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# 'Privatising' covert action: the case of the Unification Church

**Jeffrey M. Bale**

*'You don't investigate people for why they think but for what they do.'*

- former Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti (1)

## **Introduction**

If nothing else, the Iran-Contra scandal temporarily illuminated the extent to which ostensibly private organizations have been helping secretive elements within the American government -- in this case the core of the executive branch's national security bureaucracy -- to circumvent Congressional restrictions regarding the conduct of certain important aspects of U.S. foreign policy. Information that has surfaced in the course of both official and unofficial investigations of this affair has not only revealed the widespread use of 'proprietaries' and dummy companies by U.S. intelligence and military personnel -- a long-standing practice -- but also the fact that numerous formally independent organizations have willingly engaged in operations that were blatantly illegal, not to mention immoral. (2) In a few instances this aid may have been provided solely for financial or narrow political gain, but in most cases it also resulted from a convergence of the rightist political aims of both the 'private' groups and factions within the national security apparatus created by President Ronald Reagan and his advisors. Among the groups that have participated in these activities are the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), the Air Commando Association (ACA), the National Defense Council (NDC), Refugee Relief International (RRI), Civilian Military/Material Assistance (CMA), and Sun-Myung Moon's cultic Unification Church (UC), to name only a few. (3) Herein I examine some of the covert and clandestine political connections of the last of the above-named organizations.

The vast majority of the existing literature on 'cults' falls into one of four categories: journalistic exposes; personal accounts by former members, their relatives, or their friends; social science analyses; or theological assessments. In all of these categories save the last, attention is normally focussed on the techniques used by particular cults to recruit new members and subsequently control their behaviour, if not their very thoughts. This focus is somewhat understandable, for it is precisely the systematic use of these techniques -- selective recruitment of vulnerable targets, initial deception concerning group affiliation and purposes, extreme forms of peer-group pressure, isolation from mainstream society, sensory overload, sleep and protein deprivation, constant surveillance, enforced lack of privacy, and ideological indoctrination -- that serve to set cults apart from more ordinary organizations in modern industrialized societies. (4) And it is precisely because they are so extraordinary that they elicit such widespread personal and professional fascination. Yet this almost exclusive focus tends to distract attention from other potentially significant aspects of cult behaviour, including their political interaction with the outside world.

This is especially unfortunate in the case of the Unification Church, or 'Moonie' cult. While most cults both engage in disreputable political activities (at least on the local level) and have noticeable totalitarian propensities and ramifications,(5) the UC has

long had an explicitly political agenda. As Moon, the Korean evangelist who founded the church, has said, 'we cannot separate the political field from the religious.....segregation between religion and politics is what Satan likes most.' (6) Given such an orientation, it is clearly necessary to consider Moon's political activities in order to properly evaluate the role and functioning of the UC.

Many people have examined aspects of Moon's political work; but they have often done so from an overly traditional political perspective, one which narrowly concerns itself with explicating the Church's overt attempts to influence political decisions and policies in the countries within which it operates. Thus, for example, Moon's attempts to support Richard Nixon at the height of the Watergate crisis, raise money for a variety of anti-communist causes, and influence Congressional votes through lobbying are reasonably well known; (7) and due to the extraordinary efforts of the House Subcommittee chaired by former Minnesota Representative Donald Fraser (Democrat), some of the more sordid activities of the 'Moon Organizations' have also been exposed to public view.(8) Nevertheless, despite these suggestive and important findings, the general view of the Moonies remains one of either bemused distaste for a bunch of 'religious kooks', or, at most, fear of the UC's purported 'brainwashing' abilities. (9) The degree to which Moon has been able to mislead the public and conceal the UC's authoritarian political agenda behind a religious image -- however 'heretical' or unconventional -- is best exemplified by the amount of support he has garnered from mainstream church spokesmen in the wake of his prosecution for tax fraud. Even liberal and left-leaning ministers, as well as certain American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) officials, have adopted his view that his incarceration for illegal financial activities was a case of 'religious persecution'.(10)

To counter this deceptive imagery, which is sustained by systematic and extensive propaganda of the most transparent sort, some of the lesser-known political activities of the organizational complex run by Moon and his right-hand man, 'former' Korean Army colonel Bo-Hi Pak, (11) must be sketched. It should then become clearer that Moon's actions geared towards external social control, backed as they are by extensive economic and political resources, constitute the most serious threat posed by the UC. When compared to this external danger, the internal social control mechanism of the 'Moonie' cult pale into insignificance -- except, of course, to the individuals it recruits and subjects to 'thought reform'.(12)

In this study I will only cover two of Moon's many covert political operations. First, the links between the UC and the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) will be explored. This will necessarily involve a discussion of the early history and structural features of both organizations, particularly the establishment of joint front groups. Second, the intimate connection between the UC and the World Anti-Communist League, an international umbrella organization encompassing numerous extreme right and neo-Nazi groups, will be revealed. Both of these interconnections are indicative of Moon's authoritarian political agenda, but they by no means exhaust the range of UC covert and clandestine operations.

## **The Unification Church-Korean Central Intelligence Agency connection**

Of the topics to be covered herein, the links between the UC and the repressive Chung-Hee Park regime in South Korea have received the most publicity. Congressional investigations of the so-called 'Korea-gate' scandal, which involved

both overt and covert efforts by the Republic of Korea (ROK) government to manipulate U.S. policy toward Korea, generated hundreds of articles throughout the world. Yet despite all the media attentions and the thousands of pages of Congressional hearings, the precise nature of those links remains difficult to untangle. One reason for this is that the House Subcommittee's data are incomplete in some crucial areas; another is that sensationalized media accounts often suggested more than the evidence warranted. I do not pretend to definitively answer all of these questions below, but I hope to clear up some of the major misunderstandings that have arisen about Moon's relationship with the Park regime.

Perhaps the best starting point is provided by the rash of eye-opening newspaper articles that appeared in mid-March of 1978, which the following headline in the 16 March *Washington Star* perfectly summarized: 'Moon's Church Founded by Korean CIA Chief as Political Tool, Panel Says'. These articles were all based on an unevaluated U.S. CIA report released by the Fraser Subcommittee and dated 26 February 1963. This report stated that 'Kim Jong Pil organized the Unification Church while he was director of the ROK Central Intelligence Agency, and has been using the church, which had a membership of 27,000, as a political tool.'<sup>(13)</sup> This has been interpreted by some conspiratorially-minded people to mean that the UC was founded by the KCIA as a bogus front group. This is obviously false since, as will soon become clear, the UC has formally existed since 1954 and in fact predates that year in some form by almost a decade.<sup>(14)</sup> But this fact alone does not absolve the UC, for it does not vitiate the second claim regarding the KCIA'S 'use' of Moon's organization.

## **In the beginning**

To come to grips with this issue, the social and political context within which the UC developed must be considered. When World War 2 ended, the Korean peninsula was in a state of political confusion, social disruption and economic chaos.<sup>(15)</sup> The lifting of the repressive hand of the Japanese colonial administration, the traumatic division of the country into communist and non-communist halves, and the underdeveloped condition of the economy (particularly in the south) combined to create a psychological climate of insecurity and desperation. In such conditions, millenarian religious movements tend to flourish, and indeed numerous 'Newly Risen religions' (Shinhung Jonggyo) arose throughout Korea in the decade following Japan's surrender.<sup>(16)</sup> These religions were characterized by charismatic leadership; syncretistic beliefs which combined ancestor worship, Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, magic, divination, astrology, Christianity and shamanism; extreme nationalism which might take political forms; and this-worldly attempts to create an ideal society in which 'no poverty or social classes will exist and the thoughts of all men will be uniform.... All the world will become one true family'.<sup>(17)</sup> This earthly orientation and the promise of success in the here and now led these movements to emphasize organization and business acumen along with fervor and discipline.<sup>(18)</sup> All of these characteristics were to apply to the UC as it developed.

With this background, it is possible to place the early history of the UC and its founder in its proper milieu. As Rudiger Hauth has pointed out, the accounts of Moon's early life are 'a mixture of legend, truth, fantasy and saint-worship'.<sup>(19)</sup> Nevertheless, the basic outlines of Moon's career can be reconstructed.<sup>(20)</sup> He was born on 6 January 1920 in a rural province of northwest Korea called P'yong'an Pul-do. His family converted to a millenarian brand of Presbyterianism when he was ten. Upon finishing at a technical high school in Seoul, he studied electrical engineering at Wasedo

University in Japan, though it is unclear whether he officially graduated. (21) When the war ended in 1945, he returned to northern Korea and attempted to found a small community church near Pyongyang, without much success. He then joined a mystical sect in the southern Korean province of Kyong Ki-do called Israel Suo-won, whose tenets foreshadowed both his later theological principles, particularly in their emphasis upon the imminent appearance of a Korean messiah, and his ritual practice of 'blood purification' via sexual intercourse (pikarume). (22) Six months later he returned to Pyongyang and began preaching, but complaints about his missionary practices (including pikarume) by other, established religious groups led first to his excommunication and then to two arrests by the North Korean authorities, the second of which occurred on 22 February 1948. (23) The charges against him are alternately listed as adultery and polygamy, or -- according to one 'official' UC source -- espionage; (24) but in any case he was incarcerated at Hung-nam prison camp until being freed by advancing United Nations troops on 14 October 1950. He then travelled by ship to the South Korean port of Pusan, where he performed manual labor and initiated new missionary activities. After gathering a small circle of followers, he moved his parish to Seoul. In May of 1954, he officially founded a religious association called T'ong-il Kyo (Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity). This later became known as the UC.

Once ensconced in Seoul, Moon concentrated his recruiting efforts on the university community and drew most of his converts from among idealistic students. (25) His fervor and occasional successes, e.g. the mass recruitment of six faculty members and forty students from the all-female Christian school Ewha University, (26) generated widespread publicity and opposition among mainline Protestant church officials; and the complaints of the latter led to his arrest by the South Korean government of Syngman Rhee in 1955. The nature of the charges against him remain a matter of bitter controversy. Some cite unconfirmed intelligence reports to the effect that Moon was again initiating new female church members by means of pikarume, but his followers vehemently deny it and the available evidence is contradictory. (27) As Bromley and Supe Jr. conclude, 'a quarter of a century later the truth or falsity of the charges still seems beyond demonstration'. (28) Whatever the case, though the charges were dropped shortly thereafter, the UC and the ROK government maintained a somewhat uneasy relationship until the 1971 coup which brought Major General Chung-Hee Pak to power. (29) Nevertheless, throughout the second half of the 1950s, the UC was able to expand its membership and develop some organizational sophistication.(30)

## **Moon's theology**

Moon's theological doctrines must now be summarized, for otherwise the UC's political work cannot be fully explained. The focus of his religious teaching, as revealed in both the UC's 'bible' (the Divine Principle) (31) and the periodic compilations of his speeches (Master Speaks), is on the Fall of Man and the need to restore Man's original state of perfection.(32) Adam and Eve forfeited their chance to become the ideal parents of a God-centred Mankind, since Eve copulated with Lucifer and thence with Adam. Christ, who was sent by God to restore Man to perfection, failed to accomplish this task in the physical sense since he was prevented from siring a sinless family due to his betrayal by the Jews and subsequent crucifixion.(33) Because of this partial failure, God was forced to send another Messiah -- the Lord of the Second Advent -- to bring God and Man into physical harmony again. That Lord is none other than Moon himself.(34) To perform his appointed task, Moon must

overcome Satan and create a God- centred human family so as to establish the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth. Put another way, 'Moon's primary interest is in unifying the world -- religiously, politically, scientifically -- around himself as Messiah and [around] his revelation as truth.'(35) Thus, Moon has a megalomaniacal conception of his own role as a divinely-inspired world-wide leader.(36)

If this revision of the Christian concept of Man's restoration was not placed within a terrestrial context, it would doubtless have little political significance. But like the other 'New religions' of Korea and Japan, the UC was from the beginning a movement directed towards this-worldly salvation and improvement.(37) Therefore, it is not surprising that Moon has come to believe that he will not be able to fulfill his mission of restoring Man to physical perfection until he subjugates the earthly satanic forces descending from Cain's lineage. He came to equate these with atheistic communistic societies through a peculiar theological logic. These societies are dangerous not because they deny God's providential designs outright, but because they have been established by Lucifer to mimic and thus preempt God's ideal of a 'socialist', i.e. economically democratic, universal human society. (38) Materialistic, 'scientific' communism in this way deceitfully constitutes the pseudo-image of a genuine God-centred family. As a result, the Heavenly side and the satanic side have 'come to dominate the world in their respective ways.....the war for the unification of these two worlds must come next'. (39) The third and final world war must be waged on both a material and an ideological level; and, indeed, Moon emphasizes the importance of the latter. This is where his notion of 'heavenly deception' comes in. Since Satan's forces base their success on deception, Moon argues that similar tactics must be employed by the Heavenly side. This serves as a theological justification for the type of obfuscation and deceit that characterize most UC operations. (40) Thus, even from this short summary, one can see that the church's emphasis on political action is inextricably linked to Moon's theology.

It may therefore be true, as Alain Woodrow has noted, that the UC is among the 'most politicized' of all sects. (41) But given the intrinsic political ramifications of his Manichean religious views, it does not seem wise to claim further that the UC 'is an essentially political movement with a religious facade', (42) since such a statement involves a separation between the political and the religious which may well be artificial, and which, indeed, implies that the church's adoption of a political agenda preceded its religious evangelism in Korea. The latter interpretation can hardly be maintained in view of the evidence that neither Moon nor his theoretical mentor Hyo-Won Eu adopted anti-communist views before the late 1950s, at the very earliest. (43)

We must now turn to the Korean CIA (KCIA). Fortunately, a good deal of information about this organisation has been accumulated by the Fraser Subcommittee. (44) The key figure in the establishment and development of the KCIA was Jong-Pil Kim. He was born in Ch'ung Ch'ong province in 1936, graduated from the Korean Army's Officer Candidate School in its eighth class of 1949, and was immediately assigned to the military intelligence (G-2) staff, where he specialized in counterintelligence and North Korean affairs. (45) Within this secretive milieu, he and other increasingly disaffected younger officers manoeuvred for promotions (which were repeatedly delayed), agitated for reform, and eventually began to plot the overthrow of their corrupt superiors. Kim had personally studied coup techniques for some time, and when popular opposition developed during the term of Sungham Rhee and came to a climax under successor Myon Chang, he enlisted the aid of fellow members of the eighth graduate class and Major General Park in his attempt to topple Chang's weak

civilian government. (46) On 16 May 1961, 3500 Marines and paratroopers under their command seized control of Seoul in an almost bloodless coup. The coup leaders immediately declared martial law, dissolved the National Assembly, banned all political activity, and formed a ruling junta known as the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction (SCNR).(47) Despite initial resistance from the U.S. State Department personnel in Korea, the American Government accepted the coup as a *fait accompli* as soon as they were satisfied that Park and Kim, both of whom had earlier flirted with left-wing causes,(48) had long since become thoroughly pro-American and anti-communist.(49)

## **The KCIA**

Kim officially founded the KCIA on 19 June 1961, and was appointed as its first director. (50) His goal was not only to safeguard the new regime but to create an impregnable power base for himself and the 3000 former G-2 men that constituted its core personnel. (51) Therefore, although the KCIA formally replaced its predecessor under the ousted Myon Chang regime, the Combined Intelligence Research Centre, its responsibilities were greatly expanded. The new organization was 'to supervise and coordinate both international and domestic intelligence activities and criminal investigation by all government agencies, including that of the military' (52) -- i.e. to combine all foreign intelligence and internal security functions in one agency. (53) To accomplish these extensive tasks, its personnel were well-paid and carefully organized into eight Bureaux coordinated by an executive committee. (54) The result, according to expert testimony, was the creation of a 'state within a state' (55) that was 'involved in virtually every aspect of Korean life'. (56) This latter remark is more than rhetorical, for although the KCIA has received the most media attention for its external influence operations in the U.S., its primary function has always been to suppress dissent within South Korea. (57) In its efforts to intimidate the Korean population and eliminate political opposition, it relies upon the standard gamut of secret police techniques, including heavy-handed surveillance, kidnapping, assassination, infiltration, provocation, 'emergency' arrest and imprisonment, and both physical and psychological torture. (58) The expanded operational sphere of the KCIA was demonstrated as early as 1962, when Kim supervised the creation of the rigidly-centralized 'civilian' Minju Kongwa Tang (Democratic Republican Party, or DRP) for Park and installed himself as party chairman. (59) The persuasiveness and intrusive power of the KCIA in South Korea must therefore be taken into account when examining the UC's political activities and options.

Now that the backgrounds of the UC and KCIA have been sketched, I shall attempt to clarify aspects of their relationship. Considering Jong-Pil Kim's conspiratorial brilliance and his success in establishing an extremely powerful coercive apparatus under his direct control, it is not at all hard to imagine that he 'organized' -- or more likely reorganized -- the UC in order to utilize it politically. (60) Even if Moon had been opposed to such an arrangement -- and there is little reason to suppose he would have, given his desire to obtain recognition and support from the Korean political establishment -- he could not have forcibly prevented it. Therefore, there is every reason to suspect that Moon and Kim made a mutually beneficial 'gentlemen's agreement' whereby the former would be allowed to maintain and even expand his evangelistic and business activities with official approval in return for permitting his revamped church to be used as a 'cover' for a variety of KCIA operations. (61) In any arrangement of this type, Kim would obviously have been the dominant party, at least in the early stages. However, as Kim's own fortunes waxed and waned as a result of



factional struggles between his followers and those of his major rivals in the so-called 'anti-Main Current' wing of the DRP, (62) Moon -- whose organization increasingly established semi-independent power bases in Japan and the U.S. -- seems to have seized upon these periodic opportunities to enlarge his own operation's independence. Even so, the heavy hands of the KCIA and other powerful ROK agencies, including the Counter-Intelligence Corps (KCIC) under Park's direct control, (63) would have been in a position to forcibly suppress his church's enterprises in Korea, as indeed they did if only temporarily, in the wake of the 'Koreagate' scandal. (64)

This interpretation is not mere speculation. According to the Fraser Subcommittee report, there is 'a great deal of independent corroboration for the suggestion in [U.S.] intelligence reports that Kim Jong-Pil and the Moon organization carried on a mutually supportive relationship, as well as for the statement that Kim used the UC for political purposes'. (65) Here, my purpose is not to explicate all the ways in which Moon participated in the Korean influence campaign, but only to focus on those particulars that seem to shed some light on the nature of the relations between the UC and KCIA.

## **KCIA and the Unification Church**

One of the earliest clues is provided by four English-speaking ROK Army officers who were close to Jong-Pil Kim and were either members or 'active sympathizers' of the UC beginning in the mid-1950s -- Sang-Keuk Han (a.k.a. Bud Han), Sang-In Kim (a.k.a. Steve Kim), Sang-Kil Han, and Bo-Hi Pak. (66) The process by which these men became involved with the UC requires some clarification. According to Jean-Francois Boyer, Pak was introduced to the UC by one of Moon's most brilliant disciples, Young-Oon Kim, who had met the young Colonel at U.S. Army Headquarters in Korea, where both had jobs. Pak quickly became involved with Moon's group, although he didn't become an official member until 1957, and it was he who elicited the sympathy and support of the other three officers. (67) This not only made it possible for Moon to gain a foothold within the military, but also seems to have led to his further politicization. (68)

Of these four, Pak is the most important. (69) He was born on 18 August 1930, entered the Korean military academy on 1 June 1950, fought in the Korean War, attended the U.S. Army's Infantry Training School at Fort Benning, (70) served as liaison to the Chief of the U.S. Advisory Group in Korea at different times between 1953 and 1961, and was assistant military attache at the Washington D.C. ROK embassy from 1961 to 1964, where he functioned as liaison between the KCIA and the U.S. intelligence agencies. (71) In this latter capacity, he served as one of John-Pil Kim's 'escorts' during Kim's meetings with (U.S.) CIA, National Security Agency and Defence Intelligence Agency officials in 1962. (72) He has long been Moon's right hand man.

Bud Han was a UC member who was also a personal assistant to Jong-Pil Kim and a translator for Park before becoming an ROK diplomat and, eventually a director of Moon's major newspaper, the *Washington Times*. (73)

Steve Kim was a UC supporter who retired from the Army in May of 1961 to join the KCIA, at which point he served as a 'discrete but effective intermediary' between the UC and the Park regime. Later he became the liaison man between the KCIA and U.S. CIA, served as Jong-Pil Kim's translator during the latter's 1962 visit to America, and ultimately became the head of Moon's media group, New World Communications Inc.

(74)

Finally, Sang-Kil Han was a UC sympathizer who served as military attache at the Washington ROK embassy in the late 1960s, a position involving intelligence work, (75) and later became Moon's personal secretary and the tutor for his children. (76)

Thus, while in the period preceding and following the Park coup, these four officers were excellently placed to broker relations between Jong-Pil Kim and Moon, the precise nature of their loyalty is impossible to determine. Whose ends were they mainly serving? Were they, as Boyer assumes, devoted followers of Moon who were using their military and intelligence positions to proselytize and increase his influence? Were they promoting both Moon's and Kim's purposes, which may have been perfectly complementary? Or were they sent by counterintelligence expert Kim to infiltrate the UC and manipulate it for his hidden purposes? This will probably remain a mystery, as there is circumstantial evidence to suggest all three interpretations and not enough hard data to conclusively resolve the issue. For example, Pak has been described as a 'model Moonie' -- obedient and absolutely loyal to Moon. (77) Yet his intelligence background cannot be lightly dismissed, and it is noteworthy that Kim's KCIA was later discovered to be infiltrating operatives into Korean-American churches to monitor and manipulate their activities. (78) All we can say with certainty is that these four played a major role in the early development of relations between the UC and the founders of the KCIA.

However, regardless of the exact nature of these early interactions, there is no doubt that Moon's fortunes improved dramatically following Park's coup and Kim's installation as KCIA director. While other churches in Korea were viewed with suspicion and sometimes even persecuted, (79) the UC benefitted as never before. In October of 1962, Jong-Pil Kim met secretly with UC members in San Francisco and told them 'he would give their movement political support in Korea, though he could not afford to do so openly'. (80) He soon made good on his promise: shortly thereafter the Korean UC was officially registered as a *bona fide* church and granted tax exempt status by the Park government. (81) Later still, T'ong-II Industries -- Moon's first and most important business venture in Korea -- was awarded ROK defense contracts to make parts for M-79 grenade launchers, Vulcan anti-aircraft guns, and probably M-16 assault rifles; (82) and the Korean government subsidized T'ong-II and other UC fronts. (83) Moon has stated that the Korea of the Park regime was 'a country where, if you want to do well, undoubtedly you should have a blessing from the political sector, especially people in power.' (84)

But this 'blessing' is not bestowed cheaply, and there is no doubt that the UC had to grant the government favors and accede to its demands, the most important of which seems to have been Kim's desire to use the UC as a 'cover' for KCIA operations or, at the very least, to enter into a partnership with the UC in promoting mutually desired anti-communist and pro-Park activities. (85) Since there is no evidence that the UC employed front groups conducive to such operations prior to the early 1960s, my guess is that Moon was pressured into 'allowing' Kim to reorganize the UC's organizational structure for these covert political purposes.

However, serious lacunae in the available data between 1955 and 1965 make it difficult to conclusively demonstrate this. Up to the former year, all indications are that the UC struggled to win new converts and remain financially viable, (86) and under these circumstances one would normally not expect to find a great deal of

structural elaboration. Our first real information about UC organization is provided by Chong-Sun Kim, who -- presumably on the basis of Korean and Japanese sources -- says that Moon had established thirty churches throughout South Korea by July of 1957. (87) In the following year, Moon expended considerable effort to establish new UC branches, both in Korea and abroad. (88) Sang-Ik Choi was authorized to begin missionary work in Japan (89) and Young-Oon Kim was sent overseas to establish new churches. (90) In 1959, a new phase of organizational expansion and transformation occurred. Thirty new 'evangelical centres' were established to train his followers, the church becoming more hierarchical and disciplined, and by the end of the year seventy churches had been founded. (91) It is worth noting that all of this expansion and reorganization was after the recruitment of Bo-Hi Pak.

## **The UC in the 1960s**

But it was not until the 1960s -- after the Park coup -- that the UC began to take on its current, highly-elaborate form. According to C-S Kim, a top UC official named Hyo-Won Yu reorganized the church into 'a communist-type centralized structure comprising numerous Divine Principle indoctrination centres, executive committees, bureaux, sections and cell organizations'. (92) A similar UC structure is described in detail in a 1967 article published by one of Moon's early associates, Syn-Duk Ch'oi, who must have written it prior to the date Yu is said to have initiated this reorganization. (93) Therein she describes an efficient, systematic arrangement involving both an executive headquarters to oversee general, cultural and business affairs, and a pyramidal parish network reaching from the provincial level down through the district, sub-district and village levels to the individual evangelist. (94) She also indicates that the UC had a highly-developed communications system for the transmission of orders and rapid personnel mobilization, a zealous cadre of members absolutely devoted to Moon and willing to undergo high work levels and extreme self-sacrifice, and -- perhaps most importantly -- a type of cross-cutting arrangement of members into horizontal division by sex and age which, when combined with the territorially-based vertical structures, served to enmesh each member in a complex web of organizational control that severely restricted individual freedom of action. (95) This parallels the cadre-building techniques utilized by the world's authoritarian Marxist-Leninist parties, (96) and it is therefore hardly surprising when Ch'oi says that 'the organization of the T'ong-il church is so systematic that one thinks of communists. They pose as 'heavenly communists'.' (97) Another point of interest is that UC members 'cooperated' with village officials and police personnel on the local level. (98)

The difficulty lies in identifying the true author of this sophisticated organizational framework. One is naturally tempted to ascribe it to the conscious design and action of Jong-Pil Kim, since it seems to conform, in many respects, to the ROK government's own hierarchical administrative structure. (99) But this may well be a false assumption, since other New Religions in both Korea and Japan had created similarly elaborate arrangements. (100) Did Moon simply copy the hierarchical structure of other New Religions and adapt it for his own purposes, or did Kim later impose it on the UC? Again, it is impossible to say for certain. But it does appear likely that the KCIA chief, who was, after all, an expert on clandestine and covert organizational techniques, introduced Moon to the concept of front groups and perhaps also to the cross-cutting organizational pattern noted above; and it is certain that the post-coup regime helped the UC expand and prosper.

In any case, the final result of this official sponsorship and reorganization is well summarized in the Fraser Subcommittee's final 1978 report:

'[Moon is] the key figure in an international network of [front] organizations engaged in economic and political as well as religious activities. [It] is essentially one worldwide organization, under the centralized direction and control of Moon.....In the training and use of lower-ranking members, it resembles a paramilitary organization, while in other respects it has the characteristics of a tightly disciplined international political party.' (101)

This conclusion is corroborated by the testimony of ex-Moonies like Diana Devine, who confirmed that '[a]ll members of the UC are used interchangeably in any one of the 60 front organizations, as needed or assigned by Moon'. (102) One is therefore entitled to assume that Kim had a hand in transforming the UC from a semi-communal (albeit disciplined) impoverished, unpopular 'New Religion' into a political instrument of such sophistication.

A couple of examples of joint UC-KCIA operations should be delineated for illustrative purposes. One involved the Korean Cultural and Freedom Foundation (KCFF), reputedly Pak's brainchild. (103) This organization was formally established in Washington in March 1964, ostensibly to accord honor to Americans who defended and aided Korea, provide for cultural interchanges, and 'foster a mutuality of understanding, respect and friendship between the citizens of the United States and Korea'. (104) But the KCFF had other, covert agendas. Pak told Robert Roland that the KCFF was a 'front organization' which was to be used by Moon to 'gain influence with wealthy people [and] government officials' and as a UC 'fund-raising organization.' (105) In a 1963 brochure produced before the KCFF's founding, its only proposed project was listed as the Little Angels, (106) a Korean dance troupe created by Moon. (107) Yet this is not the whole story either, for the KCFF was also utilized to raise money for another project sponsored by the KCIA and the Park regime -- the Freedom Centre (FC) established by the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) in Seoul. (108) On 1 January 1964, Jong-Pil Kim had been named as the KCFF's 'honourary chairman', (109) and by spring of that year he had 'persuaded' Pak to list the Freedom Centre as the KCFF's 'primary project'. (110) Moreover, Pak was granted an 'unprecedented' military discharge so that he could take charge of KCFF's development, (111) and other intelligence personnel were also associated with the KCFF, including William Curtin, a former U.S. military intelligence officer who became a KCFF board member and vice president, (112) and a KCIA officer named Un-Young Kim (a.k.a. Mickey Kim), who was given a special assignment involving the FC. (113)

In 1966 the KCIA pressured the KCFF to sponsor another project, the Radio of Free Asia (RFA), which was designed to beam anti-communist propaganda behind the 'Bamboo Curtain'. (114) The idea was to raise money in the U.S. to pay for the Seoul-based transmissions, the first of which was broadcast on 15 August 1966. (115) Although RFA had a titular American chief, its two operations directors were Jong-Pil Kim subordinates and KCIA operatives. (116) Furthermore, RFA was allowed to use ROK government facilities 'at no cost', (117) and its broadcasts were monitored and partially supplied by the KCIA's Seventh Bureau (118), which was responsible for psychological warfare. Thus, American citizens were being duped into financing official South Korean propaganda by the KCFF. All of these developments led the Fraser Subcommittee to conclude that from 'the early 1960s through 1978, KCFF served as an important link between the Moon organization and the ROK

Government'(119) and that 'the influence of Kim Jong-Pil and Moon was present in its establishment and operations'. (120)

Many other examples of KCIA-UC cooperation can be mentioned. Among the more significant are the establishment of a UC training center at Sootaek-Ri to provide mandatory anti-communist indoctrination to ROK government officials, which has by now 'educated' many thousands of Koreans; (121) the provision of \$50,000 by the KCIA to aid Moon's attempted takeover of the Diplomat National Bank in New York; (122) the near launching of an anti-Japanese demonstration in Washington by Moonies under KCIA direction; (123) the establishment of numerous UC-controlled businesses in South Korea with Park's support; (124) the use of official Korean embassy cable channels by Pak; (125) and the mutual KCIA-UC involvement in the founding of the International Federation for Victory over Communism (IFVC) and its U.S. affiliate, the Freedom Leadership Foundation (FLF). (126)

From this brief synthesis of masses of evidence uncovered by the Fraser Subcommittee, two firm conclusions can be drawn. First, contrary to the assertions of Pak and Moon himself, the UC was intimately involved in the Korean influence campaign directed by elements of the KCIA. Second, the UC was not simply an 'agent of influence' for the ROK regime, as some investigators have asserted. As the Subcommittee itself noted, 'Moon and his organisation acted from a mixture of motives and objectives. Service to Korea was combined with a desire to advance personal and organisational goals.' (127) This is supported by other informed testimony. According to Allan Tate Wood, a former FLF leader, Moon spoke of making the Korean government 'absolutely dependent' on his services, (128) and in one talk Moon said: 'My life is not so small I would act as a [K]CIA agent. My eyes and goal are not just for Korea.....the world is my goal and target.'(129) Therefore, it seems likely that the UC tried to extend its operational independence by taking advantage of factional strife between the several power blocs within Korea which had formed by the (1970s. As the Subcommittee emphasised, the UC's organisational complex 'was affected by shifts among the various factions within the Korean Government'.(130) In this connection, it should be noted that Pak had established close relations with other powerful ROK figures besides Jong-Pil Kim, including the head of the Presidential Protective Force, Chong-Kyu Park. (131) Thus, although the organisational refinement and economic expansion of the UC were stimulated by the ROK government following the 1961 coup, it would probably be a mistake to view the megalomaniac Moon as a passive lackey. (132)

In short, although the confusion remains regarding the details of the relationship between the UC and KCIA, the intimate connections between the two cannot be denied. Moon's covert -- and indeed overt -- political support of one of the world's more repressive dictatorships,(133) in conjunction with its brutal secret police apparatus, provides an excellent example of how the church functions in an external social control capacity, since these operations obviously contributed to manipulating and restricting the activities of people outside the UC itself. This dimension of the Church's 'mission' will be equally apparent when its connection to WACL is examined.

### **The Unification Church-World Anti-Communist League Linkage**

As will soon become clear, not enough serious research has been devoted to WACL to enable one to fully elucidate the activities of this group, either in general or in relation

to Moon's operations. (134) Nevertheless, I shall attempt to sketch some of the links between the two organisations after WACL's origins and development have been outlined.

As Charles Goldman has noted, 'the organisational backbone' of WACL was constituted by an earlier formation known as the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL). (135) This latter organisation was jointly founded by the governments of Syngman Rhee in South Korea and Kai-shek Chiang in Taiwan on 15 June 1954, (136) probably at the instigation and with the logistical support of the United States. (137) Although APACL purported to be a private organisation, it was organised and largely staffed by active Taiwanese and South Korean intelligence personnel, (138) and seems to have been partially funded by Koumintang (KMT) opium-smuggling activities in the 'Golden Triangle' of Southeast Asia, which elements of Chiang's party controlled with (U.S.) CIA assistance. (139) APACL's self-defined goal was to serve as a center for producing and disseminating anti-communist propaganda and to rally non-communist governments in south and east Asia in support of an active coalition against mainland China. (140) To accomplish these tasks, it published numerous pamphlets on the 'red Chinese menace' (141) and sought to make contact with anti-communist regimes and organisations throughout Asia, and, indeed, the entire world. (142) In this latter effort it was fairly successful, for it soon obtained the support of hardline factions within the governments of Vietnam, the Phillipines and Thailand,(143) and also established liaisons with extreme right-wing organisations outside of Asia, including American groups that formed part of the KMT's 'China lobby', (144) the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN),(145) National Labour Union, or NTS, (146) and an umbrella group for Latin American ultras called the *Confederacion Interamericana de Defensa del Continente* (CIADC).(147) The growing cooperation which ensued resulted in the creation of an international steering committee to coordinate worldwide anti-communist activities known as the World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation (WACCFL),(148) which held a meeting in Mexico City in March of 1958 and included representatives from various east Asian governments, ABN, CIADC, the American Security Council (ASC),(149) and the West German *Volksbund fur Frieden und Freiheit* (VFF). (150) This network continued to solidify and expand until, in response to the rapid growth of the left in the first half of the 1960s, it reorganised itself into the World Anti-Communist League in 1966. (151) At that point, APACL became its official Asian branch. [N.B. this essay was written before WACL changed its name in 1990 to the World League for Freedom and Democracy -- RR.]

## **WACL develops**

From the outset WACL has tried hard to clothe its crude, visceral anti-communism in a respectable guise,(152) and in a recent publication it listed its aims as follows: 'Fight and strive to remove all forms of totalitarianism, including communism, from the face of the earth, wherever they may be found; uphold human rights, most important of which are liberty, freedom of religious beliefs, social justice, and the self-determination of all peoples'.(153)

And in fact, some genuinely conservative organisations that have affiliated with WACL promote a relatively moderate form of anti-communism and probably accept this disingenuous description as an accurate summary of their own objectives. The token participation of such traditional anti-communist outfits probably explains why 'WACL enjoys a general reputation in conservative circles as a respectable if largely

ineffectual promoter of an outdated 1950s-era anti-communism'. (154) Behind this harmless facade, however, most member organisations pursue hidden agendas and are simply using WACL as a front to make contact with other activists who share their sympathies and/or as a cover to plan and coordinate joint actions of a violent, repressive nature in various parts of the world. But since these intersecting secret agendas derive from diverse sources, including rival non-communist intelligence services and xenophobic ultra-nationalistic groups, (155) they are not always fully-integrated or even fully compatible.

The development of WACL therefore appears turbulent and schizophrenic, with 'moderate' British, Scandinavian, and (sometimes) American factions opposing extremist Latin American and continental European sections; and groups among the latter competing with each other for leadership and influence. (156) Shortly after WACL was formally established, its power base purportedly began to shift away from effective South Korean and Taiwanese control into the hands of Neo-Nazi extremists. (157) A series of internal memos produced by WACL members -- one by Professor David Rowe of WACL's former U.S. chapter (the American Council for World Freedom, ACWF) in 1970, one by Geoffrey-Stewart-Smith of WACL's former British chapter (the Foreign Affairs Circle) in 1972, one by Professor Stefan Possony of the Hoover Institution and ACWF in 1974, and one by 'moderate' Scandinavian chapters in the late 1970s -- acknowledged and complained of the increasing takeover of WACL by anti-Semitic and overtly pro-Nazi ultras. (158) According to Possony, the main group responsible for this shift was WACL's Latin American wing, the *Confederacion Anticomunista Latinoamericana* (CAL), whose core comprised members of the 'Tecos', a Nazi-tinged ex-Catholic integralist organisation centred at the autonomous University of Guadalajara which has been responsible over the years for several terrorist attacks on supposed 'subversives'. (159) The successful entry of CAL reportedly reopened WACL's membership rolls to numerous other ultra-rightist outfits, many of which were identified in Paul Valentine's excellent 1978 article in the *Washington Post*. (160) This development led to both the resignation of some 'moderate' WACL sections and the eventual expulsion -- in name if not in substance -- of certain 'extremist' factions, including CAL, the British 'scientific' racist Roger Pearson's Council on American Affairs (CAA), and EUROWACL, the 'parallel subgroup of European fascists' that he helped organize.(161)

However this may be, and despite several publicised attempts to expel the remaining extremist chapters and clean up WACL's image, the organisation continues to be a hotbed of 'parafascist' intrigue and subversion. (162) Some of the expelled organisations simply made cosmetic name changes and were then readmitted with virtually the same personnel, (163) and even WACL members who had formally opposed or exposed these 'neo-Nazi' elements, tacitly accepted their subsequent re-entry. (164) Thus, in an official 1984 list of WACL affiliates, (165) one still finds disreputable groups like Alpha 66, an active Cuban exile paramilitary organisation with intimate connections to the CIA,(166) the collaborationist ABN, (167) and the Crown Commonwealth League of Rights, headed by the notorious Australian anti-Semite, Eric D. Butler.(169)

Even more significantly, among the recent participants at WACL conferences, one can identify numerous extremists with a long history of violence, including Nazareno Mollicone and Pierluigi Concutelli of Italy's neo-fascist terrorist group, *Ordine Nuovo* (ON), which for years has engaged in terror bombings and murders forming part of a coordinated 'strategy of tension' (169); Blas Pinar of Spain's *Fuerza Nueva* (FNU) a

'right' Falangist organization whose members have been linked to at least one infamous terrorist assault; (170) Tom Posey and other American 'patriots' from CMA, some of whom seem to be members of Ku Klux Klan (KKK) factions (171); Mario Sandoval Alarcon of Guatemala's 'party of organised violence' -- the *Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional* (MLN) -- which played a key role in the establishment of 'death squads' throughout Latin America (172); Sandoval's protege Robert D'Aubisson of El Salvador's *Alianza Republicana Nacionalista* (ARENA) party, which has well-documented ties to Salvadoran parallel police commandos (173); Dinko Sakic, an Ustase concentration camp commander in Yugoslavia during World War II and now a member of both the Croatia section of the ABN and an Australian-based, Ustase-inspired terrorist group called the *Hrvatsko Revolucionarno Bratsvo* (HRB, Croatia Revolutionary Brotherhood)(174); a number of South American covert action specialists working for the Argentinian, Bolivian, Brazilian, Chilean, Paraguayan, or Urugayan secret services in their 'Operation Condor', continent-wide assassination operations (175); and possibly Stephano Della Chiaie of Italy's violent neo-fascist group *Avanguardia Nazionale* (AN), one of the world's most active right-wing terrorists prior to his 1987 seizure in Venezuela.(176) These examples, which could be multiplied, explain why Goldman has characterised WACL as 'the foremost neo-fascist umbrella organisation in today's world'. (177) They also serve to illustrate the truly Orwellian nature of the massive propaganda campaign launched by WACL's recent chairman, retired Major General John L. Singlaub of the ACWF, to portray the organisation as a haven for democrats and 'freedom fighters' (although he did make some effort to clean it up by expelling CAL). (178)

This brief overview of WACL provides a springboard for discussing that group's relationship with the UC, a relationship that despite Moon's public attack on it in the mid-1970s, when he accused it of being a 'fascist' organisation, has been multifaceted but close. (179) As has already been noted, South Korean President Syngman Rhee was one of the original promoters of APACL, along with Kai-shek Chiang of Taiwan. But this was one Rhee project that survived the 1961 military coup,(180) for Park soon after decided to establish an APACL-affiliated Freedom Center in Seoul and, as we also saw above, he sought to use Bo-Hi Pak's KCFF to raise funds in the U.S. to support it. This represents the first known link between Moon's UC and APACL, the organisation which shortly thereafter gave birth to WACL. According to Boyer, however, a rivalry to obtain Park's favor later developed between Moon and the largely anti-Moonist Korean WACL chapter, which the latter ultimately won. (181)

## **The Japanese Unification Church**

But the real key to the WACL-Moon link probably lies in Japan, and I must therefore trace the development of the Japanese UC before trying to clarify this link. The founder of the Japanese branch of Moon's church was Sang-Ik Choi, who spent much of his youth living in Osaka, Japan. At the end of World War II he and his family were forced to return to Korea, and, since he had studied English in Japan, he obtained a job interpreting for the occupying American forces. (182) His father had earlier become a devotee of Tenri-kyo, a Japanese New Religion, and after a short anti-religious phase Sang-Ik Choi converted to Christianity and ended up joining the T'ong-II Kyo in April (1957. (183) After doing some missionary work for Moon in Korea, he was sent to Japan to start a UC branch in June of (1958. (184) His early efforts met with virtually no success; when he officially founded the church (known in Japan as the Genri Undo) on 10 August 1959, he was its only actual member. (185)



Finally, after years of frustration he managed to 'convert' fifty leaders of the ultra-nationalist Nichiren Buddhist sect, Rissho Kosei Kai (Establishment of Righteousness Rebirth Association) in late 1962, (186) and with their help the Genri Undo began to grow. By 1966, it had developed a 'tight organisational structure' that was reflected in a communal 'family' lifestyle, a systematised intensive training programme, and a 'corporate' church organisation with a national headquarters divided into bureaux, departments, divisions and committees, and a regional system divided into eleven districts and thirty-six prefectural churches. (187) Eventually, the Japanese UC became the largest and wealthiest of all Moon's national branches, and some of the vast funds raised by its members were transferred to the U.S. and used by the American UC in its pro-South Korea 'influence' operations.(188)

Once again, we observe a course of development similar to that which occurred in South Korea. Prior to late 1962, the Genri Undo was impoverished, extremely small, and struggling for its existence. Less than four years later, it had become powerful, highly-organised and well financed. How can one account for this transformation? Although the data doesn't permit us to clarify all of the details, it would appear that 'friends in high places' again played a role in this turnabout, as they did in Korea after the 1961 coup. In the Japanese context, however, such support would certainly not have been granted publicity by government officials, but garnered covertly through the machinations of the so-called *kuromaku* or 'black curtains', a term borrowed from the traditional Kabuki theatre that is nowadays used to designate 'conspiratorial political bosses' who broker power behind the scenes via a combination of intimidation, bribery, blackmail, brute force, and *nemawashi* ('binding the roots'), a time-consuming, conflict-reducing process of negotiation. (189) According to Kaplan and Dubro, '[a]lthough most political arenas [in Japan] have their *kuromaku*, the term most often applies to those men on the right -- usually the extreme right -- who serve as a bridge between the yakuza-rightist underworld and the legitimate world of business and mainstream politics'.(190)

Our first hint of *kuromaku* involvement in the development of the UC in Japan is that it was none other than Osami (a.k.a. Henri) Kuboki, an aide to Rissho Kosei Kai president Nikkyo Niwano, and Kaichi Komiyama, the chief of the organisation's Religion Department, whose 'interest' in the fledgling Genri Undo (GU) led to the crucial 1962 'conversion' of the fifty sect leaders to Unificationism.(191) In addition to occupying an influential position within the Rissho Kosei Kai, Kuboki was apparently a 'yakuza lieutenant' of Yoshio Kodama,(192) one of the two most powerful *kuromaku* in postwar Japan. The other was Ryoichi Sasagawa, who also took an early interest in the GU and thence became its unofficial 'advisor' and the 'legal guarantor' of its founder, Sang-Ik Choi, during the latter's immigration trial in 1963-4.(193) After Choi's expulsion from Japan, Kuboki and Komiyama took over the leadership of the GU, the former becoming president of the *Sekain Kinsutokyo Toitsu Shinsei Kyokai* (World Christian Unification Holy Ghost Church) in 1963, the latter establishing its student group, the *Zenkoku Daigaku Genri Kenkyu Kai* (All Japan Universities Basic Principle Study Association) in 1964. (194) To grasp the significance of these events, it is necessary to sketch the background of Kodama and Sasagawa.

## **Kodama and Sasagawa**

Kodama was born in Fukushima Prefecture in 1911 and, after receiving some primary and secondary schooling in Korea, returned to Japan, became involved with a long succession of prewar ultra-nationalist and pan-Asiatic groups -- among which was

Mitsuru Toyama's Genyo Sha (Dark Ocean Society), the secret society founded in the late 19th century that first grouped extreme rightists and yakuza together (195) -- and was arrested several times for a variety of subversive and terrorist activities, including planning the assassination of high-level government officials in the mid 1930s (196) Following his release from a third stint in prison in 1937, he used his rightist political connections to obtain various official positions, first at Army headquarters and later with the Information Bureau of the Foreign Ministry. (197)

His peculiar talents were soon recognised by his superiors, and he was sent to China, Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, where he undertook pro-militarist covert operations of different sorts, including the establishment of espionage networks in China. Following the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, Kodama was authorised to create his own apparatus, the Kodama Kikan (Agency or Organ), which was then granted an exclusive contract to procure strategic materials (especially precious metals) for the Japanese Naval Air Force. In this capacity, he amassed a fortune through bribery and extortion, while simultaneously gathering intelligence, financing the Shanghai office of the Kempei Tai secret police, launching paramilitary actions, and trafficking in opium.(198) In August of 1945, he was appointed to the Advisory Council of the post-surrender Prince Higashikuni cabinet, and helped organize the Nihon Kokumin (Japan Peoples' Party) before being arrested by Allied authorities as a class A war criminal and incarcerated in Sugamo prison. (199)

Among his cellmates in Sugamo was Sasagawa, who had likewise been arrested as a Class A war criminal. Sasagawa was born in Osaka in 1899 and, after becoming an Army pilot, founded the prewar ultra-nationalist groups Kukubo Sha (National Defense Society) and -- with his underling Kodama's help -- the Kokusai Taishu To (National Essence Mass Party). (200) The latter had 15,000 black-uniformed members by 1939, and some of these served as operatives of the Kodama Kikan on the Chinese mainland. (201) Yet despite his rightist ideological proclivities -- he was, e.g., a great admirer and personal acquaintance of Benito Mussolini -- Sasagawa was also an opportunist. Thus, throughout the militaristic, repressive period prior to and following the outbreak of war, he blackmailed wealthy individuals he discovered to be harboring 'dangerous thoughts'. In 1942, he was elected to the Diet (Parliament) on the basis of 'a platform of intensified aggression in Southeast Asia'. (202) Nevertheless, despite such sordid and in many ways criminal backgrounds, and despite the warnings of some American intelligence officers, who described Kodama as a 'grave security risk' who 'could easily become a big-time operator in Japan's reconstruction period', (203) and Sasagawa as 'a man potentially dangerous to Japan's political future' who 'chafes for continued power', (204) both men were released from prison in late 1948.

This decision was due primarily to the impact of the intensifying Cold War atmosphere on the policies adopted by American occupation authorities. In Japan, the early 'demilitarization' phase had given way by early 1948 to the so-called 'reverse course' phase, during which more imprisoned or purged rightists were freed and/or 'depurged'. Even before this shift, a bitter feud had developed between those officials who were determined to eradicate Japanese militarism, especially personnel in the Government Section under the command of Major-General Courtney Whitney, and those who felt that this policy was counterproductive, too extreme, or 'leftist', particularly the American business interests represented within the 'Japan Crowd' and the Military Intelligence (G-2) Section of GHQ headed by rightist sympathizer and fanatical anti-communist, Major-General Charles A. Willoughby. (205) The latter officer, far from loyally carrying out the anti-militarist policies mandated by SCAPIN

550 of January 1946, actively recruited ultra-nationalists (including wartime police and intelligence officials) and yakuza thugs as informants, strikebreakers, and covert operators. (206) It is now generally acknowledged that both Kodama and Sasagawa cut deals with Willoughby's G-2 and/or other hardline groups within (and perhaps also outside of) the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) bureaucracy. (207)

Immediately upon his release in December of 1948, Kodama seems to have been recruited by American intelligence. (208) Although he performed a variety of covert tasks for his employers, including gathering intelligence abroad and maritime smuggling, his main function was to serve as an intermediary between GHQ and the ultranationalist-yakuza underworld and to help mobilize the latter for espionage and strongarm operations at the behest of the former (or their conservative Japanese political allies).(209) Thus, e.g., in 1949 Kodama 'led the Meiraki-gumi [gang] against labor unions at the Hokutan coal mine'. (210) Moreover, he used the fortune he had accumulated in China and subsequently hidden, which supposedly amounted to 70 million yen (not including the platinum and diamonds he spirited away),(211) to covertly influence electoral politics in postwar Japan. To cite just one example, he provided 6.5 million yen through an intermediary -- ultranationalist gangster Karoku Tsuji -- to his Sugamo cellmate Ichiro Hatoyama for the purpose of establishing the Minshu To (Democratic Party), a new conservative party controlled by depurged prewar rightist politicians who were unable to obtain a dominant position in Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida's bureaucrat-controlled Jiyu To (Liberal Party). (212) Following the election of Hatoyama as Prime Minister, the two parties merged in 1955 to become the Jiyuminshu To (Liberal Democratic Party or LDP), the highly conservative pro-American party which has almost single-handedly ruled Japan up to the present day. Since then, Kodama has often brought decisive pressure to bear on the factional struggles within the LDP, including arranging for the reelection of Nobusuke Kishi, another Sugamo cellmate, in 1959, as well as helping Eisaku Sato become Prime Minister in 1964. He also maintained close relations with other LDP politicians, such as the yakusa-connected LDP Vice President Bamboku Ono, (213) and his influence did not suffer a major setback until he was identified as the key 'fixer' in the Lockheed Corporation bribery scandal. (214)

In addition to these political activities and his 'legitimate' business operations, Kodama also became involved with numerous postwar ultranationalist and yakuza organisations, including the Matsuba Kai (Pine Needles Society), the Kokusiu Kai (National Essence Society), and the Gijin To (Righteous Men's or Martyrs' Party). (215) He served as an advisor to the predominantly Korean yakuza group led by Hisayuki Machii (born Gon-Yong Chong), the Tosei Kai (Eastern Voice Society), and organized the Kofu Kurabu (Friendly Relations Club) in 1965. (216) But Kodama's connections to individual organisations of this type were less significant than his efforts to bring about their cooperation and federation. Perhaps this notion first occurred to him in 1960 when Prime Minister Kishi asked for his help to counter leftist demonstrations that were planned in response to President Eisenhower's projected visit. In response, Kodama mobilized 'more than 18000 gangsters, 10,000 tekiya (street vendors controlled by gangster or near-gangster bosses), 4,000 'pure' non-gangster rightists, and 5,000 others.....including war veterans...' to augment the outmanned Tokyo police. (217) Although Ike's visit was ultimately called off, Kodama soon after attempted to make this temporary alliance of the normally splintered far right and yakuza groups more permanent by, e.g. arranging an alliance known as the Kanto Kai (Kanto Society) between seven major Tokyo gangs (which shortly thereafter collapsed),(218) facilitating an 'expedient alliance' between the Tosei Kai and Japan's

largest yakuza grouping, Kazuo Taoka's Yamiguchi-gumi, (219) and reconciling the latter with Kakuji Inagawa's Kinsei Kai. (220)

Perhaps more importantly, Kodama helped to found two major rightist-gangster umbrella organisations, the Zen-Nihon Aikokusha Dantai Kaigi or Zen-Ai Kaigi (All Japan Federation of Patriotic organisations), and the Seinan Shisho Kenkyu Kai or Seishikai (Youth Ideology Research Association). The former was created in March 1959 by a 'network of influential rightists', including Kodama, who became its first chairman, and Sasagawa, who sat on its governing board. (221) Originally it was a violent, loosely-structured organisation with a vague ideology, but after 1968 its organisation was tightened up a bit by a new chairman, ultranationalist Yoshiaki Sagoya,(222) and it adopted a 'unified....theoretical system' based on the pure Japanist views of Toyama. By 1974, it claimed to encompass 440 rightist-gangster groups whose membership totalled 150,000. (223) Although Kodama himself continued to maintain a high-level position within Zen-Ai Kaigi, he became more actively involved with Seishikai, a Zen-Ai Kaigi subdivision established by Kodama loyalists in 1961 that split from its parent body in July of 1969, at which time Kodama became its top advisor. (224) Seishikai incorporated a least twenty member organisations, including Machii's Tosei Kai, and it promoted both 'theoretical education' and paramilitary training, ostensibly in preparation for a communist coup attempt. (225) In line with this new emphasis on ideological preparation, Kodama also established the Nihon Seinen Koza (Japan Youth Seminar) in April 1967,(226) an organisation to which Osami Kuboki later became an 'advisor'. (227)

For his part, upon his release from prison Sugamo Sasagawa persuaded the Japanese government to allow him to set up motorboat races that the public could legally bet on. This proved wildly successful and with his substantial profits he set up the Japan Federation of Motorboat Racing Associations, which has grossed over \$US5 billion per year. 3% of the annual ticket sales are thence dispensed through a 'non profit' company he controls on behalf of the government, the Shipbuilding Promotion Foundation, that 'employs over 100,000 people and makes a profit of 18 million yen a year'. (228) In addition to these economic ventures, Sasagawa 'is alleged to head a shadowy syndicate of wealthy [stock market] investors who, by concentrating their resources on a given stock, can make it run up and down like a yo-yo'. (229) The profits from this speculation and the other Sasagawa-controlled businesses (230) have made him one of the world's wealthiest men, and he has disseminated his vast fortune not only for philanthropic causes (231) but also to promote or obstruct various LDP factions and leaders. Thus, it is known that Sasagawa assisted Kodama in securing Sato's election as Prime Minister in 1964, and that he helped Kakuei Tanaka defeat his Kodama-backed LDP rival Takeo Fukuda, in the 1972 elections. (232)

Of greater interest are Sasagawa's links to ultranationalist and gangster organisations. As early as 1954, he became the director of a reorganized prewar ultra-rightist group, the Butoku Kai (Martial Virtues Association),(233) and he is also associated with numerous other 'anti-communist' groups, including the Nihon Goyu Renmei (Japan Federation of Veterans' Associations), the Zen-Ai Kaigi federation, and APACL-Japan and the Moon-linked IFVC, the Japanese branch of WACL. He has also boasted of his friendship with Yamiguchi-gumi 'godfather' Taoko and, like Kodama, has 'reportedly served as a mediator between feuding yakuza gangs'. (234) In addition to these known links to yakuza and uyoku (extreme rightist) elements, he is president of the World Karate Federation and its all-Japan Federation, both of which have served, among other things, as a legitimate 'cover' for gangster and ultranationalist groups. (235)

Why would these two kuromaku, who were among the most powerful and influential figures in postwar Japanese politics, take an interest in the unpopular, impoverished Japanese branch of an obscure Korean-based religious sect like the UC? In my opinion, the key lies in Korea, specifically with KCIA founder Jong-Pil Kim. I have already noted that Kim had established links with Moon even before the 1961 Park coup, and that following this coup -- if not earlier -- he had decided to covertly support the expansion of the UC in return for its provision of 'cover' for various KCIA operations, both in South Korea and the U.S.. It is therefore entirely reasonable to suppose that he hoped to make similar use of the UC branch in Japan, which was at that time unable to make any real headway in recruiting followers. But it still needs to be demonstrated that Kim was in contact with Kodama and/or Sasagawa, and that it was in their mutual interest to aid the foundering Japanese branch of Moon's organisation, Genri Undo.

One of the most problematic issues in postwar Asian reconstruction was the so-called 'normalization' of ROK-Japanese relations. The harsh and exploitative nature of Japanese colonial rule in Korea from 1910-1945 had led to bitter hostility between the two countries, which inhibited their inability to reestablish mutually-beneficial political and economic relations after the war was over. (236) These attitudes were exacerbated by both the unwillingness of Japanese leaders to acknowledge the destructive effects of their nation's occupation of Korea and Syngman Rhee's unshakeable hatred and distrust of Japan, and were manifested in a series of squabbles over specific issues of interest to both countries, including the question of Japanese reparations for damages inflicted on Korea, the return of stolen Korean property, the controversy over the fishing boundary between the two nations, and the problem posed by the Koreans residing in Japan. (237) Despite sporadic efforts to resolve these issues, no bilateral agreement could be reached as long as Rhee remained in power. Moreover, his intransigence undermined U.S. efforts to create a regional anti-communist alliance structure in northeast Asia, whether formally, in the manner of NATO, or informally through 'private' organisations like APAACL. (238)

The fall of Rhee thus represented a turning point in ROK-Japan interaction. The short-lived democratic government that succeeded him made overtures towards normalization of relations with Japan, an approach also adopted by the Park regime following the 1961 coup.(239) Park and other junta leaders had good economic and political reasons for promoting normalization: they needed Japanese capital to help modernize their country's economy and hoped to stabilize their strategic position by yielding to American pressure to reestablish better relations with Japan.(240) The Japanese government headed by Kishi likewise sought to improve Japan's investment opportunities and strategic position. (241) These official views were to a great extent catalyzed and reinforced by powerful business leaders in both countries, specifically the Korean Businessmen's Association founded in 1961 by a dozen big businessmen and the 'Korea Lobby' in Japan, which included '15 top capitalists' who had established the Japan-ROK Economic Cooperation organisation. It was these latter who financed 'key factional bosses' in the LDP, and their political allies included Prime Minister Kishi and Dietman Bamboku Ono, among others (242) -- the very same rightist politicians supported behind the scenes by Kodama and Sasagama, who themselves had economic interests in South Korea. (243)

Of equal significance for our topic, the envoy selected by Park to open 'informal channels' with these pro-normalization elements in Japan was none other than Jong-Pil Kim, (244) who travelled to Japan in October of 1962 -- immediately prior to his visit

to the U.S., during which he promised Moonies in San Francisco that he would secretly support the UC -- to meet with various Japanese leaders, including Kodama's ally Ono. (245) As a result of this visit and a second in November 1962, which Kim undertook on his way home from America, an important step in the normalization process was taken with the formulation of the 'Kim-Ohira Memorandum'. (246) If all of this were not suggestive enough, Kodama himself was 'reputed to have been close to former ROK intelligence chief Kim-Chong-p'il and ha[d] been an important channel from Kim to the LDP and Japanese government'. (247) Indeed, according to Japanese journalist Eisuke Otsuka, 'Kodama arranged a meeting inviting Korean representative Kim Chong-p'il and Kishi, Bamboku Ono, and Ichiro Kono and made them disentangle the trouble [regarding normalization] that had lasted for four years in short order'. (248) Kim, Ono and Kodama were all later implicated in financial scandals involving both countries. (249)

However, one should not assume that the motives for these contacts were strictly economic. Both Kim and the Japanese kuromaku were concerned with countering communist expansionism, and all three sought to create rightist federations to facilitate this. I have already noted that Kim, Kodama and Sasagawa had worked to strengthen domestic anti-communist forces, and have also discussed some of Kim's operations abroad. It remains only to show that the latter two men were also actively involved in creating and supporting regional or worldwide groupings like APACL and WACL, and that one of the instruments they made us of -- probably at Kim's urging -- was Moon's UC.

Sasagawa was apparently an early backer, if not one of the founders, of APACL,(250) and it was he who supposedly first got the idea to 'harness Japanese Christians...to advance anti-communist ideology'. (251) But it is my guess that it was actually Kim who, after making contact with Kodama (and presumably also Sasagawa), explained that he was reorganizing and planning to use Moon's church in Korea to cover and help finance various anti-communist political activities initiated by the KCIA, and then suggested that the kuromaku provide similar backing for the struggling UC branch in Japan, the GU. This would not only account for the 'conversion' of the Rissho Kosei Kai members orchestrated by Kodama's man Kuboki, but also for the rapid subsequent elaboration of the GU's organisational structure and training procedures; (252) and it is entirely consistent with what is known about the later development of the links between the Japanese UC and WACL.

In July of 1967, about one month before WACL was formally established, Sasagawa hosted the gathering of a 'secret cabal' consisting of himself, Moon, and two Kodama underlings -- Shirai Tamao, secretary of the aforementioned Nihon Seinen Koza, and Kuboki, at that time both an advisor to the same organisation and head of Moon's GU. (253) According to Scott and Jon Lee Anderson, '[t]he purpose of the meeting was to create in Japan a Korean-style anti-communist movement that could operate under the umbrella of the World Anti-Communist League and that would further Moon's global crusade and lend the Japanese yakuza leaders a respectable new facade'. (254) Whatever their precise motives may have been, a year later the International Front for Victory over Communism (IFVC), the 'principal vehicle for Moon's anti-Communist activities', was founded in both South Korea and Japan, where it was known as the Kokusai Shokyo Rengo. (255)

Almost as soon as it was created, the latter was reorganized as the official Japanese chapter of WACL, (256) and within a couple of years it had set up twenty-one

branches all over Japan which together had a purported membership of 60,000. (257) Its leading officers included Kuboki (president), Sasagawa ('honorary president') and Kodama ('chief advisor'), and its lower level personnel have from the outset been drawn primarily from the ranks of GU-affiliated organisations like the Genri Kenkyu Kai of Komiyama. (258) Boyer has therefore baldly stated that 'the Japanese chapter of WACL is Moonist'. (259) But I think this formulation is at best a half-truth, for although naive Moonies clearly provided the bulk of the unpaid, docile labor force that performed the duller, more gruelling tasks, such as door-to-door political campaigning and fund-raising, the Shokyo Rengo seems to have also served as a focal point for the activities of Japanese ultranationalists and yakuza, if not intelligence operatives. This is an important topic that should be further explored by researchers able to consult Japanese sources, but in any case there is no doubt that the GU is intimately linked to WACL in Japan. For example, in 1970 the Shokyo Rengo, in its capacity as the Japanese branch of WACL, hosted the massive Fourth WACL/Sixteenth APACL Conference in Tokyo, which Sasagawa helped to fund and which was addressed by several prominent Japanese politicians, including Kishi and Sato; (260) and it has remained very active in the affairs of APACL and WACL to this day, as the participation of Kuboko and/or other Shokyo Rengo leaders at virtually every important subsequent gathering of the two organisations indicates. (261)

Like the UC-KCIA connection, Moon's links to WACL provide further evidence of his associations with an international nexus consisting of hardline intelligence personnel, gangsters, leading conservative politicians, and far right extremists, many of whom are in turn members of a bewildering variety of other 'private' anti-communist organizations. At the very moment when Moon was publicly disassociating himself from the 'fascist' WACL, the Japanese branch of the UC was providing most of the membership of the WACL-Japan through its political front, the IFVC. Nor has this been the only connection between the Moon Organization and WACL, for the former has often cooperated with other WACL chapters, as well as with ultra-rightist groups and individuals that are in some way affiliated with WACL. Indeed, front groups of the UC have directly participated in blatantly subversive activities and, at least indirectly, in terrorism or other forms of WACL-linked violence. (262) Given this background, it should come as no surprise to learn that Moon has been deeply involved in the illegal *contra* supply network. Scholars must therefore begin to take the Moonies more seriously on a strictly political level, instead of focusing all of their attention on the UC's interorganizational techniques of social control.

## **Conclusion**

I have attempted to disentangle particular aspects of the Unification Church's covert activities and linkages. But this represents only a beginning. There are many other facets of Moon's political operations that need to be examined more thoroughly, and his organizational complex only constitutes one among dozens, if not hundreds, of 'private' groups that work in tandem or conjunction with essentially anti-democratic elements within the national security establishments of the U.S. and other nations. Because of their unofficial status, such groups can undertake 'plausibly deniable' actions that subvert, circumvent, or directly counter the stated foreign policy aims of formally democratic governments. To the extent that they do so, there is no hope of making said governments genuinely responsive to public participation in deliberations about the conduct of international relations, a task that would be difficult enough even if these groups did not exist.

Another issue raised -- but certainly not resolved -- in this discussion of the UC is the extent to which it and similar anti-communist political groups should really be characterized as independent or private. In the wake of Conragate, a theme which has been constantly reiterated in the press is that of the so-called 'privatisation' of U.S. foreign policy. In many cases, the implication has been that *bona fide* private organizations made up of concerned citizens are taking it upon themselves to initiate political or even military action because their government is unable or unwilling to do so. But this represents a sort of populist idealization of the real situation, since in many cases it is not so much a case of the initiative of private citizens as it is of the initiative of disgruntled government officials, particularly those in intelligence and military bureaucracies. At the very least, the process is better described as the 'contracting out' of specific tasks by government agencies to sympathetic non-governmental organizations, which should therefore be viewed as subcontractors rather than independents. Nor should one overlook the possibility that certain ostensibly private organizations are nothing more than front groups for intelligence agencies. Ultimately, the only way to ascertain the real situation is to examine and analyze each case on its own merits.

## Notes

1. This quote is ironically cited in Ad Hoc Committee of Members of the Unification Church, 1979 p. 125. I propose to do just that.
2. For official government investigations of the Iran-Contra scandal, see U.S. Government, *President's Special Review Board [The Tower Commission] Report*, 26 February 1987 (Washington DC, GPO, 1987); and U.S. Congress, Joint Committee, *Report of the Congressional Committees Investigating the Iran-Contra Affair*, with Supplementary, Minority and Additional Views, 100th Congress, 1st Congress, 13 November 1987 (Washington DC, GPO, 1987). The most revealing of the 'unofficial' investigations concerning this scandal are Cockburn (1987), Marshall et al and Christic Institute, although the Christic document contains a number of as yet unsubstantiated claims.
3. Aside from their extreme rightist political perspective, the most important common denominator of all these particular organizations is the high percentage of 'former' intelligence and military (especially unconventional warfare) personnel associated with them. See, e.g., Peter Stone, pp. A21, A24.
4. Here I do not mean to suggest that 'normal' organizations and 'acceptable' religions do not manipulate the behavior of their members, for this is undoubtedly part and parcel of the activities of all such institutions. But there are obvious qualitative differences between the type and degree of social control exercised in common-or-garden organizations -- or in society at large, for that matter -- and the type of extreme and systematized control mechanisms utilized by cults. On a larger societal level, only Communist China has consciously employed similar methods of 'thought reform', and then only for a relatively short period characterized by extraordinary attempts to mold the 'new' Communist man. For more information about Chinese techniques, see Whyte, 1975.
5. Note, e.g., the criminal strong-arm tactics adopted by Synanon members vis-a-vis their neighbours during the late 1970s. See Ofshe (1980). Cf. also Robert Kaufman's conclusions regarding the political attitudes of the Scientology members he encountered: 'Many were reactionary, almost Fascistic, in their political views'. -- Kaufman, 1972, p. 31. Of course he is clearly using the term 'fascistic' in the usual imprecise, perjorative sense.



6. Master Speaks (17 May, 1973) p. 12. (Hereafter cited as MS.)
7. These actions received extensive coverage in the mainstream American media during the 1970s. For a good introduction, see Boettcher, 1980.
8. The Fraser's Subcommittee's investigations were published officially in a series of volumes, and include both extensive hearings and documentation as well as the final report. For information on the UC and KCIA., see especially US Congress, *Investigation of Korean- American Relations* (1978), hereafter cited as KA Report; US Congress, *Activities of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency* (1976), parts 1 and 2, hereafter cited as KCIA-1 and KCIA-2; US Congress, *Investigation of Korean-American Relations* (1978) Part 4, Supplement, hereafter cited as KI-4 Sup.
9. Barker (1984), pp. 2-6.
10. See, e.g., Dart (1985) section 2, p. 4, and Rauber (1985).
11. I say 'former' because one never knows for certain when or if intelligence operatives actually retire. For more on Pak, see below.
12. There is a considerable literature on the UC's methods of recruitment and behavior control, though much of it is superficial or otherwise problematic. The best introductory book about the UC remains Horowitz. A representative sampling of works on Moon might include Barker, Freed, Bromley and Shupe Jr., Galanter et al, Lofland, Sontag, Wood and Yamamoto (1977).
13. This document is reproduced in KI-4 Supp., p. 458.
14. KA Report, p. 354. Needless to say, Moon's supporters have also gleefully pointed out this obvious error. See, e.g., Pak (1978), which is nothing more than a selectively edited publication of Pak's testimony. For the full version see KI- 4.
15. See, for example, Han (ed.), pp. 172-4, Jones and Sakong, pp. 30- 37, and Kim and Roemer, pp. 21-39.
16. On these 'New Religions' in Korea, see *Transactions* as well as Myong-Hwan Tak, cited by Everett N. Hunt Jr in Hesselgrave (ed.) 1978. Hunt estimates their number at around 250 -- p. 103, note 2. For their Japanese counterparts (the Shinko Shukyo) see the fine bibliography by Earhart.
17. Spencer J. Palmer, 'Introduction' to *Transactions*, pp. 2-7. The quote is from p. 7.
18. Felix Moos, 'Leadership and Organization in the Olive Tree Movement', in *Transactions*, p. 14.
19. Hauth p. 14.
20. For Moon's early history, see *ibid* pp. 6-11; Barker pp. 38-43; Bromley and Shupe (pp. 36 and 45-50); Boyer pp. 105-117; Kim (1978) pp. 7-20; Caballac pp. 34-44 and *passim*; Yamamoto pp. 15-21; Syn-Duyk Ch'Oi, 'Korea's T'ong-II Movement', in *Transactions* pp. 101-4. Of these Kim's account is based on the most complete Korean and Japanese sources, but is infused with extreme anti-Moon sentiments. For UC's own version, see Yu (1974) p. 24 and 1986, *passim*. I have been unable to obtain a copy of Moon's 'official' church biography.
21. Yamamoto p. 17. In his biography, Moon claims to have received a diploma from Waseda, but others have disputed this. For example, the Japanese newspaper *Mainichi* reported that his studies were interrupted. See Hauth, *Vererinigungskirche*, p. 8; Kim p. 9.
22. See especially Kim, p. 11 for the pikarume.
23. The year is controversial, although the date was apparently 22 February. Moon says this second North Korean imprisonment occurred in 1948, whereas Kim (p. 12) and others place it in 1949. In support of the earlier date, see 'L'Eglise

- de L'Unification', published in issue 7 (April 1975) of the *Documents-Episcopat*, the bulletin of the French Episcopal Conference, cited by Le Caballac p. 35.
24. The source in question says that the North Koreans originally arrested Moon for heretical teachings and because 'he was a spy for the President of South Korea'. See Matczak, p. 7. Normally, one would assume that this was merely proffered as a post facto justification for his arrest, but it is worth remembering given his later political activities. If Moon was a spy for South Korea, however, it seems odd that the North Koreans would have released him the first time rather than executing him. Boyer insists pp. 112-113 that Moon was not arrested for anti-communist activities because he had yet to become an anti-communist crusader. See Boyer, pp. 116-117 and 125. I am inclined to agree.
  25. Yamamoto, p. 40; Le Caballac, p. 36; Hauth, p. 12; Ch'Oi, p. 113.
  26. Boyer, pp. 119-120.
  27. For the 'sex cult' charge, see Kim, pp. 12-13; Yamamoto, pp. 20-21; Coates; Boettcher p. 35; Bromley and Shupe pp. 48-49. This suggestion was vehemently denied by Bo-Hi Pak in his testimony (*Truth is My Sword* pp. 41-43) and he produced a police report listing the charge as 'violation of the military draft law'. But one cannot be certain as to its validity since another charge proffered by the Korean National Police was 'forgery of official documents'. (KA Report p. 353). Others speak of 'false imprisonment' (Tong-A Ilbo newspaper, cited in *ibid*, p. 353 note 434), expounding a 'pseudo-religion' (Hauth p12), or 'injuring public morals' (Ch'Oi p. 103).
  28. Bromley and Shupe p. 49. But note that these authors tend to whitewash some of the UC's least desirable traits and do not have access to the more detailed Korean and Japanese materials as C-S Kim does. Among these materials are Arao.
  29. Moon himself claimed to have been subjected to government repression during this period, but Ch'Oi -- herself an early Moonie -- says that by 1956 Moon and his followers 'were no longer regarded by the government as a heretical religious group disturbing the social order'. See Ch'Oi, p. 103. Here also, the truth is impossible to clarify, but is clear that the UC was looked upon much more favorably by the post-coup regime. This is clearly implied in the KA Report pp. 353- 5. Cf. also Le Caballac, pp. 153-4 and below.
  30. For a discussion of the UC'S organization see below.
  31. Ironically, *The Divine Principle* (DP) was not even written by Moon, but by his brilliant disciple Hyo-Won Eu (who also invented the air gun that made Moon wealthy), though reputedly on the basis of Moon's 'divinely-inspired' thoughts. See Boyer pp. 118-9; Yamamoto p. 19; Pement, p. 17, note 1. According to UC sources, the original text first appeared in 1952, and a first version was published in 1957. See Barker, pp. 38 and 264, note 7, citing Chung Hwan Kwak p. 2. This is corroborated by Mickler p. 5, who claims that Young-Oom Kim translated the Divine Principle into English in 1956. But due to the presence of some scriptural errors and various offensive passages it was subsequently revised and published anew in 1973. Herein all references to the DP are to the 1973 edition, which was reprinted by HSA-UWC in 1977. According to Boyer (p. 125), the anti-communist passages in the book were last-minute additions before it was published in 1957. If so, this would be of considerable significance.
  32. The following summary is derived from the relevant sections of the DP. For Man's Fall, see Part 1, chapter 2, pp. 65-97; for Jesus' failure, see especially Part 1, chapter 4, pp. 139-63; for the Lord of Second Advent, see especially

- Part 2, chapter 6, pp. 497-536 and passim. Those seeking a less tedious acquaintance with Moon's beliefs can peruse the summaries found in Hunt pp. 105-20 and Yamamoto pp. 73-93.
33. In this area, Moon departs significantly from the traditional Christian interpretation, which holds that Christ's death itself absolves Mankind from its sins. Moon suggests that Jesus succeeded in his attempt to facilitate Man's spiritual perfection, but not in physically restoring human perfection. It is also worth noting that the blame which Moon had ascribed to the Jews for Jesus' death has been interpreted as blatant anti-Semitism by Rabbi A. James Rudin in his study, though I think this is much overstated.
  34. Here, it should be noted that Moon does not publicly claim to be the Second Messiah, for he is well aware that such a claim would be rejected by the vast majority of Christians who he wishes to unite under his banner. But this is a subterfuge, for he often implies just that to his followers. See, e.g. Yamamoto, pp. 87-8, Barker, pp. 83-4. See also Sudo, p. 160, for an explicit identification of Moon as the Lord of the Second Advent.
  35. Pement, p. 12. Cf. also KA Reports p387, subsection (3).
  36. Moos notes ('Olive Tree Movement', pp. 13-14) that this megalomania is characteristic of 'New Religion' leaders -- it is not at all peculiar to Moon. Nor are his notions of Korea's providential importance and the advent of a Korean messiah, both of which were fundamental to many New Religions, including the influential Chonndog Wan (the so-called Olive Tree Movement) led by Tae-Son Pak. See Palmer, 'Introduction' pp. 6-7.
  37. Ibid. Moos, p. 14.
  38. This interpretation may seem odd, but I don't know how else certain passages on pp. 443-6 of the DP can be interpreted. Thus: 'It is only natural for the Satanic world, which is headed toward a communistic society, to advocate socialism. This is because Satan would attempt to realize, in advance, the course of the Heavenly side going toward the socialistic system of economy...' (p. 443, emphasis added); again: 'The communist world is none other than this non-principled world in a psuedo-form of the Principle in which Satan realized in advance the imitation of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth, which God is going to restore' (p. 445); and finally: 'there will ultimately have to come a socialistic society centred on God'. (p. 444). This aspect of the DP was first brought to my attention in the fine article by rightist author Dinesh D'Souza, p. 32. It should be remembered that classical fascism and Nazism also had pronounced socialistic components in their ideological panoply. Perhaps more relevantly, a similar sort of 'reversed communism' has been noticeable in the ideologies of many post-war Japanese ultra-right movements. See Fujiwara, p. 77.
  39. DP, p. 491.
  40. Yamamoto, p. 66; Barker, pp. 176-9; Sontag, pp. 185-6.
  41. Woodrow, p. 146. However, Japan's Soka Gakkai and other Nichiren Buddhist sects are extremely active in the political sphere. See Ivan Morris, pp. 140-2. For more on Soka Gakkai see Brannan, Murata, and David Haselgrave, 'Nichiren Shoshu Soka Gakkai: The Lotus Eaters in Modern Japan', in Haselgrave (ed.) pp. 129-48; and White. For solid accounts of their electoral party (the Komeito) and its activities, see Ronald J. Hrebenar, 'The Komeito: Party of "Buddhist Democracy" ', in Hrebnar, (ed.), pp. 147-80; and Arvin Palmer.
  42. Woodrow, p. 146. Cf. also the testimony of Allan Tate Wood, a former leader of Moon's Freedom Leadership Foundation in KCIA-1 p. 25. Barker, p.70,

- supports my interpretation.
43. The earliest dating is given by Boyer p. 125, who attributes this development to the influence of rightist Korean Army officers -- including Bo-Hi Pak -- that had become associated with the UC around that time. Others place the shift in the 1960s, including Yamamoto p. 18 and KA Reports p. 319. The latter points out that this coincided with the KCIA's attempts to establish a broad anti-communist movement in South Korea. Yet virulent nationalism is characteristic of the 'New Religions' (Palmer, 'Introduction', pp. 5-7), and it can hardly be doubted that Moon's imprisonment by the North Koreans evoked some personal bitterness towards communism. See Hauth, p. 30.
  44. See KA Report especially pp. 22-4, 89-113, 354-72; KCIA-1 and:KCIA-2, passim. The following summary is based on the material found therein, supplemented by reliable secondary sources like Se-Jin Kim, pp. 111-18.
  45. Se-Jin Kim, pp. 96-8; KA Report, p. 19.
  46. KA Report p. 18; Sungjoo Han, pp. 170-7.
  47. KA Report pp. 18-19; Se-Jin Kim, pp. 93-109. The most detailed blow-by-blow account of the coup is apparently the pro-junta work *May 16 Kunsu hyongmyong ui chonmo* (Seoul, Moonkwangsu, 1964). See also Se-Jin Kim, 'National government and Politics in South Korea', in Se-jin Kim and Cho, (eds.), p. 73.
  48. Boettcher, pp. 15-16, 20. However C-S Kim points out (p. 63) that Park may have been an anti-communist infiltrator rather than a communist turncoat.
  49. KA Reports, pp. 18-22. 50. Ibid., pp. 22-3.
  50. Ibid., pp. 23 and 89; Se-Jin Kim, pp. 111-118.
  51. KA Report, pp. 22-3, citing Se-Jen Kim, p. 111.
  52. KA Report, p. 89. This merger was supposedly opposed by the U.S. CIA. See *ibid.*p.
  - 53.
  54. For an organizational description of the KCIA, see Professor Gregory Henderson's testimony in KCIA-2, pp. 5-9. He compares the KCIA to the Gestapo and the NKVD. See *ibid.*, p. 3.
  55. KA Report, p. 89.
  56. *Ibid.*. Cf. J-H Kim, pp. 195-8; S-J Kim, 'National Government', in S-J Kim and Cho, (eds).
  57. Turbyfill, pp. 14-5; John Saar et al.
  58. For documentation see Letters from South Korea (Toyko, Iwanami Shoten, no date) and Harvey, both cited by Turbyfill, p. 15. In the same issue of the *CAIB*, see also Hunziker.
  59. KA Report, p. 23. For details, see especially C.I. Eugene Kim, 'The Third Republic', in C. I. E. Kim and Y. W. Kim (eds.), pp. 25-34. Aside from the key role played by Jong-Pil Kim and other KCIA officials, the most distinctive aspect of the new party was its elaborate 'two-stem' organization. In addition to a democratic Representative stem, Kim established an undemocratic KCIA-controlled parallel stem known as the Secretariat. As C. I. Eugene Kim notes (*ibid.* p. 33), '[t]he secretariat structure, as in some totalitarian political systems, could be an awesome instrument of control by one man', so much so that other military coup leaders organized a DRP faction which opposed Jong-Pil Kim's political machinations, the so-called 'anti-Main Current' group. For more on these DRP factional struggles, see Kwan-Song Kim, pp. 181-216.
  60. In other words, it may have been Jong-Pil Kim who created the disciplined, hierarchical

'communist-like' structure that today characterizes the UC. But even if he did not, he certainly would have recognized its potentialities for clandestine and covert operations. The precise role that he played cannot be determined until the phases of the UC's organizational development can be further specified. See further, below.

61. Boyer, pp. 125 and especially 129; Boettcher, pp. 39-40. In fact, Kim seems to have made the UC's subsequent economic growth possible by seeing that its business ventures in Korea were awarded government contracts. (Boyer, pp. 139-40) and perhaps arranging for Moon to meet key Japanese financiers like Ryoichi Sasagawa. For more on the Japanese connection, see below.
62. See, e.g. Han, 'Political Parties and Elections in South Korea' in S-J Kim and Cho, (eds.); C. I. Eugene Kim, 'Third Republic and DRP' in Kim and Young, (eds.), 1976, pp. 33-4. It should be pointed here that Korean political factions develop around highly respected 'dominant personalities', who are thence obediently served by coterie of followers. See S-J Kim, 'National Government' in S-J Kim and Cho, (eds.). Jong-Pil Kim was one such personality. For indications of factionalism within the KCIA, see KA Report, pp. 96, 99 etc...
63. For the KCIA, see S-J Kim (1971), p. 156.
64. Boyer pp. 137-8.
65. KA Report, p. 354.
66. This phase is Boyer's (p. 123).
67. Ibid., pp. 122-3.
68. Ibid., p. 125. He claims that these four transformed Moon into the rabid anti-communist he is today.
69. This short biography is derived from sections of the KA Report; Pak's own testimony reproduced in Pak (1978) pp. 2-6; and a biographical sheet passed out at the first conference of CAUSA-USA -- a Moon political front -- held in San Francisco on 4-8 March, 1985.
70. KA-4 Supplement, p. 468.
71. Testimony of Robert Roland in KCIA-1, pp. 14-15; cf. Boettcher, pp. 40-41.
72. KA Report, p. 24.
73. Ibid., p. 354; Boyer, p. 124. He also served as an aide to several US Eighth Army commanders.
74. KA Report, p. 354; Boyer, pp. 123-4. Steve Kim also 'probably' served as Tong-Sun Park's 'control' officer, according to KA Report, p. 363.
75. This particular staff position frequently serves as a cover for intelligence operatives, and indeed Bo-Hi Pak occupied a similar position from 1961 to 1964. See supra, note 71.
76. KA Report, p. 354; Boyer, p. 124.
77. Boettcher, p. 40.
78. KA Report, p. 96.
79. Testimony of Wood, KCIA-1, p. 21; Woodrow, p. 152. For an example, see Yamamoto, pp. 27-8.
80. KA Report, p. 355.
81. Ibid.; Boyer, p. 127.
82. For T'ong-Il's contracts, see KA Report pp. 366-9. For the weapons produced, see ibid., pp. 326 and 368. There is some controversy about the M-16s.
83. Ibid., p. 365; testimony of Jai-Hyon Lee, KCIA-1, pp. 9 and 27.
84. MS, 22 September 1974, p. 6.
85. KA Report, p. 384.
86. This is the image one generally finds in 'official' UC sources as well as those hostile to the church. See e.g., Barker, pp. 42-3; Sontag, pp. 79 and 93.

- 87.C-S Kim, p. 15.
- 88.Boyer, p. 125.
- 89.See below.
- 90.C-S Kim, p. 17.
- 91.Ibid.; Boyer, pp. 125-6.
- 92.C-S Kim, p. 21.
- 93.Ch'oi. In his introduction to the volume in which Ch'oi's article appears, Palmer (pp. 9-10) describes her UC background. Since Ch'oi's description is completely lacking in time references, it is impossible to determine what period it refers to, though it must at least be accurate for the mid-1960s.
- 94.Ch'oi, p. 104.
- 95.Ibid., pp. 104-6 and 113.
- 96.One can easily verify this by consulting the voluminous literature on communist organizational techniques. A particularly thorough description of such an infrastructure (in the Vietnamese context) is provided by Pike, esp. pp. 109-231. It is also worth noting that many counter insurgency specialists, e.g. French proponents of *guerre revolutionnaire*, have advocated establishing the same sort of cross-cutting structures to counteract revolutionary attempts to mobilize popular support.
- 97.Ch'oi, p. 104. Cf. also a 4 January 1985 intelligence memo, reproduced in KA-4 Supplement, p. 460, and Sontag p. 7, who lists ways in which Unificationism 'mirrors' communism.
- 98.Ch'oi, p. 106. The UC also paid influential locals to join the church, according to another intelligence memo. See KA-4 Supplement, p. 458.
- 99.For an outline of the ROK bureaucratic administration, see Cho in S-J Kim and C-H Cho (eds.), pp. 91-126.
- 100.Cf.McFarland, pp. 84-87.  
Interestingly, the Park regime also gave the Olive Tree Movement a 'rather free reign', although it had been persecuted by Rhee and Myong Chang. This movement also developed a highly-centralized structure, making one wonder how much the success and organizational elaboration of various New Religions depended upon government patronage. See Moos, pp. 17-18.
- 101.KA Report, p. 313.
- 102.Ibid., p. 334.
- 103.Pak testimony in KA-4, p. 171.
- 104.KA Report, p. 323.
- 105.KCIA-1, p. 34. According to a December 1964 intelligence report, Pak and Bud Han created KCFF to help organize the UC in Washington. See KA-4 Supplement, pp. 459-60.
- 106.KA Report, p. 324.
- 107.Ibid., pp. 324-5.
- 108.For more on APACL, see below. For more on the FC, see the pamphlet *Freedom Centre* (Seoul, APACL-ROK, no date). More interesting is the excerpt printed therein from Jong-Pil Kim's speech at the 2nd Extraordinary Conference regarding the founding of the FC. Among other things, Kim said: 'The Republic of Korea government is willing to give whatever aid is necessary to the establishment and subsequent growth of such an organization....'. According to a financial statement in that pamphlet, the ROK government had already contributed \$US796,231 for the FC's establishment, and was engaged in raising another \$US830,770 from other Korean sources. See *ibid.*, pp. 35 and 54.

- 109.KA Report, p. 356.
- 110.Ibid.
- 111.Ibid., p. 357. This may well have been the 'additional assignment' Pak listed on his US visa application in January 1965 (ibid., p. 364), which would indicate that he was still employed by the ROK government while working for the KCFF, since he took over the latter the very day he was formally discharged from the army. See ibid., pp. 324 and 364.
- 112.Ibid., pp. 118-9 and 323. Curtin's intelligence background is indicated by John Roberts (1978) p. 15. He had earlier served as an advisor to the Korean Second Army, and also opened an APACL office in Washington DC in 1964.
- 113.KA Reports, p. 356. Mickey Kim was an aide to both Jong-Pil Kim and Chong-Kyu Park, head of the ROK Presidential Protective Force. He also became head of the World Tae Kwan Do (karate) Association, which received KCFF payments (ibid., p. 363). This is interesting in light of the fact that martial arts societies in Japan often serve as covers for underworld yakuza and extreme right groups. See Roberts (1978) p. 11 as an example. Note also that another important UC member named Jhoon Rhee owns a chain of Karate shops in the U.S.. (KA Report, p. 317). According to Boyer (p. 130) Rhee may have been involved in training a private security force for the UC.
- 114.KA-4 Supplement, p. 462.
- 115.KA Report, p. 358.
- 116.Ibid. The first was Kyong-Eup Kim, one of Jong-Pil Kim's aides and interpreters following the coup. When his KCIA links were discovered in September 1966 (ibid., p. 120) he was replaced by Dong-Sun Kim, yet another KCIA officer.
- 117.KA-4 Supplement, p. 517.
- 118.Ibid., pp. 462-3; KA Report, p. 121. Henderson identifies the Eighth KCIA Bureau as the one responsible for psywar, but he seems to be wrong.
- 119.KA Report, p. 355.
- 120.Ibid., p. 358.
- 121.Testimony of Wood, KCIA-1, pp. 32-3. Cf. also that of Jai-Hyon Lee in ibid., pp. 8-9.
- 122.KA Report, p. 386.
- 123.Ibid., pp. 343-5.
- 124.See ibid., pp. 325-8.
- 125.Testimony of Jai-Hyon Lee, KCIA-1, pp. 9 and 22-3.
- 126.See below.
- 127.KA Report, p. 389.
- 128.Testimony in KCIA-1, pp. 39-40. He described Moon's method as follows: 'You make yourself available to serve....You carry out... orders. Then finally when your services are indispensable, then you begin to dictate policy..... Basically, it is the "I am going to serve you to death" approach'.
- 129.MS, 23 February 1977, p. 11.
- 130.KA Report, p. 352. Cf. also pp. 347-8, and Boyer, pp. 127 and 136. He points out that mainstream churches and factions within the ROK Army were leery of, if not overtly hostile to, Moon and the UC.
- 131.KA Report, p. 100. The PPF formed a power bloc that rivalled the KCIA.
- 132.Cf. the view of Boyer (p. 133). But one should also remember the prominence in Korea of the so-called sadae, or 'serve the stronger' (and abuse the weaker) policy. See C-S Kim p. 58.
- 133.For South Korea's human rights record, see Amnesty International (1975).
- 134.As of this writing, only one full-length study has appeared on WACL. See

- Anderson and Anderson. This is an excellent journalistic overview of WACL activities, particularly in Latin America, but it is no substitute for a detailed historical investigation of the organization.
135. Charles Goldman, p. 21. This article was originally published in an anthology edited by Eric Jensen and Petter Sommerfelt, *Under Daeke* (Copenhagen, Demos, 1978), then translated from the Danish by E. C. Reed.
  136. Details regarding APACL's founding and early history can be found in four pamphlets published by the Chinese branch of APACL: see APACL 1956, 1957, 1958 and 1960. According to the first of these, the groundwork for establishing APACL was laid at a 15 June 1954 conference at Chinhae, South Korea, which was attended by representatives from Taiwan, South Korea, Vietnam, Thailand and the Phillipines. The idea was apparently first proposed by Syngman Rhee (APACL, *Developments*, 1956, pp. 1-5), the man hand-picked by the U.S. to head South Korea's postwar regime. Cf. also Allen, p. 188.
  137. For the American role in the creation of both the APACL and WACL, see the summary judgement of the Andersons, pp. 54-5. Cf. also Laurent, p. 299, and Chairoff, p. 461, who claims that both organizations were founded by the CIA and the 'special services' of NATO and SEATO. However Chairoff is a neo-fascist and intelligence operative posing as a left-wing journalist and his information must be viewed with more than usual scepticism.
  138. Anderson and Anderson, pp. 47 and 51-2. Cf. also Goldman, p. 21, Kruger, p. 124 and Scott, p. 204, for the involvement of KMT personnel in the Chinese APACL branch.
  139. For KMT control of the lucrative drug trade see McKoy, pp. 126-45, 246-7 and 319-22; Lamour and Lamberti, pp. 93-115; Browning and Garrett, pp. 32-9. For background information on earlier KMT drug operations see Marshall (1976), pp. 19-48. For the CIA's involvement see McKoy, pp. 90-145 and passim. This is even admitted in Christopher Robbins' rather romanticized history of the CIA's proprietary airline, *Air America*, an outfit which was largely responsible for logistical support of said drug smuggling operations. See Robbins, pp. 225-43. For drug-related funding of APACL, see Goldman, pp. 21-2 and Kruger, pp. 13, 125 and 152, note 47. The latter cites the example of a Laotian APACL official arrested by Parisian police for possession of 60 kilos of heroin. The Andersons suggest that APACL was also partially financed through little-scrutinized CIA discretionary funds and/or U.S. Embassy Counterpart Funds transmitted through Ray Cline, CIA Chief of Station in Taiwan from 1958-62 and now a disinformation specialist at Georgetown University's Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). See Anderson and Anderson, pp. 54-5. For more on CSIS see Landis.
  140. See, e.g., APACL (1956); idem, *New Development*, Appendix II, article 3 of APACL-ROC constitution.
  141. For an extensive list of APACL-ROC publications see the back pages of Chung.
  142. Scott, p. 204.
  143. APACL (1956), pp. 14-18.
  144. See *ibid.*, pp. 35-6 for a list of China Lobby associated organizations linked to APACL. Cf. also idem, APACL (1957) pp. 20-1. For the pernicious influence of the China Lobby on American foreign and domestic policies, see especially Koen. This excellent study was originally published in 1960, but was suppressed at that time by hardline elements within and outside of the US government, who thence published a McCarthyite work in response -- Davis



- and Hunter (1963). For more on APACL's American connections see Scott, p. 204.
145. APACL (1956) pp. 17-18 and 20; idem APACL (1957) pp. 53-4 and 1960 p. 50. The ABN is an umbrella group coordinating the activities of various anti-communist emigre organizations from eastern Europe and other former (?) Soviet-controlled 'Captive Nations', many of whose members were Nazi collaborators during World War II. See Anderson and Anderson, pp. 10-45 for some background information on the east European fascists and Nazis who were incorporated into the ABN, which they characterize as the 'largest and most important umbrella for Nazi collaborators in the world'. See *ibid.*, p. 35. Cf. Chairoff, pp. 420-1.
146. APACL (1956), pp. 19-20; idem (1957), p. 50. The NTS, often mistranslated as the Union of Russian Solidarists, was an ideologically confused 'left' fascist Great Russian emigre organization which ended up opportunistically cooperating with the Nazis. See Dvinov, pp. 117-48.
147. APACL (1957), pp. 30-4. According to Anderson and Anderson (p. 79) the CIADC was a continent-wide 'front group' set up by the Mexican anti-Semitic secret society Tecos to coordinate parallel police, i. e. 'death squad', activities throughout Latin America. Aside from the Tecos, on whom see *infra*, note 159, a key organization behind the CIADC was a Brazilian ultra-rightist group known as the *Cruzada Brasileira Anticomunista* (CBA) headed by Admiral Carlos Penna Botto.
148. See 'Groundwork for World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation Laid by Conference in Mexico City', in *Ukrainian Quarterly* 14:1 (March 1958), pp. 63-76; Goldman, pp. 22-3. Not coincidentally, the Fourth Anti-Communist Continental Congress held by CIADC in Antigua, Guatemala, later that same year also included, 'for the first time', representatives from Taiwan, ANB, the US and the Middle East. For this see CIADC (1961), p. 19. For a full list of participants, see pp. 413-18.
149. Goldman, p. 22. Despite its official sounding name, the ASC is a private right-wing organization dating from the McCarthy period. It was founded in 1955 as the Mid-American Research Library by former FBI personnel and funded by leading 'security-conscious' American corporations. Renamed the ASC in 1956, it originally concerned itself with amassing extensive files on supposed left-wing 'subversives', which were then provided to 3500 fee-paying firms; but eventually it developed into a powerful 'national security' lobby with a variety of front groups and high-level government connections. See especially the account by ex-FBI agent Turner, pp. 197-214. Its members are linked to every organization that subsequently became the official American chapter of WACL.
150. The VFF is a 'private' anti-communist vigilante group established in the 1950s that has been partially subsidized by the Bonn government. See the marvellously-researched study by Tauber, pp. 323 and 356. Like the ASC, it collected dossiers on leftists, real or imagined, and, like the ABN, it numbered many ex-Nazis among its staff.
151. Plans for creating something like WACL actually go back to at least 1957, when proposals called for a 'world peoples' anti-Communist Congress'. But WACL itself was not chartered until the Twelfth APACL conference held in Seoul in November 1966, and it was not formally established until 25 September 1967 in Taipei. This was also the date of the first WACL conference, which was attended by 230 delegates from 64 nations and 15

- 'international anti-communist organizations'. See WACL (1968), p. i. For more thorough information on participants at this opening conference, see WACL (1967), pp. 2-12. At the time of writing this essay, WACL still maintained offices in both Seoul and Taipei. See Conasen and Waas, p. 19.
152. Cadena, p. 228. E.g., the WACL charter begins thus: 'We, the freedom-loving peoples of the world, being dedicated to the cause of human dignity, peace and democracy based on justice, self-determination and independence of nations.....are finally determined to preserve justice and freedom and to fight the Communist efforts to enslave humanity.' WACL (1968), p. 1.
153. Union of International Associations, entry F3454.
154. Valentine, p. C2.
155. Chairoff, p. 461 emphasizes the hidden agendas of WACL, and also provides much material on the rivalries between 'allied' Western intelligence bureaucracies throughout his study.
156. Valentine, pp. C1 and C2. For WACL's schizophrenic membership, see Cadena, p. 228, and Laurent, p. 298. However, one should not exaggerate the contrast between WACL's earlier 'respectability' and recent 'degeneration'. As we have seen above, east European collaborator terrorists became affiliated with APACL very early on through the ABN and NTS, and the personnel of its Asian chapters were far from being democrats or humanitarians.
157. Valentine, p. C2. In my opinion, however, many of the power fluctuations within WACL are not the result of struggles between moderates and extremists, but of struggles among extremists linked to rival intelligence services, over control of WACL's resources and focus.
158. Ibid.; Conasen and Waas, p. 22; Laurent pp. 299-300; Anderson and Anderson pp. 85-90, 93-103 and 138-49. I have so far been unable to obtain copies of these memos.
159. See Possony. Cf. Anderson and Anderson, pp. 71-2 and 78-81; Chairoff pp. 363-4. The Tecos were represented in CAL through their front group the *Federacion Mexicana Anticomunista de Occidente* (FEMACO). See *Congreso Regional Anticomunista de Occidente* (1967) for a glorified self-portrayal of the organization's goals and ideas. For more on the Tecos' and FEMACO's links to death squads, see the Jack Anderson columns dated 26 January, 1 February and 9 February 1984; and Manuel Buenida (especially the three columns he wrote before his death, which are reprinted on pp. 159-67). Some investigators have recently suggested that the Tecos themselves murdered Buenida after the publication of said articles. See Rothschild, pp. 22-3.
160. Valentine, pp. C1 and C2. Among these were Italy's legal 'neo-fascist' political party, the *Movimento Sociale Italiano* (MSI), represented by its leaders Giorgio Almirante, and the anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby, represented by its chief, Willis A. Carto. The only full-length study of the Liberty Lobby is the excellent Mintz.
161. Conasen and Waas, pp. 22; Anderson and Anderson, pp. 96-100. For more on Pearson see Valentine, p. C2; Beresford, p. 3; Jaroslovsky, p. 50.
162. The term 'parafascist' is borrowed from Peter Dale Scott, who differentiates them from fascists 'because their primary concern is neither ideology nor a mass movement, but rather to function covertly in the service of, or parallel to, intelligence bureaucracies'. See his introduction to Kruger, p. 13. However, in the absence of ideology, one may well wonder what makes people fascists.
163. Conasen and Waas, pp. 22 and 122; Anderson and Anderson, p. 255. The primary example is, of course, the Tecos, who dissolved their exposed front

- groups CAL and FEMACO and created a new one, the *Federacion de Entidades Democratica en America Latina* (FEDAL), which is now a WACL member.
164. Anderson and Anderson, pp. 82-91, 153-5 and 263-4.
165. Union of International Associations, vol. 1, F3454.
166. Ibid., vol. 1, G1366. Alpha 66 is a prominent anti-Castro paramilitary organization supposedly founded by Cuban exiles in June 1962, and most authorities agree that it is one of the most violent and effective of all such outfits. Unlike most terrorist groups like Orlando Bosch's Omega 7 and the Falangist-inspired *Movimiento Nacionalista Cubana* (MNC), which operate primarily within the U.S. and other countries outside Cuba, Alpha 66 generally initiates sabotage and paramilitary raids on the island itself. See, e.g., McColm and Maier, p. 16.
167. Union of International Associations, vol. 1, O337.
168. Ibid., vol. 1, G0227. For more on Butler and the Australian League of Rights, see Campbell (1978) and Gott. See also the publications of Butler himself, including *The Truth about the Australian League of Rights: A Phillip Adams' Invitation Accepted* (Melbourne, Heritage, 1985), *The International Jew: the Truth about the 'Protocols of Zion'* (Adelaide, no publisher, 1946), and *The Red Pattern of World Conquest: Is it now too late to defeat Communism?* (Melbourne, Australian League of Rights, 1961). For its New Zealand analogue, see Spoonley.
169. Anderson and Anderson, pp. 9 and 282. On the strategy of tension see sources cited in Bale; and especially Flamini. For more on ON, see Minna, especially pp. 33-5; and Ferraresi, pp. 62-6. To these must be added the extraordinarily valuable revelations of convicted neo-fascist terrorist and 'political soldier' Vincenzo Vinciguerra (1989).
170. Anderson and Anderson, p. 101. FNu was established as a legal 'national right' political party in the early 1970s, although a journal of the same name and political orientation had already appeared during the 1960s. While not strictly speaking a terrorist organization, a few youthful members of FNu were involved in the 1977 massacre of five leftist lawyers in Madrid, on which see the special edition of *Cuadernos para el Dialogo*, 5 February 1977.
171. Anderson and Anderson, p. 270. I have not come across any detailed studies of CMA. Most of what is known about the group can be found in scattered newspaper articles.
172. For Sandoval and the MLN see *ibid.*, pp. 162-86 etc.; McClintock, pp. 169 and 195.
173. Anderson and Anderson, pp. 193-210. On D'Aubuisson's links to his country's parallel police, see especially Allan Nairn, p. 19.
174. Anderson and Anderson, pp. 41 and 283. For the HRB's Ustase inspiration and operations, see Clissold p. 15. Chairoff claims (p. 433) that the HRB has strong links to both the CIA and NATO's 'special services'.
175. Anderson and Anderson, pp. 138-49.
176. Delle Chiaie definitely appeared at CAL's September 1980 conferences in Buenos Aires (Anderson and Anderson, p. 147) and may have also attended the Twelfth WACL Conference held in Asuncion, Paraguay in April of 1979, reputedly the most 'Nazified' of all WACL meetings. See Clarkson (1986), p. 52. For a general overview of Delle Chiaie's career, see Christie. For more on AN, see Mina, especially pp. 35-6; Ferraresi, pp. 66-71.
177. Goldman, p. 18. However, one should note that Goldman's use of the term 'fascist' is not all precise, a wearisomely typical trait, especially among leftists.

178. Clarkson (1986), pp. 50 and 52. For the CAL expulsion see 'WACL finally expels one pro-Fascist organization', *Public Eye* 4:3-4 (Summer 1984), pp. 4-5. Despite these clean-up efforts, Singlaub himself denied that WACL was ever a gathering place for racists and extremists in a letter to *New York Times*, 19 September 1985. For more on the 'new WACL' see Anderson and Anderson, pp. 150-1 and 252-61.
179. *Ibid.*, pp. 124-5. Note that they dismiss this statement as an example of 'heavenly deception' and suggest that it reflected Moon's anger over his inability to take over WACL.
180. *Ibid.*, pp. 50-4. Indeed, Park and his colleagues revamped the organization and made it into an even more important instrument of South Korean foreign policy than it had been under Rhee.
181. See below, note 255.
182. Mickler, p. 93. Much of Mickler's information on Choi and the early Japanese UC is based on a transcribed talk with Choi's first disciple, Michiko Matumoto.
183. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-6.
184. *Ibid.*, pp. 96-8.
185. *Ibid.*, pp. 98-9. Cf. also C-S Kim, pp. 15-16, for Choi's early failures.
186. Mickler, p. 99; C-S Kim, p. 16; Barker, p. 49. In his masterful study of the Japanese ultra-right, Ivan Morris said that the Rissho Korei Kai, like other Nichiren Buddhist sects, 'revealed the type of nationalist fervour that...can so easily spill over into the political field'. See Morris, p. 140. As we shall see, the association between the Rissho Korei Kai and the GU does not seem to have been coincidental.
187. Mickler, pp. 99-101.
188. For indications of the Japanese UC's wealth, see e.g. Boyer, pp. 159-62; Anderson and Anderson, p. 68.
189. The quoted characterization is that of Richard J. Samuels, 'Power Behind the Throne', in MacDougall (ed.), p.128. Curiously, however, only the nemawashi appears in his summary of kuromaku methods.
190. Kaplan and Dubro, p. 78. For more general background on these rightist kuromako, see Nakamura, pp. 16-19; Halloran, p. 2; Roberts (1973), p. 14.
191. Dixon, pp. 211-212.
192. Anderson and Anderson, p. 125. There is some question in my mind as to whether he was a 'lieutenant' of Kodama's as early as 1962, or whether he only became one later. The precise dating could have explanatory significance.
193. *Ibid.*, p. 68. Cf. also Roberts (1978), p. 14.
194. Dixon, p. 212. According to Wolfgang Seifert, the former organization was the 'most important of the new anti-communist religious sects' in Japan with links to the extreme right. See Seifert (1977), p. 117, note 26. Later, the Genri Kenkyu Kai claimed to have severed its links to the GU, but this is quite doubtful in view of its simple adoption of a new name. See Dixon, pp. 210-212.
195. Kaplan and Dubro, pp. 32-5. For more on the Genyo Sha, see Norman, pp. 261-84.
196. The following biographical information is derived from Morris, especially pp. 443-4; Dixon, pp. 74-83; Kaplan and Dubro, pp. 63-9 and 78-83; and Seifert, pp. 139-46. Key Japanese sources on Kodama include Ino; Otsuka, pp. 145-54; and Tachibana, vol. 2, pp. 140-280. Cf. Kodama's own account of his prewar and wartime career in Kodama (1951).
197. For Kodama's connections, see especially Hanzawa, pp. 243-5; and Dixon, p. 76.

198. Kaplan and Dubro, pp. 65-6; Dixon, pp. 76-7; Hougan, p. 455. For more on the drug trafficking, see Thorpe, p. 219, where Kodama is described as a 'tough character....who was to the narcotics racket in Japan what Al Capone once was to the liquor traffic in America'. For a somewhat superficial overview of the Kempei Tai, see Deacon.
199. Kodama gave a rather strange account of his imprisonment in his *Sugamo Diary* (1960).
200. For biographical information on Sasagawa, see Roberts (1978); Dixon, pp. 98-101; Kaplan and Dubro, pp. 79-81; Anderson and Anderson, pp. 61-3; Morris, p. 449; and 'Sasagawa Ryoichi: Impresario of the Japanese Right', in *Ampo* 6:1 (Winter 1974), pp. 43-5. Note that this last contains many errors.
201. Roberts (1978), p. 10; Dixon, p. 98.
202. Roberts (1978), p. 9.
203. G-2 report of 24 May 1947, cited by Hougan, p. 456.
204. Cited by Kaplan and Dubro, pp. 79-80.
205. On this fued see Kaplan and Dubro, p. 46, and Roberts (1979), p. 397. Hans H. Baerwald notes that G-2 could not be relied upon 'to track....down purgees who were engaging in illegal activities' because of Willoughby's 'outright opposition' to the purge policy. See his essay 'The Purge in Occupied Japan', in Wolfe (ed.).
206. See especially Kaplan and Dubro, pp. 57-63. Many of the recruited ultranationalists served in the notorious Hattori Kikan, an 'anti-communist spy agency attached to Willoughby's G-2 section'. According to Roberts (1979) p. 407, among these was Tetsuzo Watanabe, who became an important figure in APACL and, later, the UC-affiliated WACL branch in Japan.
207. Roberts (1978) pp. 10-11; Kaplan and Dubro, p. 66.
208. Kaplan and Dubro (pp. 66-9), provide the most details regarding Kodama's recruitment and use by Willoughby's G-2 and, later, the CIA. But cf. also Roberts (1978) p. 11; Hougan, p. 457; Hurst, p. 4; D'Emilia, p. 66.
209. Kaplan and Dubro, pp. 67-8.
210. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
211. Dixon, p. 77.
212. For the sum, see Fukai p. 43. For Tsuji see Kaplan and Dubro p. 67. For the LP, DP and LDP background, see Tomita et al, 'The Liberal Democratic Party: the Ruling Party of Japan', in Hrebner (ed.) 1986, pp. 253-5.
213. See Dixon, pp. 78-9. For Ono's gangster links, see Kaplan and Dubro, p. 82.
214. Kaplan and Dubro, pp. 101-23; Hurst, p. 5; and especially Boulton. Kodama had been a paid agent of Lockheed since 1958 and received \$U.S.7 milion for his help in arranging the TriStar aircraft deal.
215. Dixon, p. 79.
216. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
217. Nakamura, p. 19. Cf. also Dixon, pp. 80-1; Kaplan and Dubro, pp. 84-86.
218. Kaplan and Dubro, pp. 94-5; Rome, pp. 228-9.
219. Kaplan and Dubro, p. 99; Rome, pp. 230-1; Dixon, p. 80.
220. Kaplan and Dubro, pp. 98-9.
221. *Ibid.*, p. 87; Dixon, p. 90.
222. For more on Sagoya's background, see Dixon, pp. 91-5.
223. *Ibid.*, pp. 90-2; Kaplan and Dubro, pp. 87-8.
224. Dixon, pp. 85-6; Kaplan and Dubro, p. 88.
225. Dixon, pp. 86-8; Kaplan and Dubro, p. 88.
226. Dixon, pp. 88-90; Seifert, p. 122. For more on Kodama's own political ideology see Seifert, pp. 188-201 and 259-65.

227. Anderson and Anderson, p. 69.
228. Roberts (1978), pp. 8 and 11; Dixon, p. 99; Kaplan and Dubro, p. 80.
229. Roberts (1978), p. 11.
230. Among other things, Sasagawa has served as a middleman between Japanese oil companies and Middle Eastern oil shaikhs. See *ibid.*, p. 9.
231. Sasagawa himself has estimated his personal wealth at \$U.S.50 million, according to Roberts (1978), p. 8. Among the numerous charities and organizations he regularly donates money to is the United Nations! See e.g. Kaplan and Dubro, pp. 260-1; Fay Wiley et al, p. 67.
232. Halloran, p. 2.
233. For this organization see Morris, pp. 242-3. Among its postwar members were Yoshida and Bamboku Ono.
234. Kaplan and Dubro, p. 80; Roberts (1978), p. 12.
235. Dixon, p. 99; Hougan, p. 459. Not coincidentally, Kodama is head of the Japan Professional Wrestling Association.
236. For the 'legacies' of the Japanese occupation, see C-S Lee, pp. 1- 22.
237. See *ibid.*, pp. 23-42; K-B Kim, pp. 1-22.
238. Allen, p. 188.
239. C-S Lee, p. 49. For Rhee's attitude towards the Japanese see, e.g. Allen, pp. 183-190 (especially the quote on 189).
240. See, e.g. Hahn, 'Policy Toward Japan', in Koo and Han (eds.), p. 172.
241. C-S Lee, pp. 47-49.
242. K-B Kim, pp. 87-90. These same 'allies' were also engaged in promoting pro-Taiwan policies through the Ajia Mondai Kenkyu Kai (Asia Problems Research Association) or 'A-Group'. See e.g. White, pp. 79-80 and note 1, p. 80.
243. See e.g. Seiffert, p. 116, note 20.
244. Hahn in Koo and Han (eds.), p. 172.
245. For Kim's visits to Japan see Chang, pp. 142-5.
246. *Ibid.*, *passim*.
247. Dixon, p. 82. Note also that Kim and Park developed close links with two organizations associated with Kodama, the Matsuba Kai and Machii's Tosei Kai. For the former see Axelbank, p. 101. As regards the latter, note that Machii helped the KCIA kidnap ROK dissident Dae-Jung Kim from a Tokyo hotel in 1973. See Kaplan and Dubro, pp. 189-97.
248. Cited by Dixon, p. 82. (The emphasis is mine.) The reference is to Otsuka (1970), p. 203.
249. For Ono and Kodama, see Dixon, pp. 81-2; for Kim see Lee, pp. 50-1; and especially Hinton, pp. 50-1, where it is pointed out that Kim was able to accumulate 'an enormous private fortune, partly it appears from presents and bribes offered by Japanese firms eager for favors of one kind or another'.
250. Roberts (1978), p. 14; Kaplan and Dubro, p. 80.
251. Dixon, p. 100.
252. See above.
253. Anderson and Anderson, p. 69. Cf. Roberts (1978), p. 14. Fred Clarkson (1987) claims that Kodama himself was at this meeting, but cites no source for this.
254. Anderson and Anderson, p. 69.
255. KA Report, p. 319.
256. Anderson and Anderson, p. 69. In this respect it was more successful in Japan than in South Korea. As Boyer has pointed out (pp. 136-7 and 249), the main IFVC branch in Korea was unable to dominate or supplant the APACL/WACL

- chapter there, due mainly to the hostility of many ROK military leaders to Moon and his UC.
257. Dixon, pp. 101 and 214.
258. See especially *ibid.*, pp. 209-212.
259. Boyer, p. 250.
260. Dixon, pp. 101 and 212-14; Roberts (1978), p. 15. A brief message to this conference from Sato was reprinted in WACL/APACL (1970), p. 10.
261. To discern this, one has only to peruse various issues of different WACL publications, such as the *WACL Bulletin* and *Asian Outlook*.
262. Anderson and Anderson provide numerous examples. Perhaps the most infamous was the involvement of the UC's newest political front group, the *Confederacion para la Asociacion y Unidad de las Sociedades de America* (CAUSA) in funding and otherwise aiding the overthrow of the Bolivian government by right-wing military officers, narcotraficantes, Argentine intelligence operatives, and European neo-fascists. See e.g. LAB/IEPALA, p. 125 and Kai Hermann.

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## Wallace on Pincher on Wallace

### Introduction

There are a couple of interesting chapters in Chapman Pincher's recent *The Truth About Dirty Tricks*, (Sidgwick and Jackson, 1991), especially the one about Harold Wilson's 'spymaster', the late George Wigg; but, despite the usual shower of

interesting fragments, mostly it is junk. Pincher's primary strategy is clear enough. During the mid 1970s bureaucratic wars between MI5 and MI6, Maurice Oldfield, Chief of MI6, used Pincher to denigrate MI5, notably via a couple of stories supporting Harold Wilson's claims that he was the victim of operations by MI5. Unfortunately for Pincher, as a man of the political right, by 1987 he was being quoted by people like us against MI5, in support of the allegations of Colin Wallace. Pincher has attempted to solve this dilemma by retracting his pre-1987 claims about MI5 plots against Wilson. He began this in his *The Spycatcher Affair: a Web of Deception*, and continues in this new book. *The Truth About Dirty Tricks* also contains a staggeringly inaccurate chapter on the Colin Wallace Affair. After a life-time of recycling official 'leaks', Pincher was a sitting-duck when some of his old contacts in the Ministry of Defence fed him a barrow-load of nonsense about Wallace which he reproduces unchecked. Here is part of Colin Wallace's response to that chapter.

Despite the fact that he makes generous use of the material contained in Paul Foot's book *Who Framed Colin Wallace?* Pincher appears to be quite incapable of copying the facts correctly and happily substitutes assertion for fact where there are any gaps. Here are just a few examples.

p. 160 *'Two years later [1968], when he was twenty-five and still working from his home in Randalstown, a senior Army officer who had spotted his enthusiasm asked him [Wallace] if he would like to work as an Army Press Officer....'*

I had moved from Randalstown thirteen years earlier, in 1955, and had not lived there after that.

p. 160 *'In the following year [1973] the new Head of the Army Information Services, Peter Broderick, whom I had known at Defence Ministry headquarters, decided to allocate Wallace more definitively to what was known as Information Policy. This was the mutation moment in Wallace's career. He was to engage in highly secret and controversial work....'*

The use of the words 'was to' is thoroughly misleading in that it conceals the fact that I had been working for Information Policy from 1971. Peter Broderick's re-organisation of the Army Information Services, which transferred me to Information Policy, was, as he told the Civil Service Appeal Board, simply making formal an arrangement that had existed on an informal basis for several years. The MOD and the security services had, therefore, three years experience of my work with that unit before I was formally transferred to it on promotion. It is significant that neither MOD nor the security services prevented that transfer.

p. 160 *'Clockwork Orange attempted to link the IRA with the KGB and other foreign intelligence agencies supplying weapons and explosives. Wallace, for example, had the task of planting a false story that a submarine had been seen off the Irish coast and had landed three Russians.'*

The Soviet submarine story was published in 1972, two years before the Clockwork Orange project was created.

p. 162 *'I have not been able to establish whether Ministers were told about Information Policy.'*

Merlyn Rees has repeatedly stated in Parliament and in the media that during his time as Northern Ireland Secretary and Home Secretary he was not aware that Information Policy existed -- i.e. at least five years after it was formed. To make matters worse, Mr Rees is on record as saying that when my case arose in early 1975 he was told by a senior MI5 officer at Stormont that I was a 'filing clerk'. Similarly, Roy Mason has repeatedly denied that he was aware of Information Policy during his time as Defence Secretary or Northern Ireland Secretary.

p. 162 *'Information Policy was largely an Army and Defence Intelligence Service operation.'*

Information Policy was staffed by the Army and the Information Research Department. During my time at HQ Northern Ireland none of the staff belonged to Defence Intelligence. Pincher's failure to mention the IRD involvement is very interesting because of the key input the department made to the unit and the fact that its presence there has been widely reported over the past years.

p. 163 *'It is certain that Wallace was involved in the rather crude concoction of a diary of a disaffected IRA man, supposed to have been secured in a raid on an IRA house.'*

The above comments indicates that Pincher does not understand even the basic parts of my story. The 'diary of a disaffected IRA man', to which he erroneously refers, was in fact the first part of Clockwork Orange. That particular episode was accurately reported in ITV's This Week programme on 26 April 1990.

p. 167 *'His files apparently contained a copy of a forged letter to Merlyn Rees implicating him, quite incredibly, in contributing to the IRA fund Noraid. He showed it to journalists but there is no evidence that it came from any British official source.'*

Although the letter to which he refers was reproduced in Paul Foot's book, Pincher does not even get the name of the alleged organisation correct. The letter purported to come from the 'American Congress for Irish Freedom' and not Noraid, as he claims. Also, I did not show it to any journalist, and I would challenge Pincher to name any reporter who was shown it by me during the 1970s. In fact, I only obtained a copy of the letter from a press source in 1988. For good measure, Pincher claims that the document could have been an IRA forgery. Not surprisingly, Pincher fails to explain why the IRA should have wished to discredit Merlyn Rees at a time when Mr Rees had initiated various political changes, including the release of internees and political dialogue with Sinn Fein, approved of by the IRA. I cannot recall any instance during my seven years at Army Headquarters when the IRA produced forged documents, let alone one of the quality of the one referred to. It is surprising, therefore, that Pincher does not comment on the origin of the other forgeries such as the 'Bloody Sunday' one listing MPs David Owen, Stan Orme, Tony Benn, Paul Rose and Merlyn Rees; the one purporting to be Dennis Healey's opinion of the Common Market; or the purported Labour Party election pamphlet. All of these were produced to a standard far beyond the technical or professional abilities of the Army Information Services in Northern Ireland.

p. 168 *'One note expressed his [Wallace's] view that the next general election would be dominated by personality factors, and that every effort should be made to exploit character weaknesses such as financial, sexual or political misbehaviour. It was followed by names including Wilson, Heath, Maudling, Pym, Rees, Benn and Foot.'*

The note did not express my personal view in any way. My handwritten notes were nothing more than extracts from documents passed to me in connection with Clockwork Orange. As Pincher himself admits, he has never met me and, therefore, has no idea what my personal view of the named politicians was. It is, therefore, nothing short of disinformation for him to claim otherwise.

p. 171 *'Evidence of Wallace's state of mind is contained in an essay 'Ulster -- a State of Subversion', which he admits he wrote himself. His own conclusion was that...'*

The 'essay' to which he refers was part of Clockwork Orange and did not reflect my own thinking. Indeed, the documents from which the 'essay' was constructed are still in my possession and it is clear that the original material did not emanate from Northern Ireland. In other words, my role in the production of the 'essay' was similar to that of a sub-editor. The 'essay' was later used by Airey Neave to form the basis of a speech which he gave at Seaton Delaval, Northumberland, on 10 September 1976.

p. 172 *'The commanders involved at the time, General Sir Peter Leng, who was keen on psyops operations, and General Sir Frank King, have been quoted by a Ministry of Defence spokesman as saying that they were not aware of anything called Clockwork Orange.'*

Although Pincher is keen to quote the anonymous MOD spokesman, he deliberately ignores (or is unaware of) the report which was published in the *Sunday Times* on 18 February 1990 and withdrawn from later editions following the intervention of the Ministry of Defence. Below are extracts from the tape recorded telephone conversation between Barrie Penrose of the *Sunday Times* and General Sir Peter Leng which led to the story. The telephone call begins with Penrose reading to the General an extract from page 28 of Paul Foot's book, in which Foot refers to General Leng and the Clockwork Orange project.

- Penrose: ... And how many people would have known about Clockwork Orange? Would it... I am just wondering...
- Leng: Well I think the senior intelligence officer would have known. Broderick [Chief Information Officer] would have known. Mike [Len] Garrett [Chief of Staff HQ Northern Ireland]...
- Penrose: ... The actual operation, I mean Clockwork Orange, when it was first mooted was in fact Denis Payne -- several people have mentioned that -- who was at NIO [MI5 -- Chief of Intelligence Northern Ireland].
- Leng: That's right. There was of course that branch as well. NIO would come in and cross fertilise if they wanted to keep something from the RUC ....
- Penrose: .... No, of course. It's just to see how, if you would forgive me, how the bureaucracy works. So Clockwork Orange in this case comes from Denis Payne's office, so its Intelligence to Intelligence, and you're shown it...
- Leng: I'm not always shown it. Only if they need to involve someone at a higher level.



Penrose: Right .... Clockwork Orange was policy. This sounds like a statement rather than a question, but a statement asking for confirmation.

Leng: And Clockwork Orange was policy.

Penrose: ....So, you knew obviously there was a five [MI5] involvement in Clockwork Orange, but you obviously wouldn't have known.....

Leng: The detail.

Penrose: The detail.

Leng: Correct.

*p. 172 'While the Information Policy exercise was in progress, the Chief of Public Relations at the Ministry of Defence in London, John Groves, had not been regularly informed by the Army about it. When he got wind of the way his staff were abusing their contact with journalists to plant disinformation he objected, verbally and in writing, to the Civil Service chief at the Defence Ministry, Sir James Dunnett and to the Secretary of State for Defence, Lord Carrington.....At that stage, both Dunnett and Carrington declined to interfere. Groves was to persevere with his objections.... (p. 173) John Groves has assured me that he had never heard anything about it [Clockwork Orange].... (p. 174) In the middle of September [1974], Sir Frank Cooper, the Civil Service chief at Stormont, had taken a decision that Information Policy must stop and, in particular, that Wallace must be removed. Cooper had been under sustained pressure from John Groves, the Defence Ministry's Chief of Public Relations, and had also received reports about Wallace's conduct from Army Security. He held a meeting with Sir Michael Carey, the Defence Ministry's Permanent Secretary, and Groves, in Carey's office in London; agreement was reached that the Army should revert to its proper role in support of the civil power and that it should not be allowed to do on "doing its own thing, in the disinformation field."*

In the the three extracts quoted above, Pincher gives the impression that for at least a year before I was finally moved from Northern Ireland, the Head of MOD PR was greatly concerned about the activities of Information Policy in general and my role in it in particular, yet was totally unable to control or move his own staff. That is pure fantasy. Had Goves wished to move me out of Northern Ireland at any time he could have done so without any warning and certainly without having to consult either the Defence Secretary or the Defence Permanent Under Secretary. In any event, he had accepted the reorganisation of Army Public Relations in Northern Ireland in 1974 in which Information Policy was incorporated into the Army Information Services for the purposes of cover. Part of that reorganisation included the creation of my new post and the publication of my false job description.

Moreover, when I was promoted to Senior Information Officer in September 1974 to fill a long-term psychological operations post in Northern Ireland, my promotion was approved by John Groves and without objection from the security services. Had Groves or the security services wished, they could have filled the post with another officer, refused to establish it, blocked my appointment or withdrawn my security clearance. During the period when Groves was allegedly wringing his hands in despair about what action to take to stop Information Policy, I was twice recommended by Army Headquarters at Lisburn for the MBE for my work. Pincher's account of Groves' role in the case has the distinct smell of disinformation about it; and this becomes more obvious when one reads a report which was published in *The Observer* on 4 February 1990 in which Peter Broderick, Deputy Director of Army Public Relations at

the MOD in 1974, is quoted as saying:

'A few days before Wallace's Appeal, the chief of public relations for the MOD [Groves] in London spoke to me on the phone. He told me: "You know this Wallace chap is an active member of a militant volunteer force. He is an active terrorist, a member of the Ulster Volunteer Force." The suggestion was laughable -- that sort of thing would have been known about.'

*p. 174 'His [Wallace's] telephones at home and in his office were tapped.'*

It would have been physically and technically impossible to tap my home telephone for the simple reason that I never had a telephone installed there. Moreover, I had not lived at my home from 1970 until I left the Province in 1975.

*p. 174 'Some of the leaks seemed so pointless that Major General John Woodrow, another friend of mine who was in charge of Army Security at the time, was concerned about Wallace's motives.'*

Like many of Pincher's alleged sources in Intelligence and Security, Major General Woodrow is now dead and cannot therefore confirm Pincher's claims. It is interesting however, that Pincher fails to mention that General Woodrow had previously been Director of Army Public Relations and had played a key role in the setting up of the psychological operations unit in Northern Ireland. Even more interesting, is the fact that one of the most senior officers in the Directorate of Army Security at that time had joined the Directorate from Northern Ireland where he had worked closely with MI5. In particular, he ran an agent named James Miller, who infiltrated Tara, the Loyalist paramilitary group linked with the Kincora child sex scandal. Last year, the BBC's Public Eye programme broadcast details of how MI5 had covered up the sex assaults on children in the Home and had refused to co-operate with the government inquiry set up under Sir George Terry. In an interview with the *Sunday Times* in 1987, Miller admitted that his Intelligence handlers had instructed him to help foment the Ulster Workers Council strike in May 1974 as a means of discrediting Harold Wilson. If General Woodrow did make the comments attributed to him by Pincher, he may well have had very good reasons for doing so, reasons which had nothing to do with my alleged motives.

*p. 174 'He [Wallace] says that he became concerned about the salacious material he was receiving about Wilson and Marcia during the election in October and handed over his Clockwork Orange files to his MI5 contact, whom he never saw again.'*

I withdrew from Clockwork Orange in September 1974 before the General Election was even announced. My main objection was that more and more of my time was being diverted into political disinformation rather than fighting terrorism. Only a minute quantity of Clockwork Orange related to Harold Wilson or Marcia Williams.

*p. 175 'The RUC sent detectives to see Wallace in London, where he was spending a few days acquainting himself with his new position. The confrontation took place in Grove's office and Wallace was rather shattered when told about the documents.'*

As the official records prove, this is a complete distortion of what took place. RUC

statements show that I was never interviewed in London. I was interviewed by an RUC officer and an officer from the Lancashire police at Army HQ North West District in Preston on 6 February 1975. On that occasion I could not supply the officers with information about my work because of the security implications. Subsequently, I sought and was granted a private interview with John Groves on 11 February to find out how much information about psychological operations I could give to the RUC. Contrary to what Pincher claims, no police officers were present at that meeting -- or any other meeting -- I had with Groves. I then contacted the Head of Lancashire Police Special Branch the following day and gave him details about the background to the incident.

*p. 176 'He [Wallace] should have remained at home, but continued to frequent the office to the annoyance of those Army men who knew the circumstances.'*

During the time I was suspended from duty, I continued to live, at MOD's request, in the Officer's mess at Army HQ, North West District. The Headquarters was then located in an old country house known as Cuerdon Hall and comprised the headquarters offices, the officers' mess and the GOC's residence. The MOD asked me to remain there for two reasons: to give the appearance of normality to journalists inquiring about my whereabouts; and to enable me to avoid having to return to my home in Northern Ireland where I would have had easy access to the Press. Even Pincher must realise that it would have been very easy for the Army to exclude me from the Headquarters had they really wanted to do so.

*p. 176 'Seemingly unable to desist from meddling, Wallace says that in July 1976 he wrote to Airey Neave, the MP who was later assassinated by the IRA in the precincts of Parliament. He claims that speeches which Neave made were based on material which he supplied.'*

As Airey Neave's letters to me show, I contacted Airey Neave at his request in 1976. I do not simply 'claim' that Mr Neave used my material in speeches: a letter to me from Mr Neave in August 1976 requested me to update one of the Clockwork Orange disinformation papers, 'Ulster -- a State of Subversion', for use by him in a political speech on 10 September that year. I still have the original handwritten letter sent to me by Neave. Press cuttings relating to the speech show that Mr Neave did use this material. Similarly, an examination of further disinformation documents shows that other material from my collection was used in a speech by Mr Neave at the Young Conservatives in Brighton on 6 August 1976 and in a Conservative Party paper about Northern Ireland issued in September that year. Furthermore, as Mr Neave's other letters to me show, I continued to do work for him during the following year until I moved from London to Sussex. Pincher does not explain why, given Airey Neave's excellent contacts with the Intelligence Services, he continued to work with me and use my disinformation material at a time when, according to Pincher, I was regarded as a security risk by MI5 and others with whom Mr Neave was in regular contact.

*p. 177 'On 5 August, after reading the row caused by my report of the alleged bugging of 10 Downing Street, Wallace wrote to Lord Wilson assuring him that his fears that MI5 were trying to discredit him and undermine his position were justified, and claiming that he had been part of the plot. He gave examples and claims that he asked for an interview with Wilson. He received no reply.'*

I wrote to Sir Harold Wilson, as he then was, on 2 August 1977 following the publication of an article in the Sunday *Observer* (not by Pincher) about the former Prime Minister's concerns about MI5. Marcia Williams (Lady Falkender) wrote to me on 5 August asking for details of my allegations which she could forward to Sir Harold who was then on holiday in the Scilly Isles. I did forward the details to her and she confirmed that she had received the material. More recently, in a letter to me dated 23 February 1987, she wrote: 'I did indeed reply to you in 1977 but I am afraid your letter to Lord Wilson has now gone into storage with all his papers.'

p. 179: *'The Ministry had also failed to disclose the full nature of Wallace's authorised work at the [Civil Service Appeal Board] hearing. The briefing document giving the full description of Wallace's tasks was classified because it mentioned his involvement in disseminating disinformation, though without any mention of Clockwork Orange, and the Board members did not have the security clearance to read it.'*

This is simply nonsense. As the written statements made at the Appeal by the Deputy Director of Army Public Relations and the Institution of Professional Civil Servants show, the Board was told that I did have a job description which was classified 'secret' and that I was involved in disinformation or 'black propaganda'. The members of the Board, as former senior civil servants, were cleared to receive classified information, but the MOD denied that any second classified job description existed! In other words, the MOD misled the Board to discredit the evidence provided by Broderick (DDAPR) and the IPCS, not because the true facts were classified, but because some psychological operations were unlawful and/or unconstitutional.

One of the most curious sections of Pincher's assault on Wallace concerns Wallace's 1972 'leak' to the journalist Angus McPherson of the details of the British Army's planned 'Operation Motorman', the move into the Bogside. Pincher comments: 'Why had Wallace leaked it, and what would have happened to him had the authorities learnt (sic) what he had done?'

Here is McPherson's memory of the event -- and his evaluation of Wallace.

***Mail on Sunday 4 February 1990***

'At the height of the Ulster violence, in the early 1970s. Colin Wallace was not just an Army press officer. He was the most extraordinary and voluble source of information about the guerrilla war in Northern Ireland to be found on either side of the Irish Sea.

As a Defence Correspondent I spent hours being briefed on 'deep background' in his little office in Army HQ in Lisburn.

His information was a baffling mixture.

Now, I don't doubt it. Colin never talked to me about politicians. My coverage was strictly military.

But I can recall emerging from a briefing with him at the end of July 1972 with sweating palms and a big problem.

Wallace had just given me full details - down to troop numbers and dates - of the top secret Operation Motorman.

At the time this was the most ticklish and dreaded operation the British Army had faced since the Second World War. Soldiers were to clear the No-go Bogside areas of Londonderry where the IRA were

It was always highly printable but I didn't always print it. I suspected some of it then and suspect more of it now. But much of it proved accurate and so highly classified it made my hair stand on end.

Government attempts since his disgrace to write him off as a 'fantasist' and a 'Walter Mitty' figure never held water.

I had no doubt at the time, and have none now, that his information - 'dis' or genuine - came from the very highest military and security levels. If and when Colin twisted the truth he would have considered he was lying for his country.

And I have no doubt that Wallace was uniquely trusted by generals and security chiefs, since they must have known what he was up to and made no attempt to stop him.

He was immensely hard working, totally dedicated and sometimes disconcertingly naive.

If he sometimes deceived journalists he also took enormous chances with genuine information he gave them.

No doubt he trusted his bosses with a similar singlemindedness. I can believe that he would have been bewildered and out of his depth if, as now seems possible, they resolved to get rid of him and shut him up.

Once, in briefing me on the strategy of the IRA he showed me transcripts of bugged conversations between known Republicans.

But they struck me as fakes. There was a remark about a shot soldier 'crying out of him...' - a phrase used in the plays of Sean O'Casey and J. M. Synge but not by any modern Irishman I'd ever met.

Disinformation material?

dug in, in force, behind anti-tank guns and missiles. If they stayed and fought, a bloodbath was certain.

I had a remarkable scoop on my hands. But could we be responsible for warning the IRA that 5,000 British troops were about to attack? My then editor, Sir David English of the *Daily Mail*, instantly ruled that we could not.

My story was not on the streets until the Centurion tanks and Saladin armoured cars were already warring into the Bogside.

The IRA knew anyway. They had almost all gone. So the Army's fears were groundless and the only deaths were two snipers shot by soldiers.

Wallace's briefing of me was, I believe, clearly part of a 'psyops' exercise - but using genuine information - to try and scare the IRA out.

We rather spoiled it by acting too responsibly.

But it was an operation that took a fearful chance. Knowing exactly what to expect, the Provisionals might have stayed.

Whether it was Wallace's idea, or came from higher up, I have no idea.

But the man with the authority and knowledge to put it into effect was clearly no maverick Press officer.

Having known the man, I am convinced that his allegations about dirty tricks need to be taken extremely seriously.'

# Western Goals (UK)

**Mike Hughes**

## **Organisation, History and Politics**

In the early years of the Thatcher decade, the radical or 'new' right was generally treated as though it was a united palace guard for libertarian Conservatism. More recently it has become clearer that the radical right in Britain was, at best, an 'anti wet' alliance between authoritarian/ nationalist and libertarian/radical traditions within the Conservative Party, (1) united by their opposition to the dominant, mainstream tradition within the Conservative Party. Once Thatcher's position as party leader and then as Prime Minister, had been consolidated, it was inevitable that cracks would begin to show in this alliance.

The formation of the distinctly authoritarian Western Goals (UK), in May 1985, was one of the first symptoms of the growing public divisions among the radical right. By 1988 it had virtually become open sectarian warfare in places, of a kind usually encountered on the fringes of the revolutionary left. A note from Marc Gordon (of the International Freedom Foundation [IFF]) to his fellow libertarian David Hart (of the Committee for a Free Britain [CFB]) reflected the problems that Western Goals were causing them:

'It is not often that I believe we should act against 'our own', but Western Goals have now gone too far -- and are positively attempting to smear those who do not adhere to their rigid authoritarianism. They are clearly very dangerous people with little to lose.'

In the accompanying report, Gordon identified the differences between the two factions and reviewed the options available to them.

'The problem has arisen because of fundamental ideological differences between CFB/IFF/ISHR [International Society for Human Rights] and Western Goals. Whilst the former generally takes a very libertarian line on most issues, Western Goals seems increasingly obsessed with the ideas of racial superiority, a strong state and Jewish conspiracies. The question is therefore whether we should respond and, if so, how far do we go?

The following options are available:

1. completely ignore Western Goals in the hope that this activity will subside. This seems unlikely.
2. Monitor its activities and even infiltrate an activist into the organisation. This is ready to start.
3. Respond directly through CFB. Challenge A. V. R. Smith to face CFB directly rather than engage in puerile pranks.
4. Respond indirectly by stepping up the covert campaign against Western Goals. The possibilities are limitless.
5. Approach A. V. R. Smith to deny any involvement in anti-Western activities while starting a proxy war by encouraging those already engaging Western Goals to step up their activities.' (2)

In the end they seem to have adopted a version of option five, though it is not clear

whether they ever bothered to approach Smith.

Marc Gordon's accusations about Western Goals (UK) feeding stories about the libertarians to the press were correct, (3) but at the time both Western Goals (UK) and the open warfare within the radical right fringe largely escaped serious media attention. In part this was the inability of journalists to see Western Goals (UK) and IFF as serious, and in part the tendency of journalists to judge Conservative Party radicals by the standards that are applied to left-wing groups. Groups operating within, or on the fringes of, the Conservative Party are not in the business of building mass movements, but are power-brokers; their target groups are the opinion formers and decision makers, their objective to set and influence the policy agenda. The CFB and Western Goals (UK) are not intellectual heavyweights, nor do they seriously pretend to be 'think tanks'. They are ideologically-motivated PR agencies. The close connection with Thatcher and members of her 'kitchen cabinet' of the CFB's David Hart made him newsworthy, and apparently influential, in a way that the dull, grey boys that headed Western Goals (UK) were not. (4)

While libertarians like Hart and the CFB had a more or less direct line to some of the policy makers in the Conservative Party, Western Goals (UK) have been building up a steady support within the Monday Club and its rank and file supporters. In an interview with me in 1990, A. V. R. Smith claimed that Western Goals (UK) had control of the Club, and subsequent events seem to have confirmed this. (5)

It is difficult to assess the probable outcome of the current conflict in the radical right. The domination of the Monday Club by Western Goals (UK) has meant the defection of some influential Thatcherite members like George Gardiner MP and the more maverick Julian Amery MP. Gardiner's defection, to the Conservative Way Forward Group (a Thatcherism-after-Thatcher group) hints that, out of office, Thatcher herself may become more libertarian than she was in office. (6) This would certainly boost the flagging fortunes of libertarians like Hart and the CFB, who have recently seen a decline in their support within the party.

While the radical right portrays this schism as being simply a conflict of two contrasting, radical, right-wing ideologies, one 'authoritarian' and the other 'libertarian', it is also about 'nationalism' and 'internationalism', and at an altogether more seedy level, it is about personal prejudices, ambitions and grudges. The personality clashes between Goalies and libertarians date back to their days in the Federation of Conservative Students and, while they spice up the political clashes, they don't deserve a great deal of attention. More interesting is the conflict between the libertarians' individualism and Western Goals (UK) nationalism and support for what it describes as a 'pan-European order based on the values of European civilisation'. (7) It is a source of conflict understandably played down by the libertarians who are only too aware that their own anti-statist line is not as consistent as it might be. Although their classical liberal, individualist ideology is applied rigorously in the field of social and industrial policy -- and also in respect of European unity -- it is suppressed when it comes to the civil and military authorities which underpin the British nation state. For Western Goals (UK), however, their cherished 'Western', 'European' or 'Christian' values are threatened not only by Marxism but by liberalism -- the classic liberalism of the libertarians, the liberalism of social democrats and democratic socialists, and what they argue is the unprincipled liberalism of the multi-nationals and 'the connivance of parastatal financial institutions with Communism'. (8)

However it is dressed up as a right-wing, traditional 'conservative' outfit, it is impossible to conceive of this illiberal bestiary as anything but fundamentally authoritarian, if not actually fascist. As will be seen, there is good reason to believe that Western Goals (UK) has achieved exactly the sort of fusion of conservatism and authoritarian nationalism that George Kennedy Young had aimed for in the early 1970s. (9)

## **Early Days**

Western Goals (UK) was founded in 1985 as the British wing of the American Western Goals Foundation, which had been established in 1979 by, amongst others, the ultra right-wing Georgia Congressman, Larry McDonald. Its early supporters included General John Singlaub, with Carl 'Spitz' Channell as president and Linda Guell as chair. In 1983 McDonald was killed when the airliner in which he was travelling, KAL 007, was shot down by the Soviet Union. His widow subsequently formed the Larry McDonald Memorial Foundation to fund and encourage right-wing organisations.

By 1985 the Western Goals Foundation was a well established member of the American radical right, and it is also said to have established a West German subsidiary. (10) It was an important independent fund-raising mechanism for the Contras in Nicaragua and had produced a number of pro-Contra TV ads. From the start it had particularly strong ties (through McDonald and Singlaub) with the Conservative Action Group and also (through Singlaub) with the World Anti-Communist League and its numerous affiliates. (11)

In May 1985 Linda Guell came over to Britain to organise and launch Western Goals (UK). Paul Masson, then a leading Young Conservative, was appointed its first Director and it initially had a Parliamentary Advisory Board which included MPs the Rev. Martin Smyth, Patrick Wall, Nicholas Winterton, Neil Hamilton, Bill Walker and former MP Stefan Terlezki. (12) Like its parent organisation, Western Goals (UK) from the beginning was intimately linked with WACL and its circle. At the time of foundation Wall was President of the British Anti Communist Council (BACC), then the British 'Chapter' of WACL. Also present at the launch was Peter Dally, responsible for running BACC. The former Conservative MP, Terlezki, was a key figure in the British section of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN). Western Goals (UK)'s early links with WACL were further confirmed when in March 1986 *Searchlight* reported that Paul Masson had been appointed to the International Youth Committee of the ABN and that the Young Monday Club had sent a delegation to the ABN conference, consisting of Masson, David Neil-Smith, A. V. R. Smith and Adrian Lee.

## **'Split' with the Foundation**

At the beginning of the investigation into the Irangate scandal, the U.S. parent body ran into serious trouble. Although its role as a lobbyist and fund-raiser for the Contras was well known, the report of the Tower Commission confirmed that the Western Goals Foundation, and Linda Guell, had been an important part of Oliver North's covert machinery for passing money to the Contras. More damaging to the Foundation, as a result of the investigation, the Foundation's president, 'Spitz' Channell, was accused of, and admitted, tax fraud. Guell immediately left the Foundation to become Director of the Larry McDonald Trust. When Western Goals (UK) was challenged about its links with Channell, through the Foundation, a



spokesman for Western Goals (UK) told *Time Out* that it had split from the Western Goals Foundation 'in late 1986' -- after being told by 'American sources' that Channell was 'not a reliable individual' -- and was now affiliated with the Larry McDonald Trust. The Foundation had been wound up; or, perhaps more correctly, had been absorbed by the Larry McDonald Trust. (13)

By 1987 Western Goals (UK) had established its place in the anti-left battle order. It played a prominent role in the campaign against alleged 'left wing' charities like Oxfam, Cafod and War on Want. They were not the only group involved in this campaign -- in 1986, for example, the Economic League's manual Companies under Attack, had already targetted a number of these charities for criticism -- but they were, nevertheless, the group most publicly associated with it. In June 1987 they published a report on Christian Aid (researched by David Neil- Smith) which was well received by conservative newspapers; and at the Tory Party conference in October that year the charities were the main target of the Goalies fringe meeting, 'Alms for the Poor or Arms for Communism?' This campaign continued in 1989, concentrating on the charities involved in 'Central America week'. A 'special' Western Goals (UK) report, written by Michael McCrone and Gideon Sherman (son of Alfred Sherman) was sent to the Charities Commission. (14)

At the same time Western Goals (UK) were now emphasising that it was an authoritarian, not a libertarian, conservative group. In August 1987 the *Kilburn Times* reported a vitriolic attack by Western Goals (UK) on Ken Livingstone MP (whose constituency includes Kilburn):

'Livingstone and his friends in London's Labour councils want to encourage more homosexuals to come out of the closet and spread their perverted filth. The gay rights policy which he is preparing to put before Parliament in the Autumn is typical of someone who is working to destroy the family and traditional family values. It will mean more danger of AIDS and that is just what Britain's enemies want.' (15)

## **The 1987 General Election**

The 1987 election strategies of both the Conservative and Liberal parties involved maintaining the image of a Labour Party riddled with crypto-communist extremists. The Liberals and the radical right published their own lists of 'extremist' candidates. According to the Goalies A. V. R. Smith, 'The more accurate details of Communist aligned candidates (both Labour and Liberal) which were widely picked up in the media were contained in a briefing paper produced by Western Goals at the outset of the election campaign and circulated to Conservative MPs and right thinking journalists.' (16)

In a later interview with the author, Smith claimed that the research for this list had been carried out by Mark Taha, and the Western Goals (UK) list had been the basis of a four-page special which appeared in the *Daily Mail* under the byline of the right-wing trade unionist, Frank Chappell. Curiously, David Hart has also claimed that the then fledgling Committee for A Free Britain produced the same, or a similar list. Nobody on the right has to look very hard for official or semi-official information on the Labour left. It is the sort of work in which the Conservative Research Department, the Economic League, Common Cause and Industrial Research and Information Services (IRIS) all have expertise. More recently, of course, *British Briefing* has been

revealed to be doing the same thing, part funded by CFB's David Hart, using the information from Charles Elwell, formerly of MI5's F branch. (17)

### **Into Thatcherism's third term.**

Events behind the former Iron Curtain meant that Western Goals (UK) role with WACL continued to dominate its activities. Thus it was hardly surprising to find a Western Goals (UK) meeting in 1988 being addressed by a representative from CAUSA, the Moonie front which provided funds for the U.S. Conservative Action Foundation (CAF) and the Committee to Defend the Constitution (CDC). In January 1989, David Finzer, general secretary of WACL's youth wing, the World Youth Freedom League, and closely associated with both CAF and CDC, was reported as having been working with Stuart Northolt and A. V. R. Smith to raise money for an 'International Conference' in April 1989 on the theme of 'Self Defence for Eastern Europe'. (18)

Western Goals (UK) also showed a growing interest in South African politics. They claimed to have an 'African desk' in 1988, although this is most probably another name for Northolt and/or Smith. Their own contacts with right-wing forces in Namibia, Angola and Mozambique, and with the South African Conservative Party, were drawn into the WACL empire. In July 1988 Western Goals (UK) helped organize a visit to Britain by Joseph Savimbi of the Angolan UNITA, and held a briefing with him in the House of Commons, attended, it was claimed 'by 20 Western Goals (UK) MPs'. Who these MPs were, and what formal links they had with Western Goals (UK) is another question, especially since it seems that their original sponsoring 'Parliamentary Advisory Body' had ceased to function. (There is no evidence of Winterton, Hamilton or Walker's continued involvement with them, and Terlezki is no longer in the House of Commons.)

In February 1989 Western Goals (UK) issued a press release condemning proposals to amend the law to permit war crimes trials in Britain. 'The British Government', it concluded, 'would be well advised not to allow British Justice to be perverted as part of a communist disinformation ploy'. (19) The notepaper on which the press release was issued gave the names of Western Goals (UK)'s vice presidents. Among them was the long standing supporter, Unionist MP Martin Smyth, who had been a prominent campaigner for war crimes trials. He immediately resigned.

In June it turned its attentions back to southern Africa, with a lengthy pro-South Africa/UNITA 'Discussion paper', *Namibia - what kind of Independence?*. It was the latest in a series of pamphlets with a robust pro-South African line, including *ANC/IRA Partners in Terror* and *Crisis in South West Africa*. This latter pamphlet coincided with a visit to Britain by Andries Treunicht and Clive Derby-Lewis, respectively leader and foreign affairs spokesman of the South African Conservative Party. Although officially hosted by the then recently-formed Anglo-South African Fellowship, the visit was exclusively a Western Goals (UK) show. PR was handled by 'A. V. R. Smith Associates'. In addition to Smith's own number, the contact numbers provided on the press release included those of Gregory Lauder-Frost (Chair of the Monday Club's Foreign Affairs Committee) and Christopher Forster (Chair of the Anglo-South African Fellowship). Both were active Goalies -- Lauder-Frost had just become one of its vice presidents, and Forster had been working as a part-time researcher for them.

Western Goals (UK) was by now part of attempts to create a euronationalist axis, apparently based round European WACL associates. In time for the 1989 Tory Conference, Western Goals (UK) launched *European Dawn*. Edited by Northolt and run by Smith, *European Dawn* seems to have been the successor to the short-lived Young European, and was described as being 'published by Western Goals (UK) on behalf of YEFW' (Young Europeans for World Freedom, the WACL youth organisation). (20)



*European Dawn* was an undisguised euronationalist broadsheet. Its logo superimposed the map of Europe on to the sort of celtic cross used by the British National Party. Northolt's obsession with this symbol goes back to the late seventies when he used it in *Dreadnought*, the Uxbridge Young Conservatives Newsletter which he edited. The first (and only?) two issues of *European Dawn* contained substantial articles in support of the Republicans in Germany and the Front National in France. Northolt's covering letter which went out with the first issue also mentioned 'a private dinner of the Western Goals (UK) Executive Committee at which the guest of honour was Major Roberto D'Aubuisson of El Salvador's ruling Arena Party'. It announced that 'as a result of this meeting a Latin American Directorate has been established'. Northolt also announced that D'Aubuisson, one of the organisers of the El Salvadorean death squads, had agreed to become an honorary patron of Western Goals (UK).

The Goalies fringe meeting at the Tory Conference, on October 12 1989, was jointly sponsored by *European Dawn*. Derby-Lewis was the main speaker, but the Front National member of the European Parliament, Yvan Blot, also spoke. Western Goals (UK)'s own press release for this meeting neatly summed up their political position: 'Western Goals (UK), the group sponsoring tonight's meeting, is a London-based right-wing organisation devoted to the preservation of traditional Western values and European culture, and it opposes communism, liberalism, internationalism and the 'multi-cultural society'.'

Western Goals (UK) were, in effect, now acting as unofficial ambassadors for the South African Conservative Party, the German Republicans, the French Front National and the Arena Party in El Salvador. It was a role that suited them. Because Western Goals (UK) was small and 'fringe', it attracted comparatively little attention; and though this was frustrating for the Goalies' leadership, it allowed them the freedom to pursue their aims unhindered by any damage limitation exercises by the Conservative Party Central Office or leadership. However, its firm foothold (through the Monday Club) in a 'respectable' British party, makes it an important example for other eurofascists attempting to establish themselves as respectable parties.

When Clive Derby-Lewis returned to Britain in July 1990, A. V R. Smith arranged for him to attend the WACL conference in Brussels, and, a few days later, his first meeting with the Front National's leader Le Pen. Western Goals (UK)'s own publications began to take on a more or less overtly anti-semitic character and, according to two sources, there was at least one meeting between the pan-European fascist League of St. George and Northolt and Smith. One of these sources suggested that this had caused controversy within Western Goals (UK)'s ranks, with Lauder-

Frost demanding an end to meetings with the League. (21) When I challenged A. V. R. Smith about these meetings he denied them. Keith Thompson of the League of St. George also denied any such meetings had taken place -- but said he admired the Goalies work: 'I've seen their stuff and I think its great.' Links between Western Goals (UK) and the British National Party (BNP) are easier to establish, and were openly discussed in the BNP magazine *Spearhead*. The article described how BNP members had turned up at the Western Goals (UK) meeting with Treunicht at the Royal Commonwealth Society and had been stopped from selling *Spearhead*. The article criticises the Goalies for not having the courage of their nationalist convictions: 'Their line was the familiar one: 'Oh yes, I agree with all you say, but keep it quiet'....Their greatest fear is that of being embarassed by their nationalist acquaintances turning up to their gatherings and compromising their 'respectable' credentials.'

It is, of course, possible that the BNP, who claimed to know 'roughly half the Tory types there', are overstating their acquaintance with the Goalies. However it must be remembered that Stuart Millson, one of the original Western Goals (UK) activists, and at the time a close friend of Smith and Northolt, defected to the BNP in 1986. In Yorkshire a BNP activist, Sean Pearson, was also active in the Monday Club there, in a branch run by Anthony Murphy, an elected member of the Club's national executive and Western Goals (UK)'s main contact in the region. Murphy was expelled from the Bradford Conservative Association for distributing racist leaflets in the streets. He maintained his party, and therefore, Club membership, by joining the Thurrock Conservative Association. (22)

Another important intermediary appears to be the historian David Irving who appeared during 1990 at meetings organised by both Lauder-Frost and the BNP. Irving's Focus Policy Group, and the 'Clarendon Club' organised by him (and perhaps the similar but almost unknown 'Riverside Club') are a natural meeting ground for a variety of nationalist movements. (23)

## **The Next Step?**

The resignation of Margaret Thatcher and her replacement by John Major was a significant blow to the ambitions of the radical right. Although Major was generally backed by radical right Tories, he was an unknown quantity to many of them. He had not been a joiner of fringe movements or an ideologue, and although the radical right seem to feel confident about his 'robust' approach to fiscal policy, they are thoroughly suspicious of his attitudes on social issues and European unity. (24) Neither the authoritarian/nationalists nor the libertarians will be in a position to influence his policies in the way that the libertarians were under Thatcher. The Western Goals (UK)/Monday Club faction, in particular, must be expecting to be kept firmly on the sidelines by Major, who has a reputation for taking a tough line against old-fashioned Tory white suprematism. The libertarians, on the other hand, must also be aware that Major's need, and perhaps inclination, to distance himself from his predecessor, spells problems for them. It is hard, therefore, not to envisage both factions playing a largely oppositional role in Conservative Party politics in the immediate future; acting, that is, as a sort of radical, nostalgic, party conscience, rather than as a source of inspiration and ideas, or useful market research on the government's own partly-baked ideas, as they were under Thatcher.

With little place now for Western Goals (UK) in a Conservative Party trying to establish a 'more caring' image, there is not much point in them treating the new

leadership with caution. With Western Goals (UK) in control of the Monday Club, and with nothing to lose by upsetting the Party leadership or Central Office, the prospect for the developing eurofascist/ultra right-wing axis could be interesting.

## **Western Goals (UK): Who's Who**

**Thomas J. Bergen** -- Vice President (listed once, in October 1989). US citizen, Senator Joe McCarthy Foundation, A.B.N.; article in *European Dawn*.

**Sir John Biggs-Davison** -- Now deceased. Early Western Goals (UK) leaflets claimed his support, though he never became a patron/vice president. His early support, and that of Peter Dally's points to continuity between Western Goals (UK) and the British Anti Communist Council (BACC) (and thus to WACL).

**Peter Dally** -- Vice President, Chair of British Freedom Council (successor to BACC). Regular writer in Asian Peoples Anti Communist League journal *Asian Outlook*. Billed at Western Goals (UK) 1988 Tory Conference as 'former editor of *Intelligence Digest*', Kenneth de Courcy's newsletter.

**Clive Derby-Lewis** -- Attended the 22nd WACL conference in Brussels (July 1990) as Western Goals Institute delegate. The press release (30 July 1990) described him as a vice president of Western Goals, the first mention of a position in Western Goals (UK). Commandant Derby-Lewis is foreign affairs spokesman of the South African Conservative Party. On the June 1989 Western Goals (UK)-organised visit to the UK he accompanied party leader Andreas Treunicht. That October he addressed the Western Goals (UK) fringe meeting at the Tory Conference. During his 1990 visit Western Goals announced that he had met with a number of Tory celebrities including Lord Hailsham and former NF-supporting tennis player Buster Mottram; that he addressed a House of Lords Monday Club meeting hosted by Lord Sudely, and a South West Essex Monday Club banquet with MPs Teresa Gorman, Teddy Taylor and Tim Janman, at which he was 'praised for his robust defence of Western Values and Civilization in Southern Africa'. He also attended a 'select' dinner in Whitehall for 'Conservative Parliamentarians, Parliamentary candidates, councillors and party officials'. (The neo-nazi historian David Irving was spotted in the Houses of Parliament just before the Lords meeting, and also that night at a Monday Club Foreign Affairs Committee meeting in Whitehall -- organised by Gregory Lauder-Frost -- at which Derby-Lewis was speaking.) Derby-Lewis also appeared on the Sky TV programme hosted by Norman Tebbit MP and Austin Mitchell MP.

**Roberto D'Aubisson** -- Ex military commander in El Salvador, a senior position in the Arena Party. According to A. V. R. Smith (interview with author) Western Goals (UK) had been corresponding with him for some time before his 1989 trip to Britain. During this visit Western Goals (UK) hosted a dinner in his honour, and D'Aubisson agreed to join its list of patrons.

**David Finzer** -- Washington-based, former Anglican deacon responsible for running the Conservative Action Foundation and Committee to Defend the Constitution, both part funded by the Moonies. Was General Secretary of World Youth Freedom League, the youth wing of WACL until 1990. Details on the Finzer/Northolt/Smith connection are in the David Rose piece in the *Guardian* 9 January 1989 (especially the longer version in the first edition).

**Professor Anthony Flew** -- Philosopher, ubiquitous figure on the radical right, member of the Monday Club executive. Early Western Goals (UK) leaflets listed him as a supporter and he became a vice president as soon as the group was formally set up.

**Chris Forster** -- Ex-member of the 1970s New Britain Party (most famous member General Sir Walter Walker which, in 1980, absorbed Patrick Moore's United Country Party. Ran for Treasurer of the Monday Club in 1989 saying that he would 'work for an end to black immigration and third world aid'. At the time he was working as a part-time researcher for Western Goals (UK) and chairing the Anglo-South African Fellowship, the Western Goals (UK) front responsible for inviting Treunicht in 1989. Removed from his position as a NALGO shop steward at Wandsworth Council, where he was an internal auditor, after his racist politics were exposed (*Searchlight*, June 1989.)

**James Gibb-Stewart** -- Author of two Western Goals (UK) 'Viewpoint Papers' in 1990, *The Finance Factor*, about the alleged international financial conspiracy, and *The Mandela Myth*. The latter was reprinted in *Candour*. Gibbs is the author of three books, *Money Bomb*, *The Mind Benders* and *Lemming Folk*, the last being a pale British imitation of John Birch-type American global conspiracy theorising.

**Linda Catoe Guell** -- Vice President of Western Goals Foundation in the USA. Came to Britain to organise and launch Western Goals (UK). Listed as vice president Western Goals (UK) in 1989 leaflets. Named in Tower Commission investigation into Irangate, left the Foundation to run Larry McDonald Trust.

**Mark Haley** -- Former member Western Goals (UK). Secretary and later chair in 1988. At the time he was secretary of London, Group Two, Young Conservatives.

**Neil Hamilton MP** -- Parliamentary Advisory Committee of Western Goals (UK) in 1987.

**Dr. Joseph Labia** -- Vice President of Western Goals (UK), October 1989.

**Gregory Lauder-Frost** -- Vice president of Western Goals (UK) from October 1989. Chair of Monday Club Foreign Affairs Committee since 1989 and Club Secretary in 1991. Contact for Treunicht visit in 1989. Treasurer of War and Peace Ball, 1989, contributor to *European Dawn*. *Searchlight* (January 1990) notes that he works for Riverside Health Authority in London, where he is, or was, a NALGO shop steward.

**Paul Masson** -- First Director of Western Goals (UK) in May 1985. Then a leading Monday Club activist. Still on Western Goals (UK) Board of Directors in 1989.

**Michael McCrone** -- Director of Western Goals (UK) (February 1989), Chair of Young Monday Club and on YEFWF steering committee in 1988. Re-elected treasurer of North West and Central London Freedom Association in August 1987. A barrister, said to work for the Crown Prosecution Service, with Gideon Sherman, he signed the Western Goals (UK) complaints to the Charities Commission in 1988 and 1989.

**Tryggvi McDonald** -- Vice president in February 1989. Son of Larry McDonald, he signed a general appeal for funds in 1988, drawing potential donors' attention to Western Goals (UK)'s affiliation to WACL and the Singlaub Freedom Foundation.

**Stuart Millson** -- Never seems to have held a formal position in Western Goals (UK) but in 1985 was a Young Monday Clubber, and Conservative student at Exeter University. He helped Smith and Northolt dish the dirt on the libertarians to the press but in 1986 defected to the British National Party. He now claims to have left the BNP and rejoined the Conservative Party.

**Patrick More** -- TV astronomer and eccentric nationalist politician, claimed as a supporter by Western Goals (UK). His own nationalist party was absorbed by the New Britain Party. (See entry for Chris Forster.)

**Anthony Murphy** -- Monday Club executive member, runs Yorkshire Monday Club. Works in sales department of Yorkshire Post. Expelled from his local Conservative Association after distributing racist leaflets in Bradford, but readmitted, apparently in 1991: in April 1991 he was acting as an election agent for the Conservative Party in Bradford. Member of Western Goals (UK) and their main contact in Yorkshire. Enjoyed close links with the BNP until they were exposed in *Leeds Other Paper* and subsequently in *Searchlight* and *City Limits*.

**David Neil-Smith** -- Researched Western Goals (UK) charities report (*Sunday Telegraph*, 15 May 1987). Former councillor in London, nicknamed 'the exorcist' by the libertarians, he was secretary of North West and Central London Freedom Association in 1987 and 88.

**Stuart Northolt** -- Founder member of Western Goals (UK) and now runs it, with A. V. R. Smith and Lauder-Frost. Chairman of YEFW, editor of *European Dawn* in March 1989. He spoke alongside Slava Stetsko at an ABN symposium on 'National Fronts and the young generation in the Soviet Russian Empire', part of his speech being reproduced in the ABN magazine *ABN Correspondence*.

**Gideon Sherman** -- Board of Directors of Western Goals (UK) February 1989. Worked on the anti-Charities report. Son of Sir Alfred Sherman, Centre for Policy Studies and speechwriter for Keith Joseph etc.

**Major-General John Singlaub** -- Named as 'Honorary President' of Western Goals (UK) in October 1989. Ubiquitous figure on American radical right, key figure in WACL and ABN etc. Chair of Free World Foundation with which Western Goals (UK) have claimed close ties.

**A. V. R. Smith** -- Founder member and Director of Information. Today he more or less runs it with Northolt and Lauder-Frost. Former chair of Young Monday Club, but no longer a member and often gives the impression that he is no longer in the Conservative Party. In fact, like many of his associates, he is a member of the Thurrock Conservative Association in Essex. Secretary General of WACL's Young Europeans for World Freedom; Secretary to WACL Policy Committee of which Singlaub is Chair. Elected Secretary of North West and Central London Freedom Association in August 1988. According to a letter in anarchist paper *Black Flag*, he was once a PA to the late Joseph Josten at the Free Czech Press Agency.

**Rev. Martin Smyth MP** -- On Western Goals (UK)'s Parliamentary Advisory Committee in 1987. A Vice President, he resigned following A. V. R. Smith's press release in 1989 attacking proposals to prosecute Nazi war criminals.

**Lord Sudeley** -- Vice President, Monday Club Executive, he has chaired most of the Western Goals (UK) meetings at Westminster. Appears to be involved (with Lauder-Frost) in Manorial Society, War and Peace Ball and Monarchist Society.

**Mark Taha** -- According to A. V. R. Smith, researcher for Western Goals (UK) list of 'extremist' Labour candidates in 1987 election.

**Colonel Barry Turner** -- Listed as Vice President in October 1989.

**Bill Walker MP** -- Parliamentary Advisory Committee member in 1986/7.

**General Sir Walter Walker** - Patron of Western Goals (UK), speaker at meetings. A recurring figure on the ultra right, member of Unison and Civil Assistance in 1973-5, founder member of New Britain Party, more recently active in British Israelites.

**Sir Patrick Wall MP** -- 'the mad major', now deceased. Patron of Western Goals (UK), long-standing member and supporter of anti- communist organisations in UK.

**Harvey Ward** -- Vice President, regular speaker at their meetings. Former head of Rhodesian TV and radio, now living in Scotland. His paper on terrorism, *The Undefined Enemy*, was printed and distributed by Western Goals (UK).

**Reverend Basil Watson** -- Vice President, Council member of the Freedom Association.

**Nicholas Winterton MP** -- Parliamentary Advisory Committee, 1986.

**John Wilkes** -- author of Western Goals (UK) Viewpoint Paper, *The Hit Job on Thatcher*, April 1990, which alleged that the poll tax riots of 1990 were part of an international 'liberal conspiracy' against Thatcher, and that the decision to foment civil unrest had been taken at the Bilderberg Group meeting the previous year.

## Notes

1. The 'New Right' and those around Keith Joseph and Thatcher worked hard to portray the Conservative Party before them as devoid of ideology. See, for example, Joseph's introduction to *The Case for Private Enterprise* (ed. Cecil Turner, Bachman and Turner, 1979). However, mainstream Conservative Party ideology had been well worked out. Quintin Hogg, for example, in his *The Case for Conservatism* (Penguin, 1947), widely available second hand, gave it one of its most complete and popular expressions; and Philip W. Buck's 1975 compilation *How Conservatives Think* (Pelican), also emphasised the development of a Conservative ideology.
2. Unpublished document in possession of the author.
3. I spoke to one journalist who remembered being given anti- libertarian material by Western Goals (in the form of Smith, Northolt and Stuart Millson) in early 1986.
4. Western Goals (UK), the Campaign For a Free Britain and the International



Freedom Foundation are ignored in Maurice Cowling's interesting history of the British 'new right' in *Encounter*, November 1989.

5. Interview with A. V. R. Smith: - 'They have all the key positions now -- I mean all of them....Although the 'right wing element' have acted independently of us it is encouraging to see how many Western Goals members have cropped up as successful in the last [1990] elections.' See also David Rose, 'Far right takes over Monday Club', in *The Observer*, 24 February 1991, and the denial by Lauder-Frost in the letters column the following Sunday (3 March 1991).
6. News of Gardiner's departure from the Monday Club and his involvement in the new grouping The Conservative Way Forward broke in January 1991. Conservative Way Forward was not formally launched until March 19. Its aim is to 'mobilise support in the Conservative Party for the ideas and values of Margaret Thatcher and promote discussion of how they may be developed'. Its first council meeting (on March 20) was chaired by Cecil Parkinson and it was said they have the active support of Norman Tebbit, Keith Joseph, Nicholas Ridley and John Moore. While it looks suspiciously like a Thatcherite rearguard made up of 'yesterday's men', it is not possible yet to dismiss their ability to mobilise and sustain an opposition within the Tory Party to Major's 'social market' policies, which do not yet seem to have any organised support (or to have been thought through very far). The aims of the CWF were quoted in a page-length feature on 'The Thatcher Factor' in the *Sunday Telegraph*, March 17 1991, which also described the personnel and political aims of two other groups in the Tory Party, the No Turning Back Group and The Bruges Group.
7. WG(UK) *Discussion paper on Namibia*, 1989.
8. WG(UK) recruiting leaflet, 1989.
9. Is Western Goals (UK) a fascist organisation? If fascism is a political ideology, and not merely a collective noun for a number of similar political movements active in the 1920s, '30s and '40s, then it is hard not to conclude the WG(UK) is fascist. Among those features supporting this view are:-- its nationalism, its authoritarianism and its racial/cultural/religious suprematism; its anti-liberalism, obsessive anti- communism, and support for pan-European nationalist order; and its promotion of the idea of an international financial conspiracy.
10. The German branch is referred to in *Lobster* 12, p. 37. These days, in addition to their connections with the Republicans in Germany, they describe Conservative Action as their German 'sister group'.
11. It also seems to have had some sort of link with the US branch of IFF through Congressman Philip Crane (a member of the IFF journal's advisory board) and Jack Abramoff (head of the IFF main advisory board and a member of the organising committee for the Larry McDonald Memorial Dinner). However, this link does not apply to the IFF group in Britain. Marc Gordon is the Director of IFF in Britain.
12. The 'Parliamentary Advisory Board' seems no longer to exist -- if, indeed, it

- ever did anything other than lend its name to the launch of the group.
13. It is not clear how long the Foundation survived Guell's departure and Channell's indictment.
  14. WG(UK) made formal complaints to the Charities Commission on at least four occasions: 21 May 1987, against Christian Aid, Oxfam and War on Want; 20 November 1987, against Christian Aid; 14 March 1988 against Christian Aid, Oxfam and War on Want; 1 April 1989, against Christian Aid, Oxfam, War on Want, Traidcraft and Cafod.
  15. Although the Committee for a Free Britain used anti-gay material during their anti-Labour campaign in 1987, it was restrained by comparison.
  16. In a letter to the anarchist magazine *Black Flag*, 2 March 1990.
  17. On Elwell, *British Briefing* et al, see e.g. David Rose in *The Observer*, 23 December 1990, and Richard Norton-Taylor in *The Guardian*, 10 December 1990.
  18. *The Guardian*, 9 January 1989. The conference is presumably the 'major inaugural conference in April next year' promised in *Young European*, October 1988. It is unclear when this fund-raising was happening. The text of the letter from Finzer to Slava Stetsko of the ABN suggested that neither Smith or Northolt were known to her. If this is so then it must have been in early 1988 since, as will be shown, by the time of the Tory conference in October 1988, Madame Stetsko can hardly have failed to have noticed these two rising stars of WACL.
  19. The 'communist disinformation' line is common to many of the WACL affiliates, some of whom -- ABN for example -- with collaboration with the Nazis in their history, have pretty pressing reasons not to want that particular bit of the past looked at.
  20. *European Dawn*, widely reported at the time, was predominantly a platform for Le Pen and former Waffen-SS leader of the German Republicans, Franz Schonhuber. See, for example *Searchlight*, October 1989.
  21. This story was given to me unsolicited, and as far as I can establish, inadvertently, by a senior figure in the BNP and confirmed by a leading figure in the Monday Club and WG(UK).
  22. Interview with A. V. R. Smith: author -- 'I understand Murphy's now in Thurrock Conservative Association'. Smith -- 'Well everyone's in Thurrock. I'm in bloody Thurrock -- enabling me to claim on the one hand that I'm 'not politically aligned', but on the other hand to remember (sic) that I am in fact a member of Thurrock. I think every right winger in the country is a member of Thurrock.'
  23. Further evidence of fascist interest in the activities of Western Goals (UK) was shown in July 1990 when the anti-semitic broadsheet, *Candour*, reprinted in full, and with acknowledgement, the Western Goals (UK) 'Viewpoint Paper',

*The Mandela Myth.*

24. It is one of the curiosities of this group that though they believe in the 'global banking conspiracy', the first cousin to the 'Jewish global banking conspiracy', their hostility to money-lenders never persuades them to look closely at the City of London, right under their noses. James Gibb-Stewart, for example, in his *The Finance Factor* lauds Mrs Thatcher as 'the single most intractable obstacle to banking hegemony that Euromania has yet encountered', and attributes to non-UK bankers the disastrous high interest rate policies of the Thatcher governments.

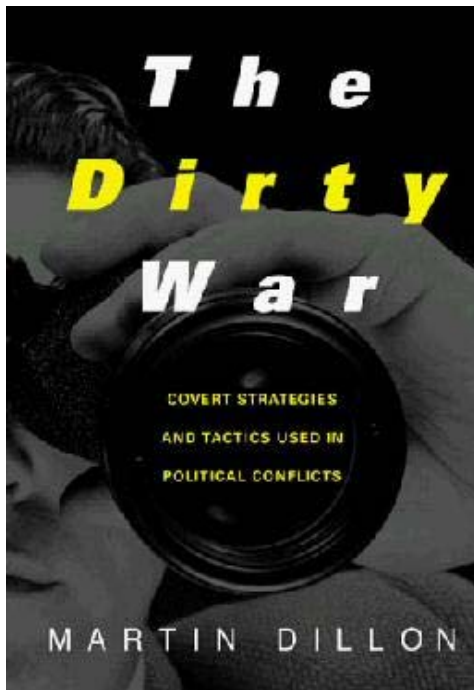
## **Books: *The Dirty War* and *The SAS in Ireland***

### *The Dirty War*

**Martin Dillon,  
Hutchinson, London, 1990.**

### *The SAS in Ireland*

**Raymond Murray,  
Mercier Press, Cork and Dublin, 1991**



Martin Dillon is a freelance journalist in Northern Ireland with a long career behind him: editor and radio presenter for the BBC in Northern Ireland, co-author of the Penguin Special, *Political Murder In Northern Ireland* (1973), and author of a biography of Second World War SAS hero Lt. Col. Robert Blair Mayne, and an investigation of Loyalist sectarian killers, *The Shankill Butchers* (1989). His book opens with the attempts in 1970 by Captain James Kelly of Irish Military Intelligence to import weapons for the North (Kelly's books were reviewed in *Lobsters* 13 and 15) and continues through the history of the Northern Irish conflict up until January 1990. It also covers the international connections of the IRA, in particular their links to Qadhafi, but excludes the Gibraltar killings. Dillon sets the tone for his book in the Preface:

'In the late 1960s and early 1970s, while the conventional forces of government were openly combating terrorism in Ireland, other agencies within the intelligence community in the United Kingdom believed that unorthodox methods and techniques were required in the war. The intervention of these groupings, which included Special Branch, military intelligence, MI5 and MI6, was uncoordinated. Much has been written about that period, some of it honest journalism, but *most of it* (emphasis added) propaganda inspired by the terrorists and their supporters.... One area of the dirty war which I was obliged to confront was the use of black propaganda by the terrorists as well as the intelligence agencies, and how propaganda led to the deliberate or accidental creation of conspiracy theories. Much of the evidence in print or by word of mouth pointed to the involvement of British intelligence groupings in political murder and the manipulation of Loyalist paramilitaries for counter terror. My conclusions may not please people in both communities or some of the left in Britain, but I believe it has to be said that the vast majority of the conspiracy theories in this regard are inaccurate and in some instances are a deliberate creation of black propaganda for the purpose of discrediting the security forces.' (pp. xix-xx)



After such an opening statement it comes as no surprise to see Dillon's dismissive scepticism about British dirty tricks extending to the allegations made by Colin Wallace and Fred Holroyd. Dillon follows the current 'establishment line' - fudge on Wallace, slam Holroyd. The key position held by Wallace in Northern Ireland, the mass of documentary evidence he has made available, and the excellent investigation carried out by Paul Foot, has forced the establishment to grudgingly concede that there may be something in what he says. Holroyd, however, is a different case, more easily assailable by his detractors. The attempt to weaken Holroyd's credibility through claims of mental instability has worked better than sending Wallace down for manslaughter.

Dillon again: 'I personally feel that much of what Wallace says about the use of dirty tricks is very credible, but that does not mean that everything he says stands up to scrutiny. In his close association with Holroyd, Wallace has not only tended to support Holroyd's allegations but has provided supportive information. It is in this area that Wallace's credibility may also be tested, though he may seek to distance himself from Fred Holroyd's claims in the coming year, if I am right - that gossip about some agents [allegedly killed after a leak from MI5] became 'ten' - then there is every reason to examine carefully other claims by both men, because they may have been misled by just such gossip.... I think Holroyd did hear about many secret matters but never fully understood their significance. I believe the explanation for the story of the loss of agents is to be found in a related matter which illustrates how Holroyd pieced together information to create conspiracies....is it a claim he would have manufactured to reinforce his story about the incompetence of MI5? ....One is left with the feeling that Holroyd is either capable of rewriting history to support his conspiracy theory concerning his departure from Northern Ireland, or unable to determine when

colleagues were telling him the truth, or else unwilling in this instance to recognize that the statement he says was made by the SAS officer does not stand up to scrutiny.' (pp. 203-8)

It is true that the story of ten British informers within the IRA being uncovered and executed within a week of the takeover of intelligence work by MI5 needs clarification; Raymond Murray also notes that he can find no record of such a number being killed. An investigation of this report by Holroyd of a claim by Major Keith Farnes, SAS, will not get far, however, if, like Dillon, the investigators are content merely to dish up the 'poor fellow cracked under the pressure' line.

Dillon: 'The collective wisdom in Special Branch circles was that Captain Holroyd was a man of impeccable judgement and commitment. However, that did not appear to be the Army's opinion of him in May 1975 when he was removed from Northern Ireland.... [and] told to report to an Army hospital in Netley outside Southampton where he spent a month undergoing psychiatric evaluations (p. 193)...I believe that in trying to find reasons beyond his obvious suffering from severe stress he was obliged to construct the conspiracy which eventually placed Nairac at the centre of it (p. 196)... it is my contention that Wallace saw the value in having Holroyd as a fellow traveller in seeking to attract media attention to his cause.... Holroyd I see as a man who collected scraps of information which he did not always understand and which he often misunderstood.' (p. 208)

In labouring the point that Holroyd cannot be believed because he was mentally unstable and jealous of Nairac who would take over his job, Dillon makes a series of false or misleading statements. He claims Holroyd spent a month undergoing psychiatric evaluations. Holroyd has strenuously denied that he received any psychiatric examination whilst held at Netley - a denial Dillon chooses to omit, despite Holroyd's account in his own book. Dillon also quotes extensively from David McKittrick's September 1987 rejection of the Nairac claim in *The Independent*, but makes no mention of Duncan Campbell's rebuttal of McKittrick's claims in the *New Statesman* later the same month. The jobs Holroyd held then lost after his return from Rhodesia in 1981 is for Dillon not the sign of MI5 interference with Holroyd's employment, but further confirmation of his continuing mental instability.

Dillon has many contacts in the Loyalist paramilitary groups, and these lead him to believe that British involvement in murders and bombings has been greatly exaggerated: he claims that most of the attacks allegedly linked to the security forces, such as the Green and Miami Showband killings, were organised purely by Loyalists. It is, however, impossible to judge the veracity of his version, as none of Dillon's informants are identified. The reader soon tires of finding that 'evidence' disproving a British connection to one or other incident is once again unattributed and unverifiable, the reader simply asked to take Dillon's word for it. It is also frustrating that a professional journalist could produce a book on so complex a subject with totally inadequate indication of published sources. Newspaper articles are referred to only by the year of publication with no footnotes giving either exact date of publication or names of authors and titles of articles. Books are referred to only by titles with no indication of the publisher and no page numbers for quotes; there is no bibliography. In short, the methodology is at best sloppy, particularly for the Wallace and Holroyd cases. (Dillon did not think it necessary to talk to Holroyd before rubbishing him.) Despite these failings, the book is clearly written and contains a great deal of information.

*The SAS in Ireland* covers slightly different ground to *The Dirty War*: it does not

include the Dublin Arms Trial or the IRA's weapons sources, but does include Gibraltar and other incidents up to the end of 1989. Its author, Father Raymond Murray, is a leading human rights investigator who has frequently worked with Father Dennis Faul. Murray's Republican sympathies are clear; however, they do not intrude, and he remains critical where evidence does not definitely support British involvement. Murray may, however, attribute too much to the SAS rather than to other undercover Army units: Holroyd and Wallace's accounts make it clear that there were several units operating in a disorganised way. Murray's research is thorough and fully sourced: the book gives the most complete listing of press articles and books on the dirty war yet to be published.

Although it appears to be same size as Dillon's book, it is in fact nearly twice as long due to the use of a smaller type face and closer line-spacing. The text is not always clearly written, and Dillon's book is useful for untangling some of the incidents, but this occasional lack of clarity is more than compensated for by its comprehensiveness. The numerous incidents suggesting the involvement of British undercover units are described in great depth with many eye-witness accounts and excerpts, fully sourced, from a wide range of newspapers, local and national. Those whistle-blowers who have revealed details of British operations (Wallace, Holroyd, Albert Walker Baker, etc.) are discussed in detail. In short, although more of a reference book than a narrative, this is an indispensable source of information for those interested in British covert operations in Ireland.

**David Teacher**

### ***The Terrorism Industry***

**Edward Herman and Gerry O'Sullivan,  
Pantheon Books, New York, 1989, \$15.95.**

Since the revelation of the activities of Forum World Features in the mid 1970s, it has become apparent that Western intelligence services have used 'research institutes' and 'study centres' with impressive and neutral-sounding titles to put over their world view and create public antipathy towards the enemy of the day. Despite the significance of this component in parapolitics, it has not previously been the subject of a detailed study.

*The Terrorism Industry* is in many ways a continuation of Herman's previous books on the media and disinformation, the excellent *Rise and Fall of the Bulgarian Connection* and *The Real Terror Network: Terrorism in Fact and Propaganda*. The opening section of the book takes the statistical approach adopted in *The Real Terror Network*, to prove that state terrorism, particularly in Latin America, has led to far more deaths than anti-state terrorism; and that even within anti-state terrorism, it is right-wing not left-wing violence that has created the greatest number of victims.

Having described terrorism as a phenomenon, the authors turn their attention to the 'experts' and institutes that shape media coverage of the subject. The experts covered are Yonah Alexander, Ray Cline, Brian Jenkins, Robert Kupperman, Walter Lacquer, Michael Ledeen, Ariel Merari, Robert Moss, Claire Sterling, Maurice Tugwell and Paul Wilkinson. British propaganda institutes dealt with include the Institute for the Study of Conflict (Crozier), the Institute for the Study of Terrorism (Becker/Chalfont), Control Risks Janke/Goss/Clutterbuck) and the Research Foundation for the Study of Terrorism (Wilkinson). Non-UK groups include the Centre for Conflict Studies and Mackenzie Institute in Canada (Charters/Tugwell), the Jonathan Institute and Jaffee

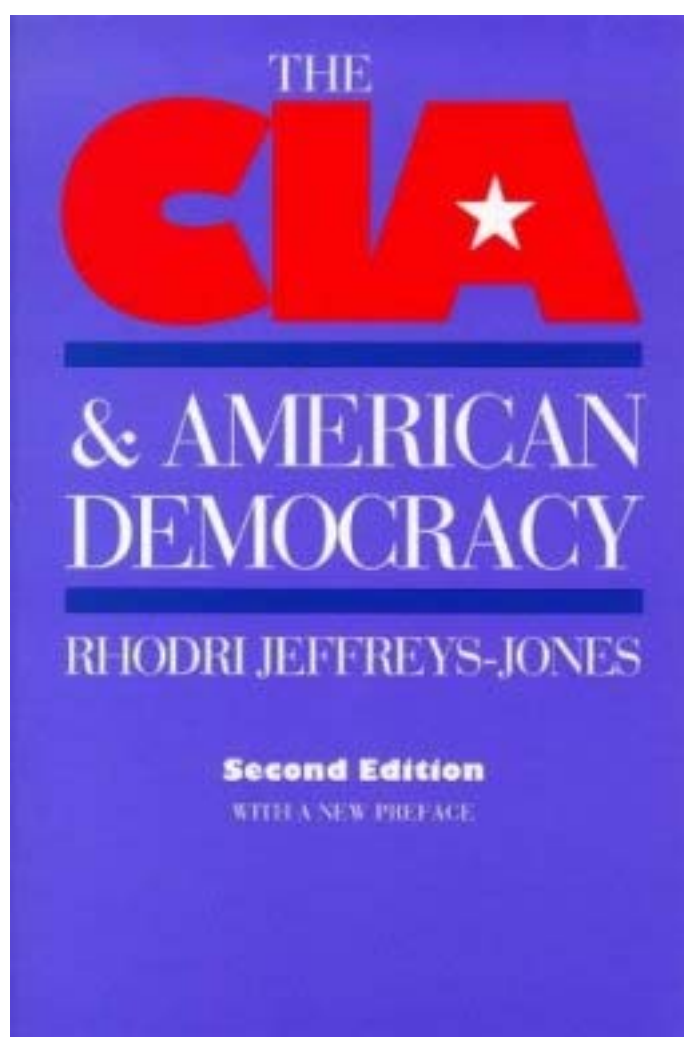
Centre in Israel; and in America, the Georgetown CSIS, Heritage Foundation, American Security Council (Singlaub/Stilwell), the International Security Council (Moonies), the Nathan Hale Institute and Rand Corporation. It also covers transnational groups such as the Pinay Circle. This list should convince you that this book is a mine of information: essential reading for those interested in covert propaganda or terrorism.

### **David Teacher**

The Terrorism Industry is stocked in the UK by Compendium Books in London, at 12.95 plus postage.

## **Miscellaneous Publications**

Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones', *The CIA and American Democracy*, (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1989, price not stated) is, with Blum's *The CIA: a Forgotten History*, the best single volume on the CIA. Of particular interest is the author's account of the political system's response to the revelations of CIA archives in the 1970s and 80's. The author is Reader in History at Edinburgh University - another welcome sign of academic historians taking the parapolitical world seriously. With 251 pages of text supported by 63 pages of documentation and notes, this is a model of its kind.



A model of how *not* to do things is Andrew Murray Scott and Iain Macleay's *Britain's Secret War: Tartan Terrorism and the Anglo American State* (Mainstream, Edinburgh, 1990). With only the slightest acquaintance with the 'Anglo-American state' (calling MI5 'DI5', for example, and confusing its role with that of 'DI6'), the authors blunder about in what is potentially a very interesting and under-reported area. Its one redeeming feature is a chapter on the death of anti-nuclear Scots lawyer, Willie Macrae, which appears to take the story some way beyond the other version I have seen in *CARN*, Spring 1988. Macrae appears to have been murdered in peculiar circumstances, and may have been another Hilda Murrel. (*CARN*, 33 Bothar, Bancroft, Tamhlact, Dublin 24, Republic of Ireland.)

I do not usually like 'factoid' books. However, Frank Kippax's *The Butcher's Bill* (Harper Collins, London, 1991) is a very superior example of the genre. In fiction form, this is what the Hugh Thomas network actually believe to be true (but cannot yet prove) concerning Rudolph Hess and the doppelganger imprisoned in Spandau. In other words, this is the most complete version yet of the 'peace plots' circa 1940/1. Kippax interweaves the 1940/1 period with the events surrounding the death of 'Hess' in Spandau, alleging that the doppelganger was assassinated by the British state. Anyone who has read Fred Holroyd's memoir, *War Without Honour* will also notice that the central narrative character is based on Holroyd's experience.



At a distance of 12,000 miles Owen Wilkes appears to be New Zealand's leading radical journalist, of great output and high accuracy. Wilkes was the author of the piece on the CIA in Fiji which appeared in *Lobster* 14, one stop on its subsequent journey round the world. The American government attributed its global circulation to Soviet machinations in the media; but that was only partly true and mostly sour grapes. In issue 88 (December 1990) of



*Peacelink*, the magazine of the New Zealand Peace Movement, is an account by Wilkes of the known CIA operations and activities in New Zealand during the campaign against the 'no nukes' policy of the 80s. At the end of the piece Wilkes makes less than he might of the apparent withdrawal of the CIA from NZ. Wilkes reports no evidence of them since and yet is unable to completely quiet the idea that not being able to see the CIA does not mean that they have gone home. On the other hand it might be - the evidence suggests it - that the CIA were exposed, had their operations blown, and were simply defeated by a handful of people, led by Wilkes, and a mass media willing to report their findings. New Zealand may have only 3.3 million people, but it seems to have an intellectual infrastructure similar to that of dear old declining Britain. That the newspaper-clipping fraternity of a small democratic country can fend off the covert operators of a super-power is a cheering conclusion. *Peacelink*, PO Box 837, Hamilton, New Zealand: subs, \$NZ35 per 10 issues.

Also from New Zealand is the magazine of the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (the pre colonial name for New Zealand), *Watchdog*. Like *Peacelink*, this is predominantly of local interest only. However, in issue 65, October 1990, there is a 15 page summary of approximately 1000 pages of declassified material on U.S. (predominantly State Department sponsored) surveillance of the New Zealand left and unions between 1945 to 1960. As far as I am aware, this is the most complete picture yet of such U.S. operations in the period.

*Watchdog* appears to have no price but an inquiry to it at PO Box 2258, Christchurch, New Zealand, accompanied by a couple of pounds sterling or \$U.S. 3 dollars, should suffice.

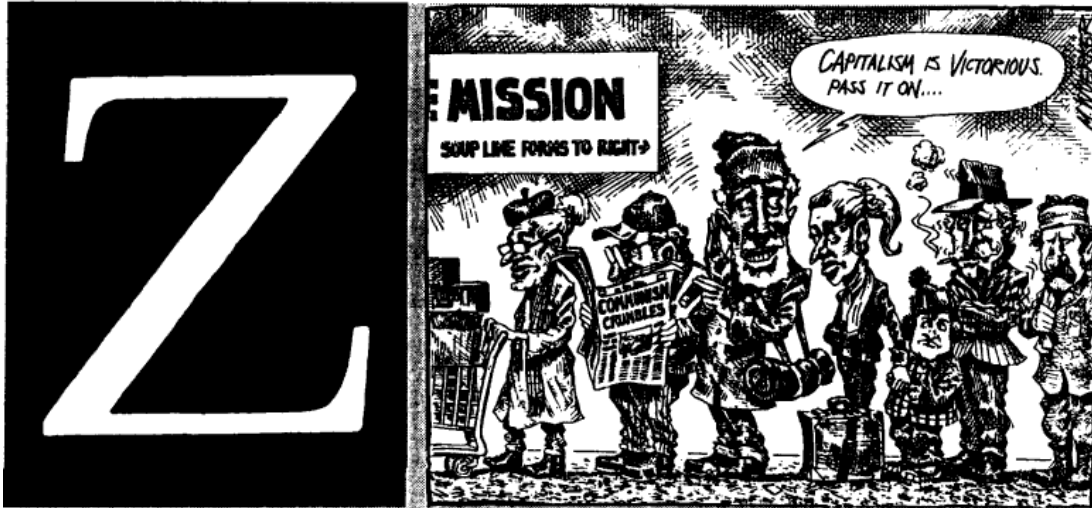
The best domestic news for some time is the appearance of *Statewatch*, the successor, after almost a decade, to the wonderful *State Research*. *State Research* never quite died: its library was maintained at 9 Poland St, and this has become the core of the new set-up. For most people the research facilities will be less important than the bulletin, the first issue of which appeared in March this year. Essential. PO Box 1516, London N16 OEW.

*Covert Action Information Bulletin* has a newish address: P. O. Box 34583, Washington DC, 20043. Issue 36, Spring 1991, includes a double-page spread of psywar material- posters, leaflets and cartoons, some accusing various individuals of being police/FBI informers - produced for the FBI's Cointelpro operations against the Black Panthers in the late 1960s. This is the first time, to my knowledge, that such FBI material has been published.

Still by far the best parapolitical mail-order service is Tom Davis' Aries Research, PO box 1107, Aptos, Ca 95001-1107, USA. Send a couple of dollars bills for a copy. (Airmail postage on the catalogue from the U. S. to UK, for example, is 95 cents.)

Z magazine had been praised before in these columns. It is the best general magazine to have merged from the American radical/left since *Ramparts*. The January 1991 issue contained a 13 page interview with Alfred McKoy on the politics of drugs. McKoy wrote *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia* (Harper Row, 1972), the ground-breaking book which showed the CIA running opium for the Meo tribes they were using in the secret war in Laos. McKoy's interview is not only a pretty decent summary of his 1972 work, but also an update of the position and his current views on the continuing drugs/parapolitics connection.

Z is \$US3.50 per issue from 150 West Canton St, Boston, MA 02118, US



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