on charges of the illegal possession of firearms. Cox had already been convicted in 1981 for firearms offenses while a member of the British Movement. Cox and some buddies were playing military games on Cannock Chase (a section of moorland in Staffordshire), apparently under the auspices of 'Defence Begins At Home'. *Searchlight* wrote of 'persistant reports [which] have suggested that many right-wingers joined Defence Begins at Home as a useful cover for their paramilitary activities', but provided no details.

The Spetsnaz scare also gave us *Operation Spetsnaz: the aims, tactics and the techniques of Soviet Special Forces* by Michael G. Welham and Bruce Quarrie (Patrick Stephens Ltd, London 1989), which enthusiastically recycles some of the recent themes of the British secret state. And they get straight to it. On p.10 of the introduction, the authors warn us of the subversive menace represented by British trade union leaders Ron Todd, Ken Gill: 'A combination of the policies of Messers Todd, Gill and other extremists such as the miners' leader, Arthur Scargill, could deliver the United Kingdom into Moscow's hands without a shot being fired.' After a dull guided tour of the wastelands of officially-inspired (but barely sourced) speculation about what the Spetnatz *might* be and *might* do (in the event of war), the authors get to the disinformation meat at chapter 8. They rehash the curious case of the dying Marconi scientists and then 'ask readers to draw their own conclusions, knowing of the GRU'S incessant quest for Western scientific and technical knowledge and of the existence of Spetsnaz anti-VIP squads.' Sentences like this start to appear; '*Militant* is only one of over a hundred organizations in the UK which *could* be of assistance to Spetsnaz in time of need' (p. 143) (emphasis added); and we meet old

friends like 'the extremist Hurricane group' -- and the 'Spetsnaz at Greenham Common' story.

## **First supplement to *A Who's Who of the British Secret State***

The official response to the 'Who's who' *Lobster special* was non-existent. This was something of a disappointment to one solicitor who offered his services free if I had happened to get arrested. There were one or two newspaper articles which advertised its existence so official circles obviously knew of its presence. But the government decided, I think correctly, that the best policy was to ignore it.

The response though from readers was encouraging, particularly so, with those whose relations were mentioned. In some cases this was the first time they had known of the relative's intelligence connections. In a couple of instances I was supplied with further biographical details about the subject.

One purpose of the list is to show the way intelligence interlocks at all levels and areas with the British Establishment. This subterranean 'old boy (girl) network' does exist and does work. In his very entertaining and intriguing book, *Plots and Paranoia*, Professor Bernard Porter recognises part of this fact. He introduces his book thus: 'Domestic espionage is the hidden underside of political history. It may be immensely important. It is possible that without it we would be a very different country from what we are today.' (p.vii Unwin Hyman 1989) A view which brings him to conflict, as he acknowledges, with almost every other historian in Great Britain.

I recently came across a small example of intelligence connections in the Establishment in Edwin Plowden's fragment of a biography *An Industrialist in the Treasury: The Post-War Years* (Andre Deutsch 1989) It is partly notable for the interesting forward by Roy Jenkins. Jenkins writes, 'Plowden had worked most of the pre-war decade for C. Tennant Sons and Co., in the slightly improbable role of selling Dead Sea potash all over Europe . . . I do not think that he had anything to do with MI6, but it sounds like an almost perfect cover.' (p.x) It is interesting to note that Jenkins thought this, most politicians (especially Labour) are incredibly naive in intelligence matters.

Jenkins was pretty near the truth. The Chairman of the company was Lord Glenconner (Tennant) who joined the Special Operations Executive during the war working for them in Cairo. Plowden reveals that at the time of Munich one of his brothers was already in one of the intelligence organisations. Plowden found through his brother a post in Desmond Morton's Industrial Intelligence Centre where at the outbreak of war '[he] was assigned to enemy export intelligence under Lord Justice du Parcq.' (p.xvii) So began Plowden's career in the Civil Service. He became Chief Planning Officer in 1947 and chairman of the Economic Planning Board. In 1954 he became the first chairman of the Atomic Energy Authority. Plowden was one of the 'great and the good' to be wheeled out every time some little tricky problem arose which needed safe hands to deal with it.

## KEY

\$ Name appeared in the original edition. This is additional information. A further list of corrections will appear in a future issue.

(WIA) Material taken from the documentary 'The Spy Who Never Was' about Peter Wright on World in Action ITV 16 July 1984. Not all the names supplied by Wright were mentioned or published.

I should have mentioned in the *Lobster Special* that names are also included of those people who were expelled from countries for supposed espionage activities or in retaliation for other expulsions. This isn't too imply that they are all spooks. Some undoubtedly are, the main point though is that other intelligence agencies will treat them with caution.

Thanks to Patrick Fitzgerald for help in compiling this supplement. And thanks to our readers who sent in clippings. They are always welcome.

Stephen Dorril

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### **ABBOTT**, DERMOT CHARLES HYATT

CB (1959)

B. 8/9/08 D. ?

LONDON UNI.

ROYAL AUTO

MI5 (W)

29-40 POST OFFICE  
40-45 SECRETARIAT (MI5)  
45-49 POST OFFICE  
49-66 MINISTRY OF PENSIONS  
66-68 ASST. UNDER-SEC. DHSS

### **ADAMSON**, NICHOLAS CLARK

OBE (1982)

B. 5/9/38

MI6 (C)

56-65 HM FORCES  
-69 2ND LATER 1ST SEC. FCO  
-72 1ST SEC. (EEC) BRUSSELS  
-75 1ST SEC. FCO  
-79 1ST SEC. ISLAMABAD  
-82 FCO  
-86 1ST SEC. PARIS

### **ADCOCK**, SIR FRANK (EZRA)

KT (1954) OBE (17)

B. 15/4/1896 D. 22/2/68

KINGS COLL. CAMB.

GCHQ

-11 FELLOW KINGS COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE  
15-19 ADMIRALTY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION  
17-19 LT-COMMDR RNVN  
39-43 EMPLOYED BY FOREIGN OFFICE  
25-51 FELLOW OF ANCIENT HISTORY KINGS COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE  
51-55 VICE-PROVOST KINGS COLLEGE

**AGAR, CAPT. AUGUST WILLINGTON SHELTON**

VC DSO (1919)

B. 4/1/1890 D. 30/12/68

ATHENAEUM, ROYAL YACHT SQUADRON

MI6 (A)

-05 ROYAL NAVY  
14-19 EUROPEAN WAR RUSSIA WITH SIR PAUL DUKES  
41-42 CAPT. HMS DORSETSHIRE  
43-46 ROYAL NAVAL COLLEGE GREENWICH . AUTHOR

**ALEXANDER, RICHARD**

1960s MI5 (WIA)

**ALISON, MISS BARLEY**

B. 18/1/20 D. 28/5/89

-40 LAND ARMY  
-41 FIRST AID NURSING YEOMANRY SPECIAL OPERATIONS EXECUTIVE  
ALGIERS AND FRANCE  
44-48 3RD SEC. PARIS  
48-53 FO JOURNALIST. GREECE, MIDDLE EAST AND PERSIAN GULF  
-55 WEIDENFELD & NICOLSON  
-67 ALISON PRESS

**ALSTON, GORDON**

MI5 (C)

WW2 SAS

1958 'CIVIL ASSISTANT WAR OFFICE' (P.309 VIRGINIA COWLES "THE PHANTOM MAJOR")

**ANDREW, DR. CHRISTOPHER MAURICE**

B. 23/7/41

CORPUS CHRISTI COLL. CAMB.

-67 FELLOW AND DIRECTOR OF STUDIES IN HISTORY CORPUS CHRISTI  
-76 EDITOR THE HISTORICAL JOURNAL: "TALENT SPOTTER"

**ARNOLD, ANTHONY "TONY"**

B. 7/8/39

60-62 HM FORCES  
-63 HOME OFFICE  
-64 FO  
-66 MECAS  
-68 BAGHDAD  
-71 TRIPOLI  
-75 2ND SEC. FCO  
-77 2ND SEC. (COMM) JEDDA  
-80 FCO  
-82 2ND SEC. (COMM) DAMASCUS  
-86 2ND LATER 1ST SEC.  
(COMM/ADMIN) PRAGUE \* EXPELLED (I. 27/5/89)

**BANHAM, MICHAEL KENT**

B. 20/9/44

MI6 (C)

-63 FO  
-67 RAWALPINDI  
-70 ARCHIVIST QUITO  
-74 FCO  
-76 3RD SEC. AND VICE-CONSUL TRIPOLI \* DEPORTED  
(D.TELEGRAPH 3/6/80)  
-80 NAIROBI  
-83 FCO  
-87 2ND SEC. (COMM) BOMBAY

**BAINES, RICHARD**

MI6 (C)

-68 1ST SEC. BAHREIN

**BARKER-BENFIELD, BRIG. KARL VERE**

CBE (1945) DSO (16)

B. 20/10/1892 D. 11/2/69

-13 ROYAL ARTILLERY  
14-19 EUROPEAN WAR  
35-38 MILITARY ATTACHE VIENNA, BUDAPEST AND BERNE  
41-42 INSPECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE TRAINING  
-43 IN CHARGE OF INTELLIGENCE  
-44 SPECIAL OPERATIONS GREECE  
44-45 COMMANDER CRETE FORCE

**BARRACLOUGH, GEOFFREY**

B. 10/5/08

ORIEL COLL. OXF.

GCHQ

-36 FELLOW AND LECTURER ST JOHNS COLL. CAMB.  
-40 FOREIGN OFFICE  
42-45 RNVR GCHQ (ITALIAN DESK)  
45-56 PROF. MEDIEVAL HISTORY LIVERPOOL UNI.  
56-62 RESEARCH PROF. INTERNATIONAL HISTORY LONDON UNI.  
64-67 PRES. HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION  
65-68 PROF. OF HISTORY CALIFORNIA UNI.  
70-73 PROF. OF MODERN HISTORY ALL SOULS COLL OXF.  
AUTHOR

**BARTLETT, ANTHONY**

1960s MI5 (WIA)

**BEARSTEAD, LORD WALTER HORACE SAMUEL**

B. 13/3/1882 D. 8/11/48

NEW COLL. OXFORD

CARLTON, WHITES, BUCKS, BEEFSTEAK

MI6

14-18 WEST KENT YEOMANRY EUROPEAN WAR  
-38 SECTION D  
39-43 COL. GENERAL LIST WHILST SPECIALLY EMPLOYED

**BECKE, MAJ. SIR JACK**

KT (1944) CBE (41) OBE (31)

B. 1878 D. 20/3/62

MI5 (WHO'S WHO)

99-02 SOUTH AFRICAN WAR  
-03 4TH LANCS FUSILIERS  
14-18 EUROPEAN WAR  
16-18 'WAR OFFICE MI5', RETIRED. BARRISTER GRAYS INN  
18-35 CHIEF CONSTABLE SHROPSHIRE  
35-46 CHIEF CONSTABLE CHESHIRE

**BELL, CLAUDE WAYLEN**

MC (1916)

B. 22/2/1891 D. 12/7/64

ROYAL AUTO

MI6 (C)

10-15 ASSISTANT MANAGER FORBES, CAMPBELL & CO. KARACHI  
15-18 INTELLIGENCE CORPS  
16-17 ASSISTANT MILITARY ATTACHE THE HAGUE  
19-29 BELL'S UNITED ASBESTOS CO. LTD.  
29-+++ PRESIDENT BELL'S ASBESTOS AND ENGINEERING LTD.

**BIDDLE, ROBIN**



1950s ARMY SERVICE FIELD SECURITY EGYPT, GERMANY  
55-59 POLITICAL OFFICER ADEN PROTECTORATE  
-65 HAYTER SCHOLARSHIP  
-80 SEC./LIBRARIAN MIDDLE EAST CENTRE CAMB.

**BINGHAM, MAJ. SEYMOUR**

1918 ARMY  
18-33 USA  
-33 HOLLAND DIRECTOR BRYNEEL  
39-40 CONSULATE AMSTERDAM  
-40 MI5 PATRIOTIC SCHOOL LONDON  
43-44 SPECIAL OPERATIONS EXECUTIVE HEAD DUTCH SECTION  
44-45 SOE FAR EAST SECTION AND AUSTRALIA  
-50 ATTENDED DUTCH PARLY INQUIRY INTO VORDOPOL

**BLOGG, DAVID**

B. 1944  
GCHQ  
1984 DESIGN ENGINEER GCHQ

**BLUNSON, TERRENCE**

IRD  
50-60'S REGIONAL NEWS SERVICE MIDDLE EAST  
-80'S REUTERS

**BROOKE-BOOTH, COL. S.P.**

MI5 ('ERRORS OF JUDGEMENT', NICHOLAS KELSO 1988)  
1939-45 COMMUNIST SECTION UNDER HOLLIS

**BROWN, ALLAN**

IRD  
39-45 BALKANS  
50's JOURNALIST EDINBURGH EVENING NEWS  
-61 WORKING FOR THE NEAR AND FAR EAST NEWS AGENCY, GOA  
60's FORUM WORLD FEATURES  
80's SECURITY OFFICER HOTEL IN LONDON

**BROWN, E.C. 'JIM'**

IRD  
1960-70'S NEAR AND FAR EAST NEWS AGENCY, WORLD FEATURE SERVICES INDIA

**BRUCE LOCKHART, SIR ROBERT (HAMILTON)**

KCMG (1943)  
B. 2/9/1887 D. 27/2/70  
ST JAMES BEEFSTEAK  
1911 HM CONSULAR SERVICE  
15-17 CONSUL-GENERAL MOSCOW  
-18 SPECIAL MISSION TO SOVIET GOVNT. ST PETERSBURG  
IMPRISONED AND LATER RELEASED BY BOLSHEVIKS  
-19 COMMERCIAL SEC. PRAGUE  
-22 RESIGNED. BANKING IN CENTRAL EUROPE  
29-37 EDITORIAL STAFF EVENING STANDARD  
39-40 POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE DEPT. FO  
40-41 BRITISH REP. TO CZECH GOVNT. LONDON  
41-45 DEPUTY UNDER-SEC. OF STATE FO, DIR-GENERAL POLITICAL  
WARFARE EXECUTIVE  
AUTHOR

**BRUFORD, WALTER HORACE**

B. 1894 D. ?  
ST JOHN'S COLL. CAMB.  
GCHQ  
14-18 INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, ADMIRALTY, (ID 25) ROOM 40  
29-51 PROF. OF GERMAN EDINBURGH UNI.

39-43 'SECONDED TO FOREIGN OFFICE'  
51-61 PROF. OF GERMAN CAMB. UNI.

**BURDEN, STEVE**

GCHQ  
1988 SENIOR MAINTENANCE ENGINEER, CHELTENHAM

**BURGESS, LT-COL. JOHN H.S.**

MI5 (C)  
1970s INTELLIGENCE CORPS  
74-76 COMMANDING OFFICER SMIU (N.IRELAND)  
-77 CO OF DEPOT INTELLIGENCE CORPS ASHFORD, KENT.  
-80's NORTHERN IRELAND (MI5)

**BURNETT, JOHN**

MI5/MI6 (C)  
1984 1ST SEC. MOSCOW 'I/C COUNTER-ESPIONAGE' EXPELLED  
(D.EXPRESS 23/5/84)

**BUTCHER, PETER RODERICK**

B. 6/8/47  
IRD  
1974 FCO  
75 EAST AFRICAN DESK IRD  
78 RESEARCH DEPARTMENT FCO  
79 2ND SEC. TECHNICAL CO-OPERATION LIMA  
83 2ND SEC. (COMM) BOMBAY  
87 1ST SEC. FCO

**BUZZARD, MAJ. CHARLES**

1939 ARMY  
42-43 SPECIAL OPERATIONS EXECUTIVE, HEAD DUTCH SECTION  
-43 ITALIAN SECTION

**BYERS, WILLIAM**

MI5 (C)  
1982 B BRANCH (PERSONNEL)

**CAPUCCI, RONALD**

GCHQ  
SENIOR GCHQ MANAGER  
1980s LECTURER (POLITICS AND BUSINESS ADMIN.) LESOTHO

**CARNE, ALAN JOHN**

B. 2/10/32  
GCHQ  
51-53 HM FORCES  
53-65 GCHQ  
-65 FO  
-67 ST. HELENA, SINGAPORE, DARWIN, ADDIS ABABA, MOSCOW  
-80 GRADE 9 FCO  
-82 VICE-CONSUL ISTANBUL  
-84 FCO  
-85 GRADE 8 HAVANA

**CARRUTHERS, OLIVER CAMERON**

IRD  
50's COLONIAL OFFICE. JOURNALIST  
-66 CHAIRMAN AFRICA DEVELOPMENT  
-73 DIRECTOR GEMINI NEWS SERVICE  
-78 EDITOR, AFRICA GAZETTE: CONNECTED WITH AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL

**CAWTHORN, MAJOR-GEN. SIR WALTER (JOSEPH)**

KT (1958) CB (46) CIE (43) CBE (41)

B. 18/6/1896 D. 4/12/70

14-18 22 BATTALION AUSTRALIAN IMPERIAL FORCE  
39-41 HEAD OF MIDDLE EAST INTELLIGENCE CENTRE  
41-45 DIR. OF INTELLIGENCE INDIA COMMAND  
43-45 DIR. OF INTELLIGENCE S.E. ASIA COMMAND  
-45 INDIAN DELEGATION UN CONFERENCE SAN FRANCISCO  
46-47 REP. OF C-IN-C AUSTRALIA  
48-51 DEP. CHIEF OF STAFF PAKISTAN ARMY  
52-54 DIRECTOR JNT. INTELLIGENCE BUREAU AUSTRALIA  
54-58 HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA IN PAKISTAN  
59-60 HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA IN CANADA

**CHARLES, ALISTAIR DEREK**

IRD

60-70'S NEAR AND FAR EAST NEWS AGENCY, WORLD FEATURES SERVICES

-80'S VISNEWS

**CHEESMAN, COL. ROBERT ERNEST**

CBE (1935) OBE (23)

B. 1878 D. 13/2/62

14-18 SERVED EUROPEAN WAR  
20-23 PRIVATE SEC. TO HIGH COMMISSIONER IRAQ  
25-34 CONSUL N.W. ETHIOPIA  
40-42 HEAD OF ETHIOPIAN SECTION INTELLIGENCE, SUDAN DEFENCE FORCE  
-42 ORIENTAL COUNSELLOR ADDIS ABABA  
-44 RETIRED

**CHESWORTH, DONALD**

B. 30/1/23

LSE

ROYAL COMMONWEALTH SOCIETY

MI6 (C)

39-45 RAF  
-47 PRESIDENT NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LABOUR STUDENT ORGANISATIONS  
47-51 OVERSEAS SEC. INTERNATIONAL UNION OF LABOUR YOUTH  
52-65 LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL  
62-65 MAURITIUS (WORKED FOR PRE-INDEPENDENCE GOVERNMENT)  
65-76 COUNCIL OF WAR ON WANT  
-67 ILO GENEVA  
69-77 DIR. NOTTINGHILL SOCIAL COUNCIL  
-77 WARDEN TOYNBEE HALL  
-82 WORKED FOR SEEWOSAGUR RAMGOOLAM: AUTHOR, LOTS OF COMMITTEES ON OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT

**CLARE, GEORGE**

1939 PIONEER CORPS.

-45 ROYAL ARTILLERY

46-47 BRITISH CONTROL COMMISSION GERMANY, INTELLIGENCE SECTION OF INFORMATION SERVICES

**CLARKE, TOM.**

B. 6/6/1884 D. 18/6/57

IRD

1902 JOURNALIST  
-11 FOREIGN STAFF DAILY MAIL  
14-18 ARMY  
-19 NEWS EDITOR DAILY MAIL  
26-33 EDITOR NEWS CHRONICLE  
35-46 DIR. PRACTICAL JOURNALISM LONDON UNIVERSITY  
39-40 DEPUTY DIR. MINISTRY OF INFORMATION: SET UP GLOBE NEWS AGENCY

41-42 REP. OF HULTON PRESS IN SOUTH AMERICA  
42-48 BBC LATIN AMERICAN SERVICE, CHMN. NEAR AND FAR EAST NEWS  
LTD.  
AUTHOR

**COLES, S.J.W. 'JACK'**

IRD  
40-50'S HEAD OF STAR NEWS AGENCY PAKISTAN  
-60'S INFORMATION OFFICE CRO  
-70'S RETIRED

**COLLIER, GEORGE**

MI6 (P.112 TOM BOWYER 'THE RED WEB' ARUM PRESS 1989)  
1949 'THE SCHOOL' OLD CHURCH STREET RADIO INSTRUCTOR

**COLLINSON, -?**

MI6 (P.217 'INTELLIGENCE' RUSI/MACMILLAN 1987)  
WW1 DUBLIN OFFICE OF STUBBS, RUNNING INTELLIGENCE NETWORK  
1930s PASSPORT CONTROL OFFICER EUROPE

**COLLINSON, WILLIAM EDWARD**

B. 4/1/1889 D. 4/5/1969  
14-54 PROF. GERMAN LIVERPOOL UNI.  
17-19 3RD RESERVE GARRISON BATTALION R.W.F. SECONDED TO NAVAL  
INTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT  
39-41 MEMBER HOME OFFICE ADVISORY COMMITTEE (INTERMENT OF ALIENS  
AND 18b)

**COOMBE-TENNANT, DOM JOSEPH**

MC  
B. 9/4/13 D. 6/11/89  
TRINTIY COLL. CAMB.  
MI6 (C)  
1936 1ST BATTALION WELSH GUARDS  
-39 BEF  
-40 POW  
-42 ESCAPED, MAQUIS FRANCE AND BELGIUM  
-45 SPECIAL ALLIED AIRBORNE RECONNAISSANCE FORCE  
45-56 ARMY. SPECIAL DUTIES INTELLIGENCE PALESTINE, SAUDI ARABIA,  
GERMANY AND AUSTRIA  
-56 FOREIGN SERVICE 2ND SEC. THE HAGUE  
-58 1ST SEC. BAGHDAD  
-60 RETIRED  
-61 MONK DOWNSIDE ABBEY

**CRAWSHAW, DEREK**

GCHQ  
-70's RADIO OPERATOR GCHQ BORA  
-78 GCHQ IRTON MOOR

**CROFTON, JOHN 'LITTLE JOHN'**

MI6 (P.112 TOM BOWYER "THE RED WEB" ARUM PRESS 1989)  
1949 'THE SCHOOL' TRAINING AGENTS

**CROMBIE, CAPT.-- ?**

MI6  
1914 ROYAL NAVY  
16-18 NAVAL ATTACHE RUSSIA SHOT DEAD AUGUST 1918

**CUNNINGHAM, CHARLES J.**

GCHQ  
1945- GCHQ  
-70s RETIRED

**CUNNINGHAM, CYRIL**

'FORMER INTELLIGENCE OFFICER' (LETTER D.TELEGRAPH 23/2/89)

**DAVIES, TREVOR**

PROJECT MANAGER, INTERNATIONAL COMPUTERS LTD. (ICL) LATE '70'S  
EARLY '80's: ICL TEAM WORKING ON MI5 COMPUTERISATION PROJECT (N.S.  
5/3/82)

**DAVIS, PROF. NORMAN**

MBE (1945)

B. 16/5/13 D. 2/12/89

MERTON COLL. OXFORD

-36 LECTURER SOFIA  
39-46 'GOVERNMENT SERVICE MAINLY ABROAD'  
-39 EMBASSY SOFIA SECTION D SABOTAGE AND SUBVERSION  
-41 MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT GHQ CAIRO  
-45 QUEEN MARY COLL. LONDON  
-49 PROF. OF ENGLISH OXFORD UNI.  
59-80 EMERITUS FELLOW MERTON COLLEGE

**DAWSON, CHRISTOPHER**

MI5 (SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST 6/8/78)

1974 RETIRED AS DEPUTY COMMISSIONER HONG KONG POLICE

74- MI5 CHINA DESK

**DE KLEE, (COL.) MURRAY**

MI6 (C)

1980 STATION CHIEF SAUDI ARABIA

**DE WATTEVILLE, LT-COL. HERMAN GASTON**

CBE (1919)

B. 19/9/1875 D. 31/12/63

CHRIST CHURCH OXF. UNI.

00-24 ROYAL ARTILLERY  
24-35 MILITARY EDITOR ROYAL UNITED SERVICE INSTITUTE  
-38 I/C INFORMATION BRANCH OF CENSORS  
40-41 ASSISTANT MASTER LANCING COLLEGE  
43-45 POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE DEPT. FO

**DOBSON, MAJ. R.I.**

1941 SPECIAL OPERATIONS EXECUTIVE

44-45 HEAD DUTCH SECTION

**DUNLOP, LT-COL. C.A.M**

MI5 (STUDY GROUP ON INTELLIGENCE NEWSLETTER NO.2 FEB. 1990)

14-16 ARMY

16-17 COUNTER-ESPIONAGE ENGLAND

**ELLIOTT, KAVAN**

MI6 (C)

1940s BALKAN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE, MAJOR, INTELLIGENCE CORPS.  
MILITARY ATTACHE SOFIA (EXPLOSIVES EXPERT) - WORKED WITH  
ARCHIE GIBSON. POW COLDITZ

45- WORKED FOR LEVER BROS. AND UNILEVER

50s UNILEVER REP. HUNGARY, EXPELLED

60s+ UNILEVER SUBSIDIARY JAMAICA, LEFT FOLLOWING UNEXPLAINED  
DISAGREEMENT WITH  
GOVERNOR AND LABOUR UNIONS.

**ELLIOTT, MICHAEL**

B. 22/10/30

MI6 (C)

1951- FCO, RIO DE JANEIRO, MEXICO CITY, LIMA AND THE EEC

-73 ACCUSED OF ESPIONAGE BY ICELANDIC GOVERNMENT DURING 'COD

WAR '

**ENGLAND, PETER TIAKS EDE**

CB (1978)

B. 4/4/25 D. 24/8/78

MAGDALEN COLL. OXF.

43-45 RNVR  
-46 CAMBRIDGE  
-49 WAR OFFICE  
-53 PRINCIPAL WAR OFFICE  
-61 COMM. SEC. WESTERN COMMAND  
-63 ASSISTANT SEC. MOD  
-70 ASSISTANT SEC. OF STATE MOD  
-73 UNDER-SEC. CIVIL SERVICE DEPT.  
-74 DEPUTY SEC. N.IRELAND OFFICE \* MI5 LIAISON (PHOENIX 16/9/83)  
-76 DEPUTY UNDER-SEC. (ARMY) MOD  
-78 RETIRED

**EPPSTEIN, JOHN**

OBE

B. 1895 D. 2/4/88

HERTFORD COLL. OXF.

1917 FRIENDS AMBULANCE UNIT  
19-36 OFFICER LEAGUE OF NATIONS SEC. TO LORD ROBERT CECIL,  
ATTACHED TO LEAGUE OF NATIONS SECTION OF THE FO  
-22 CATHOLIC COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
-38 FOUNDED BRITISH SOCIETY FOR INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING  
-45 FIRST SEC.GEN. ATLANTIC TREATY ASSOCIATION., DIR. OF  
EDUCATION ATLANTIC INFORMATION CENTRE FOR TEACHERS  
66-+ RETIRED - LEADING CATHOLIC SUPPORTER OF NATO AND THE  
ATLANTIC ALLIANCE

**EUSTON, MAJ. F.**

MI5 (C)

1979 B BRANCH. I/C TRAINING FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE PERSONNEL

**EVANS, JEAN-PAUL**

MI6

39-45 BRITISH SECURITY CO-ORDINATION WASHINGTON  
45- GOUZENKO INVESTIGATION

**EVANS, CAPT. MARTIN**

WW2 RADIO SECURITY SERVICE

**EWART, COL. JOE**

MI6

40-45 SPECIAL LIAISON UNIT (ULTRA) DEPARTMENTAL INTELLIGENCE

**FINDLATER, JEAN**

MI5 (W)

1934 ASSISTANT TO LIDDELL, LATER OFFICER

**FLETCHER, MISS --?**

MI6 (C)

1981 ASSISTANT TO DAPHNE PARK (AFRICA DESK)  
81- ASSISTANT TO DAPHNE PARK SOMERVILLE COLLEGE OXFORD  
UNI.

**FLINT, MARTIN**

MI5 (C)

1983 1ST SEC. WASHINGTON: ORDERED POLYGRAPH MACHINES  
FROM US MANUFACTURERS STOELTING FOR TRIAL USE BY BRITISH  
INTELLIGENCE

**FORBES, MAJ. JOSEPH**

MI6 (C)  
70's QUEENS REGIMENT, ROYAL ANGLIAN  
73-74 SECOND I/C SMIU (N.IRELAND)  
-80 OMAN RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

**GIVENS, PATRICK T.**

MI6 (P.35 ROGER FALIGOT "THE CHINESE SECRET SERVICE" HEADLINE  
1989)  
1927 HEAD POLITICAL BRANCH OF THE SETTLEMENT POLICE SHANGHAI

**GORDEN, CHARLES JOHN FORBES**

B. 12/3/20  
GCHQ  
39-45 ROYAL NAVY  
46-74 FO/FCO: SINGAPORE, DELHI, RANGOON, VIENNA, MOSCOW, NAIROBI,  
74-75 KARACHI  
76-80 BRITISH GOVERNMENT WIRELESS RELAY STATION DARWIN  
-80 RETIRED

**HENDERSON, IAN**

-1966 KENYAN SPECIAL BRANCH  
66- CHIEF BAHREIN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE (N.S. 28/6/85)

**HERMAN, MICHAEL**

MI6 (C)  
NUFFIELD COLLEGE, WRITER ON INTELLIGENCE, FORMERLY IN MI6

**HERVINE, PETER**

MI5 (C)  
1985 PROJECT ARROW (INVESTIGATING ILLEGAL COMPUTER SALES TO USSR)

**HILLS, DENNIS**

1937 EMPLOYED BY BALTIC INSTITUTE GDYNIA, POLISH NATIONALIST  
PROPAGANDA OUTFIT  
-45 ARMY OFFICER DP CAMPS EUROPE. 'CAPT. A' IN "THE LAST SECRET"  
-50 INTERROGATOR OF GERMAN RETURNNEES FROM USSR  
CONCERNING SOVIET AIRFIELDS, INDUSTRY AND ROCKET  
DEVELOPMENT  
60-70's AFRICA  
-75 ARRESTED AS A BRITISH SPY BY IDI AMIN  
-78 TEACHING ZIMBABWE  
AUTHOR

**HODGE, TOM**

39-45 BRITISH INFORMATION SERVICES, WASHINGTON  
-45 JOURNALIST  
50's MALAYAN INFO SERVICES (FILMS)

**HOLLAND, PATRICIA ANNE 'TRICIA'**

B. 2/4/64  
1986 GRADE 8 FCO  
89 3RD SEC. PRAGUE \* EXPELLED (I. 27/5/89)

**\$ HOOPER, SIR ROBIN**

1942 NO. 138 SPECIAL DUTIES SQUADRON RAF TEMPSFORD, RESISTANCE  
NETWORKS  
-43 NO. 161 SPECIAL DUTIES SQUADRON, WORKING WITH MI6  
-44 RESPONSIBLE IN AIR MINISTRY INTELLIGENCE FOR RAF SPECIAL  
OPS.

**HOURANI, ALBERT**

WW2 BRITISH INTELLIGENCE  
FELLOW OF ST. ANTONY'S COLLEGE OXFORD UNIVERSITY, ATTACHED TO MIDDLE

EAST CENTRE

**HOURLANI, CECIL**

SOMETIME ADVISER TO TUNISIAN PRESIDENT BOURGUIBA. EXPELLED FOR  
ESPIONAGE (ON BEHALF OF UK)  
PUBLIC RELATIONS ADVISER TO SA'AD HADDAD (CHIEF OF LEBANESE  
FALANGE MILITIA)

**HUGGINS, MARGOT**

MI5

-34 ASSISTANT TO LIDDELL LATER OFFICER

**HUNT, J.E.**

MI6 (C)

60's + DIRECTOR COMMERCIAL & CONSULTANCY HOLDINGS LTD.  
(INVOLVED IN SOVIET BLOC OPERATIONS)

**HUTCHINSON, JUDY**

B. 6/12/16 D. 28/10/89

1939 AT5

40 INTELLIGENCE CORPS N.AFRICA

44 IN CHARGE OF INTELLIGENCE ROOM CASERTA UNDER FIELD MARSHALL  
ALEXANDER

53 AUSTRALIA, SECRETARY TO LORD SLIM GOVERNOR GENERAL

57 LADY IN WAITING TO GOVERNOR GENERAL'S WIFE WEST INDIES

84-85 HIGH SHERIFF OXFORDSHIRE

**JONES, SIR RODERICK**

KBE (1918)

B. 1877 D. 23/1/62

1895 ASSISTANT REUTER CORRESPONDENT SOUTH AFRICA

1915 CONTROLLER OF REUTERS

19-41 CHMN. AND MANAGING DIRECTOR

16-18 CHIEF EXECUTIVE AND DIR. OF PROPAGANDA MINISTRY OF  
INFORMATION

-39 MEMBER ADVISORY COUNCIL MINISTRY OF INFORMATION

27-55 COUNCIL RIIA AND COMMONWEALTH PRESS UNION

-48 DELEGATE TO CONGRESS OF EUROPE, THE HAGUE

**JONES, TREVOR DAVID**

B. 7/6/08 D. 22/10/84

TRINITY HALL CAMB.

GCHQ

1937 LECTURER CAMB. UNI.

39-45 GCHQ (GERMAN ARMY AND AIRFORCE)

45- FELLOW JESUS COLL. CAMB.

66- READER IN GERMAN, CAMBRIDGE

**KEENE, LT-COL. GEOFFREY ABBOT E. 'BUSTER'**

MBE (1943)

B. 17/5/06 D. NOV. 1989

SANDHURST

1925 16TH. PUNJABIS ATTACHED CAMERONIANS (SCOTS RIFLES)

31-33 INSTRUCTOR INDIAN ARMY

30'S OFFICER IN CHARGE JUNGLE AND MOUNTAIN WARFARE COURSES

43- RESPONSIBLE FOR REFUGEES BURMA

48- RETIRED ARMY: ATTACHED TO FO AS INTERPRETER TIBETAN TRADE  
DELEGATION

51- ATTACHED TO COLONIAL OFFICE FOR ANTI-TERRORIST WORK IN  
MALAYA

**KENNEDY, --?**

MI5 (PRO FO 371/606007, NOT DATED)



-50's LETTER FROM FO MUTUAL AID DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT:  
'KENNEDY AT MI5 MAY BE OF SOME HELP IN CHECKING BRITISH  
BUSINESSMEN WITH DEALINGS WITH THE SOVIET UNION'

**KENWORTHY, CHARLES?**

MI5/MI6 (C)

MID-70's EMPLOYED AS A PLUMBER INSTALLING CENTRAL HEATING AT  
CZECH EMBASSY, WITHDRAWN FOLLOWING WIFE'S OBJECTION

**KIRBY, PROF. STUART**

-30's LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS, MEMBER OF THE MARXIST GROUP IN  
THE

IND. LABOUR PARTY (ILP), 39-45 INDIAN ARMY INTELLIGENCE ASIA  
-45 ECONOMIC STUDIES OF ASIA, ASTON UNIVERSITY

**KIRKPATRICK-SMITH, ADRIAN**

B. 12/9/45

MI6 (C)

60-71 ARMY

-75 FCO

-77 BEIRUT

78-90 2ND SEC. FCO CONTACT FOR PRIVATE DETECTIVES

**LAVELLE, ROGER GARNETT**

B. 23/8/32

TINITY HALL CAMB.

1955 ASSISTANT PRINCIPAL MINISTRY OF HEALTH

61-68 PRINCIPAL THE TREASURY

61-63 SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO LORD PRIVY SEAL (COMMON MARKET)

65-68 PRIVATE SEC. TO CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER

68-75 ASSISTANT SEC. THE TREASURY

75-85 UNDER-SEC. THE TREASURY

-85 DEPUTY SEC. THE TREASURY, CHAIR. OVERSEAS ECONOMIC  
INTELLIGENCE, CABINET OFFICE

**LEAR, JOHN**

SPY/THRILLER WRITER, "INTELLIGENCE BACKGROUND"

**LEDGER, DAVID**

1960s ARMY INTELLIGENCE OFFICER IN SOUTH ARABIA

-66 POLITICAL OFFICER HIGH COMMISSION ADEN

**LETT, MAJ. (EARNEST) GORDON APPLEFORD**

DSO (1945)

B. 17/11/10 D. 4/10/89

1930s EAST SURREY REGT. INDIA

-42 NORTH AFRICA POW

43-44 LED RESISTANCE ARMY IN ITALY WITH SUPPORT OF SOE, MI9 AND  
SAS

-45 FO

-49 VICE-CONSUL (INFO) ITALY

-50 1ST SEC. (INFO) ITALY

**LIUDZIUS, MAJ. JOHN 'BIG JOHN'**

MI6 (P.58 TOM BOWYER "THE RED WEB" ARUM 1989)

1945 GERMANY

**LLOYD, ANGELA RUTH**

B. 24/1/20

MI6 (C)

1961 FO

-64 GRADE 9 BONN

-69 2ND SEC. FCO

-71 VICE-CONSUL JOHANNESBURG

**LOVEDAY, ARTHUR FEDERIC**

OBE (1920)

B. 20/4/1878 D. 22/12/68

TRAVELLERS

00-20 BUSINESS IN CHILE  
15-19 INTELLIGENCE SERVICE IN CHILE  
14-20 THE TIMES CORRESPONDENT CHILE  
21-33 BUSINESS IN SPAIN  
27-33 CORREPDENT MORNING POST SPAIN  
24-33 INTELLIGENCE SERVICE IN SPAIN  
46-47 S.AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON REFUGEES

**McCULLOCH, SANDERS**

MI5

1919 SPECIAL BRANCH

-34 MI5

**McCURDY, DR. JOHN THOMSON**

B. 1886 D. 1/7/47

17-18 CAPT. MEDICAL CORPS. A.E.F.

-23 LECTURER PSYCHOPATHOLOGY CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY

39-45 ADVISER TO SEFTON DELMER POLITICAL WARFARE EXECUTIVE  
AUTHOR

**McDOWELL, THOMAS B.**

MI5 (THE CECIL KING DIARIES 1970-74)

WW2 ULSTER RIFLES

50-60's MI5 STAFF SUBSEQUENTLY AGENT BARRISTER, BUSINESSMAN

-83 MANAGING EDITOR IRISH TIMES

**McHUGH, J.N.**

44-45 FORCE 136 BLACK PROPAGANDA

-50 DIR. INFORMATION DEPT. MALAYA

52-53 DEPUTY DIR-GEN. INFO DEPT.

**MACINTOSH, MAJ. CHARLES**

40-45 DEPUTY NO.1 SPECIAL FORCE ITALY SPECIAL OPERATIONS EXECUTIVE

**MACKIBBON, ALEXANDER 'SANDY'**

OBE (1954)

B. 1891

MI6 (P.40 TOM BOWYER 'THE RED WEB' ARUM PRESS 1989)

18-39 TIMBER MERCHANT TALLINN

-39 HELSINKI

-40 ENGLAND

-43 STOCKHOLM

-45 SPECIAL LIAISON CENTRE LONDON OPERATIONS AGAINST THE USSR

-54 RETIRED

**MAKOWER, JOHN**

MBE (1944) MC (43)

B. 6/12/02 D.17/12/89

SAVILE, FREEMASON

1939 ARMY LIAISON OFFICER FRANCE

40 INTELLIGENCE CORPS CRETE

41 COMMDR. 101 SPECIAL WIRELESS SECTION GREECE

43 N.AFRICA, ITALY WITH 8TH ARMY

44 GCHQ

45- FAMILY SILK TRADE

70 RETIRED

**MARSHALL, DAPHNE**

MI5 (C)  
1986 + INVOLVED IN MOD TEDDY TAYLOR/FRED HOLROYD NEGOTIATIONS CIRCA  
1986/7

**MASON, TOWYN**

IRD  
1960s NEAR AND FAR EAST NEWS AGENCY  
80'S DEPUTY SEC. BBC RADIO

**MATES, MARY ROSAMUND (PATON)**

MI5 (C)  
DIVORCED WIFE OF MICHAEL MATES M.P.

**MAWHOOD, LT-COL. J.C.**

MI5 (P.281 'THE ORIGINS OF POLITICAL SURVEILLANCE IN AUSTRALIA', FRANK  
CAIN ANGUS & ROBERTSON 1983)  
1941 + VISITED AUSTRALIA TO HEAD INQUIRY INTO SECURITY SERVICE  
AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE

**MENDL, SIR CHARLES**

KT (1924)  
B. 1871 D. 14/2/58  
ST JAMES, REFORM  
MI6 (P.84 CHARLES HIGHAM "WALLIS" SIDGWICK & JACKSON 1988)  
14-15 25TH INFANTRY BRIGADE  
-18 'WORK FOR ADMIRALTY'  
-20- 'FOREIGN OFFICE NEWS DEPARTMENT'  
26-40 PRESS ATTACHE PARIS, FRIEND OF DUKE OF WINDSOR

**MOORES, MICHAEL**

MI6 (N)  
1980s OPERATIONS AGAINST IRA IN WEST GERMANY

**MORGAN, COL. E.P.**

MI5 (W)  
39-45 SECURITY

**MOSS, PADDY**

GCHQ  
1970s SENIOR POST GCHQ

**MOSS, DAVID JOSEPH**

B. 6/11/38  
1956 CIVIL SERVICE COLLEGE  
57 FO  
57-59 RAF  
59 FO  
62 3RD SEC. BANGKOK  
66 2ND SEC. FO  
67 ASST. SEC. TO MINISTER OF STATE FCO  
69 1ST SEC. (COMM) LA PAZ  
70 1ST SEC. FCO  
74 1ST SEC. (HOC) THE HAGUE  
78 1ST SEC. LATER COUNSELLOR FCO  
79 DEPUTY HEAD PERM UNDER-SEC'S. DEPARTMENT FCO \* FCO LIAISON  
WITH MI6  
81 HEAD OF PERMANENT UNDER-SEC'S DEPARTMENT FCO  
83 HEAD OF CHANCERY AND DEPUTY PERMANENT REP UKMIS GENEVA  
87 'ADDITIONAL' ASST. UNDER-SEC. I/C REVIEW OF TECHNICAL  
SERVICES FCO

**NEAVE, DAVID HAY**

MI6 (C)  
1953 EMPLOYED BY THE BRITISH HIGH COMMISSION KATHMANDU

61 DIED UNDER STRANGE CIRCUMSTANCES FROM BARBITURATE POISONING  
AN 'ACCIDENTAL DEATH' RELATED TO AIREY NEAVE

**PAINE, RODGER**

1981 SERVED NORTHERN IRELAND ARMY INTELLIGENCE CORPS?  
83 BASED IN TEL AVIV, RUNNING IMPORT-EXPORT BUSINESS WITH LEE  
TRACEY (MI6)?

**PALMER, DESMOND**

1940s MALAYAN POLICE, INTELLIGENCE OFFICER RESPONSIBLE FOR  
COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS  
61 MEMBER BRITISH ADVISORY MISSION (BRIAM) VIETNAM

**PARKER, ALEXANDER AUGUSTINE**

B. 1908 D. 23/11/89  
GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLL. CAMB.  
GCHQ  
39-49 HEAD OF SPANISH ABERDEEN UNI.  
40-45 BLETCHLEY PARK (GCHQ)  
53-69 PROF. HISPANIC STUDIES EDINBURGH UNI.  
70-78 PROF. SPANISH UNI. OF TEXAS

**PARKER, SIR PETER**

(KT 1978), MVO (57)  
B. 30/8/24  
LINCOLN COLL. OXF.  
SAVILE  
43-47 INTELLIGENCE CORPS  
45-47 CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATION WASHINGTON (FORERUNNER OF  
THE CIA)  
50-51 COMMONWEALTH FUND FELLOWSHIP USA  
53-54 HEAD OF INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY  
56- BOOKER McCONNELL  
66-70 CHMN. BOOKERS ENGINEERING  
71-76 CURTIS BROWN  
76- CHMN. BRITISH RAIL BOARD

**PEDDIE, J.S.**

GCHQ  
1973 OPERATIONS OFFICER GCHQ

**PEEBLES, JAMES ROSS**

B. 12/6/09 D. 15/12/67  
UNI. COLL. OXFORD  
MCC  
MI5 (C)  
1931 ASST. MASTER WESTMINSTER SCHOOL  
41-45 INTELLIGENCE CORPS 'ATTACHED WAR OFFICE'  
45-57 HEADMASTER WESTMINSTER SCHOOL

**PIRIE-GORDEN, C.H.C. 'HARRY'**

DSC FSA  
MAGDALEN COLL. OXF.  
MI6 (A)  
1920 MI6 FRIEND OF COMPTON MACKENZIE  
29 EDITORIAL ASST. BURKES LANDED GENTRY OWNED BY MAUNDY  
GREGORY,  
GENEALOGIST. MEMBER CORVO SOCIETY

**POTTER, JAMES AKED**

B. 17/8/14  
UNI. COLL. LONDON  
39-42 COLONIAL OFFICE  
42-43 AIR MINISTRY (INTELLIGENCE)

43-48 POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE DEPT. FO  
48-50 GERMAN SECTION PID  
50-54 TRAVELLED CANADA, NETHERLANDS AND USA  
54-56 TEMPORARY ASST. INFORMATION OFFICE CRO  
-57 TORONTO  
-58 INFORMATION OFFICER CRO  
-61 PERTH  
-63 SENIOR INFORMATION OFFICER CRO

**PRIESTLY, SIMON**

MI6 (C)  
1985 HEAD OF MOSCOW OFFICE, QUEST AUTOMATION:  
EXPELLED FOR ALLEGED ESPIONAGE

**PUPLETT, P.A.R.**

MI5 (C)  
1956 PORTSMOUTH INVOLVED WITH CRABB CASE  
60-70's PORTUGAL, IRAN AND NORTHERN IRELAND  
-86 HEAD OFFICE TARMAC LTD.

**QUINN, DESMOND.**

GCHQ  
1978 RADIO OFFICER GCHQ BORA

**RANSOME, JOHN**

1951 BRITISH INTELLIGENCE OFFICER ATTACHED TO THE  
'TECHNICAL SECTION' OF THE BRITISH CONTROL COMMISSION  
GERMANY  
(P.131 TOM BOWYER "THE RED WEB" ARUM 1989)

**RHOYDES, ALEC**

IRD  
1950s NEAR AND FAR EAST NEWS AGENCY CALCUTTA

**RIMINGTON, STELLA (WHITEHOUSE)**

B. 1935  
EDINBURGH UNI.  
MI5 (N.S. 5/12/86)  
1984 HEAD F2 SECTION

**ROBERTS, COLIN HENDERSON**

CBE (1973)  
B. 8/6/09 D. 11/2/90  
ST JOHNS COLL. OXF.  
MI6 (P. 348 "CLOAK AND GOWN" ROBIN WINKS, COLLINS 1988)  
34-76 LECTURER IN CLASSICS ST JOHNS COLL.  
39-45 'DEPARTMENT OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE': SECTION V  
(ITALIAN DESK) LIAISON WITH JAMES ANGLETON ALSO GCHQ  
46-53 DELEGATION OXFORD UNI. PRESS  
51-52 VISITING MEMBER INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY PRINCETON UNI  
N.J.  
55-74 SEC. TO DELGATS OXFORD UNI. PRESS

**ROBERTSON, DOUGLAS**

GCHQ  
1975 SENIOR ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER LITTLE SAI WAN GCHQ

**ROSE, (EDWARD) MICHAEL**

CMG (1955)  
B. 18/10/13  
ST. JOHNS COLL. CAMB.  
NATIONAL LIBERAL  
MI6 (C)  
1937 DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

40 OSLO  
44 ALGIERS  
45-48 COPENHAGEN  
48-52 FO  
52-55 DEPUTY TO GOC BRITISH SECTOR BERLIN (BERLIN STATION)  
55-60 COUNSELLOR FO  
58-59 FELLOW CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS HARVARD UNI.  
60-63 MINISTER BONN  
63-65 AMBASSADOR LEOPOLDVILLE  
65-67 ASSISTANT UNDER-SEC. FO  
67 DEPUTY SEC. CABINET OFFICE  
68 RETIRED  
69- PRESIDENT EAST AFRICA AND MAURITIUS ASSOCIATION

**SANDIN, TED**

MI5/MI6 (C)

1981 DIRECTOR VISUAL AIDS LTD. CLOSE LINKS WITH BRITISH INTELLIGENCE (PANORAMA, BBC, 29/2/81)

**SCOTT-KILVERT, IAN**

OBE

B. 1906 D. 8/10/89

CAMB. UNI.

1939 FRIENDS AMBULANCE UNIT  
40 INTELLIGENCE CORPS. CAIRO  
41-45 SPECIAL OPERATIONS EXECUTIVE  
44 GREECE  
45 BRITISH INFO. SERVICE ATHENS  
46- BRITISH COUNCIL  
62-67 HEAD OF PUBLICATIONS DEPT.  
77 RETIRED: COUNCIL ANGLO-HELLENIC SOCIETY, EUROPEAN-ATLANTIC GROUP

**SHARP, PAUL JOHN GIBSON**

B. 24/9/48

1967 FCO  
75 NEW DELHI  
76 FCO  
78 ROME  
81 FCO, ATTACHE ANKARA  
85 FCO  
87 ATTACHE MOSCOW  
89 3RD SEC. PRAGUE \* EXPELLED (T. 22/5/89)

**SIBLEY, ROGER**

MI6 (C)

LATE 1970s/EARLY 1980s FCO

**SLEVIN, BRIAN**

MI5 (C)

74-79 COMMISSIONER OF POLICE HONG KONG  
-79 APPLIED TO JOIN MI5 (SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST 6/8/78)

**SOUTHGATE, SQUADRON LEADER MAURICE**

DSO (1945)

B. 1913 D. MARCH 1990

1939 RAF  
40 FRANCE SPECIAL OPERATIONS EXECUTIVE  
43 FRANCE  
44 POW BUCHENWALD  
45- FRANCE FURNITURE TRADE

**SPEARES, DENIS JAMES**

B. 27/9/72 D. 1970s

PEMBROKE COLL. OXF.

TRAVELLERS

48-51 FO  
51-53 BONN  
53-58 FO  
58-60 TEHRAN  
60-63 WASHINGTON  
63-64 FO  
64-65 NICOSIA DIRECTOR OF BRITISH INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES CYPRUS  
(P.331 LORD CARVER "OUT OF STEP" HUTCHINSON 1989)  
68-70 HEAD OF N.AFRICAN DEPT. FCO

\$ **STARK, FREYA**

1947 MARRIED STEWART PEROWNE

**STARR, C.V.**

MI6 (P.149 ROGER FALIGOT "THE CHINESE SECRET SERVICE" HEADLINE  
1989)  
1930s INSURANCE MAGNATE CHINA

\$ **STEWART, BRIAN**

MI6 (P.129 NIGEL WEST "GAMES OF INTELLIGENCE" WEIDENFELD & NICOLSON  
1989)

**STEPHENS, ANTHONY WILLIAM**

B. 9/1/30

48-50 ROYAL MARINES  
53-63 COLONIAL ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE, DISTRICT OFFICER KENYA  
-64 HOME CIVIL SERVICE  
64-70 PRINCIPAL MINISTRY OF DEFENCE  
70-71 ASSISTANT PRIVATE SEC. SEC. OF STATE FOR DEFENCE  
-71 ASSISTANT SEC. MOD  
74-76 CHIEF OFFICER SOVEREIGN BASE AREA CYPRUS  
76-79 UNDER-SEC. NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE  
79-84 ASSISTANT UNDER-SEC. MOD  
-85 DEPUTY SEC. N.IRELAND OFFICE (NOT LISTED IN CIVIL SERVICE  
YEARBOOKS)

**SUFFOLK, EARL (20TH) CHARLES H. G. HOWARD**

B. 2/3/06 D. 12/5/41 (KILLED IN ACTION)

CARLTON

MI6 (P.87 ARNOLD KRAMISH "THE GRIFFIN" MACMILLAN 1986)

1930s 2ND LT. SCOTS GUARDS

40 SCIENCE ATTACHE (COVER POST) PARIS, SCIENTIST

**SYKES, WILLIAM**

1950-60'S NEAR AND FAR EAST NEWS AGENCY, WORLD FEATURE SERVICES INDIA

**TATHAM, DAVID EVERARD**

B. 28/6/39

MI6 (REPUBLICAN NEWS 27/1/83)

1960 FO  
62 3RD SEC. NEW YORK  
63 FO. VICE-CONSUL MILAN  
66 2ND SEC FO  
67 MECAS  
69 2ND LATER 1ST SEC. JEDDAH  
71 FCO  
74 1ST SEC. (HOC) MUSCAT  
77 1ST SEC. FCO  
80 NATO DEFENCE COLLEGE  
81- COUNSELLOR (CHIEF OF STATION) DUBLIN

**TATHAM, DERICK**

GCHQ  
1959 QUALIFIED AS CHARTERED ENGINEER  
64-78 COMPUTER AND TELECOMS ENGINEER CHELTENHAM GCHQ  
78-84 CENTRAL COMPUTER AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS AGENCY.  
RESPONSIBLE FOR RUNNING GOVERNMENT TELECOMMUNICATIONS  
NETWORK  
(GTN). HEAD OF CCTA ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY DIVISION  
85- TECHNICAL DIRECTOR OFTEL

**TERRITT, CHRISTOPHER**  
CIVIL ENGINEER  
1982 INVOLVED IN ARMS SALES TO IRAN AND IRAQ

\$ **TERRY, ANTHONY**  
MC  
B. 1914  
21-27 BERLIN  
40 INTELLIGENCE CORPS.  
40-42 (CAPT.) ATTACHED POW INTERROGATION SECTION WAR OFFICE  
42 INTELLIGENCE OFFICER COMMAND FORCES/POW  
45-47 (MAJOR) INTERROGATION SECTION WAR OFFICE  
47-49 FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT MERCURY NEWS SERVICE, SUNDAY TIMES  
VIENNA,  
'CONTINUED WITH PART-TIME INTELLIGENCE WORK' - TERRY  
STATEMENT 9/6/89.

**THOMPSON, C.V.R**  
39-45 USED BY BRITISH SECURITY CO-ORDINATION THROUGH OVERSEAS  
NEWS AGENCY  
(FRONT) TO PLANT 'SIBS' (P.86 "SHADOW WARRIORS" BRADLEY F.  
SMITH. 1983)

**THOMPSON, JOHN**  
MI5 (P.183 ROGER FALIGOT "LA PISCINE" BASIL BLACKWELL 1989)  
1961-63 DIRECTED REGIONAL LIAISON OFFICE KENYA

**THORN, A.B.**  
IRD  
1951 ASSISTANT IRD

**TODD, DAMIAN RODERIC**  
B. 29/8/59  
1980 FCO  
81 3RD LATER 2ND SEC. CAPETOWN/PRETORIA  
84 2ND SEC. FCO  
89 1ST SEC. PRAGUE \* EXPELLED (I. 27/5/89)

**TRESILLIAN, ROBERT**  
MI6 (C)  
1985 PROJECT ARROW (INVOLVED IN INVESTIGATION OF ILLEGAL SALES OF  
COMPUTERS TO USSR)

**TURNER, JOHN**  
MI6 (P.160 ARNOLD KRAMISH "THE GRIFFIN" MACMILLAN 1986)  
1940 DEPUTY TO 'ERIC' WELSH  
43 STOCKHOLM LIAISON WITH NORWEIGEN XU

**VILLIERS, SIR CHARLES (HYDE)**  
KT (1975) MC (45)  
B. 14/8/12  
NEW COLL. OXF.  
1936 GRENADIER GUARDS  
40 DUNKIRK ARMY INTELLIGENCE  
43-45 SPECIAL OPERATIONS EXECUTIVE LONDON AND ITALY



44 YUGOSLAVIA AND AUSTRIA  
45 LT-COL. 6 SPECIAL STAFF SECTION KLAGENFURT  
48 MAN. DIR. HELBERT WAGG  
60-68 MD J. HENRY SCHRODER WAGG  
71-76 CHMN. GUINNESS MAHON  
76 CHMN. BRITISH STEEL CORP. LOADS OF DIRECTORSHIPS AND  
COMMITTEES

**WELSH**, LT-COMM. FREDERICK B. 'ERIC'  
B. 31/8/1897 D. 22/11/54  
MI6 (P.91 ARNOLD KRAMISH "THE GRIFFIN" MACMILLAN 1986))  
14-18 ROYAL NAVY NAVAL INTELLIGENCE  
-18 HOLLAND  
-19 NORWAY. INTERNATIONAL PAINTS AND COMPOSITIONS LTD.  
-39 ENGLAND NAVAL INTELLIGENCE  
-41 NORWEIGIAN SECTION MI6: WORKED ON ATTEMPTS TO FRUSTRATE  
NAZI DEVELOPMENT OF THE BOMB  
-45 RESPONSIBLE FOR ATOMIC INTELLIGENCE AND AQUISITION OF  
TECHNICAL INTELLIGENCE?  
-51 ATOMIC ENERGY DIRECTORATE OF THE MINISTRY OF SUPPLY

**WHITE**, SIR (VINCENT) GORDON (LINDSAY)  
KBE (1976)  
B. 11/5/23  
40-46 PARANAVAL SECTION, FLYING DUTIES SPECIAL OPERATIONS  
EXECUTIVE FORCE 136  
47-65 CHMN. WELBECSON LTD.  
65-73 DEPUTY CHMN. HANSON TRUST LTD.  
74- CHMN. HANSON INTERNATIONAL LTD.

**WINDLE**, COLIN  
WW2 SPECIAL OPERATIONS EXECUTIVE, DISSEMINATION OF  
BLACK PROPAGANDA FROM POLITICAL WARFARE SECTION

**WOODHEAD**, ANTHONY  
MI6 (C)  
1970s NORTHERN IRELAND, INTELLIGENCE: CONTROLLER OF HOWARD MARKS

**WORRALL**, MAJ. PHILIP  
1939 SOUTH WALES BORDERERS  
40 SPECIAL OPERATIONS EXECUTIVE  
43 FORCE 133 GREECE  
44 T FORCE FRANCE  
45 GERMANY

**YOUNG**, GAVIN  
OXFORD UNI.  
(ALLEGED TO HAVE BEEN RECRUITED BY OLDFIELD)  
1950s TWO YEARS WITH SHIPPING COMPANY IN BASRA; LIVED IN IRAQ AND  
ARABIA  
60- FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT THE OBSERVER, CORRESPONDENT PARIS AND  
NEW YORK

## **ELF: from Mind Control to Mind Wars**

Over the past six months I have been given a large (and still growing) pile of documents about extremely low frequency electromagnetic radiation, or ELF for short. This is not really *Lobster* territory, nor am I scientifically equipped to synthesise this material. However, this subject seems to me to be of major importance and I offer this sketch in the hope that some readers will be sufficiently interested to pursue it. I

suspect this is the biggest development in military technology since the splitting of the atom.

The idea that electromagnetic radiation is more harmful to humans than had been thought is now commonplace, if not yet accepted by the world's governments. I am writing this at a VDU, which gives off low-level radiation which has been linked to damage in foetuses, cancers and so forth. People and animals living under overhead power lines are affected by them. Much of this material was examined in a Channel 4 series, 'Opening Pandora's Box', first shown about 5 years ago, and repeated since. A great many taken-for-granted electrical devices give off low-level radiation which has hitherto been assumed to be harmless, but about whose actual environmental consequences we know almost nothing. And as you would expect, this 'damage potential' has become of interest to military researchers East and West. It is the military potential of this area which is scary.

**Item 1:** *Microwave News* (November/December 1989) carried this short report on p14.

"The KGB signal...Boris Yeltsin, the populist politician who swings in and out of favour in the Soviet Union, has told a reporter that the KGB has an ELF device that can stop a human heart from beating. In an interview with Radio Liberty, a U.S.-backed shortwave radio station in West Germany, Yeltsin said that KGB agents told him that they have a device which emits a powerful 7-11 Hz signal which can stop the heart. According to Yeltsin, the KGB agents said that "If emergency medical aid isn't close at hand, its all over.""

The radio interview was reported by the *Baltimore Sun* on October 20. The sources for this story do not give me confidence about its veracity. Radio Liberty is a CIA-funded propaganda station; and the *Baltimore Sun* has some kind of role in the Pinay Circle's disinformation operations. (See *Lobster* 18 p. 22, column 2) It is entirely possible that Boris Yeltsin gave no such interview, that we are dealing here with a classic disinformation operation. But this does not matter. Would it be less interesting to discover that some NATO disinformation source wants us to *believe* that the KGB has a killer ELF device? (*Microwave News*, incidentally, appears to be the one essential journal in this field.)

**Item 2:** Ex- *Newsweek* journalist, Larry Collins, published a novel in 1989, *Maze* (Grafton, London 1989), whose central theme is the *Soviet* (KGB) possession of 'mind machines', including ELF devices. The book is subtitled 'Today's thriller of tomorrow's mind war'.

**Item 3:** In the summer 1984 the women camped around the U.S. base at Greenham Common were surprised to find that the military and police personnel who had been facing them across the wire had disappeared. In the months that followed the women began to suffer a wide variety of ill-health, with symptoms including disruption of their menstrual cycles, panic, swollen tongues, bleeding gums, headaches, vertigo, burns (even at night) etc etc. These effects coincided with the appearance of new aerials on the base buildings. The women concluded that they were being 'zapped' with some kind of rays, the story made the British press briefly, then disappeared. (See *Guardian* March 10 '86.) Similar phenomena have more recently affected the women's peace camp at Seneca, in the United States. (The British woman who is coordinating

the research into this for the Greenham women has had both her car and her house shot at.)

**Item 4:** In 1983, a retired playwright and inspector for the *Good Food Guide*, Anthony Verney, and his wife, retired to a secluded cottage in Kent. They were subjected to months of electronic bombardment, some of which was audible, and has been recorded. (I have heard the tapes.) Both become seriously ill and Mrs Verney almost died. Their complaints produced no official action, but did trigger the rash of burglaries, letter opening and strange visits which plague people who become entangled with the British state. They moved out and sold their home. Eight years and 37 requests to the British state authorities for an inquiry later, nothing has been done.

**Item 5:** As I was finishing off *Lobster* 18 I received a visit from a man who had been shuttling round the London media trying to get them interested in ELF. He seemed to have been given the bum's rush all the way down the ladder to *Lobster*. He told me a very strange story about his persecution by the CIA using ELF devices. My scepticism was modified by knowing of Anthony Verney's experience, but I found it difficult to decide if my visitor was a genuine victim of something ghastly or a nut-case (or a mixture of both). Nonetheless he had a suitcase full of documents on ELF. A part of his story explains why the major media have so far been sniffy about this area. My visitor claimed he was talked to, telepathically, by the CIA (as well as being bombarded with the 'standard' range of illness-producing rays). 'Voices in the head', of course, is one of the classic symptoms of some kinds of mental illness. So my visitor was a nut? Would that things were so clear-cut. One of the things that some of the Greenham Common women reported was 'voices in the head'; and I have a 1976 US Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) report, 'Biological Effects of Electromagnetic Radiation' which notes (p. 2): 'The potential for the development of a number of antipersonnel applications is suggested by the research published in the USSR, East Europe and the West. Sounds and possibly even words which appear to be originating intracranially can be induced by signal modulation at very low average-power densities.'

**Item last:** There is a very good, reasonably accessible summary of this area, with notes on some of the literature, available in the United States. A paper called 'Remote Mind Control Technology' by Anna Keeler, has been published by *Full Disclosure*, Box 8275, Ann Arbor, Mi 48107, USA. Don't write to me, write to them.

## Conspiracy, Conspiracy Theories and Conspiracy Research

**Robin Ramsay**

'The unexpected and dramatic death of the famous, whether statesmen like John F Kennedy, or media stars like Marilyn Monroe, invariably give rise to conspiracy theories.'

Thus Cambridge historian, Christopher Andrew, during his disgraceful hatchet job on Hugh Thomas' books about Rudolph Hess for BBC2 's Timewatch series. (Discussed in *Lobster* 20) Like most of his comments on that programme, this just isn't true. Most

media stars who die 'unexpectedly and dramatically' do so without conspiracy theories. Kenneth Anger's *Hollywood Babylon* is a long catalogue of such deaths, few of which have attracted conspiracy theories. The Andrew piece, I guess, was supposed to discredit Hugh Thomas in the way intended by the *Independent* attack on Wallace and Holroyd. Alas for Andrew's chums in the British state, as with the Wallace/Holroyd case, too many people know enough about the case for this to work in the long run. In any case, it was a shoddy, incompetent hatchet job, nowhere as good as the McKittrick/Ware assault in the *Independent*. When we spoke after watching Timewatch, Steve Dorril and I both saw the same analogy: the Hess affair now had its Warren Commission. (Alternatively, if anyone doubted that there was something substantial at the back of the Hess/'Hess' story, Andrew's assault on it should have removed those doubts.)

It says much about Andrew's ignorance of the history of the Kennedy assassination and the demolition of the Warren Commission Report that he should offer that, of all things, as an example of what he called this 'incurably tendency' of people -- he means ordinary, non-academic people, presumably -- to construct conspiracy theories. Andrew appears to be among the tiny minority of people -- spooks, state propagandists and the seriously naive -- who still believe the 'lone assassin' story. For my part, I was grateful for Andrew's asinine comments, for ever since the reappearance of the 'Skeleton Key to the Gemstone File' in both *Black Flag* (August 15 '88) and *Cut* (April and May '88), I had been meaning to write a piece about conspiracy theory, conspiracy theorists and 'the conspiracy theory of history'. Andrew's display of the prejudices of the average conservative-minded academic, spurred me to get on with it.

## **Gemstone**

With its sweeping allegations about the world-wide power of Aristotle Onassis -- who allegedly killed Howard Hughes, John F. Kennedy, ran the Mafia, controlled the American elections etc. etc. -- The Skeleton Key to the Gemstone File (just called The Gemstone File usually) is an interesting contemporary version of the classic conspiracy theory. As part of Gemstone's continuing appeal seems to be the mystery surrounding it, let me first digress into a short history of Gemstone.

Gemstone first appeared in the UK in 1976 in typewritten, photocopy form, attributed to 'The Jesse James Press, New York and London'. A copy reached Hull (I have heard of copies as far away as the Sudan) with the instruction that the reader should copy it and pass it on. This I duly did. Gemstone was subsequently (1977) reproduced in the now defunct *International Times*. Another London 'underground' magazine, *The Fanatic*, reprinted the same version in 1977 or 78: I can no longer remember which and there is no date on my copy. Knowing nothing at all about this area at the time -- I can still remember trying to find out what the World Bank was -- Gemstone fascinated me. But when I went into the library and started checking it out, I discovered it was mostly fantasy, and rebutted Gemstone's central claims in *International Times* (Vol 4 No 11, 1978). But, en route, I had found out some things about it.

The Gemstone File began as a set of letters from the author, Bruce Roberts, to his mother, copies of which were given to the recently deceased American conspiracy theorist and researcher, Mae Brussel, at the end of 1972, just as Watergate was flickering into life. In 1977 Brussel described Roberts' letters to a friend of mine as 'repetitious, giberous, libelous and unsubstantiated'; which, coming from Mae Brussel, for whom almost anything was possible, was quite a put-down. Indeed, Brussel had

Roberts' letters for five years before deeming them worthy of mention on her radio programme, 'Dialogue Conspiracy'; and then, while repeating Roberts' central claims, she was critical of them. What appeared in this country in 1976 as 'The Skeleton Key to the Gemstone Files' is a précis of Roberts' allegations done by Brussel's colleague at the time, Stephanie Caruana, with whom she was working on a piece about Howard Hughes destined for *Playgirl*. (1) There are no 'files'; nor are there the '1000 pages' referred to in the Key's introduction. According to Brussel, 300 is more like it. About Gemstone author Roberts there are merely rumours: that he died in 1977, of a brain tumour, claiming, like Jack Ruby, that he had been seeded with cancer cells; (2) that he worked for OSS during the war; (3) that he had been a student at the University of Wisconsin. None of this has been checked as far as I know, for the simple reason that no conspiracy researcher has thought Gemstone (or its author) worth taking seriously. (4)

As well as the original Caruana précis, Gemstone has appeared in the *Boston Globe* (August 12, 1980), a version taken from one put out in book form (though it would be a very thin book) by 'Fighting Tigers', a subsidiary of the CIA front company, Air America. This version contained material added to the original 1976 version. Gemstone also appeared in the American porno mag, the *Hustler*, in 1979, presented as 'the solution' to the Kennedy assassination. Since then the American researcher Ace Hayes has found two other versions, little pamphlet editions in the U.S.. Such pamphlets have been in circulation in London more or less continuously since 1977. (I have seen them several times in the basement of Compendium Bookshop in London.) Entering into the spirit of the thing, Ace Hayes amalgamated these different versions to produce a new synthesis -- giving four, perhaps five versions in all. Authorless, drifting around the fringes of our culture, Gemstone has become a wonderful disinformation vehicle, available to anyone to add to, modify, reprint, recirculate. The last version I saw was still about 95% Roberts, but I expect that one day, years hence, a version will appear in which Roberts' original allegations have all but disappeared.

'Conspiracy theorists tend to construct imaginary conspiracies both more complex and better concealed than any real conspiracy ever was.'

Christopher Andrew again. Are we supposed to take this seriously? Andrews can't even know the sum total of all conspiracies that have been revealed (or even, I would suspect, even those printed in England in the past year: does he read *Lobster*, for example?), let alone all undiscovered conspiracies. This is nonsense. As evidence for this thesis, Andrew used a tiny fraction of Hugh Thomas' ideas about Hess/'Hess'. But Thomas' material is no 'more complex and better concealed' than, say, the conspiracy to convict the Guildford 4 (and the later, and more ramified conspiracy to defend the convictions), the state's campaign to discredit Colin Wallace, or the suppression of the Kincora story. The latter, alone, would take much of an issue of *Lobster*, just to describe. Andrews' proposition just is not true. Let's be generous: Andrew hasn't read the material and literally does not know whereof he is speaking. (And whereof he should have stayed silent.) What Andrew said is guff, nothing more than 'yah boo, conspiracy theory' -- if an explanation of events proposes a conspiracy, it is likely to be crap, because conspiracy theories are crap.

Steve Dorril and I ran into this view on our first trip to the Big Nowhere to talk to the higher media about the Wallace-Wilson material. In late '86, just before Wallace got out of prison, we were invited to see some people at BBC's Newsnight. We had been told by Wallace that among the visitors to his unit, Information Policy, in Northern

Ireland, had been Alan Protheroe, who in 1986 was Assistant Director General of the BBC. Nicknamed 'the Colonel' in the BBC, Protheroe was, and may still be, a part-time soldier/intelligence officer, specialising in military-media relations. That the Assistant Director General of the BBC should be a state-employed psy-war specialist in his spare-time, with all that implies about contacts with the British military-intelligence complex, seems not to have bothered BBC journalists at the time.

But unlike the journalists we had been talking to up to that point, Protheroe knew who Wallace was and what the Inf Pol unit had been doing. To Newsnight we said something like 'Protheroe's a spook; you'll have to watch him.' (We were already interested in him because of his actions during the BBC's handling of the Pencourt investigation a decade earlier.) 'Really,' said the BBC people we were talking to, 'it isn't like that in the BBC', and dismissed what we had said. Subsequently, our Newsnight journalists interviewed Wallace the day he came out of prison and then had their piece yanked out of a programme at the very last minute. We subsequently heard that Protheroe had indeed blocked the Wallace interview, but when asked, BBC denied that they had ever interviewed Wallace. (Paul Foot has seen a bootleg of the film-which-didn't-exist.) Protheroe's action was confirmed four months later in the *Sunday Times* (5th April '87), and has been confirmed more recently by a senior Newsnight staffer who has now left the BBC. (When the Wallace story reappeared again at the end of January this year, the BBC used some of that 'non-existent' Newsnight footage to illustrate various news items about Wallace.)

What is interesting in retrospect is not that Wallace was right and telling the truth -- so far Wallace has always told the truth, to my knowledge, though perhaps not all of the truth all at once, for tactical reasons -- but the way the Newsnight people reacted to our suggestion about one of their bosses. Their response was comical, really. It was then only just over a year since there had been several weeks of intense media interest in the revelation that the BBC actually had its own in-house MI5 office vetting BBC employees (still there, as far as I know) -- *prima facie* evidence that, *au contraire*, the BBC was exactly 'like that' on occasions. Newsnight didn't say 'Protheroe isn't a spook'; or, 'We'll check it out'; nor even 'It sounds unlikely to us, but we'll bear that in mind', all of which would have been rational responses. Instead they dismissed what we had said because we were perceived to be offering them something from that most disreputable of categories, conspiracy theory.

But we had merely suggested three propositions;

1. Protheroe is a part-time spook.
2. *Qua* part-time spook, he knows what Wallace and Information Policy were doing.
3. Therefore, in our view, it is probable that he will try to block transmission of Wallace's allegations.

Yet somehow these elementary and reasonable propositions triggered the 'Oh dear, we're dealing with conspiracy nutters' response, which turned their brains off.

I was reminded of this episode on hearing Roy Hattersley MP prefacing a reply on the BBC programme Any Questions with, 'I'm not a believer in the conspiracy theory of politics but.....'. I think that is the first time I've come across that particular expression, 'the conspiracy theory of politics'. Usually people refer to 'the conspiracy theory of history' before introducing their 'but', and the particular conspiracy they have in mind.

In intellectually respectable company it is necessary to preface any reference to actual political, economic, military or paramilitary conspiracies with the disclaimer that the speaker 'doesn't believe in the conspiracy theory of history (or politics)'. What is it about conspiracy which makes our 'chattering classes' so nervous? It can hardly be disputed that at any time there are an infinite number of conspiracies, from the very small to the gigantic, going on in every industrialised society. Political parties always contain conspiracies at every level. As I was writing this it was announced that the Labour Party is going to examine the influence of an entryist Trotskyist group called Socialist Action, previously Socialist Organiser (known to some Trot watchers as the 'Soggy Oggies'). Routine internal party politics is very largely conspiratorial, a network of interlocking cabals plotting how to get their hands on this or that committee, group, district, meeting. The 'pre-meeting meeting', the group caucus, are routine parts of ordinary politics. It is only a slight exaggeration to say, as Carl Oglesby did, that conspiracy *is* normal politics. Yet this produces feelings of everything from outrage to the patronising shake of the head in almost all political circles in this country. Among 'the chattering classes' political sophistication demands the ritual trashing of the conspiracy theorist. Dismissing our suggestion about Protheroe, the Newsnight journalists were offering as subtext, 'You guys from up North don't understand how a complex organisation like the BBC works. Simplistic monocausal explanations, like "Protheroe is a spook" don't work in complex processes like the production of televised current affairs.' And also, perhaps, something like 'the BBC is a great institution, and it is above things like this' -- the BBC's idea of itself as objective and 'balanced'.

Not that the hostility to conspiracy theories is totally stupid. There are a great many dumb conspiracy theories. The Gemstone File is one such. Faced with the complexity of human events, some people retreat into fantasy. The central features of the classic conspiracy theory are: (a) a disregard for evidence in the pursuit of (b), the explanation of complexity - anything from the whole of world history downwards - by simple causes, usually the concerted, conscious actions of small, or smallish, groups of men (almost always men). Favourites have been the Jews, Masons, and the Communist Party; with minor places for Catholics, aliens from another planet, the British Royal Family, and internationalist groupings like The Round Table, Trilateral Commission and Bilderberg Group. In Gemstone the traditional evil group has been further rendered down, to just one man. It is fantasies like these which are properly 'the conspiracy theory of history'.

## **Classic conspiracy theories**

Of course the proponents of the classic conspiracy theories, the John Birch Society, Gary Allen, Lyndon LaRouche, Nesta Webster *et al* have got it wrong: but not because of their assumption that small(ish) groups of people have had an influence on history. That is an unexceptional assumption: think of Lenin and his group. (Or the City of London.) It is false information and poor or non-existent attention to basic rules of evidence and inference, which discredit the classic conspiracy theory.

- For example, it may be true -- I have never tried to check this -- that some Wall Street money ended up indirectly funding the Bolshevik revolution (Gary Allen, John Birch and other American right-wingers). Both the British and smaller U.S. money markets had poured a lot of money into investments in Russia in the 30 years before the Bolshevik coup. It would hardly be a surprise to find all the major money-lenders of Europe, a few of whom were Jews, in

there, as well. When the German state funded Lenin's group in the hope that they would take Russia out of the war, it is not inconceivable that the funds originally came from, say, loans made by U.S. capitalists. But many of the Americans who find this important, not only don't bother to check this factoid before recycling it, they further conclude, without evidence, that Wall St. was a bunch of Reds (or Jews; or Jewish Reds).

- For example, it may be true that Masons had a part to play in both the American and French revolutions (Nesta Webster). There is now what appears to be substantial evidence for both propositions. But Miss Webster didn't actually offer much in her books, and this tells us nothing about the power of the Masons today -- or in the 1920s, for that matter, in Webster's heyday.
- For example, it clearly is true that the ramified Anglo-American network centred round the twin axes of the Royal Institute of International Affairs/Chatham House in England, and the Council on Foreign Relations in America, has had a considerable influence in shaping British and American foreign policy, especially before World War 2. This is demonstrably true with or without Carroll Quigley's claims about the Round Table. But this does not in any way substantiate the absurd fantasies of the La Rouché organisation, which has incorporated Quigley *et al* into an absurd (if entertaining) fantasy in which the UK controls America, the British Royal Family runs the world's drug traffic, organised the assassination of John Kennedy etc etc.

The stances of the Hattersleys and Newsnights of this world rest upon two false assumptions. The first is the juxtaposition of the complexity of social/political processes and the *presumed* simplicity of any explanation of events which has a conspiracy in it. This is false because, with the exception of small minorities on the far-right who espouse something like the Nesta Webster single conspiracy theory, nobody is actually suggesting that social/political events can be explained by single conspiracies. The kind of work that we attempt, and that the masters -- like Peter Dale Scott and Noam Chomsky -- produce is an attempted elaboration of the actual complexity of real political/social events. What might be called conspiracy research -- or parapolitics -- makes things more, not less, complex than the version served up by the respectable political classes.

The second false assumption is that there is always an either/or choice, either conspiracy or cock-up. In fact, the real world is usually a complicated mixture of both. The Watergate affair, for example, contained a number of core conspiracies which were overlaid with the consequences of human error -- e.g. Nixon's White House recording system. The denouncing of 'the conspiracy theory of history/politics' so commonplace among our respectable higher media, academics and politicians, is rarely more than the ritual thrashing of a straw-man almost entirely of their own construction.

Consider the different approaches to an account of the career of Roy Hattersley. Hattersley is nowadays presented as one of the inheritors of the 'reasonable' or 'moderate' wing of the Labour Party. In another sense, Hattersley is also one of the present day standard bearers of the Gaitskellite wing of the party. The orthodox view of that tendency within the party would be something along the lines that here were a group of people (mostly men) who worked together as a grouping within the Labour Party because they shared similar views. They were anti-communist, pro- NATO and so forth. The parapolitics perspective, the conspiracy perspective if you will, says 'Yes, that's obviously true as far as it goes; and might even be most of the story, but what



about, for example:

- the links between some of the Gaitskellites and the CIA-sponsored Congress for Cultural Freedom;
- the links between Gaitskell and Joe Godson, the US Labour Attaché in Britain in the 50's;
- the source of the money for the Gaitskellites' Campaign for Democratic Socialism?

The respectable 'chattering classes' in this country reject this kind of approach

- a. because it conflicts with the model, the ideology, taught to them at British (and American) universities;
- b. because they are usually unaware of the existence of alternative models and sources of information; and
- c. even if they are aware of such alternatives, they ignore them because careers in British (or American) intellectual life are not aided by being identified with radical/deviant outlooks.

The intellectually respectable but irrational orthodoxy of our ruling intellectual elites goes under the heading of 'pluralism', if it has one at all. But 'pluralism' is virtually empty, merely stating the obvious: there are many groups in society who all have some power. The interesting questions begin where pluralism stops. 'Pluralist' analysts in British universities are still wrestling with the discovery (sic) of 'interest groups' and 'pressure groups'.

The parapolitical perspective, on the other hand, the conspiracy perspective, takes for granted that there are likely to be hidden influences at work because there is a mountain of historical evidence which shows hidden influences at work: not giant world-conquering conspiracies by the Masons or some such nonsense, but more mundane things like intelligence agencies tinkering with the political process, faking reality in the media etc.. It became absurd to deny the existence of large-scale conspiracies, of powerful 'hidden forces', the day the CIA (or the Politburo, or MI6) was begun. The interesting questions, the rational questions are not 'Are there such things as hidden influences in political/social life?'; but, 'Given that there are such things, where are they? Whose are they? How important are they? How can we tell the real from the fantasy? And, perhaps, how can we expose them?' Simple empirical observation says conspiracy is a very common form of political behaviour. The mysterious thing is not that some poor deluded fools insist on seeing conspiracies (Andrew's view), but how it is that for so long so many otherwise apparently intelligent people -- for example most of Anglo-American political and social science -- have managed not to notice that conspiracy is an everyday, and rather important part of the phenomena they claim to be examining. For example, although the Economic League has been collecting and spending hundreds of thousands of pounds every year in work against the British left since the 1920s, there was not a single academic essay about it between its formation and 1980. Yet in its history it must have spent nearly as much as the Conservative Party. No account of British domestic political history in the 20th century can be anything but incomplete without incorporating the Economic League. Yet I have never seen one that does.

Andrew said on the Timewatch programme that conspiracy theories survive because it is tedious falsifying them. In fact, the classic conspiracy theory collapses at the

slightest investigation. The truth is that so fierce is the prejudice against anything which resembles a conspiracy, academics never bother at all. Accounts of contemporary American political history will continue to be written without bothering to mention that in a five year period one President, one probable President, and the most important black leader since the war, were victims of assassinations which were never investigated properly and have still to be solved. The contempt for simple empiricism which characterises the classic conspiracy theories is mirrored perfectly in most academics' refusal to distinguish between conspiracy theories and conspiracy research.

### **Little glimmers of light**

But there are little glimmers of light. There is a perceptible increase in understanding of, and interest in, the actual actions and weight of conspiratorial groups in our society and history. Look at the recent media interest in the Masons, for example. There is even now a growing academic study in Britain of the intelligence services - albeit one which, with one or two exceptions, notably Bernard Porter, is still clinging to the apron strings of the spooks' definition of reality. (For an example of Porter's thoughts on 'conspiracies', see *Guardian* 10 February '90.) But paradoxically, as the subject expands it also gets more difficult to make that initial discrimination between the possibly true and worth looking at, and the fantastic. Some time ago I met someone who believed that derogatory information about him was being inserted into novels and radio programmes. He pointed out paragraphs which seemed to him to be aimed at him. The evidence was not convincing. 'How is the material fed out to the writers?', I asked. 'That's obvious', he replied, 'through the publishers' secret society.' But of this society there was not a shred of evidence, I pointed out. In any case, he was manifesting all kinds of other symptoms of paranoia: all phone calls were taped, he thought his house was bugged etc.. It was text-book paranoia. I concluded my visit by telling him that I thought he was crazy and should see a psychiatrist. Some months later he sent me a photocopy of an article from the *Bookseller* of 19th August 1988, 'A touch of the leather aprons', by Christopher Hurst -- the first expose of the publishers' secret society, precisely as described by my 'paranoid'. I wrote back, thanking him for the article, acknowledged that it was one for him, and repeated that I still didn't believe his story. Later I mentioned the idea that the spooks fed material into novels to Fred Holroyd, and, to my surprise, he told me that one of Britain's leading spy fiction writers had cheerfully confirmed that the spooks did indeed send him material they wanted planting in his books.

The perceptible increase in this country of interest in conspiracies is difficult to explain. Is it the result of the slow break-up of the English ruling elite and a related break-down in their control over the information suly and the machinery of ideology? Is it a consequence of the information explosion? The declining significance of Marxist theory providing the intellectual space for the 'naive' empiricism of parapolitics?

As a concept 'conspiracy' would be of little interest or (explanatory) value were it not for the defensive refusal of our 'chattering classes' to acknowledge its legitimacy. We can only look forward to the day the term has lost the connotations it has at the moment and rationality finally prevails. Meanwhile, with our eyes and ears open, we just have to get on with trying to understand the nature of political and historical reality.

## Notes

1. Mae Brussel was a brave, resourceful woman, whose initial writing, in *The Realist*, was astonishing for the time. But she became a victim of information overload, getting so much material, and keeping a broad focus on things, that she lost the ability to sort out the crap. When Dave Guthrie and I first got a copy of her taped radio programme on the Gemstone file, we were really interested. Dave rang her up and, in the course of the conversation, referred to 'the big picture' -- meaning, the overall picture, rather than the details. Lo and behold, some weeks later, Mae tells her listeners out there in Carmel California, that they are making a 'big picture' in England and she's going to be in it.
2. Information from Harry Irwin, erstwhile editor of the UK's solitary newsletter on the JFK assassination, now defunct, in a letter to the author.
3. But the various books on OSS do not mention him, though this in itself tells us nothing. He may have just been a minor member and OSS was a very large organisation by the end of the war.
4. *Black Flag* described the reportedly dead Roberts as 'an investigative reporter who is yet to publish his findings which he refers to as the 'Gemstone File'. This is nonsense.

## Wallace etc

### IRD, home and away

The creation of the Information Policy unit in HQ Northern Ireland in 1971 may have been the last occasion on which the classic IRD psy-war operation was created. Evidence of previous examples is hard to find, but skimming through Charles Foley's *Legacy of Strife: Cyprus from rebellion to civil war* (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1964) recently I noticed this section on p104:

'No effort was spared by the Secretariat to win over the foreign press with titillating stories. Sometimes, for the benefit of American correspondents, "captured documents" which they were not allowed to see confirmed that EOKA was modelled on communist lines and that an increasing number of young Communists were joining it. The official introduction of sex into the Cyprus problem was another product of this period. Reporters were invited to 'Operation Tea-Party' in the Central News room and offered libations of everything but tea together with a handout declaring that schoolgirls had been "required to prostitute themselves with fellow-members of EOKA". A later pamphlet described the sexual relations of such girls with members of killer groups in one (unnamed) town, alleging that one of them had her first lover at the age of twelve.'

Though not identified as such, this would have been IRD; and the techniques (if that isn't too grand a word) on display in this paragraph were used by Information Policy unit.

## **'The Wallace Affair'**

The IRD officer who trained and directed the Information Policy unit for its first year and a bit, Hugh Mooney, and the erstwhile heads of Information Policy, Jeremy Railton and Maurice Tugwell, were tracked down and interviewed by Kevin Toolis. (*Correspondent* 18 March '90) Mooney confirmed some of Wallace's allegations -- notably that he *had* been agitating about Kincora while in Ireland -- and ran one of the disinformation lines, 'Wallace-as-rogue-elephant': 'Wallace was exceeding his authority.....leaking stuff to journalists he had no right to do....this "nutter" in press relations.'

Of Mooney, Maurice Tugwell said:

'Mooney had his own agenda. He reported to this extraordinary Foreign Office set-up that was run by Howard Smith, who later became head of MI5, in Belfast...It was the liaison office between the Foreign Office and the Northern Ireland situation. And whilst he (Mooney) kept the General Officer Commanding briefed he really reported to that office.'

This is important confirmation of one of the central *political* facts about Information Policy: it was perceived as partly an MI6 operation. Hence the hostility to Wallace shown by MI5 when it got overall control of the intelligence set-up in Northern Ireland.

## **Rubbishing Wallace**

Since what has now become 'the Wallace Affair' broke again at the end of January, all the major disinformation lines on Wallace seen previously have been rerun, though not with the same conviction as before.

- The 'rogue elephant' theme, recycled by Mooney, was launched, unnoticed, by Chapman Pincher in 1978, in *Inside Story*. 'In the psychological war against the IRA, the Army ran an 'Information Policy' operation in which false stories were foisted on newspapers to such an extent that an official was forced to leave for overdoing it.' (p.197)

Pincher forbears from telling his readers that he ran some of these stories. (See *Lobster* 16) This line reappeared, amidst a welter of other disinformation, in ITN journalist Desmond Hammil's book, *Pig in the Middle: the Army in Northern Ireland, 1969-1985* (Methuen, London, 1985 and 86).

'In 1971 it was decided that there should be an additional branch within the Army Press Office in Northern Ireland called Information Policy, which would be distinct and different from the Public Relations Department. Its formation was a part of the attempt to look for some political solution, and its main task would be to issue facts on Government policy and describe what the Army was trying to achieve. "What we ended up with," said a

senior officer some time later, "was a press officer who dabbled in things he should not have. He acted in the most astonishing way and I think it fair to say he was pursuing a sort of disinformation policy all of his own without checking with anyone! It was most unfortunate! He was removed!" (p. 173)

- The 'Walter Mitty' theme was run through the House of Commons by Tory MP's Anthony Nelson and Rupert Allason (*Hansard* 1 February '90 columns 459 and 460); and in print by the BBC's John Ware in the *Spectator* ('The Secret World of Walter Mitty' [sic] 24 March '90). In this astonishing article Ware repeats and expands slightly the snippets about Wallace's parachuting activities he published first in the *Independent* in 1987, and informs the reader that the rest of us (including the Press Council, which ruled for Wallace in his complaint against the *Independent* have been conned. This parachuting aspect of the 'Walter Mitty' theme -- Wallace wildly exaggerating his parachuting activities -- seems to have first appeared in June 1987, when the media got interested in Wallace the first time round. It was run into the Channel 4 News office by a former Information Policy colleague of Wallace's, via another ITN journalist. As part of the operation, records of Wallace's parachuting 'D' license disappeared from the British Parachute Association office. (A duplicate set was found by Paul Foot. See *Who Framed Colin Wallace?* pp. 265/6.) Of the journalists working on Wallace in 1987, only John Ware fell for this; and his continuing protestations about Wallace are muffled somewhat by the foot jammed in his mouth.
- A variation of the Ulster Citizens' Army smear (discussed in detail in *Lobster* 14) was recycled by Gerard Kemp, one of the journalists who had run it in December 1974. In the *Sunday Express* (4 February '90) Kemp and Anthony Smith reported (sic) 'a new 'dirty tricks' campaign, involving former Army intelligence officer, Colin Wallace, emerged yesterday.' Wallace "helped invent" the Ulster Citizens Army. (The rest of the smear, Ron Horn etc. is also retold.) This story began in 1974, was recycled in 1981 at the time of Wallace's conviction, (see *Lobster* 14) and again by Professor Paul Wilkinson in 1987 (see *Lobster* 16), for which he subsequently apologised

# **The Ultrationalist Right in Turkey and the Attempted Assassination of Pope John Paul II**

**Jeffrey M. Bale**

## **Introduction**

Like most dramatic and unsettling political events, the attempted assassination of Pope John Paul II by Turkish gunman Mehmet Ali Agca temporarily captured the imagination of the world's media and political pundits. Although the initial public outrage and concern generally faded once it became clear that the Pope would survive, certain individuals and groups have pursued the issue for a much longer period,

usually for political reasons. As a result, a considerable literature about the crime has already appeared, most of which has focussed on tracing its background, reconstructing its successive phases, and determining its ultimate sponsorship and purposes. Yet as of this writing no consensus has been reached about many of the elements in the unfolding plot. This is perhaps not surprising given its potentially explosive political ramifications; and indeed, these very ramifications have encouraged the type of politically-motivated speculation that has in the main only served to obscure the actual events behind layers of falsehood. Before these layers become too dense to penetrate, more serious research needs to be undertaken so that various contentious issues can be clarified and certain spurious claims can be exposed.

Among the major controversies that are still raging, two that have particular importance are the interrelated questions of Agca's organisational affiliations and motives for trying to kill the Pope. Since these are complicated subjects that cannot possibly be dealt with in their entirety here, (1) I will focus my attention on two narrower issues. Firstly, what elements in the Turkish extreme right was Agca affiliated with? (2) And secondly, could this affiliation in and of itself have provided him with a strong motive to try and murder the Pope? Although these particular questions are not terribly difficult to answer if one is familiar with the historical background of various Turkish political groupings and ideological currents, most of those who have sought to analyse 'the plot to kill the Pope' lack precisely this familiarity. (3) One result is that both those who accept and those who deny the possibility of an indigenous Turkish sponsorship of the papal assassination attempt have usually made fundamental interpretive errors, or, at the very least, oversimplified assessments. Although the purpose of this article is to rectify that situation by shedding more light on the political milieu Agca emerged from inside Turkey, it should be emphasised that although the argument will be made that this milieu provided him with both a motive *and* the wherewithal to shoot the Pope, this does not necessarily mean that indigenous Turkish forces were solely or even primarily responsible for it. Given the limitations of the currently available data pertaining to this event, it would be foolish to foreclose other possibilities or come to definitive conclusions about its ultimate sponsorship.

## **The existing literature**

Before turning to an analysis of these two issues, it is first necessary to provide an overview of both the existing literature and the major theories about the assassination plot. The literature on this topic is already extensive and continues to proliferate, but the bulk of it is highly problematic, albeit for diverse reasons. For simplicity's sake, it can be divided into three major categories, each of which mainly includes publications with clear rightist or leftist biases. However, these categories are not entirely discrete and it is often quite difficult to be certain just which category a given work falls into. (4)

The first such category is literature which is consciously produced and/or disseminated for propaganda purposes, often by people with direct or indirect links to the intelligence services of countries that are members of either NATO or the Warsaw Pact. These works, being designed primarily to manipulate public perceptions and thereby generate support for the adoption of certain desired policies, contain a considerable amount of disinformation and sometimes appear to constitute components of more extensive psychological operations. (5) This type of literature is by now quite common on both sides. On the Western side, (6) it includes the highly

influential books by Paul B. Henze (7) and Claire Sterling, (8) lesser known works by Vendelin Slugenov (9) and Giovanni Bensi, (10) and a host of articles and TV commentaries by other terrorism 'experts' like Alexandre de Marenches, (11) Michael A. Ledeen, (12) Ray S. Cline, (13) and probably Vittoriofranco N. Pisano. (14) Much of this material seems to reflect the interests of extreme right-wing factions within various Western intelligence agencies, not necessarily the views of those agencies as a whole. (15) On the Eastern side, one can cite a number of official Bulgarian and Soviet publications, (16) as well as those produced by pro-Soviet Western communists, whether or nor they are actually members of official communist parties or front groups. (17) To say that all of these works seem designed mainly to exploit propaganda themes is not to say that all of the information contained in them is false, since propaganda is most effective when it judiciously mixes truth and falsehood. (18) However, although there is some useful material in virtually all of these works, one should never accept them at face value or forget that they were produced for propagandist purposes.

The second major category consists of literature which naively or uncritically incorporates propaganda or disinformation themes, and thereby both obscures their sources and aids in their dissemination to a wider audience. This constitutes by far the largest category on the Western side, ranging from superficial journalistic treatments and commentaries to pseudo-scholarly articles. (19) On the Eastern side it is hard to tell just how extensive this category is, despite the exaggerated claims that are frequently made about the effectiveness of Soviet disinformation campaigns and other 'active measures'. (20) Although Soviet propaganda is certainly recycled in a large number of relatively orthodox far left publications, (21) it is often difficult to determine if this is done consciously by Soviet-controlled agents - which would place it within the first category - or unwittingly by communist sympathisers with an idealised view of the Soviet Union. Either way, such propaganda is rarely picked up by mainstream conservative and liberal publications in the West which, if anything, tend to gullibly accept and promote the propaganda lines of their *own* governments. (22) In any event, the literature in this category usually adds little in the way of new information and - like that in the first category - is generally produced by people who are clearly sympathetic to the cause of one side or another, who apply critical reasoning only to the arguments of the opposition, if they do so at all.

The third and final category, literature produced by researchers with relatively independent and critical minds, is unfortunately the smallest. On the right side of the political spectrum, only one article specifically dealing with the papal plot comes to mind, (23) although there are some fine academic studies of terrorism *per se* with a conservative or rightist bias. (24) On the left, this category is dominated by the work of Edward S. Herman and Frank Brodhead, the most recent of which is, despite some problems, the single most thorough and intelligent analysis of the subject to have appeared so far. (25) Here too can be found some excellent articles (26) and two important book-length studies by Turkish journalist Ugur Mumcu. (27) Also in this category are several fine articles by political moderates, especially Michael Dobbs of the *Washington Post*. (28) Predictably, this type of literature has often been studiously ignored or viciously smeared by the dogmatic partisans on both sides, and, as a result, the latter's widely disseminated propaganda and disinformation has generally had an impact disproportionate to its actual value.

## The major theories

The major theories that have been proffered concerning the alleged sponsorship of the 'plot to kill the Pope' are also three in number, although each can be found in somewhat different variants. In most cases, they grow logically out of the particular biases of their proponents, but, as I hope to demonstrate, only one of them is thoroughly based on reliable evidence. The first is the theory that the Soviet KGB, acting through a chain of intermediaries, including the surrogate Bulgarian KDS (later DS, Committee for State Security), a branch of the Turkish mafia headquartered in Sofia, and elements of an extreme *right-wing* Turkish paramilitary organisation, the Grey Wolves (Bozkurtlar), recruited Agca and arranged the assassination attempt. (29) The motive is ascribed to Politburo fears that Pope John Paul II, a Polish ex-cardinal named Karol Wojtya, would fuel popular opposition to the Soviet-backed regime in Poland, and perhaps also in other eastern European countries. (30) Proponents of this 'Bulgarian connection' differ about certain important details - e.g. the precise point at which Agca was supposedly recruited by East bloc intelligence (31) - but all agree that the Soviets had both a strong motive and the technical means to plan and direct such an operation. Although I don't think any fair-minded observer could legitimately quibble with these latter notions, (32) Soviet and Bulgarian writers have predictably denied it, (33) and even otherwise perceptive researchers have downplayed it. (34) The chief problem with this 'KGB plot' thesis is that almost all of the evidence is contaminated or otherwise unreliable, consisting of Agca's often fantastic and contradictory statements, (35) information intentionally 'leaked' by various unnamed intelligence sources that can neither be traced nor independently verified, (36) the problematic testimony of several Soviet bloc defectors, (37) and the many unsupported assertions and suppositions of intelligence-linked disinformationists. (38)

To these evidentiary problems must also be added others of a logical nature. First of all, would the Soviet leadership, however paranoid, be foolish enough to initiate an operation that millions of people - especially Poles - would automatically assume they were behind and would thus probably serve to catalyse the very unrest and opposition they hoped to defuse in eastern Europe? (39) More importantly, is it likely that the KGB and DS, professional intelligence organisations whose efficiency is usually touted by Western 'experts', (40) would *systematically* violate virtually all of the most elementary rules of trade-craft and agent-handling by, among other things,

- hiring an emotionally unstable person as a triggerman; (41)
- employing an unusually large number of support personnel (which could adversely affect the maintenance of secrecy); (42)
- bringing Agca to Sofia for sixty days and allowing him to stay at the highly-visible Hotel Vitosha; (43)
- sending him - a notorious Turkish assassin whose activities were well-known to Western police and security forces (44) - to several European countries for a lengthy stay prior to the actual assassination attempt; (45)
- and arranging for Bulgarian case officers to meet him personally (instead of through intermediaries) to plan the attack? (46)

Such a scenario cannot be completely ruled if one takes possible human errors into account, but all of these factors together make it seem rather implausible.

The second theory is a mirror image of the first, in that the alleged sponsor of the attack on the Pope was the CIA, acting through *its* intermediaries, which are variously



identified as one or more Western intelligence services and the networks of right-wing (including fascist) extremists in Turkey and Europe that they are said to control. (47) Among these purported intermediaries were the Turkish National intelligence Agency, MIT, (48) Alparslan Turkes' MHP (Nationalist Action (or Movement) Party) and its affiliated Bozkurt commandos (including Agca himself); (49) Licio Gelli's ultra-rightist Italo-Argentine Masonic lodge P2; (50) the secret 'Super S' faction within the Italian intelligence service SISMI; (51) certain European neo-fascist organisations, and fanatical Catholic 'integralist' circles (52); the West German BND, (53) the Israeli MOSSAD (54) and the Vatican's own intelligence agency; the NATO secret service, (55) and assorted reactionary politicians. This is a scenario that has been promoted almost exclusively by 'honourable correspondents' (media intelligence assets) from east Bloc countries and pro-communist authors in the West.

A number of distinct motives for this Western plot have been enumerated, some of which are rather fanciful, (56) but there is virtually unanimous agreement that one of its major purposes was to provide a pretext for launching a fresh propaganda campaign to discredit the Soviet Union and its allies and thereby prevent any thaw in the so-called 'New Cold War' being waged by the Reagan administration. (57) However, although the CIA has demonstrable links to most of the above-named organisations and some of its factions have indeed made post-facto covert efforts to attribute the attempted assassination to the KGB, (58) it seems rather unlikely that even the most hawkish American officials would sanction or embark upon such an extreme and risky measure in connection with John Paul II, a conservative on most religious and many political issues. (59) More importantly, even if the case for CIA sponsorship is arguably as compelling as that for KGB sponsorship, (60) the available evidence is by no means sufficient to support the thesis that Agca's attack on the Pope was orchestrated by US intelligence. (61)

The third and final theory is that the assassination attempt was actually what it initially appeared to be - the effort of a rather unstable and megalomaniacal Turkish ultra-rightist, with the help of some of his comrades and their criminal allies, to eliminate a figure that they perceived, not entirely without justification, to be the symbol of Western and Christian 'imperialism'. As I shall argue below, this interpretation is entirely consistent with both the ideological milieu from which Agca emerged in Turkey and the bulk of the reliable evidence concerning the plot. In addition to accepting the validity of this 'first conspiracy', one that was rooted in indigenous Turkish politics, I believe that said evidence also suggest that there was a 'second conspiracy' launched by rightist elements within various Western governments and intelligence services to pin the crime on the Bulgarians and Soviets by manipulating Agca's testimony, (62) although this will not be covered in any detail here.

A couple of final points need to be emphasised before turning to the question of Agca's organisational and ideological background. It is clear that the Bulgarians were at least indirectly involved in the crime by virtue of their facilitation of and participation in various arms and drug smuggling operations undertaken by the Sofia-based branch of the Turkish mafia, (63) and one should have no illusions about the so-called 'morality' or 'innocence' of the Soviets, who extensively and systematically employ similar types of dirty tricks. Secondly, *all* reconstructions should be regarded as tentative at this point, since they are bound to be affected as new information increasingly becomes available.

## **Agca's Political and Ideological Background**

Considering the overwhelming amount of evidence linking the young gunman to the Turkish extreme right, the controversy that has arisen about his affiliations and views would be inexplicable without the efforts of various influential polemicists and propagandists to obscure the issue. This is all the more unfortunate in that the initial media reports on Agca's background were reasonably accurate. Shortly after the assassination attempt in St. Peter's Square on 13 May 1981, it was reported in newspapers of record throughout the world that Mehmet Ali Agca was associated with the Turkish ultranationalist right, specifically the Bozkurt paramilitary terrorist organisation affiliated with the MHP.(64) Indeed, Agca was one of the most notorious right-wing terrorists in Turkey, since he had previously participated in the 1 February 1979 assassination of the highly-respected editor of the liberal daily *Milliyet*, Abdi Ipekci. Later, with the help of extreme rightists within the Turkish security forces, he had escaped from the maximum security Kartal-Maltepe military prison in late November of 1979, on the eve of the Pope's scheduled visit to Turkey. One day after his escape, he wrote a letter to *Milliyet* threatening to kill the 'Crusader Commander' (*Hacli Kumandani*) if this visit was not cancelled. He did not make good his threat at the time, but with the assistance provided by other Bozkurt comrades he eluded Turkish authorities, acquired financing and weapons, and eventually made his way to St. Peter's Square for the assassination attempt. In short, the information acquired shortly after the crime clearly revealed Agca's rightist political background and suggested his likely motives for shooting the Pope, and most of the additional details that have since been uncovered have tended to confirm these early assessments.

However, a number of Eastern and Western regimes had a vested political interest in exploiting the incident for propaganda purposes, so it was probably inevitable that these relatively cogent analyses would come under attack by disinformationists in both camps. (65) Within the Soviet Bloc, the fact that Agca had links to the Turkish far-right was eagerly seized upon, and it quickly led to the elaboration of the above-noted thesis of ultimate CIA sponsorship. On the Western side, the existence of these same links initially posed problems for the propagandists. However, their task was facilitated by a general public awareness that the Soviets were not favorably disposed towards Pope Wojtya, whom they perceived as a troublesome, reactionary meddler in internal eastern European and especially Polish affairs. (66) Agca himself provided further grist for the Western disinformation mills immediately after his arrest by admitting that he spent nearly two months in Bulgaria and claiming to have undergone training at a left-wing Palestinian guerrilla camp in Lebanon. (67) These two statements originally formed the *sole* basis of Western attempts to portray Agca as a Soviet bloc assassin, for it was not until May of 1982 - *after* he had apparently been pressured by members of the Camorra (an Italian 'mafia') and coached by Italian secret service agents in Ascoli Piceno prison - that he began to identify the Bulgarians as the sponsors of the attack on the Pope. (68) The 'Bulgarian connection' thesis has since been widely propagated in the non-communist media.

### **'a false flag operation?'**

But Western opinion-shapers were still faced with the difficulty of reconciling Agca's well-publicised status as a right-wing killer with the notion that he acted in the service of an orthodox pro-Soviet regime. The only way that this could be done was to portray Agca's attack on the Pope as a 'false flag' terrorist operation, i.e. one that was designed to look as though it had been committed by the other side. Although some pro-

communist commentators have disparaged this suggestion by falsely claiming that it would be 'unthinkable' for a socialist state to employ 'fascists', (69) this is a well-known operational technique that has regularly been employed by various Western and Eastern intelligence and security agencies. (70) Among the numerous Western examples that could be provided, one may mention the creation of pseudo Mau Mau 'counter gangs' controlled by the British army in Kenya, (71) the establishment of false 'national liberation' movements by the Portuguese secret police in Mozambique and elsewhere in Africa, (72) bombings in Cairo by an Israeli special operations unit (Unit 131) that were then attributed to anti-Western Egyptians, (73) the directing of a supposed 'Libyan' terrorist group - La Llamada de Jesucristo - by a French secret service agent, (74) the systematic utilisation of bogus and real left-wing organisations as a cover by Italian neo-fascist terrorists in the late 1960s and early 1970s, (75) and the apparent creation of an allegedly leftist terrorist organisation (GRAPO) by the Spanish intelligence agency. (76) The evidence is harder to come by for similar activities by communist bloc intelligence services, but one may note the sending of pro-Nazi literature (and, in one case, a bomb) to Western politicians and diplomats, purportedly from the nonexistent *Kampfverband fur Unabhangiges Deutschland* by Czech intelligence agents, (77) and the possible infiltration and manipulation of right-wing Croatian terrorist groups by the KGB. (76)

Nevertheless, although only a fanatic or a fool could believe that the Soviets would never resort to using such effective provocation techniques to accomplish particular political objectives, it would be equally absurd to claim that they had done so in a given case unless there was at least some reliable evidence to suggest it. (79) Since such evidence was not immediately forthcoming in the Agca case, Western disinformation peddlers like Henze and Sterling were forced to systematically distort the facts about the Turk's background in order to make it seem as though he was acting under Bulgarian and ultimately Soviet control. This involved promoting two major theses. The first was that Agca was not really a rightist at all, an argument that appears in different variants, including some that are mutually contradictory. The second, promoted by Henze and some pro-Soviet sources, was that Agca was not a Muslim religious fanatic and hence would not have attempted to kill the 'Crusader Commander' for the reasons stated in his letter to *Millieyt*, which must therefore have been designed as a smokescreen to conceal the actual motives. To get at the real story, it is necessary to describe Agca's political background in some detail.

### **Agca's political background**

To demonstrate that Agca's attempt to shoot the Pope was the result of a leftist rather than a rightist plot, Henze and Sterling had to try and show that Agca's rightist affiliations served primarily as a cover to disguise behind-the-scenes Soviet Bloc control or manipulation. Thus, although Sterling acknowledged that Agca 'had long moved in right-wing circles', (80) she and Henze put forth a number of arguments to minimise the significance of this fact. Most of them not only contradict the available evidence, but also suffer from logical inconsistencies. Thus, in an effort to make it appear that Agca was not a 'typical' Turkish rightist - whatever that means - Henze and Sterling variously characterise him as a 'megalomaniac', (81) and 'international terrorist' who transcended conjoined rightist and leftist ideologies, (82) an 'apolitical' individual who operated mainly on the basis of greed, (83) a well-trained Soviet 'hit man' or secret agent, (84) a leftist sympathiser, (85) and a 'mentally normal person'. (86) Other proponents of the 'Bulgarian connection' portray him as a shrewd but unstable psychopath. (87) Aside from the difficulties inherent in describing any

individual's complex psychological makeup and motivations, it is *a priori* unlikely that Agca could be all of these contradictory characters rolled into one.

The depictions of Agca's organisational links and activities by said authors are likewise filled with unresolved contradictions. On the one hand, both Henze and Sterling repeatedly emphasise that Agca was not officially on the membership rolls of the MHP or Bozkurtlar (88) and that there were no confirmed links between Agca and high-ranking MHP officials, including Turkes himself, (89) and Sterling goes so far as to say that 'all the evidence showed him to be a minor figure on the fringes of [the rightist] movement.' (90) On the other hand, Agca's many demonstrable connections to the right are ascribed, at least in part, to an elaborate cover operation devised by his Bulgarian or Soviet handlers. (91) As Herman and Brodhead have correctly pointed out, if these communist intelligence services were in fact engaged in carefully creating a covert rightist 'legend' for Agca, they would have made certain that he formally joined one or more extreme right organisations to help strengthen it. (92) After all, 'false flag' operations depend for their success on the preservation of such facades.

Henze and Sterling also insist that Agca did not involve himself in the usual sort of rightist political actions, including agitation and violent confrontations with the left. (93) Their clear implication is that his secret communist sponsors did not want to compromise his cover or operational flexibility by allowing him to engage in activities that might lead to his arrest and interrogation. (94) But if this is so, why did they permit him to participate in the dramatic assassination of Ipekci, which was certain to generate extraordinary publicity? Even if we assume that the Soviets had a motive for Ipekci, as well as a need to test Agca's resourcefulness and loyalty, this is not compatible with the notion of holding Agca in reserve for an especially sensitive future operation. In any case, to have distanced Agca from his militant right-wing comrades by having him avoid daily scuffles would have been to cast undue suspicion on his bona fides. These unsubstantiated hypotheses are already difficult enough to reconcile, but Sterling tries to have it both ways by claiming that it doesn't even matter whether Agca was on the 'outer fringe or inner core of the Grey Wolf movement', since his 'mysterious connections led to the right and the left alike.' (95) As we shall see, this latter assertion remains unproven. At this point, it would be better to present an overview of Agca's manifold rightist affiliations, taking note of controversies and spurious arguments when they arise, than to continue highlighting the many inconsistencies and illogicalities in the accounts of Henze and Sterling.

### **Agca's rightist affiliations**

Mehmet Ali Agca was born in 1958 and grew up on the outskirts of Malatya in a shanty town (*gecekondu*) known as Yesiltepe. The death of his father when he was eight years old made it even more difficult for him and his family to eke out a decent existence, (96) but despite this adversity he became a voracious reader and an excellent student. (97) He seems to have met some of his later right-wing comrades (including Yavuz Caylan) at Yesiltepe junior high school, (98) and it is known that Yesiltepe was at that time under rightist control. (99) This latter circumstance, when combined with his Sunni religious beliefs, may well help to explain his early attraction to the right, (100) yet it was not until he transferred to senior high school, a former teacher training facility near the centre of Malatya, (101) that one can discern his first clear connections to the ultranationalist right. The MHP had seized control of that school shortly before Agca arrived, and had begun offering seminars on fascism and Turkes' ideological principles. (102) This institution thence served as a meeting place

for a local Bozkurt subgroup, which was led by Oral Celik and included within its ranks Caylan Mehmet Sener, his brother Hasan, and Yalcin Ozbey. (103) Since all of these figures later played important roles in Agca's terrorist escapades, there can be little doubt that Agca fell in with this group at senior high school. This was confirmed later, for when Turkish police raided Agca's family home following his arrest for the murder of Ipekci, they found photographs of Agca together with local Bozkurt and Idealist (*Ulkucu*) leaders, posters of Turkes, and MHP literature. (104)

However, Agca may have also become involved with local elements of Abuzer Ugurlu's Turkish mafia at this time. Ugurlu came from the same town in Malatya province - Porturge - as the Sener brothers, (105) made use of several key customs posts infiltrated by the MHP to conduct his business, (106) and seems to have hired Celik and other Malatyali Bozkurtlar for various smuggling operations. (107) The alliance between organised crime and the extreme right conforms to a pattern common throughout the world, (108) and in Turkey it served the interests of both Ugurlu, who needed political protection to cover his smuggling activities, (109) and the MHP which needed funding for both its overt and subversive political actions. (110) According to one generally unreliable source, Agca occasionally drove Ugurlu's trucks along heroin smuggling routes while still at school at Malatya, (111) but whether or not this is true Ugurlu was at least indirectly involved in many of the later phases of Agca's career.

In the Fall of 1976, Agca registered as a student in the University of Ankara's History and Geography program and moved into the school's rightist-controlled Besevler dormitory, although he may not have attended classes regularly. (112) Little is known about his extracurricular activities, including those of a political nature. (113) Henze argues, based on Agca's own confession and Ankara police records, that he 'avoided entanglements in agitation', (114) whereas Feroz Ahmad suggests that he participated in political violence since he was 'apparently was [already] an experienced hit-man' by the time he moved to Istanbul in 1978. (115) Although this latter claim remains to be substantiated, Agca must have been engaged in *some* sort of illicit activities during his stay in Ankara, for on 13 December 1977 \$16,000 in Turkish lira was deposited in the Beyazit (University) branch of the Turkiye Is Bankasi in Istanbul, several months *before* he actually arrived there, ostensibly to attend school. (116) This was the first of many deposits made in his or his mother's name at several Turkish banks in the next few months, the source of which has yet to be clarified. (117) Agca himself claimed to have accompanied pro-communist THKO (People's Liberation Army of Turkey) leader Reslim Tore and Sedat Sirri Kadem, a Malatya schoolchum and alleged DEV-SOL (Revolutionary left) militant, to train at a Palestinian guerrilla camp in Lebanon from the Spring to the Fall of 1977, (118) but there is no corroborating evidence to support this statement and many of the details seem improbable. (119)

In the Fall of 1978 Agca enrolled in the Economics program at Istanbul University, one of the country's most prestigious academic institutions. There is some question about whether he actually took the examination that qualified him for entrance there, and he seems to have spent little time going to or studying for classes since school records indicate that he never completed those he registered for. (120) While in Istanbul he lived in a rightist youth hostel, (121) but again there is controversy over whether he involved himself in right-wing political violence. Sterling insists that he laid low and avoided such sordid activities, (122) but Ahmad says that students in the hostel where he lived remembered him as rightist militant who was allegedly seen shooting two leftists in the legs and concludes that 'his notoriety was such that leftists

tried to kill him on several occasions'. (123) Although proponents of the 'Bulgarian connection' imply that the many bank deposits in Agca's name - which together totalled \$15,000 - \$18,000, a huge sum for a poor Turkish student - were provided by his supposed communist sponsors, (124) more compelling circumstantial evidence suggests that Agca received this money for black market (*kara borsa*) smuggling operations undertaken by a network of rightist Malatya comrades who had likewise moved to Istanbul. (125) Perhaps part of it also constituted an advance payment for the planned assassination of Ipekci. (126) Whatever the exact case, 'one gets the impression that by this time Agca's student status may have been mostly a cover for other activity which was absorbing most of this time.' (127)

## **The murder of Ipekci**

The 1 February 1979 murder of Ipekci was the first high-profile crime that Agca was involved in, and it soon earned him widespread notoriety within Turkey and brought him to the attention of police and security agencies in several other countries. Much still remains to be clarified about Ipekci's murder, including the precise motive, but what can be said with certainty is that the actual perpetrators of the crime were almost all Malatyalı Bozkurtlar that Agca had long been associated with. (128) First of all, the driver of the car used by the killer was Agca's friend Caylan, a fact which the latter subsequently admitted. (129) Secondly, Agca claimed to have obtained the gun used to kill Ipekci from Mehmet Sener and - perhaps more importantly - to have returned it to him at the Aksaray district office of the MHP when the job was completed. (130) Thirdly, a mass of circumstantial evidence suggests that *another* rightist participated in the attack with Agca. Most informed observers believe Malatya Bozkurt leader Celik was that person, and some go so far as to claim that he was the actual triggerman, not Agca. (131) Others have implicated still another right-wing militant, Omer Ay, (132) who was head of the UTED (United Technical Workers' Association) in Nevsehir prior to his flight and attempt to obtain political asylum in West Germany. (133) Agca later said that his old Malatya friend Ozbey actually fired the gun in the Ipekci murder even though he had personally taken the blame. (134) The important point for our purposes is not to determine who actually pulled the trigger, but to recognise that *whoever* did so was a right-wing militant linked to the MHP and probably a member of the Bozkurt chapter from Agca's hometown.

The ultimate sponsors and planners of the attack have not yet been identified with certainty. In 1983, long after Agca had been pressured to implicate the Bulgarians, he identified Ugurlu as the culprit. (135) However, Mumcu presents a strong case that it was Celik who masterminded the Ipekci assassination, as well as most of Agca's other illegal actions. (136) Celik was at that time the 'main lieutenant' of Abdullah Catli, who had headed the Ankara branch of the Bozkurtlar and had become the 'second in command' of the national UGD (Idealist Youth Association) during the 1970s as a result of his skills as an 'enforcer' for Turkes. (137) In my view the most logical explanation is that Ipekci was killed by these rightist militants due to MHP opposition to what he symbolised - a moderate opposed to political extremism and terrorism to the point of advocating martial law to protect the social democratic Ecevit government. (138) He was also favorably disposed towards Western civilisation and was engaged in promoting reconciliation between Turkey and Greece, both of which were anathema to the most radical segments of the ultranationalist right. (139) Perhaps this crime also served the MHP's long-term strategy of provocation, which was designed to lead to a coup by rightist supporters within the Turkish military.

In any case, after the assassination Agca seems to have made no significant changes in either his lifestyle or his activities. During this period he may have even been involved in other political violence, and he continued to frequent various right-wing haunts in Istanbul. On 25 June 1979 he was arrested by Turkish police at one such place, a Bozkurt hangout known as the Cafe Marmara. (140) Agca immediately confessed to murdering Ipekci, and after fingering Caylan and Sener - presumably to make his story more credible, since others were known to have been involved - he began insisting that he was an independent terrorist without organisational support who was 'not the servant of any political ideas or ideology'. (141) At his October trial, Agca further attempted to distance himself from his right-wing political associates by claiming that pro-Ecevit Turkish Interior Minister Hasan Fehmi Gunes had offered to spring him from jail if he claimed that high officials of MHP ordered him to kill Ipekci, a charge Gunes vehemently denied. (142) Nevertheless, Turkish authorities rightly concluded that Agca was a Bozkurt militant.

On September 1979, even before the trial had begun, Agca was shifted to the Kartal-Maltepe military prison, the highest security facility in the country, (143) and was placed in the maximum security section. (144) On the night of 23 November 1979, several days after proclaiming that he was innocent in the Ipekci shooting and would name the real killers at his next court appearance, he was sprung from prison with the help of several guards who were affiliated with the MHP, (145) some of whom also received bribes from Ugurlu. (146) After walking through eight checkpoints dressed in a military uniform, an 'escape [which] would have been impossible without help from high quarters', (147) Agca joined Celik, who Mumcu and others believe was the planner of the escape, along with Catli. (148) However, Ugurlu was also probably involved in the process, not only financially but through his Bozkurt contacts inside Kartal-Maltepe prison. (149) Agca was then safehoused in Istanbul by Catli's Bozkurt underground for over twenty days, (150), during which time he wrote the anti-Pope letter to *Milliyet* and murdered two people, including lottery ticket salesman Ramazan Gunduz, who he suspected of tipping off the police as to his whereabouts. (151)

Some time around the beginning of 1980, Celik organised Agca's escape route across Turkey and his border crossing into Iran, which occurred on 1 February. (152) There are contradictory reports about Agca's exact itinerary, (153) but the feature that stands out in each of them is that all of the people involved in aiding him were Idealists. Thus, e.g., Celik seems to have accompanied him, (154) Mehmet Sener's brother Hasan drove him from Istanbul to Ankara, (155) several other rightists provided him with temporary shelter or assistance (including Mustafa Dikici, Mehmet Kursun, Hasan Murat Pala, and Hamit Gokenc, who gave Agca a passport), (156) UGD leader Muhsin Yazicioglu helped arrange for him to get his passport, (157) and rightist militant Timur Selcuk received payment from Mehment Sandir, an MHP member, *Hergun* journalist, and partner in the Tumpas trading firm - along with the leader of the ADUTDF (European Federation of Democratic Turkish Idealist Clubs), Musa Serdar Celebi - to smuggle him across the border to Erzurum. (158) Meanwhile Catli, from his new base of operations in Varna, instructed Omer Ay to procure another passport for Agca to use in the future. (159) Ay borrowed two ID's collected by Ibrahim Kurt (a former head of the Nevsehir UGD), substituted other photos on them (including one of Erkan Ender, a former Idealist policeman), (160) and used them to obtain two 'perfectly forged' passports from a passport office where the security director was a religious rightist named Haydar Tek. (161) The one for Agca was in the name of Faruk Ozgun, and it was later delivered to him in Bulgaria.

In any case, no one knows why Agca crossed the border into Iran or what he did between February and July of 1980, when he appeared in Sofia. Western propagandists like Henze argue that he secretly met with Turkish leftist leader Tore and perhaps entered the Soviet Union to undergo training at a KGB camp; (162) whereas some East bloc propagandists claim that he joined up with CIA-backed supporters of the recently-deposed Shah and played some role in the US attempt to rescue the Americans held hostage by Iranian militants in Teheran! (163) In fact, there is absolutely no evidence to support either contention, and I suspect the main reason for smuggling Agca into Iran was simply to throw the Turkish authorities off his trail.

Agca next appeared in Sofia. In the second week of July 1980, he had a meeting in the deluxe Vitosha Hotel with an Ugurlu underling, Omer Mersan, who paid him \$800 and apparently made arrangements with Catli to secure the false Ozgun passport for him. (164) Mersan was not a committed rightist, (165) but rather an underworld operator whose Munich-based Vardar Company served as a conduit for drugs and arms trafficking by the Ugurlu family. (166) This trafficking involved the extensive use of MHP-affiliated organisations and personnel in Western Europe, who received safehousing, weapons, and large influxes of cash in return for their participation. (167) It also depended upon the cooperation of the Bulgarian authorities, who obtained hard currency and intelligence information in exchange for allowing Bulgaria to be used as staging area for smuggling operations. (168) Eventually, Agca also claimed to have met with a mysterious Bulgarian named 'Mustafaeff', (169) with Celik, with Ugurlu's subordinate partner Bekir Celenk, and with another Bulgarian named 'Kolev', i.e. Tudor Aivazov, one of the three later charged in Italy for their alleged role in the papal plot. (170) But aside from Agca's unreliable and manipulative testimony, information about his activities in Bulgaria is practically nonexistent.

The situation becomes somewhat clearer after Agca left Bulgaria on 31 August 1980. Although his precise movements are obscure at times, it is certain that he spent the next several months travelling throughout Western Europe, although he did make short jaunts to Tunisia and Majorca during this period. There is unanimous agreement that he did so with the help of a number of Turkish rightists who were affiliated with branches of the MHP's external support organisation, (171) and even Henze admits that 'a case could be made that Agca had been sheltered and prepared for action against the Pope inside a Grey Wolf network in Germany'. (172) Among the people involved were his old Malatyali comrades Celik, Ozbey, and Sener, some of whom had fled Turkey along with thousands of other ultra-rightists after the military coup on 12 September 1980, when the new junta began to make mass arrests of MHP members and Bozkurtlar, including Turkes and other party leaders. (173) But the most important assistance of all was provided by ADUTDF chief Musa Serdar Celebi, the second most powerful Idealist in Europe after Turkes' friend and MHP ideologue Enver Altalyi.

## **ADUTDF**

The ADUTDF was originally established in 1978, ostensibly as a 'coordinating body for cultural, religious, and welfare organisations set up by Turks in Germany', (174) but beneath this benign exterior it actually represented nothing more than the reorganisation of the MHP's overseas branches that had been banned by the Turkish government in 1976. (175) Indeed, this 'cultural' organisation performed the very same functions as the old one had - recruiting Turkish *gastarbeiter* ('guest workers') into the MHP, indoctrinating them in Turkes fascist-inspired ideology, and helping to finance



MHP and Bozkurt subversion inside Turkey, in part with the profits derived from arms and drug trafficking. (176) By the time of the 1980 coup, the ADUTDF claimed to have 50,000 members organised into 129 branches, 87 of which were in West Germany, and German police estimated that at least 26,000 Turkish workers were members of neo-fascist groups. (177) Nor were these organisations reluctant to use violence. There are a number of examples of rightist assaults on Turkish workers and left-wing activists in Germany and elsewhere, some of which resulted in deaths. (178) Agca himself may have committed two murders in return for ADUTDF logistical support. (179)

As evidence of Agca's links to these overseas MHP affiliates, it should be noted that he contacted Celebi himself on several occasions. He called him from Bulgaria in the summer of 1980 and again from Majorca in late April 1981, in the latter case exclaiming 'I have received the money...[and] will now go to Rome and finish the job'. (180) Equally important, he met Celebi twice, once in Milan on 15 December 1980 to talk things over and obtain \$500 from him; the second time in Zurich on 3 March 1981, when Celenk reportedly paid out \$1.5 million to be divided three ways between Celebi, Celenk, and Agca. (181) Celebi's innocent version of these events has not held up under serious scrutiny, and it can therefore be said that he was the highest-ranking member of the Turkish far-right to be unequivocally linked to the papal assassination plot.

Other connections between Agca and this European-based right-wing milieu have also been discovered. First of all, Celik purchased the 9 mm Browning pistol used to shoot the Pope from an Austrian gunrunner with Nazi sympathies, Horst Grillmayer, and then passed in on to a Bozkurt leader in Olten, Switzerland, named Omer Bagci, for safekeeping. (182) Agca later called Bagci from Majorca and arranged to meet him in Milan on 9 May 1981, where the gun was finally transferred. (183) Furthermore, he made a 20 minute call from Rome on 13 April 1981 to Hasan Taskin, 'one of the top ten Grey Wolves' in West Germany. Taskin implausibly claimed under interrogation that it must have been a wrong number, and German police were content not to press the issue! (184)

### **Agca had two accomplices**

At long last we have arrived at St Peter's Square on the fateful day, and here too other members of the Turkish extreme right made their appearance. It is now known that Agca had two accomplices with him on that occasion. In October of 1982, he tried to mislead Italian investigators by claiming that the Bulgarian 'Kolev' (Aivazov) was the man photographed while running away across the square after the shooting, but shortly after admitted that it was actually his close friend Celik. (185) The other accomplice is thought to have been Omer Ay, the Neveshir Idealist who had earlier helped Agca obtain the Ozgun passport, although this is not certain. (186)

There is also an interesting postscript to the crime that may be of importance to our topic. A letter postmarked Munich and dated 20 July 1981 that was purportedly written by Agca to Turkes was sent anonymously to *Milliyet*. The letter read:(187)

Illustrious Leader (*Sayin Basbugum*),

First I kiss your hands with my deep respects, and I want to express my debt of infinite thanks for your paternal interest. I am in no difficulties,

with the help of all kinds from my brother Idealists who have taken me into their hearts. I find myself in the happy condition of doing my duty with honour, with the pride of being a Turk...the duty of grand Ideals. May God (Tanri) protect the Turks and make them Great.' (188)

The circumstances under which this letter was found were highly suspicious, as was its method of arrival at the *Milliyet* offices, both of which lend credence to the belief of Henze and Sterling that it was a clumsy forgery. (189) However, others have argued that the letter was subjected to a battery of tests by the Turkish authorities that confirmed its authenticity, and it *was* thence officially accepted as evidence by the Ankara military court presiding over the huge MHP-Turkes trial. (190) If it is in fact genuine, the case for an indigenous Turkish plot to kill the Pope would be further strengthened. In short, there is no doubt that Agca's links to the Turkish ultranationalist right dated back to this high school days in Malatya and continued *uninterrupted* right up until the moment that he wounded Pope John Paul II. (191) However this seemingly straightforward picture has been complicated by Agca's claims to have had links to the PLO and the Bulgarian secret police, which have allowed Western propagandists to insist that the rightist Turkish networks involved were either covertly controlled or cleverly manipulated by the Bulgarians, with the help of Turkish mafiosi who had been recruited, co-opted, or coerced into participating. Although it must be admitted this is a possibility, too many unresolved evidentiary and logical problems remain to justify accepting such a thesis without further investigation.

### **'well-constructed, fantastic and incredible stories'**

First and foremost, Agca's testimony cannot be accepted at face value. It has already been pointed out that he repeatedly lied and altered his testimony, (192) and even Judge Ilario Martella, the Italian magistrate who singlemindedly pursued a 'Bulgarian connection' which he had already accepted as fact, (193) acknowledged Agca's 'devilish ability, displayed many times, to produce well-constructed, fantastic and incredible stories'. (194) Yet Martella and various disinformation peddlers have nonetheless accepted his statements as accurate whenever it suited their purposes, (195) despite the fact that Agca had clear motives for implicating the left in his crime. For one thing, as a confirmed Turkish ultranationalist he would have been virulently hostile to both Soviet Russia and the left-wing oppositon in general, whether domestic or foreign. (196) For another, as a prisoner facing a life term or death, he would have been motivated to tell the Italian authorities what he thought they wanted to hear - or confirm what they were pressuring him to say - in order to obtain a more lenient sentence. (197) The adoption of such a strategem also served to protect his probably rightist sponsors and known accomplices, including his friends Oral Celik and Yalcin Ozbey. (198) Given Agca's actual record of telling outright lies and his obvious political and personal motives for promoting - however belatedly - a 'Bulgarian connection', Mumcu and others are right to insist that *nothing* he says should be believed in the absence of independent confirmation. (199) Is there any such confirmation of his claims to have been trained in a Palestinian guerrilla camp or directed by Bulgarian secret agents?

According to Agca's testimony, in 1977 he accompanied Tore and Sirri Kadem to a Palestinian camp south of Beirut, where he received 40 days training in guerrilla tactics. While there, he supposedly encountered other Turks from the 'most disparate of Turkey's subversive groups' and, upon his return to Turkey, 'established clandestine

relations with six underground organisations', four on the radical left and two on the radical right. (200) Unfortunately there is not even a shred of evidence to support Agca's contention, (201) nor is it plausible. Although it is certain that factions of the PLO trained Turkish left-wing guerrillas (202) and that they also periodically trained European neo-Nazis, (203) it is rather difficult to believe that Turkish leftists, ultranationalists, religious rightists, Kurdish separatists, and anti-Turkish Armenian terrorists were all being trained simultaneously in the same camp or that they were subsequently colluding with one another on a regular basis. (204) This type of joint anti-government collaboration between the Turkish ultra-right and extreme left might well have developed *after* the military's 1980 crackdown on (and betrayal of) the MHP, but it would have been much less likely beforehand - unless it involved provocations - since the MHP was at that time working in conjunction with rightist factions of the armed forces and the MIT to crush the left and provoke an authoritarian right-wing coup. (205) It is much more probable that Turkish rightists were trained in paramilitary camps set up by the right-wing Lebanese Phalange. (206) In any event, there is no independent confirmation of Agca's claims to have been trained by Palestinians.

## **KINTEX**

The situation regarding Agca's Bulgarian links is more complicated. Although again there is no outside evidence to corroborate Agca's claims to have had meetings with various Bulgarian officials, either in Bulgaria or in Italy, Agca did spend time in Bulgaria and periodically received financial and logistical help from Turkish mobster Abnuzer Ugurlu, who directed smuggling operations out of Sofia. But it is precisely the nature of the relationship between Ugurlu and the Bulgarian authorities, as well as the reasons for the former's provision of aid to the latter, that constitute the major bones of contention. There is no doubt that elements of the Bulgarian government had established a direct working relationship with Ugurlu's mob. This was done through KINTEX, the official state import-export agency. Apparently, KINTEX was originally founded in 1968 following the merger of three smaller commercial import-export firms, (207) and it has since overseen 'the international trade of such legitimate commodities as arms, textiles, appliances and cigarettes'. (208) Moreover, despite the predictable East Bloc denials and the doubts expressed by Herman and Brodhead, (209) I believe there is sufficient reliable evidence to indicate that KINTEX has also participated in the illicit trafficking of narcotics and weapons from and through Bulgarian territory, in conjunction with other state agencies that serve as distribution outlets. (210) To facilitate these activities, 'Bulgarian officials, through KINTEX, designate [non-Bulgarian] 'representatives' to operate as brokers who [then] establish exclusive arrangements with smugglers for bartered contraband.' (211) 'Among the more notable traffickers linked to KINTEX are Turkish nationals Abuzer Ugurlu, Bekir Celenk, and Mustafa Kisacik, members of the 'Turkish Mafia' '. (212) This same Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) report goes on to say that some of these Turkish traffickers and representatives of KINTEX 'have also been named as associates of members of the right-wing Baskurtlar (sic)...in Istanbul and Frankfurt, West Germany. '(213) Since some sources have claimed that 'top ranking members of the Bulgarian intelligence service (DS)' serve as the directors of KINTEX, (214) one may well wonder just what Ugurlu's motives were in dealing with Agca.

One interpretation has been offered by hardliners like Henze and Nathan M. Adams, Senior Editor of *Reader's Digest*, a popular international magazine with a long history of apparent participation in CIA disinformation campaigns. (215) In their

conspiratorial reconstruction, there is a clear chain of command linking the alleged puppeteers of the Soviet KGB to their DS lackies at KINTEX, then to KINTEX-linked smugglers and possible DS agents Ugurlu and Celenk, and finally to right-wing dupe Agca. This argument begins with the idea that the Bulgarian regime is the most subservient of all the regimes established by the Soviets in Eastern Europe, which is probably true. But Henze goes so far as to claim that 'nothing Bulgaria does can be regarded separately from the larger framework of pernicious and destructive Soviet operations directed against the Free World', and that 'there is no aspect of Soviet-sponsored subversion in which the communist government of Bulgaria has not taken part - and continues to take part'. (216) Based on this a priori assumption, he and Adams enthusiastically accept the problematic testimony of Stefan Sverdlov, a colonel in the Bulgarian DS prior to his defection to the West in 1971, who claims that the head of the Warsaw Pact security services met in Moscow in 1967 to plan actions to 'exploit and hasten the inherent 'corruption' of Western society.' (217) As a result, the DS supposedly issued a directive on 16 July 1970 (#M-120/00-0500) which promoted 'the destabilisation of Western society through, among other tools, the narcotics trade.' (218) Acting through the newly-formed KINTEX, the DS has since then engaged in the systematic trading of Middle Eastern drugs for European guns, which have then been supplied to 'terrorist' groups to further Soviet destabilisation efforts in Turkey and elsewhere. (219) To accomplish this they made use of selected non-Bulgarian smugglers, especially Turks, as intermediaries. Some of these latter were purportedly also recruited as DS agents, including Ugurlu himself, who according to various anonymous or unreliable sources had served in such a capacity for many years prior to Agca's assassination attempt. (220) If all of the above is accepted without reservations, a circumstantial case can be made that Ugurlu recruited Agca to kill the Pope and provided him with assistance at the behest of his DS and Soviet handlers.

However, there are innumerable problems with this scenario, which, when evaluated together, suggest a far more plausible alternative. In the first place, although 'the rulers of communist Bulgaria are extremely loyal allies of the Soviet Union....even Bulgarian communists are not immune from the strain of nationalism' and the Bulgarian people 'are much less attached to the Russians than many outsiders think'. (221) Moreover, not all illicit activities occurring in Bulgaria are under government control, nor can they be ascribed to government policy. (222) According to Jack R. Perry, former US ambassador to Bulgaria, 'the impression was inescapable to those living in Sofia that Bulgaria was like a Mafia operation on a grand scale.' (223) Graft was widespread, and some of the smuggling attributed to the Bulgarian state may have been carried out by corrupt 'individuals - often with friends and relatives in the highest places - who were out to make money' for themselves. (224) This does not absolve the Bulgarian regime from its documented participation in international arms and drug smuggling, but it does suggest that some of this smuggling has been organised for private gain rather than in accordance with public policy.

Secondly, there are logical shortcomings in the theory that KINTEX smuggling was part of a master anti-Western plot. Aside from the evidentiary difficulties shortly to be discussed, KINTEX apparently arranged to sell weapons secretly to several anti-communist states and groups, including the South African government, (227) right-wing Christian Falangists in Lebanon, (228) the Nicaraguan contra forces, (229) and Turkish rightists. (230) Even if the latter can be said to support Soviet destabilisation operations merely by facilitating internal violence in Turkey, (231) sales to the other others definitely do not square with East Bloc political interests. This suggests that a primary motivation for Bulgarian participation in illegal trafficking in guns and drugs

is economic, not political. Indeed, several of the representatives from US agencies called upon to testify on this subject before Congressional committees have listed Bulgarian objectives as (a) the acquisition of hard Western currency, which is in short supply in that country; (b) the supplying of various left-wing insurgent groups with arms, 'in support of communist revolutionary aims'; and (c) the gathering of intelligence from international smuggling networks that are allowed to operate in or through Bulgarian territory. (232) In short, the DS have become involved in the trafficking of arms and drugs for the very same reasons as many Western intelligence agencies, viz., to obtain untraceable currency that can be used to fund secret operations, to help arm governments or insurgent groups supporting their own political aims, and to acquire useful intelligence information from widely travelled and well-connected smugglers. (233)

Thirdly, there are serious problems with some of the sources supporting the claims of Henze, Sterling and Adams concerning the Bulgarians.(234) Sverdlov's testimony about the supposed Soviet-sponsored master plan to destabilise the West is impossible to verify, as is his claim about the contents of the 1970 DS document. Aside from various inherent problems with the *public* testimony of defectors, which is invariably manipulated and sometimes manufactured out of whole cloth by their new handlers, in this case there is no way to examine the document in question to determine whether or not it is genuine, or even if it actually exists. (235) One is certainly entitled to be suspicious here, since on another occasion documentation about Bulgarian involvement in illicit trafficking was shown to be forged. (236) It is therefore not surprising that the US government agencies concerned with this issue have admitted that they have 'no information by which to corroborate the existence of Warsaw Pact meetings with destabilisation directives', or to the purported DS documents. (237) According to the testimony of R. M. Palmer, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs, many of the allegations about the Bulgarian use of the drug trade to finance terrorism and undermine the West 'came from confidential sources, and have understandably proved difficult to substantiate.' (238) The same is true of the allegations that Ugurlu and Celenk had been recruited into the DS, as indicated above, although these latter allegations seem quite plausible to me.

In sum, the conspiratorial scenario can only remain a hypothesis - and not a very convincing one - in the absence of evidence that is more substantial than that so far provided. It is one thing to acknowledge that the Bulgarian regime and Turkish smugglers had entered into a mutually beneficial economic arrangement, which is supported by a good deal of evidence from diverse sources, and altogether something else to assert that this constitutes proof that the DS, acting on behalf of the KGB, *controlled* the far-flung activities of the Sofia-based Turkish mafia. (239) Moreover, it seems highly unlikely that the virulently anti-communist *and* anti-Soviet Turkish right would enter into anything more than a temporary marriage of convenience with one of the Soviet Union's closest allies. And to suggest, as Henze does, that Celebi's huge ADUTDF organisation had fallen under the control of the Bulgarian secret police is implausible. (240)

Using similar kinds of arguments, one could make an even stronger case for Western sponsorship of the papal plot. There are a number of suggestive bits of information, including the testimony of MIT informant and *agent provocateur* Hoca Kocigit to the effect that the MIT had paid Agca both to implicate his (rightist) accomplices in the Ipekci murder and promised to organise his escape if he was arrested. (241) Even Sterling has raised the question of whether Agca was manipulated by a faction within

the MIT, (242) and Mumcu has argued that Ugurlu also had links with that agency. (243) Then there is the much commented upon inaction of West German authorities in response to Turkish government appeals to search for and arrest Agca, (244) as well as their extraordinarily inept questioning of Turkish rightists and others involved in some way with Agca, including Sener, Mersan, Celebi, the Taskin brothers, and Catli. (245) It also turned out that Grillmayer had a BND 'control' officer named Paul Saalbach, as Austrian police discovered to their dismay after arresting him in 1983 trying to smuggle a huge truckload of automatic weapons across their border from Bulgaria. (246) There is also a clear BND link to Turkes lieutenant Altalyi, who listed his BND contacts (including a former Azeri SS officer) in a letter he wrote to the MHP *basbug*. (247) Finally, there are numerous connections between the CIA and MHP, both in Turkey and Europe. It seems clear that the CIA and US military intelligence made use of civilian Idealists by recruiting them into the Kontr-Gerilla organisation, (248) and former Turkoman SS man Ruzi Nazar has been identified by several investigators as the liaison between CIA personnel, including Henze himself, and the MHP leadership in West Germany. (249) And so it goes.

However, there is another interpretation of the Bulgarian-Ugurlu-Agca relationship that is entirely consistent with the verifiable facts and doesn't require any jumps in logic or arguments based solely on guilt by association. Although acknowledging that the Bulgarian authorities have 'established a policy of encouraging and facilitating' the smuggling of narcotics, (250) as well as weapons, and that they 'tolerate if not shield' certain Turkish drug dealers, (251) this interpretation is not based on the unsubstantiated and implausible claim that the Bulgarians *planned* and *controlled* everything the smugglers and their associates did. (252) The fact that Ugurlu and Celenk made use of Bozkurt members as transporters and handlers in their smuggling infrastructure proves nothing about Bozkurt relations with the Bulgarian government, and indeed John C. Lawn, the aforementioned DEA official, reports that 'no direct association between KINTEX and the... 'Grey Wolves' has been established, according to our information.' (253) And although Henze and Sterling imply that the MHP acted as a 'simple instrument of the Turkish mafia', (254) the relationship between the two groups was far more complex than they indicate. If anything, the MHP seems to have been the dominant partner. In the opinion of Orsan Oymen, the leading journalist specialist on the Agca case in Turkey, 'it was the Grey Wolves who were in a position to ask favours from the Mafia' due to their political influence and control over the Turkish customs ministry, especially prior to the 1980 military coup. (255) Establishing good relations with the MHP and its affiliates was thus necessary if Ugurlu wished to engage in large-scale smuggling across the Turkish border. (256) For its part, the MHP depended upon Ugurlu's smuggling networks to facilitate its extensive drugs-for-guns trafficking in Western Europe, (257) and also to help wanted Bozkurt terrorists elude Turkish justice and eventually reach 'safe houses' established by the ADUTDF in West Germany and elsewhere. Agca himself obviously made use of these networks to escape from the Turkish authorities. The only question is whether he subsequently shot the Pope on his own initiative or on the orders of his MHP superiors. Since the former view would make it difficult to explain why he was assisted in his personal vendetta by Celik and Ay, I am inclined to believe that MHP sponsored the attack. The scenario would not only account for the extensive logistical support Agca received from both Sofia-based Turkish mobsters and high-ranking MHP officials in Europe, but also would be consonant with the MHP's - and by extension, Agca's - anti-Western and anti-Christian ideology.....

## Conclusions

I make no claim to have conclusively demonstrated that the paramilitary organisations affiliated with the MHP were behind the attempted assassination of John Paul II. It is presently impossible to gain access to the files of various Western and Eastern security and intelligence agencies, which alone might enable a historian to fully reconstruct the crime, and indeed it is doubtful if this will ever be possible. Moreover, I personally lacked sufficient time, financial resources, and political connections to be able to acquire some of the public documentation accumulated by the Italian and Turkish authorities or leaked to intelligence-linked journalists like Claire Sterling. In the absence of this primary source material, it would be foolish to come to any definitive conclusions. However, even on the basis of the meagre primary and extensive secondary sources that already exist, it can be shown that neither of the conspiratorial theses that have received wide exposure within their respective spheres can stand up under close scrutiny. Both the 'KGB plot' and the 'CIA plot' theories rest upon suspect sources, circumstantial evidence, and strained logic. The bulk of the evidence currently available points to an indigenous Turkish plot launched by the ultranationalist right. Agca undoubtedly operated within this milieu for several years, and until someone demonstrates otherwise it must be assumed that he was what he appeared to be - a neo-fascist extremist.

## Notes

1. Thus, e.g., I have eschewed a detailed consideration of Agca's personality profile and a thorough analysis of Agca's possible external sponsors, although both subjects will certainly be touched upon below.
2. Although I am focussing on Agca's connections to the Turkish right, which are both long-term and extensive, I am not *a priori* rejecting the possibility that he had connections with the left in Turkey, and perhaps also elsewhere. See note 7.
3. The exceptions are Ugur Mumcu, Orsan Oymen and Paul Henze, although the latter purposely distorts the Turkish background in order to mislead the unsophisticated reader into accepting his thesis of Soviet culpability.
4. A good example is provided by the recent book by Michael Parenti. Despite his blatant pro-Soviet biases and uncritical repetition of certain arguments about the papal plot, some of which parallel those found in East Bloc sources (see pp.130-47, 161-6), it is unclear whether Parenti is a willing propagandist or simply a naive left-wing idealist. Another example is the work by rightist author Francisco Chao Hermida, which - knowingly or not - disseminates various Western intelligence disinformation themes (including the Sterling-Henze thesis on the papal plot) to Venezuelan and other South American readers.
5. Disinformation is false, distorted or otherwise misleading information that is consciously generated and disseminated in order to manipulate the perceptions and which is the product of honest error.) Cf the CIA's own definition, cited in Shultz and Godson p. 37. See also the useful description by Czech defector Ladislav Bittman (1985) pp.48-55. 'Psychological operations' is a more general term for influence operations in support of larger politico-military campaigns and objectives. See, e.g. Alfred H. Paddock Jnr in Gordon ed. p.145. Cf. the definition of psychological warfare offered by Paul M.A. Linebarger, the former trainer of CIA psywar specialists, p. 40. French *guerre revolutionnaire* counterinsurgency theorists have usefully subdivided such operations into

*guerre psychologique* (operations directed against the enemy's army and population) and *action psychologique* (operations directed at one's own public). See Paret pp.56-7. For more thorough information, see Maurice Megret. The chief defect of most of these works is the authors' insistence that such techniques are more sophisticated and extensive in totalitarian regimes than in Western 'democracies', a highly debatable contention. The chief qualitative difference is that in the former the disseminating agencies are more centralised and operate in the absence of internal competition, which in certain ways works against their effectiveness, since in totalistic systems the targeted audience is usually painfully aware that it is being exposed exclusively to the official 'line'. In polycentric or 'pluralist' systems, it is normally much harder for the public to detect covert government-sponsored disinformation and propaganda, which heightens their impact. Cf Schiller p. 11.

6. For more on Western disinformation themes and sources on the subject of terrorism see Paull (1982) and Herman (1982).
7. Henze, author of *The Plot to Kill the Pope* and numerous articles as well as serving as an 'expert' consultant for various TV shows on the Papal plot, is a 'former' CIA official with extensive operational experience in Turkey, first as a case officer in 1957-8, then as Chief of Station (COS) in Ankara from 1973-77. See Ellen Ray et al eds (1979) pp.382-3, Mumcu (1984) pp.24-5 and *passim*; Herman and Brodhead especially pp.146-8, 157-9. For confirmation of his function as COS, see Taubman and Gelb, p. A12. Perhaps more importantly, inside Turkey he is widely suspected of having been the covert orchestrator of various terrorist and pro-coup actions undertaken by the so-called Kontr-Gerilla (KG=Counter Guerrilla) organization attached to the OHD, Special Warfare Department of the General Staff of the Turkish armed forces. See, e.g. 'Dietro tutti i golpe' in *Panorama* (Milan) 26 May 1985 p.107, though I have seen no actual evidence of this. Even so, the nature of the tasks generally performed by COS's should at least make one highly sceptical of Henze's trustworthiness in connection with the subject of terrorism in Turkey. For more on the KGB, see *infra* and note 248.
8. Sterling is the author of *The Time of the Assassins: Anatomy of an Investigation* (1985) and several articles, as well as being - like Henze - a consultant for various TV documentaries. While it would be rash to claim unequivocally that she is a U.S. intelligence asset, her background strongly suggests that possibility. In the first place, she contributed for many years to a conservative Italian publication that was in part covertly funded by the CIA - the English-language *Rome Daily American*. For this CIA funding, see Crewdson and Treaster p. 37, and Preston and Ray, (1983) pp.7-8. Subsequently Sterling wrote articles for Milan's *Il Giornale Nuovo*, another conservative paper that some people also claim had CIA links or, at least, consistently disseminates CIA disinformation themes. See Fred Landis, 1980 p. 43. Much more significantly, conservative Italian criminologist Franco Ferracuti, testifying before the Italian parliamentary commission investigating the secret ultra-right Masonic lodge P2, said that Michael Ledeen - himself a right-wing propagandist and occasional operative for US, Italian and possibly Israeli intelligence - has told him that in the late 1970s that Sterling was a 'courier' between the Italian internal security agency (SISDE) and the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), a rightist think tank formerly affiliated with Georgetown University that employs 'former' CIA and military intelligence officers and consistently disseminates Western disinformation themes. See Calderoni 1986 p. 23. For a good introduction to CSIS see Fred



Landis, (1979) pp.7-9. Note also that Sterling was the popularizer of the 'Soviet terror network' thesis in her sensationalistic work, *The Terror Network: the Secret War of International Terrorism* (1981), which had a considerable impact on public perceptions of terrorism in spite of its systematic distortions, weak logic, and numerous factual errors. This book also provided a pseudo-scholarly justification for the new 'anti-terrorism' propaganda offensive and policy initiated by the Reagan administration, which replaced the Carter administration's earlier emphasis on 'human rights'. In any event, even if Sterling is not herself a paid intelligence asset, she is - as her own works reveal - a propagandist who relies heavily and uncritically on information supplied to her by confidential Western intelligence sources. See O'Brien pp. 29-30. James Adams (1986) p. 3 recounts a possibly apocryphal story that a DDI of the CIA claimed that Sterling's book was 'largely a product of the CIA's disinformation department'.

9. Slugenov is a right-wing Vatican priest who published his first full-length book on the papal assassination attempt in 1982. In that work, he partly based his conspiratorial argument that the KGB trained Agca and ordered the Papal shooting on an Italian military intelligence (SISMI) document dated 19 May 1981, which seems to have been a forgery since it was rejected as evidence by conservative Italian judge Ilario Martella at Agca's trial. See Herman and Brodhead p. 98 (including note 104) and p.102, note 2. Slugenov is in all probability linked to either the conservative Ratzinger faction or the ultra-rightist integralist faction within the Vatican. Note also that elements of SISMI and its organizational predecessors have often been involved in rightist coup plots and neo-fascist terrorist incidents, and can scarcely be viewed as an unbiased source of information even under the best of circumstances. For these subversive activities, see Flamini (1981-5) and De Lutiis (1984). The latter work is published by the official publishing house of the Partito Comunista Italiano (PCI), but it is a well-researched work based almost entirely on information derived either from the mainstream Italian media or the reports and documents made public in the course of several parliamentary and judicial investigations into Italian secret service 'deviations'.
10. Bensi is the author of *La Pista Sovietica: Terrorismo, Violenza, Guerra e Propaganda nella Teoria e nella Prassi di Mosca* (Milan, Sugar, 1983). Although he actively promotes the thesis that the Soviets were behind the papal shooting, the book is valuable in that the author provides extensive translated selections from the official East Bloc press which clearly demonstrates the manipulative and hypocritical character of pro-Soviet accounts of both the Pope's character and the assassination attempt.
11. De Marenches is the former head of the French foreign intelligence service, at that time known as SDECE. He is not only a rightist and a devout Catholic, but also an extremely pro-American intelligence officer who was appointed Directeur General in 1970 by Georges Pompidou and thence went on to purge some anti-American Gaullist elements with SDECE so as to 'reconcile' relations between that agency and the CIA. See especially Faligot and Krop pp.310-17, and Backmann in Agee and Wolf (1978) pp. 180-2. His views on the papal assassination attempt can be found in a recent book containing a series of interviews with him conducted by Christine Ockrent (1986), excerpted by Yves Cuau in 'Services Secrets: Revelations Explosives', in *L'Express* (5 September 1986) pp. 21- 2. Therein he claims to have received 'credible' evidence from unknown sources that there was going to be a Soviet

Bloc attempt on the Pope's life, which caused him to send two trusted lieutenants to Italy to warn the Pope in January 1980, after making contact with the Vatican through an 'important French ecclesiastic'. But John Paul II responded that his fate was in the hand of God and de Marenches claims that no further actions were taken by the French secret service regarding this matter. (However, according to the 18 December 1982 edition of *Le Quotidien de Paris*, the date of de Marenches warning was actually 20 April 1981, less than one month before Agca shot the Pope! See Sterling 1985, p. 265 note 8. In any event, it should be pointed that de Marenches was also a friend of Francesco Pazienza, who was a member of the conspiratorial right-wing Super-S faction within SISMI and a collaborator of Ledeen's. As Herman and Brodhead rightly point out (pp. 118-9, note 41), de Marenches 'was himself an important disinformationist and recycler of the disinformation of other intelligence agencies'. Note, e.g. the 'cooked' intelligence report he provided to another right-wing disinformationist with intelligence connections, Arnaud de Borchgrave - currently editor of Sun-Myung Moon's *Washington Times* - about a supposed Soviet plan to 'undermine the structures of the Western world' through terrorism that was launched at the Tricontinental Conference held in Havana in 1968. See de Borchgrave (1982) pp. 5-16. This journal is published by a Unification Church front group.

12. Ledeen began his public career as a historian of Italian fascism, but after working in Italy for several years he became involved in a number of apparent intelligence-connected ventures, including *Il Giornale Nuovo*, CSIS, and an international group organised to 'study' terrorism in Italy. Later he was recruited as agent Z-3 by SISMI (in which capacity he became involved in a number of scandals), became the 'international terrorism' expert attached to Secretary of State Alexander Haig's staff, and may have covertly worked with Israeli intelligence. More recently, in addition to promoting disinformation themes in a variety of conservative or rightist publications, including *Commentary* and *Human Events*, he served as an intermediary between the US National Security Council and ex-SAVAK (Iranian secret police) officer Manukher Ghorbanifar during the early phases of the illegal Iran-Contra operation. For more details see Herman and Brodhead pp. 94-9, 159-62 etc; Fred Landis (1987) pp. 68-70; Marshall et al pp. 41-2, 71-3, 174-81; US Government (1987), pp.108-111; Diana Johnstone (1982) pp. 4-5.
13. Cline was a career CIA officer who worked for many years in the clandestine services. Among other things, he served as COS in Taiwan from 1958-62 (during which time he may have helped to organize and fund the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL), the forerunner of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), a far-right umbrella organization that encompasses several neo-fascist groups) and as Deputy Director of Intelligence (DDI) from 1962-66. Since his formal retirement from the agency, he worked in other capacities for the US government and is now on the staff of CSIS. He has also been actively involved in numerous other extreme right political ventures, including WACL and the Moon-sponsored US Global Strategy Council. For his simple-minded conspiratorial view of the papal assassination plot, see Cline, (1984) pp. 53-5. For more on Cline's background, see his own none too revelatory book (Cline, 1982); the biographical information provided on him, in his capacity as one of the 'chief advisors' for a promotional book on the CIA (Quirk) p. 5; and Anderson and Anderson pp.55-6, 126, 259-60 (WACL Links).
14. Along with Ledeen, Pisano has become the American right's expert of choice

- on Italian terrorism. He has produced a stream of publications on that subject which have subtly but consistently exaggerated the threat posed by leftist terrorism and systematically minimised the threat posed by rightist terrorists, See, e.g., Pisano (1979) pp. 29-118. Note that in this work he devoted 73 pages to left-wing terrorism and only 16 to right-wing terrorism, and showed a marked preference for conspiratorial scenarios explaining the former, although the evidence of rightist conspiracies is far more substantial. (Cf *ibid* pp.89-100 and 109-16) More recently, in addition to writing a glowing review of Sterling and Henze's books on the alleged KGB plot to kill the Pope - in *Conflict Quarterly* (Winter 1985), pp.69-72 - he has uncritically or opportunistically echoed their problematic views in his newest work, Pisano (1987) pp. 128-30.
15. It is important to recognize that within most Western intelligence agencies political views run the gamut from liberal to ultra-rightist, although conservative or right-of-centre views clearly predominate, especially in the operational branches. Thus, these organizations are not political monoliths, and indeed many of the propaganda and disinformation themes under consideration here seem to be designed in part to weaken the influence and position of the more moderate factions within these agencies by pushing the political perceptions of government policy-makers to the right. For an example of the views of the intelligence community moderates on the papal plot, see the critical review of the Henze and Sterling books by ex-OSS and CIA officer William Hood in *Problems of Communism* (March-April 1984) pp.67-70. Their views on 'KGB terrorism' in general were reflected in the editorial by former CIA official Harry Rositzke in *New York Times* (20 July 1981) p. A17
  16. These include *The Anatomy of a Slander Campaign* (Sofia, Sofia Press, 1983); Andronov (1983 and 1984); *'The Bulgarian Connection': Accusation without Proofs; Verbatim Reports from the International Meeting of Journalists held in Sofia on February 7, 1985* (Sofia, Sofia Press, 1985); *'The Bulgarian Connection': the End of a Provocation* (Sofia, Sofia Press, 1983); Kovalyov and Seydkh (Moscow, 1986); Palchev (1985); and Traikov (Sofia, 1984). All of the above are official government publications, and most have been translated into several languages. Cf also the Polish work, Guz (1983).
  17. See, e.g. Roulette (1984 and 1985); Calderoni and Fido; Eisenhower and Murray; and Reichel pp.63-8, as well as many articles in the left-wing press.
  18. See, e.g. Ellul pp.53-61.
  19. The best examples are probably the unreliable works by British authors Thomas and Morgan-Witts (1983 and 1984). These two self-described 'social historians' lack even the most rudimentary ability to critically analyse sources - the key task of any genuine historian. The result is an unbelievably naive reliance on Western intelligence informants, who manipulate the authors mercilessly. For other examples of witless disinformation recycling, see the pseudo-scholarly articles by Melady and Kikoski (1985) pp.775-801 and Scherer (1985) pp.351-65, although the latter may not be entirely witless. It would be impossible to list the innumerable journalistic commentators in mainstream newspapers that have gullibly adopted 'the KGB plot' thesis. For more on this see Herman and Brodhead pp.174-205 and *passim*.
  20. See, e.g. Chapman Pincher, a right-wing British journalist with close links to British intelligence, Pincher (1985) pp.1-6, 259-60 and *passim*; Sejna (1982) and de Borchgrave (1986) pp.31-9, as well as the latter's editorial, 'Bum Tips and Spies' in the *New York Times* (12 August 1981) p. A27. For a contrary view see the editorial by ex CIA officer Rositzke, 'KGB Disinformation', *New York Times* (21 July 1981) p. A15.

21. For some examples regarding the papal assassination plot, see note 17.
22. For examples, see the many studies by Noam Chomsky, including the two recent works (1986 and 1988) that focus on this type of media subservience in connection with terrorism. Cf also, Herman (1982).
23. Friedlander (1983). Although this brief study relies heavily on rightist and disinformation sources, it is clearly an honest attempt to reconstruct the crime and its conclusions are properly cautious.
24. For intelligent conservative analyses of terrorism, see the earliest publications by Paul Wilkinson; Bell; and particularly the excellent study by Wardlaw. Many of the works by Brian Jenkins of the RAND Corporation, a former military intelligence officer and certainly a political rightist, are also very interesting and thought-provoking, e.g. Jenkins (1975).
25. This is Herman and Brodhead. For an earlier version, see the special issue of *Covert Action Information Bulletin* (Spring 1985). At this point a few words should be said about the value of CAIB as a source. Although one of its founders - CIA defector Philip Agee - and some of its editors have apparently exchanged information with the Cuban intelligence agency, the Direccion General de Seguridad (DGS), and should therefore be viewed with great suspicion in my view, many of the authors who regularly write articles for the magazine are very fine investigative journalists and/or scholars. Even writers who are strongly opposed to CAIB's stated goal of exposing covert Western intelligence operations that it views as fundamentally anti-democratic admit that much of the information contained there in is reliable. See, e.g., Bittman (1985) p. 192.
26. See, e.g., several written by Diana Johnstone for *In These Times*, including that cited above (note 12), and those in issues 26 June - 9 July 1985, pp.12-13; 29 January - 4 February 1986, pp.11 and 22; 16- 22 April 1986, p.9, and Orsan Oymen's seven part article in *Milliyet* from 18-25 November 1984.
27. Mumcu (1984). In addition to this valuable but not entirely problem-free work, Mumcu has also written three other books dealing with aspects of terrorism in Turkey, Mumcu (1980, 81 and 82).
28. Amongst Dobbs' numerous excellent articles are 'A Communist Pot to Kill the Pope - or a Liar's Fantasy' in *Washington Post* (18 May, 1984) pp. C1-2, and his four-part 'Man Who Shot the Pope' series, 14-17 October 1984.
29. The most succinct of this thesis is offered by Sterling in Netanyahu (ed), pp.103-4. Cf Henze pp.128, 161-3, 194-200, 210-216; Sablier (1983) pp.243-57. Thomas and Morgan-Witts not only indict the KGB and Bulgarians but also the Libyans, Syrians and Palestinians! See their *Pontiff* pp.17, 210-211, 292, 294, 408-11, 457-8, note 1.
30. Henze pp.214-5, 153-9; Sterling (1985) pp.115-129; Dobbs 'A Communist Plot..' p. C1.
31. Thus, e.g., Henze thinks it may have occurred in the Spring of 1979 (pp. 203-4), whereas Sterling suggests it was a 'sleeper' recruited earlier on, which would explain his alleged training in Palestinian or Syrian guerilla camps and the bank accounts opened in his name before he arrived in Istanbul in 1978 (Sterling, 1985) pp.49-50, 101-3. Thomas and Morgan-Witts (1983) claim that Agca first made contact with the extreme left in Malatya through his schoolmate and Devrimci Sol (Revolutionary Left) militant Sedat Sirri Kadem. See pp. 290-1. There is no evidence to support *any* of these theories other than Agca's shifting testimony.
32. Although the relations between Pope Wojtya and the Soviet authorities is certainly more complicated than Henze and Sterling portray them, I find the

- efforts of those who try to minimize East bloc hostility towards the Pontiff entirely unconvincing. Soviet antipathy towards John Paul II long predated the actual establishment of *Solidarnosc*, as their official press clearly indicates. See note 66.
33. Indeed, they argue that the Pope incurred the wrath of *Western* regimes by promoting disarmament, meeting with PLO representatives, criticising US foreign policy in Central America etc. See Kovalyov and Sedykh pp.19-25.
  34. Herman and Brodhead pp.14-15, 210. Some scepticism regarding alleged Soviet motives is justified, but these authors carry it too far here.
  35. Agca contradicted himself and/or changed testimony over 100 times, and made a number of outlandish statements, including a claim to be Jesus Christ etc. For an overview of Agca's main contradictions and retractions, see Herman and Brodhead (1986) pp.18-41. Cf Dobbs, 'A Communist Plot...' p. C2, on the frequency of Agca's lying.
  36. Sterling and Thomas and Morgan-Witts rely heavily on information provided by anonymous intelligence serouces, often for their most crucial arguments, See, e.g. Sterling (1985) pp.44-5, 72-5, 90-6; Thomas and Morgan-Witts (1983) p. 449 note 19, p. 452 note 5, pp.453-4 note 5; idem 1984 pp. 128- 35, 277-7, 386 note 8, 405 note 25.
  37. For a good discussion of some of the problems involved in defector testimony, see Herman and Brodhead pp.234-40 (Appendix C). However, I feel that they ignore one of the single most problematic factors - the absolute control exercised over defectors by their new handlers. Although most defectors from the Soviet Bloc have good personal and/or moral reasons for their antipathy to communism and probably need little prompting to implicate their former masters in the most sordid deeds, it is important to emphasize that from the moment a defector makes contact with an enemy intelligence officer - assuming he is not a 'dangle' or a 'double' - he loses most of his independence and bargaining leverage. Later on, if he does not cooperate most fully with his debriefers and handlers, they can always threaten to return him to his country of origin or embassy and to publicize his treachery, which would have horrible consequences for him and his family. In other words, even if a defector was unwilling to lie or disseminate disinformation about his former country's activities, which is probably a rare circumstance, he would not have any real choice in the matter. This is a factor which must always be weighed when attempting to evaluate the reliability of defector testimony, and one that often tends to offset the benefits deriving from the fact that they may well have detailed first-hand knowledge of communist intelligence techniques and operations.
  38. Thus, e.g., the work of Henze is filled with politically-motivated speculations and hypotheses. Practically every paragraph contains verbs in the subjunctive or conditional tenses, innuendoes followed by question marks, or - worst of all - baseless presumptions stated as if they had already been proven. See, e.g. pp.135 (second paragraph), 137 (third paragraph), 161-2 (third paragraph on), pp.177-80 (whole section), 194 (second paragraph), etc.
  39. Cf Herman and Brodhead p.14; Dobbs 'A Communist Plot.....' p. C2. However, I think they underestimate the propensity of regimes - especially those as paranoid as the Soviet regime - to initiate actions which end up being counterproductive to the attainment of desired goals. Hubris and shortsightedness can never be factored out of supposedly rational decision-making processes.
  40. Again, however, it seems to me that the efficiency of enemy intelligence

services is frequently exaggerated in public sources for propaganda effect. See, e.g. Henze p. 80, even though it undermines his own case. Just as some CIA operations have been characterised by gross incompetence, we can assume that not all Communist Bloc operations are planned intelligently and executed skilfully, and indeed there are plenty of examples of this. See Barron pp. 10-11, 99-101 etc. This book was compiled primarily from CIA materials leaked to the author.

41. Herman and Brodhead pp.15-16.
42. Hood 'Unlikely conspiracy' p. 68.
43. *Ibid*; Herman and Brodhead p.16; Palchev pp.63-65.
44. Hood p. 68
45. *Ibid*
46. *Ibid* pp.68-70; Herman and Brodhead p.17; Parenti p.162. Note that even Sterling initially casts doubts on the theory of Soviet involvement in the attack, saying that it was 'crazy' since 'there would have been a better getaway plot'. See the interview with her in *People*, 1 June 1981 p.34
47. Kovalyov and Sedykh pp. 79-80; Antonov (1983) pp. 21-46
48. I know of no published work devoted entirely to the organization and operations of the MIT, although a number of works touch upon it in connection with the KG, One example is Genc.
49. For more on the MHP and Bozkurtlar, see *infra*.
50. For more on P2 see Berger, Barbieri et al, Teodori, Piazzesi, Ramat et al, Rossi and Lombrassa, Anselmi.
51. For more on the Super SISMI see '[Sezione] Speciale: Servizi Segreti e Strutture Clandestine: La Ricostruzione Giudiziaria del Supersismi', in *Questione Giustizia* 6:1 (1987) pp. 121-92
52. Integralists are Catholic ultra-nationalist who believe that the Church's doctrine is eternal and unchanging, and who seek to infuse it - by force if necessary - into all facets of modern life. As such, they are opposed to the process of secularization and to all attempts to reform or adapt Church policies in accordance with changing social conditions. See, e.g., Poulat pp.46-57; Antoine pp.11-15. This view has often led to their adoption of rightist political policies and totalitarian methods, as for example in promoting coups and terrorism during the late 1950s and 60's. See, e.g. Maitres pp.106-17.
53. An excellent general introduction to the BND (and other West German intelligence agencies) is provided by Walde pp.79-105.
54. The best sketch of Mossad's structure and functioning is probably the CIA's own leaked 1979 analysis, Israel: Foreign Intelligence and Security Services in *Counterspy* (May-June 1982) pp.34-54. Most of the other works on the Israeli intelligence services are 'hagiographic'.
55. The NATO secret service is so secret that even its name is not known, but some of its purported operations in the Italian sphere are sketched by Flamini.
56. Thus, e.g. Kovalyov and Sedykh argue (pp. 28-30) that Mossad may have been behind the papal attack since (a) John Paul II had recently angered the Israeli government by meeting with PLO representatives, and (b) it served Israeli interests to heighten US-Soviet hostility. Strangely enough, an Austrian Security Service file leaked to Thomas and Morgan-Witts also implicated Mossad in Agca's mistakes. See Thomas and Morgan-Witts (1983) p. 454 note 4.
57. Andronov (1983) pp.9, 45-6; Palchev pp.11-13; Kovalyov and Sedykh p. 80; Eisenhower and Murray pp.2-4.
58. This has been done *indirectly* through media assets like Henze, Sterling,

- Ledeem, de Borchgrave and company, as well as behind the scenes overseas.
59. For more on John Paul II's policies, see Paul Johnson, Zizola and the highly controversial (and apparently falsified) work by Gronowicz. For his activities in Poland, see Brown (ed) and Hanson pp.197-233.
  60. Herman and Brodhead pp. 241-4.
  61. Like its 'Bulgarian connection' counterpart, it consists mainly of suppositions, hypothesised linkages and circumstantial evidence.
  62. This notion of a 'dual conspiracy' derives from the analysis of Herman and Brodhead pp.241-4.
  63. See *infra*.
  64. Apple Jnr pp.A1, A6; Munir pA1; Ahmad p.A4.
  65. Cf Dobbs, 'Child of Turkish Slums', p.A20.
  66. For an example of hostile Soviet attitudes to John Paul II, see 30 December 1982 TASS statement cited by Henze pp.184-5. Numerous examples are provided by Bensipp.9-26, who demonstrates how East Bloc opinions on the Pope have been cynically shifted for different audiences.
  67. Sterling (1985) pp.19-19.
  68. Herman and Brodhead pp.102-112; Johnstone, *In These Times*, 29th January-4 February 1986, pp.12, 22 and many articles in the mainstream Italian press. Obviously, Soviet bloc authors also emphasize this, e.g., Plachev pp.19-22; Antonov (1983) pp.9-10.
  69. Eisenhower and Murray pp.100-1; Parenti p.162. This is a naive and historically inaccurate claim.
  70. The use of covert provocations and agents provocateurs dates back to at least 19th century Europe, and was especially prevalent in Tsarist Russia. See Golstein pp.72-4. I personally believe it considerably predates that, both in Europe and elsewhere.
  71. See Kitson pp.72-211
  72. Laurent pp.148-56
  73. Peri pp.237-8
  74. See the fascinating articles by Pepe Diaz Herrero et al pp.36-40, and Miguel Angel Liso pp.40-1.
  75. See Flamini *passim* vols 1 and 2; Bale.
  76. Gonzalez-Mata pp.266-74
  77. Bittman (1972) pp.1-3. The author goes on to claim that this was far from an exceptional case.
  78. For an unconfirmed example, see Clissold pp.10-11. However, the source for this is none other than the infamous Czech defector and disinformation peddler, former Major-General Jan Sejna, who implausibly links a cross-border foray into Yugoslavia by emigré saboteurs to an alleged Warsaw Pact military plan (codenamed 'Polarka' [Pole Star]) that was designed to provide a pretext for a Soviet invasion of both Yugoslavia and the eastern half of Austria! See, e.g. Herman and Brodhead pp.135- 6, 237-8. Note also that the ISC, publisher of the Clissold piece, is a 'think tank' once headed by Brian Crozier, a specialist on insurgency, who has long been an asset of various Western intelligence agencies. To give only one example, he formerly played a leading role in the London- based Forum World Features 'news service', which was subsequently exposed in the mainstream American and British press as a propaganda agency for the CIA and MI6. For excellent summaries of the histories of Crozier and ISC, see *State Research* 1 (October 1977) and appendices 1 and 8 of *Lobster* 11. Nevertheless, many monographs in the ISC's 'Conflict Studies' series are informative and reliable.

79. This doesn't seem to discourage Henze, who argues that 'we are past the point where it serves the interest of any party except the Soviets to adopt the minimalist, legalistic approach which argues that if there is no 'documentary evidence' or some other form of incontrovertible proof that the government of the USSR is behind something, we must assume that it is not.' See 'The Long Effort to Destabilize Turkey', in *Atlantic Community Quarterly* (Winter 1981-2) p. 468. Cf also Sterling (1985) p.137 who denies the need to find a 'smoking gun'. While I agree that it is often difficult if not impossible to obtain such clear evidence of clandestine and covert operations, one surely needs more than they have provided to warrant accusing another superpower of such a serious crime.
80. Sterling (1985) p. 70
81. Henze p. 204
82. *Ibid* p. 135; Sterling pp.12-13, 71, 206, 246.
83. Henze p.134; Sterling pp.43-4
84. Sterling pp.50, 71, 101-2, 232. Henze also speaks of Agca's careful preparation for interrogation, implying a Soviet connection.
85. Henze pp.198-200. His arguments here are frankly absurd.
86. *Ibid* pp.129-30
87. Thomas and Morgan-Witts (1983) *passim*. Much of their psychological analysis is amateurish and unconvincing.
88. Henze pp.27, 131-2, 139, 150, 198-9.; Sterling (1985) pp.25, 47, 70, 75, 247.
89. Henze p.201; Sterling p.70. This is a false claim, although the evidence for Agca's links to Turkes himself remains a matter of controversy. See further, notes 187-90.
90. Sterling (1985) p.70
91. *Ibid* p.102; Henze pp.152, 176, 199.
92. Herman and Brodhead pp. 55-6
93. Henze pp.27, 38-9, 136; Sterling pp.40, 45; Thomas and Morgan-Witts (1983) p.332. This is a disputed matter.
94. Henze p.136
95. Sterling (1985) p.71
96. Sterling *ibid* p.40; Henze pp.31-2
97. Sterling pp.40-1; Henze pp.31-2
98. Henze p.39. Dobbs dates Agca's association with the right from his junior high school days. See 'Child of Turkish Slum', p. A20.
99. Sterling (1985) p.39
100. Cf Dobbs, 'Child of Turkish slum' p. A20. Right-and left-wing terrorists in Turkey often had similar personality types and their decision to become affiliated with one of these political extremes was frequently the result of circumstantial factors rather than firm ideological commitments. See Bale. The fact that Agca was a Sunni probably also predisposed him to become a rightist, since rival Turkish Shi'ites (Alevites) were often leftists. Cf the testimony of Caylan, cited by Henze p.39.
101. Henze p.38
102. Apple Jr p.A1
103. Dobbs, 'Child of Turkish Slum' p. A20
104. Apple Jr p. A1; Howe, 'Turk's Hometown Puzzled by His Climb to Notoriety', *New York Times* (23 May 1981) p. 2. According to Thomas and Morgan-Witts, who seem to have acquired part of Agca's personal library - the one Henze claimed Henze's mother said she had burned (Henze pp.31-2) - it included Frederick Forsyth's novel about a right-wing plot to assassinate De



- Gaulle, *The Day of the Jackal*, and they assert that Agca read it several times.  
See *Pontiff*, pp.9-10, 445.
- 105.Dobbs, 'Child of Turkish Slum', p. A20
- 106.*Ibid*
- 107.Indeed, Celik seems to have worked for Ugurlu's co-Godfather Bekir Celenk.  
See Sterling (1985) p. 92
- 108.See e.g., Kruger.
- 109.Dobbs 'Child of a Turkish slum' p. A20. The MHP was in a position to provide this in the mid to late 1970s by virtue of its participation in coalition governments and consequent assumption of control over the Customs Ministry. Indeed, an MHP member was appointed to head the Ministry of State Monopolies and Customs, and many other rightists were then recruited to fill lower-level customs posts. See *Black Book on the Militarist 'Democracy' in Turkey* (Brussels, Info-Turk, 1986) p. 331. Cf Henze p.169 reveals that ADUTDF leader Celebi had joined the Customs Ministry in 1976 and thence became involved with Bulgarian smuggling.
- 110.Dobbs 'Child of Turkish Slum' p. A20
- 111.Thomas and Morgan-Witts (1983) p.12
- 112.Henze pp. 36-7, 131; Dobbs 'Child of Turkish slum' p. A20; Sterling p. 45
- 113.According to Dobbs *ibid* it is not known whether Agca participated in rightist student clashes with the left.
- 114.Henze, p.131, Cf Sterling p.45
- 115.Ahmad p.A4. Thomas and Morgan-Witts (1983) pp. 209-10 claim - as usual without providing any evidence - that Turkes was preparing him for a 'hit' during the time he resided in Ankara.
- 116.Henze p.136
- 117.See notes 124 and 125
- 118.Sterling (1985) pp.18-19; Henze pp.132-3; Thomas and Morgan-Witts (1983) p. 288; Sablier pp.246-7.
- 119.See *infra*
- 120.Henze pp.133, 136; Sterling (1985) p. 45
- 121.Howe, 'Turks in disagreement...' p. A4
- 122.Sterling (1985) p. 45: Cf Thomas and Morgan-Witts (1983) p. 332
- 123.Ahmad p. A4
- 124.Henze pp.137-8; Sterling (1985) pp.49-50.
- 125.Apple Jnr p. A6; Dobbs, 'Child of a Turkish Slum' p. A20; Henze p.137. Thomas and Morgan-Witts claim (1983 pp.209-210) that Turkes got Agca involved in such activities while Agca was still in Ankara.
- 126.Henze pp.137-8; Apple Jnr. p. A6.
- 127.Henze p.137
- 128.Mumcu pp.34-42
- 129.Sterling (1985) pp.48-9. Cf Henze p.146
- 130.Ahmad p. A4; Apple Jnr p. A6; Howe, 'Turks in Disagreement' p. 4; Mumcu pp.40-2; Sterling (1985) p. 49; Henze p. 146. If so, this corresponded to standard MHP practice. See Agaogullari p. 205. However, Caylan claimed at the trial that the gun was wrapped in cloth and thrown out of the window to the car. Unfortunately, Sener himself eluded authorities and fled the country before he could be arrested.
- 131.Orsan Oymen, cited in Lee and Coogan, p. 21.
- 132.Henze pp.164-5
- 133.Mumcu (1984) p. 46

134. Henze pp.201-2. This is quite possible, since it was shortly after Agca announced that he would tell who the real shooter was that he was sprung from prison, which leads one to suspect that he was withholding important information.
135. *Ibid.*
136. Mumcu (1982 b) pp.57-761. Henze (p.198) tried to transform the significance of this by pointing to Celik's links to Ugurlu, which supposedly proved he was a Soviet agent!
137. Lee and Coogan p. 21. See Mumcu (1984) pp.45,363, for Catli's organizational affiliations.
138. Although Henze unconvincingly tries to absolve the MHP and implicate the Soviets in this crime (pp.139-45), most knowledgeable people attribute the killing of Ipekci to the Turkish far right. It is well known in Turkey that Ipekci was a consistent critic of both the MNHP and the religious right MSP of Necmettin Erbakan, as well as all types of political terrorism and smuggling. See, e.g. Mumcu (1984) pp.154-73; *idem* Mumcu (1982b) pp.51-7. Moreover, the 945 page indictment prepared by the Ankara military court against Turkes and other MHP leaders listed the Ipekci killing as one of the cases they were being prosecuted for. See Marvin Howe p. A8. However, a 1984 Turkish prosecutor's report suggested that the real motive was not so much political as economic. In that report, it was concluded that Ugurlu had hired Agca to kill Ipekci in order to forestall the latter's publication of a series on the Turkish mafia. See Ignatius p.26. Much of that report's analysis seem to me to be problematic, however.
139. Turkes' hostility toward Greece is clearly manifested in his own words in *Dis Politikamiz ve Kibris* (Istanbul, Kutlug, 1974), as well as many MHP-linked publications.
140. Apple Jnr p. A6; Dobbs 'Child of Turkish Slum', p. A1. There is some controversy over how the Turkish police were tipped off. Henze (p.148) and Sterling (p.48) claim that the tip was anonymous and that the caller never picked up the reward money, which leads the former to suggest that someone purposely tried to make it look like Agca was a rightist. Yet even if this is true, there are other possible explanations. For example, it could be that the informant became fearful and decided not to risk collecting his reward. See Roulette pp.140-1. And others claim that the lottery ticket salesman Ramazan Gundiz notified the police in person, which would explain how Agca later learned who he was and murdered him. See Thomas and Morgan-Witts (1983) pp.367-7.
141. Henze pp.149-50
142. *Ibid* p149. MIT informant Hoca Kocyigit also claimed that Gunes had pressured Agca to implicate the MHP in the Ipekci assassination. See Sterling (1985) pp. 77, 239, note 5 (in chapter 6 section). However, the testimony of such informants, especially those with rightist sympathies, is far from conclusive in this context. For more on Kocyigit, see below, note 195.
143. Henze p.150: Sterling (1985) p. 77.
144. Thomas and Morgan-Witts (1983) p. 378.
145. Apple Jnr p. A6; Dobbs, 'Child of Turkish Slum' p. A21; Mumcu (1984) p. 44; Henze pp. 151-2 (although he fails to mention their rightist affiliations). Agca had already made an unsuccessful attempt to escape on 5 November 1979 with Attila Serpil, another rightist militant. See Mumcu (1984) p. 44
146. Dobbs, 'Child of Turkish Slum' p. A20.
147. Sterling (1985) p. 51

- 148.Mumcu (1984) pp.44-5; Lee and Coogan p. 21
- 149.Dobbs 'Child of a Turkish slum..' p. A20. Indeed, Ugurlu actually visited a Bozkurt named Dogan Yildirim at Kartal-Maltepe at the same time Agca was there. See Dobbs 'From Sofia to St Peter's' p. A18.
- 150.Lee and Coogan p. 21
- 151.Apple Jnr p.A6
- 152.Dobbs, 'Child of Turkish Slum' p.A21
- 153.Henze pp.159-60
- 154.Sterling (1985) p.92
- 155.Mumcu (1984) p.45: Henze p.159
- 156.Mumcu *ibid* pp.45-6; Henze pp.159-60. Again, Henze fails to note their rightist affiliations.
- 157.Mumcu (1984) pp.46-7
- 158.*Ibid* pp.46-7, 370. *Hergun* was an official MHP publication.
- 159.*Ibid* p46
- 160.Howe 'Rightist Web of Intrigue' p. A8
- 161.Sterling (1985) pp.44-5, 67.
- 162.Henze pp.161-3
- 163.Andronov, *Triple Plot* pp.29-35
- 164.Mersan later admitted meeting someone called 'Metin' at the Vitosha, but claimed that he learned this was Agca only *after* the latter's arrest in Rome. He also denied involvement in the passport scheme. Henze, p.164: Sterling (1985) pp.34-5. Ugurlu also acknowledged paying 'Metin' \$800, but said he did so at the request of Yildirim. See Dobbs 'From Sofia to St Peter's' p. A18.
- 165.Oymen, cited by Sterling (1985) pp.58-60
- 166.*Ibid* pp.34-5, 84, 223-5: Henze p.164
- 167.See *infra*.
- 168.See *infra*.
- 169.At first, no one could identify such a person, but in May 1982 Agca claimed that he was the director of Bulgar-Tabac, a state monopoly manufacturing Marlboros under license. See Sterling (1985) p.111. This has not been confirmed.
- 170.Dobbs, 'From Sofia to St Peter's' p. A18. Aivazov and Celenk deny ever meeting Agca, which of course proves nothing.
- 171.Cf *ibid* pp.A18-19: Apple Jnr p.A6; Mumcu (1984) *passim*; Howe 'Rightist Web of Intrigue' pp.A1, A8; Herman and Brodhead pp.53-4; and all pro-communist sources. On the other hand, Ahmad argues (p.A4) that European neo-fascists aided Agca because it would have been too difficult for the MIT-influenced Turkish right in Europe to do so, but he presents no evidence for this.
- 172.Henze p.11: cf Sterling (1985) p. 231, where she notes that Agca 'moved from one Grey Wolf safe house to another in Europe'.
- 173.Dobbs 'From Sofia to St Peter's' p. A18. For more on the Turkish military's crackdown on the MHP see Agaogullari pp.205-6.
- 174.Henze p.169
- 175.Herman and Brodhead p.53; Barbara Hoffman et al pp.71-2. It should be noted that the publisher of the latter work - Pahl-Rugenstein - has strong links to the Soviet-backed Deutsche Kommunistische Partei (DKP), despite its public image as an independent left outfit. See e.g. Mensing pp.124-8.
- 176.Hoffman et al pp.69-89; Agaogullari pp.199-200; and especially ex MHP member Yurtaslan.

- 177.Klose p. A10; Tagliabue 'Militant Views' p.A6; Howe 'Rightist Web of Intrigue' p. A8. Herman and Brodhead p53.
- 178.Hoffman et al pp.74, 101-4; 'Graue Wolfe: Jede Mark ist eine Jkugel' in *Spiegel* 34:37 (8 September 1980) pp.58-61.
- 179.The two victims were Idealist Necati Uygur and Turkish journalist Halil Tireli. See Apple jnr p.A6; Mumcu (1984) p.143.
- 180.Henze p.170.
- 181.*Ibid* pp.168-70. Cf Sterling (1985) p.147; Dobbs 'From Sofia to St Peter's' p.A18.
- 182.Sterling (1985) pp.33-4; Cf Henze p.175; Dobbs 'From Sofia to St. Peter's ' p.A18.
- 183.Henze p.177
- 184.Sterling (1985) pp.33, 54. Cf Henze pp.176-7; Apple Jnr p.A6.
- 185.Dobbs 'Agca's Changing Testimony' pp.A1, A21.
- 186.Sterling (1985) pp. 44-5
- 187.Cited in Mumcu (1982b) p.107, and in English translation, in Sterling (1985) p69.
- 188.Note that Tanri is the pre-Islamic Turkish sky deity, and that the phrase used by Agca - Tanri Turku Korusun - is a standard pan-Turkish exclamation. See Landau (1981) pp.147, 150.
- 189.Sterling (1985) pp.69-70; Henze pp.188-9.
- 190.Mumcu (82b) pp.106-10. However, this latter does not prove it was genuine, for the Turkish authorities are certainly not above accepting bogus evidence - or even manufacturing it - if they thought it would serve their purposes.
- 191.Cf Herman and Brodhead pp.54-5.
- 192.See note 35.
- 193.Martella's investigative process exhibited considerable biases and in some cases involved the use of improper judicial procedures. For a general critique see Herman and Brodhead pp.112-21. They also rightly emphasize the highly polarised political context within which the Italian judicial system operates. See *ibid* pp.66-100.
- 194.Cited by Dobbs, 'A Communist Plot.....?' p.C2. Agca's extraordinary skill at dissimulation has been emphasised by almost every researcher into the papal assassination. The only issue is whether this was a product of psychosis, careful training, a combination of the two, or other factors.
- 195.Their general argument is that although Agca lied frequently, he mixed truth in with those lies and provided a wealth of details that he could only have learned if the events he described had actually taken place. See e.g. Sterling (1985) pp.147-8 etc. While I agree that Agca cleverly mixed truth with falsehood, I am not at all convinced that the elements regarded as true by 'Bulgarian connection' proponents are in fact the ones that are true. Many of them later turned out to be false, and other details that were accurate seemed to have been gleaned by Agca from media accounts and books or provided to him by his secret service 'coaches'. See Herman and Brodhead pp.102-112.
- 196.Herman and Brodhead pp.55-105. Even Martella admitted this elsewhere in his report. See Dobbs, 'A Communist Plot..?' p.C2.
- 197.Herman and Brodhead pp.56, 103-8.
- 198.*Ibid* p.56. For Agca's close personal relationship with Celik, see Dobbs 'From Sofia to St Peter's', p.A18; Henze p.198.
- 199.Cited by Dobbs, 'Child of Turkish Slum', p.A21.
- 200.See Sterling (1985) p.18 citing Italian judge Antonio Abate's Statement of Motivation. These included the THKO, THKP-C (Peoples' Liberation Party-

- Front of Turkey), Emegin Birligi (Association of Labor) and Halkin Kurtulusu (People's Liberation) on the left; and the ultranationalist Ulkuculer (Idealists associated with the MSP) and religious rightist Akincilar or 'Raiders' (affiliated with the MSP) on the right. For more on the THKO and THKP-C, see Landau (1974) pp.41-4; Saminpp. 159-60. For Halkin Kurtulusu see the latter pp.165 and 147. For the Akincilar, see Oehring pp.164-7.
201. Stirling (1985) p.72.
202. See, e.g. Yilmaz Cetiner, *El-Fateh* (Istanbul, May 1970); Olsen, pp.197-205; Landau (1974)
203. Thus e.g. memberse of the neo-Nazi Wehrsportsgruppe Hoffman received guerrilla warefare training at PLO camps. See. e.g. 'Germania: Aumenta la Violenza Politica (sopratuttó Neo-Nazista' *Corriere della Sera* (8 August 1981), p7, citing the official West German Bundesamt fur Verfassungsschutz report from 1980. This has been played up in the Western press in order to discredit the PLO, as well as by Lebanese Phalangist spokesmen in an effort to divert attention from their own training of European neo-Nazis and neo-fascists. See de Lutiis (ed) 1986, pp235-6.
204. This not so much due to their psychological dissimilarities or even - at least in the case of the fascist MHP and anti-Soviet radical leftists - to their entirely incompatible ideologies, but rather to the historic enmities between some of these groups. Thus, e.g., such enmities would have made it practically impossible for Kurdish separatists and Idealists to train together despite their mutual hostility towards the Turkish regime.
205. See notes 241-3, 248.
206. See the testimony of Girgin, cited by Sterling (1985) p.73. He claims that both Idealists and religious rightists were being trained at a Phalange camp in the Ketai region.
207. See Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) 'The Involvement of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in International Narcotics Trafficking' in US Congress 'Subcommittee on Alcohol and Drug Abuse', 1984 p.58; and 'Prepared Statement of John C. Lawn, Acting Deputy Administrator of the Drug Enforcement Agency' in US Congress, House Committee on Foreign Relations (1984) p.7. Henze claims that it was in 1965, without providing any evidence. See his prepared statement in the latter, p.26. Likewise Mumcu,(1981) p.114.
208. 'Lawn Statement' (see note 207) p.5
209. Herman and Brodhead pp.225-33. Note, however, that these doubts are supported by the US Customs Service. In response to a congressional questionnaire, that agency stated that it had 'no hard evidence that the government of Bulgaria has conducted illicit narcotic trafficking' and concluded that it was 'doubtful that any concrete, tangible violations exists (sic) at this time'. See US Congress, House Committee on Foreign Relations, p.115. However, I do not believe that the Customs Service is as well equipped with intelligence sources or analysts as the DEA, and there may also be bureaucratic or political factors involved in this assessment.
210. DEA 'Involvement....' (see note 207) p.62. Cf also Nathan Adams 'Prepared Statement' pp.72-3, in House Committee on Foreign Relations (see note 207); Sterling (1985) pp.94-5. For the confirmation of KINTEX's role in the drugs-for-guns trade by independent sources, see Newsday Staff (1973-4) pp.50-8; Mumcu (1981) pp.114-118; Calvi and Schmidt (pp 66-7). Curiously, however, Ugurlu and Celenk were *not* mentioned in the Newsday team's list of 'Istanbul patrons' who were 'expected, when asked, to supply intelligence information to the Bulgarian secret police'. See Newsday Staff pp.53-4.

211. DEA 'Involvement.....' (Note 207) p.60; 'Lawn Statement' (note 207) pp.9-10; and 'Statement of R.M. Palmer, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs' in *ibid* pp.16-17.
212. DEA 'Involvement...' p.61 (note 207).
213. *Ibid*
214. *Ibid* p.58; 'Lawn Statement' (see note 207) p 7. Note, however, that the veracity (or even the existence) of the anonymous source they cite is impossible to determine.
215. On this see Landis (1988) pp.41-7; also Epstein pp.12-20.
216. 'Henze Prepared Statement' (see note 207) p.25. (Emphasis in the original.)
217. DEA 'Involvement....' (see note 207) p.58; Nathan Adams p.88.
218. DEA 'Involvement....' (see note 207) p.58; Adams (*ibid* p.87; 'Henze Statement' (note 207) p.30.
219. Adams *ibid* pp.91-8; 'Henze statement' (note 207) pp.26-8.
220. Sterling (1985) p. 96, citing information leaked to her by an anonymous source at a 'major US intelligence agency' (*ibid* p.93). According to said source, Ugurlu started smuggling in Bulgaria in 1969 and 'was recruited as an agent of the Bulgarian secret service' in 1974. Later, a committee of anonymous Turkish generals 'confirmed' that both Ugurlu and Celenk had been recruited by the DS. (*ibid* pp.225-6)
221. 'Prepared Statement of Jack R. Perry, Retired Foreign Service Officer and Former US Ambassador to Bulgaria' in US Congress, Committee on Labour and Human Resources (see note 207) p.64. Unlike Adams, Perry has great experience of Bulgarian affairs and is fluent both in Russian and Bulgarian.
222. *Ibid*. Contra another Bulgaria defector, 'Colonel X', who claims that 'nothing, absolutely nothing, can escape the notice of the [Bulgarian] state security organization.' See 'Henze statement' (note 207) p.30, citing 24 January 1983 issue of *Le Quotidien de Paris*.
223. 'Perry Statement' (note 221) p64.
224. *Ibid*. Cf his verbal testimony in *ibid* p.61. *Contra* Lawn's testimony (note 207)
225. Thus Adams claims that working for KINTEX was especially appealing to DS officers, since they were allowed to pocket their KINTEX wages in addition to their normal pay. See his 'Prepared Statement' in US Congress. Committee on Labor and Human Resources (note 207) p. 72.
226. See Lawn's testimony in *ibid* pp.92-3.
227. Henze's testimony in *ibid* p.42, citing London *Observer*.
228. See Sampson p.10.
229. Nathan Adams p.97.
230. 'Henze Statement' (see note 207) p.27. Cf Mumcu (1981) pp.114- 116, who also points out that the Bulgarian government formed commercial partnerships with 'anti-communist' Turks.
231. As Henze naturally claims. See 'Plot to Kill the Pope' p. 55.
232. 'Lawn Statement' (note 207) pp.8-9; 'Statement of Francis M. Mullen Jr., Administrator, DEA', US Congress Subcommittee on Labor and Human Resources (note 207) p.22; DEA 'Involvement.....' (note 207) p.60.
233. For Western intelligence involvement in the drug trade see Kurger and McKoy. The recent involvement of CIA-connected Cuban exiles in the smuggling of cocaine into the US for the financial benefit of the Nicaraguan contras is only the latest in a long series of such operations. On this see, e.g., Leslie Cockburn pp.100-4, 152-88.
234. See *supra*, note 37. For confirmation of this by a neo-conservative

investigative journalist, See Epstein pp.19, 20: 'this program of surreptitious authorship had disturbing implications. It meant that much of the material in the public record on the history of the spy war that came from first-hand witnesses - i.e. defectors - had been authorised and selected, if not written by an interested party, the CIA.'

235. This is quite convenient for Henze and Adams, since it absolves them of having to prove that the document is genuine, which seems unlikely. Adams tries to blame the document's unavailability on the current leftist Greek regime - see his testimony in US Congress Sub-Committee on Human Labour and Resources (note 207) pp.98-9 - but in his earlier article he reported that Sverdlov worked for Greek intelligence for eight years after his defection, i.e., from 1971-79. (Nathan Adams pp.87-8). Since the first three of those years corresponded to the brutal right-wing reign of the colonels, which the CIA had indirectly helped to seize power, it is doubtful that such incriminating documents would have been made available to US intelligence, and then subsequently been leaked to the press - if they were genuine. Cf Herman and Brodhead p.239.
236. See the DEA response to a congressional questionnaire in US Congress Subcommittee (note 207) pp. 113-4. The alleged communist subversion of the West with narcotics is a 30-year old propaganda and disinformation theme of the American right. Although there is some evidence indicating that certain communist regimes have participated in the drug trade as middlemen, there is no substantive evidence that supports the theory that this participation was part of a 'master plan' to destabilize the West.
237. 'Lawn Statement' (note 207) pp.6-7; DEA statement (note 207) p. 58.
238. See his testimony in US Congress Subcommittee (note 207) p.14. Cf also note 209, for a stronger expression of doubt regarding the existence of hard reliable data.
239. *Ibid* pp.84-5 (citing Topuz)
240. Henze
241. Roulette pp.147-8, citing *Milliyet* (10 February 1981). Cf also Andronov pp.28-9.
242. Sterling (1985) p.102: 'The state of affairs in [Turkey] between 1977 and 1979 suggested that [Agca] was on the payroll of some covert operational faction in MIT, Turkey's CIA, divided then into factions using tactics of infiltration and provocation on both extreme right and left.' This is an extraordinary claim for a rightist like Sterling, even though she tries to deny its significance by arguing that the MIT was divided into rightist and leftist factions (*ibid* p.47) - a doubtful assertion, if by the 'left' she means anything beyond supporting Ecevit's shaky coalition government - and then insisting that it didn't really matter whether the MIT faction manipulating Agca was rightist or leftist, since Ugurlu 'was on the best of terms with both'. Although it is *known* that Ugurlu had established good relations with the Turkish far right, I have run across nothing to corroborate Sterling's claim that the 'Godfather' had established any relations with MIT leftists, assuming that the latter even existed. When one recalls that the MIT was in part organised by US intelligence after World War II, it must be assumed that its personnel were carefully screened to make sure that they did not have leftist sympathies, It is of course possible that leftists later infiltrated the organization, but I have seen no evidence of this.
243. Cited by Dobbs, 'From Sofia to St. Peter's', p. A18.
244. This is noted by almost everyone. For some interesting charges and excuses,

- see 'Turks Assail Allies in Pope's Shooting' in *New York Times* (24 May 1981), p.8; the pair of articles in *ibid* (16 May 1981) p.5, which deal with West German and Interpol defences of their actions, and Tagliabue p.A8.
245. See e.g. Sterling (1985) pp.106-7 (Mehmet Sener and Catlin), 33 and 54 (Taskin), 55-7 (Mersan) etc.
246. Thomas and Morgan-Witts (1983) p.457, note 4. Note that Henze omits this significant detail in his account of Grillmayer's arrest. See *Plot to Kill the Pope* pp.175-6.
247. Mumcu (1984) pp.143-5 etc. Cf Howe, 'Rightist Web of Intrigue' p.A8; Tagliabue p.A8.
248. Deger (1977) pp.109-115, (1978), *passim*; Roth and Taylan pp.90-4, 116-20, 130-7. Mehmet Ali Birand also notes that the KG organization was made of of 'patriotic citizens', i.e. Idealists and other rightists. See *12 Eyul, Saat 04.00* (n.p. Karacan, 1984) pp.88-91. According to Dogan Ozgudeb, the Kontr-Gerilla organization provided facilities for Bozkurt terrorists being sought by the Turkish authorities after the proclamation of martial law in 1979. See Ozguden p.38. The latter author is a former editor of the extreme left Turkish weekly *Ant*. See Landau (1974) pp.65,70-2.
249. Mumcu (1980) pp.28-30; *idem* 1984 pp.145-7, 195-7, 368; *idem* (1982b) pp.24-31; Herman and Brodhead pp.63-4. This is also stressed by communist authors including Andronov pp.34-41, Kovalyov and Sedykh p.10.
250. 'Lawn Statement' (see note 207) p.5. Cf also Henze's testimony in *ibid* p.42. Note that this is not the same thing as asserting Bulgaria orchestrates and fully controls this trafficking, which does not generally seem to be the case. For example, Lawn has admitted that not all of the illicit drugs transmitting Bulgaria go through KINTEX (*ibid* p.93), which implies that some go through without the Bulgarian government's knowledge, or at least without its active participation. Cf also the testimony of Perry in *ibid* p.100. On the other hand, Henze claims (*ibid* p.119) that many of the narcotics being smuggled through networks operating out of Bulgaria don't even pass through Bulgaria, which is also quite likely.
251. 'Palmer Statement' (note 211) pp.16-17
252. Cf Herman and Brodhead p.60
253. 'Lawn Statement' (note 207) p.10. This is of course does not rule out the possibility of an indirect association.
254. The phrase is that of Herman and Brodhead, p.60
255. Cited by Dobbs in 'Child of Turkish Slum'. See *supra* note 109.
256. *Ibid*
257. See e.g. 'The Heroin Trail and Grey Wolves' Guns', *Searchlight* (UK) November 1980 p 7; Mumcu (1980) pp.128-30.

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# Miscellaneous

## More, please

In an account of his career as a writer of spy fiction (*Guardian* 16 November '89) John Le Carré referred to the hostile reaction received by his (unnamed) second book, presumably *The Looking Glass War*:

'Critics and public alike rejected the novel, but this time the spies were cross. And since the British secret service controlled large sections of the press, just as they may do today, for all I know, they made their fury felt.'

## Angleton's ghost

A wonderful piece of disinformation appeared in a *New York Times* editorial (7 January '90) speculating on what we might learn from the Soviet Union now that the Cold War is over. Under the heading 'Who was Lee Harvey Oswald?', this appeared: 'According to the Warren Commission, the man who killed John F. Kennedy in 1963 was a psychotic, acting alone. Not so, according to tireless conspiracy theorists, who speculate that Oswald, who had visited Moscow, was a K.G.B. "asset" in Dallas.'

Apart from Edward J. Epstein, lighting another candle at the shrine of James Angleton, who else takes this notion seriously? Good old, reliable, NYT, still in there, still muddying the waters 26 years later.

Angleton's paranoia about the Soviet Union was amplified grotesquely by his encounter with the KGB defector Golitsyn, and *his* fantastic conspiracy theories about the global schemes of the KGB. (These are elegantly rubbished by Gordon Brook-Shepherd in his *The Storm Birds: Soviet Post-war Defectors* [Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1988].) One of the interesting (if minor) questions in the post-Gorbachev era is, 'How have Golitsyn's enthusiasts adjusted to the new reality?'. The answer appears to be, 'not a lot', if Brian Crozier is anything to go by. In the *Independent* (7 February 1990) Crozier presents a Golitsyn-esque view of the Gorbachev counter-revolution which concludes:

'The evidence is very strong that Gorbachev's "new thinking" was an ambitious deception operation which went wrong because of the advanced decay of an unreformable system.'

## The fabric of British democracy

In *Lobster* 18 Gordon Winter referred to British state personnel accessing ballot papers. Winter reported the papers kept in locked metal boxes. Not so, writes David Northmore, referring us to the piece in the *Independent* (20 August '88). From being a local election agent, I know that Winter's account of the votes being put into bundles by party is true. But at the vote counting the ballot papers *were* put into locked metal boxes. At some point they must be transferred to the paper sacks for disposal. This is presumably done so that the metal boxes can be used in the next election; and there are now municipal elections every year in many places in England.



**Two workmen push a trolley with sacks containing last year's general election ballot papers at an incineration plant in North London, *David Northmore writes.***

**Under the Representation of People Act 1983, a senior government law officer is required to keep custody of all ballot papers and official documentation relating to parliamentary and local government elections for a minimum period of a year and a day.**

**This enables any member of the public to petition for the convention of an Election Court if corrupt or illegal election practices are suspected. After this period, the Lord Chancellor's Department must arrange for the documents to be destroyed**

## **Print**

The late Mae Brussel has been immortalised in The Mae Brussel Research Centre, PO Box 8431, Santa Cruz, Ca 95061. This produces a newsletter, *World Watchers International*, the first issue of which appeared in Fall '89. Like Brussel's own output, this first issue is a mixture of interesting information, new leads, publications of interest and the kind of nonsense which gives 'conspiracy' its bad name. The Research Centre has got Brussel's files and promises to make them available to other researchers - for an appropriate donation. If you write, send a couple of dollars to cover postage back.

February 1990 saw the first issue of new parapolitical newsletter, *Conflict:the Dorff Report*. The first issue was 8 pages, mostly about the Kennedy assassination. Annual subs are \$29.00 for 12 issues, to Robert Dorff Auctioneers Inc., 223 S. Beverley Drive, Suite 202- A, Beverley Hills, CA 90212. The first issue is an interesting beginning, but no more. The second promises to reproduce the text of CIA Document 1035-960, the Agency's 1967 plan for discrediting critics of the Warren Commission.

## **Old Nazis, New Nazis**

One of the most impressive pamphlets to come my way in recent years is *Old Nazis, the New Right and the Reagan Administration: the role of domestic fascist networks in the Republican Party and their effect on U.S. cold war policies*, by Russ Bellant. This is 96 A4 (typeset) pages, ring-bound, thoroughly documented, indexed, and with many photographs. Anyone who read John Loftus' *The Belarus Secret*, or who is interested in the area encompassed by ABN, WACL, Singlaub, will want this. Send \$6.50 to Political Research Associates, 678 Massachusetts Avenue, Suite 205, Cambridge, Ma 02139, USA. A much edited version of this appears in *Covert Action Information Bulletin* No.33

## **Text of a letter from Dr Hugh Thomas re: Fred Holroyd**

**Mid Glamorgan Health Authority  
Merthyr & Cýnon Valley Health  
Unit**

**Prince Charles Hospital  
Merthyr Tydfil, C47 9DT  
Telephone: Merthyr Tydfil (0685)  
721721**

Our ref: WHT/EW

23rd March 1990

Mr Fred Holroyd  
15 Sandleigh Road  
Leigh-on-Sea  
Essex SS9 1JT

To Whom It May Concern

Re: Fred Holroyd

I was senior Consultant Surgeon at Musgrave Park Hospital from 1974 to 1979 during which time I came to know about the case of Capt. Holroyd who had been admitted to Netley Psychiatric Hospital through referral at Musgrave Park Hospital. I was not involved in the assessment of this officer, but was made aware of the concern of my fellow officers about the case at the time. I would comment on his initial referral by his Commanding Officer and not by an doctor, as being totally irregular. The Commanding Officer's obligation in such matters is to involve the Unit doctor for advice and referral. This was not the case in this instance.

I would also comment on the fact that the Unit doctor, had he been involved would have had to assess Capt. Holroyd himself and assess the alleged circumstances relating to his family life. I can only surmise that his assessment would have been unwelcome and I can only surmise that this was the reason for this highly irregular and precipitate



action on the part of his Commanding Officer.

Had his Unit doctor been involved and had he found cause for further referral in Psychiatric terms, such referral would have been made either to civilian Psychiatric Consultants present at Musgrave Park Hospital, or to Army Psychiatric Consultants.

As it was, he was brought to the hospital and presented to the duty medical officer. The duty medical officer was hardly a person to adequately assess a supposed acute case, having had no Psychiatric experience himself and not knowing, as the Unit doctor automatically would, the background of the family concerned.

At the time of the incident, there was grave concern expressed by a Physician at the hospital who sought sanctuary in the operating theatre, in order that he would not become involved in this affair. For a Physician to enter the portals of a surgical theatre was unusual enough let alone to request to remain there for any length of time!

Not only was Military Law clearly broken in this instance, according to my own understanding of the case then and now, but all aspects of medical practice were transgressed. His records at Netley ought themselves to carry due reference to the mode of his admission to Netley and I find it highly significant that no treatment of any kind seemed to have been given to Capt. Holroyd which would equate with a diagnosis requiring Section.

The whole episode of his medical referral in this aberrant fashion, in my opinion, requires full investigation and may be a slur not only on his Unit, but on the medical profession engaged in his transfer.

Yours sincerely,

W. H. Thomas MD FRCS (C) FRCS (ED)  
Consultant Surgeon

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