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Mind Control and the American Government

Martin Cannon

The spectre of technofascism haunts the democratic nations. All the powers of the espionage empire and the scientific establishment have entered into an unholy alliance to evoke this spectre: psychiatrist and spy, Dulles and Delgado, microwave specialists and clandestine operators.

Substantial evidence exists linking members of the American intelligence community -- including the Central Intelligence Agency, the Defence Advanced Research Projects Agency and the Office of Naval Intelligence -- with the esoteric technology of mind control. For decades, 'psychiatrists' working behind the scenes -- on college campuses, in CIA-sponsored institutes, and (most heinously) in prisons -- have experimented with the erasure of memory, hypnotic resistance to torture, truth serums, post-hypnotic suggestion, rapid induction of hypnosis, electronic stimulation of the brain, non-ionizing radiation, and a host of even more disturbing technologies. Some of the projects exploring these areas were ARTICHOKE, BLUEBIRD, PANDORA, MKDELTA, MKSEARCH and the infamous MKULTRA.

The CIA was not the only government agency involved in this research. (1) Indeed, many branches of our government took part in these studies -- including NASA, the Atomic Energy Commission, as well as all branches of the Defence Department. Although misleading (and occasionally perjured) testimony before Congress indicated that the CIA's 'brainwashing' efforts met with little success, (2) striking advances were, in fact, made in this field. As the late CIA veteran Miles Copeland once admitted to a reporter, 'The congressional subcommittee which went into this sort of thing got only the barest glimpse.' (3) Clandestine research into thought manipulation has not stopped, despite CIA protestations that it no longer sponsors such studies. 14-year CIA veteran, Victor Marchetti, confirmed in a 1977 interview that the mind control research continues, and that CIA claims to the contrary are a 'cover story'. (4)

A brief overview

In the early days of World War 2, George Estabrooks of Colgate University wrote to the Department of War, describing in breathless terms the possible uses of hypnosis in warfare.(5) The Army was intrigued; Estabrooks had a job. The true history of Estabrooks' wartime collaboration with the CID, FBI (6) and other agencies may never be told: after the war he burned his dairy pages covering the years 1940-45, and thereafter avoided discussing his continuing government work with anyone, even close members of the family. (7) Occasionally, however, his lips loosened, and he would intimate that his work involved the creation of hypno-programmed couriers and hypnotically-induced split personalities. Whether he succeeded in these areas remains a controversial point. Nevertheless, the eccentric and flamboyant Estabrooks remains a pivotal figure in the early history of clandestine behavioural research.

Which is not to say the he worked alone. World War 2 was the first conflict in which the human brain became a field of battle, where invading forces were led by the most

notable names in psychology and pharmacology. On both sides, the war spurred furious efforts to create a 'truth drug' for use in interrogating prisoners. General William 'Wild Bill' Donovan, director of OSS, tasked his team -- including Dr. Winifred Overshulser, Dr. Edward Strecker, Harry J. Anslinger and George White -- to modify human perception and behaviour through chemical means. Their 'medicine cabinet' included scopolamine, peyote, barbiturates, mescaline and marijuhana. Simultaneously, the notorious Nazi doctors at Dachau experimented with mescaline as a means of eliminating the victim's will to resist. Jews, slavs, gypsies and other *untermenschen* in the camp were surreptitiously slipped the drug; later, mescaline was combined with hypnosis. (8)

After the war, a number of Nazi chemical warfare specialists went on to work for the American secret services. These scientists included Karl Tauboeck, whose attempts to find a workable 'truth serum' provided the CIA with a wealth of data -- data derived, ultimately, from ruthless human experimentation. Other Third Reich researchers found covert American employment: Friedrich Hoffman discovered a paralysis-inducing conch shell venom, while Theodore Wagner-Jauregg, Karl Rarh and Hans Turit continued their wartime exploration of Tabun, Sarin and other poison gases. (9) These men had acted as the handmaidens of Holocaust, yet American authorities paid no heed; by 1947, when the Navy instituted Project CHATTER, America had fully entered the post-war psy-war era, and the men running such programs were willing to overlook their new hires' bloodstained resumes..

The newly-formed CIA first plunged into this cesspool in 1950 with Project BLUEBIRD, rechristened ARTICHOKE in 1951. To establish a cover story for this research, the CIA funded a propaganda effort designed to convince the world that the Communist Bloc had devised insidious new methods to re-shape the human will; the CIA's own efforts could therefore, if exposed, be explained as an attempt to 'catch up' with Soviet and Chinese work. The primary promoter of this 'line' was one Edward Hunter, a CIA contract employee operating under cover as a journalist (and, later, a prominent member of the John Birch Society). (10) When the CIA's mind control program was transferred from the Office of Security to the Technical Services Staff (TSS) in 1953, the name changed again -- to MKULTRA. (11) Through MKULTRA the Agency created an umbrella program of positively Joycean scope, designed to ferret out all possible means of invading what George Orwell once called 'the space between our ears'. (12) Later still, in 1962, mind control research was transferred to the Office of Research and Development (ORD): project cryptonyms remain unrevealed. (20)

What was studied? Everything -- including hypnosis, conditioning, sensory deprivation, drugs, religious cults, microwaves, psycho-surgery, brain implants, and even ESP. When MKULTRA leaked to the public during the great CIA investigations of the 1970s, public attention focused most heavily on drug experimentation and the work with ESP. (13) Mystery still surrounds the area which seems to have most interested ORD, psychoelectronics.

Implants

In the late 1950s a neuroscientist named Jose Delgado developed the stimoceiver, a miniature depth electrode which can receive and transmit electronic signals over FM radio waves. By stimulating a correctly-positioned stimoceiver within an individual's cranium, an outside operator can wield a surprising degree of control over the the

subject's responses. The most famous example of the stimoceiver in action occurred in a Madrid bull ring. Delgado 'wired' the bull before stepping into the ring, entirely unprotected. The bull charged toward the doctor -- then stopped, just before reaching him. Delgado had halted the animal by simply pushing a button on a black box, held in the hand. (14)

Delgado's *Physical Control of the Mind: Towards a Psychocivilised Society* (15) remains the sole full-length work on intracerebral implants and electronic stimulation of the brain (ESB). While subsequent work has long since superceded the techniques described in this book, Delgado's achievements were seminal. His animal and human experiments clearly demonstrate that the experimenter can electronically induce emotions and behavior. Under certain conditions, the extremes of temperament -- rage, lust, fatigue etc. -- can be elicited by an outside operator as easily as an organist might call forth a C-major chord.

Delgado wrote: 'Radio Stimulation of different points in the amygdala and hippocampus in the four patients produced a variety of effects, including pleasant sensations, elation, deep, thoughtful concentration, odd feelings, super relaxation, colored visions, and other responses.' (16) The evocative phrase 'colored visions' clearly indicates remotely-induced hallucinations. Speaking in 1966 -- and reflecting research undertaken years previously -- Delgado asserted that his experiments 'support the distasteful conclusion that motion, emotion, and behaviour can be directed by electrical forces and that humans can be controlled like robots by push buttons.' (17) He even prophesied a day when brain control could be turned over to non-human operators, by establishing two-way radio communication between the implanted brain and a computer. (18)

In a fascinating series of experiments, Delgado attached the stimoceiver to the tympanic membrane, thereby transforming the ear into a sort of microphone. An assistant would whisper 'How are you?' into the ear of a suitably 'fixed' cat, and Delgado could hear the words over a loudspeaker in the next room. The application of this technology to the spy trade should be readily apparent. According to Victor Marchetti, the Agency once attempted a highly-sophisticated extension of this basic idea, in which radio implants were attached to a cat's cochlea, to facilitate the pinpointing of specific conversations, freed from extraneous surrounding noises. (19) Such 'advances' exacerbate the already imposing level of 20th century paranoia: not only can our phone be tapped and mail checked, but even Tabby might be spying on us!

Yet the ramifications of this technology may go even deeper than Marchetti indicates. I presume that if a suitably-wired subject's inner-ear can be made into a microphone, it can also be made into a loudspeaker. 'Hearing voices' has, of course, long been recognized as a symptom of schizophrenia -- but what if the technological inheritors of the Delgado legacy have discovered a mechanism for inducing, or reproducing, this symptom? How do we tell the difference between a 'manufactured madman' and the real item? This science fictional concept actually lies well within the reach of current technology: not many years after Delgado's experiments with the cat, Ralph Schwitzgebel devised a 'bug-in-the-ear' via which a therapist (odd term, under the circumstances) can communicate with his or her subject. (20)

Robert G. Heath, of Tulane University, who has implanted as many as 125 electrodes in his subjects, achieved his greatest notoriety by attempting to 'cure' homosexuality

through ESB. In his experiments he discovered that he could control his patients' memory and induce sexual arousal, fear, pleasure and hallucinations. (21) Heath and another researcher, James Olds, (22) independently illustrated that areas of the brain in and near the hypothalamus have, when electronically stimulated, what they describe as 'rewarding' and 'aversive' effects. Both animals and human beings, when given the means to induce their own ESB of the brain's pleasure centres will stimulate themselves at a tremendous rate, ignoring such basic drives as hunger and thirst. (23) (Using fixed electrodes of his own invention, John C. Lilly had accomplished similar effects in the early 1950s. (24)) Anyone who has studied the work of B. F. Skinner will find themselves on familiar territory here. Such brain stimulation represents operant conditioning at its most extreme, and most insidious -- for here we see a form of conditioning in which the manipulator renders him or herself invisible. Indeed, Skinner-esque aversive therapy, remotely applied, was Heath's prescription for 'healing' homosexuality. (25)

Ralph Schwitzgebel and his brother Robert have produced a panoply of devices for tracking individuals over long ranges; they may be considered the creators of 'electronic house arrest' devices recently approved by the courts. (26) Schwitzgebel devices could be used for tracking all of the physical and neurological signs of a 'patient' within a quarter of a mile, thereby lifting the distance limitations which restricted Delgado. (27) In Ralph Schwitzgebel's initial work, application of this technology to ESB seems to have been limited by cumbersome brain implants with protruding wires. But the technology was soon miniaturized, and a scheme was proposed whereby radio receivers would be mounted on utility poles throughout a given city, thereby providing a 24-hour monitoring capability. (28) Like Heath, Schwitzgebel was much exercised about the use of intracranial devices to combat sexual deviation. But he has also spoken ominously about applying his devices to 'socially troublesome persons', which, of course, could mean anyone. (29)

Perhaps the most disturbing wanderer in this mind-field is Joseph A. Meyer, of the National Security Agency. Meyer has proposed implanting roughly half of all Americans arrested -- not necessarily convicted -- of any crime. These 'subscribers' (his term) could be monitored continually by computer. Meyer, who has carefully worked out the economics of his mass-implantation system, asserts that taxpayer liability should be reduced by forcing subscribers to 'rent' the implant from the state. Implants are cheaper and more efficient than police, Meyer suggests, since the call to crime is relentless for the poor 'urban dweller' who, this spook-scientist admits in a surprisingly candid aside, is fundamentally unnecessary to a post-industrial economy. (30)

A question of Timing

How long have the 'psychiatrists' been modifying behaviour by directly accessing their subjects' grey matter? Alas, when dealing with research funded by the engines of national security, one can never know the true origin date of any individual scientific advance. However, if we listen carefully to the scientists who have pioneered this research, we may hear whispers, faint but unmistakable, hinting that remotely-applied ESB originated earlier than published studies would indicate.

In his autobiography *The Scientist*, John C. Lilly (who would later achieve reknown for his work with dolphins, drugs and sensory deprivation) records a conversation he had with the director of the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) -- in 1953.

The director asked Lilly to brief the CIA, FBI, NSA and the various military intelligence services on his work using electrodes to stimulate directly the pleasure and pain centres of the brain. Lilly refused, noting in his reply: 'Dr. Antoine Remond, using our techniques in Paris, has demonstrated that this method of stimulation of the brain can be applied to the human without the help of the neurosurgeon; he is doing it in his office in Paris without neurosurgical supervision. This means that anybody with the proper apparatus can carry this out on a person covertly, with no external signs that electrodes have been used on that person. I feel that if this technique got into the hands of a secret agency, they would have total control over a human being and be able to change his beliefs extremely quickly, leaving little evidence of what they had done.'

(31)

Lilly's assertion of the high moral ground here is interesting. A careful reading of *The Scientist* reveals that he continued to do work useful to the United States' national security apparatus. His sensory deprivation experiments expanded upon the work of ARTICHOKE's Maitland Baldwin, and even his dolphin research has -- perhaps inadvertently -- proved useful in naval warfare. (32) One should note that Lilly's work on monkey's carried a 'secret' classification, and that the NIMH was a common CIA funding conduit.

But the most important aspect of Lilly's statement is its date. 1953? How far back does radio-controlled ESB go? Alas, I have not yet seen Redmond's work -- if it is available in the open literature. In the documents made available to CIA researcher John Marks, the earliest reference to remotely-applied ESB is a 1959 financial document pertaining to MKULTRA sub-project 94. The general sub-project descriptions sent to the CIA's financial department rarely contain much information, and rarely change from year to year, leaving us little idea as to when this sub-project began.

Unfortunately, even the Freedom of Information Act couldn't pry loose much information on electronic mind control techniques, though we know that a great deal of study was done in these areas. We have, for example, only four pages on sub-project 94 -- by comparison, a veritable flood of documents was released on the use of drugs in mind control. (33) We know, however, that research into psychoelectronics was extensive; indeed, statements of project goals dating from ARTICHOKE and BLUEBIRD days clearly identify this area as a high priority. Marks' anonymous informant, jocularly nicknamed 'Deep Trance', even told a previous interviewer that, beginning in 1963, the CIA and military's mind control efforts strongly emphasised electronics. (34) I therefore assume that the 'dark' MKULTRA sub-projects concerned matters such as brain implants, microwaves, ESB and related technologies.

I make an issue of the timing and secrecy involved in this research to underscore three points:

1. We can never know with certainty the true origin dates of the various brainwashing methods -- often we discover the techniques which seem impossibly futuristic actually originated in the 19th century. (35)
2. The open literature almost certainly gives a bowdlerized view of the actual research.
3. Lavishly-funded clandestine researches -- unrestrained by peer review or the need for strict controls -- can achieve far more rapid progress than scientists on 'the outside'.

Remote hypnosis

Over the years, certain journalists have asserted that the CIA has mastered a technology called RHIC-EDOM, Radio Hypnotic Intracerebral Control and Electronic Dissolution of Memory. Together these techniques can -- allegedly -- remotely induce hypnotic trance, deliver suggestions to the subject, and erase all memory for both instruction period and the act which the subject is asked to perform. According to published accounts, RHIC uses the stimoceiver, or a microminiaturized offspring of that technology, to induce a hypnotic state. EDOM is the erasure of memory from consciousness through the blockage of synaptic transmission in certain areas of the brain. By jamming the brain's synapses through a surfeit of acetylcholine, neural transmission along selected pathways can be effectively stilled. According to the proponents of RHIC-EDOM, acetylcholine production can be affected by electromagnetic means.

Does RHIC-EDOM exist? The term first appeared in a strange 1969 book, *Were We Controlled?* written by one Lincoln Lawrence, a former FBI agent turned journalist. (36) A careful comparison of Lawrence's work with the MKULTRA files declassified ten years later indicates a strong possibility that the writer did indeed have 'inside' sources. Here is how Lawrence describes RHIC in action: 'It is the ultra-sophisticated application of post-hypnotic suggestion triggered at will by radio transmission. It is a recurring state, re-induced automatically at intervals by the same radio control. An individual is brought under hypnosis. This can be done either with his knowledge -- or without it -- by use of narco-hypnosis, which can be brought into play under many guises. He is then programmed to perform certain actions and maintain certain attitudes upon radio signal.'

Other authors have mentioned this technique: Walter Bowart in *Operation Mind Control*, and journalist James Moore, who, in a 1975 issue of a periodical called *Modern People*, claimed to have secured a 350-page manual, prepared in 1963, on RHIC-EDOM. (37) He maintains that he received the manual from CIA sources, although -- interestingly -- the technique is said to have originated in the military. According to Moore, RHIC works like this: 'Medically, these radio signals are directed to certain parts of the brain. When a part of your brain receives a tiny electrical impulse from outside sources, such as vision, hearing, etc., an emotion is produced -- anger at the sight of a gang of boys beating an old woman, for example. The same emotion of anger can be created by artificial radio signals sent to your brain by a controller. You could instantly feel the same white hot anger without any apparent reason.' (38)

Lawrence's sources imparted an even more tantalising -- and frightening -- revelation: '...there is already in use a small EDOM generator-transmitter which can be concealed on the body of a person. Contact with this person -- a casual handshake or even just a touch -- transmits a tiny electronic charge plus an ultra-sonic signal tone which for a short while will disturb the time orientation of the person affected.' (39)

At present there is no evidence that RHIC-EDOM is real. To my knowledge, the only official questioning of a CIA representative concerning these techniques occurred in 1977, during Senate hearings on CIA drug testing. Senator Richard Schweiker had the following interchange with Dr. Sidney Gottlieb, an important MKULTRA administrator:

Schweiker: Some of the projects under MKULTRA involved hypnosis, is that correct?

Gottlieb: Yes.

Schweiker: Did any of these projects involve something called radio hypnotic intracerebral control, which is a combination, as I understand it, in layman's terms, of radio transmission and hypnosis?

Gottlieb: My answer is 'no'.

Schweiker: None whatsoever?

Gottlieb: Well, I am trying to be responsive to the terms you used. As I remember it, there was a current interest, running interest, all the time in what affects people's standing in the field of radio energy have, and it could easily have been that somewhere in many projects, someone was trying to see if you could hypnotize someone easier if he was standing in a radio beam. That would seem like a reasonable piece of research to do.

Schweiker went on to mention that he had heard testimony that radar (i.e. microwaves) had been used to wipe out memory in animals. Gottlieb responded, 'I can believe that, Senator.' (40)

Gottlieb's blandishments do not comfort much. For one thing, the good doctor did not always provide thoroughly candid testimony. During the same hearing, he averred that 99 per cent of the CIA's research had been openly published. If so, why are so many MKULTRA sub-projects still 'dark', and why does the Agency still go to great lengths to protect the identities of its scientists? (41) We should also recognise that the CIA's operations are compartmentalized on a 'need-to-know' basis; Gottlieb may not have had access to the information requested by Schweiker. Note that the MKULTRA rubric circumscribed Gottlieb's statement: RHIC-EDOM might have been the focus of another program. (There were several others: MKNAOMI, MKACTION, MKSEARCH, etc.) Also keep in mind the allegation by 'Deep Trance' that the CIA concentrated on psychoelectronics after the termination of MKULTRA in 1963. Most significantly: RHIC-EDOM is described by both Lawrence and Moore as a product of military research; Gottlieb spoke only of matters pertaining to CIA. He may thus have spoken truthfully -- at least in a strictly technical sense -- while still misleading his Congressional interlocutors.

Personally, I believe that the RHIC-EDOM story deserves a great deal of further research. I find it significant that when Dr. Peter Lindstrom examined x-rays of Robert Naesland, a Swedish victim of brain-implantation, the doctor cited *Were We Controlled?* in his letter of response.(42) This is the same Dr. Lindstrom noted for his pioneering use of ultrasonics in neurosurgery.(43) Lincoln Lawrence's book has received a strong endorsement indeed.

That's Entrainment

Robert Anton Wilson, co-author of *The Illuminatus Trilogy*, recently has taken to promoting a new generation of 'mind machines' designed to promote creativity, stimulate learning, and alter consciousness -- i.e. provide a drugless high. Interestingly, these machines can also induce 'Out of Body Experiences', in which the percipient mentally 'travels' to another location while the body remains at rest. (44) One such device is called the 'hemi-synch'. This headphone-like invention produces slightly different frequencies in each ear; the brain calculates the difference between these frequencies, resulting in a rhythm known as 'binaural beat'. The brain 'entrains'

itself to this beat; that is, the subject's EEG slows down or speeds up to keep pace with its electronic running partner. (45) A suitably entrained brain is much more responsive to suggestion, and is even likely to experience vivid hallucinations.

There's more than one way to entrain a brain. Michael Hutchison's excellent book *Mega Brain* details the author's experiences with many such devices -- the Alphastim, TENS, the Synchro-energizer, Tranquilite etc.. He recounts dazzling, Dali-esque hallucinations as a result of using this mind-expanding technology; moreover, he offers a seductive argument that these devices may represent a true breakthrough in consciousness control, thereby fulfilling the dashed dream of the hallucinogenic '60s and '70s. But what about the possibility of an outside operator literally 'changing our minds' by altering our brainwaves without our knowledge? If these machines can induce an hypnotic state, what's to stop a skilled hypnotist from making use of this state? Granted, most of these devices require some physical interaction with the subject. But a tool called the Bio-Pacer can, according to its manufacturer, produce a number of mood-altering frequencies -- without attachment to the subject. Indeed, the Bio-Pacer III (a high-powered version) can affect an entire room. This device costs \$275, according to the most recent price sheet available. (46) What sort of machine might \$27,5000 buy? Or \$275,000? What effects, what ranges might a million dollar machine be capable of?

The military certainly has that sort of money; and they're certainly interested in this sort of technology, according to Michael Hutchison. His interview with an informant named Joseph Light elicited this, for example: 'There are powerful elements in the scientific community, powerful people, who are very much interested in these areas.... but they have to keep most of their work secret. Because as soon as they start to publish some of these sensitive things, they have problems in their lives. You see, they work on research grants, and if you follow the research being done, you find that as soon as these scientists publish something about this, their research funds are cut off. There are areas in bioelectric research where very simple techniques and devices can have mind-boggling effects. Conceivably, if you have a crazed person with a bit of a technical background, he can do a lot of damage.' (47)

This last statement is particularly evocative. In 1984 a violent neo-Nazi group called The Order -- responsible for the murder of talk show host Alan Berg -- established contact with two government scientists engaged in clandestine research to project chemical imbalances and render targeted individuals docile via certain electronic wave frequencies. For \$100,000 the scientists were willing to deliver this information. (48) Thus at least one group of crazed individuals almost got the goods.



Wave Your Brain Goodbye

I am told that many Senate and Congressional representatives have a 'wavie' file. So do many state representatives. Wavies have even pled their case to private institutions such as the Christic Institute, a public interest law firm. (49) Wavies claim to be the victims of clandestine bombardment with non-ionising radiation, or microwaves. They report sudden changes in psychological states, alteration of sleep patterns, intracerebral voices and other sounds, and physiological effects. I've spoken to many. Are these troubled individuals seeking an exterior rationale for their mental problems? I'm sure that is the case in many instances. But the fact is that the literature on the behavioural effects of microwaves, extra-low-frequencies (ELF) and ultra-sonics is such that we cannot blithely dismiss all such claims.

For decades American science and industry have tried to convince the population that microwaves could have no adverse affects on human beings at sub-thermal levels. The attitude was 'If it can't burn you, it can't hurt you.' This approach became increasingly difficult to defend as reports mounted of microwave-induced physiological effects. Technicians described 'hearing' certain radar installations; users of radar telescopes began developng cataracts at an appallingly high rate. (50) The Soviets have long recognised the strange and sometimes subtle effects of these radio frequencies, which is why their exposure standards have always been much stricter.

Soviet microwave bombardment of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow prompted the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency's Project PANDORA (later renamed), whose ostensible goal was to determine whether these pulsations - - reportedly at 10 cycles per second, which puts them in the alpha range -- could be used for the purposes of mind control. I suspect that the 'war on Tchaikowsky Street', as I call it, (51) was used, at least in part, as a cover story for DARPA mind control research, and that the stories floated in the news, via, for example, Jack Anderson's column, about Soviet remote brainwashing served the same propaganda purpose as the did the bleatings of Edward Hunter during the 1950s. (52)

What can low-level microwaves do to the mind? According to a DIA report released under the Freedom of Information Act, microwaves can induce metabolic changes, alter brain functions, and disrupt behaviour patterns.(53) PANDORA discovered that pulsed microwaves can create leaks in the blood/brain barrier, induce heart seizures, and create behavioural disorganization. (54) In 1970 a RAND corporation scientist reported that microwaves could be used to promote insomnia, fatigue, irritability, memory loss and hallucinations.(55)

Perhaps the most significant work in this area has been produced by Dr. W. Ross Adey at the University of Southern California. He determined that behaviour and emotional states can be altered without electrodes -- simply by placing the subject in an electromagnetic field. By directing a carrier frequency to stimulate the brain and using amplitude modulation to 'shape' the wave into mimicry of a desired EEG frequency, he was able to impose a 4.5 CPS theta rhythm on his subjects -- a frequency which he previously measured in the hippocampus during avoidance learning. This he could externally condition the mind towards an aversive reaction.(56)(Adey has also done extensive work on the use of electrodes in animals.(57)) According to another prominent microwave scientist, Allen Frey, other frequencies could -- in animal studies -- induce docility.(58)

As journalist Anna Keeler noted: 'Specific frequencies at low intensities can predictably influence sensory processes.... pleasantness -- unpleasantness, strain -- relaxation, and excitement -- quiescence can be created with the field. Negative feelings and avoidance are strong biological phenomena and relate to survival. Feelings are the true basis of much 'decision-making' and often occur as sub-threshold impressions.... Ideas including names can be synchronized with the feelings that the fields induce.' (59)

Adey and compatriots have compiled an entire library of frequencies and pulsation rates which can affect the mind and nervous systems. Some of these effects can be extremely bizarre. For example, engineer Tom Jarski, in the attempt to replicate the seminal work of F. Cazzamalli, found that a particular frequency caused a ringing sensation in the ears of his subjects -- who felt strangely compelled to bite the experimenters! (60) On the other hand, the diet-conscious may be intrigued by the finding that rats exposed to ELF waves failed to gain weight normally.(61) For our present purposes, the most significant electromagnetic research findings concern microwave signals modulated by hypnoidal EEG frequencies. Microwaves can act like the 'hemi-synch' device previously described, entraining the brain to theta rhythms. (62) I need not emphasise the implication of remotely synchronising the brain to resonate at a frequency conducive to sleep, or to hypnosis.

Trance may be remotely induced: but can it be directed? Yes. Recall the intracerebral voices mentioned earlier in our discussion of Delgado. The same effect can be produced by 'the wave'. Frey demonstrated in the early 1960s that microwaves could produce booming, hissing, buzzing and other intracerebral static. (This phenomenon is now called 'the Frey effect'.) In 1973 Dr Joseph Sharp, of the Walter Reed Army Institute of Research, expanded on Frey's work in an experiment where the subject -- in this case Sharp himself -- 'heard' and understood spoken words delivered via a pulsed-microwave analog of the speaker's sound vibrations. (63) Dr. Robert Becker commented that 'Such a device has obvious applications in covert operations designed to drive a target crazy with 'voices' or deliver undetectable instructions to a programmed assassin.' (64) Indeed, the former capability could effectively disguise the latter. Who will listen to the victims, when the electronically-induced hallucinations they recount exactly parallel the classical signals of paranoid schizophrenia and/or temporal lobe epilepsy?

Perhaps the most ominous revelations concern the mysterious work of J. F. Schapitz, who in 1974 filed a plan to explore the interaction of radio frequencies and hypnosis. 'In this investigation it will be shown that the spoken word of the hypnotist may be conveyed by modulate electromagnetic energy directly into the subconscious parts of the human brain -- i.e. without employing any technical devices for receiving or transcoding the messages and without the person exposed to such influence having a chance to control the information input consciously.'

He outlined an experiment, innocent in its immediate effect yet chilling in its implications, whereby subjects would be implanted with the subconscious suggestion to leave the lab and buy a particular item, the action triggered by a certain 'cue' word or action. Schapitz felt certain that the subjects would rationalize the behaviour, chalking up the action to the working of free will. (65) His instincts on this latter point coalesce perfectly with findings of professional hypnotists. (66) Schapitz' work was funded by the Department of Defence. Despite Freedom of Information Act requests, the results have never been revealed. (67)

Final thoughts on 'the wave'

I must again offer a caveat about possible disparities between the 'official' record of electromagnetism's psychological effects and the hidden history. Once more we face a question of timing. How long ago did this research really begin? In the early years of this century, Nikola Tesla seems to have stumbled upon certain of the behavioural effects of electromagnetic exposure. (68) Cazamelli, mentioned above, conducted his studies in the 1930s. In 1934 E. L. Chaffee and R. U. Light published a paper on 'A Method For the Remote Control of Electrical Stimulation of the Nervous System.'(69) From the very beginning of their work with microwaves, the Soviets explored the more subtle physiological effects of electromagnetism; and despite the bleatings of certain right-wing alarmists that an 'electromagnetic gap' separated us from Soviet advances, the literature in this area from the former Soviet bloc has been closely monitored for decades by the West. (70) ARTICHOKE and BLUEBIRD project outlines, dating from the early 1950s, prominently mention the need to explore all possible uses of the electromagnetic spectrum.

Another point worth mentioning concerns the combination of EMR and miniature brain electrodes. The father of the stimoceiver, Dr. Delgado, has recently conducted experiments in which monkeys are exposed to electromagnetic fields, thereby eliciting a wide range of behavioural effects -- one monkey might fly into a volcanic range while, just a few feet away, his simian partner begins to nod off. Fascinatingly, when monkeys with brain implants felt 'the wave', the effects were greatly intensified. Apparently these tiny electrodes can act as an amplifier of the electromagnetic effect. (71)

Critics might counter that any burst of microwave energy powerful enough to have truly remote effects would probably also create a thermal reaction. That is, if a clandestine operator propagated a 'wave' from outside an unwitting subject's bedroom (say, from a low-flying helicopter), the power necessary to do the job might be such that the microwave would cook the target before it got a chance to launder his thoughts. It is a fair criticism. But if our 'wavier' had previously been implanted with a Delgado-style device, it would act as an intensifier of the signal. Such an individual could have any number of remotely-induced hallucinatory experiences while his or her bed partner dozes comfortably. Furthermore, recent reports indicate that a 'waver' can achieve pinpoint accuracy without the use of Delgado-style implants. In 1985 volunteers at the Midwest Research Institute in Kansas City, Missouri, were exposed to microwave beams as part of an experiment sponsored by the Department of Energy and the New York State Department of Health. As *The Arizona Republic* described the experiment, 'A matched control group sat in the same room without being bombarded by non-ionizing radiation.' (72)

Parting observations

Too much of the preceding remains mired in the past; we know, however, that the present practitioners of mind control have their eye on the future. Information regarding current research remains, of course, quite sketchy. We know that one project, SLEEPING BEAUTY, is directed toward the battlefield use of mind-altering electromagnetic weaponry. Jack Verona, a highly placed, highly secretive DIA chief, heads this project, which employs (among others) Dr. Michael Persinger of Laurentian University. According to sources I have interviewed, Verona counts among his associates the mysterious C. B. Scott Jones, the well known (infamous, in some

circles) aide to Rhode Island senator Claiborne Pell.

Jones, a 16-year veteran of Naval Intelligence, pursues a strange array of interests. Not only does he frequently lecture on the subject of UFOs (he 'vetted' the credentials of several intelligence operatives who gave journalist William Moore putative 'inside' information on this topic), Scott Jones has also established a controversial presence in the field of parapsychology as the current head of the American Society for Psychical Research. Another Scott Jones associate, Edward Dames, recently founded a company called PSI-tech, which allegedly performs 'remote viewing' experiments for both the government and corporate clients. (73) Scott Jones has been a key source for writer Michael Drosnin (author of *Citizen Hughes*) who is now writing a book on mind control.

Two separate sources have described to me another ongoing mind control project, MONARCH. The ramifications of this alleged program are so appalling, and the claims so large, that I hesitate to deliver any details without further confirmation. Suffice it to say, this project supposedly involves the deliberate creation of severe multiple personality disorder, a still under-researched psychological phenomenon which invariably results from some type of childhood trauma, or abuse.

At this point the reader has every reason to ask 'But why?' With the Cold War melted into oblivion, what is the purpose of these technofascist intrusions into innermost thoughts and actions? How do the researchers of these technologies justify their work to themselves? What overriding objective do they hope to achieve? The doctor who started it all, George Estabrooks, once suggested an ominous answer to this question. Ornerly by nature, and -- towards the end -- perhaps a bit too fond of his liquor, 'Esty' possessed a looser tongue than did his colleagues in clandestine study. In 1968 Estabrooks told a reporter for the Providence (Rhode Island) *Evening Bulletin* that he had conducted extensive hypnosis work on behalf of the CIA, FBI and military intelligence. (An astonishing admission: at this early date, no other researcher had dared to let this particular cat loose from its well-sealed bag.) 'Dr. Estabrooks said that the key to creating an effective spy or assassin rests in..... creating a multiple personality, with the aid of hypnosis', a procedure which the good doctor described as 'child's play'. Estabrooks even offered the suggestion that Lee Harvey Oswald and Jack Ruby 'could very well have been performing through hypnosis.'

The article's date? May 13, 1968, two weeks before the assassination of Robert F. Kennedy: the title? 'To sleep: perchance to kill'.

Notes

1. Much of the information in this article is derived from the files compiled by John Marks, author of *The Search for the Manchurian Candidate* (expanded Dell edition, 1988). The files, now stored at the National Security Archives in Washington, D.C., contain some 20,000 pages of declassified CIA documents and other materials, including the notes of interviews with scientists employed by American intelligence. In an interview with John Marks, hypnosis expert Milton Kline, a veteran of clandestine experimentation in this field, averred that his work for the government continued. Since this interview took place in 1977, years after the CIA allegedly halted mind control research, we must conclude either that the CIA lied, or that another agency continued the work. In another interview with Marks, former Air Force -- CIA liaison L. Fletcher Prouty confirmed that the Department of Defense ran studies either in conjunction with or parallel to those operated by the CIA.
2. See generally *Project MKULTRA, the CIA's Program of Research in Behavioural Modification, joint hearing before the Select Committee on Health and Scientific Research of the Committee on Human Resources, United States Senate* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1977).
3. Robert Eringer, 'Secret Agent Man', in *Rolling Stone*, January 16, 1986.
4. John Marks interview with Victor Marchetti (Marks files).
5. A copy of this letter can be found in the Marks files.
6. Estabrooks attracted an eclectic group of friends, including J. Edgar Hoover and Alan Watts.
7. Interview with daughter Doreen Estabrooks in Marks files.
8. Marks, pp. 4-6.

9. Hunt pp. 157-74; Marks files.
10. Hunter invented the term 'brainwashing' in a September 24 1950 *Miami News* article. Hunter was an OSS veteran of the China theatre, which also produced Richard Helms, Howard Hunt, Mitch Werbell, Fred Crisman and Paul Halliwell.
11. Marks, pp. 60-61. A folk etymology has it that the MK of MKULTRA stands for 'Mind Kontrol'. According to Marks, TSS prefixed the cryptonyms of all its projects with these initials. Note, though, that MKULTRA was preceded by a still-mysterious TSS program called QKHILLTOP.
12. Marks, pp. 224-229. Seven MKULTRA sub-projects were continued, under TSS supervision, as MKSEARCH. This project ended in 1972. CIA apologists often proclaim that 'brainwashing' research ceased in either 1962 or 1972. These blandishments refer to the TSS projects, not to the ORD work, which remains terra incognita for independent researchers. Marks discovered that the ORD research was so voluminous that retrieving documents via FOIA would have proven unthinkably expensive.
13. For a description of the research into parapsychology, see McRae, the best book available on a subject which awaits a truly authoritative text.
14. Allegedly, this experiment took place in 1964. However the pseudonymous 'Lincoln Lawrence' at p. 36 makes an interesting argument that the demonstration took place some years earlier.
15. Much of Delgado's work was funded by the Office of Naval Intelligence, a common conduit for CIA funds during the 1950s and 60s. Gordon Thomas misleadingly implies that CIA interest in Delgado's work began in 1972.
16. J. M. R. Delgado, 'Intracerebral Radio Stimulation and Recording in Completely Free Patients', in Schwitzgebel and Schwitzgebel (eds.).

17. David Kreech, 'Controlling the Mind Controllers', in *Think* 32 (July-August), 1966.
18. Delgado (1969)
19. Ranelagh p. 208. Marchetti casts this story in the form of an amusing anecdote: after much time and expense, a cat was suitably trained and prepared -- only, on its first assignment, to be run over by a taxi. Marchetti neglects to point out that nothing stopped the Agency from getting another cat. Or from using a human being.
20. Schefflin and Opton p. 347
21. Gordon Thomas p. 276.
22. Olds 1962 p. 554; and Olds 1967.
23. Mark and Ervin, Chapter 12, excerpted in *Individual Rights and the Federal Role in Behaviour Modification*, prepared by the Staff of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Committee of the Judiciary, United States Senate (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1974).
24. Lilly p. 90. Monkeys allowed to stimulate themselves continually via ESB brought themselves to orgasm once every three minutes, sixteen hours a day.
25. Schefflin and Opton, pp. 336-7. Heath even monitored his patient's brain responses during the subject's first heterosexual encounter. Such is the nature of the brave new world before us.
26. Schwitzgebel and Bird pp. 99-105.
27. Gordon Thomas p. 277. In Schwitzgebel and Bird, Schwitzgebel details how the radio signals may be fed into a telephone via a modem and thus analyzed by a computer anywhere in the world.
28. Schefflin and Opton, pp. 347-349.
29. Tackwood p. 226.

30. Schefflin and Opton pp. 351-35. 'Urban dweller' may be another of Meyer's euphemisms. He uses New York's Harlem as his model community in working out the details of his mind-management system.
31. Lilly, p. 91.
32. Marks, pp 151-4.
33. Whenever an author tells us that MKULTRA met with little success, the reference is to drug testing. On this point, I must criticize John Marks. His book never mentions that roughly 20-25 per cent of the MKULTRA sub-projects are 'dark' -- i.e., little or no information was ever made available, despite lawyers and FOIA requests. Marks seem to feel that the only information worth having is the information he received.
34. The story of 'Deep Trance', an MKULTRA 'insider' who provided invaluable information, is somewhat involved. I do not know who Trance is/was, and Marks may not know either. He contacted 'Trance' via a writer of an article published shortly before research on *The Search for The Manchurian Candidate* began, addressing his informant 'Dear Source whose anonymity I respect'. I respect it too -- hence my reticence to name the aforementioned article, which may mark a trail to Trance. The fact that I have not followed this trail would not prevent others from doing so.
35. Pioneering ESB research was conducted in 1898, by J.R. Ewald, Professor of Physiology at Strausbourg. See Perry London.
36. One source tells me that the man's real name is Arthur J. Ford. I have no confirmation of this.
37. Bowart pp. 261-264.
38. Ibid p. 263.
39. 'Lincoln Lawrence' p. 52.

40. *Human Drug Testing by the CIA* (United States Government Printing Office, 1977), Hearings before the Subcommittee on Health and Scientific Research of the Committee on Human Resources, United States Senate.
41. Note especially the Supreme Court's decision in *Central Intelligence Agency et al versus Sims et al* (no 83-1075, decided April 16 1986). The egregious and dangerous majority opinion in this case held that disclosure of the names of scientists and institutions involved in MKULTRA posed 'an unacceptable risk of revealing intelligence sources'. The decisions of the [CIA] Director, who must of course be familiar with 'the whole picture', as judges are not, are worthy of great deference.... it is conceivable that the mere explanation of why information must be withheld can convey valuable information to a foreign intelligence agency.' How do we square this continuing need for secrecy with the CIA's protestations that MKULTRA achieved little success, that the studies were conducted within the Nuremberg statutes governing medical experiments, and that the research was made available in the open literature?
42. Letter, P.A. Linstrom to Robert Naeslund, July 17 1983; copy available from Marti Koski, Kiilinpellontie 2, 21290, Rusko, Finland, who also claims to be a victim of such experiments. Lindstrom writes that he fully agrees with 'Lincoln Lawrence'.
43. Bowart, p. 265. I have attempted, without success, to contact Dr. Lindstrom.
44. Robert Anton Wilson, 'Adventures with Head Hardware', in *Magical Blend*, 23, July 1989.
45. Hutchison pp. 199-201; Oster.
46. Bio-Pacer promotional and price sheet, available from Lindemann Laboratories, 3463 State Street, #264, Santa Barbara, CA 93105.

47. Hutchison pp. 117-8. Compare Light's observations about 'the grant game' to Sid Gottlieb's protestations that nearly all 'mind control' research was openly published.
48. Martinez and Guinther, p. 230.
49. Interview with Sandy Munroe of the Los Angeles office of the Christic Institute.
50. See generally, Paul Brodeur.
51. Until recently the American Embassy was on a street named after the composer.
52. It was finally determined that the microwaves were used to receive transmission from bugs planted within the embassy. DARPA Director George H. Heimeier went on record as stating that PANDORA was never designed to study 'microwaves as a surveillance tool'. See Keeler. I would note that the Soviet embassy was 'bugged and waved' in Canada during the 1950s, and, according to the *Los Angeles Times* (5 June 1989), the Soviet embassy in Britain has been similarly affected.
53. Adams and Williams. Brodeur notes that much of the work ascribed to the Soviets in this report was actually first accomplished by scientists in the United States. Keeler argues that this report is an example of 'mirror imaging' -- i.e. parading domestic advances as a foreign threat, the better to pry funding from a suitably-fearful Congress.
54. Keeler
55. MacGregor
56. Keeler
57. Larry Collins, 'Mind Control', in *Playboy*, January 1990..
58. Allan Frey, 'Behavioural Effects of Electromagnetic Energy', in Hazzard (ed.).

59.Keeler

60.Lawrence (1973).

61.Susan Schiefelbein, 'The Invisible Threat', in *Saturday Review*,
15 September 1976.

62.E. Preston, 'Studies on the Nervous System Cardiovascular
Function and Thermoregulation', in Assenheim (ed.) pp. 138-41.

63.Becker, pp. 318-9.

64.Ibid.

65.Ibid. p. 321

66.See Bowart, p. 218 for an interesting example of this
'rationalization' process at work in the case of Sirhan Sirhan,
who was convicted of the assassination of Robert F. Kennedy. In
prison, Sirhan was hypnotized by Dr. Bernard Diamond, who
instructed Sirhan to climb the bars of his cage like a monkey. He
did so. After the trance was removed, Sirhan was shown tapes of
his actions. He insisted that he 'acted like a monkey' of his own
free will -- he claimed he wanted the exercise!

67.Keeler suggests that the proposal was revealed because
Schapitz's sensationalistic implications may have worked to
discredit -- and therefore hide -- the real research. Personally, I
don't accept this argument, but I respect Keller's instincts
enough to repeat her caveat here.

68.Margaret Cheyney's *Tesla: Man Out of Time* (New York, Dell,
1981), the most reliable book in the sea of wild speculation
surrounding this extraordinary scientist, confirms Tesla's early
work with the psychological effects of electromagnetic
radiation. See especially pp. 101- 4. Note also the afterword in
which we learn that certain government agencies have kept
important research by Tesla hidden from the general public.

69.Noted in 'Lincoln Lawrence' p. 29.

70. Particularly one Thomas Bearden of Huntsville, Alabama. I have a document written by Bearden associate Andrew Michrowski which identifies Bearden as an intelligence agent for an undisclosed agency. According to one source I have interviewed, Bearden may be connected with a paramilitary outfit in New Mexico. The man's precise position in this game is unclear.

71. Kathleen McAuliffe, 'The Mind Fields', in *Omni*, February 1985.

72. May 5, 1985

73. Ruth Sinai, 'ESP used in Iraqi weapons hunt', in *Nashville Banner*, November 18, 1991. Although I am uncomfortable with the dangerous topic of government-sponsored ESP research, I must note that 'psychic warfare' was the concern of several MKULTRA sub-projects: covert American interest in this field goes back at least to the 1940s. Information on Scott Jones derives from confidential sources, as well as a privately distributed 1992 paper by Robert Durant.

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U.S Army Intelligence mind control experimentation

Armen Victorian

This article examines hallucinogenic-type drug experiments conducted by various elements of the U.S. Army Intelligence community in conjunction with sections of the U.S. Army Chemical Corps. Most of the related records have been destroyed. The following is what I have been able to salvage from the records available on these programs.

Edgewood Tests

From the available records in the Intelligence Center at Fort Holabird and the Chemical Warfare Laboratories we know that a joint co-ordinated psychochemical drug project started in November 1957. The ground work on this joint project was apparently conducted in the latter part of 1957 and early 1958. The discussion about this programme took place between officers of the Intelligence Board at Fort Holabird,

Maryland, and the Medical Research Laboratories at Edgewood Arsenal in May 1958. As a result of this meeting, on June 3 1958 the President of the Intelligence Board sent an informal plan to the Medical Research Directorate of the Chemical Warfare Laboratories.(1) The plan was entitled 'Material Testing Program EA 1279'. EA 1279 was LSD. The plan's main thrust was the 'method of approach to prospective volunteers' who were to be selected from official personnel, based on their records and security clearance information. It called upon the proper code of conduct for volunteers, requiring them to sign a security statement. The volunteers were to be examined physically and mentally prior to any testing.

The test program on the first group of volunteers arriving at Army Chemical Center (ACC) Edgewood, contained a specific emphasis on 'Unwitting test reaction'. A three-day stay was required for the test to be carried out on the first group. After physical examination, those who were physically unfit were excused. In the early evening of the first day after arrival at ACC, the group met socially. Each volunteer had been introduced to a trained interrogator, who had already studied the file on the subject volunteer. In reality the scene was set for each interrogator to try and elicit additional information from the volunteer under his control -- simulating a diplomatic cocktail party where an attempt would be made to obtain classified information from unwitting subjects. All drinks served to volunteers included LSD. The interrogators then tried to extract extra classified information about their special duties at their place of service. Where and when necessary, the interrogators, without the knowledge of their subject, administered additional doses of LSD.

Additional facilities were provided for private meetings and interviews in the course of the gathering for each pair. The results of these interviews would be compared with the results of interviews the next day when the individual was not under the drug influence. The volunteers were informed but were unaware of their previous 'interview'. On the second day, the volunteers were told about the events of the previous day.

In the course of other planned tests on other groups of volunteer visitors to Edgewood, experiments were conducted to evaluate the ability to deliberately lie while under the influence of LSD. There were also 'Memory Impairment Tests', to evaluate the effects of LSD on retention ability of subjects; 'Specialised Motor Reaction Memory Testing', to evaluate the impairment of simple motor reactions of the subjects after ingestion of LSD; and 'Effect of Environment and Physical Condition', evaluating the effect of LSD on a subject under various environments and physical conditions, including total isolation and hostile interrogation situations. A further test, 'Influence of Material Under Artificially Created Stress Situations', was to determine the ability of the subject to withhold information under unusual stress and the influence of LSD.

There is no evidence that these tests were approved at any level above the President of the Intelligence Board or Director of the Medical Research Laboratories at Edgewood. The only document available to the Office of the Inspector General and the Auditor General, U.S. Department of the Army, shows that the proposed plan was sent from the Intelligence Center to the Commanding General, Edgewood. It was signed by the Adjutant General for the Center Commander, indicating that the Intelligence Center Commander may have approved the program from the Intelligence Corps side. (2) However, the former Commander of the Intelligence Centre, Richard S. Prather, in his testimony of 29 October 1979, admitted that he knew nothing about the plan, and it is possible that the letters were signed on his behalf. He further stated that although the

Intelligence Board was located within his command, they usually reported directly to the Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, (ACSI) Department of the Army, regarding any subjects dealing with operational matters. (3)

The Intelligence Board Project Officer, William J. Jacobsen, supported Richard Prather's testimony, adding that it was his understanding that at the time no definite decision could have been made at Holabird to participate in these testings without the approval of ACSI. (4) Jacobsen's statement on this matter was not confirmed by former ACSI staff. Furthermore, no evidence was found showing that the Medical Research Laboratories obtained approval through Chemical Corps, nor had the Surgeon General's Office checked or reviewed the plan. They had clearly over-stepped the legal line.

The surviving records show that the experiments were conducted in two phases: the first series of tests from August to November 1958,(5) and the second from September 1959 to May 1960. Although there are no records of the exact number of volunteers used, from the travel orders and testimony, between 30 and 35 volunteers were used. There are no records to indicate the number of times LSD was administered to each volunteer. It is important to note that none of the volunteers gave their 'informed consent' prior to receiving LSD. Furthermore, there was a deliberate attempt to deny the volunteers any information that would have permitted them to evaluate the dangers involved. The responsibility for this deliberate failure lies with the Intelligence Board, as the initiator, and the Medical Research Laboratories, as medical investigators. It was only after surreptitious administration of LSD that the volunteers were informed and briefed about the rest of the project.

These tests were conducted a few years after Dr. Frank Olson's death, caused mainly by unwitting administration of LSD in his drink in November 1953. As Dr Olson had worked quite closely with the Army's Chemical Corps' Special Operations Division (SOD) at Fort Detrick, these records show that the U.S. Army soon put behind them the lessons learned from Olson's death and carried on the tests as before. According to the testimony of Charles L. Shirley Jr., one of the volunteers, in August 5 1975, the belief amongst most of the volunteers was that if they declined to participate in the tests it would have put them in an immediate disfavour with their superiors.

Field Tests

After the first phase of Intelligence Corps experiments in November 1958, a letter from the Chief of Clinical Division at Edgewood to Commanding General Army Intelligence Center stated that all the initial work on the first phase was completed with rewarding results. He further recommended that 'actual application of the material [LSD] be utilised in real situations on an experimental basis, if possible.' (6) It is hard to believe such a recommendation on such a dangerous drug with unpredictable results after tests on only 35 volunteers.

On 21 January 1959 the U.S. Army Intelligence Center gave the go-ahead to Edgewood: 'This headquarters has forwarded your letter to the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence (ACSI), Department of the Army, concurring in your recommendation that that actual application of the material be utilized in real situations on an experimental basis.' (7) From the records available, a field test plan was prepared with Medical Research Laboratories' representatives and an Intelligence Board officer as an aid to interrogation. Early in March 1959 the Director of Medical Research at

Edgewood informed his superior, Commander, Chemical Warfare Labs, that the plan would be submitted to him shortly by the Intelligence Center. (8) The plan called for use of LSD overseas on foreign nationals. The Surgeon General's office was the avenue chosen to rapidly implement the plan. (9)

On April 9 1959, representatives from the Chemical Warfare Laboratory and the Intelligence Center briefed the Chief, Research and Development, Office of the Surgeon General on 'Material Testing Program, EA 1729', proposing the field experimentation. He had shown reservations in approving the plan, but later informally notified Edgewood that the Surgeon General would reconsider the plan if it was presented through the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence (ACSI). The Intelligence Center sent the plan to ACSI to be co-ordinated with the Surgeon General, and the latter 'concurred in the finding of the Chemical Corps and offered no medical objections to the field experimental plan.' (10) The Office of ACSI ordered the Commander, U.S. Army Intelligence Center (USAINTC) to prepare a detailed staff study about the test on overseas nationals and prepare a report for ACSI. On October 15 1959, USAINTC sent the requested study to ACSI. (11)

On August 8 1960, the 'Office of Assistant Chief of Staff Intelligence Liaison Team' was sent to Europe to brief the European intelligence community on the joint Intelligence Corps/ Chemical Warfare Laboratories project for testing LSD and acquaint the G-2 U.S. Army Europe (USAREUR) with the plan. The team consisted of three members: the action officer from the Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence of the Department of the Army (OACSI), the Project Officer from the U.S. Army Intelligence Board at Fort Holabird (USAINTB), and another Project Officer from the U.S. Chemical Research and Development Laboratories (USACRDL) at Edgewood. This team briefed the G-2, USAREUR.

It was left to the intelligence community in Europe to devise the plan and provide the subjects for the proposed 'Field Test'. They were to be non-volunteer, foreign nationals. The Department of the Army was to be responsible for the execution of the plan under the watchful eyes of the Special Purpose Team (SPT). (12) Surviving records suggest that on 25 November 1960 the Deputy, ACSI and the G-2 USAREUR, informally agreed on the working relationship for the proposed plan. (13)

On December 7 1960, the USAINTC Project Officer, in the presence of representatives of the Chief Chemical Officer DA, and the Surgeon General's office, briefed the ACSI about the plan to conduct LSD tests on European non-volunteer subjects. (14) The briefing report shows that ACSI agreed with the method applied to enhance their conventional interrogation standards. Although little concern was shown, the question of co-ordination with other agencies such as the CIA and FBI was raised. The final decision was made that the co-ordination with the other agencies would be postponed until after the conclusion of the field tests in Europe. According to ACSI's remarks, 'His concern was that if this project is going to be worth anything it [LSD] should be used on higher types of non-U.S. subjects, and, as he put it - staffers. This could be accomplished if the CIA was brought in.' ACSI also added that 'maybe the FBI should be informed and to possibly join us to further develop the experimentation.' (15)

There is absolutely no evidence that this plan was approved by the Chief of Staff of the Army or any other officers higher than ACSI. Furthermore, there is no evidence that it was co-ordinated either with FBI, CIA or any other non-U.S. Army department.

In January 1961 the Chemical Corps made an officer available to be a member of the Special Purpose Team who joined the USAINTB project officer.(16) The new member, apparently provided by the Surgeon General's office, was a medical officer from Fort Totten, New York. (There is no documentary evidence of this assignment by the Surgeon General.)

Operation THIRD CHANCE

On 28 April 1961 the Department of the Army EA 1729 [LSD] Special Purpose Team (SPT) departed for a 90-day field experimentation program to Europe, 'Operation THIRD CHANCE'. The team consisted of an Army medical officer, a Chemical Corps EA 1279 project officer and the U.S. Army Intelligence Center project officer representing OACSI. The objectives were: 'to confirm or refute laboratory findings (1958-60) in an effort to ascertain whether or not the EA 1729 technique could be employed as an aid to interrogation and whether or not the technique does enhance the exploitability of actual subjects of intelligence interest.'(17)

The subjects had already been nominated by the sponsoring intelligence units. They were all from the critical category considered unresolvable through conventional interrogation or investigation techniques. The subjects were brought individually to a prearranged operational site on the pretext that they were to undergo a physical examination by the SPT doctor. After the introduction to the members of the SPT in a social environment, the subjects were surreptitiously administered LSD in drinks. Once the LSD had taken effect the group moved to an interrogation room. The medical officer and psychologist were present throughout the interrogation in an advisory capacity.(18) There were 11 experiments involving 10 individuals, all but one of whom were foreign nationals, Army intelligence sources or agents. The exception was a U.S. soldier who was involved in the theft of classified documents. All the subjects were non-volunteers, although one had agreed to take a 'truth serum' test.

The Special Project Team returned to the U.S. in late July 1961. They concluded that there was an urgent need for advanced and unconventional techniques to improve the field capability of intelligence units where intensive special interrogations were required, and that LSD had a promising future in this area. Among their other recommendations were: 'A comprehensive field testing program to be established in conjunction with appropriate associated U.S. intelligence and security agencies for the scientific derivation of empiric data upon which to standardise the EA 1279 technique; and that future field experimentation utilise real subjects of actual cases for both research purposes and operational advantage.' (19)

There is no evidence that any part of THIRD CHANCE was presented to, or approved by, the Army Chief of Staff or the Secretary of the Army. From the evidence it is clear that from start to finish the project violated Department of Defense and Department of Army policies, as well as specific procedures set for chemical or medical research. Furthermore the SPT used non-volunteers of foreign nationality in all but one case. Additionally, the use of the U.S. soldier was not experimental but operational. Finally, the flagrant disregard for Department of the Army policies and directives was the responsibility of the Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence, the Office of the Surgeon General and the Chief Chemical Officer.

Operation DERBY HAT

After the return of the Special Purpose Team from Europe in December 1971, a decision was made at ACSI to explore the possibility of similar experiments in the U.S. Army Pacific (USARPAC). (20) On 27 February 1962 the Intelligence Corps project officer briefed the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, USARPAC about the LSD program at his headquarters in Hawaii. 'The primary purpose of the field testing program will be experimental research under actual operating conditions, verification of previous laboratory and field test findings regarding [LSD] technique and development of further data regarding operational employment of the material. Any operational gains accruing to individual cases selected for experimentation will be considered a collateral advantage.' (21)

The initial tests were to begin on 20 April 1962. The program was code named Operation DERBY HAT, and ACSI requested the Chief Chemical Officer to provide an officer as a member of the Special Purpose Team for this phase. (22) The Chemical Corps assigned the same officer who had been present in Operation THIRD CHANCE. (23)

For reasons that are unclear Operation DERBY HAT was aborted before LSD could be administered to any of the eight subjects -- seven foreign nationals and one U.S. soldier -- chosen for it. In a briefing on 10 April 1963 the Deputy ACSI, DA ordered that no further field testing with EA 1279 be conducted. The reasons given were the lack of data, the inconclusive nature of the tests, and the legal, political and moral problems inherent in the use of EA 1279 (LSD). (24)

In conclusion

In the course of two years the Intelligence Corps used 30 to 35 humans in their LSD tests. The first experiments of the surreptitious administration of LSD at a simulated social reception were in direct violation of published Department of Defense and Department of Army policies. For a majority of the volunteers and the tests themselves no records are available. Records were deliberately destroyed to protect the identity of many of the participants in these operations. Although the use of LSD on any subject, for any purpose, was stopped as from 10 April 1963 in the U.S. Department of the Army, these operations opened new avenues for other U.S. agencies -- and allies of the U.S. government -- to continue research using LSD on unwitting human subjects thereafter.

Notes

1. U.S. Army Chemical Warfare Laboratories (ACC), MD. Letter to Commanding General, U.S Army Intelligence Center, Fort Holabird, MD. Subject: Proposed Plan for Field Experimentation with EA 1279, dated 19 March 1959.
2. U.S Army Intelligence Center, Fort Holabird, letter to Commanding General, U.S Army Chemical Center, Edgewood, MD. Subject: Material Testing Program EA 1279, dated 28 April 1958.
3. Disposition Form by a Medical Research Laboratory staff member. Subject: Comments on 'K' Material Testing Program Proposed from USAINTC, dated 27 March 1958.
4. Testimony of Lt. Col. (Retd.) William J. Jacobson, 29 August 1975.

5. U.S. Army Intelligence Board, letter to Chief Medical Research Directorate, Chemical Warfare Laboratories. Subject: Transmittal of Planned Worksheet, dated 3 June 1958.
6. Medical Research Laboratories, letter to Commanding General, U.S. Army Intelligence Center. Subject: Material Testing Program EA 1279, dated 14 January 1959.
7. U.S. Army Intelligence Center, letter to Commanding General, U.S. Army Chemical Research and Development Command, Edgewood. Subject: Material Testing Program, EA 1279, dated 21 January 1959.
8. Disposition Form from Director of Medical Research to Commander, U.S. Army Chemical Warfare Laboratories. Subject: CIC Test Plan, dated 6 March 1959.
9. USAINTC Letter to ACSI, DA. Subject: Staff Study: Material Testing Program EA 1279, dated 15 October 1959. (Includes a reference to ACSI-SC letter, 27 July 1959, requesting study.)
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Report of trip of OACSI Liaison Group re Material Testing Program EA 1279, dated 26 August 1960.
13. U.S. Army Chemical Corps R and D Command, letter to Commander, U.S. Army Chemical R and D Laboratories. Subject: Material Testing Program EA 1279, dated 25 January 1961. Enclosure 2, Material Testing Program EA 1279. Phase 1, Background and Summary to date. Undated.
14. Ibid. -- enclosure 4. Fact sheet by OACSI/ODSMCI Security Division. Subject: Material Testing Program EA 1279, dated 9 December 1960.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid. without enclosure.
17. Project Officer Report to ACSI. Subject: Report of Trip and Activities of the Department of the Army EA 1279 Special Purpose Team re: Operation 'Third Chance', dated 6 September 1961.
18. Ibid.
19. Reference to letter, ACSI-SC. Subject: Material Testing Project EA 1279, dated 29 December 1961.
20. Memorandum for Record. Subject: Policy and Operational Factors involved in the conduct of Field Experimentation of EA 1279, dated 1 March 1962.
21. ACSI letter to Chief Chemical Officer. Subject: Material Testing Program EA 1279, dated 28 March 1962.
22. U.S. Army Chemical Corps Research and Development Command Letter. Subject: Material Testing Program EA 1279, dated 6 April 1962.
23. ACSI letter to USAINTC. Subject: Material Testing Program EA 1279, dated 9 April 1962, with attached Memorandum for Record.
24. ACSI, DA, Memorandum for Record. Subject: Material Testing Program, EA 1279, dated 12 August 1963.

Heritage of Stone; JFK and *JFK*

See note 1.

Introduction

We were as surprised as anybody at the furore over Oliver Stone's movie. When we

published the Dean Andrews material and the analysis of the Clay Shaw U.K. contacts in *Lobster* 20, in November 1990, we did so in the certain knowledge that hardly anybody was still interested in the JFK case either here or in the USA. Still, here we are, very happy to return to the subject once again. In this section we have both contributed essays and book reviews, some contradictory. (There are three 'theories' about the assassination expressed here. As 'Garrison' said in that ridiculous closing speech in the movie, 'It's up to you'.)

RR

1. Stephen Dorril

- **Mark Lane, *Plausible Denial: Was the CIA Involved in the Assassination of JFK?*, Plexus, 1992.**
- **Jim Marrs, *Crossfire; The Plot that Killed Kennedy*, Carroll & Graf, 1992.**
- **David E. Scheim, *The Mafia Killed President Kennedy*, Virgin, 1992.**
 - **Anthony Summers, *Conspiracy, Sphere, 1992.***

The release of the Oliver Stone film has seen a crop of books reissued and repackaged on the assassination of President Kennedy. Summers' *Conspiracy* remains the best. It packs in a great deal of information, its assessment of the evidence is very good, and while I do not agree with all of the conclusions, I agree with more of them than any other JFK book. Lane's book is a mess and will only be of interest to real buffs. However, it contains slivers of information which were new to me, including some interesting material on the spook-backed journalist, Priscilla Johnson, and Oswald's visits to the American embassy in Moscow; statements made by David Attlee Phillips and background on former CIA officer, William Corson; and a short biography of Howard Hunt, which shows him to be a much more interesting and well-connected CIA officer than previously portrayed. But these are all tidbits. Marrs' effort, which was apparently extensively dipped into by Stone, should be avoided at all costs. Its passages on British intelligence are so wide of the mark that it made me wary of everything else in the book. Finally, there is Scheim's re-issue which looks little different to the last edition. The title says it all -- The Mafia killed President Kennedy -- a bold statement for which there is not a shred of evidence.

The thesis that the Mafia killed Kennedy rests on a number of circumstantial points.

1. The Mafia hated JFK and RFK.
True, a motive but not evidence of the murder.
2. Various Mafia leaders talked about a hit on JFK.
True, but unreliable. The majority of evidence relates to construction of alleged conversations a number of years later. The recent biography of Sam Giancana (*Double Cross*, Sam and Chuck Giancana, Macdonald, 1992) has to be judged as being totally unreliable with its lack of notes, reconstructed dialogue etc. All the alleged remarks made by Trafficante and others can be construed as direct threats or, more likely, expressions of what they hoped would happen.
3. Mafia links to Oswald.
These are so removed from Oswald, essentially his uncle in New Orleans, as to be irrelevant. Buffs who take these seriously are clutching at straws, particularly when links to other groups -- the CIA, for one -- are so much stronger.
4. Ruby knew Oswald.
We don't know. The evidence is highly dubious.
5. Oswald was killed by mobster, Jack Ruby, therefore the Mafia killed Kennedy.

- It has a straightforwardness which is highly compelling but it is not logical.
6. The CIA employed the Mafia in a series of assassination plots against Castro. True, but at best only circumstantial evidence with regard to the JFK murder.

It is a fact that Ruby was linked to the Mafia but we have no evidence that Ruby killed Oswald on mob orders. I believe it to be true, but it could just as well have been a plot organised by Dallas policemen -- for which there is a great deal of evidence -- or right-wing oilmen with whom Ruby was indeed in contact. Ruby's gun-running activities are also an area which might provide productive leads. Even accepting that the Mafia ordered Oswald's death, it does not follow that the Mafia were also responsible for the assassination of JFK. If we accept that the CIA/Mafia plots against Castro played a part in the assassination, then you could argue that the CIA killed JFK and then asked Ruby to silence Oswald.

The assassination conspiracy was clearly a failure: the President was murdered but the patsy survived for two days. It seems quite obvious to me that the real intention was for Oswald to be killed in the movie theatre (some of the new information on this episode in Summers' book is important and fascinating). All the constructed biographies of Oswald were in place -- Communist, pro-Cuba, defector to the USSR etc. -- but their power and influence on events was diluted by his survival. One can only surmise at what might have happened had Oswald been killed within an hour of the assassination. Some of the messages from intelligence units following the assassination suggest that one motive may have been to push the United States into an attack on Castro's Cuba.

Before we reach that point, we should draw back. What would have happened if, instead of having a Coke in the rest room, Oswald had wandered outside and watched the motorcade? What if the check-shirted figure of Billy Loveday photographed on the Book Depository steps really had been Oswald? The point is that for the conspiracy to succeed Oswald had to be inside the Book Depository. Was Oswald ordered to remain inside? Did he receive (or make) a telephone call there? I believe that Oswald was having lunch at the moment the President was killed but his behaviour -- total disinterest in the President's visit -- was distinctly odd. What was he really doing?

The whole conspiracy collapses if Oswald had not been employed by the Book Depository the short time before the 22 December, if the gun and shells had not been in the building; most importantly, if the route of the motorcade had not been changed, and if Oswald had not been inside the building at 12.30. The conspiracy was not simple, it was extremely complex and well-organised. For these and other reasons, I believe that the conspiracy was beyond the means of the Mafia.

As far as I am aware there is no recorded instance in the United States of the Mafia organising a triangular fire assassination in the open. The Mafia have much easier ways -- poison, car bombs; a gun to the chest, fire, and the assassin escapes in the confusion, a la Robert Kennedy. The mob had many chances of getting close to Kennedy but did not use the opportunity. The only group capable of pulling off an assassination of the type which claimed JFK were covert branches of the intelligence agencies or former personnel. The assassination attempts on General De Gaulle are an interesting comparison.

The important point about the events in Dealey Plaza is that everything was done in the open. It was so alarmingly public. It must have been quite obvious to the watchers

in the intelligence services that one of their own had done the deed. And, of course, that was the entire intention. The immediate knee-jerk reaction would have been cover-up at all costs.

When did the conspiracy begin? Although the facts of Oswald's life before the assassination are fascinating and important, we should perhaps concentrate on the activities of the conspirators -- whoever you choose -- in, say, the two months before the assassination. They may have wanted to get rid of Kennedy for some time but the actual planning would only have been undertaken a few weeks before the event. During those last weeks someone then pulled out Oswald's file and thought that here was the man they were seeking as the patsy.

There is no straight line in Oswald's career as a patsy. As a young man he clearly had been of some kind of low-level intelligence interest, then he went to the USSR, probably as some kind of false defector organised by Naval Intelligence. When the KGB failed to take the bait he came back to start a new career as a COINTELPRO agent, flirting with Marxism and pro- Cuban activities. (Incidentally, while a great deal of research has concentrated on his time in New Orleans with the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, this has obscured the fact that this link actually began in Dallas, just before his mentor, George de Mohrenschildt, left for Haiti.) This operation also seemed to fail, although it may have been tied to the strange goings-on in Mexico in September 1963 which seemed designed to present Oswald as a potential defector to Cuba.

My own theory on the assassination is as follows. Following the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Kennedy brothers had angered the anti-Castro crusaders in the intelligence community by banning covert activity against Cuba from American soil. The solution to this problem was to use one of the islands in the Caribbean as a base for launching a new covert war. The chosen base was Haiti, controlled by the hated Papa Doc. An alliance of the CIA, Military Intelligence, anti-Castro Cubans, possibly Mafia finance, and with Kennedy support, would organise an invasion in late 1963. The fall of Papa Doc fitted in with Kennedy philosophy, would be electorally popular, and would provide the much needed launch pad for the assault on Cuba.

A number of events can be re-interpreted to fit in with this theory. De Mohrenschildt's trip to the island in April 1963 was part of the general process. The Silvia Odio incident involved mercenaries who were in fact visiting an anti-Castro Cuban in the same block of flats, who was later involved in plots in Haiti. The mercenaries, who later spread Oswald stories, said that they were on their way to a covert operation against Haiti. There was a general build-up in the months



before the assassination. And then it all went wrong. In October 1963 Kennedy vetoed the Haiti plan. One can imagine the anger of the people who already thought the President was soft on communism and Castro. It is at this point, I believe, that they decided that the target was closer to home.

2. Robin Ramsay

Although I usually hate drama-docs, the film itself was actually very good. I could have done without the domestic sub-theme and most of the closing speech, and some of the exposition was rather clumsy, but on the whole it was hard to resist. (My favourite section was the marvellous cameo of Guy Bannister by Ed Asner.) In my view it matters not a jot that Stone's version of the event itself is flawed, that the picture of Garrison is ludicrously romanticised, and so on. The right-wing media got it right: it *is* psychological warfare, and it makes a pleasant change to hear the screams of protest coming from the Right.

Kennedy's murder was last used in a psywar project in the struggle to generate a new Cold War in the late seventies, via Edward J. Epstein's rubbishy *Legend*. With research funded by the *Readers' Digest*, one of Langley's major psy-war tools of the post-war years, *Legend* tried to restore the KGB as Oswald's ultimate paymasters. (2) His links to the CIA, FBI and anti-Castro Cuban movements disappeared. It was childish drivel but quite effective nonetheless. You may not be able to fool all the media all of the time, but you certainly can fool some of the media some of the time, especially the bits that have or have had a covert relationship with the Anglo-American secret states. *Legend* got tons of favourable publicity from the Anglo-American right media.

It wasn't just the Stone movie, of course, which transformed the climate: more that *JFK* was the piece which set the whole mass critical. The thirteen years in office of the Anglo-American Right have been unprecedentedly seedy, a long, overlapping sequence of parapolitical scandals. Stone's movie has focused the attention. This is not just nostalgic interest in a 30 year-old murder. The fact that Stone's movie has been a success indicates both that the tide has turned against the Right, and is also part of that movement.

These pivotal events also flush out the right-wing media.(3) Here the *Sunday Telegraph* -- allegiance basically with MI6 -- ran a leader on *JFK* on February 2, titled 'Reshooting Kennedy'. This rehashed not only the central theme of the 1967 CIA memo on the assassination to its assets (reprinted in this issue), that a member of the plot would have sold his story by now, it also tried to explain the final backwards motion of Kennedy's head by a shot from behind him by way of 'neuromuscular reaction to sudden destruction of the brain's nerve centres'. This preposterous nonsense, I seem to remember, first appeared sometime during the House Committee investigation. In rehashing it the *Telegraph* has usefully reminded us how far some people are prepared to go to try and maintain the single assassin theory. (4)

Over at the *Sunday Times* -- basic orientation for the past few years Army/MI5 -- on 26 January, James Adams, the *Times*' chief spook-contact for those years, now the paper's U.S. correspondent, was trotted out. Kennedy buffs are no longer a handful of cranks and sixties hold-overs according to Adams, but part of a 'Billion dollar conspiracy industry that thrives on Kennedy's death', to quote the headline of his piece. Adams returns us to the simple world in which Oswald is a 'Marxist and Soviet

sympathiser' and Jack Ruby a 'nightclub owner'. All the rest is uncertain, though, concludes Adams, and we conspiracy theorists are to blame: 'So muddy have the waters become that nobody will ever know the truth of what happened that day in Dallas'.

The central difficulty with the assassination is that the extant information on the conspiracy and its cover-up can be pretty plausibly reworked in many directions. Steve Dorril (above) has offered his current favourite theory. Though I am now reasonably convinced that the Mafia shot Kennedy, I share with many of the buffs a lingering desire to see the American state in there somewhere. My current favourite speculative theory which accomodates the U.S. state involves the so-called *apertura a sinistra* or opening to the left in Italy.

Nearly ten years ago former BOSS agent Gordon Winter replied to a letter from Steve Dorril about BOSS's view of the assassination with the answer that BOSS files had attributed it to 'a General named Walters'. In 1963 Vernon Walters was Military Attaché in Rome. (It may be a coincidence that in Walters' autobiography there is nothing at all on what he was doing in 1963.) Also in Rome in 1963 as CIA station chief was William Harvey, who, it is widely reported, hated the Kennedys.

Arthur Schlesinger's account of Kennedy's administration contains a section (pp. 675-679) describing Kennedy's support for the *apertura a sinistra* -- and the intense opposition to it within the State Department. If Kennedy's support for the *apertura* produced such oppositon from the State Department, how much more hostile were the CIA and the Pentagon? In his *Wilderness of Mirrors* (Harper Row, New York 1980) David Martin notes that 'to [James] Angleton, who viewed the [Italian] Socialist Party as nothing more than a Communist front, the policy was tantamount to surrender.'(p. 184) A lot of CIA money and energy had gone into keeping Italy in the hands of the Christian Democrats since the war.

To these fragments add contacts between the Mafia in the U.S. and the CIA, the U.S. Mafia's links with Italy, and you have the ingredients for a satisfying scenario in which Agency/Pentagon concern at the policy in Italy is translated into a Mafia hit in Dallas, with Oswald the designated stooge. All that is missing is evidence. But the lack of evidence was never a serious handicap in this field, was it?

Notes

1. The title of this piece was the title of Garrison's first book on the assassination.
2. I analysed *Legend in Lobster 2*, an essay which will be reprinted in a collection of the best of the early *Lobster* which is slowly being assembled. On the CIA and the *Reader's Digest* see Fred Landis, 'The CIA and the Reader's Digest', in *Covert Action Information Bulletin* No 29.
3. An entertaining rather than comprehensive survey of U.S. press reaction, past and present, is in *Extra!* March 1992 from FAIR, 130 W 25th St. New York NY10001. \$2.50 in the U.S.
- 4 The all-time best example of this was the *New York Times*. Faced with the House Committee's conclusion of 'probable conspiracy' in 1979, the NYT simply doubled the number of 'lone nuts', suggesting that there must have two madmen in Dallas that day.

Introduction

This, as some of *Lobster's* older readers will recognise, is a re-write of the essay I wrote on the JFK thing in *Lobster 2*, published on the 20th anniversary of the assassination in November 1983. This rewrite was written for the first issue of *Casablanca*, but it failed to appear.

In *JFK* the Costner/Garrison character goes to Washington and meets a source, "Mr X" (based on former USAF Colonel L. Fletcher Prouty), who tells him that the way to investigate the assassination is to ask who benefited from it? (*cui bono?*), and who had the power to cover it up? Since 1963 many of the assassination researchers have followed this advice. For many it is practically axiomatic that complicity in the cover-up following JFK's shooting implies complicity in, or knowledge of, the murder conspiracy. From the cover-up the trail can be followed back to the crime. But practically the entire U.S. establishment took part in the cover-up: national and local government agencies, the mass media, the political system, and the Kennedy family and its political allies -- all played a part in foisting the Warren Commission report onto the U.S. public. Each had good reasons for welcoming a cover-up which had nothing to do with the assassination *per se*.

The Kennedys had too many of their own secrets at risk. In 1963 the knowledge of John Kennedy's sexual promiscuity was still largely an insider's secret -- as was the family's various links to the mafia, from Joe Kennedy's bootlegging days to the mob's assistance in the election of 1960. A decent investigation might have revealed both, destroying any chance the other brothers had of succeeding John as President. The mass media are interested primarily in making money, and in 1963 many sections of it still had secret relationships with the CIA established in the early years of the Cold War and would follow the Agency's "no conspiracy" line. (On which see the CIA memo reprinted in this issue.) The political establishment, especially the Democrats with their long history of links to organised crime, had nothing to gain from the enthusiastic "pursuit of the truth". (This applied spectacularly to LBJ, one of the most corrupt politicians in history.) In 1963 the American public had no idea of the intimate relationship between organised crime and the funding of political parties, and Jack Ruby's mafia presence ensured the silence of the Washington political establishment.

As for the various intelligence and law enforcement agencies, first and foremost they had to bury their links with Oswald. The FBI had to conceal the fact that they knew of Oswald but had not kept tabs on him; or, worse, that he was working for them in the phoney Fair Play for Cuba Committee branch he was running. The CIA had to conceal their prior use of Oswald in their phoney defector programme; and his activities with the anti-Castro Cubans in New Orleans led directly back to Operation Mongoose, the CIA's then secret war on Cuba based in Miami.

All these parties are, first and foremost, interested in politics -- the acquisition and retention of power. Cover-up, lies, the harassment of those seeking "the truth" -- the things which Oliver Stone's Garrison character finds so shocking in the movie -- are among the normal activities of those engaged in American politics. The real Jim Garrison, the elected District Attorney of New Orleans, the *politician* Jim Garrison, knew this perfectly well. The cover-up after the assassination was routine American politics, an illustration of the basic rule of the American political game: don't let the

rubes in on the scam. Covering-up a Presidential assassination was larger and more sensitive than usual, but was routine nonetheless.

The separation of the cover-up from the assassination has significant consequences. If the murder is viewed as the work of people powerful enough to enforce the cover-up, then we are looking for a very powerful, and, presumably, very large group. And we cannot be looking for the mafia, who had the capacity to do the shooting but not the cover-up. But if the cover-up is nothing more than the sum of a lot of autonomous parts, the actual assassination conspiracy need not be large -- and could be the mafia.

The *Cui bono?* (who benefits?) question suggested by 'Mr X' to 'Garrison' also fails to illuminate -- for essentially the same reasons. Many groups in the political game benefited from JFK's death. LBJ, for example, inherited the Presidency and was able to halt a number of Congressional enquiries into domestic scandals in which he or his associates were implicated. The CIA, the anti-Castro Cubans, the FBI, the military-industrial complex -- almost everybody else in Washington benefited from Kennedy's death. Under Johnson there were no hesitations about the war in Vietnam, no prissy anxieties about democracy in Latin America. The American tax-payer would be milked to fund the arms corporations; the Generals of Brazil, Argentina *et al* could begin planning coups confident of U.S. approval. Nor were there many tears in the Democratic Party itself. For the Kennedys, with their own sources of money, and a trio of photogenic brothers, were a threat to the powers- that-be within the party and to other Democratic Presidential aspirants.

Neither "Who organised the cover-up?" nor "Who benefited from the assassination?" tells us anything specific about the assassination conspiracy. We are left with the murder itself. From the mountain of facts, factoids and speculation which had been erected these past 30 years, four features of the case take us close to the heart of things.

The first is the form of the assassination. Kennedy was bushwacked; people fired rifles at him. Long-range shooting is intrinsically unreliable and generally means that the assassins can't get close enough to do it any other way. (Assuming that the intention was to kill; it might just have been to *fire at* Kennedy; the death a bonus.) This was true, for example, of some of the many attempts by the OAS (Secret Army Organisation) to kill De Gaulle in this period. But it is difficult to believe that any of the powerful elements in the U.S. state apparatus -- the intelligence agencies or the Pentagon, for example -- would have felt it necessary to ambush Kennedy if they just wanted to get rid of him or change some of his policies. For such agencies there are always better, less public ways of persuading people to resign, permanently if necessary. Planes can crash, cars run off the road, boats sink, and so on. For all the talk -- in the Stone movie, for example -- of 'triangulation of cross- fire' and the rest of the speculation to try and convince us that this was some kind of masterful operation, it wasn't. This was a high-risk operation which almost failed. Only one killing shot was on target: at least three others missed. In other words, either the assassination was a crude attempt to bushwack Kennedy, or it was something designed to look like one.

The second important element is the fact that the assassination was widely known about in advance, and by low level 'street people' -- a stripper, a waitress, a small-time right-winger and a minor intelligence agent. The assassination conspiracy was leaky. This suggests that we are not dealing with a professional job by the intelligence services or the Pentagon. It is hard to imagine the pros holding anything more closely

than the assassination of a President.

The third element is the role of Oswald. After his arrest he had no doubts about his part in it: 'I'm just the patsy', he said, very striking and very specific. He didn't say they'd got the wrong man, or make great protestations of innocence: just 'I'm the patsy'. He was right. It is now proven beyond a reasonable doubt that Oswald was indeed the victim of a scheme to frame him as a pro-Castro assassin. This has two clear consequences. First, it explains why Kennedy was bushwacked -- and by rifle-fire and not machine-guns. The shooting had to be roughly consistent with Oswald's having done it. Secondly, the original plan must have included Oswald's immediate demise. With his connections to the intelligence world -- FBI and CIA -- and the anti-Castro underground, he had to die. Alive he would have talked -- did talk, in fact, though what he said has never been made public, and would presumably have talked some more when he came to court.

It seems likely that he was supposed to die 'resisting arrest' in the traditional manner. When the Dallas police grabbed him in the Texas Theatre a gun was heard to misfire. The Warren Report put this down to Oswald's gun despite the fact that an FBI weapons expert 'found nothing to indicate that this [Oswald's] weapon's firing pin had struck the primer of any of these cartridges.' Again, Oswald's reactions at the time are revealing. After the gun mis-fired he began shouting 'I am not resisting arrest, I am not resisting arrest' to the other people in the cinema. A police mis-fire and Oswald's quick wits saved his life in the Texas Theatre.

Jack Ruby is the fourth element. Ruby didn't just appear out of the blue and shoot Oswald in the basement of the Dallas police station. He had been following the events rather closely. He followed Kennedy's body to the Parkland Hospital: the Dallas journalist Seth Kantor, who knew Ruby well, spoke to him there. (The Warren Commission had to ignore this.) At the hospital somebody planted the so-called 'magic bullet' on the stretcher on which Governor John Connally had been brought in. (The bullet was planted to link the rifle in the 'sniper's nest' to the shooting.) As Warren and his committee could not encompass a conspiracy, they had to treat this bullet as if it had fired at Connally, and eventually were forced to the ludicrous pretence that this pristine bullet had passed through 2 human bodies, shattering bones and tearing flesh en route. Ruby is an obvious candidate for the role as the supplier of the 'magic bullet'. (Stone shows Ruby planting the bullet in JFK, but does it so quickly as to be almost subliminal.) Ruby then returned to the Dallas police headquarters and attended the first press conference addressed by District Attorney Henry Wade. When Wade named Oswald as part of an anti-Castro group, Ruby, at the back of the room, corrected him, telling the assembled journalists that Oswald was in the pro-Castro Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Why would a Mafia hoodlum and club owner know this? If Ruby was not a part of the conspiracy, tasked to help frame Oswald, what was he doing that day?

At this distance, what does the assassination look like? Kennedy is bushwacked, but the murder of Oswald, the patsy, goes wrong. Some crude attempts are made to attribute the assassination to Castro's Cuba, using Oswald's fake Fair Play For Cuba Committee as 'evidence'. Oswald is in custody, talking his head off to the Dallas Police, but nobody's taking notes of this interrogation. Along comes Ruby the local gangster and pay-off man between the mob and the Dallas Police. He's been stage-managing the framing of Oswald, and because he has virtually unique civilian access to the Dallas Police, it falls to him to solve everybody's problem by removing Oswald.

Even then he almost blows it, grotesquely over-playing his role and claiming he shot Oswald to save Jackie Kennedy's feelings! (How did the American media and political establishment get that one to play?)

It was all sloppy, and it almost went disastrously wrong. The evidence linking Oswald to the shooting was very thin; he would certainly have been acquitted had it come to trial. But in the original plan that didn't matter. Oswald was going to be dead, and the evidence had to be merely superficially plausible. As it was, it was barely even that. A so convenient photographic montage of Oswald posed with revolutionary newspaper and rifle; "magic bullet" fired from the cheapest, least reliable mail-order rifle in America, which nearly kills two people and emerges unscratched; an impossible shot -- and so on. This tacky kit had been designed merely as the set dressing for an open and shut case: dead President, dead assassin. Pity the poor old Warren Commission, trying to put the lid on the case with such utterly naff props.

A murder and a cover-up, yes; but not the gangantuan conspiracy suspected by some of the assassination researchers. Conspiracy is normal politics, but the reality is a jostling mass of groups, lobbies, bureaucracies and temporary alliances, rather than a great over-arching conspiracy. There is also incompetence and accident, a world in which Murphy's Law (what can go wrong will go wrong) has near universal application.

It looks like the Mafia, and it always did, really. It's just that we were all fascinated by the cover-up and wanted it to be the CIA that did the dirty deed, or the Pentagon, or the military-industrial complex -- the U.S. *state* in some form. We thought the "Mafia did it" story was the final fall-back position of the cover-up. But there is no evidence of the CIA in the assassination itself. The Mafia had the motive and the means. Some Mafia leaders were talking of killing Kennedy into the FBI's wire-taps in the months before the hit. Jack Ruby was Mafia: and blowing somebody away and letting some square john take the rap is just the Mafia's style.

Notes From the Underground: British Fascism 1974-92

Larry O'Hara

Part 1, 1974-83

Introduction

This essay does not set out to be a comprehensive history of fascism in this period but rather to fill in a number of crucial gaps in the extant research, notably: what overall political strategy the significant British fascist groups were pursuing, and how this intersected with more orthodox political forces -- including elements of the secret state. By comparison with equivalents abroad, British fascists have been rather tame, but this should not cause us to forget that in the 1970s they blazed a trail for others, building significant pockets of support.

There are general difficulties facing the student of fascism. The bewildering complexity of the fissions -- both ideological and personal -- that periodically afflict

the far Right, while fascinating for students of esoterica, are confusing for the outsider. There is also the general problem, common to all politicians, of ascertaining whether they mean what they say. Among the fascists this is often compounded by the desire to conceal a Nazi past and/or ideology. Further, much of what counts for 'hard' information on the connections of fascism to the secret state has been filtered through suspect sources such as *Searchlight* magazine, and fascists themselves, and lacks independent corroboration. (1)

1974-5 -- an opportunity foreclosed

1974 should have been a propitious time for British fascists. Talk of military coups was in the air, involving groups inside and outside the state; and the success of the Ulster Workers' Council strike in Northern Ireland was a real challenge to the legitimacy of the British state. Furthermore, there was an overlap in terms of interests, and sometimes of membership, between the National Front (hereafter NF) and groups on the Tory Right, such as Lady Jane Birdwood's Choice and other anti-immigration forums. At first sight, one might have expected party fascists (i.e. those who were members of fascist political parties) to welcome the open questioning of bourgeois democracy from the right in this period, and to an extent this was the case. In January 1974, as the miners' strike was building up to the political climax of the February election, NF Chairman Tyndall called for 'ruthless and drastic measures by government to get the country running', emergency legislation including 'detention of any union leader who sought actively to sabotage the effort to get industry moving in the crisis... [and] the instant dismissal from all posts in the trade union movement of individuals with a record of past or present membership of Communist organisations'. (2) Later in the year, when coup speculation was more intense, the NF made clear that theirs was no 'doctrinaire support of parliamentary government as an end in itself', and that their answer to the question as to whether the 'survival of parliamentary democracy [was] more important than the survival of Britain' was 'decidedly no'.

But the possibility of a military coup was viewed 'with a great deal of circumspection', because service officers, while they may well save the country from 'the Left of the street mobs and militant trade unionists... would be only delivering us into the hands of the much more sinister, because concealed, Left -- the Left of the sophisticated world government bureaucracy, with its tentacles of international finance and its highly matured machine of conspiracy and terror -- a Left that is so adaptable in its guises that it can often look like the most Conservative and "patriotic" Right -- to all except those who are versed and trained in world affairs from the counter-conspiratorial point of view. For this reason we believe that there is no foreseeable military coup in Britain that is going to do Britain any good'. (3)

Those NF members with sympathy for the 'Left' fascism of the Strasser brothers, Hitler's contemporary opponents, grouped at this time around the newspaper *Britain First*, and later to become the National Party, were even less sympathetic. They denounced the activities of General Sir Walter Walker and Colonel David Stirling, declaring that as 'the only genuinely democratic and revolutionary force in Britain the National Front has more to fear from such reactionaries than anybody else..... were the barricades to go up we would expect to see Walker and Stirling on the other side'. (4) Echoing Tyndall, the National Party castigated the so-called private armies as paving the way for Communism, and 'the rise of these mercenary defenders of the status quo redoubles the necessity of building a radical nationalist movement amongst ordinary people so that a powerful community and industrial organisation exists along

the lines of the Ulster Workers' Council.' Such populist radicalism developed into attacks on the 'Anti-Nationalist Right', including Aims of Industry, the Institute for the Study of Conflict and the National Association for Freedom -- all being identified as part of the capitalist segment of the conspiracy leading to an 'authoritarian world government'. (5)

Far from contemplating a role in the overthrow of the Labour government, in 1974 the NF had only just been rebuffed by the Monday Club and seen the break-down of 'the bridge' between the racists in the Club and other elements like the NF. While as recently as September 1972 the NF had provided stewards and 400 of the audience at a Monday Club anti-immigrant rally, after the defeat of George Kennedy Young's challenge for the Chair of the Club in 1973, exclusion became the order of the day. (6) Ultimately the Monday Club opened their files to Lesley Wooler of the Jewish 62 Group, so as to root out NF sympathisers.(7)

More positively, at the West Bromwich parliamentary by-election in late 1973, for the first (and only) time, the NF had retained their election deposit with Martin Webster's 16% of votes cast. Electoral breakthrough seemed to beckon to some. (8) In the event, the Front split in late 1974 following the widely-viewed TV denunciation of Tyndall's neo-nazi ideology by a previous NF Chair, John O'Brien. Former Tory Kingsley-Read displaced Tyndall as party Chairman in October and the ensuing turmoil produced a confused alliance in the National Party of ex-Tories like Kingsley-Read and genuine Strasserites.

In March the NF was frozen out of the 1975 National Referendum Campaign (NRC) for a 'no' vote in the referendum on membership of the EEC. While the far left were also rejected, it was a palpable sign of the NF's distance from the centres of orthodox political power, and their subsequent disruption of the NRC's Conway Hall rally in April points to their very real frustration and sense of alienation. (9)

Not only were the NF/NP excluded from the overt contemporaneous debates in mainland ruling circles on the future of Britain's democracy (the role of the NF in Ulster politics was not so marginal, but that subject deserves a full treatment another time), there is no evidence of significant covert organisational NF/NP links with the state in this period. (Though this does not rule out individual contacts.) They were hardly awash with money, from 1970-78 the NF operated from a semi-detached house in Teddington, and dingy premises in Croydon. (10) While an NF Trade Union group had been formed in 1972, and was active supporting 'white workers' at the Imperial Typewriters dispute in 1974, the NF were nowhere near being able to intervene in large-scale struggles like the miners' strike, and were thus not in a position to function as 'shock-troops of the bourgeoisie' in classical fascist fashion.

For non-party fascists, the situation was slightly different. After the annual European neo-nazi rally in Diksmuide [Dixmuide], Belgium, in 1974, the League of Saint George was founded, ostensibly as a 'non-party-political club, expressing a philosophy based on patriotism and dedicated to the principle of an ordered society within the context of our European civilisation'. (11)

Apart from opposition to Marxism and 'fraternal wars', accompanied by a desire for mutual co-operation, its overt programme was rather bland. It soon attracted the wrath of Martin Webster, NF Activities Organiser, as a back-door attempt to gain influence by failed Mosleyites and (more annoyingly) ex-National Party members. Webster

disliked its Europeanism and its (speculated) role as a recruitment pool for the neo-Nazi Column 88 para-military group. More significantly, however, was the fact that one of the constituent founders of the League was the Italian Ordine Nuovo, who organised the Las Palmas gathering in May 1975 at which British representatives of Column 88 were present. (12) Ordine Nuovo, banned in 1973, was later re-organised with the knowledge of the Italian Secret Service. (13) There is thus the distinct possibility that the secret services of various countries -- including the UK -- were aware of the League's activities at this time.

1975-77 -- from exclusion to exile

While not averse to violence, it was incidental to the NF's strategy. Here there was the usual variety, ranging from the 40-strong attack on an NCCL meeting in Manchester to arson attacks on bookshops, community centres and anti-fascists too numerous to detail here. (14) An important turning-point had been the violence at Red Lion Square in June 1974, where one demonstrator against the NF had died as a result of police horse action. Despite the fact that the NF had not engaged in violence that day, thenceforth they were associated in the public mind with mayhem, and realised the Left were opponents who could not be ignored, or placated. A November 1974 members' bulletin called for the expansion of 'facilities for keeping 'tabs' on those enemies of our party who seek to oppose it by other than lawful constitutional and democratic means' -- this to include the collection of addresses and the photographing of individuals selling left-wing papers etc.. Sinister as this may seem, it was still introspective, geared at defence of the NF as an organisation, rather than taking the social offensive. On a local level, names and addresses of opponents were published, and it was during this period that Joe Pearce first became active, publishing *Bulldog*, a populist racist broadsheet aimed at working class white youth.

In 1976 the NF/NP made something of an electoral breakthrough. Some of the credit for this must go to their own actions -- for example the 1,000 strong St. George's Day march through Bradford in April -- but some is attributable to the climate of racist hysteria whipped up by the media, rising unemployment, and the first severe public spending cuts of the Labour government. (15) In the May local (district) elections not only did fascists in Leicester receive 18.5% of the vote, two National Party councillors were elected in Blackburn. This was followed in July by a combined NF/NP vote of 44.5% in a Deptford council by-election, the victorious Labour candidate only securing 43.5% of the vote. (16) This crop of propitious results had mixed effects. On the one hand NF Chair John Tyndall thought this presaged an electoral breakthrough; on the other, those elements interested in direct action were also emboldened. With the NF's November 1976 Remembrance Day parade turn-out of 6,000, the highest ever, matters appeared to be looking up.

In the summer of 1977, following an article advocating its creation by Derek Holland -- a figure of great importance later -- the Young National Front was set up. (17) Despite the ambition expressed by the formation of a youth movement, the NF leadership had neither the rhetorical nor programmatic flair to ensnare many interested in radical transformation, nor the numbers of street-hardened activists to impress significant ruling-class fractions. This was exemplified by the NF's impotence over the Grunwick dispute. (18) Tyndall might fulminate that 'our police, whether they be on duty at factories like Grunwick or at National Front marches attacked by red mobs in the same way.... should be empowered beforehand to take action against those responsible for organising and planning acts of violence in advance', but the the NF

was still unable to even dream of directly confronting the Grunwick pickets themselves.(19) The main public thrust of the NF towards the end of 1977 was the continued presentation of themselves as a 'respectable' organisation. Thus on 24 September 1977 an NF delegation to New Scotland Yard, including Tyndall, Martin Webster, Andrew Fountaine and Andrew Brons, met a police contingent led by Deputy Assistant Commissioner Helm to discuss alleged attacks on the NF by the Left. While few firm promises were received in return from the NF, it does indicate a certain legalism on their part.

Outside the NF/NP, matters were a little more exciting. In November 1975 the League of Saint George allegedly held a joint training camp with the neo-nazi 'Column 88' (apparently so named because the slogan 'Heil Hitler' uses the eighth letter of the alphabet twice). (20) Among the organisers of this event was one Peter Marriner, a prominent British Movement organiser suspected on the fascist right of having Special Branch connections. (21) Marriner was subsequently exposed as an infiltrator of some skill, having become the election agent of Labour M.P. Brian Walden and his successor John Severs at the time of the Birmingham Ladywood by-election in 1977. In early 1977 the British Movement itself commenced a programme to 'train men to officer standards in field training, discipline, unit leadership' of a decidedly paramilitary nature, but without evidence of substantial logistic or financial input. (22)

1978-79 -- the Downward Spiral

The NF's electoral success led to the development of organised resistance. In November 1977 the Anti-Nazi League was formed, with the aim of laying bare the ideology of the NF leadership and undercutting their appeal to disaffected white youth. Also at the end of 1977, according to Webster, the attitude of the police began to change, from one of co-operation to hostility. (23) Part of the reason may have been the police's perception after the violence of the Lewisham march in August 1977 that public disorder was inevitably associated with the NF, and it was all too much bother. Racial violence continued unabated, most notably in the East End during the summer of 1978, but those incidents showing most evidence of planning began in March.

Seven crude incendiary bombs were sent primarily to left-wing bookshops by the Manchester-based SS Wotan 18, linked with Column 88. (24) As a footnote to the British Movement (BM) paramilitary activity mentioned above, three Birmingham members were convicted in January 1981 after their stockpile of machine guns, rifles and ammunition was found. (25) Given their clientele, such publicity did not do the BM much harm, and by 1983 they had recovered to 3,000 members. (26)

For the NF, electoral decline set in throughout 1978, partly precipitated by Mrs Thatcher's speech on the tv programme *World in Action* of January 30 1978, in which, using the notion of 'swamping', she sought to appropriate concerns about immigration, previously the NF's domain. Tyndall opened 1979 with yet more vain spluttering against trade union pickets, denouncing them as mobsters who under an NF regime would 'find themselves in police cells so quickly they won't know what hit them' -- closing off space to the Left just as Thatcher had drawn off support from the Right. (27) In this period there were allegations of collusion with the repressive apparatus of the state, centred around Martin Webster (which I will deal with in a subsequent article). Some NF members, however, were interested in colluding with elements of the orthodox right. In the summer of 1978 an 'Action Committee of London Branch Organisers' had preparatory discussions with other right-wing groups about what to do

after Tyndall/Webster had been dumped. (28)

Between the NF and the 'libertarian right', however, was mutual ideological antipathy, especially concerning the Freedom Association (then the National Association for Freedom, NAFF), which had played such an important role in the Grunwick dispute. In 1977 Aims of Industry published a trenchant attack by the late Stephen Eyres, a NAFF activist, *The National Front is a Socialist Front*. (29) As well as denying the 'socialist' charge, the NF castigated NAFF as 'simply echoing the voice of the new Toryism by emphasising the freedoms and rights that the individual should possess vis-a-vis the State but is afraid to mention the duties that the individual should hold towards the State and Nation'. (30)

The most interesting development in 1978 was the appointment of Steve Brady as International Liaison Officer of the League of Saint George. If there was an even remotely plausible candidate for a state-fascist political collaboration in this period, it was the League, a coalition of ex-NP members like Brady, orthodox neo-nazis and semi-Tories like Fountaine and Kavanagh. (31) Certainly Tyndall, Webster and Verrall chose to present them in a sinister light during the internal faction-fighting of 1979-80, alleging that 'according to accurate inside sources of information, this situation of dissension and rebellion is being actively promoted by members of the League of St. George in a bid to topple the present leadership of the NF'. (32) Even if they were exaggerating this, the most hardened and ideologically-committed in the NF and BM were specifically excluded from the most significant bridging attempt with both the orthodox far right and foreign neo-nazis.

It all seems very haphazard and disorganised. Few would dissent from Peter Shipley's 1978 assessment that 'What is noticeable.... is the total hostility of the Establishment towards the NF: the press, the professions, the universities, the senior ranks of the armed forces or civil service show no inclination towards the NF or NF-style politics. There is no NF intelligentsia and no financial backing from "big business".' (33) Derek Holland's critique of this period, written in 1988, is as good a summary as any -- 'It was believed, naively, that a combination of spectacular public marches, generating enormous publicity, with widespread electioneering would bring the NF rapidly into the ambit of political power.... increasing votes and higher recruitment gave a semblance of legitimacy to this strategy, but it did not take long for the Establishment to work out that they were dealing with a March-Elections one card trick. The result was widespread violent street opposition to our marches and intensive national smear campaigns, especially at election times..... public support for the NF withered..... The then leadership clung obstinately to their strategy despite its manifest uselessness in the new circumstances.' (34)

1979-83 -- into the eye of the storm?

The 1979 election was a severe set-back for the NF, with their average vote down to 1.3% compared with 3.1% in October 1974. Many dropped out, and there was a powerful residue of anger and bitterness among remaining fascist activists. The time seemed ripe for determined action. After the election there was a three-way split in the NF. One group, led by Fountaine and Kavanagh, and also involving Richard Franklin, became the short-lived NF Constitutional Movement. This was a politically vacuous para-Tory grouping, opposed in a coded way to Nazism, enigmatically defined as 'dogmatic and arbitrary insistence on political attitudes that have failed in other places and at other times, and that are largely the cause of our failure today.' (35) The second

group was led by John Tyndall, who walked out in January 1980 after the party refused to grant him dictatorial powers. He formed a New National Front which, by April 1982, had become the British National Party (BNP), characterised by an increasingly overt Nazism with a British wrapping, and the cult of the leader. (36)

The third group was those left in the NF itself. Their ideology was a rather ambitious, interesting brew. (37) At the 1980 AGM, 'for the first time in the NF's 13 year history, the Party [was] in the hands of Revolutionary Nationalists determined to destroy the twin evils of Communism and Capitalism.' (38) The scenario outlined for the NF's attainment of power was therefore changed to one of 'Organising for the Collapse'. According to the NF's 5-year plan of July 1980, 'If it is true that the NF has no hope of gaining power under conditions that are stable - - economically, socially or politically -- we should not be preoccupied with making ourselves more "respectable" under present conditions. We must appreciate that the "image" we have been given by the media and which may well lose us some potential support today, will be a positive asset when the streets are beset by riots, unemployment soars, and when inflation gets even beyond the present degree of minimal control.' (39)

The agency of change was altered, signalled by Webster's immediate reaction to the 1979 election debacle that the 'NF won't be built on middle class foundations'. That did not mean the NF had become genuinely anti-capitalist; it was tactical, Webster warning that 'until we have become big enough to be a serious contender for power in a situation of a national economic catastrophe and a collapse of law and order, the NF will not be able to offer the middle class anything by way of property/status protection that the Conservative Party cannot offer with a million times more credibility.' (40) Capitalism itself was still defined in Nazi (Strasserite) terms by the most influential radical theorist, Joe Pearce, who was careful to distinguish it from private enterprise. (41) Nevertheless, there was a greater rhetorical commitment to trade union activism and the 'patriotic working class' than there had been before. (42)

Increasingly, hostility towards the police developed into a full-blown fear of a burgeoning 'Police-State', articulated by Griffin and Pearce, who declared in 1982 that 'today the British police force constitutes a State militia designed to suppress all 'dissident elements'..... and that of course includes the NF!' (43) There was a denial that the NF was 'right-wing', (44) followed by sympathetic noises about the Militant Tendency, though not Marx himself. (45) Long-standing sympathy for the Palestinian cause (on the principle of 'my enemy's enemy is my friend') was translated into a 'Victory To Palestine' supplement to *Nationalism Today* in April 1983, written by Derek Holland and widely rumoured to have been paid for by Middle Eastern finance. (46)

It has been alleged that from 1982 onwards Derek Holland, Joe Pearce, Nick Griffin and others involved with *Rising* magazine, most notably the Italian exiles, of whom Roberto Fiore was the most prominent, were involved in preparations for armed struggle and the creation of 'political soldiers'. This contention is best discussed in the context of the take-over of the NF by Holland, Griffin and company in 1986, which I will deal with in a future essay. Whatever the truth of that, towards the end of 1983 even Martin Webster was to be found warning that 'a society which calls itself "democratic" but which takes measures to prevent its political minorities from engaging in the democratic process is a society which is inviting minority opinion to be expressed through the only mode of expression left available to it: terrorism.' (47) Holland was quick to criticise him, on the grounds that 'terrorism is only the answer

for those with a death wish', a rebuttal that would now seem more convincing had not one of Holland's later slogans not been the inimitable oxymoron 'Long Live Death'... (48)

Just as the NF's 1979 electoral humiliation led to an upsurge in official anti-semitism from them (most notably in the pages of the theoretical journal *New Nation*, edited by Andrew Brons and later Nick Griffin), it also saw increasing violence against their opponents. At this time the NF was far from the disciplined organisation the would-be 'political soldiers' later aspired to create, and local branch committee members had a lot of scope in their own areas. In 1980 the Chairman of Southwark NF, Ken Matthews, was jailed for six years after taking part with two other members in an arson attack on Union Place Resource Centre in Lambeth. (49) Wandsworth NF (which at this time contained both Martin Webster and the young Patrick Harrington as members) hit the headlines because its branch PO Box was used as a contact address for *South London News*, which specialised in publishing the names, addresses and telephone numbers of Leftist opponents of the NF. The June/July 1981 issue went further, advising its readers on how to buy weapons. The NF's official view was that this magazine had been issued in response to the Anti-Nazi League (ANL) magazine *Forewarned*, which, starting in October 1978, had begun to print the details of hundreds of NF members in like fashion. I recollect seeing such lists passed around the ANL in the late seventies -- but who was first in the field is hard to tell at this distance. (50)

The NF's leadership had two conflicting concerns. On the one hand, to retain the 'respectable' elements of their base, it was essential to avoid the blame for the instigation of political violence, which was presented as originating exclusively from the ranks of opponents, before 1979. Thus April 1977 (for marches) and early 1978 (for arson and personal attacks) were said to be the turning-points. (51) On the other hand, they wanted to avoid the haemorrhage of members to the British Movement, which was not interested in respectability and was rapidly growing. This led to some highly ambiguous statements. In April 1981, for example, the NF declared that it 'does not encourage or condone reprisal attacks but points out that it was the Left who opened the Pandora's Box of harrassment.' (52)

In some areas there seems little doubt that the initiative came from the NF. In Brighton, for example, with which I have some familiarity, a campaign of violence by the NF and their periphery began around November 1979, and continued until 1982. Traditionally, Brighton had been a low-profile area for the NF, given the residence locally then (and now) of luminaries such as Tyndall. Activities undertaken included regular assaults on meetings of the Troops Out Movement, a daylight axe-attack on the local Women's Centre and the destruction by fire of the local Resource Centre. (53)

In advertising the June-July 1981 issue of *South London News*, the local NF bulletin *Sussex Front* (then edited by Martin Wingfield, who later performed the same function for *The Flag* newspaper) described it as containing 'articles on Weapons and where to get them, Wogs and how to get them out, and the usual list of leading "Reds" addresses and phone numbers.' (54) On the other side of the violence ledger there was the subsequent arson attack on the Hancock family's printing press, a long-standing and relatively ecumenical fixture on the Far Right scene, which had printed the infamous Holocaust Denial offering by Richard Verrall, *Did Six Million Really Die?*. *Sussex Front* eventually published the names and addresses of local anti-fascists, just like the *South London News*.

What is instructive about this local experience is what didn't happen, as much as what did. Aside from the Resource Centre incident, the ordnance used was crude, and the campaign never escalated to the level of attacks on individuals' homes in the Brighton area. This did not happen for two reasons. Firstly, the NF's local political base was undermined by mass opposition, particularly to their recruitment attempts in local schools. Secondly, local anti-fascists made it crystal clear to the NF that any attacks on places of residence would be reciprocated, swiftly and in full. These two factors demoralised the local NF, and so the campaign tapered off.

A similar pattern of early activity followed by decline was experienced elsewhere. (55) In 1981-2 the peace movement in particular was on the receiving end of sometimes violent opposition, from both BNP and NF members. (56) The Ecology (now Green) Party was not immune either, with the National Secretary Paul Ekins receiving a death-threat in 1982 for announcing his candidature in a constituency to be contested by the NF. That missive came from Column 88 though, and it is most unlikely the NF were involved; it is far more likely to have been sympathisers of the British Movement or British National Party, perhaps even as a means of discrediting the NF. During the period, the most public face of the party, *NF News*, under Webster's editorship, continued with the same jingoistic racism as before, even if increasingly garlanded at the edges with economic nationalism. Such atavism was also exhibited by the NF Youth paper *Bulldog* under Pearce's editorship, and in January 1982 he was given a six-month sentence (he served four) for incitement to racial hatred, after his third trial on similar charges.

The diffuse and intermittent nature of the violence, and its demise, should warn us against seeing it as much more than bitter resentment and inchoate taking of revenge -- certainly not the stuff of 'grand strategy'. Just as most members of the Anti-Nazi League never progressed beyond wearing badges and attending musical events, only a minority of NF members and their periphery ever took part in the violence. The vast majority of racist attacks then, as now, were not carried out by members of any political party. Indeed the 1991 Home Office figure of 70,000 such attacks came at a time when the far right was in the organisational doldrums.

If the picture is broadened to include not just what the NF was officially up to but also the currents bubbling beneath the surface of the organisation and other groupings and individuals on the far right generally, then it does become more interesting. There was fascist infiltration of, and connections with, the Tory party, highlighted by a 1983 Young Conservative report into the subject. The report was in no doubt that 'organised infiltration is a reality', and particular attention was given to the 'crucial... role of co-ordinating groups', named as WISE, Tory Action and the London Swinton Circle. (57) A number of Conservative MPs -- Harvey Proctor, Ronald Bell, Gerard Howarth and so on -- were associated with these 'bridging' groups. Another grouping which worried them was the neo-fascist historian David Irving's Focus Policy Group, set up in 1980, which had been trying to purchase mailing lists of Tory activists. The NF Constitutional Movement were well represented at such gatherings, and George Kennedy Young (former deputy head of MI6), who had almost succeeded in taking over the Monday Club a decade earlier, was heavily involved in Tory Action. The most damning piece of evidence of infiltration was the July 1982 letter of Richard Franklin, former League of Saint George, NF, and more recently NF Constitutional Movement member. In it he urged a sympathiser to join the Tories, asserting that 'those of us who have chosen to work quietly through the Conservative Party are not altering one iota of our basic ideology. Far from it. The new strategy merely represents

a change of style.' (58)

But what did this actually mean? First, shared tenets such as racialism did not mean a common strategy. Second, it is evident from Franklin that his main aim was the pursuit of electoral success for his kind of racist ideas -- and the poor 1979 showing of the NF is by far the most plausible reason to explain the flood of ex-members into the Tory Party documented by the report. While its (Conservative) authors naturally tried to play down 'the contention that people formerly in the NF have joined the Conservative Party because they 'feel at home in it' ', this is not far-fetched for many of them. Thirdly, it was also conceded that 'to this date, such infiltration has been poorly organized and sporadic.' (59) If there were an overall strategy, not only would there have been rather more organisation to it, surely those sent to infiltrate would have been of better political calibre than the losers who mostly entered -- populist, racist NF members and supporters of the NF Constitutional Movement, with a smattering of orthodox nazis. Reading through the report as a whole, it becomes obvious that despite the undeniable wealth of individual links and membership crossovers cited, there was not in the late 70s and early 80s any consistent and coherent attempt by organised fascists to infiltrate, as opposed to overlap with, sections of the Tory party.

As for David Irving, it was Martin Webster who pointed out at the time that Focal Point was the organ of a tiny coterie of 'ultra-Tory undergraduates, genteel crypto-Mosleyites and sundry other political hobbyists' -- and it never became anything more. (60) Had there been elements of capital and the secret state willing to fund a project of destabilisation, Irving's manoeuvres would have been a pretty good candidate; yet it had foundered by the end of 1983, in large part due to lack of cash, a problem which Irving has to this day. (61) Unless one is to believe that British fascists were engaged in a labyrinthine plot of dazzling complexity, what happened was as it appeared -- bridging organisations of limited influence, a return to the Tory fold of sympathisers, and sundry flights of high-blown but insubstantial political escapism. While Andrew Brons, then NF Chairman, was overstating it somewhat when he wrote in early 1984 that 'the idea that we, a radical, Racial Nationalist party, should seek to infiltrate the unsavoury corpse of the Conservative party is so ludicrous that it should not need to be denied', (62) he did nevertheless capture the mood of the bulk of NF activists, scornful of those who had already left.

There was one other significant political development during the period. This was the foundation of the magazines *Heritage and Destiny* and *New Democrat* (later the *Scorpion*) in 1980 and 1981 respectively, by former National Party activist Richard Lawson and ex-Central London NF organiser Michael Walker. Both publications, especially the *Scorpion*, showed signs of having learned from the European New Right the importance of the battle of ideas, viewed in a Gramscian sense of a preparatory 'war of position'. Whereas the 'meeting-points' afforded by the likes of WISE were mainly physical, the *Scorpion* rapidly developed from being yet another barely-concealed neo-nazi journal to a highly sophisticated bridge of ideas and social forces, initially intersecting with the regionalist, and later the Green movements. (63)

Notes

1. Without doubt there are matters on which *Searchlight* is usually reliable -- election results, court-cases, as well as the occasional publication of primary source documents. Outline sketches of individual careers are of rather more mixed reliability, and when it comes to actual interpretation of the significance

of events on the far right, *Searchlight* is often very questionable indeed. This is not just due to bizarre fantasies, and guesswork and/or wish-fulfilment masquerading as fact, there is also what appears to be the passing of disinformation on behalf of MI5 and possibly others. Where possible, I have not relied on *Searchlight's* analysis. That said, it always makes for amusing (and often informative) reading.

2. *Spearhead* 72, January 1974, p. 2, editorial.
3. *Spearhead* 79, September/October 1974, p.2, editorial.
4. *Britain First*, 24 October 1974, p. 2, editorial. Though it is unclear who Stirling was referring to, he was unequivocal that his GB 75 would 'have no truck with the extreme right-wing and neo-fascists already appearing on the scene'. This was probably a reference to George Young, whom he hated. GB75 documents were leaked to, and reproduced in, *Peace News*, 23 August 1974.
5. *Britain First*, issues 32, 'The Aims Behind the Rhetoric', 34 (letters), 35 'The New Anti-Communists', and 41, October 1976, p. 7.
6. Martin Walker, *The National Front* (Fontana, London, 1977) p. 136.
7. *Ibid.* p. 129. See also Martin Webster's comments on this episode in *Spearhead* 95, June 1976, p. 8. In the event 12 such sympathisers were found.
8. Stan Taylor, *The National Front in English Politics* (Macmillan, London, 1982) pp. 25-49. More sober outside analysis showed that the NF's percentage share of the vote in all contested seats during the two 1974 General Elections was 3.2% and 3.1% respectively.
9. Walker *op. cit.* p. 180. See also the special *Spearhead* issue on the EEC, no. 83, April 1975, pp. 18-19.
10. Martin Walker's assessment that 'available evidence for the NF's source of money overwhelmingly suggests that it is a self-financing body, permanently short of funds, and constantly urging its branches to be self-supporting' seems as valid as any, especially as much of his information was derived from NP sources with every incentive to discredit the NF. Walker p. 164
11. League of Saint George policy and programme, point (a). No date but 1974.20
12. *Spearhead* 88, p. 5.
13. Thomas Sheehan, 'Terror on the Right', in *New York Review of Books*, January 1981 p. 24, cites Protocol 7125 no. 21950 dated 27 August 1976 as evidence of this.
14. See the *Searchlight* publication *The Murderers Are Amongst Us*, 1985, and *Searchlight* 30, pp. 8-9, which give the flavour of the period.
15. Stan Taylor (*op. cit.*) p. 45 and Walker (*op. cit.*) pp. 195-8.
16. Taylor (*op. cit.*) pp. 46-8.
17. *Spearhead* 106, June 1977 pp. 9 and 108; August 1977, p. 9.
18. Centred around a union-recognition dispute involving Asian women workers at a London film-processing plant, it became a focal point for both the left and the right.
19. *Spearhead* 107, July 1977.
20. Ray Hill and Andrew Bell, *The Other Face of Terror*, (Grafton, London, 1988) p. 224.
21. *Anarchy* 36 (second series), Summer 1983, pp. 24-5.
22. M. McLaughlin, BM organisers' *Bulletin*, 1978 (undated).
23. Martin Webster, cited in *Searchlight* 38, p. 12. They are apparently quoting from an article he wrote in the previous month's *Spearhead*, although I cannot find it in the relevant issue.
24. See David Leigh, the *Guardian* 10 September 1979, and *The Observer*, 9 April 1978. For the NF view of these events see the editorial in *NF News*, 13 May

- 1978, and *Spearhead* 119, July 1978 p. 3. Nobody was killed by these devices, made of weedkiller and contained in receptacles such as toffee tins.
25. See *Guardian* and *The Times* for 21 January 1981.
 26. Hill and Bell (op. cit.), 1988 p. 125.
 27. Reported in the *Guardian*, 22 January 1979.
 28. *Time Out*, 11 January 1980.
 29. One NAFF activist from this period has pointed out (to Robin Ramsay) that Eyres was himself a racist.
 30. *Spearhead* 109, September 1977, editorial p. 3.
 31. *Spearhead* 132, October 1979, p. 5.
 32. Statement to Organisers, 16 August 1979, p. 4. On the evidence currently available, I am disinclined to accept most of the received speculation in *Searchlight* circles about Steve Brady using his role in the LSG to pursue a career as an international fascist 'godfather' of organised terrorism (which is not to deny some pretty dubious links). This is something I will attempt to substantiate in a later article -- for now, amuse yourself with the recent recapitulation of the main themes in *Searchlight* 202 April 1992.
 33. Peter Shipley, *The National Front*, Conflict Study 97, Institute for the Study of Conflict, July 1978, p. 9.
 34. Introduction to the Movement, NF, 1988 p.3.
 35. Andrew Fountaine, Electoral Address for NF Chairmanship, Sept. 1979.
 36. See his apologia, *The Eleventh Hour*, Albion Press, 1988.
 37. The fourth group of significance on the far right, the British Movement, folded in September 1983, the bulk of its membership joining the BNP.
 38. *Nationalism Today*, *Subscribers Bulletin*, 1 November 1980. See also Joe Pearce in *Nationalism Today*, 1 March 1980, pp. 8-9.
 39. *NF Members' Bulletin*, July 1980. See also Eddie Morrison in *Nationalism Today* 2, p. 12. Pearce, in *Nationalism Today* 3 pp. 8-9; and the interview with Andrew Brons in the same issue, pp. 10-11.
 40. *Spearhead* 128, May-June 1979, p. 8.
 41. *Nationalism Today*, 4, February 1981, pp. 8-9. See also Martin Webster in *New Nation*, Autumn 1980, pp. 12-13.
 42. See *Nationalism Today* 1, p. 10 and 9, p. 9.
 43. *Nationalism Today*, 7, 1982 p. 11.20
 44. *Nationalism Today* 8, 1982, p. 20.20
 45. See the articles by Steve Brady in *Nationalism Today* 12, p 8 and no. 16, p. 5 and 'Karl Marx: Enemy of the people' in issue 13.
 46. *Nationalism Today* 15, pp. 9-12.
 47. *Nationalism Today*, 16, 1983, p. 13.
 48. *Nationalism Today* 18, 1983 p. 16.
 49. *The Times* 23 May 1980. The highly improbable circumstances by which Matthews was apprehended -- a centre worker accidentally overhearing the planning of the attack on a crossed telephone line -- point to some inside informant being responsible.
 50. See *Forewarned*, Anti-Fascist Democratic Action, Birmingham, September 1978, for the earliest indication I have yet found of this, as well as a justification of the same. For some on the Left, especially those who took to heart the perceived lesson of 1930s Germany about the importance of controlling the streets, the continuing existence and mobilisation of the NF was seen as sufficient provocation in itself. Some working-class members of the Socialist Worker's Party (SWP) took the question of physical confrontation with fascists so seriously that they were eventually expelled by the leadership,

going on to form Red Action. See *We Are Red Action*, Red Action, January 1983. It is to say the least rather ironic that the ANL Mark II, relaunched by the SWP in January 1992, has given the impression that physical opposition to the far right is now acceptable again -- presumably if there is an escalation of violence after the recent election (and the pattern of the early 80s as well as contemporary evidence would indicate such is eminently possible, at least from the BNP) the cycle of expulsions will recommence.

51. *NF News* 23 June 1980, editorial, p. 2.
52. This comes from the same repertoire as the following gem which always lurked beneath the party paper's editorial column: 'NF News seeks to persuade its readers to feel angry about the evils of multi-racialism and to direct their anger solely at the corrupt politicians who created a racial problem in Britain, and not to the Immigrant people in general. "Racialism" is not unlawful -- only "racial hatred".'
53. This last event was attributed by the police to an 'electrical fault', but was widely rumoured locally (but never proved) to have been the work of a South African NF member who left the country shortly afterwards in a great hurry.
54. *Sussex Front*, 11 July 1981, p. 6.
55. See Mark Ereeira, *The NF in Islington*, London 1985 p. 25.
56. See for example *The Gloucester Echo*, 14 June 1982. Tony Malski (the alleged international bomb-plotter) was involved too, his part in such matters culminating in his hitting a wheel-bound Labour Party supporter with her own crutch. Reported in the *Watford Observer*, 25 June and 9 July 1982.
57. *The Times*, 10 October 1983.
58. Reproduced as an appendix to the Young Conservatives report, and also in *Searchlight* 101, November 1983, p. 11. Franklin was expelled from the Conservative Party in 1983. *The Times*, 13 May 1981, reported the attempted infiltration of Bedfordshire Social Democratic Party by local organiser of NF, Steven Harmer. This is the only incidence of attempted infiltration of the SDP I am aware of.
59. *The Times*, 10 October 1983.
60. *Nationalism Today* 12, 1982 p. 15.
61. By early 1984 the NF had debts of at least 13,600 as well as unspecified tax liabilities. Presumably the negotiations 'with the Libyan Government with a view to obtaining funds from Colonel Gaddafi' had not been a resounding success. (On this see *Spearhead* 190, August 1984, which partially reproduces the relevant petition produced by Webster's allies.) Likewise, the short-lived British Resistance, founded in April 1980 and using as a mailing address that of the magazine *Candour*, set up by A.K. Chesterton the NF founder [and since his death run by Ms Rosine de Bouniaville of Liss, Hampshire] never amounted to much either. On them see the entries in Ciaran O'Maolain, *The Radical Right: a World Directory* (Longman, London, 1987).
62. *NF Chairman's Bulletin* 1, Spring 1984.20
63. Two episodes which received wide publicity during this period, Anthony Reed-Herbert's alleged gun-running operation and Tony Malski's alleged involvement in a plot to bomb the 1981 Notting Hill carnival will be discussed in the second part of this essay.

Shorts

Yorkshire Post (14 March '92) reported the admission by the Ministry of Defence that in an operation called HORNBEAM, trawlers had been used during the first Cold War to spy on Soviet shipping. But the MOD spokesperson refused to confirm that some trawlers had carried intelligence officers.

Statewatch Bulletin (Jan/Feb 1992) includes an important update to their paper on Gladio network, quoting from the Belgian parliamentary commission into the subject. The update describes the network's origins and some of the later developments in Belgium. The Gladio paper is available from Statewatch at £2.00 from PO Box 1516, London N16 0EW.

Covert Action Information Bulletin No 39 (Winter 91/92) contains two important essays on the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) operations of the 1980s, particularly those directed at the erstwhile Soviet Union. Among the British organisations NED funded was Keston College, which received \$50,000 in 1988. CAIB is now at 1500 Massachusetts Avenue NW, room 732 Washington DC 20005.

The *Guardian* (3 February 1992) reported on the discovery of yet another South African propaganda operation, the International Association for Co-operation and Development in Southern Africa (ACODA). The story was based on a 4-page briefing paper on Acoda. This can be obtained free with a stamped, addressed envelope from ELTSA, 56 Camberwell Road, London SE5 0EN.

Going through the old *Lobsters* recently I noticed this in issue 7, February 1985. 'One of the problems facing any future Labour/socialist government in this country will be what to do about our spooks. A sort of answer is being given in Greece where the (nominally) socialist administration is sacking large numbers of its security personnel. (*Daily Telegraph* 8 October 1984). With this and Papandreou continuing to make anti-NATO noises, somewhere in the Pentagon the Greek-coup computer model will be getting a spin.'

In the event it was not the Greek coup program but the financial scandal model, previously used in Australia (against Cairns-Whitlam) and New Zealand, which was eventually used. This, anyway, is one interpretation of the collapse of the case against former Greek President Papandreou in January. (See, for example, *The Independent*, 22 January '92.) The mainstream British press has paid little attention to the events in Greece, but there was a pretty sustained press campaign against Papandreou in the press here in late 1984, early 1985. See, for example, *Telegraph* 19 December '84; *Guardian* 8 January '85; *Times* 23 February '85; *Sunday Telegraph* February 24 '85; *Daily Telegraph*, February 16 and 2 March '85; *Times* 14 March '85.

Is there a detailed analysis of these events somewhere in English?

Lies of Our Times (November 1991) 'Stacking the Deck on the Bulgarian Connection' by Edward S. Herman and Howard Friel reported that at the Senate Intelligence Committee hearings on Robert Gates, Melvin Goodman former division chief of the Office of Soviet Analysis at the CIA said: 'There was very good, sensitive DO [Directorate of Operations] evidence that suggested the Soviets were not linked to the assassination attempt on the Pope.' The CIA, said Goodman in the early 1980s 'had

very good penetration of the Bulgarian secret services' and that these clandestine CIA sources had found no Soviet or Bulgarian involvement in the shooting.' Significant, though not quite conclusive.

laissez faire (their lower case) is one of the stable of publications from the International Freedom Foundation in London. Volume 1 number 3 contained a feature, 'Espionage after the Cold War', reports from the proceedings of a conference on 15 November 1991 at which former KGB and former CIA officers spoke together in public for the first time. Among those taking part were former CIA Director William Colby and former KGB General Oleg Kalugin. Also participating were former CIA officer Donald Jameson, Uncle Brian Crozier and Hans Graf Huyn from Germany.

Colby, Jameson, Crozier and Huyn are all present or former members of the Pinay Circle. It's almost enough to make you wonder if Pinay is the still unidentified source of IFF's funds, isn't it? IFF(UK) Suite 500, Chesham House, 150 Regent St, London W1R 5FA.

I have it on reliable authority that in 1987 -- when the Wallace and Holroyd story was at its first peak -- MI5 approached IFF(UK) and suggested that they take legal action against *Lobster* using MI5 money. IFF refused. It should be said that IFF Director, Marc Gordon, denies this.

David Owen's memoir, *Time To Declare* (Michael Joseph, London, 1991) will be remembered for chapter 15, 'MI6, GCHQ and the Falklands'. For the first time a senior British politician acknowledges the existence of these agencies and talks (a little) about their work. Owen's views on the spooks are about as banal as his views on anything else, and he adds a new adjective to the vocabulary of homophobia, describing Tom Driberg as 'a florid homosexual'. (p. 347)

A longer version Jeff Bale's piece on the Turkish right and the shooting of the Pope, published in *Lobster* 19, has been published in the United States in Volume 15, number 1 of the *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*. This version, while similar to that in *Lobster*, includes a new 14- page section describing the ideological background to the Turkish far-right's hostility to Catholicism.

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Public Record Office New Openings

British Government files are generally secret for thirty years; thirty one years from the closure of the file it becomes available for public inspection in the Public Record Office. Thus 1961 files were opened this January. Every January I read the entries on *all* newly available index pages (which may be informative on still closed files) and from these many thousands extract those of a parapolitical, security and military interest.

This forms a rich fund of sources for further investigative research and articles. For example this year files are referenced on Evacuation of Nuclear Accident Casualties; Proposed Long Range Submarine Detection Programme; USAF FERRET flights; the Mail of Rudolf Hess; Calouste Gulbenkian; Defection of Rudolf Nureyev; Civil Defence Water Supply; Wartime Emergency Radiation Doses; Death Duty Sir Oswald Moseley; Statistics on Safe Blowing.... about 700 similar.

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Stalker, Conspiracy?

Stephen Dorril

It is impossible to make an omlette
without breaking eggs. -- James Anderton on anti-terrorism

My anger in this case stemmed from the denial
that things had gone wrong, that no eggs were
broken even though the omlette was there to see.

-- John Stalker

David Murphy, *The Stalker Affair and the Press*, Unwin Hyman, 1991

John Stalker, *Stalker*, Penguin, 1988

Kevin Taylor, *The Poisoned Tree*, Pan, 1991.

Peter Taylor, *Stalker: The Search for The Truth*, Faber and Faber, 1987.

I had David Murphy's book for a number of months before I picked it up to read. When I did I found its coverage of the press campaign on the Stalker affair fascinating. It contained some information that was new to me and so I went back to the other three books to check various episodes. I then got very involved trying to unravel some troubling aspects. For a week or two I went round in circles. I had assumed that a conspiracy had been involved in Stalker's removal but as I read deeper and cross-checked the stories I began to doubt this explanation. Further on, and deeper still, I returned to the conclusion that there indeed had been a conspiracy. Unfortunately for Murphy, by the time his book appeared the media had moved on from Stalker to other things. However, Peter Taylor revived the affair with a strange defence of the 'no conspiracy' line in an edition of BBC2's Public Eye programme. In some ways this article is a response to that programme.

The killings

On 27 October 1982, three Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) officers were killed by an Irish National Liberation Army (INLA) bomb. It turned out to be a significant incident in a grim year for the security forces. An RUC spokesman said that the bombing 'raised the temperature'; there were other reports that RUC officers were 'hyped up' and 'very angry' about the killings. *The Independent* was later moved to admit that the events which followed 'looked unpleasantly like revenge'.(1)

On 11 November 1982, three unarmed Provisional IRA men, Gervais McKerr, Eugene Toman and Sean Burns, were killed at a road block on Tullygally East Road, near Lurgan, by members of the RUC's elite Headquarters Mobile Support Unit (HQMSU). An RUC spokesman said that the men were shot trying to escape. The police fired 109 bullets into the car. Thirteen days later, another HQMSU unit poured automatic fire into a hay shed. At the subsequent trial RUC spokesmen alleged that seventeen year-old Michael Tighe and Martin McCauley had pointed rifles at them from inside the building (the rifles later turned out to be useless sixty year-old weapons). McCauley was wounded while Tighe, who had no paramilitary connections, was killed. On 12 December, two unarmed members of the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA) were killed when 19 bullets were fired into their car on the outskirts of Armagh. RUC officers from the HQMSU unit involved lied at the subsequent trials, partly to conceal the fact that members of Special Branch had been involved in an illegal cross-border surveillance operation.

Enter Stalker, 'high-flyer'

John Stalker, Deputy Chief Constable of the Greater Manchester Police, was asked to investigate the circumstances which surrounded the fabrication of evidence and false statements following the series of killings which were seen by many people as the result of a shoot-to-kill policy. Stalker appeared to have the necessary qualifications and safe hands to undertake the inquiry. By 1983 he was a 'high-flyer', attending a year-long course at the Royal College of Defence Studies which dealt, in part, with internal subversion, with Northern Ireland serving as a case study. As Peter Taylor points out in his book on the Stalker affair, it was unlikely that MI5, whose C3 section was responsible for vetting the police, would have allowed him to get this far if there had been a skeleton in his cupboard. (2)

The RUC Chief Constable, Sir John Hermon, was against Stalker's inquiry from the beginning and 'privately regarded it as unnecessary'. When the two met for the first

time, Hermon warned him about the 'jungle' he was about to enter. The Chief Constable had expected the inquiry would be narrowly focused and would merely 'review' the in-house CID investigation. However, when it became clear to Stalker's team that the CID had 'showed a lamentable standard of professionalism in their enquiries', Stalker refused to back away from a full investigation of the circumstances surrounding the killings. The RUC Special Branch became obstructive, particularly when the inquiry threatened to intrude into sensitive areas such as the use of informers. Stalker's team met with hostility from the middle and senior ranks. 'A few key officers took the decision..... to obstruct the progress of our investigation'. Stalker's intrusion into their secret world set off all kinds of 'panic bells'.(3)

Stalker's team came to believe that a 'tout' (informer), known as 'the mole', who had provided information which had formed the basis of the HQMSU ambushes, had been involved in serious criminal offences. Stalker began to think that there might be a common thread behind the killings which might lead to similar incidents which had been hidden away. He also suspected that an agent provocateur was at work and that his information may have been bogus.

The Mounsey inquiry

The withdrawal of co-operation by the RUC Special Branch was probably influenced by an earlier 1982 inquiry into leaks of secret information about informers to journalists, instituted by the Chief of the RUC, and conducted by Joe Mounsey, an Assistant Chief Constable from Lancashire. According to a Special Branch officer, it soured relations between the Special Branch and Hermon. Special Branch officers regarded the inquiry as a 'witch hunt' and 'counter-productive'. According to one of the officers, 'Hermon was paranoid about leaks. [He] had an intense mistrust of the media and was concerned about the management of news-related material.... He wanted to be in control of what the public was told.'

It is entirely possible that a conspiracy to remove Stalker evolved as soon as his appointment was announced, that Special Branch officers did not want another Mounsey-style 'witch-hunt'. Within two months of Stalker's appointment, a police informer in Manchester, who had helped the RUC with information about the IRA, was making wild allegations about Stalker. Even that stalwart supporter of the Security Service, James Adams, has written that 'once their actions were discovered.... [Special Branch officers] decided to thwart any outside investigation. The suspicion remains that some members caused the allegations to be made in order to muddy the waters.' (4)

The information which eventually led to Stalker's demise was based on allegations made by David Burton (a.k.a. Bertelstein), a professional criminal who, according to the Sampson report, 'was a regular informant to the police and other bodies'. The latter turned out to include the RUC on cases involving extortion and fraud organised by the IRA. While a few police officers regarded Burton as 'a high-grade source', others portrayed him as a known liar, a 'Walter Mitty' character, most of whose information proved to be unreliable. That he died in March 1985 has helped fuel the controversy surrounding both the reliability of his information and what precisely he did tell the Manchester police. Similarly, senior policemen have disputed the version of their information which was recorded against Stalker. There is no part of the inquiry into Stalker which is not in dispute. (5)

David Burton seeks a deal

In January 1983, Burton was arrested for cheque fraud in Bolton but was able to obtain bail and avoid custody by claiming he had evidence of police corruption. The named officer was already under internal suspicion and later retired from the police force: he was not charged and was most definitely not Stalker. Superintendent Bernard McGourlay was Burton's 'confidant' at this time and confirms that he never mentioned Stalker, though he did mention another policeman who was too close to the so-called Quality Street Gang. The QSG is allegedly a Manchester-based criminal fraternity. This is also a matter of controversy: is the QSG a serious criminal gang or just a joke? What Burton's 'touting' illustrated was that he was willing to provide information in return for lenient treatment. (6)

In October 1983, Burton was wanted for his part in the 'Cut Price' long firm fraud, and to avoid arrest informed the police about a planned IRA attack on the firm's premises in Northern Ireland. This enabled the RUC to prevent major damage to the warehouse and also to scupper the scheme of his partner, Mark Klapish. According to the *Observer*, this information 'appears to have been one of Burton's few genuine tips'. Accordingly, 'his stock rose' and he supplied further information to the RUC and Manchester police, including information about two senior IRA brigade commanders who travelled to Manchester. (7)

On 9 June 1984, Burton's police confidant, Bernard McGourlay, was on a golf course when he had a conversation with Gerry Wareing, a friend of property developer, land speculator, and chairman of the Manchester Conservative Association, Kevin Taylor. Wareing had recently returned from a holiday in Spain on Taylor's yacht, Diogenes. According to one account he mentioned the QSG and the fact that Taylor held parties which were attended by John Stalker and other members of the gang. The Sampson report noted that Wareing said of Taylor: 'You must know him he is pal of Monaghan and Jack Trickett'. (Alleged QSG members -- a third member was also mentioned).(8)

Worried about what he had heard, on 11 June 1984 McGourlay went to see Chief Superintendent Peter Topping, who as head of 'Y' Department dealt with complaints and discipline. McGourlay has said that he 'was hoping that somebody would speak to John Stalker and say 'people are talking about your association with these people' and advise him to drop them'. This seems reasonable but is not what happened; things went much further. It just so happened that with Toppng on this occasion was 'another detective with previous experience of handling David Burton'. We are then asked to believe that on the same afternoon this detective received a telephone call from Burton in which he made a series of 'astonishing allegations'. This episode only came to light in a BBC2 Public Eye programme in June 1991 which attempted to rubbish the conspiracy theories surrounding Stalker's removal. Even the programme's producer, Peter Taylor, called this a 'remarkable coincidence'.

We are asked to believe that Burton said that he had been in Bridge Street that same afternoon and had just bumped into a prominent member of the QSG. The account of this conversation as revealed on 'Public Eye' goes so:
Burton: Hi ya, long time no see, how ya doing? Hey what's happening to that little legal problem?

Unnamed man: Oh, it's a right pain! The case comes up next month.

Burton: What about that copper friend of yours? Can't he fix it?

Unnamed man: Who do you mean -- Stalker?
Burton: Isn't he a top jolly nowadays?
Unnamed man: Nah, he's Kevin's man, he's not mine.
Burton: Oh, but you've got your own man, haven't yer?
Unnamed man: Him! He's a jerk. Anyway, I shouldn't be talking to you.
And you want to watch yourself, Burton, and keep away from the pub --
you might get clocked by the QS.

As Peter Taylor reported, 'the encounter seemed too incredible for words'. McGourlay was 'amazed.... that such a coincidence could happen.... that this conversation was taking place on a busy street in Manchester.' But Topping supposedly took it seriously and eventually sent on a written report to Greater Manchester Chief Constable James Anderton on 17 July 1984, who authorized further inquiries.

A reasonable person, a sane person, might suggest that this was not a coincidence. Peter Taylor admits that Burton was 'a compulsive liar'. McGourlay, while acknowledging that he did come up with some useful information, found him 'a damn nuisance.... I wouldn't have told Burton I was crossing the road, because he would have told someone else I was committing suicide in front of a taxi.... the problem was that he could not admit to not knowing something about anything, or anything about something.' Often his information was just too good to be true: 'He almost sounded as if he was reading from a script.' (9)

At the time, Burton was on bail for the 'Cut Price' fraud and had asked McGourlay for help if he turned 'supergrass'. Why, therefore, didn't Burton telephone McGourlay? Was the reality that Topping's detective (or Topping) telephoned Burton and asked something along the lines of 'What do you know about Kevin Taylor and John Stalker? Have you heard any whispers about a relationship with the QSG?' Even if we accept Topping's version there is every reason to suspect Burton's testimony precisely because he was trying to trade information for leniency. It is all too pat. Consider the following.

Topping obviously felt Burton was worth talking to and arranged a meeting with him on 22 June 1984, 11 days after the alleged phone call. The allegations were that Kevin Taylor was involved with the QSG, was a financier for drug trafficking, and that there was a corrupt relationship between Stalker, 'a leading member of the QSG' and Kevin Taylor.(10)

According to the Sampson report Burton made statements that: 'Kevin Taylor, Jimmy 'Swords' and Joseph Monaghan [brothers] assisted each other financially' and that 'James Donnelly [Jimmy the Weed] had said Kevin Taylor and Jimmy Swords [Monaghan] could get things 'straightened' through Mr Stalker.' 'Jimmy the Weed', James Donnelly, was later to play a role in disseminating Stalker stories to the tabloids which, according to David Murphy, 'had a smear-like quality'. A Salford ticket agent, 'the Weed' was later accused of being the man in a photograph showing Mrs Stalker with a criminal at a party seized from Kevin Taylor's home. The Sampson report said that it was 'the Weed'. Donnelly made a statement in which he claimed that he had been invited to the party by Taylor, who had introduced him to Stalker. According to Peter Taylor only one of the three gang members named by McGourlay to Topping attended a party at Taylor's house and Stalker had no recollection of meeting the man. Taylor later added that in relation to later evidence 'the most significant was a photograph of the QSG man Burton claimed to have met in

Bridge Street, with him was John Stalker's wife'. Therefore the man Burton claimed to have met was 'Jimmy the Weed'. (11)

Playing the Burton card

At the subsequent 'Cut Price' fraud trial on 4 September 1984, Burton's co-defendant, Klapish, was sentenced to four years while Burton received two-and-a-half for an identical offence. While the court was cleared, Gourlay told the judge about Burton's allegations against corrupt policemen. Interestingly, there was a third defendant in the case, 'Swords' Monaghan, who, according to Peter Taylor, was 'a leading member of the QSG'. At a later trial he was acquitted because Burton never testified.(12)

What we have here then, in June 1984, is a known liar, Burton, who was on bail and actively seeking a lenient sentence, reporting what another liar, 'Jimmy the Weed', had told him about an alleged relationship between Taylor, Stalker and Monaghan. Monaghan, meanwhile, is charged with fraud in a case in which the informant was also Burton.(13) McGourlay said of Burton that 'the worst thing you could do was give [him] an idea that you were interested in a particular person because, somehow, he could weave a web of information to include what you wanted to know or what he thought you wanted to know and, consequently, you had to be very, very careful of anything he told you.'

Although there is no direct evidence that the government wanted Stalker removed, the fact that Whitehall disinformers later told Fleet Street contacts that the Deputy Chief Constable 'had been steeped in naughtiness of the sort which would have turned the average Borgia's hair white', suggests that they did. All that was required to set the hare running was a telephone call from Northern Ireland's RUC Special Branch to, say, Topping's office.(14)

Stalker the real target

It is my contention that the conspiracy against Stalker started the day he arrived in Northern Ireland to be faced by an RUC Special Branch which had not forgotten the 'witch-hunt' of the Mounsey inquiry. I believe that the backstage attempts to derail and finally remove the Manchester policeman went through various stages. Once Topping had his tainted information from Burton, he used it to persuade Anderton to institute an investigation into Taylor and the QSG, though the real target was Stalker. In his account of the Stalker affair in his autobiography, Topping reveals that Manchester police chief, James Anderton, had consulted 'high-level Home Office officials' who authorised the inquiry into Stalker.(15)

Meanwhile the Stalker inquiry in Northern Ireland took a new turn when the Manchester policeman and his team discovered that the hay shed, where Tighe had been killed, had been under electronic surveillance. In October 1984 it was originally denied to Stalker that the hay shed had been bugged, but army officers confirmed that a bug had been planted by MI5 and its product recorded by a police and Army technical team. 'The tape was to become the rope in a bitter tug-of-war between those who believe that methods of intelligence-gathering should be protected at all costs and those who regard the tape as possible evidence of murder committed by police, and therefore belonged in a wider arena.' (16)

Head of RUC Special Branch, Trevor Forbes, told Stalker, 'You will never be able to

hear it'. Hermon said that he could not further the investigation of the tape without the authority of the Security Service. On 28 January 1985, Stalker travelled to London where he saw Bernard Sheldon, Executive Head of MI5's Legal Services, who told him that the Security Service had no objections to him pursuing the matter. Hermon prevaricated over the following months blaming MI5 for the inaction, claiming that they 'had the most powerful interest in the tape'. On 15 May, Stalker saw another MI5 officer in Belfast, the Director and Co-ordinator of Intelligence (DCI), who, after consultation with Hermon, said that the way was now open to 'complete consultation' but subject to 'unspecified safeguards'. MI5 were to be merely the 'honest brokers' assessing the contents of the tape before passing it on. With rising anger, Stalker refused to accept the conditions. He realised that the 'labyrinthine processes through which [he] had been groping' had brought him back to the same position he was in five months previously. 'It was obvious to me that much midnight oil had been burned.'(17)

James Prior by-passed

The following month, Stalker was back in London meeting Sheldon and the DCI. In a classic Whitehall manoeuvre, MI5 appeared to pass the buck on to the RUC. They said that they were prepared to release all the information to him but were 'very reluctant to discuss the authority for the use and installation of the device'. Stalker was asked to accept that 'everything was politically and legally in order'. The significance of this request passed Stalker by. According to Stalker's account, 'Permission for its installation had been given under the general authority of the previous Northern Ireland Secretary, James Prior.' However, Peter Taylor says that MI5 by-passed Prior and sought authority from the then Home Secretary, William Whitelaw. Prior was only to learn of the bugging operation when he was informed about it by the DCI when the bugs were in place.

An MI5 technical officer from A Branch inserted two devices in the hay shed at the end of September 1982. Special Branch had been wary of using a bug and thought that human surveillance, though dangerous, would be more reliable. They were proved to be correct. The apparent failure of the bugs led to them not noticing the removal of the explosives hidden in the hay shed. Those explosives were then used in the bomb which killed the three RUC officers on 27 October and which became the springboard for the killings. MI5's operation had clearly failed and was a great embarrassment for them. Furthermore, the tape's existence was not revealed to the Attorney-General who undertook the failed prosecution of officers involved in the killing of Tighe in the hay shed.(18)

On his return to Belfast, Stalker was shocked when Hermon told him that while the tape had been destroyed a transcript existed. Stalker believed 'this revelation came as a surprise even to the senior MI5 officers.' On this last point, Stalker was to be proved wrong.(19)

The inquiry never did get to hear the crucial tape-recording. It was claimed that the bug was a routine operation and that the tape had been destroyed as per normal policy. There were over forty tapes covering the period of the surveillance operation. The crucial ten minute tape -- Tape 42 -- which featured the killing shots, was handed by an RUC Special Branch constable who had monitored the shooting, to his senior officer at the Tactical Co-ordinating Group. This, in turn, was sent to Belfast for transcription and was then destroyed. However, a clandestine copy of the missing tape

was made by an army officer, who was monitoring the hay shed, as a 'macabre souvenir'. It was available to at least half a dozen MI5 officers and was eventually locked away in a safe in Belfast. As it held evidence of unlawful killing by the RUC, the tape obviously provided MI5 with valuable bureaucratic ammunition. A senior MI5 training officer doing the rounds of Northern Ireland stations apparently heard the tape and is believed to have been the person who informed the later Sampson inquiry of its existence. Stalker was deliberately misled by MI5 about the tape. As he tried to gain access to the tape, MI5 field officers ordered its destruction. Sampson later recommended the prosecution of a number of MI5 officers for conspiracy to pervert the course of justice for this deliberate destruction.(20)

Stalker was misled by what he called MI5's 'essentially neutral stance'. MI5's reluctance to talk about the authority for the placement of the bug was for fear that Stalker might discover that MI5 had also bugged the car in which McTern, Toman and Burns were killed. According to BBC reporter Chris Moore, 'the security forces involved in the covert surveillance operation were able to listen to the conversation going on in the car.' (21)

An 'interim' report was finally delivered to Hermon on 18 September 1985 without the section on the tape. It was already late but Hermon then dragged out the whole process, taking five months to deliver it to the Director of Public Prosecutions in Belfast. On 4 March 1986, the Northern Ireland DPP, Sir Barry Shaw, instructed Hermon to give Stalker greater co-operation on events connected to the hay shed incident. For twelve weeks Hermon studiously avoided meeting Stalker and appeared to pay little heed to Shaw's instructions. Things were coming to a head. Stalker realised that after eighteen months of trying to obtain the tape he was no nearer. Stalker wrote: 'Investigations into Kevin Taylor did not truly begin until after I had delivered my report into the RUC to Belfast on 18 September 1985, and enquiries into me did not begin until after I had been given clearance in March 1986 to have access to the tape and to see Sir John Hermon and his deputy.' (22)

Get Kevin Taylor

The investigation into Kevin Taylor was the means to ensnare Stalker. It was led by a shadowy department of the Greater Manchester Police known as the Drugs Intelligence Unit (DIU) which was both comical in its incompetence and sinister in its uncontrolled 'cowboy' operations. The DIU's 'Operation Kalooki' targeted Stalker as 'FEB', probably a reference to the month the inquiry began. Officers in the DIU denied being involved in a Stalker inquiry but in court one member, Keith Ware, did admit that the target was the deputy Chief Constable. (23) The DIU was set up on 2 February 1985 and ran until February 1988, spending several million pounds. Controlled by Topping, its official remit was to investigate drug trafficking but this turned out to be a cover for the secret investigation of Stalker. Known as 'the Butler' within the force for his obsequiousness, Topping would assert that the fraudster Burton had made allegations that Stalker was 'bent'. It was members of the DIU who interviewed Burton in prison in February and March 1985. One of those officers was Detective Inspector Ronald Murray, who happened to be the Greater Manchester Police liaison officer with MI5. Topping's close friend DS John Simon was head of the Fraud Squad and, more importantly, of the Operational Support Group co-ordinating specialist drugs, fraud and serious crimes investigations. He was therefore in the know about the investigation of Taylor. Simon, who ordered the raid on Kevin Taylor's Bury home, also happened to be Stalker's number three on the RUC inquiry. One of the officers in

charge of the raid was Ronald Murray. (24)

There was 'paranoid secrecy' within the Greater Manchester Police about what the DIU was up to, and with good reason. Details revealed at Taylor's court case painted a picture of a covert force which was out of control and engaging in a campaign of dirty tricks. Taylor alleges, and the evidence he provides supports his view, that the DIU, which contained Special Branch officers, was engaged in illegal surveillance activities, buggings and burglaries. Later, when information about the activities of the unit began to unfold, rather in the manner of Colonel Oliver North, officers began to shred and incinerate documents. (25)

The 'trawling expedition' through Kevin Taylor's house on 9 May 1986, the first visible action against him, resulted in the removal of a number of photographs -- some five years old -- which showed Taylor and Stalker together at a party. One of the officers involved later admitted in court that he had not been asked to look for drugs, and the prosecution in the case let slip the fact that Taylor 'was not under suspicion of trafficking in drugs', though that had been the alleged basis of the inquiry. It was also revealed in court that the Access Orders granted by a judge for the search had been obtained by deceit. On this point the trial of Kevin Taylor collapsed. This was, of course, a prima facie case of a conspiracy. (26)

The case against Stalker moved to a climax in the Spring of 1986. Taylor notes, 'By the end of March 1986 there were strong suspicions within a very tight circle of officers within GMP that John Stalker's relationship with Kevin Taylor was suspect.' Even an apologist for the official version such as Peter Taylor has to admit that 'there was meticulous planning behind the surgical removal of John Stalker', though he does not see anything sinister in this. (27)

At some point in the middle of May, Anderton contacted Sir Philip Myers, HM Inspector of Constabulary for the North, which included Northern Ireland, and the man responsible for appointing Stalker, and told him about the allegations against Stalker. Peter Taylor suggests May 16, though the fact that Stalker was told on May 14 by Myers to cancel a planned trip to Belfast with no explanation given suggests that it was before that date. Myers told Stalker to re-arrange a meeting with Ulster Police chief Sir John Hermon for 26 May. Myers then referred the matter to Sir Philip's superior, Sir Lawrence Byford, HM Inspector of Constabulary at the Home Office. Byford had apparently seen a dossier with allegations about Stalker on Saturday 17 May. Although it was not formally his decision to take, Byford had decided on the Sunday that Colin Sampson, Chief Constable of West Yorkshire, an officer he knew and respected, should lead the inquiry into the allegations against Stalker. Byford then arranged for a meeting to take place at a Police Federation conference at Scarborough the following day with Myers, Anderton and Sampson in attendance. (28)

The Scarborough meeting

According to a diary entry made by Sir John Hermon on Sunday, 18 May 1986, Myers rang the RUC Chief Constable and mentioned 'a C.C. seeing [has seen] in Stalker's version] B. S., R. A. and T. K. and that D. H. was au fait with developments'. Much controversy surrounds this entry and the Home Office tried to talk down its significance. A 'former senior Northern Ireland official' claimed that the meeting referred to an event after Stalker had been removed from the inquiry; and the press generally lost interest when it was revealed that Stalker's identification of the names

was mistaken. The initials actually referred to Barry Shaw (Director of Public Prosecutions in Northern Ireland), Robert Andrew (Permanent Secretary at the Northern Ireland Office), Tom King (Northern Ireland Secretary) and Douglas Hurd (Home Secretary). 'C.C.' was generally accepted to be (Chief Constable) Colin Sampson. Hermon was later to claim that this was the first time that he had heard of 'a Stalker problem'. The various accounts imply that Hermon was not told that Sampson would also take on the (Stalker) RUC inquiry. (29)

At the Scarborough meeting, according to Peter Taylor's account, Sampson 'was taken completely by surprise' by Byford's request for him to undertake the Stalker investigation. The decision to combine the two inquiries -- Stalker and the RUC -- 'was not made on the spot. It was only reached shortly afterwards, following long and agonizing discussions.' (30)

In my view the two accounts of what happened over that long weekend are irreconcilable. Byford claims that he is 'absolutely positive' that Douglas Hurd only knew about the allegations against Stalker and 'the developments that had taken place' at Scarborough. How can this possibly square with Hermon's diary note that on the day prior to Scarborough, Hurd 'was au fait with developments'? (31) According to the official account of the affair as outlined in Peter Taylor's book *Stalker* and a later Public Eye television programme, Sampson knew nothing about Stalker's troubles until he was approached at Scarborough. It is difficult to reconcile these two accounts. How was it possible for Hermon to know that Sampson was going to attend a meeting at least ten days in the future when Sampson had not even been approached to take over the inquiry?

We do know that Sampson went to Northern Ireland but it was before Stalker was removed. The *Belfast Telegraph* revealed that between the 19 and 26 May 1986 Sampson had travelled to Belfast where he had consultations with Hermon and Myers about the allegations against Stalker. According to the official account, around the 23 May Myers had gone to Belfast and consulted with Sir Barry Shaw, the Northern Ireland DPP and Hermon about taking Stalker off the inquiry. However, Sampson had already been given the inquiry and this could only be done when Sir John Hermon 'agree[d] to [Stalker's] removal'. (32)

It is possible that on the Sunday Myers was informing Hermon on the basis that he expected Sampson to accept Byford's request, but this difficult concept is undermined by a second point about this diary entry which has been missed. Again according to Peter Taylor, while Sampson was approached at Scarborough about taking on the inquiry into Stalker, it was only after 'much discussion' that it was agreed that he should undertake the RUC inquiry as well. If this is true, then it has to be asked why Myers should mention to Hermon a meeting with Northern Ireland officials who would have had no official interest in an internal police inquiry in Manchester? The only reason for Sampson to meet these officials was if he was going to be involved in the RUC inquiry. It can only lead to the conclusion that Byford, Myers and Hermon had already agreed to that.

On 28 May 1986, Stalker was busy in his garden when an official from the Greater Manchester Police Authority telephoned to inform him that he was under investigation by a team led by the West Yorkshire Chief Constable, Colin Sampson. The various insubstantial allegations centred around his relationship with Kevin Taylor, and were largely based on the uncorroborated testimony of a known criminal and liar, David

Bertlestein (Burton), who had died in prison in March 1985.

In one of the strangest turn-arounds by any investigative journalist, BBC reporter Peter Taylor reversed the conclusion of his award-winning Panorama programme on the Stalker affair and decided that there had been no conspiracy involved in the Deputy Chief Constable's removal from Northern Ireland. Taylor believes that the events in Northern Ireland and Manchester were completely coincidental. In removing Stalker and replacing him with Colin Sampson, Chief Constable of Yorkshire, the aim had been 'to protect the integrity of the inquiry' and ensure that it was not derailed by the accusations against Stalker. The proof of this assertion, which was clearly what senior civil servants wished to propagate, lay in the outcome of the RUC inquiry which Colin Sampson took over from Stalker. On 23 March 1987, the final section of Sampson's report was delivered to Sir John Hermon and Sir Barry Shaw. Taylor appears to have had more than an inkling of what was going to happen in that he warned the reader of his book that because 'national assets' and covert operations run by MI5 and other intelligence agencies' with 'particular reference to Northern Ireland' were involved, the Attorney-General might decide that further prosecutions 'would not be in the public interest'. Taylor thought the DPP would be faced with 'a finely balanced judgement'. (33)

Enter 'national security'

In January 1988, Attorney-General Sir Patrick Mayhew told the Commons that because of 'considerations of national security' no charges would be brought against any of the eight named RUC officers in the Sampson report, including offences for conspiracy to murder, nor against the MI5 officers involved in conspiracy charges. Revealing his 'deep anxiety', Mayhew added, 'I have had to balance one harm to national security against another.'

The government had been clearly uncomfortable when Stalker had initially proposed charging seven officers with conspiracy offences, something which would have led 'to the top of the force, and beyond, by exposing the philosophy, strategy, and tactics behind covert security operations in Northern Ireland'. I believe that there was indeed a conspiracy to remove Stalker from the inquiry which had strayed into too many sensitive areas of the secret state. However, the purpose of the conspiracy was not to sabotage the whole inquiry but to blunt its edge. Whitehall had wanted the inquiry to succeed, if only as a public relations exercise, but by dragging it out as long as possible its impact would be considerably lessened. To this extent their delaying tactics were successful. The true nature of the conspiracy is partially revealed in Stalker's own book. 'It seemed that for well over two years, in Northern Ireland, in MI5, and now in my own police force and the Home Office, decisions have been constantly delayed, discussed behind closed doors, altered, amended, shaped and then passed to someone else to endorse them. In the meantime the clock had ticked away.' This theme is repeated. 'Time had been bought..... five years after the events themselves the reasons for bringing charges had become obscured.... So far as I am concerned, the time for prosecutions was in late 1985, when the evidence was fresh and strong -- not in 1988.' (34)

No conspiracy?

While much effort has gone into claiming that Stalker's removal did not involve a conspiracy, criticism of the 'conspiracy theorists' has been often misplaced and rather

banal. Defenders of the official account portray a conspiracy as a massive enterprise which is straightforward in operation. The reality is that most conspiracies are small scale -- 'office politics' -- and complex, as is bound to be the case when several people are involved. Critics also tend to ignore the fact that all that is needed to legally define an event as a conspiracy is evidence of 'the agreement of two or more persons to effect any unlawful purpose'. The term might also be used to include the deliberate evasion of set rules such as those used by the police which, though not law, do warrant disciplinary charges if broken. It should also be noted that under the law those involved in a conspiracy need only have knowledge of the purpose and are not required to have acted on it. It appears obvious to me that there were a number of conspiracies involved in both the smearing of Stalker and his final removal.

Notes

1. *Independent* 20 January '90; P. Taylor pp. 32/3.
2. P. Taylor p. 12.
3. Stalker pp. 27 and 3; P. Taylor pp. 62/3 and 101.
4. Martin Dillon, *The Dirty War*, Hutchinson, London 1988, p. 393; James Adams (and Robin Morgan and Anthony Bambridge), *Ambush: The War Between the SAS and the IRA*, Pan, London 1988, p. 93.
5. See the *Observer* 28 September '86 for details of Burton's links to the RUC.
6. The *Observer* 28 September '91.
7. Ibid
8. Murphy p. 73.
9. P. Taylor pp. 129/30.
10. P. Taylor pp. 127 and 135.
11. Murphy, p. 61; Peter Taylor p. 134; Public Eye, BBC2, 14 June '91.
12. P. Taylor p. 131.
13. BBC2 Public Eye.
14. Murphy p. 146.
15. K. Taylor p. 165. Since we know that Sir Lawrence Byford, HM Inspector of Police at the Home Office, had known about the Stalker allegations at least a year before Stalker's dismissal in May 1986, it may be Byford to whom Topping is referring.
16. Stalker p. 66.
17. Stalker pp. 82-83.
18. Stalker p. 85; P. Taylor pp. 107 and 109.
19. Stalker p. 86.
20. P. Taylor p. 196; Stalker p. 68; *Guardian* 14 June '91; Public Eye, BBC2. op cit.
21. Stalker p. 89; Dillon op cit pp. 400/1.
22. Stalker pp. 188/9.
23. K. Taylor pp. 186 and 189. Later the unit liaised with the Sampson inquiry. The very close relationship between the Manchester and West Yorkshire forces probably precluded any claim that the Sampson inquiry could be independent.
24. Murphy p. 160.
25. K. Taylor pp. 158/9 and 199. According to Taylor, Stalker told him that the Greater Manchester Police were using over 10,000 telephone taps a year -- an astonishing figure if true. See K. Taylor p. 94.
26. Additionally, Topping had been at the hearing before the Recorder of Manchester and he had told the judge that the application involved a matter of 'national interest'. He told the judge not to take notes and asked for the

- documents supporting the application to be sealed. Stalker p. 267; K. Taylor pp. 125, 190 and 209. On 26 March 1986, an RUC policeman 'above the rank of chief superintendent' made a secret visit to Manchester. Whether this was a coincidence or not I do not know, though, unusually, it was the DIU which provided transport to and from the airport. K. Taylor p. 189; P. Taylor p. 154.
27. P. Taylor p. 162.
28. P. Taylor pp. 159 and 161.
29. Murphy pp. 249/50, quoting the *Observer* 21 January '90.
30. P. Taylor p. 159.
31. BBC2, Public Eye, op cit.
32. *Belfast Telegraph*, 9 June '86, quoted in Murphy p. 151; P. Taylor p. 163.
33. P. Taylor pp. 197-9.
34. Stalker, pp. 221/2 and 272; the *Guardian* 16 June '86.

Splinter Factor update

When I commented on the lack of supporting material for the Operation Splinter Factor thesis (in issue 22), I somehow managed to omit the account of it in William Blum's *The CIA: a forgotten history* (Zed, London 1986) pp. 59-61. But that is taken entirely from Stewart Steven's book and his sources. To the latter's account can be added the following. (a) Michael Charlton's, *The Eagle and the Small Birds* (BBC, London, 1984) contains a section, pp. 78-85, on the post-war show trials. But there appears to be no readily available full-scale study of them. Given the appetite for anti-Soviet stories in the Cold War years, I find this rather curious. (b) *Splinter Factor* p. 163 says: 'Meanwhile, the CIA had been working on the Clementis case. In October 1949 Clementis attended the U.N. General Assembly in New York and immediately a two-pronged attack, designed to persuade him to seek political asylum, was launched by the CIA through its State Department outlets and by SIS through the Foreign Office. Journalists were told by senior officials that Clementis was one of the few independently minded politicians of Eastern Europe, 'fighting against the increasing Stalinist grip upon Czechoslovakia', and 'opposed to men like Gottwald'.

C.L. Sulzberger's *Long Row of Candles* (Macdonald, London, 1969) has this on p. 415, his diary entry for Paris, October 22, 1949: 'Cominform authorities have been tightening party discipline in several Eastern European states in an effort to eliminate all traces of 'Titoist' heresy. They have not yet quite decided what to do about Clementis, who is considered somewhat too independent-minded'. (emphasis added)

Sulzberger's family owned the *New York Times* at the time, and from the evidence of this and other volumes of Sulzberger's diaries -- among the most interesting memoirs of the post-war era -- it is clear that Sulzberger shared the paper's intimate relations with the CIA.²⁰

.Hayden B. Peake sent me a photocopy of the review of *Splinter Factor* from *Intelligence and Espionage; an Analytical Bibliography* by George Constantinides (Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado). This includes 'The story is quite unreliable.... one of the worst books to appear in years in the field of intelligence; no time need be spent on it.' Granted Stevens' book isn't reliable because not sourced, but maybe this is over-egging the pudding just a bit..

Defending the Warren Commission: the line from Langley

Introduction

In 1967 the CIA sent out to 'Chiefs, Certain Stations and bases' a briefing document, Dispatch Document 1035- 960, titled 'Countering Criticism of the Warren Report'. This unintentionally very revealing and faintly comic document was reproduced in issue 2 of the now defunct newsletter, *The Dorff Report* in March 1990. In view of the media assault on Stone's movie JFK, it seemed worth reproducing again.

1. Our concern. From the day of President Kennedy's assassination, there has been speculation about the responsibility for his murder. Although this was stemmed for a time by the Warren Commission report (which appeared at the end of September 1964), various writers have now had time to scan the Commission's published report and documents for new pretexts for questioning, and there has been a new wave of books and articles criticizing the Commission's findings. In most cases the critics have speculated as to the existence of some kind of conspiracy, and often they have implied that the Commission itself was involved. Presumably as a result of the increasing challenge to the Warren Commission's Report, a public opinion poll recently indicated that 46% of the American public did not think that Oswald acted alone, while more than half of those polled thought that the Commission had left some questions unresolved. Doubtless polls abroad would show similar, or possibly more adverse, results.
2. This trend of opinion is a matter of concern to the U.S. government, including our organization. The members of the Warren Commission were naturally chosen for their integrity, experience and prominence. They represented both major parties, and they and their staff were deliberately drawn from all sections of the country. Just because of the standing of the Commissioners, efforts to impugn their rectitude and wisdom tend to cast doubt on the whole leadership of American society. Moreover, there seems to be an increasing tendency to hint that President Johnson himself, as the one person who might be said to have benefitted, was in some way responsible for the assassination. Innuendo of such seriousness affects not only the individual concerned, but also the whole reputation of the American government. Our organization is directly involved: among other facts, we contributed information to the investigation. Conspiracy theories have frequently thrown suspicion on our organization, for example falsely alleging that Lee Harvey Oswald worked for us. The aim of this dispatch is to provide material for countering and discrediting the claims of the conspiracy theorists, so as to inhibit the circulation of such claims in other countries. Background information is supplied in a classified section and in a number of unclassified attachments.
3. Action. We do not recommend that discussion of the assassination question be initiated where it is not already taking place. Where discussion is active, however, addressees are requested:
 - a. To discuss the publicity problem with friendly elite contacts (especially politicians and editors), pointing out that the Warren Commission made

as thorough an investigation as humanly possible, that the charges of the critics are without serious foundation, and that further speculative discussion only plays into the hands of the opposition. Point out also that parts of the conspiracy talk appear to be generated by communist propagandists. Urge them to use their influence to discourage unfounded and irresponsible speculation.

4. To employ propaganda assets to answer and refute the attacks on the critics. Book reviews and feature articles are particularly appropriate for this purpose. The unclassified attachments to this guidance should provide useful background material for passage to assets. Our play should point out, as applicable, that the critics are (1) wedded to theories adopted before the evidence was in, (2) politically interested, (3) financially interested, (4) hasty and inaccurate in their research, or (5) infatuated with their own theories. In the course of discussions of the whole phenomenon of criticism, a useful strategy may be to single out Epstein's theory for attack, using the attached Fletcher Knebel article and *Spectator* piece for background. (Although Mark Lane's book is much less convincing than Epstein's and comes off badly when contested by knowledgeable critics, it is also much more difficult to answer as a whole, as one becomes lost in a morass of unrelated details.)
5. In private or media discussion not yet directed at any particular writer, or in attacking publications which may yet be forthcoming, the following arguments should be useful:
 - a. No significant new evidence has emerged which the Commission did not consider. The assassination is sometimes compared (e.g. by Joachim Joesten and Bertrand Russell) with the Dreyfus case; however, unlike that case, the attacks on the Warren Commission have produced no new evidence, no new culprits. (A better parallel, though an imperfect one, might be the Reichstag fire of 1933 which some competent historians -- Fritz Tobias, A. J. P. Taylor, D. C. Watt -- now believe was set by Van der Lubbe on his own initiative, without acting for either Nazis or Communists; the Nazis tried to pin the blame on the Communists, but the latter have been much more successful in convincing the world that the Nazis were to blame.)
6. Critics usually overvalue particular items and ignore others. They tend to place more emphasis on the recollections of individual eyewitnesses (which are less reliable and more divergent.... and hence offer more hand- holds for criticism) and less on ballistic, autopsy and photographic evidence. A close examination of the Commission's records will usually show that the conflicting eyewitness accounts are quoted out of context, or were discarded by the Commission for good and sufficient reasons.
7. Conspiracy on the large scale often suggested would be impossible to conceal in the United States, especially since informants could expect to receive large royalties etc.. Note that Robert Kennedy, Attorney General at the time and John F. Kennedy's brother, would be the last man to overlook or conceal any conspiracy. And as one reviewer pointed out, Congressman Gerald R. Ford would hardly have held his tongue for the sake of the Democratic administration, and Senator Russell would have had every political interest in exposing any misdeeds on the part of Chief Justice Warren. A conspirator moreover would hardly chose a location for a shooting where so much depended on conditions beyond his control: the route, the speed of the cars, a moving target, the risk that the assassin would be discovered. A group of

- wealthy conspirators could have arranged much more secure conditions.
8. Critics have often been enticed by a form of intellectual pride: they light on some theory and fall in love with it; they also scoff at the Commission because it did not always answer every question with a flat decision one way or another. Actually, the make-up of the Commission and its staff was an excellent safeguard against over-commitment to any one theory, or against the illicit transformation of probabilities into certainties.
 9. Oswald would not have been any sensible person's choice for a co-conspirator. He was a 'loner', mixed-up, of questionable reliability and an unknown quantity to any professional intelligence service.
 10. As charges that the Commission's report was a rush job, it emerged three months after the deadline originally set. But to the degree that the Commission tried to speed-up its reporting, this was largely due to the pressure of irresponsible speculation already appearing, in some cases coming from the same critics who, refusing to admit their errors, are now putting out new criticisms.
 11. Such vague accusations as that 'more than ten people have died mysteriously' can always be explained in some more natural way: e.g., the individuals concerned have for the most part died of natural causes; the commission staff questioned 418 witnesses (the FBI interviewed far more people, conducting 25,000 interviews and re-interviews) and in such a large group, a certain number of deaths are to be expected. (When Penn Jones, one of the originators of the 'ten mysterious deaths' line, appeared on television, it emerged that two of the deaths on his list were from heart attacks, one from cancer, one was from a head-on collision on a bridge and one occurred when a driver drifted into a bridge abutment.)
 12. Where possible, counter speculation by encouraging reference to the Commission's Report itself. Open-minded foreign readers should still be impressed by the care, thoroughness, objectivity and speed with which the Commission worked. Reviewers of other books might be encouraged to add to their account the idea that, checking back with the Report itself, they found it far superior to the work of the critics.

Lobby Rules

Introduction

The British press is pretty feeble, and much of the problem begins with its cosy relationship with the British state. At the heart of that relationship is the 'lobby system', that peculiar British institution formed to allow the state and its political mouthpieces to lie to the media off the record. The document reproduced below came our way recently and though it is old, as far as we know little if anything has changed, and it is the first time this has been published (which itself is pretty astonishing.) All punctuation and emphases are as in the original.

Private and Confidential

Notes on the Practice of Lobby Journalism, July 1969

Lobby Practice

1. The Lobby journalist's authority to work in Parliament is the inclusion of his name in a list kept by the Serjeant at Arms for the Speaker. He has complete freedom to get his own stories in his own way: there are no restrictions of any kind on personal initiative. But he also owes a duty to the Lobby as a whole, in that he should do nothing to prejudice the communal life of the Lobby or its relations with the two Houses and the authorities. This is in the Lobby journalist's own interest and that of his office, as well as in the general interest of the Lobby. It is a responsibility which should always be kept in mind.
2. There is no 'association' of Lobby journalists, but in our common interests we act collectively as the Parliamentary Lobby Journalists. It has been found convenient to have an organisation consisting of Chairman, officers and committee for that purpose.

Individual Lobbying

3. The work of a Lobby Journalist brings him into close daily touch with Ministers and Members of Parliament of all parties and imposes on him a very high standard of responsibility and discretion in making use of the special facilities given him for writing about political affairs. The cardinal rule of the Lobby is never to identify its informant without specific permission. In any case, members of the Lobby must always take personal responsibility for their stories and their facts.
4. Care must be taken not to reveal anything, even indirectly, which could lead to identification of informants. There are, of course, numerous instances when an informant is perfectly willing to be identified. This is in order as long as the journalist has obtained his permission.
5. The Lobby regularly receives Advance Copies of official documents to facilitate its work. All embargoes on such documents and on all information given orally or operationally in advance for the Lobby's convenience, must be strictly observed.²⁰

Collective Lobbying

6. The Lobby frequently invites Ministers and others to meet it collectively, to give information and answer questions. Members are under an obligation to keep secret the fact that such meetings are held and to avoid revealing the sources of their information.
7. It is recognised, however, that a correspondent has a special responsibility to his Editor. The following Resolution was therefore passed by the Lobby in July, 1955:
"That it is consistent with Lobby practice that members of the Lobby may tell

their Editors, or Acting Editors, the sources of their information at Lobby meetings on the rare occasions that this may be vital, but must, on every occasion that such information is passed on, explain to their Editors or Acting Editors, that the source is strictly confidential.'

8. Don't talk about Lobby meetings before or after they are held, especially in the presence of those not entitled to attend them. If outsiders appear to know something of the arrangement made by the Lobby, do not confirm their conjectures or assume that as they appear to know so much they may safely be told the rest.
9. The Lobby correspondent should bear in mind that the purpose of a meeting is to elicit information not to score political or debating points.
10. It is a point of honour to stay to the end of a meeting. If there is some compelling reason for a correspondent to leave, he is under an obligation to obtain the permission of the Chairman to do so and, if released, is under an equal obligation not to make use of anything that has been said at the meeting before it ends.
11. When meetings are arranged on the Lobby's behalf, every correspondent should endeavor to attend. The Lobby works most effectively when the courtesy and co-operation by Ministers and others are reciprocated in this way.

General Hints

12. Do not 'see' anything in the Members' Lobby or any of the private rooms or corridors of the Palace of Westminster. It is the rule that incidents, pleasant or otherwise, should be treated as private if they happen in those parts of the building to which Lobby correspondents have access solely because their names are on the Lobby list.
13. Do not run after a Minister or Member. It is nearly always possible to place oneself in a position to avoid this.
14. When a member of the Lobby is in conversation with a Minister, M.P., or Peer, another member of the Lobby should not join in the conversation unless invited to do so. Nor should the Lobby activities of any colleague ever be the subject of published comment.
15. Never in any circumstances make use of anything accidentally overheard in any part of the Palace of Westminster.

Parliamentary Privilege.

16. On questions of Parliamentary privilege, an up-to-date edition of Erskine May's 'Parliamentary Practice' will be found a useful guide. In case of doubt, officers of the Lobby and of both Houses are available for consultation.
17. As the case law of privilege is constantly being developed and amended, it is essential that members of the Lobby should acquaint themselves with current practice and bear it in mind when writing anything which might conceivably be

held to be a breach.

18. Select Committees of the House frequently meet in public and are reported in the normal way. But any reference to the proceedings of a Select Committee held in private will almost certainly be raised on the floor of the House with the Speaker, with a view to obtaining his opinion as to whether or not it constitutes, *prima facie*, a breach of privilege.

19. References to the reports of Select Committees are covered by the following ruling given by Mr. Speaker King on 24th March, 1969:
'Any publication of a draft report before the report has been agreed to by a Committee and presented to the House is treated as a breach of privilege; but when the report has been presented to the House, though not yet available to hon. Members in printed form, it is not an offence against the House to publish the findings of the Select Committee. It is certainly inconvenient, however, and discourteous to the House when this is done. I cannot go further than that.... No question of privilege is involved.'

20. In consequence, the Lobby passed the following Resolution at a special meeting on 23rd April, 1969:
'That the Chairman and Secretary of the Lobby inform the Speaker that, in the absence of any positive and public ruling, members of the Lobby are free to use any information reaching them concerning reports of Select Committees of the House of Commons, once they have been technically laid before the House.'
The Speaker was informed accordingly.

21. Finally, if you are in doubt about any point of Lobby etiquette or practice, consult the Chairman or Secretary of the Lobby. They will be glad to help and guide all newcomers, especially in identifying those parts of the Palace of Westminster to which Lobby correspondents have access.

22. Every Lobby correspondent is under an obligation to ensure that a deputy acting in his absence understands Lobby practice.

July, 1969.

Blinded by the light

Larry O'Hara

Puppet Masters: the Political Use of Terrorism in Italy

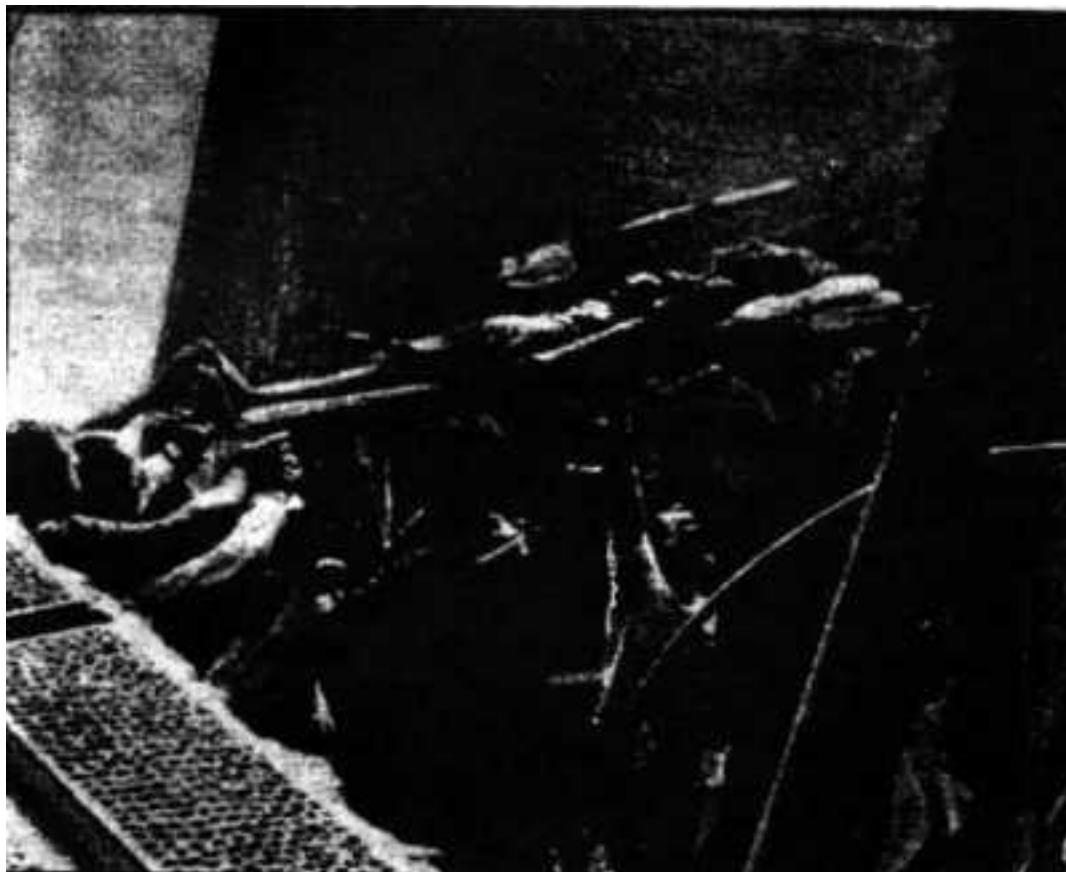
Phillip Willan

Phillip Willan's *Puppet Masters: the Political Use of Terrorism in Italy*, (Constable, London, 1991) is a detailed and interesting book, dealing in a thorough (if partially flawed) way with a fascinating subject. It covers a wide array of interlocking subjects including the infamous P2 Masonic Lodge, under the command of Licio Gelli. The activities of this nefarious group were brought to a wider audience by the upsurge of political violence in

Italy, starting with the (fascist imputed) Milan bank bombing in 1969, and two key traumatic episodes -- the capture and ultimate murder of Christian Democrat (DC) party leader Aldo Moro by the Red Brigades (BR) in 1978, and the Bologna railway station bombing in 1980 when 85 died, which was attributed to neo-fascists at the time. Willan also casts light on the Italian end of 'Operation Gladio', the organisation ostensibly set up in 1947-8 to provide resistance to a Russian invasion, but whose real aim was to 'counter the internal threat of the PCI' (p. 358), and in whose membership neo-fascists were well represented. Willan uses a wide variety of sources -- published and unpublished documents, court transcripts, interviews with magistrates and protagonists such as Gelli himself.

The thesis advanced by Willan is essentially that the rise of rightist 'terrorism' (a word whose analytical validity I don't accept, but he does, like most others) up to 1974 was sponsored by elements within the ruling bloc and the secret state in particular. He illustrates this by looking at incidents including the May 1972 killing of 3 carabinieri near Peateano (using weapons from a Gladio arms dump), and the bombing of the Italicus express train in August 1974 (a P2 operation). Such close attention to particular episodes is one of the great strengths of this book: for the first time in English as far as I am aware, such episodes are dealt with in detail.

The chapter on the Bologna bombing is exemplary in this respect, though unfortunately the only explanation he considers in detail is his own theorem that the secret services may 'have organised a "genuine" right-wing bombing at Bologna station in order to reinforce the idea that the Itavia disaster [when a civilian airliner had been shot down over Ustica killing 81 in a Libyan -- U.S. -- French aerial dogfight] was caused by a bomb rather than a missile, and thus strengthen the alibi of whichever NATO air force had been responsible for the disaster' (p. 170). Evidence since his book was published has tended to confirm suspicions of a cover-up concerning the Itavia incident, and he is undoubtedly correct in stressing the importance of the planting of a suitcase of explosives in Bologna station in January



1981 by two secret service operatives, with the intention of delaying the investigation and framing Giorgio Vale, a member of the fascist NAR (Armed Revolutionary Cells). However this doesn't rule out some of the nine other explanations he outlines but examines somewhat cursorily.

Domestic elements or NATO?

Willan leaves little room for doubt that the Italian secret state was centrally involved in the Bologna bombing: SISMI (the principal player) even identified the explosive used at Bologna as being T4 military explosive before forensic tests had identified it! (p. 171) The real question is though, who put them up to it and who else was involved? Ultimately, Willan is too ready to attribute to the USA and NATO the 'overall responsibility' for the political violence that was the strategy of tension (pp. 348-351). In fact as his evidence often shows, domestic elements needed no encouragement from abroad. This is not to deny the proven murderous capabilities of NATO and/or the CIA, but rather to point out they are an all too easy target, and that the attribution needs to be specifically proved in each case. For such claims of a general nature have often been advanced by official Communist parties as an alibi for their own political failings.

There is little attempt at sociological explanation of terrorism, although Willan might reply that such speculation has been entered into by others (such as Leonard Weinberg) already. On the strategic level, while repeating the traditional view that the aim was to prevent the Italian Communist Party (PCI, now renamed PDS) taking power, he provides a convincing elaboration of its scope, presenting certain acts of terror such as the Christmas 1984 train bombing killing 15 on the Naples-Milan express as coded messages, heavy with complex symbolism, from one fraction of those involved in the previous phase of violence to their co-conspirators, seeking to restore their support and maintain their silence.

'Left-wing terrorists more like marionettes'

When Willan moves from examining rightist terrorism to looking at that of the far left from 1974, he becomes most intriguing -- and controversial. He puts it thus on p. 179: 'If many right-wing terrorists were glove-puppets, with their manipulator's hand inserted up their backs and controlling their every move, left-wing terrorists were more like marionettes, dancing on the end of invisible strings; their manipulation was an altogether subtler art. The ideal for the secret service marionette-masters was, after all, to use left-wing extremists to serve their conservative cause without any direct contact or collusion'.

Some elements of his case he argues persuasively -- for instance the possibility that with the 1974 arrest of the 'first generation' BR leaders Renato Curcio and Alberto Franceschini, their place may well have been taken by secret state assets such as Mario Moretti (someone whose frequent escapes from arrest sometimes verged on the miraculous), the mastermind of the Moro kidnap.

In his rigorous examination of the circumstances surrounding the kidnap, which took place on the very day that Moro was going to parliament to try and cement an 'Historic Compromise' with the PCI, Willan points to the whole episode as having been organised by the forces of the state itself. The investigation to find Moro while alive

and to negotiate for his release seems to have been so structured as to deliberately fail: there are substantial grounds for thinking that the state knew where he was throughout his 55 day ordeal, but chose not to look in the right place, or to publicise the fact. Moro was most likely killed not just because he was about to conclude a deal with the relatively uncorrupt PCI, but because of what he knew about the murky past of the Christian Democrats and P2. Willan rightly makes great play of the non-disclosure by the BR of what Moro told them during his 'people's trial', as well as the disappearance of his confidential documents. Were the BR unit who captured Moro genuinely leftist would they not have publicised all this?

The Calogero theorem

So, I am prepared to go along with a lot of what Willan says about the BR after 1974 (while remaining convinced of the genuine motivation of most of their combatants). What I draw the line at though, is Willan's disgraceful and unsubstantiated slurs on the name, and more importantly, on the politics of Toni Negri. A founder of the Potere Operaia tendency, Negri went on to become a key theorist of the Worker's Autonomy movement, and remains one of the few inspirational figures on the European far left today. Willan, however, seeks to resuscitate the discredited 'Calogero theorem', named after the public prosecutor who first accused Negri of being the real mastermind behind the BR. Looking back at my contemporary records, I found that there were two versions of the theorem. In the first it was asserted that Negri had directed BR operations, including the Moro kidnap, even telephoning the Moro family on behalf of the BR. When, unsurprisingly, no evidence could be produced to back this up, Calogero concocted version two, that Negri was the 'intellectual inspiration' behind the BR. Key evidence for the prosecution was Negri's political writings, which certainly in places display an over-fondness for violent rhetoric. The real purpose of the Calogero theorem, however, as this shift of emphasis in the charges indicates, was to criminalise any opposition to the left of the PCI, something both the PCI and the Christian Democrats could enthusiastically agree on -- an 'Historic Compromise' indeed.... In this light, the framing of Negri took place not just despite his differences with the BR, but because of them.

Willan adds a couple of twists to the theorem, most notably the astounding claim that Negri was a CIA asset. This is based on such 'facts' as the death of Negri's fascist brother at the hands of partisans in 1943 (when Negri was ten), and that he visited the USA 'and does not appear to have had any difficulty in obtaining a visa.... at a time when members of the Communist Party were routinely denied visas' (p. 187). I find it hard to believe that Willan does not know that U.S. immigration authorities, stuck in the Cold-War groove as they were (are?), only ever ask questions about Communist Party membership, their bureaucratic inflexibility such they can't even officially imagine the possibility of anything to the left of official Communism. Other 'witnesses' Willan summons to back up his charges against Negri were themselves secret state assets or even employees, such as Mino Pecorelli and General Dalla Chiesa (both murdered, as so many actors in this theatre of the absurd have been). Dalla Chiesa, who is rightly credited by Willan with playing a crucial role in official anti-terrorist initiatives, hardly seems to have been unambiguously on the side of the angels. He may well have known all about the Moro kidnap at the time, but never disclosed it (p. 288), and his methods and agents are themselves surrounded in mystery (p. 285).

While Negri is included in the same chapter as a patchy analysis of an institution

called the Hyperion Language School in Paris, which may well have been CIA-linked, and some of whose associates went on to become the 'second generation' BR leadership that is so suspect, Willan's hard evidence associating Negri with it is non-existent. The argument is that evidence linking Negri to the Hyperion was just about to come out when the story was blown by a secret service leak to *Il Corriere Della Sera* on 24 April 1979 (p. 188). Given the desperation of the state to criminalise Negri's politics, that the Rome police should have issued reports speculating on Negri's possible links with Hyperion (pp. 188 -193) is hardly proof of anything. Indeed, in the course of his vicious return to attacking Negri in the conclusion (pp.346-7), Willan is forced to admit that 'the precise relationship between Negri and the Red Brigades has never been fully clarified'. Quite.

For some, these tendentious passages about Negri would invalidate the rest of the book, making all his conclusions and investigations suspect, but I think that would be too hasty. Influenced as he is by the PCI, and implicitly sympathetic to them (something which might appear strange to *Sunday Telegraph* readers, for whom Willan writes occasional articles),

Willan has a very understandable blind spot in his treatment of the far left. Given the PCI's support for NATO and capitalism, or as he puts it on p. 353, the 'threat of the PCI to the democratic order in Italy has consistently been overstated, while the party's progressive distancing of itself from its revolutionary roots passed virtually unremarked', he does not take on board the fact that this is precisely what the Italian far left legitimately (and in my view correctly) disliked about the 'Historic Compromise'.

He dismisses Negri and associates as practitioners of 'hysterical rantings.... preachers of evil' with 'delusionary ideas' (pp. 184-5). But given the PCI's move to the right, the far left was merely occupying vacated space. This lacuna in Willan's thought leads him to overlook the hypothesis that the 'strategy of tension' was not just (or even necessarily primarily) aimed at the PCI, who were indeed no trouble for the system, but the possibility that their participation in government may have encouraged the further development of forces to the left of, opposed to, and beyond the control of, the PCI and Christian Democrats. After all, the beginning of the rightist phase of the 'strategy of tension', the Milan Bank bombing of 1969, was concurrent with the intense industrial and social mobilisation of the 'Hot Autumn' -- and was initially blamed on the far left.

Willan's restricted view (undoubtedly held in good faith -- an important qualification) of the scope of legitimate political debate and discourse cannot allow for 'intelligent leaders of the extreme left, many of them university professors' being 'sincerely convinced' of the possibility of Marxist revolution in Italy (p. 186). Once you grant such a position can have been (indeed can still be!) held sincerely, and that the Italian ruling class were aware of this, then a lot of Willan's facts can be cast in a new light. For example, whereas Willan treats the utterances of Pecorelli with a respect bordering on awe (and assuredly they are of great significance), the sincerity of Negri's politics would indubitably account for the elliptical (and hence unanswerable in its own terms) smearing of Negri by such a secret state asset. Given such proven connections of Pecorelli's, the inclusion of Negri in one of his fantasy tales is on a par with the Quatrains of Nostradamus: after the event you can read anything you want in them, but the only truth is in the eye of the beholder.

A curious echo of McCarthyism

For someone so astute at times, Willan can be astonishingly naive, as when he suggests that a 1975 hint about Negri's forthcoming role in a secret state plot was a 'revelation one can only assume Pecorelli felt justified in making because of the limited circulation of his magazine and the coded language in which it was couched' (p. 187). But how about the obvious: Pecorelli being paid to circulate disinformation, entangling in advance an enemy of the system with the very nefarious goings-on Pecorelli himself was so privy to? The persecution of Negri and the whole 'area of autonomy' was very congenial for the PCI too, as it absolved them from any responsibility for those they had taken a hand in marginalising and/or excluding from the political system. No wonder they took on the role of witch-hunters in chief of Negri and others. It was not SISMI or P2 who tried to polarise opinion into being for the BR or the state, it was instead the PCI, in a curious echo of McCarthyism, who tried to reduce the complexities of Italian politics to this false antithesis, as a means of punishing and closing down the far left as a whole.

The secret-state manipulation of the BR at certain points, especially after 1974, can be easily fitted into my thesis. After all, what better way of delegitimising armed struggle in all circumstances than blurring the distinction between its role as one element in a popular revolutionary struggle (the considered position of much of the far left) and those who practised increasingly indiscriminate murder and kidnap, quite possibly some of it state-directed, cloaking it all in pseudo-Leninist military fetishism (the BR)? It could be said that in criticising Willan's book on this count, I am merely being partisan, so our views cancel out, but I would disagree. It is Willan who has failed to produce any real evidence linking Negri to the CIA, whereas I have merely sought to explain that failure. The frequent and friendly use Willan makes of the testimony of Franceschini, including his recent conversion to the 'Calogero theorem', while interesting, is not decisive. The views of Curcio and others who have not renounced their beliefs are given little prominence (though admittedly accorded some respect). In any event, not only might Franceschini have a complex mix of motives for his change of heart -- psychological and spiritual exhaustion, the desire for early release and so on -- the views of any member or ex-member of the BR cannot be treated as of too much weight analytically. After all, if they had been that politically sophisticated they would never have joined BR in the first place; there were a host of other more credible far left groupings around such as Potere Operaia or Lotta Continua.

Having got that substantial disagreement out of my system, I would nevertheless like to conclude by strongly recommending the book. These episodes in Italian history are of intrinsic interest, and this chronicle is a substantial contribution to English language accounts of them, undermining virtually all the extant literature in its well-documented central placing of the Italian 'secret services as active participants if not protagonists, in the strategy of tension'. (p.126) Furthermore (while agnostic on the issue myself) the events in the book indirectly provide a powerful argument against Proportional Representation, inasmuch as it could lead, like it has in Italy, to some parties never leaving power, merely jockeying for position. In the course of such negotiations, concealing (while threatening to disclose) evidence about the crimes of coalition partners is a far more useful counter than mere policy differences. This in itself is probably the major reason why virtually none of those who ordered or carried out the incidents of violence catalogued herein have ever been brought to justice.

Postscript

After the Italian national elections in April 1992, in which all the major parties lost ground to the populist Northern League, who should the corrupt cesspits that constitute the Christian Democrats and ill-named 'Socialists' have turned to at the time of writing to form a coalition? Why, the PDS, successors to the PCI, of course!

There's no smear like an old smear

The Spycatcher's Encyclopedia of Espionage

Peter Wright

Heinemann, Australia, 1991

The cover-blurb says this is 'the rest of the story'. It feels more like the out-takes from *Spycatcher* spiced with a few more fragments of interesting gossip. And I do mean fragments: the interesting bits of 260 pages -- largish print and much white space -- would reduce to about 2 single-spaced A4 sheets.

For example: on p. 35 he lists the educationalist Brian Simon, a sometime CPGB member, among Soviet 'spies', an allegation which has produced a writ; on p. 47 he claims that every room in Claridge's hotel was 'permanently bugged'. He casually tells us that Oxfam and the Red Cross -- and, by implication, many other organisations -- were 'checked' by MI5 to see if they had been penetrated by the KGB. As in *Spycatcher* he denigrates both MI6 and the CIA, here describing a minor Middle Eastern incident in which MI6 and the CIA were backing different factions in the same country.

The reliability of any of this gossip is undermined by another of his fantasies about Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon. In *Spycatcher* Wright had them addressing a Heath Cabinet meeting. Here MI5 bug a meeting at CPGB headquarters attended by Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon, 'representing the TUC.... a lot of trade union leaders and two Russian trade union people.... The meeting solemnly agreed to destroy the British motor industry with a campaign of strikes.'

You can just see it, can't you? Presumably it went something like this. Voice from floor: 'Move the vote'. Chair: 'Those in favour of destroying the British car industry please show.'

Fairly typically, Wright doesn't bother to date this meeting, though from the context it is meant to be the late 1950s. (Jack Jones didn't join the TUC General Council until 1968.)

This fantasy was picked up and recycled by Robert Porter in the *Sunday Telegraph*, 'Author accuses Jack Jones of Moscow plot'. (26 January 1992)

This smear of Wright's rang bells for me, and I did a little checking. The earliest version of this theme I have found appeared in the 1963 Jack and Bessie Braddock book *The Braddocks*. (The Braddocks were Labour MPs who began on the left and ended on the Catholic right.) There, between pages 223-5, Bessie quotes at some

length from a document headed 'Cominform Report October 1959 -- Secret, must not fall into unauthorised hands'. Among other things this document stated: 'Although recent strikes which excellent undercover cadres have organised in the car industry are fully acknowledged, it is nevertheless of the greatest importance that these actions should be increased and become nation-wide occurrences.'

Bessie Braddock assured the reader that this 'bears all the distinctive marks of a genuine Communist directive'. Although it is difficult to parody the Stalinist mind, I doubt that even the Cominform would actually have written that 'new and concentrated effort must be made by specially suitable undercover activists to penetrate into that bastion of British capitalism and so set up the strongest possible Communist cells within the Conservative Party'.

This document, I suspect, is a product of the Foreign Office's Information Research Department (IRD). This impression is greatly strengthened by Braddock's report of another document, called 'MVD Information' (MVD became the KGB) 'which circulates to executives of the Soviet secret police and secret service'. In this 'it has been predicted that by June 1962, the number of fully-trained men and women who will be sent to work as Resident Operators and Control Agents in foreign countries will amount to about 230.' Considerate of them to tell the counter-intelligence services of the NATO alliance, is it not?

A decade later we find the same theme in J. Bernard Hutton's 1972 *The Subverters of Liberty* (p. 227): 'In mid-May 1971 Moscow's Special Division for Subversion (sic) sent the following directive to its master subverters (sic) in the United Kingdom: 'The recent slackness of revolutionary industrial activity in Britain must be condemned. The forces of reaction must not be allowed a breathing respite. Intensify all efforts on all fronts. Do not concentrate solely upon large industrial plants or factories. Every minor industrial dispute contributes to the achievement of the main objective. Disrupt production everywhere! And ensure that even the smallest industrial dispute receives wide publicity..... It must always be apparent that demonstrations, strikes or riots etc. are spontaneous. It must never be suspected that political influences have inspired them'. (p. 228)

This astonishing guff is then followed by a five-page list of strikes, many of them in the car industry, between June and September 1971. This list, says Hutton, 'shows the astonishing parallel between the Kremlin's orders and what happened inside the United Kingdom'.

J. Bernard Hutton was a very minor Czech defector who made a living recycling the coarser products of the disinformation wizzards at IRD. This 1972 book of his, for example, includes (p. 106) the all-time naff forgery 'the text of a Special Division for Subversion directive, sent in code in April 1968 from Moscow to undercover master-subverters in West Germany'. This begins:

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL! MEMORISE! THEN BURN!

Action must be taken at once to create disruptive situations that will rock the very foundations of the capitalist system. The disturbances must occur on such a large scale that they cause deep concern to the population.' Etc. etc.

The story about the car industry resurfaced again in 1978 via the estimable Lord

Chalfont, erstwhile 1960s *Times* Defence Correspondent and Labour Cabinet Minister. On 2 October 1978 *The Times* carried a piece of his, 'Soviet Saboteurs Bringing Britain to her Knees'. In this he reported meetings in late 1974 of the Metal Workers Trade Union in Vichy in France, and an early 1975 conference of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Dusseldorf. At the Vichy meeting, said Chalfont, 'there was a call by the assembled comrades for concerted action against multinational companies, especially the car industry...'. At the Dusseldorf meeting 'the main outcome.... was a programme of industrial disruption in the car industry.'

Clearly the WFTU did not invite Lord Chalfont to its meeting, and we are indebted to Chapman Pincher's 1985 *The Secret Offensive* for the information (on p. 219) that Chalfont got this information from MI5 who had 'penetrated a secret meeting in West Germany of Communist trade-union leaders from Britain and Europe to discuss tactics of disrupting industry throughout Europe in the ensuing five years'.

Steve Dorril adds: There is one little gem in Wright's book which is worth noting. On p. 93 Wright reveals that the Director-General of MI5, Sir Roger Hollis, deliberately destroyed a document before the Denning Inquiry into the Profumo Affair. This showed that Hollis had tried, via the Cabinet Secretary, to enlist John Profumo's help in an entrapment operation of the Soviet diplomat, Eugene Ivanov, in July 1961. Tony Summers and I speculated that this was the case in *Honeytrap* but had no evidence. Hollis misled Denning -- easy enough -- and Prime Minister Macmillan, who told a few lies to the House of Commons on this point.

Curious Liaisons

Armen Victorian

Alien Liaison

Timothy Good
Century, London, 1991

Please note: all the telephone conversations referred to by the author in this essay have been tape-recorded.

Published in May 1991, the thesis in Good's book is (a) that alien space craft have landed and/or crashed on earth; and (b) that the U.S. government is concealing this fact while attempting to recreate the space technology used by the aliens. Working on the alien craft project is a super secret government group code-named MJ12. This is not a new thesis in the world of UFOlogy and Mr Good received much of the extensive media attention he did partly because of the support for his claims from Admiral Lord Hill-Norton (who endorses the book with a 'Commentary'), and partly because of chapter 10, Cosmic Journey. Since Good has no physical evidence -- pictures, films, artefacts -- of the existence of aliens, let alone of their meetings with members of the U.S armed forces etc., he has to rely on the testimony of individuals. In chapter 10 that is provided essentially by a Mr Bob Oeschler, who claims to have worked on a U.S. government-funded program working with crashed alien craft; retired Admiral Bobby Ray Inman, former Director of the National Security Agency; and retired Rear Admiral Shapiro, former head of the Office of Naval Intelligence. As

a former NSA head, Inman's evidence in particular is quite a coup. For if any state agency in the U.S. could be presumed to know about alien landings etc., it would be the NSA with its global surveillance cover.

What Bobby Ray Inman said

Mr Good begins chapter 10 with an alleged encounter between Admiral Inman and Bob Oeschler in May 1988 and the transcript of a subsequent telephone conversation between them. According to Oeschler and Good, in that conversation Admiral Inman confirmed the existence of alien spacecraft. On p. 191, printed in italics, is this exchange:

Bob Oeschler: Do you anticipate that any of the recovered vehicles would ever become available for technological research?

Admiral Inman: Again, I honestly don't know. Ten years ago the answer would have been no. Whether, as time has evolved, they are beginning to become more open on it, there's a possibility. Again Mr Hineman [Retired Deputy Director of Science and Technology Division, CIA] probably would be the best person to put that kind of question to...'

I have since received a copy of the entire telephone conversation from Mr Oeschler and there is not a single specific reference to the subject of UFOs in it. Interestingly, Mr Good did not include in his book the text of a letter he had received from Admiral Inman dated 18 December 1989. This reads:

Dear Mr Good, Just a short note to thank you for your letters of 17 November and 7 December 1989. I did receive your book [presumably Good's previous book, *Above Top Secret* -- author] and appreciate your thoughtfulness for sending it. I look forward to reading it in the weeks ahead. Unfortunately I do not know of any information which could be of assistance to you for your UFO report. I would like to take this opportunity to wish you success in your findings. Please pass my very best wishes to Admiral Lord Hill-Norton when you have the opportunity.'

Admiral Hill-Norton is Timothy Good's most distinguished supporter in this country, a man whose name would -- did -- open doors among the Anglo- American military and intelligence elite.

After receiving the complete text of the Oeschler-Inman telephone conversation, I asked Mr Oeschler if anyone else but Mr Good had listened to it. He gave me the name of a Mr John Dingley. On 14 July 1991 I telephoned Mr Dingley, who confirmed (a) that he had heard the taped telephone conversation, and (b) that there was no reference to UFOs in it. By then I had already contacted Admiral Inman, enclosing the pages of *Alien Liaison* on which he was quoted, asking him for comments. In his reply, received on July 26 1991, Admiral Inman said:

'I received your letter of July 1st concerning Timothy Good's book *Alien Liaison*. I believe all these allegations to be false. Concerning your comments on a group of scientists called MJ12, I have no such awareness and do not believe such a group exists. In summary, the book is filled with fabrication and distortions. My conclusion from the pages I have

seen is that the book is without any merit.'

On 2 August 1991 I faxed another letter to Admiral Inman, asking him the following:

'What did you think Bob Oeschler was inquiring about? It is still obscure what your understanding was as to the topic of the conversation. Perhaps I should add that Bob Oeschler maintains that in his initial approach to you, when he gave you his card, he mentioned to you clearly and briefly that he required your assistance in contacting a member of the MJ12. He maintains that you accepted his card, and in a cordial manner 'Okayed it'.

On 8 August 1991 I received the following from Admiral Inman, dated 5 August.

'Dear Dr Victorian,

In response to the request in your letter dated 2 August 1991 for an 'ultimate clarification' by me re Mr Oeschler, I provide the following:

- a. I receive hundreds of calling cards each year from individuals who approach me at public appearances. I have no specific recollection of the receipt of a calling card from Mr Oeschler prior to our telephone conversation.
- b. I have never heard of any organization called MJ12 nor did I have any understanding from Mr Oeschler about his seeking information on a specific organization. His use of Admiral Lord Peter Hill-Norton's name was the principal factor in my having a conversation at all with Mr Oeschler.
- c. Having no prior knowledge of Mr Oeschler's interest, I did not understand until well into his dialogue that his research was about Unidentified Flying Objects.
- d. Throughout 22 years of service in the intelligence community, I never encountered any credible evidence of the existence of extraterrestrial or interplanetary entities. I do not believe any credible evidence of such activity exists.

I have been appraised by RADM [Rear Admiral] Shapiro that Mr Oeschler totally misrepresented both the nature and content of their conversation. I remain persuaded that complete misrepresentation of my views and those of RADM Shapiro has occurred and thus I distrust any and all stories and conclusions that have been conveyed. I hope you will entertain no further doubts about my views.'

Shapiro says Oeschler a fraud

I had already contacted retired RADM Shapiro, former head of the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI) on 3 August 1991. Asked if he had ever met Mr Bob Oeschler, he replied:

'He met me on one occasion and I realised that he was a fraud. He had arranged a meeting with me under fraudulent circumstances and I dismissed him almost immediately. I never had a meeting with him in a restaurant as he is suggesting in that book. [on p. 195] I never discussed

any of that material with him.'

I asked RADM Shapiro what Mr Oeschler introduced himself as. 'He introduced himself as an independent... he didn't even describe what he was doing initially in order to see me. He said he had been referred to me by somebody, [Inman] that he should contact me. I tried to contact that person to verify -- he was out of the country. I finally agreed that I will meet with him. And then, all he had was his card that described himself as some sort of robotic expert or something. You know, a complete sham.'

On pp. 198-201 Mr Oeschler talks about meeting an unidentified General who warned him off his inquiries in 1989. I worked out eventually that the 'General' was Lt. General Thomas P. Stafford, a former NASA astronaut. (Mr Oeschler subsequently confirmed that Stafford was the 'General' in a telephone conversation with me on August 8, 1991.) On the same day I rang General Stafford. I told him I had a copy of Mr Good's book and understood that he had met Mr Oeschler. General Stafford did not remember Mr Oeschler, did not remember meeting him, and did not remember a 'security device' in the Pentagon Mr Oeschler describes. Finally I asked him if he had seen any evidence of flying saucers. 'Hell no', he said.

NASA and anti-gravity

In Chapter 10 Mr Oeschler describes being employed to work on an anti-gravity propulsion device. It was not difficult to locate the facilities he is talking about on pp. 202-4. The complex to which Mr Oeschler claims to have been taken to 'during the second week of January' exists. I telephoned Linda Billica, Assistant Test Director for Reduced Gravity Office, NASA. She explained to me that there is no anti-gravity chamber as described by Mr Oeschler but told me that NASA does employ a KC-135 aircraft to fly loops, at the top of which reduced gravity is achieved for about 30 seconds. I faxed her the passage from Mr Good's book, and on August 22, 1991 I received the following letter dated August 12 from her.

Dear Dr Victorian, The material you sent me from the book, Alien Liaison, is not based on fact:

- a. No one by the name of Bob Oeschler was ever manifested to fly with us on the KC-135.
- b. Ellington Field has not been an Air Force Base since 1976.
- c. There are no billeting facilities at Ellington Field.
- d. The shuttle's Remote Manipulator System (the 'arm') was never designed by Canada, has been operating for years, and has never required any such 'reconfiguration'.
- e. NASA has no 'anti-gravity chamber' anywhere. As I explained over the phone, we fly a KC-135 aircraft in a series of parabolas to obtain short periods of microgravity.
- f. Protein crystals have nothing to do with superconductive materials.
- g. NASA has no 'bunker-like building north of Houston' and no 'alien craft'.
- h. Absolutely no effort is underway to design or build any 'ground-based anti-gravity chamber'.

I'm sorry Dr. Victorian, but *Alien Liaison* is hogwash. I do not wish to have my name or my organization's name associated with it in any way.'

Conclusion

Based on my inquiries so far, there is no credible evidence of the events described by Mr Good in chapter 10 of his book. I will let another of those quoted by Mr Good have the final word. Still critical of what Mr Good published about him in an earlier book, Col. William Coleman decided to ignore Mr Good's inquiry for this book. Undaunted, Mr Good included a section about Colonel Coleman. In a September 1991 letter to me, Colonel Coleman wrote:

'I read all of the material sent with great interest and am fortified in my opinion of Mr Good's alleged talent as a researcher and author. It is amazing that people of this ilk can be so successful. (I am presuming that he is enjoying some income from these ventures.).... I regret having agreed to talk to him with reference to my UFO sighting (1955)... but I did it as a favor to a friend. Never again! His use of my alleged statements in his first book were totally manufactured out of hot air and were without truth in toto.'

Crop Circles

Meanwhile, out on the fringes of all this, there is the curious case of the crop circles. *Mufon UFO Journal* (about which I know nothing) claimed the following in issue 284, December 1991.

1. Ministry of Defence personnel produced some faked circles in July 1990.
2. In September 1990 a meeting on the circles was held between reps from Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of the Environment at which the use of disinformation was discussed. (Information allegedly from a participant at the meeting.)

It also reported the following: In September '91 the newspaper *Today* carried the 'confession' of Doug Bowers and David Chorley that they had been making the patterns in fields in Britain which had caused so much interest and speculation. The story in *Today* was by-lined to 'Copyright MBF Services', presumably linked to MBF Consultancy a 1991-formed company whose sole shareholders are a Dr Andrew Clifford and his wife. Dr Clifford is an engineer and metallurgist and his principal employer is the MOD.

In issue 286, February 1992, George Wingfield, author of the research in the paragraph above, adds: he cannot connect 'MBF Consultancy' with 'MBF Services'; that the editor of *Today* said MBF Services were 'just an agency that handled the details for us'; and *Today* journalist Graham Brough said that 'MBF Services was just a joke. We made it up.' This last claim seems unlikely. How many other cases have you noticed where journalists voluntarily attribute a story to a non-existent agency?

Wingfield comments that 'suspicion that the Doug and Dave story is part of a deliberate disinformation campaign remains as strong as ever'.

The CIA and the Marshall Plan

Sallie Pisani,

University of Edinburgh Press, 1992 (UK)

University Press of Kansas, 1991 (USA)

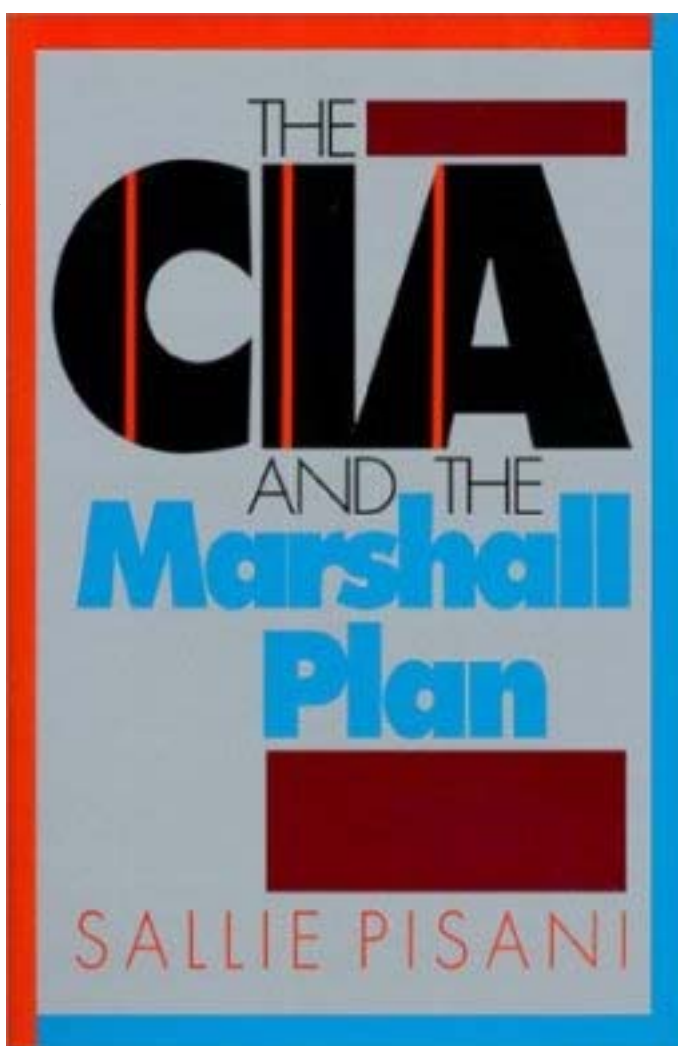
No price stated

Pisani lays out her thesis on pp. 7/8.

'My claim is that the emphasis on paramilitary operations in the literature has led to a distorted picture of covert operations in this seminal period. In fact, a recreation of the predominant views with the OPC and the CIA in the early Cold War era, 1946-52, reveals that paramilitary operations were regarded as only one method on a spectrum of covert operations. Indeed, paramilitary ventures were undertaken with reluctance and generally as a measure of last resort. More often the agency relied upon covert economic, political, and psychological operations because they suited the circumstances and were more difficult to detect than paramilitary operations.'

But where in this literature on the covert operations of the 46-52 period is this focus on 'paramilitary operations'? The well known examples offered -- Cuba, Guatemala, Vietnam -- all fall outside this period. I am no expert on the literature of OPC/CIA but I am not even sure that there is anything resembling 'a picture of the covert operations of this period'. If asked about CIA covert operations in this period I would have difficulty producing much information about anything before the 1953 coup in Iran. Some bits on Italy, some on Germany, the Congress for Cultural Freedom... Pisani's thesis is correcting a fault only she perceives.

Pisani shows how a smallish group of what one of their number, Richard Bissell, called 'determined interventionists' set about trying to reconstruct the post-WW2 world in the interests of U.S. capital. Many of them began in private organisations, like the Ford Foundation, but gravitated to Washington when they found such private forums unwilling to think big enough or act fast enough. In the capitol they staffed and motivated the Economic Cooperation Administration, the Marshall Plan, Economic Recovery Programme, and eventually the Office



of Policy Coordination and the CIA.

The term 'imperialism' is rarely used. 'Intervention' is the new euphemism: her potted history of the expansion of American imperialism up to World War 2 is called 'A Grounding in American Interventionism'. And there are some curious emphases. The 1946-7 period, running up to and including the Marshall Plan, is some of the most bitterly fought ground in post-war historiography. Yet Pisani whizzes across the period between pages 58 and 63 as if the Revisionist Wars had never taken place. Showing how the Council on Foreign Relations served as the sounding board, ideology-generator and integration device for the East Coast elite busy fighting the good fight (with some clandestine methods) in Europe, this is thus something of a companion volume to Laurence Shoup and William Minter's study of the Council on Foreign Relations, *Imperial Brain Trust* (Monthly Review Press 1977); yet Shoup and Minter are not in her bibliography. Still, let's be grateful for what we've got. In illustrating that both the Marshall Plan and the ECA provided cover for (yes, non paramilitary) covert operations, Pisani has made an important contribution to the historiography of the Cold War, showing the continuity between World War II methods and the eventual emergence of a CIA dominated by the covert operators.

A fictional account of this period can be found in certain section of Charles McCarry's novels about his erstwhile employers the CIA. McCarry has been the most subtle of the Agency's apologists over the past ten years -- and a beautiful writer, to boot. His most recent, *Second Sight*, includes some passages about the early years of the CIA which would be music to the ears of people like Richard Bissel. On p. 332, for example, he talks of the CIA in its 'great, early days manned by the flower of American youth.... something almost entirely new in history, a secret intelligence service that was dedicated to doing good in the world by stealth.' Ah, the self-confidence (and self-delusion) in 'doing good in the world by stealth'.

RR

Thatcher's People

John Ranelagh

HarperCollins, London 1991, £15.99

Also out in (Fontana) paperback this year, this book was curiously neglected when it appeared in 1991. This is easily the most interesting and informative book on the Thatcher years to have appeared so far. Ranelagh was a member of the Conservative Research Department (CRD) between 1975-79 -- a member of the internal opposition to Mrs Thatcher while 'Thatcherism' was being cobbled together by group around her. The CRD was then headed by Heathite Chris Patten. As a former, albeit junior 'insider', Ranelagh has had access to almost everybody who matters -- except Mrs Thatcher. The result is a fascinating account of how a tiny group of people, with a handful of elementary, core ideas, captured the Tory Party -- and its attendant media. Much of the book is directly sourced to interviews with key individuals of the period, and even the bits attributed to 'close advisor' and 'close colleague' et al, contribute to the 'feel' of the period. On almost every page there is something of interest -- and, on many, serious insights.

But Ranelagh became a true believer, and accepts 'Thatcherism's' talk of success and transformation. So at another level, this an extremely partial -- laughably partial in places -- account of the past 20 years. This is the 'Putting the Great back in Britain'

fantasy; Maggie and the unions replaying George and the Dragon. Why has Britain been in relative decline since the war? Its all the fault of the the unions. The British economy's structural bias towards overseas investment? Not a word. Impact of the City on Tory economic policy? Not a word. It doesn't matter. This has some great anecdotes, some genuinely new information, and some wonderful, unwitting self-revelation by a spokesperson for the Thatcherite myth.

RR

England and the Aeroplane

An Essay on a Militant and Technological Nation

David Edgerton

Macmillan, London, 1991, £14.99.

Short (130 pages), elegant assault on the thesis of 'the declinist' tendency in British history, now associated chiefly with Corelli Barnett and Martin Weiner, who have argued that science and technology failed to penetrate British (but essentially English) culture. By looking at 20th British history through the development of the aircraft industry, Edgerton shows us British society through new eyes -- and in so doing tramples gleefully all over the boundary markers of several would-be discrete academic areas.

The state equals military power; and after WW2 military power equals death from the air. Hence the primacy of the aeroplane in the scheme of things. In 1970 Britain still had the 3rd largest aircraft construction industry in the world -- and far too much of the UK's R and D was being consumed by the effort to compete with the USA/USSR. Harold Wilson knew this even if others didn't: he 'saw clearly what [C.P.] Snow's scientific humanism could not bear to see: the deeply warlike orientation of English science and technology.' (p. 85) Despite the creation of the Ministry of Technology (MinTech) -- 'an Industry Ministry of much greater scope than any other in the capitalist world; Japan's much-vaunted MITI is a minnow by comparison.' (p. 105) -- Wilson failed.

But where did it go wrong? In his conclusion he attacks 'the declinists', whose theories are nothing more than 'stories left over from the 19th century'. Yes, but he hasn't answered how it is that the technological nation of the 1950s and 60s he describes had so little influence that it was unable to prevent both the Heath and Thatcher governments from deregulating the City of London -- and wrecking the manufacturing economy. Or, more interestingly perhaps, how it was that the Tories persuaded the manufacturing turkeys to repeatedly vote for Christmas....

RR

Right Woos Left; Populist Party, LaRouchian and other neo-fascist overtures to Progressives; and why they must be rejected

Chip Berlet

This 63-page essay describes a wide range of contacts between what in a British context would be described as right-wing conspiracy theorists and the left. Berlet documents a range of contacts between the far-right Liberty Lobby, followers of LaRouche, Bo Gritz and the Populist Party, the Christic Institute, Radio Free America and a number of individuals, notably Victor Marchetti, Mark Lane, L. Fletcher Prouty, Dave Amory, Sherman Skolnick, and one Craig Hulet. (Rather than use 'the left', Berlet refers to 'Progressives', the use of which in a British context used to signify a kind of naive, pro-Soviet Communism. I don't know if it does in a U.S. context.)

Prouty, Lane and Marchetti are attacked for their association with the Liberty Lobby. Lane and Marchetti worked for a Liberty-published anti-Zionist newsletter; Prouty allowed the Liberty front, the Institute for Historical Review, part of the Holocaust denial lobby, to republish his book *The Secret Team*. (Lane presents, without comment, Liberty Lobby founder Willis Carto's denial of anti-semitism in his recent book, *Plausible Denial*, reviewed elsewhere in this issue.) Almost everyone else is attacked for contacts with LaRouche's organisation.

This is all very interesting to me, but it is very small beer. With the exception of *Spotlight*, which apparently sells 200,000 copies, these are all groups scratching around on the margins of U.S. political life. In U.K. terms these groups are about as politically significant as, say, the Socialist Workers' Party.

Berlet's complaint is that '[s]ince the early 1980s, persons from far-right and fascist political groups in the United States have attempted to convince progressive activists to join forces to oppose certain government policies'. They have done this by the propagation of 'conspiracism and demagoguery' which 'feature simplistic answers to complex problems' -- the conventional left hostility to talk of conspiracies. (Another example is Michael Albert's 'Conspiracy Theory' in *Z*, January 1992.) He contrasts 'the Christic [Institute] theme that Iran-Contragate was caused by a long-standing conspiracy of individual agents' with the 'systemic failure' of the American political system. But is this alleged contrast justified? It certainly is true that the Christic's central document, *The Affidavit of Daniel Sheehan*, is seriously flawed by his cavalier handling of evidence: Mae Brussel was the 'source' for the ridiculous section on the events of 22 November 1963, for example. But Sheehan is not the whole of the story. In a fund-raising letter of 30 November 1990, for example, Christic Executive Director Sara Nelson writes of 'the first time since the mid-1970s that Congress had genuinely wrestled with the fundamental incompatibility between covert operations and constitutional democracy'; and, later on the same page, of 'the dangerous consequences of unchecked Presidential war-making power'. This, surely, is not the view of someone who is interested solely in the conspiracy of individual agents and rejects what Berlet calls 'the systemic view'.

There need be no conflict between research into conspiracies and 'the systemic view'. What Berlet seems unwilling to acknowledge is that within a 'systemic view' of the United States (or the CIA, or the Congress-Presidency relationship, or whatever) there are going to be conspiracies of individuals: and when the individuals are as powerful as, say, senior CIA personnel, the conspiracies are also going to be significant. The trouble is that since the demise of *Ramparts* magazine, the American left (progressives) has rarely been much interested in conspiracies and has thus left the field open for the right, who are. Would Marchetti and Lane have been sucked into the Liberty Lobby's operations if they had been taken seriously by the American left in the past 15 years? Did Prouty get any other offers from the left to republish his book before the one from Liberty Lobby?

Berlet's interesting paper is available from Political Research Associates, Suite 205, 678 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139, USA, \$6.50 in the U.S.. If ordering outside the U.S. the price is \$9.00 airmail and \$7.00 by sea. Outside the U.S. send International Money Orders only.

Berlet also discusses these ideas in an extended interview in the January 1992 edition of *Z* magazine, 150 West Canton St, Boston MA

The Coors Connection; How Coors Family Philanthropy Undermines Democratic Pluralism

Political Research Associates

Also from Political Research Associates is *The Coors Connection; How Coors Family Philanthropy Undermines Democratic Pluralism* by Russ Bellant. This is a short book, 100 pages of text and 40 of notes and appendices. Following the trail of Coors family funding, Bellant takes the reader on a tour of practically the entire spectrum of the American right, from the proselytising end of the Born Agains to the World Anti-Communist League (as was). If the territory is familiar from other works, much of the detail and some of the perspectives are new.

Doing this kind of detailed, compressed work, Bellant faces in acute form the the basic problem we all have. X knows Y, who knows Z. Is this significant? Is there a connection between X and Z? For example: the Reagan White House supports the appointment of a former European war criminal to run one of the Republican Party's minor committees. If this does not mean 'Reagan White House supports Nazis', what does it mean? Bellant is actually drawing out the strands of a large, ramified network. The problem with the concept of network is: what is the status of network membership? In some senses the difference between good and bad parapolitical research hinges on this question. At its worst all the links are perceived as causal and you have vulgar conspiracy theories: 'Its all the fault of...'. The rest of us fall somewhere short of that, and for the most part Bellant's attribution of causality is restrained. Occasionally it goes wrong. This, for example, is on p. 43, about Phylis Schafley. Now best known for her anti-feminist, anti-ERA (Equal Rights Amendment) statements, Schafley began as a right-wing conspiracy theorist. Bellant notes that she 'defends as a hero the late Cardinal Mindszenty of Hungary, a noted anti-communist *who has been called* a pro-feudalist, anti-semitic collaborationist who did little to stop the German Nazi massacre of Hungarian Jews.' (My emphasis.) That takes up a third of the 9-line entry on Schafley, and it's a mistake.

The Coors Connection is published by South End Press of Boston and is being distributed in the U.K. by Turnaround Distribution, if your local bookshop can't find it. By mail to the U.S. it is \$6.50, to Europe it is \$9.00 (air mail) and \$7.00 (surface). Payment from outside the U.S. by international money order only.

The Campus Connection: Military Research on Campus

Rob Evans, Nicola Butler, Eddie Goncalves
Student CND, London 1991, £3.00

The contents list is reproduced here. This is not my field but Rob Evans of the Campaign Against Military Research on Campus (CAMROC) now has quite a track record in this area. This is available at 3.00 from Student CND, 162 Holloway Road, London N7 8DQ.20

RR

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North American Spies: New Revisionist Essays

eds. Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones and Andrew Lownie
Edinburgh University Press, 1992.

This worthy, but expensive, anthology of ten essays ranges widely from the obscure 'secret operations of Spanish consular officials within Canada during the Spanish-American war' to the useful account of the 'birth of the Defense Intelligence Agency'. In between are a number of good essays on American intelligence which are well-served with notes and bibliography. It is hardly revisionist, though in an academic environment they obviously

would appear to be. By far the most interesting selection is Andrew Lownie's 'Tyler Kent: isolationist or spy?'. I do not agree with all of the conclusions but Lownie proves himself to be one of the best researchers around.

Stephen Dorril

The Intelligence Game: Illusions and Delusions of International Espionage

James Rusbridger

I. B. Tauris, London 1991, £8.95

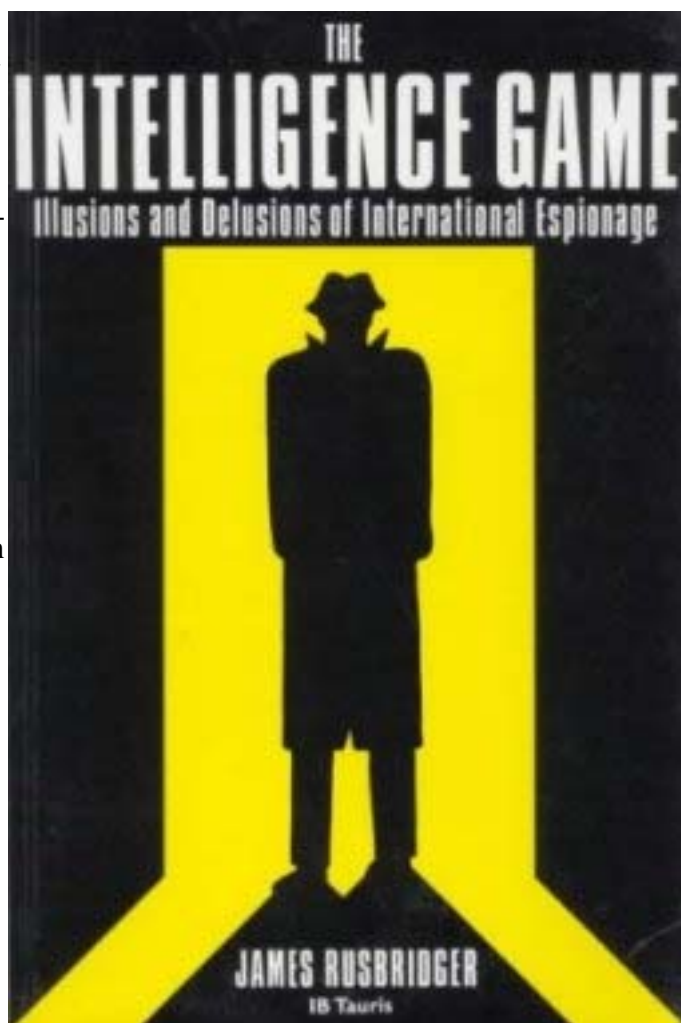
James Rusbridger is Peter Wright's cousin oddly enough, and occasionally assisted MI6 in the 1950s and 60s, an experience which has left him a cheerful cynic. He canters briskly and amusingly over the field of spook foul-ups in the post-war period to 'show the pointlessness of so much of the work of the intelligence services everywhere.' The result is an entertaining but very sharp analysis of that peculiar mixture of ruthless patriotism and utter incompetence which characterises so much of the efforts of the contemporary action men (and women). For by 'intelligence services' he really means the covert operations arms of the state.

In Rusbridger's view one of our spooks' few successful operations has been their concealment of their futility and venality from the mug tax-payer. Do we still need such organisations? Every so often Rusbridger feels obliged to reassure us that we do. I wonder if he really means that: his correspondence with the British media suggests otherwise. Clearly we need something to keep an eye on putative

'revolutionaries' with access to Semtex -- but do we need the present organisations? Do we really need MI5, for example? The CIA was originally going to be an open, intelligence-gathering agency. Would American economic interests have been better or worse served since 1948 had the CIA not come to be dominated by the covert operators?

Although topped and tailed with new material, this is otherwise unchanged since the hard-back edition in 1989. The further collapse of the Soviet empire since then has made a page or two now sound rather odd, but this remains the most purely enjoyable and subversive single volume on the world's secret servants.

RR



Plausible Denial: Was the CIA Involved in the Assassination of JFK

Mark Lane

Plexus, London, £9.99

In 1978 a right-wing American magazine, *Spotlight*, published an article by former CIA officer Victor Marchetti which claimed that in response to the beginning of public hearings of the House Committee on Assassinations, the CIA was about to admit that one of its former employees, Howard Hunt, one of the Watergate 'plumbers', had taken part in the assassination of John Kennedy. The admission would be a 'limited hang-out'. Hunt sued *Spotlight*; Marchetti had -- or was willing to present -- no evidence, and in 1981 Hunt duly won damages large enough to close *Spotlight*. However, on appeal the verdict was overturned on a technicality, a second trial ensued and JFK assassination buff Lane was enrolled to defend *Spotlight*. In so doing he got David Attlee Phillips, Hunt, Richard Helms and Marita Lorenz into court. Half the book is about that second trial in January 1985. (The rest is a -- not very interesting -- summary of Mark Lane's activities in the Kennedy assassination field since 1964.)

To a lapsed assassination buff like me, parts of the trial are rather interesting. Try this, the single most important claim in the entire book. David Attlee Phillips admits, for the first time, that Lee Harvey Oswald did not visit the Soviet embassy in Mexico City in 1963. If that means nothing to you, then the book will probably mean nothing.

At the heart of Lane's case was Hunt's alibi for November 22 1963 and the allegations of a woman called Marita Lorenz. In the event Hunt could not conclusively prove where he had been on the day -- and doubts about his credibility were immeasurable increased by the failure of his children to back up his alibi. Marita Lorenz, former lover of Fidel Castro-turned-CIA-agent, testified that she had been part of the Kennedy assassination conspiracy along with Hunt, another Watergate 'plumber' Frank Sturgis, and some Cubans. But her first-hand knowledge of the assassination is nil. She left the group in Dallas on November 21st and claims she was told by Sturgis after the event.

Do we believe her? My initial reaction is that I don't, but only because it is just too neat and tidy that the same people would bump off Kennedy and then turn up in the Watergate 'plumbers'. Even if we believe her account of what Sturgis told her, Sturgis's claim might be a lie -- disinformation, perhaps for the Agency; water muddying. Many other false trails have turned up over the years. Either way, along with most of the serious Kennedy researchers, I do not buy her story, and didn't buy it when it first surfaced in 1977. (See, for example, *Sunday Times* 6 November 1977.) Lorenz's story must be disinformation. But if it is, what is going on?

My guess would be that what we have here is a disinformation project by the CIA. It is 1977: at the top of the CIA's domestic agenda is making sure that House Select Committee on Assassinations uncovers nothing of interest. A number of disinformation projects are running. Over at the *Reader's Digest* Edward J. Epstein's preposterous book *Legend* is about to be published, reaffirming the Warren Commission's central findings -- with a KGB twist added. The CIA have another disinformation hare running, a faked document purporting to be a CIA internal memo from 1966 which refers to Hunt being in Dallas on 22 November 1963. This is planted in the media, along with the notion that the CIA is prepared to toss Hunt to the investigators of the House Committee. In traditional psy-ops fashion, the story starts in minor media -- via Marchetti in *Spotlight* and via the *Wilmington News Journal*. Hunt,

a former (or 'former') CIA officer, begins to amplify the message with his law suit against *Spotlight*. The final result of the two trials was Hunt's failure to prove where he was on 22/11/63 -- could you prove where you were on a day 20 years earlier? -- and the inference that he was involved in Dallas, supporting the testimony of Lorenz. In other words, the outcome was exactly as originally predicted by Marchetti's article: in a 'limited hang-out' the story that Hunt was in Dallas was broadcast. (Surely, had it chosen to do so, the Agency could have provided Hunt with an alibi?)

RR

Ratlines

The Mark Aarons, John Loftus book, *Ratlines* (reviewed in *Lobster* 22) is out in soft-back in the UK -- Mandarin, £4.99. This is an important book, essential background reading to the disintegration of Yugoslavia, and the drive by Germany and the Papacy to get diplomatic recognition for Croatia.

The April mail-shot from *The Keys of Peter* -- an eccentric but entertaining mixture of high Catholicism, anti-Masonic thought and conspiracy theories -- contains one of the truly great rewrites of an author's intentions. Of the Aarons and Loftus book about the collaboration between the Vatican and Axis war criminals, *Keys* editor Ronald King says: 'A topical book dealing with the Vatican's diplomatic efforts to defend Croatia and Slovenia from Nazism and Communism in the 1940s and 1950s, and how those efforts were subverted by the US and British governments.'

Mr King, that is awesome.

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