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**DORRIL**

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# LOBSTER

95



- THE FACE OF THE BRITISH GLADIO?  
(The 'running man' of the Hilda Murrell murder)
- NEO FASCISTS. GREEN SURVEILLANCE
- IRELAND, SPOOKS, MI5
- A2 AND THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Journal of Parapolitics

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# Editorial

My apologies for the long delay in publishing this issue. I am still in the process of finishing my history of MI6 and everything takes much longer than expected. We also had some technical difficulties with the scanner which put everything behind schedule. Fortunately, I now have an abundance of materials for the next issue - watch out for the groundbreaking new material on Wilson, Maxwell and the Scottish League for European Freedom.

The promised Lobster 95 meeting is still on but not until the beginning of next year when the book is out of the way - which gives me time to organise it. I have a good venue in Huddersfield, which is central for lots of people, and a number of major speakers. The topics so far are 'Gladio', the next election and the inevitable smear campaign, and the new MI5 agenda. I would welcome additional suggestions.

I have been forced to raise prices, primarily because of the post and packing costs - no one makes money out of this type of enterprise.

All back issues are available as photocopies but please allow up to 28 days for delivery. I will, though, endeavour to get them to you as quickly as possible.

Special thanks to John Pritchard at the Stockport outpost.

*All contributions are welcome and should be typed up on A4 paper or, better, provided on floppy disc (MS Dos, Windows or Apple Mac - wordprocessed)*

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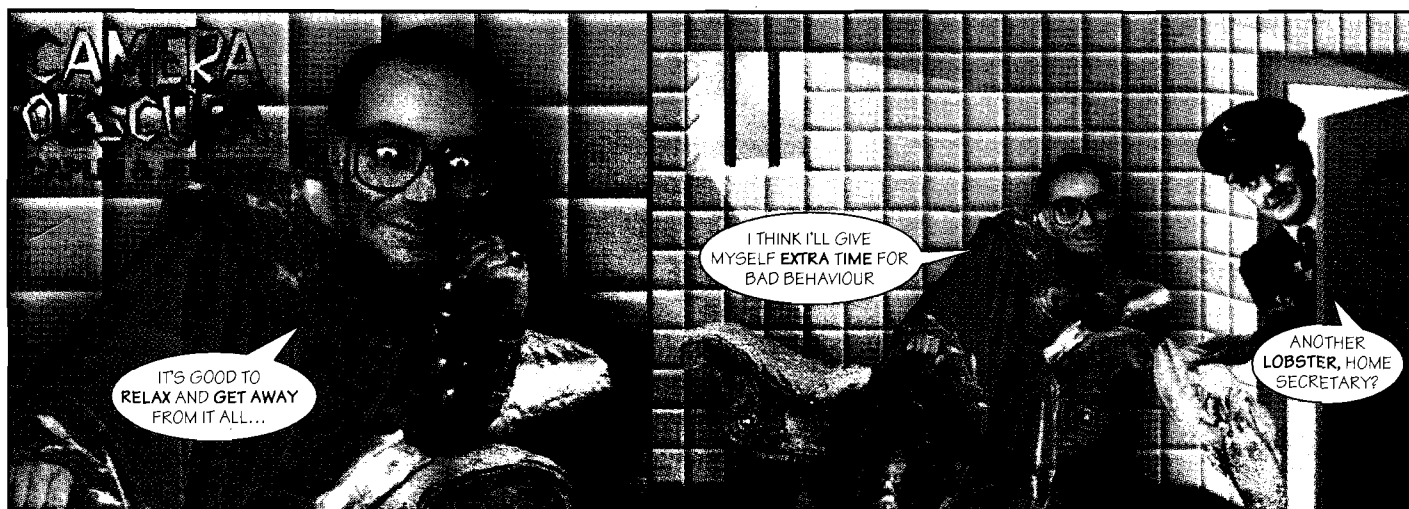
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*Julian Putkowski, historian and researcher for the BBC series The Monocled Mutineer publishes the third part in his series on 'A2' and for the first time sheds light on the work of a field agent*



# Those Nasty Crawling Things: A2 and the Labour Movement

Sneering class traitors, of whom the late and unlamented Harry Newton is but one of the better-known, perform an invaluable service for Her Majesty's spymasters. However, their anonymous contributions to intelligence summaries are collated and written up by intelligence officers who rarely acknowledge the original sources.

The text-bites thereby produced also acquire a glossy veneer which conceals imperfections. They are polished in order to conform with whatever covert editorial policy demands. The original material is destroyed, partly to secure the identities of the informants but also to avoid the creation of discontinuities - flaws arising from inconsistencies between the raw data and the handlers' collated reports. Enemies are thereby unequivocally identified and government policies are shaped by a clandestine bureaucracy and the intelligence collators' perspective usually prevails.

Surviving scraps of turncoats' testimony testify to class treason but also serve to expose discontinuities which fracture the ideological inexactitudes often peddled as truth by military intelligence. What follows is almost wholly unique - it is a labour spy's hitherto unpublished record of ten months' work for A2.(1)

On 13 March 1919 Routine Orders for Royal Army Service Corps Motor Transport staff serving at the Vehicles Reception Depot, Kempton Park, Sunbury, Middlesex featured the following entry:

"53 POSTING The undermentioned man will proceed to General Headquarters, Horse Guards, London on Friday the 14th inst, for temporary duty, S/-420635 Pte. GRAY G."

The soldier, George Raymond Gray, had been the leader of a week-long mutiny at the depot. The dispute was far from being an isolated event and occurred in the aftermath the wave of demobilisation mutinies that convulsed the British Army in early January. Unlike the short-lived protests elsewhere, grievances were more sustained at the Army motor transport depots of Battersea, Camberwell and Kempton Park. The "Masses" explained:

"They refuse to do mechanics work as conscript labour. These workers are organised into the Soldiers and Sailors Union and most of them are also members of different engineering unions. Efforts are being made to extend the strike to all garages throughout the country. We are also given to understand that the Soldiers and Sailors Union are protesting against the use of armed forces in strike areas. Many of the strikers visited the

headquarters of the ASE [Amalgamated Society of Engineers]... getting no satisfaction they came away disgusted and went along to the Herald Office and were then directed to the office of the ASE London District Committee where they received adequate satisfaction. It is our business to see to it that the soldiers in mechanical units are not used to do mechanics work for soldiers pay." (2)

Ralph Isham, reporting about Kempton Park, drew particular attention to Gray's role. Sent to Colonel C.B. Bevis on 24 February, it stated:

"Everything appears to be proceeding normally. There is however a strong undercurrent amongst the men of the R.A.S.C.... in the men's Canteen this morning, [sic] Grey was seated at a table, enrolling men as members of the Sailors's, Soldier's and Airman's Union. The fee of 1/6 was being paid and each man who paid was given the usual membership of the Union." (3)

Isham also mentioned Gray had been active in securing legal representation for an unnamed soldier facing court martial for insubordinate behaviour. (4)

When news of Gray's posting was announced his rebellious comrades may have been fearful about their comrades' future welfare. However, their concern would have been misplaced - for Gray had secretly reversed his allegiances and the order signified his debut as a British Army spy.

Gray had been recruited on February 24th. Colonel Cecil Lucas subsequently explained:

"Acting on my instructions, Captain (now Lieutenant Colonel) R.H. Isham R.E. proceeded to Kempton Park, investigated the cause of the trouble there and made certain recommendations of action to be taken regarding the solution of this problem. Among these recommendations Colonel Isham submitted a plan to eliminate Gray, the instigator and leader of the trouble, in such a way that no connection between Gray's removal and his activities could be apparent. - This plan was sanctioned and was successfully carried out. Since this time there has been no trouble at Kempton Park and private Gray is doing very valuable work under Lieutenant Colonel Isham." (5)

Ralph Isham recorded a series of cryptic remarks about his initial interview with Gray on 26 or 27 February. In civilian life, the private appears to have been a pickpocket and a fairground showman, operating "Gypsy Gray's Carousel". He

acknowledged responsibility for having fomented the strike at Kempton Park but insisted that he had kept within the law. Gray also asserted that he was a patriot and would not "play second fiddle" and arrogantly declared his comrades to have been "a lot of ignorant fools who follow me blindly". Of the mutineers' sympathisers outside Kempton Park, it was noted that Gray "Knows & is in intimate touch with all labour leaders". Though Isham evidently considered that Gray would prove a useful hireling he also concluded that his latest recruit was vain, ambitious and had a "restless mentality". (6)

After joining Isham, Gray's formal military identity became rather confusing, perhaps deliberately so. He continued to use his RASC number and was paid accordingly. However, his expenses were defrayed by A2 and he also appears to have been identifiable as No.16865 G.R. Gray, Military Foot Police. (7)

Gray's letter-writing skills were employed by A2 against the SSAU, fulfilling what Isham termed, "my hope to cause a division in the Union". (8) Gray was also deployed on a peripatetic basis, promiscuously spying on left wing organisations outside London. In these activities, Gray was closely supervised, often on a daily basis either by Major O.P.L. Hoskyns or by Isham himself and reported, usually in writing, with similar frequency.

Based for a few days in the Piccadilly YMCA, Manchester, Gray's first covert investigation took only a few days and was directed at a person known only as "O". (9) Nothing further is known about this initial operation but documentary evidence of Gray's role in the A2's covert offensive against the SSAU is quite complete. This is because Gray's contacts with A2 were mainly conducted by post and copies of the correspondence were preserved by Lt. Col. Isham.

Gray began to carry out Isham's plan to fracture the SSAU leadership by writing two letters in swift succession to the London-based SSAU activist, ex-Rifleman H.T. Macdonald. The first, written from the Soldiers' and Sailors' Club, Lime Street, Liverpool on 16 March, was crudely provocative:

"Expect your esteemed friend [sic] Donnisthorpe feels a bit sore after the dust up you gave him on Friday evening last. Of course I've been otherwise engaged lately and consequently not able to come to meetings. To my way of thinking, Donnisthorpe has not acted by any means straight regarding the financial & organising affairs of the Union. Friday's meeting did not prove successful, in so far that the impression created upon the new members seemed far from favourable. Unfortunately there was only yourself to oppose the Captain with any real effect and I suggest that you enlighten me a little as to the real facts, so that it will give me the

opportunity of 'letting go' at him for all I'm worth on a subsequent occasion. One thing seems obvious and that is that you have a far more intelligent knowledge of the real history of the Union than the others... he seems to have received monies ostensibly for the purpose of benefiting the Union, & has disposed of them in a way which doesn't satisfy you or anyone else. Therefore I would be glad if you can furnish me with the particulars possible (not forgetting what amount he received from the Shop Stewards in the Chandos Hall meeting). I hope you realise the importance of getting the information because it carries far more weight at a meeting when one is in possession of the facts beforehand than it would if we were simply there to listen indifferently to odd phrases caught during the moments when no interruption or disordered talking takes place." (10)

Gray wrote again to Macdonald on 17 March:

"I hope to be operating quite a few days around about the various Mechanical Transport Depots, and the Clubs and the YMCA's. This will give me a splendid opportunity of getting amongst the Tommies. Most of the MT Depots are in or adjacent to the large industrial centres such as Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield etc., etc. At present there seems to be no SSAU branches or the project of them on foot around this part of the country. I understand it is the intention of the SS & AU to establish these branches and that the co-operation of other bodies would be sought. So let me know if there is anyone around about these centres with whom I can get in touch. Of course I fully appreciate there are many who would not care to be seen associating with a man in uniform, considering it disadvantageous to the carrying on of propaganda. I, in common with many, am looking forward to demobilization, and I shall be glad to don my 'civies' which by the way are at hand... in order to make interviews successful, do you think an introduction of some kind would be an advantage? and if so - do you think you could arrange it." (11)

Gray's letters arrived too late to make any significant contribution by way of exacerbating the abrasive confrontation which had developed within the SSAU Executive. However, they achieved an alternative objective, Macdonald's endorsement of Gray's radical status. The former expressed pleasure when he replied to Gray on 18 March. Writing on "Herald" notepaper, he began by enthusing:

"You are to be heartily congratulated on the accomplishments you have already achieved. Now about Donnisthorpe. he is still active and doing us a great deal of harm. Events are moving very rapidly now and within the course of the next day or so I shall have some very important news to send you. I will arrange that you have the introduction necessary, either some printed cards or letter. Which do you favour most? I should very much like to have had you up

here just now as such important events are impending and your advice and help would be invaluable. Any rate, I am sending you along in the course of the next day or so a full and detailed statement of events and all details re Donnisthorpe as our enquiries are not yet quite completed. Very best wishes and rest assured that your services to 'the cause' are very gratefully acknowledged by us all. By the way, for heaven's sake be careful and lay low just at present." (12)

To the disaffected Donnisthorpe, Gray wrote a letter on 28 March. Suggesting that they meet in London, Gray had a proposal:

"I can perceive that you will undoubtedly sever your connections with the new element that has manifested itself in the Union during your absence; and I was wondering what co-operation on my part could be offered you for the furtherance of your original objects. It might be as well to add that this communication is in no way known to anyone connected with the Union; and that any subsequent acknowledgement will not be disclosed to them. In view of developments, I do not propose to take any active part in the propaganda now adopted by the Union, either on, or for their behalf; hence my approaching you to ascertain what co-operation would be appreciated for the furtherance of any plans you have in view." (13)

From Donnisthorpe there came no response. Gray enquired about Donnisthorpe's whereabouts from Macdonald and declared that Eden Paul had been sure Donnisthorpe had secured substantial funds from the Shop Stewards at Chandos Hall. Gray's letter, dated 4 April, concluded:

"There must be plenty of money somewhere at the back of the movement, which would readily find its way into the coffers of the Union and enable the propaganda to be carried out on a large scale. Ostracised as it were from yourself and the comrades, through duty's call, I should be glad if some particulars of the actual business were communicated to me, and thus enlighten me upon matters in which I still hold a keen interest." (14) Corresponding in a similar fashion to the manner in which he had engaged Macdonald's interest, Gray also tried to tease indiscretions from Jack Byrnes, the newly-appointed SSAU General Secretary and (unbeknown to Gray) fellow SSAU spy. (15) On 1 April Byrnes replied to Gray's overtures, informing the latter of the new Charter of the SSAU, bemoaned the parlous financial state of the Union and counselled caution:

"The question of propagandising the provinces is also in my mind, but owing to finances, we must do what we can with members already in the provinces. I am sending on what stuff I have to members

already on the books. we are at the moment organising London, and I think immediately we are organised here the funds will come in to permit us to launch out. You will think I am an old croaker, but you know the old Zulu proverb, 'softly, softly catchee monkey'." (16)

This bizarre correspondence between the two spies, each acting out their radical personae, continued with a further letter from Gray. On 3 April, he expressed disappointment at not having been kept up to date with the latest SSAU activity in London. Provocatively, Gray added:

"The financial side of the Union must be giving you considerable anxiety; and I am somewhat surprised that support was not forthcoming from those connected with the 'Shop Stewards' movement; more especially as these people are directly concerned with a propaganda of national & supreme moment, and the [sic] objects of the SSAU are in sympathy." (17)

Gray ended with an enticement:

"Should there be any intention to seek co-operation (financial or otherwise) from this source, please let me know; and also if I could be of any service in approaching anyone directly connected with the 'Shop Stewards' in the provinces." (18)

Perhaps the effort of so much abortive letter writing from Sheffield YMCA caused Gray to neglect his attention to very genuine expressions of military discontent at nearby Greenhill. At 10 a.m. on 4 April, 300-400 NCO's and RAF men from the Greenhill Aircraft Repair Depot marched on Sheffield to attract publicity and present their grievances to the city's Lord Mayor. The protest, which was caused by the summary institution of early morning drill parades by the Depot's Commanding Officer, already unpopular for his miserly allocation of home leave for the men and his insistence on WRAF personnel performing "Physical Drill".

Gray's report of the incident makes no reference to his palpable failure to forewarn A2 of the Greenhill protest. Nor was he any more successful in his covert efforts to find out more details than those which were published in the local press. Gray managed to identify and talk to a couple of the marchers but failed to secure an interview with any of the men's elected delegates. He promised A2 that he would forward a detailed account of the grievances placed before the mayor and felt consoled that, "hardly a man I spoke to could quote a sentence in the manifesto which was presented." (19)

This abject failure prompted Gray to exercise, if not renew, his efforts in seeking out local subversives. Thus, on the morning of Sunday 6th April he visited a small shop owned by Mr and Mrs Carford at 183 West Street and bought a couple of issues of "The Worker". Mr Carford, Secretary of the Workers' Socialist Federation,

introduced Gray to two local radical orators, J. Madden and William Sorby, who retailed the "Worker's Dreadnought". Then they all went to a midday meeting of around 70 men at West Bar, at which, Gray commented, nothing of a "startling nature" was said. Yet, on the basis of this two-hour long encounter, Gray insisted he was on "familiar terms with the 3" and concluded:

"These men hold very extreme [sic] Bolshevich views, and are likely to commit themselves by utterances in public at any moment." (20)

Urged to join the Workers' Suffrage Federation, Gray paid Carford a 1/- membership fee and was inundated with a mass of literature "for free distribution amongst troops". The latter consisted of: 500 copies of "The Truth About Russia"; 50 "Workers' Dreadnought"; 6 WSF leaflets, 5 "To the Toiling Masses" and (on loan) Robert Tressell's "The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists". (21)

Presumably because he felt that A2 may have been less than impressed by this feat of espionage, Gray supplemented his report with gossip:

"Carford States - Miss Norah L. Smyth (Hon. Tres.) is living with E. Sylvia Pankhurst and gives funds liberally to "the cause", out of her private income." (22)

He added:

"Carford is so enthusiastic in recruiting me as a new comrade, that he has promised more literature, introductions to 'leaders', and any advice that may be helpful to the cause." (23)

Carford was as good as his word. Within twentyfour hours, he introduced Gray to the comrades of the British Socialist Party club at 198, West Street. These included two prominent left-wing activists, H.R. Goldstone, "a Jew, age about 36 or 37, speaks English well, about 5ft 7in, eyes and eyebrows of Chinese type (unmistakable) clean shaven" and J.H. Johnson, "a Bolshevich of the most undesirable type. He simply breathes & emits 'poison'". (24) Johnson, had previously known Gray as a "red hot rebel" when they had both previously been temporarily employed at the National Shell Factory, Templeborough, Sheffield.

According to Gray, Johnson, "a fugitive from Military Service" was, "delighted to have met me, and has offered every support in my endeavours for the cause. He has promised plenty of literature, the 'real stuff' (as he calls it)". (25) Goldstone volunteered more than Johnson's goodwill:

"He furnished me (without any request on my part whatever) with names and addresses of several comrades, whom he said would be glad to meet me. On the reverse side of card bearing names and addresses... he wrote: Comrade Gray

recommended as a real rebel deserves all help possible (signed) H.R. Goldstone... and a membership card of 'National Shop Stewards & Workers Comtees' saying it would get me into any of the private meetings without any difficulty." (26)

Thereafter, Gray strove to become "one of the boys", spending his evenings at the BSP club and attending meetings. (27) The apparent ease with which he consolidated his spurious radical credentials was assisted not only by the testimonials of Goldstone and Johnson but also via Major Maples, the Sheffield Assistant Provost Marshal. Early on the morning of April 10, Maples men raided the YMCA where Gray was staying and rounded up all the residents. Gray had little difficulty in regaining his liberty after his "special duties" had been verified via a phone call to London and he reassured Isham, "Being arrested in presence of other men is more to my advantage than otherwise." (28)

For the following four months, in addition attending meetings of the SSAU in London, Gray filed a succession of rather trivial reports from the North of England. The latter included noting the rhetoric of socialist speakers at places like Liverpool's Clarion Club; the alleged arrival at Bradford Reform Club of #2,000-worth of literature "from the States"; a thin account of May Day revelry in Sheffield and gossip about ways in which the BSP might disrupt a forthcoming visit by the King to Sheffield Royal Infirmary. With hindsight, the absence of any references to substantial direct action, civilian or military, is quite striking. Instead, Gray's reports are replete with references to revolutionary rhetoric expressed by speakers at gatherings of the BSP, ILP, Liverpool Anti-Conscription League and other socialist organisations.

Not only was conspiratorial activity wholly absent from Gray's summaries but there was little upon which he remarked which could not be discovered from reading the local press. This notion is reinforced by his tendency, when mailing reports, to append news clippings from provincial newspapers. As a counter-revolutionary agent combatting the Bolshevik offensive in the North, Gray seems generally to have been a failure.

Of those whose protests he chronicled, only one was jailed. He was a young Liverpool radical pamphleteer named Arnold Yates, who was imprisoned for printing a leaflet entitled "To British Sailors". (29)

Of course, Gray might have been unable to discover hard evidence of subversion because widespread, left-wing, subversive plots did not exist. However there was nothing similarly ephemeral about Government harassment or the spying it orchestrated against working class organisations. It follows that the climate of mistrust thereby generated would have created obstacles for Gray in foraging for fresh contacts.

This is hinted at in his report about the ILP Rally held on 4 May at St. Martin's Hall in Liverpool's Scotland Road. The meeting was addressed by a number of speakers, incensed at the recent arrest of Arnold Yates. Gray referred to what the Australian socialist and Liverpool ILP organiser, J. Wilson had to say about secret state activities:

"Wilson, in a wild and frenzied speech declared there was not a meeting but what was attended by government spies, "You know" - he added - "the Alec Gordon type, in the Wheldon case, those nasty crawling things who got amongst us so the government know our anticipated actions. There are some in the Hall tonight; I don't know who they are, and I don't give a damn either, but I know they're here." (30)

For this outburst Wilson was denounced by Gray as, "a most dangerous and undesirable dissident, capable of corrupting & disaffecting his hearers". He suggested that Wilson's speeches be, "openly taken by reporters, and thus supply a reliable & accurate record of Wilson's seditious utterances, if any". Somewhat ironically, Gray also recorded:

"In the course of conversation with Wilson, he (knowing that I was supplied with pamphlets "To British Sailors" by Yates) advised me to 'be quiet' and 'keep my mouth shut', adding that I needn't worry, because Yates wouldn't 'split' on me". (Gray to Isham." (31)

Thereafter, the SSAU Executive Committee proved less trusting of Gray's radical credentials than Wilson. Gray's demise as a self-appointed SSAU delegate came on 15 May. His own report of the meeting, which he attended at Chandos Hall, London, contains no hint of unease. However, Gray had left the meeting, another A2 spy noted:

"The opinion is freely expressed after the meeting that Gray is a traitor; this is strengthened by the fact that:

- a) He could not give a definite statement as to where he is attached for pay, discipline etc.
- b) He gave a crackbrained story of travelling the country.
- c) During the meeting he made copious notes.
- d) He was very anxious to obtain in writing the names and addresses of the soldiers present.

He also offered a subscription of 10/- but this was not forthcoming." (32)

Unsurprisingly, Gray never attended another SSAU meeting. His spying career suffered a similar setback soon after he returned to Sheffield. On 12 June he reported:

"A feeling now exists amongst the 'comrades' that it is unwise to be seen too much with me in uniform. Carford spoke of the raid on the BSP rooms & at his house, stating that a soldier had given the show away, but whilst not suspecting me, is under the impression that I was seen in his company by both the Military & civil police. This will undoubtedly handicap my chances of obtaining useful information." (33)

Isham evidently agreed and appeared ready to have Gray start up again in Coventry. However the publication of reports by the "Daily Herald" during June and July about strikes in Army camps caused A2 to direct Gray's attention back to specifically military affairs. It seems most likely that A2 hoped Gray would be able to identify not only subversives but more importantly also establish who was leaking stories about Army unrest to the "Daily Herald". The newspaper's almost unique readiness to publicise the many contemporary grievances being expressed by soldiers had already caused the authorities to suppress it's circulation in the Army. (34)

Gray therefore found himself in Aldershot en route to Bordon Camp. During his brief stay in Aldershot he fraternised with the Assistant Adjutant General's staff, including an Army clerk and former teacher named Pte. Atherton. While reading the "Daily Herald" on the morning of 2 July, Atherton chatted to Gray about the newspaper's policies. Gray duly recorded highlights of the conversation for A2:

"He has not written to the paper himself, but said:- 'It's a bit extreme I know, but its just the sort of paper that's wanted, and a soldier will never get his rights with the Government we've got in now. It's the only paper which published the secret document you know, and Churchill had to admit in the House that the document was genuine... I suggested it was hardly cricket for a man in the Army to be disloyal enough to divulge such things to a newspaper. To this Atherton remarked:- "Well, its the only way to let the public know what's going on, besides a clerk in the Army handles all sorts of confidential stuff, but still he won't be sworn to secrecy. I shouldn't be above doing it myself." This man is a member of the National Union of Teachers, and from the conversation he appears one of the "militant" members." (35)

What subsequently happened to Atherton does not appear in the A2 papers but a reliable account of Gray's work at Bordon Camp has been preserved. The specific reason why Gray was sent to Bordon was to do with restive soldiers at the camp's Louisburg Barracks, going on a 24-hour strike on 28-29 June. The incident involved 1st Brigade, Royal Garrison Artillery demanding a substantial increase in leave prior to overseas' service; improvement in war gratuities' payment arrangements;

advance notice of duration of overseas' postings and no victimisation of strikers. (36)

H.T. Macdonald's "Tommy's Troubles" column in the "Daily Herald" charted the manner in which the authorities had treated the strikers:

"June 29 - A Letter from General Murray read to the men. They still refused to parade.

June 30 - NCO's and men surrounded by two companies of the Manchester regiment and placed under arrest; 250 men involved.

July 1 - At 3 a.m. armed sentries placed over each 'prisoner' while in bed, the strikers were turned out on to the barrack square. There skeleton battalions of infantry numbering about 3,000 men, awaited them in the form of a hollow square and immediately closed in on them. Ten lorries were waiting and 63 NCOs and seven gunners were pushed into them under strong guards, taken to Aldershot and confined in the guardroom." (37)

Gray arrived while the arrested men were being court-martialled for mutiny and began eavesdropping on conversations between off-duty soldiers in military canteens. To Isham, he boasted:

"Have become of familiar terms with the 'right' sort of men, and have created a 'friendship' with them resultant from an intimate knowledge of Leeds; the native town of several, who imagine I also hail from there. The 'subject' is freely discussed, and if there has been any 'outside influence' at work, there should not be any great difficulty in getting right to the very bottom of the facts." (38)

From a subsequent report by Gray, it was clear that the Bordon mutiny owed more to boozy bravado than bolshevism:

"Getting at the rock bottom of the cause of the incident forming the subject of investigation, I find that a drinking bout took place at the R.G.A. wet Canteen 4 or 5 nights previously. That whilst in an 'elevated' condition, reckless talk flowed freely, the party concerned banding themselves together as delegates, boasting to each other in their semi-intoxicated state of what each dared to accomplish. The following day some of the delegates 'simmered down', but noticing the leaders reluctant to do so, goaded them on by jeers and dared them to accomplish the action boasted about. The suggestion by Leman [the chief mutineer] that troops from other centres were going to take sympathetic action, appears to be without foundation, and is considered by the men here as absolute 'bluff' by Leman. The 'Daily Herald' with its column 'Tommy's Troubles' was talked of by Leman, and its vivid colouring and gross exaggeration of various incidents lent support to a rumour that "everywhere in the Army there's

trouble. There seems no suggestion that Leman had dealings directly or indirectly with the "Daily Herald". (39)

Nevertheless, Gray concluded that the men of the brigade were "fairly contented", adding:

"Many of them show great resentment at the occurrence and feel that the right men have been 'rounded up'. General disapproval & resentment is felt that the leaders should have gone to such an unwarrantable extreme in refusing General [sic] Murry a hearing, a profound feeling of respect is displayed by the men in this brigade, to this GOC in C." (40)

But what of the reviled "Daily Herald"? Before departing for Salisbury, Gray tried to find out the how much influence might be wielded via the local circulation of the "Daily Herald". A straightforward enquiry revealed that W.H. Smith & Sons sold only six copies of the "Daily Herald" - including one to Gray himself.

And undesirables? Gray mentioned two. One was a man from Leeds, Pte. Bradley, who wisely seems to have avoided developing more than a passing acquaintance with Gray. The other was an anonymous postman who drove the Petersfield mail van. Though unable to discover the man's name, Gray stated that the fellow was a:

"Life-long resident of the district. Socialist. Argues at the top of his voice in various public houses when soldiers are present. Frequents Station Hotel, East Liss, considered a nuisance, treated accordingly." (41)

Whether this depiction of the postman resulted in the him being barred from playing cards and gambling with soldiers at nearby Longmoor Camp, as Gray recommended, remains unknown. Nevertheless, on the basis of such casually expressed opinions the unlucky target of Gray's poisonous attention gained a place in A2 records.

Having thus smeared the postman, Gray was detailed for covert surveillance in Salisbury for a few days before being whisked back to London to carry out a similar task in the East End.

He appears to have little difficulty in finding some subversives to spy on, commencing with a suspicious quartet of soldiers, "two of whom were Jews" who were drinking in the "Three Nun's Hotel", Aldgate on 27 July:

"These men were discussing Demobilisation, one of the Jews remarking that the activities in Russia were a disgrace and the British Army had no right to interfere in purely political affairs... These 2 Jews remained for some time (after the other 2 soldiers left) and were subsequently met by another Jew in civilian dress,

wearing the Silver Badge. The newcomer shewed various pamphlet to the soldier... whom he addressed as 'Abe', afterwards drawing him aside, and indulging in a whispered conversation." (42)

Claiming to have heard the civilian establish a rendezvous outside the Trocadero, Shaftsbury Avenue and promise to provide more pamphlets. Gray discreetly followed "Abe" and one of the soldiers to the confectioner's Necchi & Co., 6, Berwick Street, where they picked up a mysterious brown parcel and were joined by a further civilian. They went to Shaftsbury Avenue, where Gray decided to exercise his deviousness, though with embarrassing consequences:

"I got into conversation with the soldier on the pretext of asking for a 'light' and endeavoured to find out who he was. I told him I was in London for a few days, shewed him my pass (which he did not examine) but on suggesting he should shew him, the second civilian took the parcel and 'made off'. The soldier asked me if I was an MP, I said no, whereon the remaining civilian wanted to argue with me. I left them immediately and proceeded down Charing Cross Road and was a few minutes later approached by a Police constable who said he had received a complaint that I had asked a soldier for his pass. The constable asked me for mine which I produced - but on asking me further questions I would not and could not satisfy him. I accompanied him to Vine Street Station." (43)

Yet again, Colonel Bevis was called to vouch for Gray's credentials and the A2 spy was released from police custody. After this fiasco, Gray was granted a few days' compassionate leave to visit Leeds, where his wife, Sarah was critically ill.

However, he was briefly back in action in London on 6 August, when he engineered a meeting with the former SSAU activist and compiler of "Tommy's Troubles", ex-Rifleman H.T. Macdonald. Their encounter took place during Macdonald's dinner hour and appears to have been quite unplanned. As far as A2 was concerned, there was little that Macdonald could relate that was new about the SSAU but what Macdonald had to relate about the "Daily Herald" confirmed the success of the authorities' harassment of the newspaper:

"Letters from serving soldiers addressed to 'The Herald' are coming in less frequently, roughly about two-fifths of the number, four months ago. On occasional days none whatever. Nothing fresh seems to come along, over which a 'stunt' could be made. Lansbury has given instructions that nothing more of the 'secret circular' must be handled or sought for because (it was stated by H.T.M.) the authorities are under the impression that we've got some sort of 'secret service' amongst the troops, and on that account we've lived a life of persecution ever since. We shall therefore only publish the pith of the letters received

from serving men. Even though the authorities have a secret service, Lansbury doesn't want us to stoop to anything so mean and despicable." (44)

Although almost everything Gray reported suggested that the "Daily Herald" was simply chronicling rather than instigating Army unrest, A2 and Field Marshal Haig remained unconvinced. Haig raged at:

"The harm which is daily being done to the discipline of the Army by articles which appear in the 'Daily Herald'". (45)

He added:

"Such articles are practically of a daily occurrence, and much of the unrest and dissatisfaction in the Army in the past is traceable to the wilful distortion of official statements by this paper, and to the dissemination of utterly false information on matters affecting Army life generally." (46)

A2 fuelled Haig's dissatisfaction by drawing Haig's attention to an article published in the "Daily Herald" on 12 August. Wired the newspaper's Glasgow correspondent, the piece hinted at unrest by conscripts of 2nd Bn. Highland Light Infantry on hearing they were to be sent to fight the Red Army in Russia. (47) A further item, entitled "Why Conscription is Necessary", published on 19 August, gave what Field Marshal Haig insisted were:

"False and distorted details regarding promotion, leave, and the attitude of officers and warrant officers towards the men, which must be detrimental to recruiting." (48)

Haig was also incensed because:

"Law officers of the Crown have decided there are not sufficient grounds upon which a prosecution could be sustained with a certainty of success, and that, in these circumstances, they do not consider it advisable to prosecute." (49)

Accordingly, Haig considered that "some counter propaganda should be instituted without delay" and recommended that the Army Council publish official denials of the newspaper's allegations. (50) This task seems to have been taken out of A2's hands and Gray's palpable failure to produce sufficiently potent material with which to smear the "Daily Herald" appears to have been reason enough for A2 to send him off to Scotland.

Gray's activities north of the border began in Glasgow, from where he despatched reports to London during the latter part of August. From these, it appears he was primarily engaged in gathering left-wing publications, initiating contacts with socialists and attending radical meetings to observe those "in the know". Those whose names featured in Gray's correspondence, bar one ex-soldier, were all civilians. They included the publisher



of the Socialist Information and Research Bureau newsletter; anarchists like Henry Sara; Labour MP Neil Maclean MP and James Cox, Secretary of the International Union of Ex-Servicemen.<sup>(51)</sup> All of these individuals were well-known public figures so even when Gray appended their home and organisational addresses he was hardly achieving an intelligence coup.

Failing to discover any subversive plots, Gray was reduced to wretchedly expressing assurances that there were at least some vague whispers which hinted at conspiracies. On August 26 he confided to Isham:

"Have 'got in' well amongst the likely people along the Clydeside. The tone of the conversation more than suggests the probability that certain of these men take part in some shady business. I particularly observe an occasional cautiousness and lowering of voices at moments when I most expect to hear something important. Patience will not be relaxed. The stoppage of work at several shipbuilding yards consequent on the Government Economy move, has given me a chance to find sympathy as an unemployed & have been treated to an occasional drink by some of the men. Will report fullest details of information immediately such come to hand." (52)

Since it was evident that Gray was failing to discover anything startling in Glasgow, A2 ordered him to go to Rosyth, where there had been unrest amongst minesweeper crews of the Grand Fleet in early January. (53) However, unless A2 was indirectly engaged in carrying out work for the Director of Naval Intelligence, it seems that Gray's visit was more likely to have been occasioned by the more recent activities of local civilians. Around five weeks before Gray's arrival there had been a local rent strike in Rosyth's Garden City and Sylvia Pankhurst had visited the area to lend her support.

Gray acknowledged that most Dockyard employees were "loyal subjects" but he tried to associate himself with "some most undesirable characters", amongst whom was James Dempsey. Dempsey, an unemployed crane driver who had served in Army Service Corps, bulked large in Gray's initial report from Rosyth:

"I have been unable up to the present to get the names and addresses of others. This particular man however appears particularly dangerous. I spoke to him quietly & showed him the pamphlet 'Soldiers - Comrades', whereon he expressed a most keen desire to possess one, stating that he could reproduce 'any amount' of copies if unable to procure more than one original. The whole of his conversation is most revolutionary, and although not an official or active member of any organisation, would become a ready

and willing tool for the 'undesirables', more especially as he is now out of employment & drawing out of work pay." (54)

Dempsey later introduced Gray to a man named Breen. The latter was a friend and fellow lodger at Dempsey's home, 32 Ochil Road, Rosyth. Of the pair, Gray commented:

"These men are both Irishmen and are keenly bent on any mischief of a revolutionary character. They profess an intimate knowledge of the 'doings' inside the dockyard, and would be the most likely ones to know of any plots or schemes anticipated. I have gained their confidence & will easily glean any valuable information they possess." (55)

Rather more confidently, Gray was also able to report on the activities of the local branch of BSP. He attended an open-air BSP meeting outside Farr's provision shop in the Garden City:

"The attendance was very poor - 19 only attending. The speaker was 'Dick' Symons, one of the oldest residents in the 'garden city', he took a principal part in the recent rent-strike movement here together with Sylvia Pankhurst. That movement proved a failure and I find that Symons was one of the first to pay his rent in spite of the policy he advocated. This is authentic and on account of the fact leaking out he is now greatly mistrusted, even by his former adherents." (56)

Gray continued to scour Rosyth for evidence of subversion but was disappointed. Dempsey was, "ready for anything that may come along but confesses there is nothing on foot"; Dick Symons concurred; the Naval Ratings were "decidedly loyal" and nothing untoward emerged from Gray's surveillance of dockyard workers.<sup>(57)</sup> By 12 September, Gray concluded:

"A more settled state seems to prevail, consequent on the good prospects of employment. The malcontents seem to have met with a reverse and are even 'infected' with the loyal spirit of enthusiasm which now prevails in anticipation of Admiral Sir David Beatty's visit here on Sat. 13th. No plots, schemes, or literature have come to my notice, and I certainly consider the Cosmopolitan crowd here would be perfectly peaceful & contented at all times, were it not for the occasional incursions of the professional agitators, whose visits are for no other purpose than causing disorder and discontent." (58)

With that, Gray departed for London and re-commenced undercover work within the Army. (to be continued)

# Footnotes:

1. Almost, because the first published reference to Gray was made in Bernard Porter's "Plots and Paranoia" (Unwin Hyman: London: 1989), p.14.
2. The Masses [ed. W.F. "Billy Watson"] vol. 1, No. 1, Feb. 1919, p.6. See also Daily Herald, 1.2.19, p.5; 15.2.19, p.2; Memo: A2 to Field Marshal C. in C., G.B., pp 2-3, Isham Papers 2/17.
3. No.5 to Bevis, 24.2.19, Isham Papers 2/32.
4. Ibid.
5. Memo: Lucas to Robertson, 22.5.19, Isham Papers 2/17.
6. Private Note, undated, Isham Papers 2/17.
7. WO 329 Medal Roll, PRO, Kew.
8. Memo: A2, 22.3.19, Isham Papers 2/16.
9. Possibly Seelie (a.k.a. J.J. O'Kelly), editor of the "Catholic Bulletin", TD in first Dail Eireann spoke at Liverpool Irish Societies' Festival on 16.3.19. Telegram: Gray to A2, 22.3.19, Isham Papers, 1/10.
10. Gray to Macdonald, 16.3.19, Isham Papers 1/11-13.
11. Gray to Macdonald, 17.3.19, *ibid*.
12. Macdonald to Gray, 18.3.19, *ibid*.
13. Gray to Donisthorpe, 28.3.19, *ibid*.
14. Gray to Macdonald, 4.4.19, *ibid*.
15. Byrnes to Gray, 24.3.19, 28.3.19; Gray to Byrnes, 31.3.19, *ibid*.
16. Byrnes to Gray, 1.4.19, *ibid*.
17. Gray to Byrnes, 3.4.19, *ibid*.
18. *Ibid*.
19. Gray to A2, 4.4.19, Isham Papers 1/11-13; Yorkshire Telegraph & Star, 4.4.19.
20. Gray to A2, 6.4.19, Isham Papers 1/11-13.
21. *Ibid*.
22. *Ibid*.
23. *Ibid*.
24. Gray to A2, 8.4.19, Isham Papers 1/11-13.
25. *Ibid*.
26. *Ibid*.
27. Gray to A2, 9.4.19, Isham Papers 1/11-13.
28. Gray to A2, 10.4.19, *ibid*.
29. Gray told A2 about Yates' activities and his address but it is unlikely his was the only government spy to report such information to the authorities. Gray to A2, 15.4.19; Major GS for DAG to Director, Naval Intelligence, Admiralty, 17.4.19; Gray to A2, 1.5.19, Isham Papers 1/11-13.
30. Gray to A2, 5.5.19, Isham Papers 1/11-13.
31. *Ibid*.
32. Gray was attached to 793 Coy. RASC, Kensington for pay. Memo: A2 to OC, 793 Coy. RASC, 22.4.19, Isham Papers 1/10; Gray to A2, 16.5.19, Isham Papers 1/11-13; No.5 to A2, 16.5.19, Isham Papers 3/42.
33. Gray to A2, 12.6.19, Isham Papers 1/11-13.
34. Gray to Isham, 23.6.19, Isham 1/12. In Britain 3 Bn. West Yorks, Salisbury Plain and other troops in Staffordshire refused to embark for India; Gordon Highlanders mutinied at Aberdeen; Labour Corps at Belmont Camp struck work; Canadian troops rioted at Witley, Ripon and Epsom and there was trouble reported at Bordon and Aldershot camps. On 23.6.19 Brigade Post Offices in Germany were ordered to burn the newspaper. See Daily Herald, 3.7.29; 4.7.19; 8.7.19.
35. Gray to A2, 3.7.19, Isham Papers 1/11-13.
36. Daily Herald, 3.7.19.
37. Daily Herald, 24.8.19.
38. Gray to A2, 3.7.19, Isham Papers 1/11-13.
39. Gray to A2, 5.7.19, *ibid*.
40. Gray to A2, 7.7.19, *ibid*.
41. Gray to A2, 8.7.19, *ibid*.
42. Gray to A2, 27.7.19, *ibid*.
43. Gray to A2, 27.7.19; 28.7.19, *ibid*.
44. Gray to A2, 6.8.19, *ibid*.
45. Letter: Haig to Army Council, 27.8.19, Isham Papers 2/16.
46. *Ibid*.
47. Officially, all British soldiers fighting in Russia were volunteers. "Scottish Conscripts for Russia", Daily Herald, 12.8.19; Letter: Lucas to Haig, 29.8.19, Isham Papers 2/16.
48. Letter: Haig to Secretary, War Office, 27.8.19, Isham Papers 2/16.
49. *Ibid*.
50. *Ibid*.
51. Gray to A2, 21.8.19; 22.8.19; 23.8.19, Isham Papers 1/11-13.
52. Gray to A2, 26.8.19, Isham Papers 1/13.
53. On 3.1.19 the ratings, principally auxiliaries aggravated by slow demobilisation and low pay, went on strike. Carew, T., The Lower Deck of the Royal Navy 1900-39 (MUP: 1981), p.4.
54. Gray to A2, 4.9.19, Isham Papers 1/11-13.
55. Gray to A2, 5.9.19, *ibid*.
56. Gray to A2, 8.9.19, *ibid*.
57. Gray to A2, 9.9.19; 10.9.19; 11.9.19, *ibid*.
58. Gray to A2, 12.9.19, *ibid*.



In two articles which were held over from the last issue, Steve Dorril looks at the contacts between the IRA and the British government, and more information on the activities of Brian Nelson.



DUP MP Peter Robinson, Alan Wright (Ulster Clubs) and Noel Lyttle, former UDR soldier and DUP candidate, one of three arrested in Paris trying to exchange missile parts for weapons with South African diplomats, at an Ulster Resistance rally.

# Ireland

It's always nice to get close to the truth. The closing line of the chapter on Ireland in my book, *The Silent Conspiracy*, which appeared in May 1993, reads 'after twenty three years of intense security and intelligence operations, which have resulted in a failure to defeat the terrorists. Perhaps it is time for the "sensible chaps" in MI6 to resume their political initiatives'.

The *Observer's* disclosure of British government secret links with the Sinn Fein/IRA leadership brought forth a welter of information in the newspapers about the 'clandestine corridor' which had been set up (BBC2 Newsnight, 29.11.93), Sir Patrick Mayhew and 'official sources' in attempting to get themselves out of a deep hole laid the blame for 'unauthorised' meetings on MI6 (I, 29.11.93). The sources were said to be 'unusually forthright' in commenting on MI6.

The 'clandestine corridor' had involved both contacts' (a liaison to a government representative) and actual representatives stretching back to the early 1970s. Sinn Fein's Martin McGuinness has said that the line of communication ran from the breakdown of the 1974/5 truce until the IRA hunger strikes in 1980/1. The hunger strikes would appear to be the model for what followed. There were two sets of negotiations with some approaches being fairly routine through the use of West Belfast priests who maintained dialogue with the Sinn Fein and Catholic businessmen (BBC Panorama, 29.11.93). The other channel was more covert and involved MI6 officers.

According to the BBC's *Timewatch* programme, during the hunger strikes Sinn Fein leader, Gerry Adams, met with a contact from the Foreign Office. Through another channel, the strikers' representatives were meeting with 'The Angel', a clergyman who acted as a go-between with a Catholic businessman. He, in turn, received instructions from a 'Foreign Office' contact known as 'Mountain Climber'.

For the next decade, the channel to the government remained dormant but not dead. A Whitehall source told the *Guardian* that 'the message then from ministers to was "Keep the channels open; tell us if you hear anything useful" (G, 1.12.93)'. Communication was re-opened in mid-1990. McGuinness revealed that there had been a 'three hour' meeting in October 1990 in a 'quiet residential area' of Northern Ireland 'between a representative of the Foreign Office and myself. It was a discussion; it was a meeting at their request which I agreed to do after consultation with my colleagues'. He said that the contact was known to senior Cabinet

ministers. (ST, & IoS, 28.11.93)

According to sources, one purpose of the meeting was to introduce a new representative who took over in January 1991 (G, 3.12.93). The same MI6 officer had apparently been the contact both in 1974/5 and in 1980/1.

The identity of this 'Foreign Office' contact had been taxing some journalist's minds. I told the *Evening Standard* and *Sunday Times* that as far as I could see there was only one candidate, former MI6 officer, Michael Oatley. The *Sunday Telegraph* (12 December 1993) confirmed the identification the following week. As deputy to James Allan, Oatley was involved on the ground in setting up the 'incident centres' which were designed to provide channels of communication to local IRA leaders in 1974/5. He also made arrangements for the house on Landside where senior officials met with the IRA. Oatley was available in 1980 before moving to a senior position in Zimbabwe the following year to play a part in the hunger strikes. Oatley retired in 1991 and joined the investigation firm, Kroll Associates.

Following the *Telegraph* disclosure [it would be interesting to know who disclosed Oatley's name, besides myself], the government once again attempted to distance itself from the MI6 initiative. A source made the ludicrous claim that Oatley was 'acting on this own'. 'He was retiring and thought he'd have one more go.'

The same line was broadcast on *Panorama* (21.2.94) by Peter Taylor who did not name Oatley, but referred to MI6's head of operations in Europe working without official authorisation who transferred the pipeline to an 'official' and not an MI6 officer.

The IRA's offer of a two week cease-fire (or response to a British initiative) in May 1993 was apparently discussed at a 17 May meeting which included Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd, Northern Ireland Secretary, Sir Patrick Mayhew, John Chilcot, permanent under-secretary at the Northern Ireland office and Sir Roderick Braithwaite, foreign policy advisor to John Major and chairman of the Joint Intelligence Committee (G, 3.12.93). The Prime Minister's main advisor on Northern Ireland was, and is, Rod Lyne, his foreign policy adviser who was a Foreign Office nominee. Lyne's line rarely deviates from that of his former employers, unlike Sir Charles Powell under Mrs Thatcher who went native (I, 29.11.93). The negotiations with the IRA would, therefore, appear to have been largely a Foreign Office initiative.

There were apparently 'signs of tension

within the NIO over this peace initiative. According to the *Independent*, senior NIO officials were excluded from the process with only key ministers and officials aware of what was going on. (I, 29.11.93). There are parallels with the hunger strikes and what happened in the 1974/5 period when hardliners in the army and MI5 set out to break the truce which MI6 had set up with the IRA.

According to the recent BBC2 *Timewatch* programme on the 1980/1 hunger strikes, when it appeared that the Cabinet Office was seen to be wavering, members of a special committee at the NIO dealing with the strikes which included a senior MI5 officer - presumably Patrick Walker - threatened to resign if the British Government caved in to IRA demands. In fact, three days after the strikes ended, with little publicity, all of the demands were conceded. However, officials did not resign because they believed they had achieved their objective which was to finally smash the idea that hunger strikes could be used as a political weapon.

The *Sunday Times* story came only five days after the IRA met with their contact in London, a meeting which turned out, according to Sinn Féin, to have been 'disastrous' as the contact totally misinterpreted what was being put forward. A week later, based on this misinterpretation, John Major gave a talk at the Guildhall which the IRA took to be a mistake and a betrayal of the previous contacts.

According to *Panorama*, the IRA's army council had wanted Gerard Kelly to take apart with McGuinness in the talks with the British Government. Interestingly, on 7 November 1993, before the full story of negotiations broke, the *Sunday Times*' James Adams wrote that 'British Intelligence' had identified Kelly as the key figure behind the recent wave of IRA bombings and killings. Kelly was said to have aligned himself with 'hardliner' McGuinness. 'These are the men who will fight whatever the circumstances. They simply do not believe in peace with Westminster.' Sources said that the IRA had split at the end of 1992 with Adams willing to negotiate a cease-fire while McGuinness/Kelly were not.

There is some evidence that a new 'Information Policy' - style propaganda unit which, by necessity, is more sophisticated than its seventies counterpart has been operating at the Northern Ireland Office. Two officials, Ian Woods and a man named North, were allegedly behind the damaging briefings against the Box Productions programme on the so-called Inner Circle of loyalist terrorist and businessmen. Stories are said to have been

planted in small newspapers such as the *Cork Examiner* which are then picked up and used by the major newspapers on the mainland.

On 22 August 1993, the *Sunday Times* exposed a 'Ministers' secret IRA peace plan'. The army GOC in the province, Sir John Wilsey, at the request of the NIO had drawn up a sixty-point plan setting out a policy of deceleration between the IRA and the security forces - a step by step move towards a cease-fire. Communication of these details was said to be through intermediaries (G, 17.11.93). The plan had been drawn up in late 1992 and was intended to encourage the IRA to extend its regular three-day Christmas cease-fire into a more permanent peace. Wilsey presented the plan, in October 1992, to the Northern Ireland security minister, Michael Mates, at a meeting of senior figures in the province. What was interesting about the *Sunday Times* story was that it said that the plan had been prepared 'following information from a highly placed mole within the IRA that its leaders were prepared to scale down their activities'. In the light of the later revelations it is clear that there was no mole; information was coming direct from the intermediaries.

The plan was opposed by senior RUC officers and Northern Ireland Office civil servants (G, 1.12.93) which explains its leaking, which was no doubt designed to expose the then current contacts with the IRA. Two days after the *Sunday Times* article, ITV's Cook Report broadcast a programme alleging that McGuinness was responsible for directing the IRA's bombing campaign.

Who leaked the details of the 'clandestine channel' to William McCrea, the Democratic Ulster Unionist MP? He later said that a 'very serious witch-hunt' was being carried out to identify his source. No doubt conducted by NIO officials and MI5 officers, was it a case of them investigating themselves?

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*The following article is a reprint of part of a pamphlet, British Intelligence: Brian Nelson and the Re-arming of the Loyalist Death Squads, which was published in Northern Ireland in early 1993. It does not have any publishing details (which is illegal) but because it has a forward by Gerry Adams, I presume that it is a Sinn Féin publication. Despite its provenance, it is worth publishing as an article because it contains information which has not previously been mentioned on the mainland. As will be seen, it is footnoted with Irish newspaper reports and illustrates yet again that important topics*

*such as Nelson - the army agent who was intelligence officer of the banned Ulster Defence Association - are, in general, only skimmed over by the British media. To his credit, Panorama's John Ware did say that this was 'one of the biggest and least publicised security scandals in recent years'. With regard to the shipment of arms from South Africa to the loyalists, 'Why did not intelligence stop it?'*

Informal contacts between loyalists and South Africa were first established in the mid-1970s when some former UDR men went there as mercenaries.(1) By 1989, however, the situation had changed considerably "the Pretoria link with the Ulsterman has been developed over some considerable time and was (sic) a well established two-way traffic".(2)

The starting point for this new relationship was the visit to Belfast in 1985 of a 48-year-old ex-merchant seaman originally from Portadown, who had gone to live in South Africa.(3)

Dick Wright's Ulster connections made him a useful intermediary - he was the uncle of Alan Wright, leader of the Ulster Clubs and co-founder of Ulster Resistance. He was also an agent for Armscor, the South African state-owned company which, in defiance of the 1977 United Nations arms embargo, set about making South Africa self-sufficient in military hardware.

Within a decade it had made the country one of the world's top ten arms exporters.(4) It was particularly anxious to acquire a missile system for use in Angola and Namibia. Israel (which had given South Africa its start in the arms business, supplying designs for ships, missiles and small arms)(5) was equally keen to get details of the most advanced missile available - the Starstreak being developed by Shorts in Belfast.

Wright visited the home in East Belfast of a senior UDA leader and offered to supply guns; the order would have to be worth at least a quarter of a million pounds, but missile parts or planes would be an acceptable alternative to cash.(6)

The offer was taken seriously by the UDA. John McMichael sent UDA intelligence officer Brian Nelson to South Africa to investigate the possibility of a deal.(7) The crowds travelling from Belfast to London over the weekend of 7/8 June 1985 for the McGuigan/Pedroza boxing match provided cover for the first part of Nelson's journey.(8)

During the two weeks in South Africa, Nelson was shown warehouse full of weapons by Dick Wright, the Armscor

agent representing the South African state. The conditions of the deal offered by his host became decidedly more attractive: the loyalists were to supply South African agents with secrets or parts - if possible, a complete Shorts missile system - in return for a substantial shipment of arms and finance of up to £1 million.(9)

By 1985, Brian Nelson had been a British agent for at least ten years.(10) Official knowledge of the South African negotiations however may have gone far beyond the reports of Nelson on his return. *Private Eye* claimed in February 1992 that Nelson's visit had been cleared not only by the Minister of Defence by an unnamed government minister.(11) The DPP's deal with Nelson at his trial was intended to ensure that no mention would be made of either the visit or the minister. (In 1987 a US State Department report named Britain as one of the countries which had violated the UN arms embargo.)(12)

In June 1987 the robbing of the Northern Bank in Portadown provided the money for the deal to go ahead - £150,000 of the £300,000 taken in the raid was spent on South African arms.(13) This bought more weaponry than the UDA could handle, so the UVF and Ulster Resistance were made 'partners' in the enterprise. A top secret unit responsible for developing channels of communication on behalf of several loyalist paramilitary groups were set up.

Roy Metcalfe, a member of the unit, represented Ulster Resistance in the negotiations. When he and Thomas Gibson were executed by the IRA in October 1989, Ulster Resistance claimed that they had been 'set up' by British Intelligence.(14)

The deal was completed and final arrangements were made in December 1987. Military Intelligence had been informed by Brian Nelson of developments at every stage of the proceedings; he passed on all the details including the method to be used to smuggle in the weapons.(15) No action was taken.

At the end of December 1987 Joseph Fawzi(16), a Lebanese intermediary employed by a US arms dealer working for the South Africans, dispatched a huge consignment of arms which landed without difficulty in January 1988 somewhere along the County Down coast.(17) Two hundred AK47 automatic rifles, 90 Browning pistols, around 500 fragmentation grenades, 30,000 rounds of ammunition and a dozen RPG7 rocket launchers disappeared without trace, the haul having apparently been divided into three parts shortly after its arrival.(18) If discovered, the arms would not have revealed their true origin, many were Czech-made weapons initially used

by the PLO in Lebanon where they had been captured by the Israelis and sold to Armscor.(19)

The shipment had not been let in through negligence, mistake or oversight. The decision to allow it to go ahead had been taken (presumably at the highest levels) months before. Nelson states in a prison journal: *"In 1987 I was discussing with my handler Ronnie the South African operation when he told me that because of the deep suspicion the seizure would have aroused, to protect me it had been decided to let the first shipment into the country untouched."*(20)

Nelson's involvement in setting up the UDA's transport system meant he, and therefore British Intelligence, knew the location of the farmhouse where the weapons would be stored initially after landing.

In January 1988 Davy Payne, an ex-British paratrooper and a UDA Brigadier was arrested outside Portadown as he transported 60 assault rifles, rockets and handguns - most of the UDA's portion of the shipment. At the time the arrest was attributed to good luck and keen observation. Payne's arrest drew attention to Ulster Resistance - a telephone number written on Payne's hand turned out to be that of Noel Lyttle, a civil servant, former member of the UDR and close associate of Ian Paisley and Peter Robinson. Lyttle had stood for the DUP as a candidate in local government elections.

Lyttle was warned on two or three occasions that he was under surveillance by the crown forces.(21) Even his questioning and release without charge did not interrupt Ulster Resistance's attempts to re-negotiate with the South Africans.

The Starstreak, being developed under a £225 million Ministry of Defence contract at Shorts was what the South Africans wanted. A fully operational unit had been on display until a few hours before a raid in 1987 in which Ulster Resistance had stolen a Javelin aiming unit. The extraordinary coincidence did not raise any suspicions: Lyttle's questioning and the warnings were ignored and three Ulster Resistance members travelled to Paris to negotiate with the South Africans, who had already made a down payment of £50,000.

They were offering not only the parts (which though not operational could be used for research purposes) but expertise in firing the weapons - one of the three, Samuel Quinn, was a senior NCO in the Ulster Air Defence Regiment of the Territorial Army. Quinn trained recruits in the use of the Blowpipe missile. One of the weapons offered to the South Africans

was a dummy Blowpipe, stolen from Newtownards, where Quinn served.

In April 1989, the three - Noel Lyttle, Samuel Quinn and James King - were arrested in Paris along with arms dealer Douglas Bernhardt and a South African diplomat, Daniel Storm.

Storm claimed diplomatic immunity and was expelled from France. A diplomatic row blew up - but there was more noise than genuine surprise on the part of the British authorities, who were well aware of Bernhardt's activities. A naturalised American citizen, born in South Africa married to an Englishwoman, he had operated a gun dealership, Field Arms, in Mayfair for three years - it had received assistance from the Department of Employment.(22)

The security services knew of Bernhardt's loyalist connections; they knew he was the US dealer involved in the January 1988 arms shipment. They would also have been aware that Armscor agent Dick Wright had been employed as a marketing executive by Field Arms. Noel Lyttle later admitted that he had known Dick Wright as Armscor agent represented the South African state *"quite a few years"*.(23)

No request for the extradition of the three was made. Although the Swiss authorities began an investigation of Bernhardt's Geneva-based container-leasing company Agencia Utica, the British made no request for an examination of Bernhardt or his company.(24) The Ulster Resistance members were released on bail. Following the 'revelation' of contacts between the South African government and the Paris trio the British government expelled the three South African embassy personnel. They were Staff Sergeant Mark Brunwer, who did not appear on the diplomatic list and was described in the press as a *"technical officer"*: the First Secretary at the embassy, Jan Castleyn; and Etienne Fourie. Although the Foreign Office emphasised that they had been chosen at random, it must have been just another coincidence that one of them Etienne Fourie was considered the 'eyes and ears' of the London embassy had worked as a journalist in the North in the 1970s.(25)

Two-thirds of the arms shipment landed, with the full knowledge of British Intelligence, on the County Down coast almost five years ago remains unaccounted for. The other third was seized at a road checkpoint. The results of its arrival, however, are unmistakable. In 1985 the UDA and UVF between then killed only three people. Since January 1988 more than 160 people have been killed by loyalists. The AK47 assault rifles were

used in the killing of five people at the Ormeau Road bookmaker's shop in February 1992; and the killings in Murray's bookies on Belfast's Oldpark Road in December 1992; Michael Stone attacked the mourners in Milltown Cemetery in March 1988 with Russian-made RPG5 splinter grenades and a Browning pistol from the same arms consignment.(26)

The weapons created a secure base for a renewed (and sustainable) campaign of sectarian violence by loyalist paramilitary groups. If his handler's explanation is to be believed, Brian Nelson must have been an extraordinarily valuable agent if his safety had to be paid for in hundreds of lives. How many more Brian Nelsons does British Intelligence have operating within the various loyalist paramilitary groups?

The above chronicles one episode of loyalist/British Intelligence gun-running activity. How many other shipments have been secured since then?

- 1 *Irish News* 26 April 1989
- 2 *Observer* 30 April 1989
- 3 *Irish News* 12 December 1989
- 4 *Sunday Times* 30 April 1989
- 5 *Sunday Times* 30 April 1989
- 6 *Independent* 22 October 1991
- 7 *Sunday Tribune* 24 March 1989
- 8 *Sunday Tribune* 22 January 1989
- 9 *Irish Times* 17 July 1992
- 10 *Irish Times* 11 January 1992
- 11 *Irish News* 10 February 1992
- 12 *Sunday Times* 30 April 1989
- 13 *Sunday Tribune* 12 January 1992
- 14 *Irish News* 28 November 1989
- 15 BBC Panorama quoting Brian Nelson's journal
- 16 *Independent* 29 October 1991
- 17 *Irish Times* 18 March 1988
- 18 *Sunday Tribune* 12 January 1992
- 19 *Irish News* 26 April 1989
- 20 BBC Panorama Nelson's Journal
- 21 *Irish News* 12 December 1989
- 22 *Sunday Times* 30 April 1989
- 23 *Irish News* 30 April 1989
- 24 *Sunday Times* 30 April 1989
- 25 *Independent* 6 May 1989
- 26 *Irish Times* 17 July 1992

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It was left to a 1993 BBC Northern Ireland Spotlight programme, *Spies, Stings and Doublecross*, to probe some of the background to the South African arms deals.

In April 1992, Lean Flores, a member of South African Military Intelligence, was deported from Britain for his role in attempting to set up a contract murder using an Ulster loyalist 'hit team'. The intended target was Dirk Coetzee, who was living in London, in asylum, after

exposing the activities of a South African police death squad, the Civil Co-operation Bureau, with which he had worked. In 1991, an exiled South African academic had been the target of a botched assassination attempt, in Belfast, by gunmen belonging to the Ulster Freedom Fighters. The UFF said the attack was a case of mistaken identity.

Flores had been betrayed to British Intelligence by Charlie Simpson, a London Transport manager and informant for MI5/6, following a tip-off to MI6 from a concerned officer within the South African police.

Flores and his colleague, Captain Pamela du Randt, had arrived in London with a cover story, known as Project Echoes. The plan was to provide information to a Conservative MP and chair of the Northern Ireland Committee, Andrew Hunter, who was looking for information linking the ANC to the IRA. The MP later admitted that he had known Simpson since 1988 and that he 'assumed that he was providing information to the British intelligence services'. Hunter hit the headlines in July 1992 - after Flores' departure - when he claimed to have evidence establishing such a link. A 10,000 word dossier was said to have been sent to the Prime Minister. Hunter, who had made several trips to South Africa, said that he had received most of the evidence from the Institute for the Study of Terrorism and its research director, Ian Geldart. The IST was set up by Lord Chalfont and Jilian Becker, a well-known apologist for the South African regime.

Flores and du Randt were introduced by Simpson to what they took to be loyalist paramilitaries in London, and arranged to meet them in Ulster (said by *Private Eye* to be 'three rogue officers from the Royal Ulster Constabulary'). In London they were under the surveillance of MI5 and Special Branch. On the way to Holyhead, the trio had a crash and Simpson was breathily (he was later convicted of drinking and driving). Curiously, Flores was allowed to drive the car, although he had no licence. In Northern Ireland, loyalist paramilitaries of the UVF demanded weapons and explosives (primarily Semtex) as the price for the assassination of Coetzee; providing another example of the Ulster/South Africa arms pipeline - in which one of the linkmen was Charlie Simpson.

As a teenager, Simpson had been involved with William McGrath's *Tara*. In the seventies he spent three years in the Rhodesian Army, before leaving for South Africa in 1981 to work as a transport manager. In 1985, Nelson made a trip to Johannesburg as part of a delegation from

the UDA, UFF and Ulster Resistance, where he was introduced by Simpson to arms dealers. Nelson was there to negotiate a £150,000 arms contract which involved the transfer of information on the Shorts Blowpipe missile system and, more importantly, Starstreak - an anti-aircraft missile which was desperately needed by the South African Defence Force to combat the Russian MiG fighters being used in Angola. South African intelligence believed that Simpson was working for MI6 during this period. For whatever reason, British Intelligence allowed the shipment to proceed forward to Ulster.

This was unlike the major publicity coup in November 1993 when a combination of MI6/5, HM Customs and Poland's Office of State Protection intercepted a huge shipment of arms and explosives which was landed at Teesport. This received massive press coverage, coming as it did in the middle of the Northern Ireland peace initiative, with the implication that the loyalist militants were 'on a war footing'. It turned out, though, that everything was not quite what it seemed. The whole operation from beginning to end had been a sting operation, financed by MI6. Although the Ulster Volunteer Force admitted that it bought the arms, a number of questions were left unanswered, such as why the shipment was not allowed to reach its intended destination - an address in Northern Ireland?

David McKittrick, in the *Independent*, worried about the source of the funding - said to be £250,000 - because the loyalist groups had been previously hard-pressed to raise much smaller amounts. Like many other writers, he thought that if the explosive had reached the UVF then it might have been used to bomb Dublin. He specifically referred to the 1974 bombings which cost more than thirty lives. However, he did not mention Yorkshire Television's *First Tuesday* programme which provided evidence that the bombs had been the work of British Intelligence. Despite repeated warnings that the loyalists had access to bomb-making expertise, they have singularly failed to use it and have not, as far as I am aware, used it since those 1974 bombings.

In June 1995, Gerry Adams asked President Nelson Mandela to set up a judicial investigation into the supply of weapons by South Africa to loyalist paramilitary groups in Northern Ireland. No doubt there will be a lot of pressure on him from the British not to do so.

Sources: *I*, 15.7.92, 25.11.93; *G*, 8.1.93; *ST*, 28.11.93; *T*, 25.11.93; *DT*, 23.11.93; *Time Out*, 23.11.92. See *Lobster* 16 on *IST*. *Phoenix*, 17.12.93.

*I recently had the opportunity to go through the Foreign Office Diplomatic Lists from 1946 to 1965 and managed to identify a large number of MI6 officers previously missed. By reading the biographies of officers already positively identified, I spotted an easy way to uncover more names (a process which I will reveal at a later date). I also uncovered a number of MI6 'cover posts'.*

*One point of interest which emerges from the following naming of names is the large percentage serving in the Far East during the fifties. I believe that this may have something to do with the assessment made by MI6 in the late forties that Stalin had abandoned the goal of Communist domination in Europe and had decided instead to support nationalist movements in the Far East, a view which certain members of the Service (principally Oldfield) had themselves abandoned by the beginning of the sixties.*

JCM Vivian - Assistant Political Adviser to the C-in-C Middle East Command Aden [cover post], 1963-67.  
 HJ Collins - Head of Co-ordination Division [cover post] British Middle East Office, Cairo, 1952-53, Cyprus, 1954-55.  
 GG Cruickshank - Deputy Head of Co-ordination Division (BMEQ) Cyprus, 1954.  
 FW Williams - ditto, 1955.  
 A Rosslyn Penny - Civil Liaison Officer [cover post] Graz, 1951-52.  
 Henry Rider Latham - B. 4.7.18. Economic Survey Section [cover post] Hong Kong.  
 Derric Stopford-Adams - 2nd Sec. Saigon, 1951-52. Resigned 1954.  
 John Debenham Taylor (OBE, 1959) - B. 25.4.20. South East Asia specialist.  
 Anthony Russell Milne - B. 22.7.23. 2nd Sec. (Visa) Brussels, 1954-55.  
 Kenneth Parsons (OBE, 1962) - B. 9.1.21. Two terms in Tokyo, 1953 and 1963.  
 John Flett Whitfield - B. 1.6.22. Junior Attaché (Info) Helsinki, 1955. Resigned 1957.  
 Michael Wrigley - B. 30.7.24. 1st Sec. Singapore, 1961.  
 FL Dempster (OBE) - 1st Sec. (Visa) Madrid, 1962-64. (See *Lobster* 26).  
 David Seymour Collet - B. 14.6.24. 1st Sec. Aden, 1958.  
 John Peter Davies - B. 26.2.23. Consul Munich, 1962.  
 Noel Hedley Marshall - B. 26.11.34. 2nd Sec. Moscow, 1963.  
 Christopher Willy - B. 12.4.29. Middle East Centre for Arab Studies, 1956.  
 Douglas Spankie - B. 20.5.29. 3rd Sec. Bangkok, 1956.  
 Duncan Stuart - B. 1.7.34. Senior officer until recently served as Counsellor in Washington.  
 Godfrey Martin Ellis (CMG, 1959) - 1st Sec. Rome, 1961.  
 AT Battagel - 2nd Sec. Burma, 1957.  
 John McKibben - B. 17.6.22. 2nd Sec. Belgrade, 1953-55.  
 Peter Lloyd Morgan - B. 16.3.23. 2nd Sec. Bucharest, 1955-56.  
 Richard Le Sueur - B. 2.3.25. 2nd Sec. Rome, 1957.  
 JG Coates - 2nd Sec. (Visa) Moscow, 1957.  
 John Pedler - B. 19.8.28. 3rd Sec. Phnom Penh, 1956.  
 Michael Pike - B. 4.10.31. 3rd Sec. Seoul.  
 Edgar Hawkins - B. 18.5.24. 2nd Sec. Berlin, 1957.  
 James Hobson - B. 20.3.24. Fifties South East Asia specialist.  
 Philip Hodgson - B. 24.8.21. 2nd Sec. Saigon, 1956.  
 Anthony Hurt - B. 5.11.25. Vice-Consul Salonika, 1954.  
 Edward James - B. 18.1.17. 1st Sec. (Comm) Rome, 1955.  
 Ronald Kidd - B. 19.6.22. Vice-Consul Macao, 1956.  
 John Cranmer-Byng - B. 18.3.19. 2nd Sec. Singapore, 1954.  
 Maurice Firth - B. 28.1.11. 1st Sec. Vienna,

1953.  
 Richard Evans - B. 15.4.28. 3rd Sec. Peking, 1955.  
 George Harding - B. 18.1.27. 2nd Sec. Paris, 1956.  
 Donald Gurrey - B. 15.12.19. 2nd Sec. Singapore, 1957.  
 Ian Clunas - B. 15.3.22. 2nd Sec. Sofia, 1954-56.  
 Douglas Bolam - B. 10.10.16. 2nd Sec. Beirut, 1956.  
 Roland Carter - B. 29.8.24. 3rd Sec. Germany, 1956.  
 David Brookfield - B. 21.8.20. 2nd Sec. Singapore, 1956.  
 William Beale - B. 21.1.20. 2nd Sec. Singapore, 1956.  
 RH MacDonald - 1st Sec. (Visa) Argentina, 1956.  
 JDM Blyth - 1st Sec. Leopoldville, 1964.  
 PGB Martin-Smith - 1st Sec. Leopoldville, 1965. In SOE during the war in Italy and Austria, during period of repatriation of Cossacks etc. to the Soviets. In 1947, deputy to George Kennedy Young in Vienna. (T. obit 21.2.95)

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One aspect of the Iraqgate scandal which has been of interest has been the large number of businessmen recruited by the security services. A new one seems to pop up every other week. Here are those that I have noticed.

John Taylor - Surrey businessman who was involved in 'Arms for Iran' trial and eventually acquitted of the charge. Reported to MI6 (*I*, 13/15.5.94).  
 David James - head of Eagle Trust, which owned Walter Somers. Involved in Supergun Affair. Claimed to have been reporting to MI6 (*Business Age*, September 1993).  
 Frank Machon - Glasgow road-haulier who blew the gaffe on Allivane. Also informer for MI6 (*G*, 1.12.92).  
 Paul Grecian - British Military engineering firm Ordtec which was involved in Iraq sales. Informer for Special Branch, MI5/MI6 (Channel Four profile).  
 Mark Gutteridge - Matrix Churchill, reported to MI5, 1978-1991. A good profile, *A Good Spy*, by David Leigh in *Esquire*, December 1993. And, of course, Paul Henderson, whose star appears to be rapidly falling.  
 Ephraim Margulis, 'Marg' - Chair of SW Beresford, sugar group, an off-shoot involved in Iraqgate. Alleged to have the MI6 paymaster in Eastern Europe (*IoS*, 19.1.92).  
 Stuart Blackledge - SRC executive who provided MI6 with intelligence on the Supergun (see my own *The Silent Conspiracy*).  
 Roy Ricks - Mead International, linked to MI6 (*ibid.*).

George Kieffer - senior executive of Brent Walker, worked for MI6 supplying information on business trips to Eastern Europe and Libya (1987-91). Had been in the Royal Observer Corps (O, 22.5.94).

Brian Perry - Worked for Russian companies for ten years and at the same time reported to MI6 about the Russian Mafia (O, 11.9.94)

Jocelyn Hambro - Chairman of Hambros Bank, died 1994 - MI6. I was told that there was a secret military sales unit at Hambros, rather like the Midland Bank, which was under the control former SAS officer Alastair Morrison but I have seen no confirmation.

Sir John Stevens - Morgan Grenville, 60s - MI6.

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Pauline Neville-Jones. Much to everyone's surprise, the high-flying Ms Neville-Jones only lasted one month as Chair of the Joint Intelligence Committee before leaving to take up the post of Foreign Office director on Political Affairs. She was replaced in January 1994 by Paul Lever, a long-serving diplomat who was previously Ambassador to the conventional arms control negotiations in Vienna, where he no doubt met many members of MI6. He then became the Assistant Under-Secretary of State (Defence) FCO.

George Carey-Foster. Obit. DT 25.1.94. Not a spook but someone who played a key role, in the Cold War having established the Security Department in 1946. From 1953, a straight diplomat - though he did return to the Security Department in 1965. I am told that one of the deputies in the department is always an MI5 officer - is this currently J. Kerby?

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The death of six senior officers in the crashed Chinook helicopter on the Mull of Kintyre in June 1994 was indeed the 'catastrophic loss' as described by the newspapers. What the papers seemed to have difficulty with was describing what jobs the six did inside the Security Service. In particular, in discovering who was the Director and Co-ordinator of Intelligence in Northern Ireland. This was solved when someone pointed out to me the simple, and glaring obvious fact, that the list of deceased was in descending order of seniority.

John Deverell, aged 57. Deputy Director of the Security Service. who was seconded to the Province Executive Committee, Northern Ireland's strategic intelligence and security committee. Had been involved in counter-terrorism since the early eighties, later head of K Branch. There were rumours that he was about to retire and was making

a last tour of the province. Had been passed over for the DG's job because of the Bettaney fiasco.

Stephen Rickard, aged 35. DCI Northern Ireland.

Michael Maltby, aged 57. The key person of the six and a totally irreplaceable loss to the Service and the countering of the IRA in particular. As I understand it, Maltby - on his second tour of duty in the province - ran the unit monitoring the IRA's collecting and laundering of funds. During the seventies, when MI5 had no responsibility for the IRA, only the Loyalist terror groups, Maltby ran a one man operation keeping track of IRA funds. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to replace such an institutional memory. It is fortunate for MI5 that the cease-fire has made that, for the moment, unnecessary.

John Haynes, aged 58.

Martin Dalton, aged 37.

Anne James, aged 42.

- the last three would appear to be Security Liaison Officers in Northern Ireland.

Richard Dennis (MI5). Dennis, who is Welsh, is currently serving in the Director General's Secretariat.

Laurie Mayston (MI5). Obit. *Bookdealer*, No. 1143, 24.2.94 - thanks to Barry Buitekart for reference. WW2 intelligence officer attached to General Montgomery's staff during D-Day. Served in MI5 at the end of the war. Joined the Ministry of Health ending up as an Assistant Secretary. Retired in 1980 to deal in second-hand books.

John Thompson (MI5). Security Liaison Officer Mauritius, 1963 (Roger Faligot/Pascal Kop, *La Piscine*, Basil Blackwell, 1989, p. 183.)

Lt. Col. Vivian H. Seymer (MI5) wrote report on the British SS Legion of St. George in 1945 (Adrian Weale, *Renegades: Hitler's Englishmen*, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1994, pp. 205-7).

Clive Calif (MI5?). Involved in computer work and programming, trained with GCHQ. Father worked for the service.

Lt.-Col. TA Robertson (MI5). Obit. DT, 12.5.94 & T, 16.5.94. Architect of the double-cross system in WW2. Post-war worked in GCHQ as head of security.

Lt.-Col. CAM Dunlop (MI5). Attached to Scotland Yard for interrogations, 1916-17. Sir Edward Radcliffe (MI5). Security Service WW1. (Study Group on Intelligence Newsletter, No.2, February 1990). May Cannan (MI5) Filing clerk at the Bureau Central Interallie in Paris, WW1 (Intelligence and National Security, Vol.5, No.4, October 1990).

Jack Cole (MI5). Stationed on the Isle of Man as part of the 18b episode (Tom Bower, *Tiny Rowland*, p. 22).

Evelyn Anthony, the spywriter and now High Sheriff of Essex, was approached by MI5 recruiters for a career in the Service as a young woman (DT, 6.4.94).

Tom Driberg (MI5). According to Jonathan Haslam, historian of Soviet foreign policy at Corpus Christi, Russian archives show that the KGB told the Comintern to warn the Communist Party of Great Britain that Driberg was working for MI5 (I, 17.6.93).

Bruno Pontecorvo. Obit. DT, G & I, 28.9.93. Interesting divergence of views on whether Pontecorvo was a spy working for the KGB or simply an ideological defector. *Telegraph* - 'recent KGB defectors have insisted that Pontecorvo was a significant spy'. The *Independent* concluded that 'the evidence is only circumstantial', with Pontecorvo not involved in weapons research. Letter from Ted Cranshaw in the *Guardian* (7.10.93) stated that Pontecorvo worked on cosmic radiation which was 'unclassified' and that he did not spy for the Russians.

Paddy Meehan, Obit. G, 16.8.94. Petty criminal who claimed that he had been set up for the conviction for the murder of Scottish pensioner Rachel Ross in July 1969. This was undertaken, Meehan claimed in a book which he published himself and sold on the streets of Glasgow (has anyone a copy?), because of his supposed involvement in the escape of George Blake. Strange case never fully explained - Meehan's fantasies or something else.

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Patrick Whinney (MI6). B. 1912, WW2 - Lt. RNVN, NID2 Admiralty. Worked under Deputy Director of Operations (Irregular) (DDOD(I) - Frank Slocum - in Corsica (Whinney, *Corsican Command: A Dramatic First Hand Account of Clandestine Operations in The Western Mediterranean 1943-4*, Patrick Stephens, 1989). David Herbert, another member of DDOD(I) in WW2. The second son of the 15th Earl of Pembroke involved in 'hush hush work' - 'collecting tired spies from France and replacing them with fresh ones' (Herbert, *Relations and Revelations: Advice to Jermina*, Peter Owen, 1992).

Sir Neville Leigh (GCHQ). Obit. DT, 10.8.94. WW2 Bletchley Park on cryptographic and other intelligence work. Treasury Solicitor who was Clerk of the Privy Council for ten years.

Nakidimon Doniach (GCHQ). Obit. DT, 3.8.94. Lexicographer and linguist, joined GCHQ in 1950 in the Foreign Office technical language section teaching Russian and Chinese, as well as producing a



and Chinese, as well as producing a Russian-English military dictionary for intelligence staff. Received an OBE in 1967.

Sir Leonard Hooper (GCHQ). Obit. *DT*, 24.2.94 & *T*, 26.2.94. Director of GCHQ from 1965. Cabinet Office Security and Intelligence adviser, retired 1978.

Air Commodore 'Tommy' John Marlow Thompson, airforce officer - Obit. *I*, 15.8.94. General Manager of Airwork Services, Saudi Arabia, 1966-68 - possible front company.

Richard Haggett - 'Literal Democrat' candidate at the 1994 European Election. A 'spoiler' candidate against the Liberal Democrats, he was reported as being 'a one time intelligence officer' (*I*, 14.6.94).

Ian Spiro, who worked for MI6 to free Terry Waite, was assassinated by former East German and Soviet hitmen working for the Iranians, according to Yossef Bodansky, director of the Republican Party's task force on terrorism, in his book *Terror: The Inside Story of the Terrorist Conspiracy in America* (*S.Tel*, 19.12.93). Oh yes!

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Sir Michael Leyt. Obit. *DT*, 10.3.94. Former Governor of British Guyana at the time of overthrow of Dr Jagan. In Kenya 1954-57 and in 1959 was responsible for cover-up of deaths of detainees at Hola camp.

Sir John Prendergast. Obit. *DT*, 21.9.93. During WW2 worked with MI5, afterwards employed in numerous counter-insurgency campaigns as head of Special Branch Operations. The *Independent* obituary (30.9.93) included a long piece from Sir Stephen Hastings (MI6), clearly in breach of the Official Secrets Act, which detailed operations in Cyprus.

Colonel Sir Guy Campbell, Bt. Obit. *T*, 21.7.93. 1952. Took command of the Kenya Regiment for operations against the Mau Mau, organising 'pseudo gangs' (soldiers disguised as terrorists). Brigadier George Taylor. Obit. *DT*, 25.7.93 & *T*, 20.7.94. Kenya, 1953-55, Commanded 'Operation Anvil' which apprehended 2,000 terrorists. After retirement employed by Common Cause as a field director delivering lectures, which 'sought to warn Western society of the insidious threat of Communist infiltration'.

Lt.-Col. Dudley Coventry. Obit. *T*, 28.9.93. Long career in special forces. 22 SAS in Malaya, first CO of Rhodesian SAS, in 1970 joined the Central Intelligence Organisation where he formed the Mozambique-based phantom terrorist group, Renamo. Later commanded Zimbabwe SAS.

'John' - (BBC Radio Four, 'Call Nick Ross' on Intelligence, February 1994). Seventy year old man said that he been recruited in 1947 as part of 'a group' to gather intelligence and then later as 'an individual'. He was paid £4.00 per week for his work during the sixties. He did not say which organisation was involved but I suspect that he was working for the Economic League.

Four Britons of Chinese and Vietnamese origin were arrested in early October 1993 in Sierra Leone, accused of being spies intent on fomenting a coup. No other details (*ST*, 24.10.93).

The Second Secretary in the Yemen, Gerald Ryan, was arrested in early February 1994 by British police from the International and Organised Crime branch investigating a major fraud involving the disappearance of over £500,000 and the illegal sale of visas and passports at a consulate in the Gulf (*Daily Mail*, 4 & 7.2.94).

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Professor Brinley Thomas. Obit. *I*, 31.8.94. Economist worked in the Political Intelligence Department at the Foreign Office during the war transmitting coded messages to agents in northern Europe.

Milton Shulman, military historian, film/TV critic. WW2 MI 14B (German order-of-battle), 1944 Canadian Army specialist on Nazi Intelligence agencies. 1945 Debriefed German generals (BBC Radio Four, Desert Island Discs, 10.6.94).

Dennis Potter. Obit. *DT*, 8.6.94. Playwright. Undertook National Service in the Intelligence Corps, undergoing a Russian course and seconded to the War Office with MI 3(D) at the time of Suez.

Colonel Peter 'Puma' Earle. Obit. *DT*, 6.1.94. 1940, MI 14, German section of Intelligence in the War Office analysing Hitler's plans to invade Britain. 1946 posted to the Political Intelligence Department of the Foreign Office and, in 1947, to the Joint Intelligence Bureau in the Cabinet Office.

David Ginsburg - Labour/SDP MP, 1959-81. WW2 'Intelligence' specialised in interrogating German PoWs. Obit. *I*, 28.3.94.

Aidan Crawley. Obit. *DT*, 4.11.93. Member of the Balkan Intelligence Service in early part of WW2. Later Labour and Conservative MP of an anti-Communist bent who published a number of political tracts which appear to have used material from IRD.

Ivor Bulmer-Thomas. Died 7.10.93., journalist and politician. The obituaries in

*The Times* and *Independent* were full but did not mention that he had been a member in the late forties of the British League for European Freedom (BLEF), a spooky outfit which campaigned for the support of East European exiles (see Lobster 19). A right-wing Labour MP, Bulmer-Thomas grew increasingly disillusioned with socialism, opposed nationalisation, and eventually defected to the Tories. His membership of the BLEF is partly explained by his strong advocacy of the Catholic wing of the Anglican Church (Catholics were extremely prominent in all the campaigns in support of the exiles). A fluent Italian speaker, he worked for the Psychological Warfare Executive during the war, feeding black propaganda into Musolin's final fortress. He wrote a book on propaganda, *Warfare in Words*, in 1942.

Lt. Cdr. George Martelli. Obit. *DT*, 12.4.94. WW2 head of the Italian section of the Political Warfare Executive. Holder of quirky extreme right views, he had been the Paris correspondent for the *Morning Post*, where he helped the Economic League, later journalist and author.

Clifton James Child - leading figure in PWE in WW2 died in 1994 aged 81.

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Group Captain Peter Vaughan-Fowler. Obit. *DT*, 27.4.94. WW2 SOE, 161 Special Duties Squadron at RAF Tempsford flying Lysanders into France.

General Sir Charles Richardson. Obit. *DT*, 11.2.94. 1940 GSOI (Operations) with SOE. Jack Smith-Hughes. Obit. *G*, 21.3.94, *I*, 17.3.94 & *DT*, 15.3.94. SOE in Greece, later lawyer.

Robert Bayne-Powell. Obit. *I*, 12.3.94. SOE, 1945 Austria, later lawyer.

James Joll. Obit. *I*, 14.7.94. Worked in the German section of SOE but refused 'to have anything to do with covert operations which he regarded as totally unscrupulous'. Fellow of New College, Oxford.

Lt.-Col. Denis De Grudy Lambert. Obit. *DT*, 7.3.94. 1943, GSI(2), in India on intelligence work co-ordinating secret operations around the Caspian Sea of Burma with MI6, SOE and OSS.

Colonel Douglas Street. Obit. *DT*, 20.7.93. SOE in Greece and Yugoslavia, 1944-45. Became head of the BBC's German and Austrian Service before joining the Foreign Office in 1945, later freelance journalist.

Professor JM Cook. Obit. *I*, 7.1.94. Officer with the British Military Mission in Greece with both EDES and ELAS. Director of the British School of Archaeology in Athens, 1945-54.

Benjamin Cowburn. Obit. *DT*, 21.1.94. Parachuted into France as SOE agent, remained in France after the war where he



was prominent in Resistance circles.

George Astley. Obit. *T*, 22.12.93. Junior SOE staff officer at Algiers and later Special Operations Australia, in charge of dropping agents into enemy territory.

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Although not strictly spooks the following individuals did work on the edges of the murky nether-world of spookdom and played a small role in influencing British and world Cold War politics.

Tarzie Vittachi. Obit. *I*, 19.10.93. John Tusa managed to write at length about Vittachi's 'fearless journalism' and his 'journalist values' without once mentioning the CIA and the various fronts to which he belonged. Frank Barnett. Obit. *DT*, 23.8.93. Cold War warrior, head of the National Strategy Information Centre which he founded with William Casey in 1962. A Rhodes Scholar, Barnett supported pro-American elements in the European trade unions and social democratic parties. Long association with various CIA individuals and fronts. Another warrior, editor of *Survey*, Leopold Labedz. Obit. *DT*, 30.9.93.

The following were not spooks at all [as far as I know] but their lives were of interest in plotting the parapolitical world of Africa.

Tom Kellock, died 12.1.93, a barrister who was a fighter for justice in British colonial courts, later president of the Liberal International. Married to Jane Symonds, administrator of the Africa Bureau (and Ariel?) which, while there is no evidence that it was a direct MI6 front, was looked most kindly upon by that Service (see Anthony Verrier's book on Zimbabwe). Eschel Rhoodie. Obit. *DT*, 29.7.93. The brains behind South Africa's massive propaganda exercise in the seventies. He never did write that book revealing all, as promised.

David Williams, Obit. *G*, 17.9.93. Became the editor of the London-based newspaper *West Africa* when Cecil King acquired it in 1948. Remained in post until 1978. In 1975 the paper had been purchased out of Rhoodie's 'information fund' though Williams claimed that he was unaware of the South African connection.

Sir Michael Blundell, the 'grand old man' of Kenyan politics. Obits. *I* & *DT*, 3.2.93.



# Green Screen: Monitoring the Environmental Movement Peter Styles

Two unconnected events, the end of hostilities in Northern Ireland and a rise in grass roots activism and Non-Violent Direct Action (NVDA) by environmentalists, has meant that the role of British Security services may well change in the next couple of years. There is already a fledgling history of surveillance and infiltration in the green movement, although it has not come solely from Special Branch by any means. It seems as if there are several interested parties in blunting the growing influence of groups such as Earth First!, who openly advocate law breaking as a means to a more sustainable future. In this article I hope to catalogue some of these incidents and try to show that it is merely part of a very worrying trend towards the suppression of environmental dissent.

"Just because you're paranoid, it doesn't mean they're not out to get you."(1) So read the e-mail message I received several weeks ago. This is indeed true, especially in the context of what the radical environmental movement has been up to in the last three years. It remains an astonishing truth that a relatively small group of people has cost the government many millions of pounds due to its activities(2) and has been behind such political embarrassments for the government as the roof-top occupation of the Houses of Parliament (4th November 1994), and the 400 strong occupation of Michael Howard's front garden. (21st November 1994), as well as many arrests around the country to herald the passing of the Criminal Justice Act into the statute books. That month was by no means an unusual or especially active one. Barely a month goes by without the eviction of a major anti-roads camp or the starting up of green grassroots activism in parts of Britain where previously there was none. The message is spreading. Therefore, it is of no surprise that the "powers that be" are intent on attempting to dilute the effectiveness of the fledgling movement with a good old fashioned bit of Skulduggery. A lot of what is to follow is supposed "hearsay", but all of the accounts I believe to be genuine and accurate.

A defining moment in the modern history of "green monitoring" occurred at Twyford Down from 1992-94. Officials belonging to the Department of Transport hired detectives from a firm called Brays to compile information on protesters. It has been revealed that two women working for Brays were paid over £250,000 for their services.(3) According to the Labour MP John Denham, this hiring of private detectives by the government had never occurred before. There has also been major difficulties with Brays because they refuse to release any of the information that they hold on individuals. Public money was

being used to film, photograph, follow and intimidate protesters. This seems to have been a precedent that has continued against the anti roads movement. There is evidence of Brays also being used at the M11 and Solsbury Hill campaigns.(4) It has also been alleged that a sizeable and mysterious payment to the No M11 Link Campaign was made by Reliance Security guards. It does not seem possible that this actually happened, but truth is sometimes, as history has taught us, a teller of taller stories than fiction.

Another example is London Greenpeace, (unconnected with the "other" Greenpeace) which campaigns against the activities of McDonalds, has had a history of private detectives, hired by the multinational to attempt to disrupt the activists' activities. These people followed prominent group members home to find out where they lived, important campaign correspondence has been stolen from offices, and demonstrations at McDonald's branches have been photographed and video-taped by mysterious onlookers who would not reveal their identities. This detective work was instrumental in the decision to prosecute Helen Steele and Dave Morris for libel. The subsequent "McLibel" trial has now been in session for nearly a year, and some of the detectives used are due to give evidence at the trial in late 1995.(5)

The Lloyds & Midland Boycott (LAMB) campaign attempts to improve the ethical standards and lending policies of the aforementioned banks. One of the tactics of the Boycott is NVDA. During a bank office occupation in November 1994, a computer disk and an internal directory belonging to the bank allegedly went missing. No more was heard on the matter until February 1995 when two plain clothes police officers went to the LAMB offices in Manchester demanding to see membership lists and to have entry to the office. (6) Entry to the office was denied, despite the aggressive nature of the demands. LAMB threatened Greater Manchester Police Authority with legal action and the police demands mysteriously went ceased. However, LAMB activists have evidence (7) that a person who calls himself "Ken Mutton" is an infiltrator. He comes to the campaign office every week, on the pretence that his work takes him from his home in Birmingham to Manchester. He usually sits around the office reading campaign information for a couple of hours and then leaves.

NVDA activists fall very much within the remit of surveillance under the Maxwell Five directive. This is even though NVDA is carried out without any threat of personal injury to anyone. It is the economic damage and awareness raising and empowerment

qualities of NVDA that makes it such a big potential target. Special Branch made lots of mistakes and committed many abuses of rights whilst monitoring the anti-nuclear movement in the 1970's and 1980's. A lot of the systemic problems that caused this have not been properly addressed. The same mistakes will be made again this time, although the stakes are higher now. There are many other instances of phone tapping and other forms of surveillance of my colleagues that have occurred, which the confines of this article do not give license for. Let us hope they are well collated in future, so that the trend can be fully identified, addressed and dealt with.

Aside from the numbers of arrests under the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act, there has been an increase in the number of people who have been given very harsh bail conditions. It is becoming commonplace for a campaign to have activists who are held on remand for breaking or not accepting these conditions whereas six months ago it was very rare indeed. An No M11 sympathiser, Jim Chambers, has now been held on remand for much of 1995, and is still awaiting a trial date for alleged criminal damage. The power of the government to destroy the lives of individuals is perhaps, even more frightening than its ability to control the activities of a whole movement.

My own personal bail conditions (acquired due to three Aggravated Trespass charges (8)) are that I am not to go on any construction site in the country, or to go within 1 mile of any open cast mine. If these conditions continue in this fashion, there will be very little land in Britain I can indeed traverse on!! These draconian measures are only bound to lead to trouble in the long term. If the same sentence is to be given for trespass as criminal damage, then what is the incentive for a person to do the former rather than the latter. This will lead to an escalation of the stakes as far as violence against property is concerned and therefore a further increase in monitoring. Is it me, or is it perhaps true that the Criminal Justice Bill was a neat ruse to increase the employment of Special Branch!!

Notes:

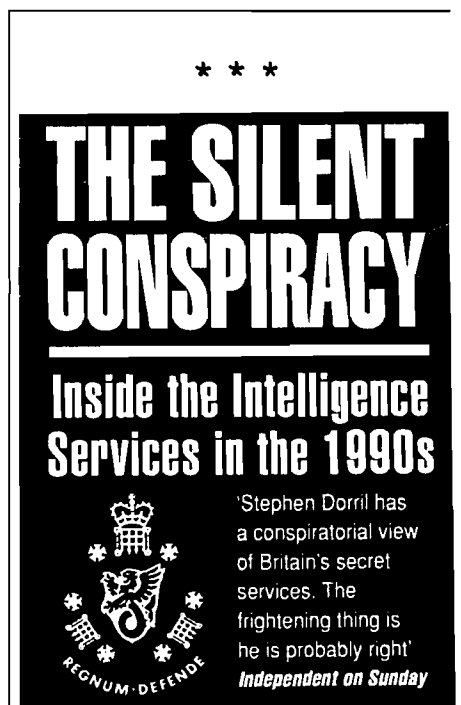
- 1 Extract from an e-mail message on gsn@ed.ac.uk. newsgroup concerning the issue of monitoring.
- 2 In December 1994, the DoT released figures showing that security on anti-roads protests is costing £500,000 a month.
- 3 Road Alert Briefing paper on Brays Detective Agency.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Interview with McLibel Support volunteer (May 1995)
- 6 In recent weeks there have also been more high profile police raids on the offices

of Greenpeace, (17 May 1995, following a direct action on the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment at Aldermaston), and on the offices of Green Anarchist Magazine in Oxford, a publication which openly condones the use of NVDA.

7 "Ken Mutton" was at a Green Revolution gathering in Bristol in 1992/3. It was a very small event and all of the participants knew each other. The police had earlier been down to the site to harass the party, and the inspector was holding a photocopied itinerary of events that was stapled in the top left hand corner. When "Ken" arrived he was holding exactly the same document stapled in exactly the same way. Coincidence? Surely not.

8 Section 68, Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994. The maximum sentence for this offence is three months imprisonment and a £2500 fine.

*Peter Styles is an activist for Manchester Earth First! and the Lloyds and Midland Boycott. Phone tappers should key in 0161 274 4665 to their voice decoders to get hold of him. E-mail: MFEJJP@mh1.mcc.ac.uk.*



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# MI5: The Children's Service

*The following is a statement made by an unnamed senior MI5 officer for the trial of GEC employee Michael Smith who was eventually imprisoned for twenty-five years for offences under the Official Secrets Act. As it is rare to read such statements I thought that it would be worth publishing. Also, it is so simplistic that one has to question the level of intelligence which operates inside the Security Service. Smith's defence was to make much of the similarities between the MI5 evidence, which they regarded as being top secret, and The Know-How Book of Spycraft (Usborne) for ten years olds available from WH Smiths. No wonder senior MI5 officers have attempted to censor the report by the Security Commission into the affair, which was deeply embarrassing to the Service. MI5 had known for a number of years that Smith was a member of the Communist Party but allowed him to carry on working in top security positions.*

*James Rusbridger, who was an adviser to the Smith defence team, speculated that the anonymous MI5 officer may have been Mollie Sugden. In the mid-seventies, Sugden worked in the Registry and was part of the anti-Wilson coterie. She apparently had possession of the alleged KGB photograph of Wilson in Moscow (information from David Leigh). She was still in the Service in the late eighties.*

I have been employed by the Security Service for 23 years. I have made a study of the techniques used operationally, by the Intelligence Services of the former Soviet Union and of Russia whose intelligence services have inherited most of the Soviet intelligence services resources and assets, following the break-up of the Soviet Union in 1991.

This study includes information gained from the debriefing of defectors from the Soviet and Russian intelligence services and from the Security Service's observations of Soviet and Russian intelligence officers in the UK. I am thoroughly familiar with these techniques.

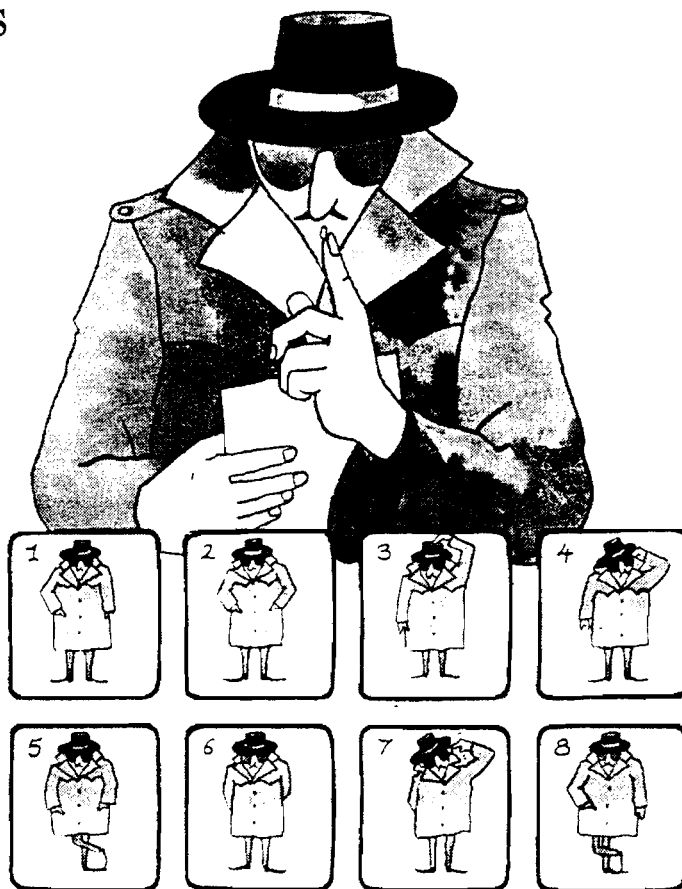
The objective of these intelligence services is to gather intelligence with the aim of gaining political, economic and military advantage for their apparent state. Included in this aim is the intention to cause short or long term damage not only to the Western State in which their intelligence is gathered but also to other Western States. There are a number of methods used by Soviet/Russian Intelligence Services to facilitate such intelligence gathering activities; one is to seek to suborn and recruit citizens of a Western state who have access to classified information and persuade them to hand it over usually in return for money. It is in the interest of the intelligence officer and his agent that such activities do not come to the notice of the authorities in the Western State. To this end, Soviet/Russian intelligence services have developed over the years particular 'tradecraft' practices designed to ensure the security of their operations, their officers and their agents. Meetings and other forms of communication between the officer and his agent are considered to be particularly vulnerable to the attentions of the security services in the host nation and there are many well established tradecraft practices designed to minimise this risk. Examples of these practices are:

## Silent Signals

If you and your contact can see each other but cannot speak or get close enough to pass a message, signal with the Silent Alphabet shown on the page on the right. Or blink the Morse Code (see page 30) as shown below. In a crowded room or busy street you and your contact can send quick messages or warnings with Silent Hand and Leg Signals.

### Silent Hand and Leg Signals

- 1 One hand in pocket - yes.
- 2 Two hands in pockets - no.
- 3 Scratching head - can you meet me at the hiding place?
- 4 Scratching back of neck - be careful. You are being watched.
- 5 Crossing legs - leave your message at the 'drop'.
- 6 Both hands behind back - I cannot pass the message now.
- 7 Scratching ear - I will telephone you later.
- 8 Standing on one leg - I'm going home now.



- (a) Instructing an agent to follow a particular route to a meeting. A number of defectors have told us that this is normal practice designed to enable the officer to observe the agent and ensure he is not under surveillance. Douglas Britten, convicted under the OSA in 1968 was instructed to travel to meetings with his Soviet controller following a pre-arranged route.
- (b) The use of marks made with chalk, drawing pins, sticking plaster etc. on walls, posts or similar or placing at a specific place a particular object, often an item of rubbish e.g. empty cigarette packet, orange peel etc. to convey messages. Both marks and objects are placed so as to be readily visible to the passer-by without stopping. Different marks and objects indicate different messages to the agent and his controller and reduce the need for personal meetings or other communication which carry inherent risks. Dieter GEHARDT the South African naval officer convicted of espionage in 1983 and Geoffrey PRIME, the GCHQ officer convicted of espionage in 1982 both received messages from their Soviet controllers by means of chalk marks on telegraph poles and trees. An empty coca-cola can left in a specific place was also used by PRIME to convey messages.
- (c) Selecting meeting places in open areas away from city centres, which are well used by the public and where a meeting would not attract undue attention but surveillance would be difficult and easily detected. I know from a number of defectors and from my service's observations of Soviet/Russian intelligence officers that parks, quiet suburban areas, particularly suburban tube or railway stations within the 25 mile limit are favoured.
- (d) Arranging in advance regular timers, meeting places and arrangements if contact is lost or broken. As with marks and signals this is a well established method by which intelligence officers reduce the need for personal contact with their agents and so lessen the risk of discovery. Hugh Hambleton convicted of espionage in 1982 and Harry Houghton convicted of espionage in 1961 and Britten all had regular pre-arranged meeting times, places and 'fall-back' arrangements if contact was broken and lost.

I have familiarised [sic] myself with the Michael Smith case and in particular have examined exhibits JS41-44 inclusive and read the relevant parts of his interviews. I am able to state that the notes contained in those exhibits are typical examples of the tradecraft referred to above, designed to ensure the security of clandestine meetings with an agent. I formed that opinion on the basis of the following: JS41 describes, marks to indicate 'danger' a vertical lines and 'come next day' - a horizontal line. It notes what appears to be a meeting at Horsenden Hill on 25 September with arrangements for further meetings if that meeting is not kept or contact is broken. I have visited Horsenden Hill, a popular open wooded area with a large car park some 3 miles from Smith's workplace at GEC, East Lane Wembley. It is typical of sites selected by intelligence officers for intelligence meetings. The other notes on JS41 have no intelligence significance. JS 42 contains a note which appears to relate to a meeting at 'Roxeth REC' on a date in April. I have visited Roxeth Recreation ground which is situated in a quiet suburban housing estate close to South Harrow railway station. This is shown in exhibit PA4. It is an open park area with restricted access and typical of sites selected by intelligence officers for clandestine meetings, this exhibit also notes arrangements for meetings at Perivale or Sudbury town tube stations if the contact is lost. The other notes on JS 42 have no intelligence significance.

JS43 contains notes which appear to relate to regular contacts, possibly with a previous unknown person - 'REC & GUARDIAN' probably refers to using the *Guardian* Newspaper as a recognition signal - carrying a particular newspaper is a common recognition signal. It also notes what could be signals for changed meeting arrangements, 'green for next day' and 'red for next Sat pm'. The other notes have no intelligence significance JS 44 contains what appears to be arrangements for a clandestine meeting or meetings; details of signals - a vertical line for 'danger' and a horizontal line for 'come next day to agreed place' - a symbol, possibly a fire hydrant or notice board, for the location of the signal; details of another signal and location - 'Abbotsbury Rd/Melbury coke can at bollard'. I have visited this location and it is shown in Exhibit PA3; details of a particular route dated 6 August, I have visited Harrow and can say that the route described in JS 44 'from bottom of hill walk up and (round Church Hill) into Church' corresponds to the route up Peterborough Road from the junction with Kenton Road turning right into Church Hill which leads into St Mary's Church, this route is shown in Exhibit PA 1; details of meetings at Horsenden Hill; a list 'get old project notes, biosensors, micromaching, micron-valve give details about cut-backs, HATS' which appears to be a list of requirements on which information is required. The other notes in JS 44 have no intelligence significance.

# spies at work

## THE RISE & FALL OF THE ECONOMIC LEAGUE

by Mike Hughes

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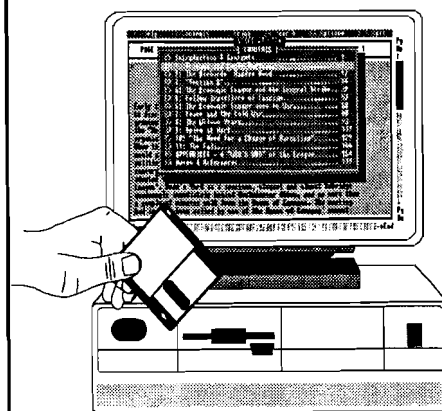
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# A Conspiracy So Immense ... Murrell, Sgt Speed and 'Gladio'

The uncovering of this bizarre story began in the late eighties when a solicitor contacted *Searchlight's* Gerry Gable. He said that his client, who was charged with involvement in a series of armed robberies but claimed that he had been 'fitted-up', was making odd and serious claims, principally that he had been connected to neo-fascist figures and groups. The solicitor, who appears to have been out of his depth, thought Gable could make some headway with the allegations. Gable cannot now remember the details but he asked the solicitor for more information as he felt the claims contained little that was not already known. Failing to come back with what he would regard as original material, Gable decided that the case was not worth pursuing. In fact, he thought the whole story nonsense and continues to do so. (Telephone conversation with Gable, 22.12.94.)

Not long after, when the word 'Gladio' first began to appear in the media, the person at the centre of this case, then serving a long prison for armed robbery, sent a letter to Granada's *World in Action* programme where it was taken up by Paul Lashmar, Andy Bell and Ian McBride. They carried out a short investigation into claims that the prisoner had knowledge of involvement in a Gladio-style outfit in the late seventies/early eighties, which had links into neo-fascist groups in the North of England.

I remember receiving a telephone call from Lashmar, who wanted to know if *Lobster* had any subscribers in prison. He said that there was a marked similarity between what the prisoner was saying and articles which had appeared in *Lobster* about links between 'the private armies' of the early to mid-seventies and the intelligence services. He was concerned lest this person was making up the story based on material in *Lobster*.

I passed the request on to Robin Ramsay who dealt with subscribers. For some time, I had no further contact with the story as Ramsay would become all mysterious when it was mentioned, claiming that it was too sensitive to discuss. I was later to learn that Bell (as far as I am aware, completely separate from the Gable approach) and Ian McBride of WiA conducted a few inquiries into this 'sensitive' story. Bell interviewed the person in prison and received a long letter detailing the claims. With his background knowledge from working closely with *Searchlight*, Bell dismissed them. He told me that the specific information provided did not tally with his own knowledge of fascist groups and figures and they decided that it was all a fantasy. (Telephone conversations with Bell and McBride, December 1994.)

Someone who did not was a north-east

academic, Peter Smith, who teaches International politics at the University of Teesside. He had been in receipt of the letter from prison and who has been pursuing the case for the past five years with the help of two northern Labour MPs - Chris Mullen and Frank Cook. A *Lobster* subscriber, I was aware of his interest through Robin, he remained tight-lipped about his own investigation. I spoke to Peter Smith on a few occasions about Gladio - as he said, I probably knew as much as anyone about the British end - but he said little, though he did let slip one or two snippets which later proved to be crucial in understanding what was going on. Although intrigued, I did no research on the matter.

The next move came in 1991 from a totally different direction and was to remain unknown for another two years. The daughter of an old friend of the murdered rose-grower and anti-nuclear campaigner Hilda Murrell, Trina Guthrie (Pascal), was a part time unofficial prison visitor, and a publications manager for the Royal Society for Nature Conservation based in Lincoln. She was also a supporter of Amnesty International. In November, Hilda's 'niece' spoke to an ex-prisoner, who shared her interest in the Nagas, a tribe living in the Himalayas close to the Indian border who had an ongoing dispute with the Indian government over their right to self-determination. He told her that he knew of a current serving prisoner who had 'considerable knowledge of the Hilda Murrell affair'. She obtained his identity and made arrangements to visit him. (Murray, p. 201)

She was 'astounded when he revealed that he had shared a prison wing with another long term prisoner who had stated that he had been in charge of a small group responsible for surveillance of Hilda'. After contacting a private detective, Gary Murray, who was particularly interested in the Murrell murder, Trina then began visiting 'George' in prison to gather as much information as possible, which she did over a number of weeks throughout 1991. It emerged that having been moved to a prison close to York, her informant had shared a wing with a long term prisoner serving 15 years for armed robbery. They became close friends, as a result of which information came into the possession of her informant. (Murray, p. 201.)

There is a slight confusion in Gary Murray's account of Trina Guthrie's discovery in that he refers to her source where, in fact, it is her informant's source who is unknowingly supplying the information to Trina. That source appears to have been the same man who had previously contacted WiA and Peter Smith.

On 10 June 1992, on the advice of Gary

Murray, Trina Guthrie signed a sixteen page affidavit at the office of Lincoln solicitor. It then appeared in an edited form (Peter Smith is wrong to say 'in full' - *Ramsay Lobster*, 28) in Murray's 1993 *Enemies of the State* (Simon and Schuster), which made various allegations concerning the murder of Hilda Murrell.

'The armed robber, whose identity and location have also been made known to Gary Murray, stated that he had been in charge of what he described to me as a "cell", a group of four men and one woman who had been engaged in regular freelance work for some kind of secret intelligence department. One of their assignments had been to search Hilda Murrell's house for papers or information relating to signals intelligence, specific mention was made of the Belgrano and the Falklands. The most frightening aspect of the informant's story is that the leader of the group was said to be reporting to the Cabinet Office via an MI5 Liaison Officer and that the team, in addition to their government work, were also engaged in all manner of illegal activity, including armed robbery for which they were arrested some time after Hilda's death.'

There followed a description of the killing of Murrell which occurred after a member of the team of three males and one female panicked 'became very unstable and subjected Hilda to violence and threatened her with a knife, accompanied by obscene acts involving masturbation'. Hilda was subsequently moved from her house to some kind of military base known as 'little America', the location of which Murray later managed to track down on the outskirts of Shrewsbury. (Murray, p. 202.)

According to Ms Guthrie's informant, 'the other criminal activities of the team resulted in one of them dying of gunshot wounds during a police chase. A second male member of the team was, and still is, incarcerated in a secure psychiatric hospital. The team leader is currently serving 15 years for armed robbery and is insisting he was "fitted up". The female operative received a two-year sentence on other criminal charges and has now been released. Nothing is known about the whereabouts of the remaining member of the group, who has described as a Nazi enthusiast in the habit of adopting names of German military colleagues of the late Adolf Hitler.' (Murray, pp. 202-3.)

Ms Guthrie gleaned further pieces of information which suggested that her informant's source was producing evidence that could only have been known to someone inside Murrell's house at the time of her abduction. One piece of evidence was the allegation that a member of the team had removed two antique statues of dogs from Hilda's house at the time of the burglary. Although not generally known,

this was apparently true and one of the alleged abductors turned out to be a part-time antiques dealer. (Murray, pp. 203 & 205.)

After weeks of debriefing Trina's informant provided further biographical details of the team.

Team member 1 - Currently in prison serving fifteen years for armed robbery. Said to have done a deal in exchange for his silence. Has been transferred to a prison convenient to his family, and at the time of writing (1993) refuses to talk, or even to respond to Murray's letters requesting an interview (this was unusual as prisoners very rarely refuse a visit but, unknown to Murray, this was the prisoner who contacted WiA and was in regular contact with Peter Smith).

Team member 2 - Now serving sixteen years for armed robbery. Has been committed to a secure psychiatric hospital where he has been receiving treatment for severe depression after an incident that occurred while in the same prison as team member 1.

Team member 3 - A violent professional criminal, who is said to have terrified all those who came into contact with him. Now deceased after being accidentally shot by his own gun during a police chase.

Team member 4 - 'Helga' received a two-year sentence, and after release vanished without trace.

Team member 5 - A former policeman, operating under the interesting code name 'Demeter' (the Greek goddess of agricultural fertility). Is alleged to have been the direct link with the MI5 liaison officer attached to the Cabinet Office at the time of Hilda's murder.

Casual associate A 'low-life' known to use German nicknames, his favourite being Spengler.

The overall code-name said to have been adapted by this five hand team was 'Ceres' (the Roman goddess of agriculture). This was said to be the northern extension of a network with the private security agency, Zeus, being the London extension of it. (Murray, pp. 105-6.)

Murray did manage to see 'team member 2' in a secure psychiatric hospital who, while 'apprehensive and frightened' did remember clearly the events leading to his conviction for armed robbery. He insisted that some events had been distorted or exaggerated by the prosecution and 'he claimed that he was persuaded to admit to offences which he and his associates had not committed. When questioned about the accidental shooting of 'team member 3' by his own gun, he replied: 'That's not true,

the police shot him to keep him quiet' The prisoner, however, refused to say anything about Hilda Murrell and her murder. (Murray, p. 207.)

With the release of Murray's book, West Mercia Police announced that they would be re-opening the investigation into the Murrell murder in the light of the new information. After taking legal advice, Murray and Ms Guthrie wrote to Chief Inspector Herbert on 25 September 1993. Finally, receiving an acknowledgement on 1 November, Murray named to the police all those allegedly involved in the break-in, the Ceres liaison officer and Guthrie's initial informant. (Cook, p. 144.)

Murray's book was subsequently reviewed by Peter Smith in Robin Ramsay's version of *Lobster* (no. 26) in December 1993. 'It turns out that the new material on Murrell is based on a prison whisper. Murray is convinced that "the person in charge of the attack was a former MI5 agent who has left the service to run a private detective agency (accusations made in the *Staines and Egham News*, 12 August 1993), and works five minutes from Marble Arch (*Outlook*, July/August, 1993)". Again, why not put this interesting assertion in the book?'

Smith went on, 'As to the Murrell murder "team", I smell a rat. The names and backgrounds are easy enough to research and Chief Inspector Herbert will have tracked them down by now. I strongly suspect that this prison whisper is meant to muddy the waters and confuse the investigations of two quite separate but still unsolved events.' Smith did not elaborate what was the second 'unsolved event'.

In February 1994, West Mercia police announced after an eight month inquiry that 'there was nothing particularly sinister about this tragic crime'. The police stood by their original inquiry and dismissed Gary Murray's evidence and concluded that the prisoner responsible for the original claim (they do not specify which team member this was) 'had confessed that he had concocted the whole thing from a story in the Independent magazine in November 1989, in the hope that it might help him appeal against his conviction for armed robbery'. If the team Murray named had been involved in the killing then it would have been a relatively simple matter to resolve since the police were in possession of 'unmatched fingerprints from the car and from inside her house, casts of footprint, hair, semen, an artists impression of the suspect'. The only draw back being that Murray did not know the true identity of 'Spengler', though, as Smith suggests, it would not have given much trouble for the police to find him. (*Guardian*, 26.2.94 21.3.94.)

By the time Murray's book came out, I was collecting material on Gladio for a book on MI6. What Murray did not know, which I did, were the further claims by the prisoner in York of involvement with a Gladio network. At least some of the people at the centre of the alleged conspiracy which Murray disclosed were the same as those the armed robber in prison named as being involved in a Gladio-style network. The Murrell affair rumbled on and was expanded upon in 1994 by Judith Cook in her second book on the Murrell murder, *Unlawful Killing* (Bloomsbury), and an interesting précis of the book in the *Guardian* (17.9.94), 'True Lies'.

It was somewhat disappointing. Given a chance to write what will probably be the last book on the subject this should have been an in-depth look at the case covering all angles. This, Cook does not do and while the section which points toward the motive being the protection of signals intelligence is both plausible and persuasive, the rest is mighty thin, lacking the necessary detail and thought to push the case forward. It is something of a missed opportunity.

In her defence it has to be said that some of the faults do not lie with Cook. There were, I understand, immense legal problems and the book was badly edited as a result, which accounts for the mish-mash of some of the material. It was also badly promoted and appears to have vanished without trace. (Telephone conversation with Judith Cook, May 1995.)

Cook does, however, add more material to Murray's account based on further information from Trina Guthrie and her informant. Essentially, the 'core story' being that 'in early 1984 there was increasing anxiety in Downing Street over the Belgrano leaks, culminating on 19 March in what can only be described as a panic. At about that time, or even a little before, the connection between the elderly Sizewell protester, Hilda Murrell, and her nephew, Commander Robert Green, had been noted and the simplistic assumption made that he might possibly have passed raw signals data on to her ... It was decided to search her house. A high-powered operation did not appear to be required and it seems that MI5 was bypassed and the work put out to a major agency often used for official business. It was not expected that there would be any real problems. It was known, presumably through phone taps, that Hilda would be out all day on 21 March, which should have given ample time for a thorough search of her house.' (Cook, p. 139.)

'The agency in question delegated the job to its northern offshoot, which operated under the name Ceres. The liaison officer between the main agency and Ceres was an ex-MI5 operative also given the name of a Greek god: Demeter.' Ceres employed a 'number of doubtful operatives' including

the professional criminal, Team Member no. 3. It was suggested that 'his amazing run of luck in not getting caught over the years had not a little to do with the assistance he gave to well placed security firms and his involvement with Ceres.' He was apparently useful to them as an expert breaker-and-enterer who could handle a range of weapons. 'Subsequent investigation points to there possibly also having been an electronics expert' with the team sent to Shrewsbury. The leader of the group of five was said to be reporting to the Cabinet Office via Demeter. (Cook, pp. 139-140.)

There are already signs that the story is getting elaborated beyond the original information and there is some confusion surrounding the role of Demeter. However, it does not take much effort to realise that the 'agency' referred to is Zeus Security and that the 'ex-MI5 operative' or 'Demeter' refers to Jeremy Wetherell, though 'Nick the Greek' Vafiadis, a private security specialist who did tapping for Robert Maxwell, has also been mentioned. I have inserted their names because I genuinely believe that these are post hoc inventions. Gary Murray has certainly had a thing about them and he may be right to be worried about their activities but, as far as I can see, there was not a shred of evidence to suggest that they were involved indirectly or directly in the Murrell murder. As will be shown, Demeter refers to someone else and Zeus was never ever mentioned by the original source.

According to the Cook account, 'only four of the five entered the house with Team member no. 3 and the woman knowing exactly what they were looking for. The fifth person, allegedly in overall charge of the operation, was in the area but did not take part in the break-in.' At an early stage no. 3 discovered the existence of Hilda's Shack at Llanymynech and with the woman decided to leave to search it. The other two were surprised by Hilda's return and she was then tied up. 'Spengler' punched a grapefruit with a knife to show Hilda what he would do with her. He then inflicted some minor wounds on her hand and then half suffocated her with a wet towel. Spengler had been apparently aroused to a state of sexual excitement by the violence and he first tried to force her to have oral sex and having failed, masturbated over her bed where she was lying. (Cook, pp. 140-1.)

After being taken to 'little America', Murrell was dumped on the following evening in the copse where she was found. 'By which time the official intelligence organisations had been contacted to help clear up the whole mess.' (Cook, p. 142.)

There were four interesting aspects to this scenario. Wet towels were indeed discovered in the house after her abduction. A grapefruit was also found in the abandoned car which took Hilda to her last resting place. These were 'facts' only known

to a small circle. Thirdly, the semen found apparently came from someone who had had a vasectomy. Finally, according to 'team member 1', the end source for both Cook and Smith, 'Team member 3' apparently did visit Hilda's Shack in Wales, though when is not clear.

In her book, Cook also made some progress on identifying the various team members and, in particular, the one who had died following a police chase.

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The murder of Sergeant John Speed took place at 8.50 in the morning on 31 October 1984. Two men had been seen acting suspiciously near a car park next to the Parish Church in Kirkgate, Leeds. PC John Thorpe questioned one of the men, who pulled out a gun and shot Thorpe but did not kill him. Tackled by a second policeman, Sgt. Speed, the gunman again used his gun, killing Speed in what a third policeman, PC John Raj, described as an SAS-style 'cold-blooded execution'. Certainly, the gunman appeared to act in a cold, calculating way, taking his time to kill Speed. Running away from the scene, the gunman fired a third shot at Raj which missed. (The following account of the Speed murder is based on BBC1, *Crimewatch* File, The Murder of Police Sergeant Speed, 12.10.88, and the extensive accounts in the *Yorkshire Post* for the relevant period, complemented with reports in the *Guardian* and *The Times*.)

The gunman then ran into a garage forecourt where he hijacked at gunpoint a van and made his escape. Police later believed that the gunman had made his way to a nearby Post Office where he was still, we are led to believe by the police, contemplating carrying out an armed robbery despite the manhunt which was taking place.

With few leads, except a poor description from the seriously injured Thorpe and ballistic evidence from a Remington .38 bullet which had been fired from a crude, roughly bored-out barrel of an old fashioned Army-style revolver, the police investigation made little progress. The massive inquiry eventually involved over 250 officers over a period of two-and-a-half years. There were over 10,000 suspects with over 18,000 'actions'; an indication that the police had no real lines of inquiry.

There was an investigation of two armed robberies of Asda stores in Leeds in May 1981 and September 1982 which involved similar types of bullets with the same marked characteristics. A impetus, though a false one and one costly in time, was given to the investigation when an anonymous informant told police to take a look at an Irishman named Anthony Kelly, who was linked to a series of armed robberies.



Kelly, who was now in Dublin, was put under a four month surveillance operation which involved PC Thorpe travelling to Ireland to try to identify him. Kelly had been in North Yorkshire in the relevant period, visiting a man called Gerald Stone who, it was discovered, had been importing, over a period of fifteen years, Irish criminals to carry out a series of contract crimes in England. Circumstantial evidence linked Stone, and Kelly, to the Asda store robberies and legal proceedings for extradition of Kelly was launched. This proved to be unsuccessful as Kelly was arrested in April 1986 for the kidnapping of the Guinness heiress. Kelly received a fourteen year jail sentence while Stone was sentenced in England to eight years for a series of unrelated jewellery robberies.

For two years Kelly was to remain the prime suspect though another line then being followed in the North East was to lead to the real killer of Sgt. Speed.

Ten months after the killing, Leeds police had a lead following the robbery of an Asda store in Stockton during which a policeman tackled a man who carried a handgun and who made his escape on a souped-up motorcycle. Twelve days later, a robbery at a Post Office in the area appeared to involve exactly the same modus operandi. The police later discovered the abandoned motorcycle and followed the ownership trail to Redcar. They could not however, discover the identity of the most recent owner. On the basis that the owner had made modifications to the bike, the police dubbed this new suspect 'the Mechanic'.

There then followed over the next 18 months a series of robberies, eleven raids of Post Office's and supermarkets which were believed to be linked to the same suspect or suspects (in one raid, which involved two robbers, a policeman was shot at). Over a period of six months, Teesside police mounted a massive surveillance operation, 'Vanguard', of likely targets. It proved to be unsuccessful and police changed tactics by using police personnel as a visible security presence when money was being transferred, with armed units in waiting in reserve in supermarket car parks. These new tactics proved to be a success when, on 12 February 1987, a PC Richardson made a suspect check of a suspicious looking vehicle. Alert to the police presence the robber made an escape and a police chase ensued.

The occupant was cornered at a playing field where he fled with a gun and shotgun. Commandeering a police car, the robber again escaped temporarily but was chased by a police van which was given permission to ram the car. The car eventually crashed into a wall. What happened next is open to dispute but it appears that a gunshot was

heard coming from the car. The occupant crawled out of the car and was immediately grounded by police. He was then taken to the police station where he became seriously ill. When his clothes were loosened, it was discovered that he had a gunshot wound. PC Richardson tried to revive the man but he died in custody.

The dead man turned out to be thirty-eight year old David Gricewith - 'team member 3', a garage owner of Tholthorpe, near York, whom police would allege had been involved since 1976 in twenty-one armed robberies and related incidents.

The police then mounted an intensive investigation of Gricewith and his associates to prove his responsibility for the killing of Sgt. Speed. They soon discovered that Gricewith, who had three previous convictions, had been interviewed by police as part of the Speed investigation, five weeks after the killing, but had been crossed off the suspects list when his girlfriend gave what appeared to be a cast-iron alibi. Gricewith told one of associates that one of the police had said to his partner: 'He doesn't sound like a cop killer to me, does he to you?'.

A divorced, 'fun-loving man', Gricewith 'was well-known, even envied in the North Yorkshire village of Tholthorpe where women found his charismatic personality. He boasted to underworld associates and the women in his life about his execution of Sgt. Speed but no one had the courage to tell the police. (*Guardian*, 27.2.87. TMS, 27.1.88.)

What was later to assume a greater importance (see below) was the discovery by the police of Gricewith's arsenal of fifty revolvers and weapons, including a machine gun and over 4/6,000 rounds of ammunition. Shotguns found buried or hidden in rivers were linked to crimes going back 12 years. Recovered from nine different hideaways in Cleveland, North Yorkshire and Lancashire, portions of the arsenal, which included 'military issue' arms, may have been stolen from his Territorial Army unit. Members of the Army's Special Investigation Branch were called in and serving soldiers were to be interviewed. (YP, 7,8 & 21.2.87. TDY, 24 & 27.2.87.)

The haul included:

6 automatic pistols and two replicas/9 revolvers/1 pen gun/1 single barrel shotgun/12 double barrel shotguns/2 air pistols/2 air rifles/2 silencers/9 double barrels/1 single barrel/16 shotgun stocks.

Another York man, Frederick Willis, aged 48, was charged, and later released, for selling Gricewith a revolver. Police were looking for a turn of the century 8mm French revolver which had been rebored to

take a .38 bullet, which was believed to have been the weapon used to kill Speed. Terence Gibb-Kirk, aged 48, from York, was charged with selling the gun to Willis. Gibb-Kirk later received a suspended sentence. (TMS, 28.2.87. YP, 14.5.88. *Guardian*, 27.3.287.)

Rounding up Gricewith accomplices, the police arrested Michael Tyreman, 'team member 2', on Valentines Day 1987, who was found to have in his possession a number of bullets of the same type as used in the murder of Speed and the raids on the Asda stores. Aged 50, from Sessay, North Yorkshire, Tyreman was described as a 'general dealer', who was said to be 'one of Gricewith's four-strong gang'. He was said to have lived in far of Gricewith who he had first met at a North Yorks gun club. Tyreman legally held eleven guns on a firearms certificate which were 'stashed in an isolated North Yorks farmhouse'. Yorkshire Police said that Tyreman 'was a member of more than one gun club and held a variety of weapons of various calibres for use on approved ranges for practice and competition and to control vermin on land where he had authority to shoot'. He was reported as becoming a born-again christian after his last raid. (TMS, 3.3.87. 27.10.87. YP. 28.10.87.)

On 17 February, a lorry driver of York, Paul Guest, had gone to the police on his own initiative in what became clear as a pre-emptive move to try and distance himself from Gricewith. Guest told the police 'a pack of lies'.

A day later, an 'associate' of Gricewith, Peter Sanderson 'team member 1', was arrested. He was said to embarking on a series of robberies with Gricewith and told the police that Gricewith had 'boasted' of Speed's murder.

Sanderson, aged 41, a builder of Fulford, York, was alleged to have been involved with Gricewith in 'a crime spree in the North from 1976 until 1987'. He denied all 13 charges which included four relating to a £223,000 robbery at the Kirkstall Post Office, in Leeds, in which he was alleged to have fired a sawn-off shotgun which wounded the Post Office employee. Apparently, Sanderson had been interviewed by the police about two of the crimes years previously and had been arrested on suspicion of another robbery. One charge, on which he was found not guilty, was possession of a revolver 'with intent to endanger the life of Gricewith'. (TMS, 22.4.88. YP. 27.4.88.)

Sanderson later told the Court that he 'only co-operated with the police because of threats and inducements' and that he was 'punched in the kidneys by one officer near the River Ouse at York where a search was being made for a revolver'. (YP, 28.4.88.)

On 23 February 1987, Gricewith's girlfriend, Adrienne Robinson - 'Helga', aged 36, of Northallerton, North Yorkshire, was arrested. After two days of avoiding police questions she admitted that Gricewith had told her that he had killed Speed. Ms Robinson said that Gricewith's accomplice in the murder was Paul Guest. She was charged with the attempted robbery of a Post Office near Middlesbrough. She received three years which was reduced on appeal to two.

She had been subjected to violence on a considerable scale by Gricewith whose ex-wife also said that he had used violence on her. His former wife said that she had heard Gricewith, Sanderson and Tyreman plan robberies. (YP, 21.7.88.)

On 25 February, Guest, aged 42, was arrested in York where he worked as a lorry driver. Guest broke down and admitted being with Gricewith but denied any involvement in the murder. When the shooting happened he later told the Court that he had been 'mortified, petrified and welded to the spot' when he saw Gricewith killing Speed. The Court was told that there appeared to be no explanation for Guest's involvement as he was 'a pillar of society, a man of totally unblemished character'. He was a member of a clay-pigeon shoot.

Nearly a year later, on 26 January 1988, the charge of murder was dropped against Guest but he was sentenced to seven years imprisonment for robbery. At the same time, Sanderson received fifteen years for armed robbery, while Tyreman was imprisoned for sixteen years for similar offences. In addition, charges and arrests involved 30 people who had carried out 51 armed raids, 224 crimes unconnected with Gricewith were investigated.

The 'casual associate' connected to Gricewith was also among those arrested. His identity is known to me; it does not require a great deal of effort to work out, however, for legal reasons, he remains anonymous.

It should also be stressed that the identity of the team members is based on the Murray/Cook books and was available for anyone to work out themselves. I have no reason or evidence to believe that they were involved in any crime connected to Murrell.

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Peter Smith did another review in Robin Ramsay's version of *Lobster* (no. 28) in December 1994 in which he attempts to attack the credibility of Guthrie's informant.

'Much of the new material in Murray and Cook hangs upon the reliability or otherwise of Guthrie's unnamed prison contact. But all we are told about "George" is that he is interested in the Nagas people of the Himalayas. Both writers should have

informed us of this key player's long record of drug offences, and his reputation as a "grass" after making deals with both Police and Customs. Nevertheless, "George" tells an interesting tale. While some members of this 'team' are highly unlikely choices for such a risky enterprise, it is just possible that one or two could have been involved, the most likely candidates being David Gricewith and one of his associates. As Gricewith is dead, having allegedly accidentally shot himself while being arrested as a suspected armed robber, and his associate [Tyreman] - "George's" source - is serving a lengthy sentence for armed robbery, and is presently [sic] committed to a secure unit of a special mental hospital, confirmation is a touch difficult.'

There are number of points which should be made about this passage and criticism. He criticises Murray for not naming names but then does exactly the same himself. Nor does Smith make clear his own involvement in investigating the story. More importantly, he confuses Guthrie's initial contact with her informant. He also misleads in suggesting that 'George's' source was solely the psychiatric patient, Tyreman.

Conversations with Trina Guthrie about her informant, reveal that he claimed that one day Tyreman arrived on the same prison wing as Sanderson. When he realised that Sanderson was on the same wing, Tyreman had something approaching a break down as he feared him. The informant was asked by Sanderson find out what Tyreman knew and he acted as a kind of spy, trying to get information out of him, based on questions and background which Sanderson provided. Thus the informant had two sources.

The informant was apparently unaware of the reason for Tyreman's fear of Sanderson. As I understand it, Sanderson and Tyreman both claimed to have been innocent of the charges against them and claimed that they were systematically beaten up and ill-treated whilst in police custody and were forced to sign confessions. Tyreman appears not to have recovered mentally from his experiences. In addition, Sanderson's involvement in various crimes was based on the testimony of Tyreman and his apparently false confessions. Tyreman thus had good reason to fear Sanderson. Tyreman later made an affidavit recanting his confession in relation to Sanderson.

Peter Smith had been quiet about his own investigation but he responded to the Murray/Cook books with reviews and was privately 'hostile' to their treading on his area of interest. But Smith revealed little in the reviews about what he had been researching. I knew in 1994, however, that a proposal on the British end of 'Gladio' had been put to Channel Four's 'Secret History' programme because the series producer had remarked to me, without revealing any detail though I guessed what

it was, that there were similarities with my own proposal on the plots against Harold Wilson. I believe that Smith's proposal (with Callum Macrae) failed.

My own interest in this story was revived in early 1995 when, out of the blue, at a talk on the tenth anniversary of the Miners' Strike, Arthur Scargill, asked what the audience knew about Demeter, Gladio and the setting up of miners for violent offences. Revealing a few more details to a bewildered audience, Scargill outlined in extremely vague terms what Peter Smith had been researching. Suddenly, a number of disparate pieces of information came together. Now that the tale was out in the open, after five years I felt that it was time to reveal what my own sources had been telling me.

Among the various claims being made via Trina Guthrie's informant and from Tyreman and Sanderson (I have another source on Sanderson), who, as I understand it claimed to have heard tapes of Gricewith talking about his activities, were the following:

- Demeter was not a person but the code-name of the northern section of a Gladio-style network known as 'Orion' which was involved in anti-subversion activities in the manner of the networks in Italy. Based around Territorial Army groups, there were supposed to be nine (?) sections named after female Greek goddesses while there were corresponding sections in Northern Ireland, named after male Greek gods.
- Gricewith was the main member from the team and his senior officer was a 'Capt. Holland', followed by a senior policeman. Gricewith had introduced Sanderson to the network.
- The arms found following Gricewith's death were part of the Gladio dumps and had been planted there by Orion. Gricewith was the security officer for the dumps.
- There were links to Column 88 via a relative of Gricewith's wife and to other fascist groups. The friend of the relative had played some role in the network.
- Sanderson was said to be a member of the local establishment. A Conservative counsellor, a Freemason, who had been in the TA. He was said to have links to Military Intelligence and had served in Aden (?) and Germany and had undertaken surveillance work.
- A name that came up during the police investigation into Gricewith was Barry Prudom, a fantasist who had dreams of joining in the SAS. He was gunned down - by SAS-trained RUC marksmen - in odd circumstances in Malton, North Yorkshire, in June 1982. There were a number of stories which suggested that Prudom had links to secret establishments. From my own inquiries it would seem that these were the

result of over zealous journalists who had run out things to write about and had more to do with rumour than hard fact.

- Another name which cropped up was Leeds arms-dealer, John Longstaff, who was found dead in mysterious circumstances his throat had been cut, in March 1984, on a plane returning from Germany. He had links to Loyalists in Northern Ireland and had been approached by the security services for co-operation. I actually recall suggesting Longstaff's name to Peter Smith in the context of Gladio following the discovery in 1991 of an arms dump belonging to Longstaff beneath a garage owned by Captain Adrian Thompson, a pilot then believed to be working in Libya.

- Someone involved in a was a senior level with the Gladio network 'Sir John Webster' of Naval Intelligence.

- There was apparently a plan to kill John Stalker, the former Deputy Chief Constable of Greater Manchester, during his controversial Northern Ireland enquiry. There was even a connection to the killing of PC Yvonne Fletcher outside the Libyan embassy though I have no idea what that was about.

- The main claim was that the Gladio team had been involved in the Miners Strike.

Trina Guthrie's informant had told her more than had appeared in the affidavit. In particular, she was told that during the national Miners Strike the Ceres (Demeter) team, which used members of the same cell, had been responsible for various 'dirty tricks'. Their brief as agent provocateurs was 'to create scenes of such violence that the Home Secretary would authorise the arming of police officers'. They were apparently involved in 'a number of notorious, violent incidents'. (Murray, p. 205. Cook, p. 140.)

Senior West Yorkshire policemen had been concerned about the violent turn of events during the strike. On 3 October 1984, Chief Superintendent Denis O'Toole, commander of the Millgarth Division, Leeds, and a veteran of three Miners' strikes told a conference of the Police Superintendent's Association annual meeting in Harrogate that the police were being forced to increase their response to picket-line violence, which could have far reaching consequences. 'I say some people who are master-minding the strike, think where we are forcing the police to go. You are forcing us to become a CRS [French riot police]. If that happens, I personally want no part of it.' O'Toole urged the association to send a warning message to the people of Britain and, in particular, to 'certain political leaders' about the increasing police response to picket line violence. 'It would be a sad day if we were forced into adopting a paramilitary role.' (YP, 4.10.84.)

According to the various sources, a plan had apparently been concocted between the Demeter MI5-linkman and Gricewith to provoke an incident - two weeks after O'Toole's speech - in the mining areas which would cause a violent backlash, resulting in the arming of the police. The original idea was that a woman police officer(s) would be attacked or even killed. Such an incident did take place but did not lead to an attack because the target was changed for a specific reason [known to me but so bizarre as defy belief and legal reason]. Instead, Sgt. Speed was chosen. Gricewith was said to have been provided by his Gladio contact with £10,000 and an automatic pistol, plus a radio/telephone.

Two miners, whose identities are known to me, who had played a key role in organising the flying pickets and who had come across Speed before, were deliberately chosen to be set up for the Speed murder. Gricewith was to be disguised to look like one of the miners and the gun used in the killing was to be planted in the home of another. The scenario never worked out in practice because panic set in when another policeman unexpectedly turned up on the scene.

Following the Speed killing, Tyreman alleged that Sanderson had the gun used in the killing in his safe. Later, Sanderson, who had a house there, and a Demeter linkman went to Spain to lie low. The Gladio bosses, h scenario goes, wanted to cut their ties to the group and on their return, the linkman used Tyreman to set up Sanderson and Gricewith. In the case of the latter, his final demise had been a trap, with the police deliberately tipped-off about his whereabouts on that fatal day.

These claims are so immense and bizarre that it is difficult to take them seriously. Are they true? I remain ambivalent about the whole thing. It seems to me that the Murrell allegations can easily be proved or disproved given the forensic evidence. If untrue, then can we take any of the other allegations seriously? The suspicion is strong that Sanderson, said to be an intelligent man, made up the Gladio allegations. I think it plausible that he constructed the whole thing from reading the newspapers, particularly the *Yorkshire Post*, but I know that others, such as Peter Smith, who has conducted a great deal of research on this very question, do not. I am very sceptical, partly because of my own research into Gladio; it just does not fit in with what is known either about the network here, or the examples abroad. It is to be admitted that Gladio networks did not, in fact, follow a standard pattern - the one in Holland was based on social democrats not extreme right-wingers - but this one if true appears to be so amateurish as not to be plausible. There is a faint possibility that the Gladio cover was, in fact, a cover for something else - Guthrie's informant said that corrupt policemen had supplied Gricewith the necessary details

for the robberies. Without some real detail, however - which brings us back to why World in Action dismissed it - there is simply not enough evidence there to support the assertions. However, there are some odd and intriguing quirks in all this. Maybe .....

CODA:

There was a very odd case in March 1994 when an alleged burglar, Michael Teskowski, claimed that while in prison he had provided confidential information that two men called Gricewith and Guest had killed Sgt. Speed with a gun which originally came from senior West Yorkshire officers. In Court, Teskowski handed a sealed envelope to the presiding Judge in his case revealing the hiding place of the weapon used to gun down Sgt. Speed. He further alleged Guest's trial was 'scrapped because of a cover-up by the West Yorkshire serious crime squad. A disinformant? Yes, but why bother with something so ludicrous. (YP, 4.3.94.)

In an interesting aside and co-incidence, in February 1986, Denis O'Toole, who happened to be the police liaison officer to MI5, was appointed Assistant Chief Constable for West Yorkshire. He soon ran into trouble.

On 30 November 1986, the widow of Sgt. Speed hit back at 'malicious gossips who had linked her with a senior policeman' ... 'she was amazed by the rumours'. Mrs Speed was speaking after a statement issued by West Yorkshire Police authority Chair, Councillor Keith Wilson, spoke of rumours which appeared to link Mrs Speed to a breach of discipline by an assistant chief constable ... Denis O'Toole ... who was to be disciplined by the chief constable, Mr Colin Sampson, over a "minor matter" concerning his use of a police car, which he had been authorised to use after his own car was damaged.' Two-and-a-half years later, the *Yorkshire Post* (9.1.89) announced that Judith Speed was to marry O'Toole, who had had 'the distressing task of breaking the news to her when he was Chief Constable at Millgarth ... In the weeks that followed, Mrs Speed faced a press interview during which the then Chief Supt. tenderly held the shaking hands.' They married on 1 May 1989.

Finally, this bizarre tale has one co-incidence which stuns. On 27 November 1984, following the Speed killing, the *Yorkshire Post*, carried an article about police widows with particular reference to Mrs Speed. It was written by Demeter Messenger! Did Peter Sanderson read it?

*Thanks are owed to various people who helped openly and anonymously on this little tale. In particular, Mike Hughes who has taken a keen interest in the Speed murder, noting that one or two things simply do not hang together. He would be interested in hearing from anyone who has any information in this area.*

# Look What's Eating The Greens

## Nick Toczek

Anna Bramwell is British. However, she now lives in Paris, where she's employed by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) as the co-ordinator of their Environment Action Programme for Central and Eastern Europe. Her latest book, *The Fading of the Greens: The Decline Environmental Politics in the West*, was published by Yale University Press in Autumn 1994 to considerable press coverage. There were, for example, generous book reviews in the *Telegraph* (2nd Oct 94) and the *Times* (7th Oct 94). She was also the subject of a flattering half-page feature in the *Guardian* (15th Oct 94).

The book roundly blames left-wing influence and infiltration for the political and ideological failings of the green movement. Both reviews fail to mention the right-wing politics of the author. And the *Guardian* piece, written by Patrick Wright's positively misleading. It manages to leave the reader with the distinct impression that Anna Bramwell is somehow associated with the anarcho-left. We are told, for example, that "Her grandmother had been a radical feminist, and her mother, who came from a Russian Jewish background, was a vehement communist... young Bramwell read progressive tomes from the Soviet Union". She's portrayed as an unbiased and objective author "whose interest is primarily in intellectual history". Wright makes no more than passing reference to what he calls "Scurrilous rumours... suggesting that Bramwell might be just a little partial to the black shirt". He then proceeds to whitewash both the shirt and Bramwell's entire past.

The picture which Mr Wright paints is quite simply riddled with omissions. In his Swiss cheese of a portrait, he can therefore mention that "she married at 16", but say nothing further about either husband or marriage.

Anna's marriage to property developer, Roy Bramwell, lasted from the early 1960s until his death in the late 1980s. Their relationship was a close one, politically as well as personally. Indeed, an examination of the affiliations of them both sheds considerable light on Anna's true politics. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, they were both involved in the Powellite Association. This was a right-wing Conservative group formed by Monday Club activist, Bee Carthew, to support Enoch Powell's stance on immigration. The extremism of the Powellites is indicated by the fact that several members, among them Arthur Shorthouse, Kay Tomlin and N.J. Store, were also in the National Front. Shorthouse was even a member of the hardcore Nazi group, the British Movement. Other

Powellites, including Carthew herself, later joined the NF while it was under the leadership of John Tyndall. He, of course, has since gone on to found and run the British National Party.

During the early 1970s, Roy and Anna were also active in other right-wing Tory groups. Notable among these were the Society for Individual Freedom and the Monday Club.

George Kennedy Young, a former deputy director of MI6, chaired SIF's executive committee during the late 1960s and early 1970s. With the influx of Kenyan and Ugandan Asians, the issue of immigration was high on the political agenda throughout this period. The Race Relations Act, which became law in 1965, was revised and extended in 1968. In the Autumn of that year, five leading members of the Racial Preservation Society were put on trial under this new legislation. They'd been arrested for the door-to-door distribution of their racist newspaper. Among the five was Edward Budden, who nowadays writes a monthly column for the NF newspaper, the *Flaq*. Another was Alan Hancock, a former member of Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists, who ran a printing and publishing business producing an array of deeply racist and anti-Jewish literature. It was G.K. Young who set up the so-called Free Speech Defence Committee to fund-raise on behalf of the five. This committee operated from the SIF office in Park Lane. However, all donations were to be sent to another address, that of the NF.

Anna Bramwell had become a member of the SF executive by the Autumn of 1972. Roy Bramwell, whose own links with SIF went back to the late 1960s, was already associated with several racist groups. He'd been involved with the Conservative Party's far-right Monday Club since the late 1960s. He'd also been an active member of the Immigration Control Association, a late 1960s organisation similar to the Racial Preservation Society. In 1970, he was a speaker at a 'Pan Nordic' conference held in Brighton by a neo-Nazi group called the Northern League. He was there again the following year, as were three former 55 officers.

By 1972, Roy was chairman of the Monday Club's South-West London branch. Among his fellow members were several leading racist activists. There was, for example, Ray Shenton who'd been admitted into Bramwell's branch following his expulsion from Chelsea Conservative Association. Unlike Roy Bramwell and co., the CCA had taken exception to Shenton's activities in Battersea, where he'd been canvassing for the NF.

In Patrick Wright's *Guardian* article we are told that "in 1972 (Anna Bramwell) embarked on a Kropotkinite period". This is a patently ludicrous statement. Kropotkin was a leading Russian revolutionary anarcho-nihilist while Mrs Bramwell was an active and committed supporter of far-right Tory opposition to black and Asian immigration into Britain. Indeed, her chosen political environment was plainly right-wing and racist. By 1972, she was not merely proving this through her involvement with SIF. She had also a pivotal force within the Monday Club's Young Members Group, first as its membership secretary and later as its chairman.

Through her work in the Monday Club office, she soon became one of the leading figures in the Monday Club's Halt Immigration Now Campaign (HINC), which called for a programme of mass repatriation of non-white British citizens. HINC (which was operational 1971-3) was founded by the Tory MP and veteran opponent of non-white immigration, Ronald Bell. Many of its activists were also involved in SIF. Thus Anna Bramwell found herself again working alongside the likes of G.K. Young (HINC's prime-mover), Bee Carthew, and Gerald Howard MP. Incidentally, Howarth, a mainstay of SIF, was the son of Mary Howarth. She had helped to organise the Racial Preservation Society and had co-founded the Immigration Control Association.

In 1973 G.K. Young lost a bitter fight for the chair of the Monday Club. He was beaten by the more moderate Jonathan Guinness (son of Lady Diana Mosley, the wife of Oswald Mosley). The new chairman promptly set about purging the Club of its extremists. Before the year was out, a number of members had either resigned or been expelled. G.K. Young was the first to S°- He set up a new ultra-right anti-immigration group called Tory Action. Bee Carthew and Roy Painter were both ousted and went on to join the NF. Gerald Howarth and several other long-term opponents of non-white immigration into Britain also left. Anna Bramwell was among these deportees.

In the Autumn of 1975, Roy Bramwell's pamphlet *The White Man's White Paper on Racial Discrimination* was published in London by the Anti-Immigration Standing Committee. This was one of a host of virulently racist and anti-Jewish organisations run by veteran racist, Lady Jane Birdwood. She's a Tory who had long been highly public in her support for the NF and other racist organisations. In more recent years, she's been a BNP candidate and has made a number of court appearances for her extreme racist activities.

Roy produced a further six pamphlets between 1976 and 1979. All were published by Birdwood, and all attacked multi-culturalism and/or government policy on non-white immigration in the UK.

Anna Bramwell doesn't appear to have taken exception to her husband's extreme views and activities. On the contrary, she continued to work in tandem with him.

In the Summer of 1981, for example, Roy and Anna jointly submitted evidence to the Scarman Commission, appointed to investigate the 10-12/4/81 Brixton Riots. Theirs is hardly likely to have been a statement of support for multi-culturalism.

Towards the end of 1981, Roy Bramwell attended a meeting of yet another anti-immigration group, WISE (which stands for Welsh, Irish, Scottish, English). Its meetings provided a joint forum for far-right Conservatives and leading figures from the NF and even Hitlerian neo-Nazi organisations such as the British Movement and the League of St George. Roy distributed anti-immigration literature at the gathering.

Around this time as well, the two Bramwells were attending meetings of the Libertarian Alliance, an organisation which had been founded as the youth section of SIF, but had split from it towards the end of the 1970s. Chris Tame has, since its inception, been the LA's main organiser. According to him, the two Bramwells were never made welcome in LA circles because of uneasiness about the overtly far-right political views of Roy in particular.

Roy's views showed no sign of moderation. When the revisionist historian, David Irving, founded his anti-Jewish and overtly racist Focal Policy Group in 1982, Roy Bramwell became an active member.

The *Guardian* article, predictably, makes no mention at all of Anna Bramwell's own right-wing affiliations during the 1980s.

In 1985, the Kensal Press published her book *Blood & Soil: Walter Darre & Hitler's 'Green Party'*. Darre was a leading Nazi, a rabid racist, and an enthusiastic advocate of pan-Nordic Aryan purity. He stood for a return to the values of an idealised peasant culture. In the 1930s, he ran the Race and Settlement Office of the 55 for Himmler. He was also Hitler's Minister of Agriculture and Peasant Leader from 1933 to 1942. After WWII, he was jailed as a war criminal. Anna Bramwell's revisionist tome attempts to separate this man's green politics from his hardline Nazism. (He actively supported and promoted the genocidal 'final solution').

In discussing her books, the *Guardian* piece quite simply omits this one. It goes on, misleadingly, to explain her controversial reputation among greens and fellow-academics as "perhaps partly" due to her 1989 book, *Ecology in the Twentieth Century*, protesting that "Bramwell found it impossible to get the permanent academic post that her book was surely worth".

On Saturday 25/10/86 Anna Bramwell was one of six speakers at an international conference, *Ecology: The Growing Dilemma*, held at the Bonnington Hotel in London. Her contribution drew extensively on her Darre book. The conference organisers were two leading members of the NF, Richard Lawson and Michael Walker. Lawson, a member of Southwark NF, was the long-time editor of the NF newspaper, *Britain First*. He'd also worked on other key NF journals. Michael Walker was the organiser of Central London NF. At the 24/11/84 AGM of the NF, Walker had seconded a motion proposed by Lawson supporting the cultural preservation and revival of the native peoples of the British Isles. Interestingly, both Lawson and Walker have, much like Mrs Bramwell, gone on to play active roles in the field of pan-European ecological politics. And, like her, they continue to do so without renouncing any of their extensive involvement with and commitment to racist politics.

According to Roger Scruton's controversial right-wing journal, the *Salisbury Review* (to which Anna Bramwell has frequently contributed), 1986 was also the year in which she was (briefly) appointed the director of studies at the Centre for Policy Studies. This powerful political think-tank had been co-founded by its president, the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher. Chris Tame confirms this story, saying that Anna Bramwell had been recommended for the post by Max Beloff, the Principal of the right-wing and private University of Buckingham. Bramwell had been a student there. Tame adds that she was quickly and very quietly replaced as soon as her far-right links surfaced.

The green movement has, for the past few years, become increasingly concerned about infiltration. However, contrary to the views aired by Bramwell, this very real and growing threat has come from the far right, not from the left. Indeed, Anna Bramwell is herself a prime example. It's extraordinary that she can rise to a position of such influence while appearing to do a Kurt Waldheim with her political past. And our national dailies, particularly the *Guardian*, should not be providing ready platforms for such 'forgetfulness'.

Unfortunately, Robin Ramsay has not allowed me access to back copies of *Lobster*. Despite this setback, I will supply photocopies of all back issues. The first eight issues were produced in A5 format. These were the naive beginnings of *Lobster* and some of the material no longer stands up; we have moved on from then. However, there are good articles and a mass of interesting snippets which I had largely forgotten about. Please allow 28 days for delivery.

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