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Our Searchlight problem

The 'Gable memo' reproduced below originally appeared as the subject matter of a long and extremely interesting article, 'Destabilising the "decent people"' by Nick Anning, Duncan Campbell and Bruce Page in the *New Statesman* on February 15, 1980. This is still worth digging out, particularly for its detailed account of the context in which the memo was written. As the authors wrote, 'The memo.... clearly shows MI5's intense interest in manipulating events around the Agee/Hosenball case and the beginnings of the ABC prosecution.' Phil Kelly, against whom most of the smears were directed, was then heavily involved in both campaigns.

There are two obvious objections to reproducing this. The first is that I am, in effect, spreading the smears in the original 'memo'. However, the events described took place a long time ago and I am sure *Lobster* readers will treat the allegations in the 'memo' with the contempt they deserve. The second is that as this happened 15 years ago, and who cares now? This argument might have some relevance if the British Left (what's left of it) had taken the 'memo' on board in 1980 when its existence was first revealed by the *New Statesman*. But it didn't. The implications of the 'memo', and the role of *Searchlight* magazine remains a subject about which the British Left affects collective amnesia.

After the original *New Statesman* article, the memo was resurrected in the summer 1983 issue of the now defunct magazine *Anarchy*, and again in the March 1986 edition of *International Times*. In the latter Gable was still giving credence to MI5's smears about Phil Kelly. He is quoted describing Kelly as 'a fucking terrorist - of the worst sort'.

Lobster joins the fray

In late 1985, while I was researching what became *Lobster* 11, I discovered that Hull University had a complete set of *Searchlight* and went through them all. Looked at *en masse* that way *Searchlight* was remarkable. It had access to internal documents, phone calls, meetings (public and private) from an enormous variety of groups on the neo-fascist British Right. Who could achieve this kind of penetration? Only MI5 could, I thought. Then I re-read the story of the 'Gable memo' in the *New Statesman* - and that was the case closed as far as I was concerned. Thus it was that I wrote in *Lobster* 11 (p. 12, fn 66) that 'Searchlight is run, if not by, then certainly with the co-operation of, MI5. This was made plain by the Gerry Gable memo.'¹ About a month after the publication of *Lobster* 11 Gerry Gable rang me to point out a minor error in a footnote in it but said nothing about the allegations about *Searchlight* and the memo.² To my knowledge Gable has never publicly commented on the memo. However, in a letter written this year he wrote 'Lets take the LWT saga the fact that my fellow journalists many of them left wing stood by me during and after this storm in a tea cup may raise the question of what this was all about'. (Punctuation in the original.)

The reference in *Lobster* 11 to Gable and *Searchlight* rang bells with a number of people. The journalist John Michael (whom I have never met) rang me about six months later to let me know about a forthcoming press conference being called about 'the Gable problem'. A few days later - sorry for being vague; I didn't write down the precise chronology at the time - an extremely strange piece appeared in *Private Eye* (no 660, April 1987, p. 7) accusing Michael of involvement on the Contra side of the Nicaraguan war and of 'acting in a press capacity for the Somoza family'. This bizarre claim is flatly denied by John Michael, of course; no evidence has ever been offered to substantiate it; nor have I ever met or heard of anybody who claimed to either understand or believe it. The mooted press conference never took place.

About eight months after this odd episode, Steve Dorril and I went to a conference on the British right-wing at Southampton University. Gerry Gable was among the listed speakers. In the bar on the first night he came up to us and the first thing he said was, 'I had nothing to do with that piece in *Private Eye*.' I was

surprised, to say the least, for how could Gable know of my conversation with Michael except through a phone intercept at my end or his?³

Searchlight smears O'Hara

The Gable-*Searchlight* controversy resurfaced last year in the columns of the London left magazine *Labour Briefing* in the context of splits in the ranks of London anti-racists.⁴ In October 1991 Larry O'Hara joined in the debate and reminded *Labour Briefing* readers of the 1980 *New Statesman* story about the 'Gable memo'. In *Labour Briefing* of February this year *Searchlight* staffer Graeme Atkinson replied to this debate, writing of 'the hoary old "Gable memorandum"' and asserting that 'not a single accusation about *Searchlight's* "intelligence connections" holds water.'⁵ In August this year *Searchlight* published a column by Ray Hill in which Larry O'Hara was attacked for a short piece he had written for *Tribune* (29 May, 1992) and described as 'a political errand boy for [ex National Front] Patrick Harrington'.⁶ At which point I thought: OK, enough is enough; Larry O'Hara is not a supporter of any species of the Right. Larry wrote a letter to *Searchlight* (which didn't get published) and complained to the Press Complaints Commission (which declined to take an interest).

Why was Larry O'Hara attacked? There are two possible reasons I can see. The first is commercial. *Searchlight* now has a virtual monopoly as consultants on the far Right to the British media. Independent experts on the Right such as O'Hara may simply be a threat to that monopoly. The second, and much more likely in my view, is ideological. *Searchlight* also seems to have a distinct 'line' on the British Right. It wants its readers to perceive that the British far Right are all essentially or potentially fascists or nazis, no matter how their beliefs may shift, or how far individuals distance themselves from German national socialism.⁷ Because O'Hara insists on taking the far Right's ideas seriously, rather than just dismissing them all as 'nazis' or 'fascists', he is a threat to the *Searchlight* 'line'. The piece in *Tribune* which aroused *Searchlight's* ire is a good example. Rather than dismissing Patrick Harrington as a 'nazi' or a 'fascist' on the basis of his previous membership of the National Front, O'Hara noted his apparent distance from NF positions and tentatively classified the Harrington group as Poujadist.

Does any of this really matter? I think it does. There are obvious areas of mutual interest between the section of MI5 and Special Branch dealing with the British far Right and something like *Searchlight*. But as the memo shows, at any rate in 1977, for a former full-time employee of the CPGB, Gable was an astonishingly credulous partner to whomever it was in MI5 who fed him the baloney about Phil Kelly and the KGB. Somebody capable of recycling that much nonsensical hearsay - and remaining unrepentant about it - is not to be trusted.⁸ There aren't many areas on which all of us still out here 'on the Left' or still 'radicals' agree on, but one of them would be that, short of some exceptional life-threatening situation, it is not possible to co-operate with the British secret state.

My enemy's enemy

Finally, why did *Searchlight* attack Larry for a tiny little fragment in *Tribune*? Why not for the much bigger piece in *Lobster* 23? Indeed, why has *Lobster* never been given the *Searchlight* smear treatment? It may be that *Lobster* is simply too small to be worth *Searchlight's* attention, but I suspect the real reason lies elsewhere. Throughout the 1986-88 period Colin Wallace and Peter Wright provided evidence of 'MI5 plots'. On closer examination, however, as Steve Dorril and I tried to elaborate in our book *Smear!*, the picture of the mid 1970s was more complex than this. People either linked to MI6 or former officers of MI6 were running their own operations during this period. This is the thesis that has always been promoted by *Searchlight*. From their famous issue 'The Men in the Shadows' (no. 18, November 1976) through to

their 'Quiet Coup' issue (no. 144, June 1987), *Searchlight* has consistently pointed the finger at the activities of former MI6 Vice Chief G.K. Young and 'the bridge' between the neo-fascists and the Tory Right constructed around him. On the basis that 'my enemy's enemy is my friend', following *Searchlight* in focusing on G.K. Young, *Lobster* has been a 'friend' of *Searchlight*.⁹

RR

Notes

- (1) *Searchlight's* links with the secret state is hardly a secret. A profile of Gable in the *Jewish Chronicle*, October 23, 1987, said of *Searchlight*, 'The magazine has a small staff, but its stories, gleaned from a wide range of contacts (including people in the secret services)...'
- (2) *Lobster* 11, Footnote 46, p. 8 says 'There is an interesting letter in the collection leaked from ISC apparently from Ian Greig to someone urging her to prise Walker away from Young.' This should have said 'to Ian Greig..... urging him to prise Walker away from Young'.

The Gable memo

Introduction

Here is the complete text of the so-called 'Gable memo', from Gerry Gable, publisher of *Searchlight* magazine, to his then bosses at London Weekend Television on 2 May 1977. I would have preferred to reproduce the original but the photocopy I have is too poor. The spelling, punctuation, paragraphing and emphases are as in the original.

RR

Phil Kelly was a member of the Young Liberals who in the sixties joined what was known as 'the Red Guard'. Young Liberals like Peter Hain and Peter Hellyer went against the traditional Liberal line and started campaigning along lines more akin to the Radical left. They stood out against the Vietnam War/ Apartheid and for the Palestinians against the Israelis. At home they were for direct action on housing and other evils in our society.

In the first place, as I understand it, Kelly was an odd fish in the rather middle class Young Lib circles, he had a strictly working class background.

He was up to his neck in various campaigns in 1967. The Biafra aid set up was one of them. He was also seen frequently during that year at the offices of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign. It was suggested that in either late '67 or early '68 he travelled to Cuba and was trained as was 'Carlos' during the same period. Certainly Cuba held a Tri-Continental conference at that time involving many third world and Latin American states where Cuba was active in spreading their own brand of revolution. It is suggested that parallel to the conference, an extensive course of training in Guerilla warfare and Espionage took place. If the latter is true, then certainly Cuba's own Secret Service would have been aided by the KGB on the espionage side of the courses. In the early part of 1969 Kelly was seen at the Soviet Trade Mission in London.

I think that around this time he worked on the Hornsey Journal or another paper in that area, then he moved to work in the new radical press - being a familiar face at Black Dwarf/Seven Days and later Time Out. Hellyer and some other Young Liberals got very involved with the Palestinians around this time and in the summer of 1969 Kelly went to Jordan, not, as he told people, to see the refugee camps, schools and medical aid groups, but to a proper Fatah training camp. Members of the Baader Meinhof group also attended these camps and learnt their bombing and killing skills in them. Kelly was taught firearms/explosives and went out on some treks to the Israeli border with Fatah patrols.

Around this time, after returning to London, Kelly acted as a cheer leader on several Arab demonstrations in London and during fighting in one of them he was seen to kick a policeman.

But although he seemed firmly in the left camp, a number of odd things about his attitude towards a person he knew to be

- (3) I actually replied to him: 'How do you know that I know what you're talking about?' He replied, 'Oh, I knew he'd ring round everybody.' I continue to believe that he'd been given the results of a phone intercept.
- (4) *Labour Briefing*, July and September 1991.
- (5) He also hinted once again at the alleged Michael-Somoza relationship. In 1986 Michael had been involved with the final re-launch (so far) of *International Times*, in the March 1986 issue of which the questions of Gable's relationship with the British state had been referred to again. Atkinson referred to *International Times* at that time 'operating out of an office near Charing Cross, the set-up had an agent of the Somoza family hanging around'.
- (6) And the smear worked. Within a week I had received a letter warning me about Larry O'Hara from a correspondent who had seen the *Searchlight* piece. O'Hara had predicted to me that *Searchlight* would smear him.
- (7) This 'All Xs are really Ys' is a routine move in political warfare. Some of the Right always claimed that the Left, whatever their apparent differences, were all communists; some zionists claim that all anti zionists are anti Jewish. And so on.
- (8) A copy of one of his recent letters I have seen shows that Gable is still in the business of recycling smears.
- (9) The most detailed account of Young's activities in this period is *Smear!* pp. 224-8 and 264-9.

hostile to the left are rather strange, on several occasions he could have blown the cover of a man who had infiltrated the Palestinians and some left groups. This man ran into him time and time again, including once at a function organised by the Cuban embassy in London. Kelly was seen on Irish Rights marches the night the Ulster office was attacked, medical aid for Vietnam, Portugese meetings and even a demo over Anguilla.

Wherever he worked on left journals he always seem to get into a position [section illegible, but probably 'had access to the'] names and address of subscribers. Reports from left watchers state that he has been to Cuba, America, East Germany, Jordan and Sofia in Bulgaria for a Peace Conference. In the early seventies he went to work in West Germany and was away for around two years, I understand that he worked as a sports reporter (he was there at the time of the Munich massacre). He also had a German girl friend whose name is either Gerde Jager, or Jaegar, the daughter of a rich lawyer. She is said to be close to SWAPO operations in Western Europe and tied up with something named 'Informist'?

Back in Britain Kelly worked at Time Out and was instrumental in introducing Mark Hosenball to stories that are part or even all of the reason for his deportation order. Around Time Out a group of Americans, Kelly, Duncan Campbell (the technology freak), plus Crispin Aubrey and John Berry (not just a former Army signals clerk, but a former member of British Military Intelligence) began to operate.

More than a year ago Kelly started to work for Interpress Services, a press agency of which he appears to be the sole employee in this country.

Even some of the left watchers here thought that this agency was set up at the time of a Third World Conference held in Colombo in Sri Lanka a couple of years ago and that in some way it is connected with the Yugoslav State Press Agency. However our checks reveal that it was set up in Italy in 1968 as a press co-operative and the directors are South Americans and Italians, one of the original people before Kelly at this end was John Rettie - a man I still have to check out but was in some KGB scandal in Moscow some years ago.

The last return made by the co-op shows an annual turn-over of a quarter of a million pounds sterling, although it preceeds Kelly's joining them (at least officially) salaries are shown as only two thousand per annum.

Hosenball, who to my knowledge was always keen to meet any new contacts, told me that he had refused to meet Kelly's contacts in Germany but would say no more. He was also prepared to tell me that the co-op was, as he understood it, set up by some Chilean Christian Democrats who in more recent times dropped out to be replaced by the Iraquis, although no signs of this appear on the company house records. Hosenball is frightened to tell me more about Kelly and it is almost certain that Kelly could

blackmail Hosenball to keep silent. Since the Agee/Hosenball expulsion notices were issued, Kelly is often being seen more and more running round organising things. When Hosenball made it clear that he did not wish to be used as political cannon fodder, Kelly wrote an attack on him that appeared in the 'Leveller', a radical magazine.

This is not all that Kelly has done for the 'Leveller', he has also produced material on West Germany for them about the trials of the Terrorist groups.

The arrest of Campbell/Berry and Aubrey has caused a civil rights row, but according to my top level security service sources, they inform me in the strictest confidence that for about four years Campbell, Berry and Kelly and others have been systematically gathering top level security material. Campbell, who claims to have only an interest in technological matters in as far as the state is involved, had done four years detailed research into the whole structure of the other side of not only our Intelligence services but those of other NATO countries. He has also gone to people who work on top security contracts and started off by asking them about open commercial work their companies do and then gradually asked them for information on top secret work, including that on under-water detection hardware, which he clearly knows is beyond the pale.

Politically it appears that the group have no one political guiding light or line, but Kelly is suspected of being the KGB man who reaps the goodies gathered by people who are possibly as disapproving of the KGB as they are of the CIA. [Two words

From Gerry Gable
Date 2nd May, 1977
About Agencies
To Julian/Mike Braham/Barry Cox (Please keep these reports secure)

Phil Kelly was a member of the Young Liberals who in the sixties joined what was known as "the Red Guard". Young Liberals like Peter Hain and Peter Hellyer went against the traditional Liberal line and started campaigning along lines more akin to the Radical left. They stood out against the Vietnam War/Apartheid and for the Palestinians against the Israelis. At home they were for direct action on housing and other evils in our society.

illegible but probably 'Other teams'] like this have been operating in France and Sweden. (Agee has been in contact with the Swedish set up.) The security services feel that once the real nature of this case begins to emerge they expect people like Jonathan Aitken will fade away fast. The security service accepts that a number of decent people have been signed up to support these people on civil rights grounds and they also unofficially accept all the short-comings of the act that they have been held under, but they say they are sure this has gone well beyond the bounds of Press Investigation.

Hosenball, although supposedly having his differences with Kelly, was party to a strange chat between Kelly and Steve Weisman at Granada's Christmas party. They were going through a list of contacts and what Hosenball's reaction would be if he were asked about them. I could not catch the names but when one name came up all three of them seemed very keen to keep it out of the hearing.

Hosenball got extremely angry with Malcolm Southam of World In Action when asked about a man named Karl Von Metre, thought to be an American living in Paris, and would not talk about him. Hosenball's Paris trips are a mystery.

He told me two years ago that the reasons for his Paris visits were to go through files taken from a Portugese office of an extreme right wing group that used a press agency as a cover. At the time of the army take over in Portugal they had been seized

and taken to Paris. However, my own investigation showed that the files were not in Paris at all had had never been taken out of Portugal, so why lie? His contact in Paris is Frederick Laurent, a young man who works for the left wing paper 'Liberation' and who lives in very grand style in a huge Paris apartment.

When Hosenball and Kelly had hold of the Crozier material they were very keen not to check out right wing connections but to trace phone numbers they felt belonged to Secret Service establishments etc. Hosenball also went to Spain, I think to track down one of the people mentioned in the Robert Moss letters, but despite all this research most of what they got was not appearing in print anyway. Kelly was not happy about *Searchlight* using the documents and I think Hosenball, who had done work for *Searchlight* on various occasions, felt embarrassed by his attitude.

Kelly's current girl friend is Dorothy Jones who works for the People's Press Service or News Service, a sort of Agitprop outfit. Kelly moved into a house in Hemmingford Road, Islington, some time last winter. He shares it with Richard Fletcher who is on the London Co-op Education Committee, (strong links with East Germany) this is at 104 Hemmingford Road, N7.

I went to the house one dark winter night just after they had moved in. I was with Mark Hosenball and the reason for our visit was to get some more photocopies of the Moss letters.

When we arrived, a man who I thought must Fletcher came to the door. The building is a shop, basement and upper part, it was in a bad state of disrepair and the man was plastering or something like that. He said to Mark 'there is a caucus meeting,

Kelly was an odd fish in the

Phil's up top'. Mark told me to hang on and ran upstairs to the top floor. Being a nose bugger I followed and in the top floor front room were about seven or eight men, no women, all seated on cushions on the floor with no centre light.

They were a mixed age group. I didn't recognise any of them and they did not seem to know me. Kelly looked at me staring in over Hosenball's shoulder and leapt up and pushed us out of the room. He said to Mark in a low voice 'Why did you bring him here?' and Mark waffled on about not being able to contact him in advance and I needed the letters that very night as *Searchlight* was going to press on the next day. Kelly took us to the basement and produced the papers and then ushered us out as quickly as possible.

I have now given the names I have acquired to be checked out by British/French security services, especially the French and German connections and the South American stuff is being checked by Geoffrey Stewart-Smith's institute. He has strong CIA links. I may try somebody in the Israeli Foreign Office that I know for some checks on Kelly. It is now a time of waiting for feed-back and also further checks here.

I have attached a number of documents including a transcript of Kelly's interview with World In Action. It goes without saying that I would like this kept strictly secret.

An Incorrect Political Memoir

Daniel Brandt

Anyone who joined the U.S. New Left in 1967 and continued to define this event as a point of departure over the next 25 years is going to have some stories to tell. But only in the last couple of years has it become necessary to tell them. Something strange had happened to 'progressive' politics, and what's left bears little resemblance to the issues that consumed us then. I'm doing pretty much the same thing with the same convictions, but someone seems to have moved the goalpost on me.

The Big One for me was 1967. In 1964 I licked stamps for Goldwater, but in 1967 I joined the tiny chapter of Students for a Democratic Society on campus. I walked in cold to one of their meetings after reading a book on U.S. involvement in Vietnam and walking out of my fraternity. They must have thought I was a spy, with my short hair and button-down clothes, but it didn't matter because at the time SDS accepted everyone and I was wearing a strong suit of moral indignation over U.S. foreign policy. And I was eager to learn and ready to turn on. A year later we uncovered a spy, and were too naive and democratic to ask him to leave. We hated the war-monger, yet everyone was redeemable if presented with a little common sense. That was the New Left I remember; the positive energy and confidence were absolutely compelling. The grass and acid were just frosting on the cake.

This is to certify the membership of
Daniel L. Brandt.....
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ignorance, war, exploitation and the inhumanity of
man to man.
Daniel L. Brandt President, SDS
Students for a Democratic Society
1608 WEST MADISON STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60612

Much has changed, but not everything. After driving up to San Francisco for the 1967 Stop the Draft week, my friends invited me along as they met with a JFK assassination researcher. Garrison's investigation was big news, and I recall the hushed, paranoid atmosphere in a crowded restaurant. Today we know much more about the assassination than we did in 1967, and much more about CIA covert operations. The lowered voices still seem reasonable to me, and the questions they raised seem as vital now as they did then.

Other scenes have changed dramatically. David Horowitz was an editor of *Ramparts* in 1966, the only magazine that dared give issues like the CIA and the JFK assassination the coverage they deserved. In 1974 he persuaded the *Ramparts* book-keeper to help the Black Panther Party get its books in order. Apparently she stumbled onto evidence that the Panthers were involved in drugs and protection rackets in Oakland, and was soon found murdered, floating in the San Francisco Bay. Today Horowitz has defected to the hard Right, along with his long-time colleague Peter Collier; and if you want to keep up with anti-CIA conspiracy journalism these days, it is helpful to have a subscription to *The Spotlight*, published by the right-wing Liberty Lobby. But you had better be prepared to defend your choice of reading material to politically-correct leftists who are checking on your associates.

What's going on here? In the first place, Horowitz isn't completely mad. Yes, the Panthers were riddled with FBI agents and other dirty tricksters, but Huey Newton was living in a luxury

Oakland penthouse in 1971, overlooking Lake Merritt, and I doubt that 'security' was the only reason. By 1978 I was living on the other side of the lake, and Newton was still considered politically correct as he returned from Cuba to stand trial for the shooting death of a prostitute and something about pistol-whipping his tailor. 'Wait a minute', I hesitated from my one-room dump, 'I've never even met any tailors. Are we in the same movement?'

I can trace my confusion back to 1969, when women on campus began to feel that they were more oppressed than men. I could see their point, but at the time I was in the middle of a two-year federal prosecution for declining the all-male privilege of lying face-down in a Vietnam rice paddy, so some of their arguments were lost on me.

By 1971 it looked like I had escaped from my prison sentence when a higher court reversed my conviction for refusing induction. The Ninth Circuit ruled that my draft board's punitive actions were illegal, and said that the district court also screwed up. My file, quite thick by then, was sent back to the draft board. They lost no time in ordering me to report for a pre-induction physical - the first step on the way to Vietnam. For some reason I was getting cynical, and was quite fed up with legal problems. So I stopped eating for ten days and showed up a pound underweight. The doctor could see from my records that when I refused induction more than two years earlier I had been fifteen pounds heavier, but he knew there was nothing he could do. Meanwhile I was almost hallucinating from hunger. 'Would you like to drink a glass of water?', he asked. 'I'm not thirsty', I replied. This saved American taxpayers many thousands of dollars in new prosecution costs.

My draft board left me alone after that because by mid-1971 the Selective Service System was collapsing due to massive resistance. The fact that the anti-draft forces won is the best-kept secret of the sixties. Journalists don't get paid to write about it; you had to be in the middle of it to know what happened. Many hundreds of amateur draft counsellors like myself knew more about the law than any of the 4,000 draft boards, and many thousands of draft-age men practiced non-cooperation on one level or another. We simply overloaded the system, from local boards to the federal courts.

The next year I enrolled in grad school to study something the pipe-smoking professors called 'Social Ethics'. One day Jesse Jackson came to speak to a small group of us in the department. I was interested in the issue of affirmative action, and wanted to determine if he thought the concept of 'merit' might play a role in a normative social ethic. I posited a hypothetical situation of a super-qualified white surgeon and black doctor just out of med school. 'Which one should perform the critical brain surgery?', I asked. But Jackson's interest was political, not intellectual, and he wasn't going to play: 'There are lots of qualified black surgeons', he replied. 'Next question, please.' That was my first clue that I was already out of the loop.

In 1975 I transferred to a Ph.D. program in Berkeley and took a part-time handyman job to support myself. I found myself carrying heavy boxes of copying paper up the stairs to the Women's Affairs Office, and being told to change their light bulbs. These feminists were all cruising comfortably on a huge Ford Foundation grant, spinning out analyses based on sex divisions while playing their neo-Marxist cards whenever it was in their interests. I was a theoretical Marxist by then (in the sixties I never needed it), and felt I knew a thing or two. I pointed out the obvious, namely that sex divisions cut the class divisions in half again. This branded me as a troublemaker, which is terminal in graduate school. The smart ones see their mistake immediately, while the dumb ones spend ten years writing a dissertation and end up driving a cab. I dropped out of academia and several years later got into electronics. Jimmy Carter's CETA job training program paid me minimum wage to attend tech school; these days it costs too much and wouldn't be possible. Social and political theory was getting difficult to understand, while those little electrons were very reasonable.

A technically advanced leftist

By the time the microcomputer revolution came along I was technically ahead of every other leftist in the country. That isn't saying much; 'technically advanced leftist' is a lot like 'military intelligence.' But I could design and build circuits and write software. With the microcomputer, something I had been trying to do the hard way was suddenly within reach the easy way. High-tech has been good to me. Over the ten years I've pursued my obsession, microcomputers have become more powerful and less expensive at the same rate that my project expanded.

To explain this obsession - there's no other word for it - I have to return to 1967 again, the year I woke up. One day I noticed from a puff paragraph in our campus yearbook that University of Southern California trustee John McCone was a former CIA director. By 1969 I had done some research on him, which was published in a campus alternative paper I edited. Here was a multi-millionaire entrepreneur who was well-connected with corporate elites, and very conservative, with a CIA-on-campus issue thrown in for good measure. My story came and went, seniors graduated, and McCone stayed. By 1973 the CIA had overthrown Allende in Chile. McCone, as a director of ITT and friend of Richard Helms, was involved. He remained at USC. All the correct American Civil Liberties Union liberals on the Social Ethics faculty had nothing to say when I pressed them on the issue. This was before I moved to Berkeley - certainly this couldn't happen there.

Now I was fundamentally upset, and started collecting investigative books and building a clipping file. Watergate was also in the news, and several of those players were former USC fraternity rats like me, only a few years older. I was beginning to develop an appreciation of the power structure. In fact, it was beginning to look like not only had my political instincts been accurate all along, but I was quite probably in the belly of the beast.

Over the next few years there were plenty of amazing CIA revelations on record, confirming that our most paranoid fantasies in the 1960s were underestimates. I began compiling a name index of *Counterspy* and *Covert Action Information Bulletin* using little pieces of paper. Someone had to track the beast. When I saw my first microcomputer in action in 1980 I knew instantly that I was doing it all wrong. Those clanking floppy disks were like lightning compared to my fingers sorting little pieces of paper. By 1982 I had moved to the Washington DC area, bought my own computer, written the software, and begun inputting my library. I was a refugee from California correctness, and I migrated to the information capital of the world. Fortunately it is also a high-tech area, which makes it easier to keep up with electronics and find technical work when I have to.

We eventually incorporated as Public Information Research (PIR). Ten years of inputting and five computers later, my database, *NameBase* has 130,000 citations and 62,000 names. Although we received our first grants recently (from the Funding Exchange and the C.S. Fund), we basically meet our expenses with income from sales - not to mention the nine technical jobs I've had since I came to the DC area. In other words, we are self-sufficient and answer to no one. *NameBase* exists from the purest of populist, anti-establishment impulses, and it is used by hundreds of journalists and researchers all over the world.

David Wise, the dean of all CIA-tracking journalists, had written about McCone in *The Invisible Government* in 1964. Almost all of my research on McCone in 1969 had to be lifted from this book because there was nothing else to be found. I've finally come full circle. Wise is still churning out important books and says for the record that *NameBase* is 'absolutely indispensable'. It's too easy to forget that very little information about the secret state was available in the 1960s - we had to get by pretty much on instinct. But ironically, *NameBase* isn't used that much on the U.S. Left. Even worse, I've spent far too much energy over the past few months defending PIR against charges of political incorrectness.

PC Does Not Mean Personal Computer.

I'm not bitter yet but I'm getting touchy. Already I do things like cancel complimentary subscriptions because I get angry with the same Politically Correct line when it has nothing to do with investigating or challenging the establishment. Recently I sent a

letter to an editor to correct the record about *NameBase* and express my opinions on his PC cover story. At the last minute I marked it 'not for publication', because I was worried that it would come back and bite me. Now it's a month later and I'd rather get bitten than keep it bottled up. Editors don't know what to do with people like me, and he wrote back to complain that mine was one of the strangest letters he had seen in some time. Like I said, I'm getting touchy.

Things seem strange from my perspective also. As soon as PIR got its tax-exempt status I filled out our first grant application. We have three other directors besides myself. Steve Baldrich, my best east coast friend, is a white male like me. (I don't blame him, he was born that way.) He has a Ph.D. in English and is an excellent teacher, but the department needed a woman so he was laid off. Now he's unemployed and probably wishes he had gotten into electronics when Jimmy Carter was paying for it. Martha Moran is an artist from a working-class background; she and Steve recently got married. Then there's Dennis Brutus, a black professor and poet who is exiled from South Africa, where he broke stone with Nelson Mandela and was shot while trying to escape. Dennis likes what we're doing and has an internationalist perspective on black struggle that makes the U.S. PC Left seem petty by comparison. Essentially the other three directors let me do my thing and I keep them informed, which works fine for all of us. I appreciate their support. We also have a Board of Advisors, people who let us use their name on our letter head. Legally we don't need them and they have no formal say, but their support means a lot to us.

My first grant application was to a group called 'Resist', which was a name I recognized from the old days. I was an active member of 'The Resistance', a loose nation-wide collection of draft resisters who practiced conspicuous non-cooperation and were expecting to serve prison time for eventual felony convictions. 'Resist' was their adult support group. They didn't face the same risks that draft-age men faced, but they stood with us in spirit. The new 'Resist' will remember their roots, I thought, and here's an easy \$600 for us. But by 1990 everything was strange, and I received a PC application form in the mail.

The tough question was this one: 'Please be specific on the programs, coalition work and position of your group in relationship to the rights and concerns of each of the following: a) people of color, b) working class and poor people, c) women, including your position on reproductive rights and abortion rights, d) gay and lesbian rights/liberation, (e) disabled people, (f) older people.' The next question was easier, because our Board of Directors looked okay: 'What is the make-up/diversity of your group in terms of age, race, sexual preference, class, gender? Have you taken steps to increase the diversity?'

I went for honesty: 'The Board of Directors has not taken any positions of this nature. Our work is technically specialized, and we would tend to defer to technical ability over considerations of class, race, and gender when considering a particular technical project. It seems apparent to us, however, that any effort to curtail U.S. covert activities in the Third World would be appreciated by more people of color and poor people around the world than existed in the entire U.S. population.'

After all, we boasted the largest collection of CIA names that was publically available anywhere in the world. Didn't this count for something? Two weeks earlier we had helped provide the *Washington Post* with obscure information about the CIA's involvement in the arrest of Nelson Mandela. Another point, perhaps?

No way. Not only did we not end up with the \$600, Resist apparently couldn't believe what they were reading. Staff member Nancy Moniz wrote back to say that the page with these questions was missing, and would I please supply it? In other words, we aren't unreasonable, we're going to give you another chance to get your act together! At this point I wasn't even touchy. I sent a copy of my copy of the supposedly missing page with a polite apology, and waited for the inevitable polite refusal of our

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application. If the same thing happened today, they'd get quite a long letter from me.

It wasn't called PC in 1990, but by 1991 'Politically Correct' had become a buzzword to describe a phenomenon that was happening on U.S. campuses. Critics like Dinesh D'Souza, funded by conservative foundations and think tanks, helped popularize the concept. Although I rarely agree with anything they write, I'll give credit where it's due. Because of them it now takes just two letters of the alphabet to describe something that's real; and everyone I've talked to knows exactly what I mean, even if they see me as part of the problem. Anything that facilitates communication as thoroughly as this is a step forward.

The first hint of a PC crack within Public Information Research came in October 1990, when Chip Berlet resigned from our Board of Directors because he objected to the fact that Fletcher Prouty was also on the Board. We did not discuss the issue because I was putting in overtime on my technician job and wasn't in the mood to call him back. I whipped out the white-out and removed Chip's name from the letterhead and thanked him for his past support.

In July 1991, Martha Wenger resigned from our Board after reading something about Prouty in a leftist publication. Her final advice to me was to 'think long and hard about working together with others who may be opposed to CIA covert operations, but whose political commitments are diametrically opposed to those of the progressive movement.' (I first met Wenger and her husband Konrad Ege when our paths crossed while working on *CounterSpy* magazine, and think very highly of them. Wenger is an assistant to Joe Stork at the Middle East Research and Information Project, which does excellent work.)

Meanwhile Chip Berlet was starting to release early drafts of *Right Woos Left*, which received wide coverage in the left press beginning in early 1992. I still wasn't into writing long letters, so Martha Wenger got the same polite white-out that Chip received the previous year. Then in January 1992, Holly Sklar resigned from our Board, stating that 'I find Chip Berlet's objection to sharing a board with Fletcher Prouty compelling, even more so at a time of increasing right wing efforts to build insidious alliances with often unwitting leftists.' (In the same letter she enclosed a check for an update of *NameBase*, so it was clear that our work was not the issue. In fact, our work has never been the issue; everyone who uses *NameBase* swears by it, right or left. It's just that we're not PC.)

Sklar is best known for editing *Trilateralism* (South End Press, Boston, 1980) a fat volume on the Trilateral Commission. This book began as a classic of left power-structure research, and is now a staple on the populist, anti-elitist Right. In fact, the only inquiries we get at PIR these days on *Trilateralism* or Bilderberg are from right-wing researchers who are concerned about corruption and conspiracies from high places. Sklar is aware of this, but for her that means that the insidious Right is trying to sneak up on the Left, and we should exercise extreme caution. To me it means that the Right includes reasonable people with reasonable concerns. There doesn't seem to be a middle way, but at least I wrote Sklar a letter defending my position.

Let's Go Get Stone

It all pretty much hit the fan when Oliver Stone's *JFK* was released in December 1991. *Z Magazine* had just run a Chip Berlet interview in which he bashed Prouty, the Christic Institute and dozens of others. Stone's sin was to portray a 'Mr X' that was based on Prouty's experiences in the Pentagon shortly before the JFK assassination. Stone had first approached Prouty for script assistance in July 1990.

Although *Right Woos Left* in its earlier drafts, as well as the *Z Magazine* interview, were in type before anyone saw the movie, Berlet was in position. He had the goods on Prouty, and Prouty's prominence in the wake of *JFK* made the issue that much more topical. Everyone knew about Prouty and 'Mr X' by then, because one-time assassination author Robert Sam Anson had bashed Stone and Prouty in *Esquire* two months earlier. What you have to realize about assassination researchers is that they barely tolerate each other: it's just one of those things. And what you have to realize about the Stone movie is that the long knives were out at least six months before it hit the screen. It's enough to make you paranoid.

Berlet hand-delivered a letter to Stone dated January 16 1992, in which he called on him to 'distance yourself publicly from attempts by racist, anti-Jewish and pro-fascist groups to use your film *JFK* as a vehicle to promote bigoted theories claiming Jewish control of U.S. foreign policy and the CIA.... You appear to have been misled by JFK film advisor Fletcher Prouty regarding the extent of his cooperation with the Liberty Lobby and other neo-fascist operations created by Willis Carto. Willis Carto is infamous around the world as a leading Nazi-apologist. Fletcher Prouty and two other critics of the CIA, Mark Lane and Victor Marchetti, have forged deep and longstanding ties to the Liberty Lobby and other Carto groups.'

And so it goes. I've read Liberty Lobby's *Spotlight* every week for six months now, and I find only infrequent hints of what Berlet is talking about. Of course this must mean that they're only being sneakier than usual. (I signed up for another two years. Some of it is good *NameBase* material that the Left ignores. *Spotlight* is consistently anti-elitist and anti-CIA, they hate George Bush, and they staunchly opposed U.S. intervention in the Gulf.)

Another Berlet target is the Christic Institute, and anyone else who has ever been guilty of sharing information with the Lyndon LaRouche organization. I've been privately critical of Christic's conspiracy theories myself. I won't rehash this now, because the federal government is going after Christic with a vengeance and is turning it into a dead issue (and a dead organization). Christic eventually did some homework and had pretty much cleaned up their act by 1988, but by then their earlier legal offensive was already set in judicial concrete. Now it has collapsed on top of them. Berlet objects to any association with LaRouche on any level whatsoever; for him it's a moral issue. He has spent much of his career tracking Main Enemy Lyndon LaRouche. In the late 1970s some LaRouchies were locked out of their office for non-payment of rent, and Berlet purchased several boxes of financial records from a janitor by posing as a paper recycler. He wrote it up and the Illinois State Attorney General launched an investigation of LaRouchian financial activities.

I don't object to associations with LaRouche people, but I do feel that all associations should be open and acknowledged, because in some cases it has a bearing on our judgement of certain information offered by certain sources. In other words, Berlet's concern is PC purity, while my concern is the quality and reliability of a particular piece of information. Often I'm unable to make this judgement, in which case the fact of the association itself is filed away for future reference and judgement is suspended. Berlet, on the other hand, makes an immediate judgement on the basis of the association itself, whether the information is useful or not. So if the LaRouche people were into Iran-contra before the mainstream press discovered it, and if they are uncannily well informed on certain other specific issues as well, this is irrelevant.

For Berlet, Fletcher Prouty's main sin is that Liberty Lobby's Noontide Press reprinted Prouty's *The Secret Team*, first published by Prentice-Hall in 1973. The content of the book has never been an issue; everyone agrees that it is valuable. It makes no difference to Berlet whether the book is important or useful, or that Prouty's latest book *JFK: The CIA, Vietnam and the Plot to Assassinate John F. Kennedy* (New York: Birch Lane Press, 1992), offers unique perspectives based on his own experiences in the Pentagon. And never mind that no one else offered to reprint Prouty's book. Berlet's point is that Prouty should not have given his good name to Liberty Lobby. And once he gave his name, everyone should avoid Prouty. If Public Information Research fails to avoid Prouty, then you should avoid PIR - and so on down the line. But this quickly becomes absurd, and while Berlet probably realises this he doesn't have time to explain himself.

At least Holly Sklar tried to define where she would exit this *reductio ad absurdum*. She stated in her resignation letter that 'I have no problem with *NameBase* being a research tool used across the political spectrum; I know *Trilateralism*, for example, is widely used on the right. But I think there's a big difference between sometimes overlapping resources and overlapping boards.' I don't find this very convincing, particularly when dealing with informal advisory boards that have no legal power. If political identity is important to someone personally, then I can see Sklar's point. But if the quality of the resources is as important as it ought to be, then Sklar has it backwards.

The debate became more pitched during the first half of 1992. First Joel Bleifuss of *In These Times* quoted an anonymous source who called Prouty a 'Nazi crackpot'. Then Bleifuss bashed Stone for over-reaching with the JFK conspiracy. As this is the same Joel Bleifuss who has been plugging away at an elusive October Surprise story for five years now, he of course ended the same column by implying that it would be more reasonable for Stone to reach even further, by also incorporating more recent conspiracies! Then Berlet recruited the chief pundit from *The Nation*, Alexander Cockburn, who started sniping at Stone and Prouty and then proceeded to destroy his credibility by blithely defending the Magic Bullet theory. (Here's someone who should stop writing long enough to read a few books now and then.)

Bill Schaap and Ellen Ray of *Covert Action Information Bulletin* and *Lies Of Our Times*, who played a role in getting Stone interested in the assassination in the first place, have endured some of Cockburn's snipes in *The Nation*. They seem to be staying out of the fray, probably because some years ago Cockburn was on their advisory board. We've fallen out of touch in recent years (the war between *CounterSpy* and *CAIB* is another sad story), so I can only guess what they're thinking lately.

I did try to interest Schaap in a response to Berlet from me and Carl Oglesby, but he never returned my call. That left me all bottled up until *Lobster* expressed an interest. It's worth noting that this piece you're reading could not get published in the U.S. unless I defect to the Right, or I'm lucky enough to stumble across some mainstream editor who happens to think it's cute, harmless, and topical.

Jeff Cohen and Marty Lee of FAIR (Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting), who in the 1970s researched the JFK assassination and ought to know better, both support Berlet. When I spoke with Lee, it was clear that he bought the Berlet line completely, but I have only second-hand information about Cohen's current position. (Cohen and I belonged to the same group in Los Angeles in 1977 and 1981, working on the issue of police repression.) I've heard that *In These Times* staffers generally feel Berlet has gone too far, and Bleifuss is more or less holding his own out there in Chicago. *In These Times* even runs intelligent discussions of the PC issue on occasion. But judging from FAIR's monthly publication *Extra!*, FAIR is increasingly in the PC camp. They devote more and more space to soft issues, while carefully paying ritual homage to the god of cultural diversity. As for Erwin Knoll, longtime editor of *The Progressive*, he is downright proud of his anti-conspiracism and recently ran Belet's *Right Woos Left* as a cover story titled 'Friendly Fascism.' Knoll is the one who got my strange letter.

Maybe it will all go away soon; I hope so. Even Sara Diamond, a member of Berlet's fan club, recognizes that the U.S. Left is talking to itself on this issue. 'In part, its desperation,' Berlet quotes her in *The Progressive* by way of explaining why leftists are easy prey for rightists. 'We have, in fact, lost influence and become marginal.' This is easily the most lucid observation that has yet emerged from the Berlet camp. However, the reason that they are increasingly marginal has somehow escaped them. It's simply because the PC Left is becoming a privileged segment of society and frequently acts only to preserve their privileges.

That's what I believe is really happening, but if the split deepens it will certainly be disguised with more elevated terminology. Already it seems that a distinction is evolving between the conspiracists and the structuralists. The former see specific historical events (e.g. the assassination of JFK) as probable determinants of other events (the war in Vietnam), while the latter view this as a naive challenge to the conventional left wisdom about infrastructure and economics as major determinants. The structuralists feel that it's inconceivable that John Kennedy, who was initially a product of the System, changed his mind about the System once in office. And more amazingly, that the System would deal with it the way they did - real people with real names (if only we knew who they were!) deciding he was a threat to their private interests and successfully engineering a coup.

Besides Fletcher Prouty, who has long maintained this view, another Stone advisor was Major John M. Newman, a professor and former military intelligence officer, whose competence was demonstrated in *JFK and Vietnam*. As soon as it was published this year, structuralists like Noam Chomsky and Alexander Cockburn

went scurrying back to the documents to try and refute him. But as Newman pointed out in a folksy talk on June 17, 1992, it's finally unimportant whether you are 'left wing, right wing, or from the middle of the bird.' There are a number of ex-Cold Warrior analyst-academic types in the military who are taking a fresh look at recent history, he assured us, and that has to be healthy. If he's telling the truth - and I have no reason to doubt him - then I have to agree.

Back to the real world of people behind the events. Personally, I don't think the PC Left has any legitimate use for theory at all. I haven't seen any for over ten years, and that makes me reasonably sceptical. When I requested the names of the Board of Directors from Political Research Associates, the group that sponsors Berlet, it looked like theory had nothing to do with anything. I discovered that their Board is less diverse than one might expect. For me this makes the situation transparent - these are people who have something to lose if populist conspiracism replaces political correctness. They are the System. They don't need theory, they need protection. If theory provides protection, that's when we'll get theory.

Political Research Associates doesn't list their Board on their letterhead because, as director Jean Hardisty explained to me, they've been sued by two of the groups they've attacked and their liability insurance is becoming problematic. Fair enough, I suppose, because its part of the public record and there are other ways to get it. But *Spotlight* has a large staff box on every issue, and Berlet seems to be calling up the people on my letterhead, so I'm going to quote from Hardisty's letter.

'Because I'm not comfortable putting people in a position of risk equivalent to the risk I am willing to assume, we have a small board. It is made up of me, Lucy Williams, Esq., Rev. Sally A. Dries, Prof. Robin Gillies, and Prof. Deborah Bright. They are, respectively, a law professor at Northeastern Law School in Boston, a United Church of Christ minister in Shamokin, PA, a political science professor at Northwestern University in Evanston, IL, and an art professor at Rhodes Island School of Design. I do not list their names on the letterhead and do not advertise their membership on the board in order to protect them from harassment.'

By contrast, the readers of the hated *Spotlight*, Liberty Lobby's weekly with a circulation of over 100,000, are far down the elitist ladder. They are concerned about the very issues that injected Ross Perot into presidential politics. As I write the jury is still out on Perot as a potential leader, but something is stirring out there in the heartland, and Perot is a convenient symbol. He might well be the first presidential candidate willing to say that conspiracies and corruption exist in high places. To my knowledge he hasn't made any statements about the JFK assassination, but how much money would you put on his ability to serve out his term if he got elected and reopened the JFK, MLK and RFK investigations?

The PC Left, meanwhile, not only sees this as irrelevant, but is even inclined to call it neo-fascism. There is, of course, fascist potential in any populist movement, just as there is also democratic potential. And it appears to me that there's no potential at all in business as usual on the PC Left. Everyone knows it except them. The 75% of the population that feels JFK was the victim of a high-level conspiracy involving the CIA or mafia know it. The more than 50% of the population who don't vote (this year I'm voting for the first time since 1972) know it. The conspiracy 'buffs', 'nuts', and 'crackpots' - against whom Berlet crusades and Alexander Cockburn pontificates - know it. But it is still news to a small group that control the diminishing 'progressive' press in America.

Clinton, another Trilateralist?

This 'progressive' press has been blindsided by a special-interest multiculturalism that has the ruling class laughing all the way to their banks. Unlike in 1976 and 1977, when progressives were interested in Jimmy Carter's Trilateralist connections, these days you have to consult *Spotlight* to discover that Bill Clinton attended a Bilderberg Group meeting in 1991 (before anyone outside Arkansas had heard of him), and that currently he is a member of both the Council on Foreign Relations and the Trilateral Commission. So it came as no surprise to *Spotlight* readers when David Rockefeller Jnr. wrote a strong endorsement

of Clinton for the *New York Times* (October 16 1992).

The populist Right consider Clinton a set-up, in the sense that the rich will continue to get richer. The ruling class knows that more subtle techniques are needed than those used by Bush, and will offer some health insurance and job training to deflect discontent. But ultimately free trade will prevail in the New World Order, and the U.S. middle class will be picked clean. I'm 'incorrect' if I try and explain this to the U.S. Left, and treasonous if I enclose a clipping from *Spotlight*.

Meanwhile, I'm going to try and ignore the handful of vocal PC leftists. We still have one woman on our Board of Advisors, and a woman and a 'person of color' on our Board of Directors. We will survive without grants if we must. Some may continue to call Prouty a 'Nazi crackpot' without any justification whatsoever, but we have former Nazi-hunter John Loftus on our Advisory Board also. If that helps confuse the issue, so much the better. We also have other investigative writers such as Peter Dale Scott and Jim Hougan, who do excellent work and have no need of PC distinctions.

The late Bernard (Bud) Fensterwald of the Assassination Archives and Research Center helped us a bit with our tax-exemption, and I helped him with their computers. Bud was

incorrect enough to let his law firm represent Lyndon LaRouche, but so what? Anyone can walk in off the street and go through AARC's impressive collection of material. Is this worth anything to the Left these days? Probably not, and it's their loss.

Prouty can stay on our Board of Advisors as long as he likes; we're proud to have him. I submit that left-right distinctions have outlived their usefulness in America, and particularly in the Washington information milieu. They should be replaced with other distinctions – perhaps between those who believe in more information for more people and those who don't. Or as Dan Moldea suggested to me, maybe a distinction between 'players' and 'non-players'. In either case, Prouty continues to make an important contribution, and so does Victor Marchetti, Mark Lane, and, yes, *Spotlight* and Liberty Lobby.

So forget it, Chip. I'll turn in my SDS membership card if you promise to go away, but the only one qualified to accept it these days is former national SDS president Carl Oglesby. Carl is too busy writing JFK assassination books to bother with your concerns, and feels fine on our Board sitting next to Prouty. And if you ask him, he'll probably tell you that at some point between the late sixties and now, you are the one who changed, not us.

The Big C

Further notes on 'conspiracy'

Definitions? Or Whoops! A paradigm

An American magazine called *Mondo 2000* ran an amusing piece called 'The Conspiracy Top Ten'. In it 'Zarkov' offered this definition:

'Conspiracies may be better understood as organizations pursuing their own ends, who desire no publicity as to their true objectives and methods.' Which sounds interesting at first then dissolves into mush. This was in the preface to an interview with Jonathan Vankin, author of what sounds like a kind of compendium of conspiracies and conspiracy theories, *Conspiracies, Cover-ups and Crimes: Political Manipulation and Mind Control in America* (Paragon Books). Vankin offered this:

'The accepted paradigm – the established view that the conspiracy theorists are struggling to overthrow – might be called the "whoopsy-daisy" theory. According to this view, things just progress through policy decisions that are made by the official leaders, the president, Congress. But every once in a while.... whoops!... the President gets assassinated, or...whoops!...the Jonestown Massacre.'

Mondo 2000, PO Box 10171, Berkeley, CA 94709, USA: sorry, don't know which issue this appeared in as it isn't shown on the photocopy I was sent.

Meanwhile, back at what's left of the British Left

Analysis (27 Old Gloucester St, London, WC1N 3XX) is a new magazine 'committed to the revival of the classical Marxist tradition'. In issue 2 there is a long and inaccurate review of the Dorril/Ramsay book *Smear!*, at the end of which the author offers a (presumably classical Marxist) explanation of the growth of interest on the British Left in things spooky and conspiratorial. He suggests 'the timing of this is not fortuitous:the Conservative Victories in 1979 and 1983, the defeat of the miners in 1985 (in which the security services played an intelligence gathering role).... [and] the collapse of cherished beliefs.... led inescapably to the conclusion that there was a right-wing conspiracy which had hoodwinked the entire nation....'

There has been an increase of interest in the state in general and the secret state in particular in the 1980s in Britain, but the author is simply wrong to attribute this to the arrival of the Tory Party in 1979. On the British non-Trotskyist Left its origins lie in the 1975-78 period, and the 'national security' scares that were run against the Labour Government – the Agee-Hosenball expulsions and the Aubery, Berry and Campbell (ABC) trial for example. And these were mostly triggered by the fall-out from Watergate and Vietnam

in the United States. The people in London who went spook hunting in 1975/6 did so because the idea had been suggested to them by the example of spook hunters in the United States, notably John Marks.

But since the Arabs believe in conspiracies....

For the first time I can remember an academic journal has printed an essay about conspiracy theories. 'Dealing with Middle Eastern Conspiracy Theories', an essay by Daniel Pipes in the journal *Orbis*, Winter 92, has been 'adapted from a study prepared for the Central Intelligence Agency'. Mr Pipes is director of the Foreign Policy Research Institute.

Mr Pipes is chiefly concerned to make American foreign policy people pay more attention to what their equivalents in the Middle East are saying. Because [w]hile American officials are nearly blind to conspiracy theories – the belief that complex plots are planned out by shadowy but omnipotent forces – Middle Easterners discern them in the merest accidents.... [and thus] neglecting conspiracy theories can lead to a profound misreading of that region....'. He declares that 'The shah of Iran and Anwar as-Sadat lost their countrymen's respect because both were (wrongly) seen as agents of Washington.'

Wrongly, huh? Depends on how he is using 'agent'. Do I think either the shah or Sadat was an actual case officer-run U.S. intelligence 'agent' – no, I don't. But neither, I'm pretty sure, do the people Mr Pipes is disparaging. In the wider sense of course they were agents of the U.S.. Doing his best to simultaneously deal with the subject while resisting any idea at all that there is something to these pesky 'conspiracy theories', poor old Pipes acknowledges ten lines later that 'the shah of Iran, for example, came to depend deeply on the U.S. government': for weapons, spooks, police, military and counter insurgency training and advice, intelligence from NSA etc. etc.

Pipes continues, stuffing his other foot into his mouth. On the one hand: 'Much of the region's anti-Western, anti-Israel, anti-democratic, anti-moderate and anti-modern behavior results from fears of clandestine forces....' On the other hand: 'Western leaders have to act with special propriety to shed a long-established – and deserved – reputation for deviousness.' ['Deviousness!'] ...'Living in a political culture ignorant of secret police, a political underground and coups d'etat [Americans] often find it hard to imagine that plots do play a role in other countries.'

This is pretty staggering – and not a little puzzling – even for somebody writing for the U.S. intelligence community during the Reagan-Bush years. What about the FBI, loyalty programs, Cointelpro, McCarthyism, Operations Chaos, Minaret et al at home; the CIA abroad? A 'fear of clandestine forces' on the part of the ruling elites of 'the Middle East' is entirely rational.

Now Uncle Brian will tell us a story

Another academically respectable sighting of the 'C' word is in Peter Coleman's *The Liberal Conspiracy* (Free Press, Macmillan, 1989), a history of the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF), which should have been mentioned before now. CCF was one of the CIA's most successful operations. Running virtually worldwide, undetected for almost 20 years, the CCF was both a propaganda operation and a rich source of recruitment access to a wide range of the political and cultural elites of other countries. (This latter point is generally omitted – and is from Coleman's book.)

This was reviewed in the December 1990 edition of the conservative British journal *The Salisbury Review* by Brian Crozier, who would only be flattered to be described as one of our leading cold warriors. Declaring an interest, Crozier describes how he was appointed by the CCF in 1965 to develop the CCF news services. Crozier has always maintained he knew nothing of the CIA connection at the time and describes here how CCF hired (or recruited) him; how, after initially declining the offer to take over and run CCF's three press agencies, he was offered an 8 week trip round Latin America to write a report on how the CCF Spanish language press agency *El Mundo en Espanol* was being received. At the end of the tour he changed his mind. Or so he says.

Crozier refers to the 1966/67 crisis when the CIA funding of CCF was revealed in the United States. He says 'the decisive blow was struck by.... Ramparts.... which had got its material from the Czechoslovak StB operation on behalf of the KGB.' Even if this is true – and there is no particular reason to believe it; and Crozier offers none – the point Crozier thinks he is making fails. For the information *Ramparts* published about CCF was true, and the origins of true information are of no consequence. It is disinformation whose origins are interesting.

That conspiracy mentality

In his essay Pipes has a stab at pinning down what distinguishes 'the conspiracy mentality' from 'more conventional patterns of thought'. He thinks the 'conspiracy mentality' is characterised by the following beliefs: 'appearances deceive; conspiracies drive history; nothing is haphazard; the enemy always gains; power, fame, money, and sex account for all'. Pipes finds the 'conspiracy mentality' very strange. But every belief Pipes attributes to it is true – but not always. Therein lies the problem – and the intellectual interest. Brian Crozier's views on the role of the Soviet Communist Party and KGB would certainly score on the first four of Pipes' list, but not the fifth.

I score about 50% on Mr Pipes list. Appearances deceive – yes, but only sometimes. Nothing is haphazard – nonsense, of course, but in politics and international relations rather less is haphazard than the conventional Anglo-American whoops-a-daisy paradigm would have us believe. Fame, money and sex do account for a lot for most people: it is only a minority that are motivated by concepts.

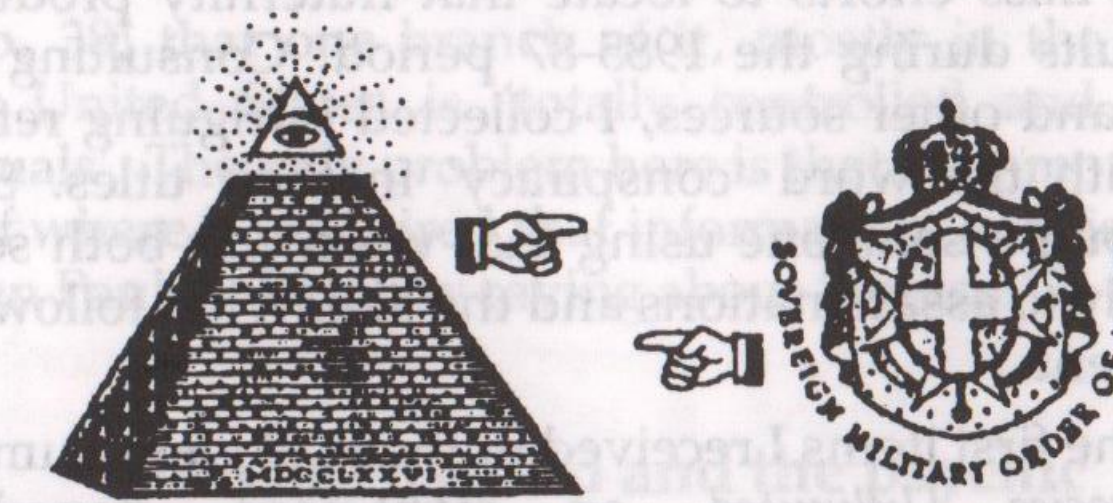
The best response I heard of to the 'conspiracy theorist' charge was from Anthony Summers who said something like: I don't have conspiracy theories but I do have theories about conspiracies. Summers is about mid-way on a continuum with 'no conspiracy' ideologues like Pipes at one end. Pretty close to the other end is Lloyd Miller at A-Albionic. Now Lloyd Miller is a conspiracy theorist loud and proud. He collects conspiracy theories the way other people collect beer mats. He just loves them in all shapes and sizes. Are any of them true? Mr Miller doesn't seem to care, so long as they are interesting.

A-Albionic

A-Albionic is the 'on-going research of a private network

dedicated to applying the scientific method to conspiracy theories of history.' For 'private network' I suspect we should read Mr Miller. Scientific method, eh? Watch out.

'Current issues of the [A-Albionic] Project revolve around clarifying, elaborating, and testing the hypothesis that a traditionally London-centred world money cartel, under the patronage of the British Crown, vies for dominion of world affairs on multiple levels with the Vatican, the Empire of the City (of London)'s ancient enemy and competing social organic heir to the mantle of Rome.'



"The Overt and Covert Organs of the Vatican and British Empires are Locked in Mortal Combat for Control of the World"

Yes, its almost intelligible; but that's only part of it. Try these for example.

'Was Reagan a Catholic Hollywood/GE Asset via Gambino?'. (Back issue, Fall 88)

Or this, from the Summer 1988 summary: 'The Real Star Wars: a review of Stephen Hawking's A Brief History of Time... Hawkings – a self-revealed agent of the Judeo-Masonic-Anglophile/Royalist Cabal in its conflict with the Vatican'....'

Or this from a letter to me recently: 'the hypothesis that the Vatican/SMOM crowd ran a coup in Britain via pro American elements of British intelligence against the Judeo-Masonic forces best represented by the Queen and, in the City, Lord Rothschild.'

Or...The Geneva Bible?

The Testimony of Albert Rhys Williams?

World Conservation Bank in the light of Konradiev and Conspiracy?

Thatcher and Reagan fold before wrath of Royalty and Rhodes scholars?

A-Albionic is seriously weird (in the complimentary sense) and it/they has/have an extremely exotic mail order book list. For example, for a mere \$5.00 you can buy 'Report on the Conspiracy to Rule the World' – by 'Anonymous'. Yes, well that's about stripped it all down to its essentials, I guess.

They're at PO Box 20273, Ferndale, Michigan 48220.

And in Japan, too.

An unlikely source of contemporary anti-Jewish conspiracy theories is Japan (where there are no Jews). Terry McCarthy reported in *The Independent* (4 July '92) that a Japanese weekly magazine *Shukan Post*, with a circulation of 750,000 'attempts to persuade its reader that a full-scale Jewish conspiracy that aims to undermine the Japanese economy is being played out in Tokyo's financial markets.'

At the back of this are the activities of American finance companies – Saloman Brothers, Goldman Sachs and Morgan Stanley – playing currency speculation games in Japan ('arbitrage') now that the Japanese government has made the fatal mistake of opening up its financial markets to 'competition'. (The announcement of which appeared in the *Guardian* on 24 February '92, in a tiny one column inch story on the financial pages.) The *Shukan Post* is wrong, of course, to see this as a Jewish plot 'to destroy the strong financial structure of Japan with arbitrage and futures contracts'. But that might be the consequence, if the British experience of opening the economy to the players in the 'global casino' is anything to go on.

RR

Some Notes on Occult Irrationalism and the Kennedy Assassination

Scott Van Wynsberghe

When I began studying the Kennedy assassination, back in 1983, my naivety was considerable. It would be a few years before I fully hooked into the diffuse network of assassination researchers, and my hit-and-miss efforts to locate that fraternity produced some bizarre results during the 1985-87 period. Consulting periodical directories and other sources, I collected intriguing references to journals with the word 'conspiracy' in their titles. Silly me, I actually thought someone using that word was both serious and devoted only to assassinations and the like. What followed was an enlightenment.

Among the first items I received in the mail were numbers 34-37 of *Conspiracies Unlimited*, an eight-page, paperback-sized newsletter put out by R. Hertz of St. Paul, Minnesota. On the first page of no. 34 was an article by a Chicago-based 'conspiracy researcher' going under the name of Paul de Rasanov. It dealt with the 'Nazi-Satan Gold Conspiracy complex' and did not seem to be a joke, although it is often hard to tell with such literature. One section revealed: 'The real powers want to replace Christianity as a world influence with a homosexual religion discovered by Havelock Ellis in the 1880s which has the strange name of "Eonism"'. The goal of this religion is to take over all religious movements by placing cross-dressers, those who dress professionally like the opposite sex, in all positions of authority. Using gold as their weapon, these "Eonists" plan to bring about the downfall of the whole Judeo-Christian, political-religious power structure. The best way to do it is, of course, to weaken the currencies of the capitalist countries and force the price of gold ever higher and higher.'

Author! Author!

Getting over my initial disappointment – being a semi-discreet transvestite and not a florid drag queen, I obviously had been left out of the conspiracy – I discovered that editor and publisher Hertz had exotic tastes. One article concerned the inevitable Illuminati, another tackled the apparent (to Hertz) CIA connections of the suicide-prone cult led by Jim Jones in Guyana, and still another reviewed Edward Jay Epstein's summary of Kennedy assassination theories from an old issue of *Esquire*. So *Conspiracies Unlimited* was interested in the assassination after all, but only in the context of an amateurish, credulous exploration of 'the unknown'.

My next shock involved *Conspiracy Digest*, which originated in Dearborn, Michigan. Dearborn is just outside Detroit, and I was then unaware that it has a reputation for nuttiness going back to the days of automobile mogul Henry Ford, who amused himself by publishing the *Dearborn Independent*, a rag that pushed the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. (This is all covered in Robert Lacey's biography, *Ford*.) Anyway, it turned out that the publisher, Alpine Enterprises, no longer existed. An attachment to a July 20 1985 letter from one Lloyd Miller, of 'A-Albionic Consulting and Research', revealed that Alpine had gone bankrupt, and some of its assets had been picked up by the folks at A-Albionic, of Ferndale, Michigan. I never did find out what the 'A' stood for.

At the top of a mail-order list put out by A-Albionic was the slogan 'The British Empire is the Central Phenomenon of World History Since the Decline of the Vatican', and its back issue list contained references to such articles as 'Secret Societies as tools of British Intelligence' (November 1984), 'Rockefeller/British Conflict Over Germany' (January-February 1985), and 'The Jews and the Crown' (March 1985). In addition, the May 1985 issue boasted of 'Richard Landkamer's letter to William Buckley questioning nature of [Yale University club] Skull and Bones membership and possible involvement of Bones and Buckley in Kennedy assassination'. Among the books on sale at A-Albionic was an anonymously authored tome entitled *The Secret of Who Ordered*

Kennedy's Death, as well as *Britain's International Assassination Bureau: Perminindex*, by three guys named Goldman, Kalimtgat and Steinberg, supporters of Lyndon LaRouche. There was more.

The *Conspiracy Tracker*, published in Patterson, New Jersey, was up to issue 21 when I approached it, and its list of back issues featured these gems: 'Did Masons kill JFK, Pope John Paul 1, Princess Grace?' (no. 4) and 'Discover how UFO beliefs are being manipulated to create social change – and how this ties into the final secret of the Cabala.' (no. 7)

Sure, all the above was funny for a time, yet the sheer quantity of the stuff ultimately unnerved me. I became a little apprehensive but not about gold conspiracies, or Freemasons, or Skull and Bones. Rather, I worried over the scope and influence of the social stratum that was fearful of such things. Good grief, I had not even touched on California yet. Worse, it was becoming more ugly, and these ugly elements were reaching out to touch me. In some fashion I have yet to discern, my name turned up at the Metairie, Louisiana, headquarters of the 'Sons of Liberty', who duly sent me their Fall 1987 catalogue. It was fifteen tabloid-sized pages crammed with the titles of books and pamphlets that would make any 'progressive' faint: 'Our Nordic Race', 'Ethnic Group Differences', 'Jews Want to Dominate Negroes', 'Watergate: Jewish Conspiracy to Seize U.S. Government', 'Censorship in the U.S. – I Accuse the Jews', and 'Racial Chaos and Criminal Anarchy – the Prelude to Black Revolution'.

There were entries for scores of books on secret monetary conspiracies, Freemasons, Illuminati and fluoridation of drinking water. A mountain of manuscripts by a Dr. John Coleman merited a section by itself, and one of his essays was 'Secrets of the Kennedy Assassination Revealed'. (Coleman, by the way, was an anglophobe, since another of his studies was 'Cecil Rhodes: Conspirator Extraordinary'.)

Happily I have not received anything more from Sons of Liberty. I did, however, acquire an unsolicited package from the 'Newsletter Ministry' of Birmingham, Alabama. No Kennedy material there, but everything else: anglophobia, homophobia, anti-Semitism, anti-communism and so on. Believe it or not, this literature insisted that the skyscraping obelisk of the Washington Monument was really a masonic phallic symbol.

Standard banking conspiracy goofiness

One way the Louisiana and Alabama people could have sniffed me out was through the *Canadian Intelligence Service* – an organ of Ron Gostick's Canadian League of Rights – to which I subscribed for a number of years. Personally, I doubted that, because the *Service* is a far cry from the fire-breathing material to be found in the Deep South. Indeed, its timidity as a vehicle for hate and extremism was the only thing that allowed me to hold my nose over it for so long. ((What finally caused me to abandon this observation post was the lack of ultra-rightist activities to observe: endless reprints of boring articles by ex-Rhodesian Ivor Benson.))

The *Service* did, however, share with the Louisiana crowd a small interest in the Kennedy assassination. Its September 1988 issue carried a report that had an exceedingly intricate history. At an unidentified point, something called *Financial News Analysis* alleged that Kennedy had tried to wrest control of the issue of currency from the Federal Reserve System, the U.S. central bank. The means he used was 'Executive Order 1110', signed by him on June 4, 1963, and – we are told – rescinded by Lyndon Johnson the following November 23. This legend was picked up by the *Michael Journal*, of Rougemont, Quebec, for its issue of September-October 1987, the *Southern Libertarian Messenger* (of Florence, South Carolina) spotted it in the *Michael Journal*, the *Upright Ostrich* (of Milwaukee, Wisconsin) took it from the *Messenger*, and at last the *Canadian Intelligence Service* discovered it in the *Ostrich*.

The allegation is the standard banking conspiracy goofiness to which far-rightists are vulnerable, but what is intriguing here is the impressive path it took, worming its way through at least five marginal publications in the space of a year. God knows who started the rumour, but the June 1989 issue of the *Service* had a little more information, provided by a U.S. reader. Back on January 16 1975 the bulletin of the Christian Heritage Center in Louisville, Kentucky discussed a speech made by one Joan Van Poperin before a 'Freedom Forum' in Minneapolis, Minnesota, on September 26 1974. Van Poperin talked about Kennedy issuing 'U.S. Notes' backed by the Department of the Treasury and not the Federal Reserve System, and she cited as proof two letters from the Department of the Treasury, at least one of them being in response to a September 20 1971 inquiry from red-necked Louisiana Congressman John Rarick. (This time E.O. 1110 was not mentioned.)

There is, then, a yawning pit of occult irrationalism awaiting anybody who strays too far from the basic facts of the Kennedy assassination. Multiple riflemen are one thing, but 'Eonist', masonic, British bankers are quite another – not to mention Lyndon LaRouche and his vision of narcotics trafficking based at Buckingham Palace. Perhaps I have become over-sensitive about the harm that can be done by occult thinking, but I still wince whenever anything interpretable as such crops up among assassination researchers.

Actually no interpretation at all is needed for the August 1987 issue of R.B. Cutler's *Grassy Knoll Gazette*, which quotes extensively from *The Secrets of the Federal Reserve* by Eustace Mullins, which appears in both the A-Albionic and Sons of Liberty listings. The excerpt involves a purported 1773 meeting of businessmen that was convened in Frankfurt by Mayer Amschel Bauer (who later took the name Rothschild). Bauer is portrayed outlining a Protocols-like plan of world domination.

And UFOs too?

There is also an occasional unexpected strain of UFO enthusiasm among assassination researchers. In Volume 2 of the *Forgive My Grief* series by Penn Jones Jr (Midlothian, Texas: *Midlothian Mirror*, 1967), one finds a review of a pro-Warren Commission book, *The Scavengers: Critics and the Warren Report*, by Richard Warren Lewis and Lawrence Schiller. The reviewer, former FBI agent and *Ramparts* contributor, William Turner, is particularly annoyed (p. 163) over the way Lewis and Schiller take a cheap shot at Sylvia Meagher by pointing out her considerable collection of UFO books. (Hey, I figure either the books are there, or they are not.)

The trophy for flying-saucer passion, however, goes to the writer calling himself Paris Flammonde. In addition to his book on the Garrison affair, *The Kennedy Conspiracy* (New York, Meredith, 1969), he has turned out at least two volumes on UFOs, *The Age of Flying Saucers* (New York, Hawthorn 1971) and *UFO (sic) Exist!* (New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1976). (The latter is dedicated to

JFK bits and pieces

Paul Hoch recommends *JFK: The Book of the Film* (Applause Books, 211 West 71 St NY, NY 10023). This contains a footnoted JFK screenplay and about 350 pages of published articles, including some of the best anti-Stone stories.

One of the many JFK mail order book lists is published by the JFK Assassination Center, 603 Munger Box 40, Dallas, Texas 75202. The President is Larry Howard, to whom inquiries should be addressed. The best general parapolitical mail-order service remains Tom Davis Books, whose catalogue is available on request from the address below.

One of the elements in the Stone movie which has angered people, especially on the left, is its claim that JFK was planning to get out of Vietnam. Support for this came from JFK's Assistant

Sylvia Meagher and Bernard Fensterwald Jr.) The biographical blurb on the dust jacket of the first of the UFO books says Flammonde 'was for a number of years the producer of The Long John Nebel Show', which has acted as a "clearing house" for UFO reports and information'. On that basis, it appears that Flammonde was more of a UFO man than a JFK one.

Flammonde has another occult distinction. His book *The Kennedy Conspiracy* is the only work that seriously tries to discuss David Ferrie's involvement in a semi-underground religion, the 'Orthodox Old Catholic Church of North America'. Flammonde traces this obscure, amorphous movement back to 1885 – the second reference to the 1880s we have seen in this survey – and asserts (p. 38) that one branch of it, mostly in the eastern and southern United States is 'totally controlled and peopled by homosexuals'. The only problem here is that Flammonde provides no hint of where he acquired that information, so this is not much better than Paul de Rasanov raving about 'Eonism'.

De Morenschild and the psychic

Probably the saddest intrusion of the occult into the realm of the Kennedy assassination involves a Dutch journalist, Wilem Oltmans. According to his own rendition of events, published in the U.S. nudie magazine *Gallery* for April 1977, Oltmans was in contact with 'a serious and famous Dutch clairvoyant' named Gerard Croiset in 1967. Croiset wanted to talk about the assassination and described a vision of a conspirator who had manipulated Oswald. Croiset's description is reputed to have led Oltmans to George de Morenschild, the White Russian exile, petroleum geologist, and CIA contact who befriended Oswald in Texas during 1962-63. Oltmans kept in touch with de Morenschildt as the years passed, and things came to a climax in 1977 when he went to Texas and brought de Morenschildt back to Holland with him.

This is a controversial episode. Oltmans strongly denies an accusation by Michael Eddowes that he was plying de Morenschildt with pharmaceuticals. Instead he implies he more or less rescued de Morenschildt, who had just been confined to a mental institution by his family and had undergone drug therapy. Either way de Morenschildt was not in good mental shape. Oltmans took de Morenschildt to the clairvoyant Croiset on March 3 1977, and Croiset supposedly agreed this was the man he saw back in 1967. What de Morenschildt had to say about all this is unclear, since Oltmans seems to be the only one left talking. (Oltmans thinks he was in the process of confessing.)

On March 5 de Morenschildt vanished, reappearing a couple of weeks later at the home of his daughter in Manalapan, Florida. On March 29 he was found dead there, the official verdict being a self-inflicted firearms wound. Between psychiatrists on one side and a psychic on the other – and even if the CIA were not involved – he did not have much of a chance.

Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, Roger Hilsman. In a letter to the *New York Times*, January 20, 1992, Hilsman concluded: 'The historical record, in sum, is clear: President Kennedy was determined not to let Vietnam become an American war – that is, he was determined not to send U.S. combat troops (as opposed to advisers) to fight in Vietnam nor to bomb North Vietnam. This does not prove he would have withdrawn completely, including the 16,500 advisers. However, the record is clear that he had laid the groundwork for doing so.'

Mind you, 16,500 'advisors'.... a lot of advice, Kemo Sabe.

The Hilsman letter was part of a mail-out from the Assassination Archives and Research Centre, which continues despite the death of Bud Fensterwald, at 918 F Street, NW, Suite 510 Washington DC 20004.

TOM DAVIS BOOKS
P.O. BOX 1107 APTOS, CA 95001



KNOWLEDGE IS POWER
(if you know enough
about the right people)

The aliens on the grassy knoll

As Scott Van Wynsberghe has 'outed' himself as a transvestite let me 'come out' of the intellectual closet and admit that, like Sylvia Meagher, I also have some UFO books on my shelves. Over the last 20 years or so I also have acquired some books on 'earth mysteries' (though I never found a ley line); on alternative medicine (though the only time I tried acupuncture to quit smoking I came out of the session dying for a smoke); on psychological therapies (I was once part-owner of an orgone box, but it didn't seem to work); and on the vast landscape of 'psi' (though I have no paranormal abilities).

If I could afford to I would certainly subscribe to the crop circle magazines, the *Fortean Times* and a goodly selection of the U.S. and U.K. UFO journals. I am, by the standards of Van Wynsberghe, at least one token over the line into the occult irrational. But so what? In all these little fields of minority interest, despite the predominance of intellectual incompetents, cranks, charlatans and the commercially motivated, there is something real going on.

The important term to me in Van Wynsberghe's 'occult irrationalism' is irrational. The conspiracy theories described by Van Wynsberghe are to be rejected because their proponents disregard, or are ignorant of, the standard rules of inference and evidence. But the category 'occult' implies rejection not because of distance from conventional intellectual procedures, but because of distance from some conventional picture of reality. Rejection on the latter ground alone is too often simply irrational, usually made for defensive reasons. (Just about the hardest thing most people can do is change their mind.)

The Kennedy assassination and the UFO story are both examples of no-go areas for most respectable intellectuals. (When Scott Newton sent me the review essay on the Garrison case published in this issue it struck me that he must be one of the first British historians to take the subject seriously enough to actually read some of the literature.) These subjects remain disreputable because the mainstream intellectual community is scared off by the pre-emptive use of a number of labels, including 'conspiracy', 'the occult', and 'fringe'.

The other thing is, several of these 'fringe' fields overlap in the most curious way. Take Fred Lee Chrisman. I first came across the name when he was tentatively identified as the oldest of the 'three tramps' photographed under police escort just after the assassination in Dallas. But I remember reading a piece by John Keel somewhere (*Fortean Times*?) which reported that Chrisman made one of the early reports of a UFO sighting in the great post WW2 UFO flap in the United States. Scott Van Wynsberghe locates the Kennedy assassination author Paris Flammonde on the Long John Knebel Show, a radio chat-show in New York, apparently with a reputation of giving space to UFO reports. As far as I am aware Long John Knebel first surfaced in this country in the book *The Control of Candy Jones* by Donald Bain (in the UK, Futura, London, 1976). Candy Jones was the stage name of an American model of the 1940s, who married Knebel in 1972. The book is an account of how Knebel and Jones discovered, through hypnotic regression of Jones, that she had been used by the CIA as a programmed courier; had, in fact, been converted into a multiple personality of the kind described by Dr George Easterbrook in the last paragraphs of Martin Cannon's essay on Mind Control in *Lobster* 23.

Or so it is claimed. The status of the Bain book is unclear to me. No documentary evidence is presented in the British paperback edition I have, though there are textual references left in it to photographs and documents reproduced in the hardback. I have seen nothing about the case since the book appeared, but as a considerable number of living people are mentioned in it, my guess is that the basic legal caution of publishers has ensured that it is mostly true or true-ish. In any case little of what is alleged in it seems as surprising as it did in 1976.

Just as the 'mind control' story is part of parapolitics because of the activities of the U.S. military and intelligence agencies in the field (and their Soviet equivalents, no doubt), so some of the UFO literature of recent years has begun to resemble the literature of parapolitics. Increasingly the story is of the activities of putative

agents of state, the intelligence and security agencies, and alleged disinformation and smear campaigns. (On this see Jacques Vallee's *Revelations: Alien Contact and Human Deception*, London, Souvenir Press, 1992.) A recent re-examination of the notorious Rosewell incident in which an alien craft is reported to have crashed in the desert in the USA, concluded with a chapter on how to use the U.S. Freedom of Information Act.

Armen Victorian, author of the essays in *Lobster* 23 on U.S. military LSD testing and Timothy Good, is also interested in the UFO story. Victorian has identified the personnel of a network of scientists, military and intelligence officers, who have been spreading disinformation among the UFO buffs. (This was reported in that frivolous manner newspapers reserve for 'crank' subjects by Erland Clouston in the *Guardian* of 26 September '92, 'Anti UFO talk that's strictly for the Birds'. The story itself appeared in the July/August edition [Vol. 11 no 3] of *UFO Magazine*, published at 15 Picard Court, Leeds, LS15 9AY, U.K.)

Geller

One of the UFO disinformation network, apparently called the Aviary, uncovered by Victorian, is Dr Harold Puthoff who first came to my attention as one of the American scientists who worked with Uri Geller in the investigation of his extraordinary powers in the mid 1970s. Unless Uri Geller is a dreadful liar – and there is as yet no evidence of this – he has been of interest to, and has been working with, the CIA since the middle 1970s. Geller has amazing powers but also has the political intellect of a 10 year old. (Not an uncommon combination in this field for some reason.) How could he refuse a patriotic appeal from the CIA? Episodes from this interesting relationship are included in Geller's section of *The Geller Effect* which he co-authored with Guy Lyon Playfair. (Jonathan Cape, London 1986; Grafton 1988, paperback) 'Hey, Uri', says the spook, 'Let's see if you can project an idea into President Jimmy Carter's mind'. And worse.

Though there is no evidence of Geller being a fake, there has been an extraordinary amount of disinformation spread about him. Guy Lyon Playfair's section of their book covers some of this disinformation, especially the campaign against him by the Committee for the Scientific Investigation of Claims of the Paranormal (CSICOP), fronted by the illusionist and magician The Amazing Randi. Playfair suspects this committee of being run by the CIA but has neither the evidence nor the libel insurance to say so. Instead he uses the old ploy of denying that CSICOP are being manipulated by the CIA. (pp. 278/9 of the Grafton edition). I know of no evidence that the bizarre behaviour of Randi and the other committee members towards Geller is being dictated by the Agency; they may simply be the intellectual incompetents they appear.

Whatever the explanation, CSICOP has done an effective job persuading the media (who, in turn, persuade the public) that Geller is a fraud – a stage magician. That Randi and his colleagues can replicate a few of Geller's simpler feats should tell us nothing. But the journalists who report Randi's claims have forgotten – if they ever knew – the range of telekinetic abilities Geller displayed; and when Randi and co. report being able to copy this or that, the hacks conclude, 'Hey, Geller's been debunked.' (A similar effect has been achieved by the hoax crop circles. As far as the media is concerned it has now been 'proved' that they were all hoaxes.)

It would not be a surprise to discover that the anti-Geller campaign has been sponsored by the U.S. state – the CIA perhaps – because of U.S. military and intelligence interest in the field Geller was operating in. Geller must have seemed rather threatening to the military elites beginning to work in the psi field. For example, he could erase data from magnetic tape and scramble the contents of floppy discs. The old yippy fantasy of wandering around the CIA's computer centre with a magnet down the bell-bottoms becomes redundant. Worse, he was not only routinely demonstrating astonishing powers, he was also triggering those powers in significant numbers of the populace at large. Imagine how the U.S. (or Soviet) military and intelligence people viewed the prospect of large numbers of ordinary citizens being able to erase data tapes and discs, 'read' minds and bend

metal.

The psi gap?

Any doubts that the U.S. military were taking the 'psi' field seriously ended with the December 1980 issue of the U.S. Army's *Military Review* which had as its cover story a piece titled 'The New Mental Battlefield', complete with cover pictures of Kirlian 'photographs' of the 'aura' round living organisms. This article touted an alleged 'psi gap' between the Soviet Union and the United States – the traditional beginning of a pitch for more research money.

In 1970 there were those fuzzy pictures in *Psychic Discoveries Behind the Iron Curtain* of a middle-aged Soviet housewife busting a gut to move a match by telekinesis. Twenty years later I sat in a pub in Hull and watched a bloke casually roll a cigarette to and fro across a table top using telekinesis. I asked him to do it using one

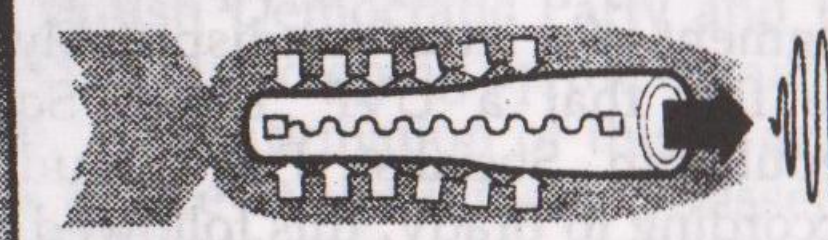
The lethal bomb that does not kill

by Christy Campbell
Defence Correspondent

BRITISH defence scientists are developing a "microwave bomb" that will destroy electronic equipment but leave its operators alive.

Work on the weapon is 'in progress' at the Defence Research Agency.

Microwave bomb



Explosion produces massive pulse of radio-energy, which burns out electronic equipment.

Mind control and microwave update

1. This photocopy from the *Daily Telegraph* proves that there is military interest in this country in microwaves. The story itself is a plant from the Ministry of Defence. Its purpose is unknown.
2. In the United States the microwave/mind control subject has been taken up by the Association of National Security Alumni. In a briefing they issued on August 19, 1992, after summarising the known DoD and CIA interest in this field, they commented on 'The increasing number of persons contacting us for assistance in ending what they believe to be electronic harassment by elements of U.S. Intelligence'. The July issue of their magazine *Unclassified* (discussed above) has a couple of pages on 'microwave harassment'. That ANSC is giving credence to the microwave/mind control story is rather significant.
3. A number of people associated with the Greenham women who were 'zapped' are now claiming to have detected the use of ELF (extremely low frequency) waves before the British general election. The only public manifestation of this I have seen is a press release issued on 26 March this year. It claimed that 'we have good reason to believe that offensive electronics are being used in the run-up to the general election. It is possible to detect an interfering signal during any speeches or interviews or any images of the opposition parties [on television]. The signal ceases abruptly when Conservative Party images or words come on the screen'.
4. This is technically feasible, I believe, though no convincing evidence is available yet.
5. The *Soviet Press Digest* is an on-line data base which carries translations of press articles from what used to be the USSR. On February 15 1992 it carried a piece headlined 'Mind control', in which Emilia Chirkova, a Deputy of the Zelenograd Soviet and member of the Human Rights Commission, cited Boris Yeltsin, Andre Sakharov and Ruslan Khasbulatov, Speaker of the Russian parliament, as recent victims of electromagnetic radiation. In the Soviet Union 'wavies', victims of alleged microwave/ELF radiation, are emerging with exactly the same claims as their counterparts in the USA and Europe. One is quoted as saying 'They controlled my laughter, my thoughts, and caused pain in various parts of my body. It all started in October 1985 after I had openly criticized the first secretary of the City Committee of the Communist Party.' The article also reported victims hearing 'voices in the head' from 'microwave pulse radiation'. All these are familiar from U.S. and European victims.

WEAPONS THAT WIPE OUT COMPUTERS – BUT NOT PEOPLE



THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH SEPTEMBER 27 1992

5. I have been sent a document from a Swede, Ossian Anderson, Box 71, 860 35 Soraker, Sweden. Mr Anderson makes allegations that are identical in part to those of a couple of the U.K. victims of microwave/ELF attack.
6. There is also the International Network against Mind Control (IMMC), Box 123, 11479 Stockholm, Sweden. They have taken up the case of British resident, Kasaba Ntumba, who is one of a growing group of people who claim to have had transmitters/receivers inserted in their heads. In Mr Ntumba's case IMMC have circulated what they say are photographs of X-rays of Mr Ntumba's skull which appear to show.... something, anyway. I have no medical knowledge, nor any way of knowing if these photographs are genuine or not. Since Mr Ntumba lives near London and is desperate to get journalists to X-ray his skull and see for themselves, my guess is they are. I will be happy to forward letters to Mr Ntumba. The idea of implanting an electronic device in somebody's head initially seems extraordinary. But a moment's reflection on what we know has been done already – MK Ultra, ECT, lobotomy, *et al* – shows that this is just one more step down the road. If the scientists can do it, they will do it. And Jose Delgado showed that it probably could be done.

All of which means what? It appears that both within NATO and the former Warsaw Pact countries anti-personnel, electromagnetic and/or microwave weapons are now being used and/or field tested. The theoretical interest in this field by the U.S. and Soviet bloc military now dates back more than 30 years, and given the obvious small-scale weapons potential of such technology, it is highly improbable that the U.S. (or Soviets) simply developed the large-scale weapons such as the microwave bomb, discussed above, or the truck-sized U.S. Air Force Gypsy microwave cannon photographed in *Aviation Week and Space Technology*, December 7 1987.

The alternative explanation, that all over the world groups of nutters are spontaneously making up the same spurious allegations, is no longer credible.

7. New sources

(a) Another little group interested in this field is Bioelectromagnetics Special Interest Group of American Mensa. They produce a newsletter, *Resonance*, edited by Judy Wall at PO Box 69 Sumterville, FL 33585, USA. (b) There is now a victims group in the USA: Victims of Electronic Assault, run by Kelly Rahach at PO Box 657174, Cuyahoga Falls, OH 44222. Ms Rahach produces a newsletter.

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Notes from the Underground
British Fascism 1974-92
Part 2
Larry O'Hara

Introduction

In the first part of this essay, in *Lobster* 23, after reviewing the strategies adopted by significant British fascist parties in the period, I concluded that there had been no attempt to seize power by violent means or closely collaborate with elements in the secret state/ruling class who may have entertained such fantasies in the 1970s. ¹ In this essay I examine some aspects of the links between the British fascists and their continental European colleagues, some of whom were engaged in serious violence and a 'strategy of tension': the role of Steve Brady, alleged paramilitary 'fixer', the 'political soldiers' group in the National Front, the 'safe-housing' of Italian and German fascists, and the alleged plot to bomb the Notting Hill Carnival.

Steve Brady:
the Henry Kissinger of international fascism?

In September 1979 Steve Brady was appointed International Liaison Officer (ILO) for the neo-Nazi League of Saint George. ² Almost immediately rumours started to circulate that he was a high-powered 'fixer' for euro-fascism. The legend began with two very intriguing articles in *Hibernia*, a now defunct Irish magazine, in February and July 1980. ³ The two articles posited connections between Column 88, the League of Saint George, the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), the Ulster Defence Association (UDA) and the Belgian neo-Nazi VMO. The Maguire article stated that in 1975 'a splinter group within the VMO formed the Viking Group specifically to fight alongside the UDA in any future civil war in the North [of Ireland]' (p. 11). Brady is described as 'prominent in the UVF in Britain', as well as allegedly quoting from *Mein Kampf* at a ceremony held at the World War One Langemarke cemetery. ⁴ Interestingly, Maguire mentions but immediately glosses over the Irish republican sympathies of many involved in the League of St. George (p. 10).

In 1981 the *Sun* reported (19 February) that Brady had been 'enrolled as a full "brother" in the UDA'; and a *Fortnight* (Belfast) article in 1986 contended (without direct quotation or specific evidence) that Brady by then was claiming 'joint membership of both the UDA and the UVF'. ⁵ It was also suggested, in a Ray Hill/*Searchlight* production, the 'Guns on the Right' documentary shown on British television in 1981, that Brady had been instrumental in smuggling guns to Northern Ireland. The 'hooded figure' who testified to this gave no details, and Brady says he was not subsequently questioned by the police.

But what really transformed Brady into an almost mythic fascist 'fixer' was the publication by *Searchlight* in August 1982 of parts of a 1980 letter from Brady to Andy Tyrie of the Ulster Defence Association (UDA), offering to help them build links to European groups on the political far right. ⁶ Henceforth Brady's inclusion in stories of UDA-National Front links became obligatory. As Steve Bruce noted recently, he 'is one of the very few people who come even close to making the case for fascist and racist influence on loyalism'. ⁷

According to *Searchlight*, Brady 'had a hand in bringing the fascist VMO and the UVF together, with the VMO offering the UVF weapons and explosives.... *Searchlight* investigators were told by VMO senior officers that Brady had been instrumental in setting up the liaison'. ⁸ And according to *Searchlight* (and admitted to an extent by Brady) that he had been involved in 'safe-housing' Italian fascist political refugees in the U.K..

I shall look at the key charges: UVF membership; the League of St George as a 'terrorist' organisation; his relationship to the UDA; links with VMO; and finally 'safehousing' of foreign fascists. ⁹

An Ulster volunteer?

Brady denies ever claiming to be a member of the UVF, and none of the articles I have seen quote him on it or cite any evidence. No details have ever been given of his alleged UVF 'unit' or of any military actions he may have been involved in. What he has said is that given his origins in Northern Ireland, and former membership of Ulster Vanguard, when he came to England in 1973 and was asked about membership of paramilitary organisations, he would give a knowing wink – just the sort of behaviour that might be expected from a 18 year-old new to London. Although the state has not been averse to arresting and imprisoning the odd UVF member, according to Brady he has not even been questioned on the subject. ¹⁰

The only item held up as proof of such links has been a fragment of a letter (undisputably written by Brady) referring to the fact that a UVF 'Death Squad' had murdered an Irish Republican Socialist Party student, one Michael Adamson. According to Brady, this followed an 'exchange of views between the UVF men and Adamson which the UVF men won with that most forceful, and final argument, a .45 calibre bullet'. Brady speculates that further named individuals had incurred the 'displeasure of UVF Brigade Staff', and proffered his opinion that their lives and commitment to proletarian struggle – they were members of an obscure Maoist sect, the Communist Party of England – Marxist Leninist – might soon be discontinued. ¹¹ At the very least, this letter is tasteless, but such sentiments (expressed both publicly and privately) are not uncommon in Northern Ireland. Does this letter show, as *Searchlight* would have us believe, 'how closely he is linked with the UVF "Death Squads"'? ¹² Is there anything here that was not known in Loyalist circles, within which Brady has unquestionably moved for a long time? ¹³ I am not saying Brady has not had connections with the UVF (although he denies this). What I am saying is that this letter is not proof.

In League with the Devil?

Being International Liaison Officer of the League of St. George, an explicitly neo-Nazi outfit, at first may sound like a high-powered job, and unquestionably involved communication with the wilder fascist fringes. Robert Edwards' assertion, cited in note 5, that the League was itself capable of and intent on, planning and executing armed actions, was not only bereft of evidence, but was dismissed by none other than Ray Hill. In February 1981, after a series of British press stories, Hill notes the League 'had been nick-named the Leak of St. George by other Nazi hard-liners. So Oumow [of the French FNE] was by-passing them and making contacts directly with other far-right activist groups "in the field"'. ¹⁴ Close collaboration by the League *qua* organisation (as opposed to individual members) with Ulster Loyalist groups would have been made difficult by the Irish republican sympathies of many in the League. ¹⁵

Of his own involvement in the LSG Brady told me, 'I was sent into it by Richard Lawson in 1975, to find out what it was..... we [i.e. those who that December had formed the National Party – author] thought it was a Tyndallite plot... we came to the conclusion it was a load of old Mosleyites and Hitler cultists'. After the collapse of the National Party in 1977, along with David McCalden, Brady reactivated his membership, as the decision 'had been taken to radicalise the NF from within – we needed a platform to address NF members. The LSG didn't do anything, have a central agenda. It was a club.' ¹⁶ This account of the League is consistent with what is known from other sources: in the first part of this essay I noted (*Lobster* 23, p. 17) Martin Webster's perception of the League as a focus of intra-NF dissent. Of his task as International Liaison Officer, Brady said, 'All the job involved

was translating magazines and sticking reports in the *League Review* asking them if they wanted anything printed.' ¹⁷

Brady is being too modest here, for unquestionably being ILO brought him into correspondence with, and on occasions such as Diksmuide, contact with a wide variety of far right personnel, some of whom were undoubtedly engaged in 'armed struggle'. What remains to be proved however, is that such contact meant he was engaged in organising or preparing for military actions.

Ironically enough, those who have constructed the persona of Steve Brady as the 'Stavro Blofeldt' of the fascist right have missed the fact that in late 1979 he was a U.K. member (they would say supporter) of the U.S. 'National Alliance', headed by none other than William L. Pierce, pseudonymous author of *The Turner Diaries* which had by then been published. ¹⁸

For Brady, his sojourn in the LSG, including his International Liaison stint (which ended early 1981 to be followed by his resignation from the League in May of that year), was just the search for a political home after the loss of the National Party. He says, 'Once I could get back into the NF, all experiments like the National Alliance and League of Saint George were dropped. I got back into communication with the NF before the end of 1980. Webster [by then facing a threat from Tyndall, the NF Constitutional Movement, the British Democratic Party and the British Movement – author] decided that keeping up the enmity of 1975 was no longer worthwhile.' ¹⁹ Confirmation of this is again apparently forthcoming from a glance at the initially Strasserite *Nationalism Today*, founded in April 1980. Brady contends that he was involved with it from the start, but to avoid annoying Webster and causing *Nationalism Today's* proscription, his name did not appear as a by-line till issue 4 of February 1981.

There is no doubt that both before and after becoming League International Liaison Officer Brady was active in conventional British fascist politics. There is nothing to suggest a 'paramilitary fixer'. Rather, the period in the League of Saint George was just a stop on Brady's political journey round the schismatic British fascists.

Going underground?

If Brady had been an advocate of 'armed actions' by the fascist right – *Searchlight's* analysis – Brady should have gone with the 'political soldier' Official NF rather than the Flag NF after the split in 1986 which resulted in two groups each claiming to be the NF. In fact he stayed with the Flag group, and remained a leading figure up until his resignation in 1992. Not to be cheated of a good story, in 1986 *Searchlight* carried a fascinating piece, claiming 'a blueprint for a new cell structure..... breaking the [NF] up into more or less autonomous cells has been drawn up by Steve Brady, whose intimate knowledge of Loyalist paramilitary death squads in Northern Ireland equips him well for the task..... the whole scheme fits perfectly with the perspective..... that, ultimately, their road to power will be a violent one'. ²⁰

Not only has Brady's passing reference in the document to the advantageous security aspects of decentralisation to be seen in the context of struggles with the 'political soldier' NF group – i.e. answering *their* arguments – later contributions by him to strategic debate within the Flag NF illustrate that 'security' was not a prime concern of his. So, he was to write articles attacking the 'revolutionary' fantasies of the 'political soldier' NF, pouring scorn on their theses about the 'inevitability' of state repression. ²¹ Indeed, his most substantial theoretical contribution to the Flag NF's politics after 1986 was the elaboration of a much praised but little acted upon 'Ladder Strategy', based on nothing more sinister than building local support step by step in target electoral wards. ²² How exactly this sort of political theorising fits in to the Flag NF 'going underground' *Searchlight* has thus not explained. ²³

Brady and the UDA: a shut case reopened?

Central to the analysis of his role as a 'paramilitary fixer' on the far right, is Brady's relationship with the Ulster Defence Association (UDA); and central to that is the letter he wrote to Andy Tyrie on 30 May 1980. *Searchlight*, who published the letter, believe it showed that Brady sought to establish some sort of connection between the UDA and far right/nazi groups on the

European continent. Furthermore, in outlining the personnel and policies of some of these groups, Brady came out with some choice descriptions. For example he described the Italian Ordine Nuovo as 'basically neo-Fascist urban guerillas, whose main activities are machine-gunning Red marches, blowing up Red offices, car bombing of Reds, assassinations of leading Reds and good clean fun of that sort.' ²⁴

This much is agreed, but macho rhetoric aside, what exactly was Brady suggesting to Tyrie? The way the letter has been presented by *Searchlight* implies that Brady was thereby some paramilitary fixer, directly involved in setting up scenarios such as 'an attempt to bring the Flemish fascist VMO and the UVF together, with the VMO offering the UVF weapons and explosives in exchange for its activists being trained by the UVF in Northern Ireland in the techniques of bomb making and handling explosives.' ²⁵ That is a possible interpretation of Brady's letter, but *Searchlight* only reproduced parts of it. Reading the whole thing conveys a rather different impression of his intentions.

Thus they did not seem fit to reproduce Brady's suggestion that Tyrie contact Franz Josef-Strauss, of the right-wing (non Nazi) Christian Social Union (p. 5). Most tellingly, because it does not fit their basic thesis, nothing at all of the last page has ever been reproduced or even referred to by *Searchlight*. In it Brady starts by raising and then answering a potential query from Tyrie 'as to what sort of help you can expect from the European groups, and what form co-operation between them and you could take, that is a matter for you... The following possibilities suggest themselves to me, and doubtless you will be able to think of other ones.....

- (a) Propaganda for the Ulster Cause overseas....
- (b) Joint political initiatives: pro-Ulster demonstrations in European capitals, speaking tours by your spokesmen etc....
- (c) Exchanging information on the IRA and its network abroad
- (d) Financial assistance....' (p. 8).

Brady's explanation of the letter is that he was struck, as League International Liaison Officer and reader of foreign literature, by how many European neo-fascists (my term, not his) sympathised with the IRA, and how poor the Loyalist propaganda machine was by comparison. It was for this reason, he says, that the letter was written, and his outline of the activities of groups like Ordine Nuovo was mostly culled from the pages of *Searchlight*. The references to moving men and 'material' were put in to spice it up, as bait to ensure the UDA took his offer of propaganda assistance seriously. (It is clear from the letter that at that time he wasn't a member of the UDA.) ²⁶

Even the episode used most often to 'prove' that Brady's letter was the start of something sinister, the alleged VMO-UVF link – the only example available – does not quite stand up unsupported. It is true that UVF men Joseph Bennett and John Irvine met a VMO leader in Antwerp, Belgium in 1980. This was confirmed by VMO leader Roger Spinnewijn. Spinnewijn knew about Brady's letter to Tyrie – Brady and Spinnewijn knew each other – and said that it was the UDA, not the UVF which 'took up [Brady's] recommendation'. ²⁷ There is nothing to link the UVF-VMO link to Brady's letter but the word of UVF 'super grass' Joseph Bennett. However, and surely relevantly, the convictions of all fourteen defendants Bennett had implicated in crimes were overturned on appeal, and he was dismissed by Lord Justice Lowry as an unreliable witness. ²⁸

The 1986 article in *Fortnight* by Cathy Johnson, patently taken from *Searchlight*, kept the pot boiling. ²⁹ By 1992, when *Searchlight* again returned to the theme, Brady's role had been ever so subtly enhanced, when readers were informed that 'Searchlight's investigators were told by VMO senior officers that Brady had been instrumental in setting up the liaison'. ³⁰ A reader of *Searchlight* could take that to mean that Brady was privy to the UVF's visit to Antwerp, and knew and approved of its alleged purposes, including the suggestion that the UVF bomb mainland U.K. Jewish targets. (This allegation is supported by no evidence whether quotation or otherwise.)

The very prominence of this flimsy house of cards as proof of Brady's paramilitary connections makes me think there may well have been nothing more to it than his relationship with Tyrie. ³¹ Or rather, more evidence is needed to make me think that such links were anything more than they appear to be. After all, until

this year the UDA was a legal organisation in Northern Ireland, and still is on the mainland U.K.³²

The source of the letter?

How did *Searchlight* get the Brady letter to Andy Tyrie? According to Brady, 'When the UDA was raided by the British Army, the letter was stolen from their offices..... *Searchlight* definitely did get it from the Army.'³³ The dates do fit. The UDA offices were raided on 14 April 1982, and many documents taken, in what was transparently a 'fishing expedition', although ostensibly the aim was to look for guns and explosives. The letter appeared in *Searchlight* in August that year, the first time its existence had even been hinted at.³⁴

Little seems to have resulted from the UDA taking up Brady's suggestion to get in touch with VMO. Bob Marsh, a UDA member from Liverpool, was in June 1980 sent by Tyrie to Diksmuide to check out the organisations represented there. (The *News of the World*, 6 July 1980 has a photo of him and Brady at the gathering.) The next public thing of note to happen was a 40-strong NF visit to Belfast. On 28 May 1981 Brady, along with Martin Wingfield, Caralyn Giles and Ian Taylor met UDA Chair Andy Tyrie and Political Spokesman John McMichael.

According to Brady at the time, this meeting 'left both sides on the friendliest of terms and with a much better understanding. As part of an agreement between the NF and the UDA to exchange information of mutual interest, the home addresses of local IRA supporters were handed to the Ulster paramilitary group'.³⁵

But despite Brady's long-standing friendship with Tyrie, not only does nothing military *seem* to have resulted in which Brady was involved, the fact that many European fascist groups still broadly sympathise with the IRA indicates that Brady's letter was not acted upon.

The allegations about Brady I outlined at the start of this section remain just allegations.

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The Notting Hill bomb plot reconsidered

No account of plans for fascist violence in the early 1980s can ignore the allegations of Ray Hill, the ex-nazi who became *Searchlight* magazine's 'super-mole' inside the far right. Hill, it is said, exposed and prevented all manner of mayhem, in particular a plot to bomb the Notting Hill Carnival on August Bank Holiday 1981.³⁶

Hill claims that at an international euro-nazi meeting in France – appropriately enough to celebrate Hitler's birthday, on 20 April 1981 – at which he was the only British representative, on behalf of the British Movement, it was put to him that in the light of fascist bombings elsewhere in Europe – Bologna 1980, the Munich Beer Festival 1980, the Rue Copernic synagogue in Paris in 1981 – it was about time some similar action took place in the U.K., at the said carnival. Hill's role was to inform one Tony Malski in the U.K. that he had to go over to France to pick up relevant materials. Then Special Branch were informed of Malski's exact time/place of return to Britain, in order to pick him up on the ferry. According to Hill, Special Branch warned Malski in advance not to do anything stupid, so he returned, minus the materials. In order to prevent a bomb going off anyway, *Searchlight* fed the story to the *Daily Mirror*, and ran it themselves in August 1981.

Contributors to this issue

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While it is not possible to say for certain that this is not what happened, the whole episode raises nagging doubts.³⁷

Differing origins of the plot

In *Searchlight* the idea is said to have been first mooted at the above-mentioned gathering attended by Mark Fredericksen and Alex Oumow of FNE (French neo-nazis), and Yann Tran Long, a Vietnamese arms dealer.³⁸ However *Searchlight* do not attribute the idea to a particular individual. In the television documentary of this incident, 'The Other Face of Terror', we were told the suggestion was made by 'French people'. By the time of Ray Hill's book *The Other Face of Terror* (hereafter OFOT), four years later, Hill was able to attribute the specific suggestion to an (unnamed) Frenchman with a missing finger. And yet another version appeared in the *News of the World* article which appeared the Sunday before the TV documentary was broadcast. In that Hill attributed to Malski the (1981) observation that he 'already knew of the plan. In fact he said the bombing idea was his'.

Tony Malski's trip to France

Tony Malski became the organiser of the tiny National Socialist Action Party, set up in 1982 after the British Movement had been written off by him as too soft. He was undoubtedly given to bellicose verbosity and paramilitary fantasies within a framework of 'hard-line' Hitlerism.³⁹ It could just be that Malski boasted he'd thought of it when he hadn't.⁴⁰ Leaving that aside, the next question concerns the materials required to do the job. According to Hill, Malski 'already had access to explosives and knew how to make timing devices' – the only items missing, therefore, were detonators.⁴¹ These were to be obtained from France. Here we have an experienced ex-Territorial Army soldier, an alleged stockpiler of arms who has to go all the way to France to pick up detonators? Could they not be relatively easily obtained here, from quarries, military depots, railways – or, indeed, from the massed legions of Column 88?⁴²

In any event, according to *Searchlight*, the 'missing detonators' were eventually brought into the country in January 1982, by Yann Tran Long, who had apparently renewed his acquaintance with Malski. After a tip-off from *Searchlight*, Special Branch visited Tran Long's flat where they failed to find these elusive detonators, even though they were allegedly hidden under his bed.⁴³ How this account squares with *Searchlight's* 1981 claim that they had 'received firm information that the explosives are already in this country and are ready for use', is not clear.⁴⁴ By 1983 *Searchlight* were referring to Malski as having travelled to Paris in 1981 and 'collected a consignment of detonators from Yann Tran Long'.⁴⁵

What of the personnel intended to take part in the bomb plot? At the time, according to *Searchlight* 'in the mayhem which will follow the explosion, snipers are to open fire from vantage points in two properties which have already been obtained and secured'.⁴⁶ This particular tale was repeated in the Hill book, but no details of the property or snipers were given.

While in his book (p. 216) Hill reports Malski as having told him over the phone of the plot, there is no taped record of this, even though *Searchlight* did manage shortly after to tape a conversation with Malski. The ace in Hill's pack is the tape-recording made in the pub with Malski in 1983, for the TV documentary. From it, it is clear that at some point previously Malski had gone to France to pick up some 'gear' from Yann Tran Long, who was unquestionably an arms dealer. It would also seem that he was warned in advance by some unspecified authorities – quite likely to have been Special Branch – that he shouldn't do so. The full passage in the documentary is this.

Malski: 'They said "we know that you're going to pick up some things in Paris. We were tipped off. We've got your description and your name. Don't bring the gear back in...."' The only three that knew I was going over to see him was Alex Ormouw. Only him Yann and me knew I was going over there'.

This much is certain, but that the 'gear' was actually detonators intended for use at Notting Hill, in 1981 – that is not so clear. Tran Long sold arms, including detonators. But that does not prove Hill's version of events to be true, even if it is potentially credible. For despite carrying around a microphone for months (years?) on end, prior to his breaking cover, Hill did not manage to secure one

incontrovertible admission on tape from anyone allegedly involved in the plot. Hill portrays Malski as a talkative, ludicrous, egoistic (though violently-inclined) fool. Does this suggest Malski as the type of person who might be expected to carry out such a bombing, or just the type of person who might boast about doing such a bombing even if he had neither the intention or capability to do so?

The purpose of a Notting Hill bomb?

Finally, what was such a bomb intended to achieve? How did it fit into euro-fascist strategy? There is no doubt whatsoever that had such a bomb gone off in that location (in any year) the first targets for police interest would be the far right, irrespective of whether they admitted it or not. Presumably this effect would have been anticipated by those planning the outrage. In which case, doesn't this rather contradict the other major activity euro-fascists were undoubtedly engaged in to some degree at this time in Britain, namely arranging for wanted comrades to be 'safe-housed'? What is the point of going to great lengths to set up a network of European terror, from which Britain was specifically excluded because of the UK's role as a 'bolt-hole', in order to then mess it all up with something like the Notting Hill bomb?

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Safe as safehouses?

Though there is no evidence of a concerted Europe-wide neo-fascist bombing campaign to start in the early 1980s, let alone one that involved the U.K. neo-fascists, the 'safe-housing' of wanted fascists did take place. According to *Searchlight*, Ray Hill was approached in June 1980 by one Enrico Masselli (a contact made because of Hill's earlier South African NF links), to arrange 'safehousing' in Britain for Italian political refugees 'in the near future'.⁴⁷ According to Hill, he then approached Steve Brady on Masselli's behalf, and asked the League of Saint George (LSG) to take over the liaison. Nothing more was then heard by Hill until he went to a League social at Acton in April 1981, when he allegedly noticed Alesso Alibrandi and other Italians in conversation with Steve Brady and Mike Griffin of the LSG.⁴⁸

There are two issues here. First, is the question of Hill's own involvement in, or knowledge of, the events. Second, is the significance of the safehousing itself. Not for the first time Hill seems to have got his script muddled. Thus, in his book, in place of the name Enrico Masselli used both in *Searchlight* and the TV film 'The Other Face of Terror', he chooses to call the Italian 'Paolo'. Yet otherwise the details are exactly the same, right down to the character working for Olivetti and visiting London for an IBM computer course.

Steve Brady does admit some involvement. According to him, he had no advance knowledge of the Italians' arrival. Rather, 'at 6 am one morning, late in 1980, there came a knock on the door of my Brighton flat. This ragged-looking dishevelled Italian, who didn't speak any amount of English [Fiore] said "Refugees, we are persecuted Italian state. We have hunger, no food, no money, help". He took me down to Brighton bus station and there were loads more, heaps of rubbish suddenly started to move and I realised they were people, a couple of dozen at least. They only stayed in my house for one night, and then made contact with people in London.'⁴⁹ This is certainly possible – the Madeira Place address in Brighton was internationally known as the Hancock family's publishing base – but in the light of Brady's role as International Liaison Officer, and his correspondence with foreign fascists, there is no way that pre-planning can be ruled out. (Whether the approach came before the Bologna bombing or not might bear on the question of whether the bomb was a pre-meditated fascist attack, something that is by no means certain. Unquestionably, after the Bologna attack the Italian neo-fascists were persecuted. Italians who fled here may not have done so because of guilt, and according to Brady they denied guilt for Bologna when asked (as they might be expected to do...)).⁵⁰

The analogy that Brady used to justify this to me was that if members of a foreign leftist group turned up on my doorstep and claimed all their members had been arrested, would I put them

up? I suppose that were I able to I would, especially if I had read their magazine earlier and felt generally sympathetic. Critics would say that Brady and the LSG were quite prepared to find accommodation for foreign fascists without knowing for certain of their guilt or innocence; indeed Brady has said he only knew the names of a few such as De Francisci and Fiore. Brady further says that these Italians 'were quite openly living in Britain and weren't hiding'⁵¹ – that I can't really comment on except to say that until their cases came to court, I don't think their presence was widely known. Indeed, according to Brady, the only Italian present, who gave a speech, at the LSG Acton social in 1981 was Roberto Fiore.⁵² Presumably Britain was chosen because its extradition laws require more proof than is normally required by courts before extradition proceedings are successful.

The Italians involved were mostly militants of the Terza Posizione (TP) grouping, plus some NAR members, the former in the eyes of some observers being merely a front for the neo-nazi NAR anyway.⁵³ Brady would say that he and the LSG were exonerated, for with the exception of the NAR's Luciano Petrone, the extradition of these individuals was refused – apparently for lack of evidence.⁵⁴ Fiore himself said in an interview, 'It was a deliberate choice..... in England they still have some kind of political system and right-wing Italians can wangle their way into the top echelons of the National Front, the British party of the extreme right'.⁵⁵

Fiore, allegedly the leader of TP (although others would see Paolo Signorelli as deserving that title), subsequently became influential in the NF (which he never formally joined). Suffice to say here, like the other Italians, he was just 'passing through' the League.⁵⁶ While it is beyond dispute that elements of the far right put up Italian political refugees, there is no evidence that this fitted into an overall euro-fascist division of labour.

The German connection

In February 1983 three Germans, Gottfried Hepp, Walter Kexel and Ulrich Tillman, wanted in connection with bomb attacks there, were entertained by the self-styled 'Major' Ian Souter-Clarence (who had left the army in 1947 as a Lieutenant), long-standing organiser of paramilitary camps and attendee at the Diksmuide rally. Two of them were arrested at his home, the third (Hepp) in Paris in April 1985.⁵⁷ The Germans were accused not just of attacks on traditional fascist targets such as Jews, but also of actions against U.S. military bases and personnel, the type of operation hitherto thought to be the province of the Left.⁵⁸

In 1981 Souter-Clarence had become embroiled in controversy when he wrote a 'Guest Editorial' for the May edition of *Protect and Survive* monthly, inveighing against left critics of civil defence, in particular local authorities which proposed to abandon it.⁵⁹ At the time Souter-Clarence's intervention had been the cue for accusations that he was not only a member of Column 88, but that his 'Wessex Survival' courses, advertised extensively in the *League Review*, were a form of paramilitary training for nazis. This he denied.⁶⁰

Safehousing assessed

These two episodes of 'safe-housing' (especially the second) constitute the closest British fascists are known to have come to those from abroad engaged in 'armed struggle'. However, before we read into this conjuncture something of a turning-point, it is worth reflecting that both sets of refugees came here because they were on the run. Indeed, in the case of the Italians, active engagement in anything hinting at 'armed struggle' would to this day constitute activities 'prejudicial to public order', the best excuse for extradition that could be found. As for the Germans, they were even more desperate, and presumably picked on Britain as a bolt-hole precisely because it *was* a comparatively tranquil back-water. In any event, whatever Souter-Clarence's ambitions, there has yet to be established any intimate connection between him and NF leaders after the late 1970s.⁶¹

Souter-Clarence's backing of Tyndall's authoritarian stance rather than the confused democratism of his NF opponents, might well explain his subsequent trajectory. Thus he was rumoured to have not only trained the British Movement 'Leader Guard' in combat techniques, but also to have provided bodyguards for

Tyndall in the early 1980s. He also was said to be the key figure behind the Edelweiss camps, attended by neo-nazis from all over Europe.⁶² Disentangling fact from fiction here is difficult and all that can be said with certainty about Souter-Clarence is that when he was a teacher in Bournemouth he had recruited pupils for his 'Viking Cadet Commandos', one of whom said later: 'I was in his unit from 1968 until 1971 and during that time I can only describe the motivation behind the whole thing as training guerrilla fighters'.⁶³ But no-one who admits to having been trained by the 'Major', or his alleged associate in Column 88, Leslie Vaughan, has subsequently carried out military actions, although the name Column 88 was appended to quite a few examples of mayhem.

★

Warriors rising?

Rising was a short-lived and poorly circulated magazine, irregularly produced, with only five issues between 1982 and 1985. The chief movers behind the enterprise were Roberto Fiore, Paul Matthews and Derek Holland (all Lefebvrite Catholics). Author of many NF initiatives after 1983, Holland became the chief ideologist of the NF after 1986, and much of this was prefigured in *Rising*. The journal had as its avowed purpose a significant change in orientation for the far right. In particular, 'Too much emphasis has been put on doctrines to be followed instead of preparing the "political soldiers" Europe desperately needs to be reborn... political soldiers with the spirit of legionnaires totally dedicated to the movement... the solution lies in men, not in programmes'.⁶⁴

Given the later prominence of the group around *Rising*, and the radical changes they wrought in the NF after 1986, as well as the profusion of violent imagery therein, *Rising* has become something of a legend. But was *Rising* a focus of preparations for 'armed struggle'?

There is no doubt that camps and seminars were undertaken, associated with *Rising*, at both the Liss Forest home of Rosine de Bouniaville and the Suffolk farm owned by the father of Nick Griffin, accountant and Conservative Party activist, Edgar Griffin. Certain things nobody disputes took place at these seminars – ideological instruction, physical fitness programmes, self-defence training, and plotting how to get rid of Martin Webster.⁶⁵ On some accounts there was also instruction on how to take the offensive on street demonstrations.⁶⁶ But there is no evidence of preparation for 'armed struggle'. Fiore, who played a key role in such camps, would have been extremely foolish to have given instruction in such matters: in 1981 he had only just escaped extradition back to Italy. Further, the *Rising* seminars were hardly a closely-guarded secret for long, for they were publicised under their cover name (the A.K. Chesterton Academy) in early 1983.⁶⁷

Nevertheless, rumours of preparations for 'armed struggle' at *Rising* seminars persisted, and were given a further twist by the activities of Graham Gilmore, a mercenary who had joined the NF in 1981. He started to train the NF Flag (Colour) Party to take the lead on demonstrations in late 1983. According to *Searchlight* magazine, starting in October 1983 at a farm in Swanley, Kent, owned by NF member George Nye, this was not all the training they undertook. On the first day, time was taken up by drill practice, on the second day of the camp 'the Colour Party received training in guerrilla warfare, including exercises in laying ambushes and night ambushes'.⁶⁸ While not linked to *Rising*, this camp at Swanley, Kent is the only one to have been named with any degree of specificity as to time and place where 'paramilitary' training allegedly took place. Despite the determined efforts of *Searchlight* photographers at the *Rising* seminars they were aware of, no concrete evidence of arms and/or explosives training there has never been produced.

All the above would be merely an allegation to set alongside all the others made above, with the same tag, 'not proven', but for one thing. In October 1988, during the 'Disciples of Chaos' TV programme made for Channel 4, with which *Searchlight* were intimately associated, the allegations about Swanley that had first appeared in *Searchlight* were repeated.⁶⁹ As a helicopter hovered above the location, the programme narrator stated that 'training in

the politics of revolution began in October 1983 at this farm at Swanley, Kent. Some of the Front's first cadres were shown how to mount night-ambushes, and shown how to strip and then reassemble hand-guns.... The courses were run by Graham Gilmore, a former South African mercenary'.⁷⁰

George Nye was not very pleased at this allegation. He ran a riding-school on this property, and lost custom as well as reputation, purportedly leading to the school's closure. He therefore sued Channel Four Television, and secured a fulsome apology: 'Channel Four Television now accept that in fact Mr Nye has not allowed his land to have been used for such revolutionary or violent activity..... They have agreed to pay him a substantial sum by way of damages and to indemnify him as to his legal costs... C4 TV now acknowledges that there was no truth whatever in the allegation implied against Mr Nye in the programme, and wishes to apologise for having ever made it'.⁷¹

Searchlight magazine did not feel it necessary to cover the story, nor did the national press as far as I can tell. The only reference I've come across to it is in *The Flag* newspaper, which stated that Nye received £30,000 damages from Channel 4 plus an earlier £10,000 from a Kent newspaper.⁷²

Although two other named camps were mentioned in the programme, Suffolk 1986 and Offa's Dyke 1988, no paramilitary aspects to such camps were mentioned.⁷³ The sole allegation of paramilitary training cannot be substantiated. I am not saying there were no paramilitary training camps anywhere: the ideology espoused by some in the NF in recent times would make that a distinct possibility. But no such proof has yet been published by *Searchlight* – or anybody else.

Notes

1. While since my last article I have come across more reliable documentation than hitherto concerning the activities of Column 88, and specific individual instances of fascist preparation for violence, they do not add up to enough to cause a change in my cautious conclusions then.
2. September, not July as I mistakenly stated in *Lobster* 23.
3. Ed Moloney, 'British Nazi Group Links up with UVF/TARA', 21 February 1980, and Michael Maguire 'The Loyalists and the Neo-Nazi Connection', 31 July 1980. See also Andrew Drummond's article in *News of the World* 6 July 1980 on that year's annual Dixmuide Rally. In *Lobster* 23 I referred to Dixmuide to as a neo-Nazi rally. In fact Dixmuide is a Flemish Nationalist festival to which many neo-Nazis flock, not quite

Feedback

Mark Taha (see *Lobster* 21, p. 25) wrote. 'As someone who never joined any of the groups Larry O'Hara deals with [*Lobster* 23] but has attended their meetings, reads their publications, once nearly joined, and describes himself as a Libertarian Conservative Nationalist, (sic!) I read his article with interest. I noticed a few errors.

On page 15 he describes Lesley Wooler as a member of the 62 Group; Martin Walker describes him as a "former member of Mosley's Union Movement". On page 16 – Martin Webster first attacked the League of St George months before the National Party was set up. His *Spearhead* article regarding the police was published either in March or April of 1978. And while the British Movement probably had about 3,000 members at its peak in 1981, it had nothing like that when the renamed British Nationalist and Socialist Movement was disbanded in 1983. Many of them do seem to have joined the BNP; how much of the BM's decline was due to Ray Hill's activities is a matter for speculation. I remember, at a meeting addressed by Sir Ronald Bell (the MP whose views best reflected mine) in October 1981, a young blonde woman saying that she was in both the New National Front (later the BNP) and the British Movement. My guess would be that the BM's members simply found John Tyndall a more credible *Fuhrer* than Mike McLaughlin and that many young BMers simply dropped out of politics.

Also, Larry O'Hara left out another breakaway group, Anthony Read-Herbert's British Democratic Party, founded around Christmas 1979 and which collapsed after a *World in Action* expose in July 1981. And the magazine *Forewarned* was never published in Birmingham but from a box number in south London; its editor lives in Greenwich.

the same.

4. Maguire p. 10. Brady denies both allegations, and I have not yet seen the film of the event.
5. Cathy Johnson, 'The NF and the Ulster Connection', *Fortnight*, (Belfast) 7 July 1986, p. 8. Robert Hamilton Edwards, a Nazi cartoonist who, on his own account, left the League's ruling council in late 1979 [around the time of Brady's appointment as ILO therefore] suggested that he, Edwards, had 'been privy to secret plans to hit Jewish targets in this country with guns and bombs'. *Op. cit.* No details were given of personnel, locations of arms dumps, bombs, or anything else. Edwards' credibility as a witness was somewhat dissipated by his later conviction for publishing anti-semitic cartoons worthy of Julius Streicher in a publication entitled *The Stormer*.
6. This would seem to indicate such contacts by the UDA had not been substantial (or at least widely-known) before then.
7. Steve Bruce, *The Red Hand*, Oxford University Press, 1992 p. 152. Bruce is right to pour scorn on the wildly exaggerated version of Brady's career purveyed by Cathy Johnson, but he does so sloppily, e.g. by repeating without investigation the assertion that Brady is a Catholic, and has claimed UVF membership. His account of VMO-UVF connections also conflates two separate meetings, and to dismiss NF influence in Northern Ireland because of David Kerr's poor result in a 1987 by-election is similarly sloppy, given that elections were of little strategic interest for the 'political soldier' NF.
8. *Searchlight* April 1992, p. 6.
9. The gun-running allegation needs no further mention as there has not been even a half-serious attempt to substantiate it. But see for example *Searchlight*, April 1986, p. 4 which refers to Leslie Vaughan and Steve Brady 'trying to amass weapons to send to Ulster' – but gives no details. Obviously other NF members have been involved in such matters, but here I am concerned with Brady.
10. Relations between the UVF and the UDA have been somewhat fractious in the past, to say the least. Joint membership sounds unlikely, not to say dangerous. In any case, no evidence has been offered for this claim.
11. Letter reproduced in *Searchlight*, May 1983 p. 3, and April 1992 p. 6. None of these people were killed as it happened.
12. *Searchlight*, April 1992, p. 6.
13. The use made of this text is interesting. Thus, whereas in 1983 it was taken to merely indicate 'close knowledge of UVF violence', by 1992 it showed his 'links' to the Death Squads. Even more startlingly, it was apparently written, on *Searchlight's* own declaration, to two different people. So, in 1983 it was merely written to 'another fascist'; but by 1992 the same letter was described as having been written to Andy Tyrie! Brady says it was written to a girlfriend.
14. *The Other Face of Terror*, p. 207. Interestingly, Edwards isn't cited in Hill's book as a source of information on the League's capabilities, having been 'tainted' by the above-mentioned *The Stormer* episode.
15. See for example Vol. 1 no. 27 of *League Review*, 1979, which contained an article advocating a United Ireland by 'Robert Hamilton' entitled 'The Divided Nation' pp. 11-15. This in itself might not have been so significant, except for the fact that between printing and distribution a disclaimer which had said 'The contents of this article are purely a stimulus to debate, and are emphatically not to be regarded as reflecting the views of the League.... It is a personal opinion... the League itself has no policy on Ireland/Ulster' (p. 14) was overlaid by a garish black decoration, beneath which the words were (are) still visible. This is a clear indication that the League did have a *de facto* policy on Ireland, or at least the editor (then Mike Griffin) did, even though a dissenting view was later published. An added twist is the fact that the author of the disclaimed disclaimer was.... Steve Brady.
16. Brady interview, 1 March 1992.
17. *Ibid*
18. The December 1979 edition of *National Vanguard* featured a letter entitled 'British Hoaxocaust' from 'SB' of London, England, casting aspersions on 'Jew whines about pogroms etc.', very close to a photograph of Brady selling *National Vanguard* near the Houses of Parliament (pp. 8 and 15). This was followed up by a long article in May 1980 under his full name called 'Report from a British Teacher' which disclosed that at a 'recent march in Brighton... [skinheads] bought more than 250 copies of *National Vanguard*' (p. 4). In light of the allegations about Brady, it is striking that his membership of National Alliance has not, to my knowledge, been referred to in print in opposition circles before.
19. Interview 1 March 1992.
20. *Searchlight*, October 1986 p. 4. The original Brady article is 'All Power to the Branches' in *Vanguard* 1, August 1986 pp. 4-5. A casual glance at the actual Flag NF 'Constitution of the National Front' 1990, shows how laughable *Searchlight's* interpretation was as a piece of serious analysis.
21. See 'Radicals v Revolutionaries', *Vanguard*, 4 December 1986, pp. 8-9; 'State Repression – is it inevitable?' in *Vanguard* 5, January 1987, pp. 8-9; and 'Beating Repression' in *Vanguard* 6 Feb. 1987, pp. 14-15.
22. See 'Mapping out the Nationalist Road to Power' in *Vanguard* 14, November 1987, pp. 10-11, and also 'The Sixty Seat Campaign' in *Vanguard* 31, July-September 1990 pp. 8-9.
23. Following the demise in 1990 of the Official NF, the Flag seems to be following them underground at some speed, but that is more likely to be slipping into the grave than any planned policy!
24. Pp. 5-6 He also referred to the Turkish Grey Wolves, 'whose main activity appears to be killing communists' (p. 7).
25. *Searchlight* April 1992, p. 6.
26. Had he been a member of the UVF, as is alleged, that would have surely deserved a mention, or called for a more direct personal approach. Incidentally, had the 'Viking Group' mentioned by Michael Maguire in *Hibernia* (see note 3 above) two months later actually existed, then one might think this would have deserved a mention in the letter.
27. *Searchlight* May 1983, p. 4.
28. Bruce *op. cit.* p. 141.
29. Two out of the three photos in it were from *Searchlight's* May 1983 article, and sections are copied word for word, including Spinnewijn's comments.
30. April 1992, p. 6.

31. The fact that depending on the particular story-line being pursued UDA and/or UVF membership is attributed to Brady makes me somewhat sceptical of information imparted by such sources. Thus, in *Searchlight* for August 1981 Brady was apparently a 'UVF activist and gun-runner' (p. 3). A year later, in August 1982, *Searchlight* made no mention of his being a member of either organisation, when it would surely have been most germane while talking about a letter to the UDA. Nine months later, in May 1983 (p. 3), he had suffered temporary demotion, merely having 'boasted in the past of his UVF connections'. By issue 130 in April 1986 (p. 4), Brady had been reinstated, and generously granted retrospective membership of the UVF going back to the mid-seventies, but was 'now a member of the UDA'. Not to be outdone, Johnson in her *Searchlight*-inspired *Fortnight* article of July that year (p. 8) had him claiming 'joint membership'. In April 1992 the dice was given another shake, and the May 1983 article was retrospectively upgraded, now cited as having referred to two of his 'fellow members in the UVF' (p. 4). All this makes me eagerly wait the next instalment, when according to *Searchlight*, Brady's connections with the paramilitaries 'which still exists... [will be fully exposed]' (p. 4).

Brady also denies the *Searchlight* assertion that he was 'born a Catholic' (p. 4). According to him, his father's family in Ireland were pro-British Irish Catholics. His grandfather had fought in World War One in as an Irish Guardsman, and served in the Royal Irish Constabulary (later the RUC) from 1919-22, being wounded in a gun-battle with the IRA in 1919. Brady's father was an RAF Lancaster tail-gunner in World War Two, and had renounced Catholicism at the age of 16. Brady himself was born into the Anglican faith in Altrincham in July 1955. Therefore he has never been a Catholic, something confirmed by his past membership of Loyal Orange Lodge 1691 (Thames Valley), the same Lodge that Nick Griffin and Joe Pearce have belonged to. For it is just not possible to join the Orange Lodge if your birth certificate shows you to have been born a Catholic.

32. Whatever my/others opinions about the politics of Northern Ireland, it is a fact that the UDA/UVF (like Sinn Féin/IRA) represent a significant section of 'activist' opinion within their base community. Therefore, that Brady, a Northern Ireland Protestant, should express sympathy for the UDA is totally unsurprising. To link someone to paramilitary activity in an operational sense, more is needed.

33. Interview 1 March 1992.

34. We know from Colin Wallace's evidence that such a document haul would be thoroughly analysed by the state intelligence forces for potential psy-ops use. It would not take genius to work out that a copy of the letter would be used by *Searchlight*. Had *Searchlight* a genuine 'infiltrator' in the UDA – something they have never claimed – then more solid and reliable information would have been forthcoming from them, one would think. Tyrie himself, in a *Sunday World* (Belfast) article of July 1 1984 is reported (though not quoted) as saying 'that the NF had at one time suggested having some of the more extreme members trained in military tactics in Northern Ireland by the UDA as a form of NF stormtroopers, but had got short shrift'. Unfortunately, no date is given for this request. Tyrie went on to say some highly uncomplimentary things about the NF, distancing his organisation from 'neo-Nazism', and stating 'we don't need the NF'.

35. *Sussex Front* 11, July 1981, p. 4.

36. For non U.K. readers, the Notting Hill Carnival is the largest Black street festival in Europe.

37. These doubts did not arise until I read Hill's own book *The Other Face of Terror* (Grafton, London, 1988), (hereafter OFOT), co-written by *Time Out* journalist and *Searchlight* associate Andrew Bell.

38. *Searchlight* May 1984, p. 11

39. This was chronicled by *Searchlight* in 1981 when they tape-recorded a phone conversation of him boasting about armed squads ready to intervene in riots. He was later to call repeatedly for the far right to build up its own paramilitary army.

40. People who knew him at the time have suggested to me that after a few drinks, just such a boast, accompanied by a profusion of expletives and racist comments was the type of thing Malski might be expected to come out with.

41. *Searchlight* May 1984, p. 11.

42. Or for that matter from the UDA/UVF, if you accept the logic of *Searchlight's* version of Brady's career examined above.

43. *Searchlight* May 1984, p. 12.

44. *Searchlight* August 1981, p. 3.

45. *Searchlight* June 1983, p. 3.

46. *Searchlight* August 1981, p. 3.

47. *Searchlight* June 1984, p. 10.

48. This development, on Hill's account, occurred via his involvement, and the other two 'safe-housing' possibilities Hill speaks of – for the American J.B. Stoner and Marc Frederiksen of FANE – did not come about.

49. Brady interview 1 March 1992.

50. It now appears that the bombing was the work of the Italian secret state. See my review of Philip Willan's *Puppet Masters* in *Lobster* 23. In a way, the question of whether or not the Italians contacted Brady, Hancock (whoever) prior to entry into the U.K. is irrelevant. Even if they did only stay at Brady's place for one night, both he and the League aided people who were definite political fugitives. Brady contends that he believed and trusted these people when they proclaimed their innocence, and that at the time the escapees (and general listening on the grapevine) told him everyone on the Italian far right was being targetted in a blanket measure, irrespective of any guilt, merely for membership of fascist groups. In that situation, they had fled for their lives and were now asking for help.

In February 1980, article 270 of the Italian Criminal Code made it a crime to join, promote, constitute, organise or direct an association seeking to subvert the democratic order by violent means, punishable with a prison sentence of between 4-15 years. See chapter 7 of Leonard Weinberg and William Lee Eubank *The Rise and Fall of Italian Terrorism* (Westview Press, Colorado, U.S.A. 1987) on this. What was crucial about this legislation is that from then on, direct involvement in illegal acts did not have to be proved for the person (or whole group) to be suppressed. Thus, merely publishing an inflammatory far right or far left magazine would be enough. For an insight into how the same legislation was used to attack leftists see *The Italian Inquisition* (Red Notes, London, 1983).

51. Interview 1 March 1992

52. If so, Hill's failure to recognise him speaks volumes about the paucity of *Searchlight's* intelligence network. See OFOT pp. 186-7.

53. See Thomas Sheehan, 'Italy: Terror on the Right' in *New York Review of Books*, 22 January, 1981.

54. This is not to say such evidence does not exist, merely it was not forthcoming. Alesso Alibrandi was later shot dead by police in Rome. On Alibrandi OFOT p. 186.

55. Quoted by Aldo Amiagi in a submission to the Commission on Racism and Fascism in Europe, 10 December 1985, Annexe 4, published by the European Parliament.

56. As to the charges against Fiore, having no Italian contacts and distrusting greatly the scant British press reports of the matter, I still have an open mind, and would be grateful for any information readers of *Lobster* can supply on this important matter.

57. *Times* 19 February 1983 and *Sunday Times* 20 February 1983.

58. The Red Army Faction denounced the 'attacks on ordinary GIs (which) had been aimed at making left-wingers appear to be to blame and at confusing issues on the police wanted list'. *Die Zeit* (Hamburg) 28 January, 1983. The careers of the Hepp, Kexel and Tilman are covered in Bruce Hoffman's *Right-Wing Terrorism in West Germany*, RAND Paper 7270, Santa Monica, California, October 1986.

59. U.K. readers may recall that this was the moment when CND had just been given a great boost by the government's own 'Protect and Survive' leaflet, full of helpful advice such as sellotaping the windows and hiding beneath the bed in the event of Armageddon.

60. See *Candour*, February-March 1982, p. 22.

61. In 1983 Webster admitted Souter-Clarence had been a member, until 1977, leaving 'saying we were too democratic'. *Daily Mirror* 22 February 1983.

62. *Daily Mirror* 21 February 1983.

63. *Daily Mirror* 22 February 1983.

64. *Rising* 1, 1982, pp. 3 and 6 The philosophical and political ramifications of this 'political soldier' ideology are myriad, as were the influences feeding into the concept, principally the Italian Count Julius Evola (who criticised Mussolini from the right), the Rumanian fascist Corneliu Codreanu, and the German SS.

65. For the NF's public version of events see N. Griffin, 'Training for Power' in *Nationalism Today* 31, July 1985, pp. 8-9.

66. N Griffin hints at the desirability of this in 'Confrontation Politics in France' in *Nationalism Today*, August 1983, p. 14. One participant (who would prefer anonymity) has suggested that this preparation included how to make petrol bombs.

67. See 'Action on Academy' in *Candour*, February 1983 pp. 9-10, and the whimsical piece by 'Loki' in *Scorpion*, issue 7, Summer 1984, p. 36.

68. *Searchlight* April 1984, p. 3.

69. As they put it in the 1989 *Searchlight* pamphlet *From Ballots to Bombs*, 'a *Searchlight* journalist was to be a producer for the programme and through him the programme gained access to our extensive files on the far right. We also agreed that under very stringent conditions, we would make available information coming from our own people operating under deep cover inside the NF.' P. 4.

70. Interestingly, Souter-Clarence's alleged attendance, mentioned in 1984 reports, was left out here.

71. Queen's Bench Division, High Court of Justice ref. no 1989-N-No. 282 8 November 1991.

72. Issue 61, January 1992 p. 3. Irregular Flag NF publication.

73. All this is apart from the unspecified and timeless assertion of UDA-NF camps in Ireland.

Cold war, disinformation war

In the 1980s the Second Cold War was fought partly by disinformation. The U.S. ran the 'KGB terror network' story, through Clare Sterling, with help from the Israelis, messers Crozier and Moss and others, and then the KGB-shot-the-Pope story. Against that the Soviet Union ran the story (with several variants) that AIDS was a U.S. biological warfare experiment gone wrong.

A minor spin-off from this disinformation war was the magazine *Counterpoint*, based in England and then in the United States. Self-styled 'Monthly report on Soviet active measures' (see *Lobster* 22, p. 23), *Counterpoint* was U.S. propaganda lightly dressed as analysis of Soviet propaganda; and after being spotted in Canterbury and written up in the now defunct *Digger* it moved to the United States and became *New Counterpoint*. (I don't know for a fact that the relocation was connected to exposure in *Digger*.)

Chalk up another little land mark in the post Cold War world: *New Counterpoint* has been wound up. At Volume 7 number 2 it ceased: its producers - Soviet defector Levchenko and former USIA official Herbert Romerstein - announced that they were too busy trying to make sense of the information flood from the former Soviet bloc to continue. This last issue carried an interesting article translated from a Finnish newspaper on the death throes of the Soviet Union's World Peace Council network.

(And no, I have not received a reply from Mr Romerstein to my piece in *Lobster* 22 about his absurd analysis of *Lobster* as part of the Soviet disinformation network.)

And then there was Ari Ben-Menashe and his tales of murky dealings at the clandestine cross-roads. Mr Ben-Menashe has a book, *Profits of War*, published in the U.S and Australia, for example, but not here, because of certain sections of it which contain allegations about the business affairs of Mark Thatcher. (See Richard Norton-Taylor in the *Guardian* October 8 1992) The story in outline has been hinted at often enough: Thatcher *files* uses mumsy's name to open doors and make a pile of money. Many journalists in this country have tried to stand the 'Mark Thatcher millions' story up, and they have all failed so far. *Lobster* could run those sections of the book - they have been reproduced in a House of Commons Early Day Motion and thus legitimised - but I have a problem with Mr Ben-Menashe. A number of people in the U.S., Peter Dale Scott for example, and David McMichael, whose opinions I take seriously, do not trust him. Ben-Menashe illustrates a peculiar modern problem.

These days, when the state sees a story like the October Surprise (or the Wallace/Holroyd allegations) beginning to be taken seriously, it will launch disinformation and disinformation

agents to muddy the pool and discredit the story and/or any genuine sources. It happened in the Garrison inquiry, as Gordon Nove, for one, has admitted. It happened with Wallace and Holroyd, for example when Professor Paul Wilkinson tried to noble Channel Four TV's investigation into Wallace's allegations (see *Lobster* 16), and a couple of years later when an ex-Army prisoner contacted Holroyd and Wallace with a very striking story of state murder and cover-up. Eventually the story didn't check out and they concluded that it had been an attempt to get them to endorse a false story and be discredited when it fell apart on them.

Mr Ben-Menashe might be one of those and he might not be. To all intents and purposes it appears to be impossible to tell.

La Penca disinformation

In her book *In Search of the Assassin* (Bloomsbury, London, 1991), the journalist Susan Morgan describes one very striking example of disinformation. Morgan was one of those injured at the La Penca bombing and the book is an account of her search for the person who planted the bomb.

'One of the most widely circulated reports had the bombing carried out by Basque ETA terrorists on behalf of the Sandinistas. Curiously the reports were based on leaks - phone-calls to major newspapers in Washington and the U.S. from Intelligence sources, including the State Department's Office of Public Diplomacy'.

The latter is a kind of updated IRD, and 'public diplomacy' is a 1980s euphemism for disinformation and psychological warfare. Morgan found that 'The same story was also being pushed by what the Pentagon correspondent of the U.S. television network ABC called "reliable CIA sources".'

Few disinformation stories can be traced back to their sources, but in this instance Morgan got close. The former *contra* leader, Edgar Chamorro, told her that just before the bombing 'he had been handed a number of posters by CIA sponsors and ordered to display them. They bore the letters ETA and a gun superimposed on a map of Central America.' Chamorro said 'At the time I didn't understand the purpose of the posters.... but then, after allegations that Basques were responsible for La Penca, I put two and two together and realised that the posters were part of a propaganda campaign to provide a legitimate "background" to the Basque terrorist theory.'

RR

Elite syncopations

A-Albionic, discussed elsewhere in this issue, is one of the sources of copies of Carroll Quigley's book *Tragedy and Hope* which revealed for the first time the ramifications of the Round Table group. (On which see, for example, 'The Rhodes-Milner Group' in *Lobster* 13.) A-A's Lloyd Miller wrote to me pointing out that Bill Clinton had been at Georgetown University where his tutor and mentor had been Carroll Quigley; that on leaving Georgetown Clinton went off to Oxford University as a Rhodes Scholar; and that Clinton referred to Quigley in his acceptance speech to the Democratic Party convention. Holy moley! Clinton makes pitch for conspiracy buff vote? Birchers in hog heaven!

As Daniel Brandt points out in his essay in this issue, Clinton had been at a Bilderberg meeting in 1991, is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Trilateral Commission, and had been endorsed in the *New York Times* by David Rockefeller no less. Southern Democrat governor with east coast elite connections? Yes, its Jimmy Carter 2.

On the same trail, of considerable interest is Richard Cockett's *David Astor and The Observer* (Andre Deutsch, London 1991). The first two chapters contain a good deal of information about the Round Table network up to WW2. Astor's father Waldorf had been one of the early members of the network and Philip Kerr (Lord Lothian) became the first in a long line of father figures the poor Nancy Astor-afflicted David Astor was attracted to. (Many of the others were employed at the *Observer*.) Crockett tells us that Astor was rejected by MI6. Even if this is true the *Observer's* staff list since the war under Astor contains a number people suspected of serving secretly in Her Majesty's Secret Service. It would hardly be a surprise to discover at some point that MI6 had a hand in funding the *Observer* in the post-war years.

The *Sunday Telegraph* (26 July 1992) announced that for the first time the Rhodes Scholarship scheme will apply to Europeans, not just to inhabitants of the erstwhile British empire, Germany and the United States. They have picked eight so far. The story also announced that 'To give Rhodes Scholarships to students from European countries, the trustees are drawing on a special reserve fund.' This wouldn't be a fund called HMG, would it?

The current trustees of the Rhodes Scholarship scheme are Sir Richard Southwood, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University; Duncan Stewart, Principal of Lady Margaret Hall; John Roberts, Warden of Merton College; Mary Moore, former Principal of St Hilda's College; Lord Ashburton, chair of BP; Lord Sainsbury; Lord Armstrong, former Cabinet Secretary; and William Waldegrave, Conservative MP, former junior Foreign Office Minister.

Unclassified

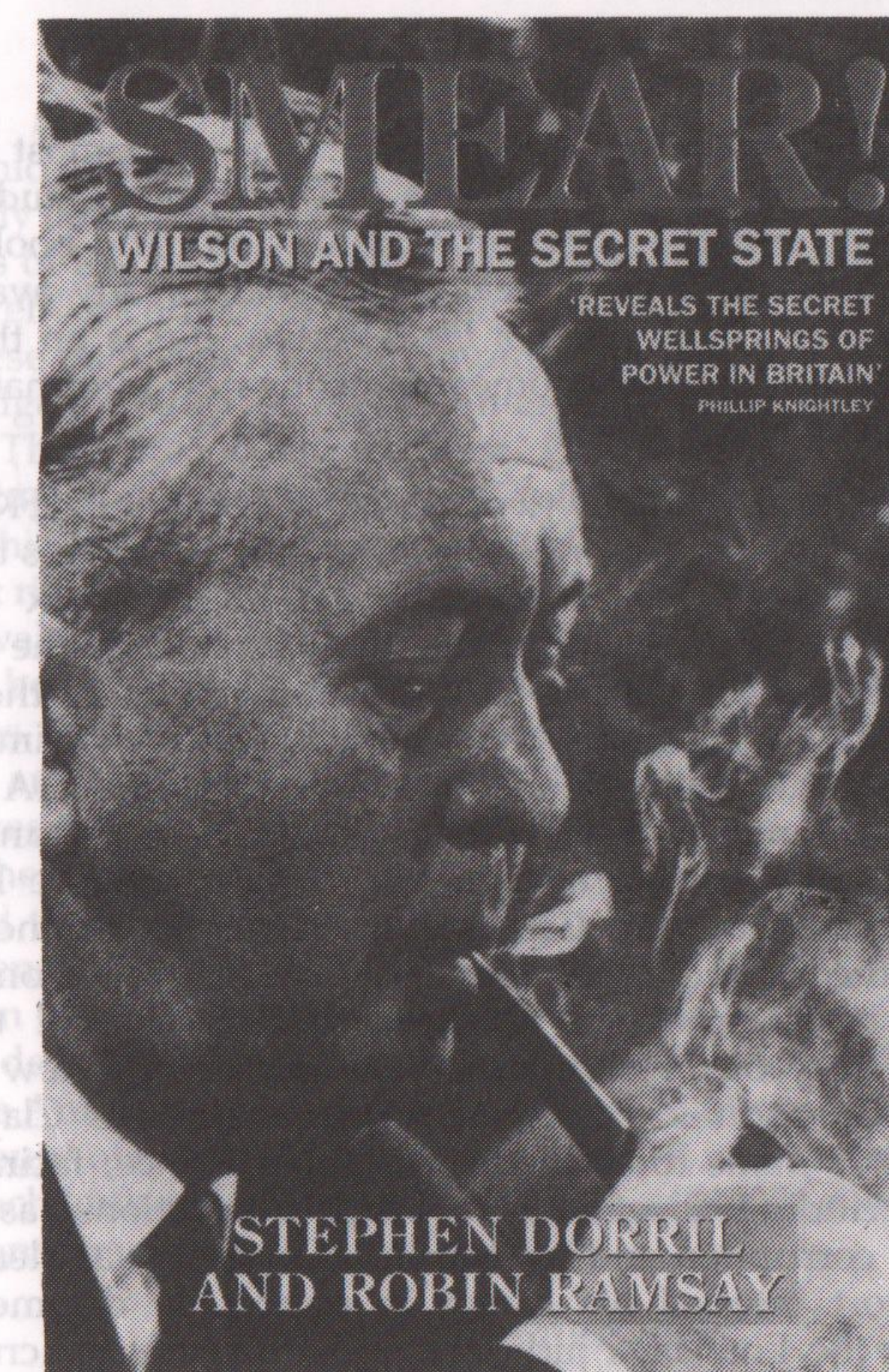
Unclassified is a magazine/newsletter run by and for the radical end (sic) of the former U.S. foreign service and spook world. It is edited by David McMichael, who quit the CIA in the mid 1980s over the distortion of the intelligence process forced on the Agency by the U.S. administration's demands that the 'facts' be subservient to the policy goals of the war against Nicaragua. I have seen a couple of issues and, while exclusively concerned with the United States, *Unclassified* is extremely impressive. The May and July 1992 issues, for example, are 24 pages with updates on Iran-contra, the October Surprise, Inslaw, Noriega, 'Iraqgate' etc. Subscriptions terms are \$20 (minimum donation) for six issues in the U.S., \$25 outside the U.S.. Money to Verne Lyon, 921 Pleasant St, Des Moines, IA 50309, USA.

On the October Surprise story there is a very good piece by Jane Hunter (editor of *Israeli Foreign Report*) on the way *Newsweek* and *New Republic* have handled - i.e. tried to suppress and discredit - the Surprise story. 'October Surprise: Debunking the Debunkers' is in *Extra!*, June '92. In the October/November issue there is a very good piece by her about the American journalist Steve Emerson, a spook asset in the U.S. media. Presumably for legal reasons Hunter doesn't say this but her drift is obvious enough. *Extra!* is the journal of FAIR (Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting) at 130 West 25th Street, New York, NY 1001.

SMEAR!

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G.K. Young, Unison etc

As I write, issue 2 of *Open Eye* has yet to appear. When it does it will contain an extremely interesting memoir of George Kennedy Young by Peter Cadogan. A stalwart of the British radical Left for about 40 years, Cadogan makes a curious companion for Young, as Cadogan acknowledges. But in 1974, when Young was machinating with his Unison Committee for Action, he was friends with Cadogan and let Cadogan in on his operations. In most details the account from Cadogan's 1974 diary tallies with the version of Young in *Smear!* chapter 34. Nice to know we got it right.

Interesting to note, however, that Cadogan does not explain why he did not inform the world of Young's anti-democratic activities at the time.

Books

The Gospel according to Saint Jim

Destiny Betrayed: JFK, Cuba and the Garrison Case

James DiEugenio
Sheridan Square Press, New York, 1992

Scott Newton

The JFK industry continues to flourish. One of its most recent as well as more interesting products is DiEugenio's study of the assassination and the Garrison Commission. The book has its flaws and recycles a good deal of material already available in Garrison's own *On the Trail of the Assassins*, but is on the whole well researched, produces some interesting new information, and is highly plausible.

There are fundamentally two schools of thought in JFK studies. One, represented for example by David Scheim, blames the Mafia for the killing.¹ The other, embodied in the work of Lane, Garrison and Summers (admittedly their versions of the story are rather different) fingers the CIA.² DiEugenio backs the second group. Briefly, he maintains that Kennedy was the victim of a plot hatched in the Western Hemisphere division of the CIA. Here, a group of hardened cold warriors and anti-Castro Cuban emigres took pre-emptive action against the President before he could implement detente with Castro and reform the Agency in the wake of the Bay of Pigs disaster. The Warren Commission attempted to conceal this treasonous coup behind the lone gunman theory but the truth was smoked out by New Orleans D.A. Jim Garrison in his abortive prosecution of Clay Shaw. Garrison was made to suffer for his impertinence, facing media smears (including allegations of Mafia connections) as well as charges of corruption and tax evasion. Garrison was cleared and after a short interval his career in public life resumed, with election to the Louisiana judiciary. Most recently his crusade to uncover the truth behind the Kennedy assassination has attracted world-wide attention and fresh support as a result of Oliver Stone's *JFK*. Like Stone, DiEugenio takes the view that Garrison is a heroic figure, fighting almost alone for democracy, liberalism and open government in a country lurching towards fascism.

Many assassination buffs will have problems with the hagiographical tone of DiEugenio's book. Descriptions of both Kennedy and Garrison suffer from this. Kennedy's implication in plots to overthrow Castro after the Bay of Pigs (such as Operation MONGOOSE, run by Ed Lansdale) via a vastly expanded CIA station at Miami, JM/WAVE, under Theodore Shackley, is glossed over far too rapidly.³ The President is depicted as a milk and water liberal even though both he and his brother Bobby were known for staunch anti-communism. At the same time Garrison is seen as a determined enemy of Mob racketeering in New Orleans, although accusations of connections to Mafia bosses have dogged him for years.⁴ While many of these may well be politically motivated it is naive to assume that a successful New Orleans politician, whatever his (or her) personal inclinations and beliefs, is going to have no Mafia contacts at all. Yet this appears to be what DiEugenio wants us to believe. DiEugenio is also too soft on Garrison's handling of the trial, transformed into a veritable *rodomontade* by the D.A.'s claims that he had solved the mystery and counter-allegations that witnesses were subject to truth drugs and hypnosis, as well as by one amazing blunder which effectively sunk the whole case.

This blunder concerned one Charles Spiesel, who was exposed in court as a high octane fantasist and paranoiac. Yet Spiesel was produced as a key witness and claimed to have been present with Clay Shaw and the aviator and low-grade CIA agent David Ferrie at a meeting whose main topic of conversation was how to murder the President. Why wasn't Spiesel checked more thoroughly? What did this fiasco say about the possible quality (or lack of it) of Garrison's other witnesses?

All the same this book carries us some way forward. Garrison

believed Clay Shaw was the key to the Kennedy murder. Other writers have dismissed this as absurd. For Summers, Shaw was just a 'local businessman'.⁵ To Scheim, Shaw was merely a 'soft spoken liberal who devoted most of his time to restoring homes in the old French quarter and writing plays'.⁶ It is now clear however that Garrison was correct about Shaw's biography after all. DiEugenio produces more than enough evidence to confirm first, that Shaw did indeed use the alias Bertrand, second, that he knew Oswald, and third, that he was a significant CIA asset.⁷

Clay Shaw, CMC and Permindex

Shaw's intelligence connections appear to go back to World War Two. In any event a CIA document declassified in 1977 confirmed that Shaw had worked with the Agency from at the latest 1949, using his globe-trotting commercial role as head of International Trade Mart in New Orleans as cover. Working at the interface between commerce and intelligence, Shaw was appointed during the 1950s to the boards of two shadowy enterprises: Permindex and Centro Mondiale Commerciale (CMC). Freedom of Information searches and investigative journalism produced evidence that both Permindex and CMC were penetrated by the CIA and probably used for bank rolling both operations and anti-Communist organisations overseas, especially in Europe. DiEugenio goes a step further and suggests that both could be linked to the 'Gladio' network set up in post-war Europe by local fascists, anti-Communists, and U.S. intelligence.

That Garrison was correct about Shaw's biography gives credibility to the charge that it was Shaw, using his alias Bertrand, who asked New Orleans attorney Dean Andrews to defend Oswald after the assassination. DiEugenio has done his homework and argues convincingly enough that Oswald and Shaw were part of a network which drew together Guy Banister,

Destiny Betrayed: JFK, Cuba, and the Garrison Case By James DiEugenio Introduction by Zachary Sklar

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Sheridan Square Press

145 West 4th Street

New York, NY 10012

David Ferrie, Jack Ruby, anti-Castro forces (mainly Cuban emigres and the Mafia) and the CIA.

The mystery of Oswald

Of course the existence of such a network does not prove that it was responsible for the killing of the President. Yet the links are suggestive. Why pick on Oswald, who may well not have shot at anybody on 22 November? What exactly had been Oswald's relationship with CIA agent George de Mohrenschildt, a wealthy Dallas anti-communist who had made his fortune in the oil exploration business and who had taken a paternal interest in the younger man's career? Why did Shaw try to organise Oswald's legal defence, using a false name in the process? Why did Ruby shoot Oswald (strange given that the two men were seen talking quite amiably together only a fortnight earlier)?⁸ Why was the U.S. Acting Attorney General Katzenbach determined, immediately after Ruby had murdered Oswald, to secure the conviction of the latter for assassinating Kennedy *even though no evidence had been collected to support the charge*?⁹ Why the charade of Oswald's visit to the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City, which we now know to have been made by a double?¹⁰ Why did CIA Director Richard Helms demonstrate such a close interest in the Shaw trial?¹¹

Framing Oswald

It looks as if very considerable efforts were being made to set up Oswald well in advance of the assassination. His front of Marxism, his association with embittered Cubans, his eccentric appearances leafletting on behalf of Castro, all point to a very public framing exercise. How much did Oswald know about this? Was he indeed one of the conspirators, but a loose cannon who could be conveniently pushed overboard? Or was he in fact an FBI penetration agent? This suggestion should not be ignored. Threats to Kennedy's life had been uttered by all kinds of strange groups and it would have been the FBI's task to monitor them. On his return from the USSR Oswald was probably enrolled into the COINTELPRO programme. Texas Attorney General Waggoner Carr even provided the Warren Commission with Oswald's FBI employee number and monthly salary.¹² It seems reasonable to speculate that the FBI heard of a conspiracy to kill the President centering ultra-rightist elements in New Orleans, possibly using Mafia contract killers.¹³ So Oswald is infiltrated into the group, to inform on them and, presumably, to sabotage the plot. However Oswald's cover is blown and he ends up in the best possible position for the conspirators: accused of committing the crime he was supposed to have prevented, and dead.¹⁴

And Vietnam?

DiEugenio does not go this far and one of the merits of the book is a willingness to stay close to the evidence rather than speculate too freely. He does not pursue the line taken by Garrison himself in *On the Trail of the Assassins* and pursued in Stone's *JFK*, namely that Kennedy's determination to withdraw from Vietnam was the final nail in his coffin since the military industrial complex was appalled by the prospect of lost multi-billion dollar defence contracts. This piece of *post hoc ergo propter hoc* reasoning was always the weakest part of the Garrison-Stone thesis. Nobody could have foreseen in 1963 just how massive an operation Vietnam was to become within only three years. Even the early 'hawks' in the State Department and the Pentagon assumed that south-east Asia could be controlled relatively easily and cheaply.¹⁵

However, a more sophisticated version of this argument can be made – and it opens up some interesting questions. There is pretty good evidence to show that Kennedy had decided to pull the U.S. 'advisers' (and there were nearly 16,000 of them by November 1963) out of Vietnam, leaving Diem to sort out the south's relationship with the north Vietnamese.¹⁶ It looks even more likely that at the time of his death the President had decided to mend fences with Castro. His relations with Khrushchev were improving: an era of detente was in the wind, presaged by the Test Ban Treaty.¹⁷ So while Kennedy may have started his Presidency as a cold war liberal whose outlook resembled that of Alden Pyle in *The Quiet American*, the Bay of Pigs humiliation and the Cuban Missile Crisis put him on a sharp learning curve. At the

end of his life he was talking of the need to build a world 'safe for diversity'. A willingness to encourage the disintegration of the one-dimensional political certainties of the cold war would not have endeared Kennedy to the defence-intelligence establishment. Since 1945 a generation of men had built careers, had invested ideological world-views as well as billions of dollars in the struggle to save the 'free world'. Now their Commander in Chief was coming round to the view that the game wasn't worth the candle. It is not difficult to see how some of the more robust and ruthless cold warriors may have felt that in these circumstances tyrannicide was acceptable.

De Gaulle too?

These are not fanciful reflections. One of the merits of DiEugenio's book, and, it must be said, Garrison's brave if erratically conducted quest, is that it can be used as a key to open up areas of the cold war which have been hidden from view. It is fairly well documented that the CIA assassinated the radical Congolese politician Patrice Lumumba, in 1961. It is also common knowledge that the CIA made numerous attempts to murder Fidel Castro. There are, to say the least, CIA fingerprints all over the JFK killing. But what about de Gaulle? There were many plots against his life, most of them organised by the OAS, the super-patriotic right wing secret army set up by dissident French officers in the wake of the Algerian crisis. At first blush there does not seem to be much to connect the OAS and the CIA. But DiEugenio produces evidence of a link. In 1961 David Ferrie and Gordon Novel, an admitted CIA agent, had stolen arms from an explosives bunker in Houma, near New Orleans. These weapons made their way to Guy Banister's office, whence they were returned to the CIA, having been lent to the OAS.¹⁸ More than this, French intelligence discovered that in 1962 about \$200,000 had been secretly deposited in Permindex accounts held with the Banque de la Credit Internationale, and that a contact of Banister's from the Anti-Communist League of the Caribbean had taken just this amount of money to the OAS in Paris. It is not surprising that the French authorities suspected the CIA of backing at least some of the conspiracies against de Gaulle.¹⁹

The Schroder network

A very interesting network can be built from these connections. Permindex was established by Ferenc Nagy, former Hungarian Prime Minister, at the end of 1956. His financial supporters were right-wing bankers Hans Seligman and George Mandel, both of whom had been compromised by links with the Nazis during the war. Further, Nagy admitted in public that he had the backing of J. Henry Schroder, of New York. The German end of Schroder's had thrown a lifeline to the Nazis when they faced bankruptcy in 1930. Allen Dulles, CIA Director 1953-1961 (when he was sacked by Kennedy after the Bay of Pigs), had banked with Schroder's of New York when dealing with Germany for his law firm Sullivan and Cromwell in the 1930s. As CIA Director he set up a contingency fund of \$50m – held by Schroder's.²⁰

We seem to have come a long way from Dallas, Texas, on 22 November 1963. But there is a network of CIA associations with Permindex, CMC, Schroder's and the OAS which cannot be ignored. We now know a fair amount about the connections of the CIA – of which Gladio is but one manifestation – with political movements, banks and intelligence organisations throughout the postwar era from Italy in 1947 to the 'October surprise' and the Iran-Contra affair.²¹ It seems reasonable to argue that the Kennedy assassination provides us with another glimpse of these agencies, born of the cold war, whose political agenda excluded for the best part of two generations any deviation from militant anti-Communism and permitted only limited forays into social democracy. Mossadegh and Lumumba were CIA victims. At this distance, on the basis of the material in this book, Kennedy looks like one, too. Can the same be said for Willi Brandt and Aldo Moro, and even for the Wilson-Callaghan governments in Britain?²² Was de Gaulle another target, put in the frame as a result of his anti-Atlanticism and flirtation with neutralism both in Europe and in the third world? DiEugenio has shed a little more light on what is still largely the covert postwar history both of America and Europe.

Notes

1. David E. Scheim, *The Mafia Killed President Kennedy* (London: W. H. Allen, 1988)

2. Jim Garrison, *On the Trail of the Assassins* (London: Penguin, 1992); Mark Lane, *Plausible Denial* (London: Plexus, 1992); Anthony Summers, *Conspiracy* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1980), and 'Who Killed JFK? The unstoned version', in *The Independent*, 15 February, 1992.
3. Even DiEugenio admits that that the JM/WAVE annual budget was \$500m. (*Destiny Betrayed*, p. 21)
4. See Scheim, *The Mafia Killed President Kennedy*. However, much of the evidence that is quoted against Garrison is hearsay and one charge of racketeering was brought by Pershing Gervais, a former member of Garrison's staff who later admitted that he had been pressured and bribed to do this. See DiEugenio, *Destiny Betrayed*, pp. 268-69, and Carl Oglesby, 'Is the Mafia theory a valid alternative?', the afterword to Garrison, *On the Trail*, p. 302.
5. Summers, 'Who Killed JFK?'
6. Scheim, *The Mafia Killed President Kennedy*, p. 47.
7. DiEugenio, *Destiny Betrayed*, p. 374, footnotes 63 and 64.
8. 'The Men who killed Kennedy', Viewpoint 88, Central Television (U.K.), 22 November 1988.
9. *Ibid*
10. DiEugenio, *Destiny Betrayed*, pp. 260-66; admission by CIA's David Attlee Phillips that the Mexico City 'Oswald' was a fake cited by Robin Ramsay in a review of Mark Lane's *Plausible Denial*, in *Lobster* 23, p. 35, June 1992.
11. DiEugenio, *Destiny Betrayed*, p. 222.
12. *Ibid*. p. 116.
13. The theory that the men who killed JFK were Mafiosi must be distinguished from the thesis that the whole operation was inspired, organised and executed by the Mob. Stephen Dorril pointed out in 'Heritage of Stone; JFK and JFK', *Lobster* 23, pp. 11-12, June 1992, that 'there is not a shred of evidence to support this argument'. See also Carl Oglesby, 'Is the Mafia theory a valid alternative?'
14. If this hypothesis, tentatively supported by Garrison in *On the Trail* (pp. 223-27), is accurate the next question is, to whom was Oswald reporting and why did his contacts apparently do nothing?
15. See David Halberstam, *The Best and the Brightest* (London: Pan, 1974). Garrison

- makes the Vietnam connection in *On the Trail*, pp. 293ff, albeit in a rather less strident way than Stone.
16. Peter Dale Scott, 'The Death of Kennedy, Vietnam, and Cuba', pp. 359-83, in Peter Dale Scott, Paul L. Hoch and Russell Stetler, *Assassinations: Dallas and Beyond – A Guide to Cover-ups and Investigations* (London: Penguin, 1978).
17. DiEugenio, *Destiny Betrayed*, p. 253; Summers, 'Who Killed JFK?'
18. DiEugenio, *Destiny Betrayed*, p. 212. The explosives dump from which the munitions were taken was owned by the Schlumberger Corporation, a company (one of whose directors, Jean De Menil, was on the board of Permindex) which conducted world-wide geological surveys. The Schlumberger Corporation was a supporter of the OAS. (See Garrison, p. 40).
19. DiEugenio, *Destiny Betrayed*, p. 213.
20. Nagy, Seligman, Mandel and of course Shaw comprised the board of CMC, whose headquarters were in Rome until driven to South Africa by a hostile press campaign. It should be said that Schroder's denied their connections with Permindex.
21. See Jeffrey M. Bale, 'Right-wing Terrorists and the Extraparliamentary Left in Post-War Two Europe: Collusion or Manipulation?', *Lobster* 18, pp. 1-18, October 1989; and Philip Wilan, *Puppet Masters: the political use of terrorism in Italy* (London: Constable, 1991).
22. This is not to offer the simplistic argument that the CIA was to blame every time that political misfortune overtook left-wing European or for that matter Latin American governments. Incompetence, international economic turbulence and of course domestic resistance from right-wing forces all played a part, separately and together. But there is irrefutable evidence for CIA collusion with the internal opponents of reformist governments which have not shared the world-view of the Pentagon in the two generations since the start of the cold war. Willan's *Puppet Masters* shows this process at work in post-war Italy, while the role of J. J. Angleton in fomenting right-wing discontent with the Wilson governments points to a CIA connection with the plots to destabilise the 1964-70 and 1974-79 Labour administrations (see Peter Wright, *Spycatcher: the Candid Autobiography of a Senior Intelligence Officer*, New York: Viking Penguin, 1987; and Stephen Dorril and Robin Ramsay, *Smear! Wilson and the Secret State*, London: Fourth Estate, 1991). In view of the economic and strategic importance to the USA of Latin America and western Europe anything else would have been surprising.

The Big Boys' Rules

Big Boys Rules The Secret Struggle against the IRA

Mark Urban
Faber and Faber, London, 1992, £14.99

The Red Hand Protestant Paramilitaries in Northern Ireland

Steve Bruce
Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1992: £7.99

In recent months there has been the remarkable sight of the weight of the British state descending upon Channel 4 TV and the production company Box in retaliation for the Box/Channel 4 programme alleging military and intelligence collaboration between the British state and the Protestant paramilitaries in Northern Ireland. (See *The Independent* 29 July 1992 for an account, including reports of break-ins and threats.)

Denial of this collaboration is now the last redoubt still being defended by the British state. Almost anything else will be admitted but not that. But since the Ulster Defence Association have spent the last couple of years fly-posting Belfast with photocopied police and intelligence files on the IRA, and we have learned that the UDA's 'intelligence officer' in the 1980s, Brian Nelson, was an Army Intelligence agent, this is a pretty stupid line to defend. Nonetheless this line is at the heart of both of the Bruce and Urban books.

Urban is an interesting figure. A sometime full-time soldier, now with the BBC, Urban affects not to be just the traditional defence correspondent, dependent on the droppings of the MOD press office. He notes in this book that while he was entitled to non-attributable briefings from the MOD, he chose not to have them while writing it. While non-attributable briefings are hardly a secret, the well-behaved media servant of the British state doesn't generally mention them.

In the first and best section of the book, Urban takes as his starting point that a nation state can only legally declare war on another nation state. Hence the refusal of the British state to accept the description of IRA prisoners as 'prisoners of war': there is no war, only terrorism or crime. Hence also the difficulties involved in killing IRA/INLA personnel, at its most acute in the many ambushes carried out by the SAS and other special units in Northern Ireland (and Gibraltar). Without a state of war, setting

an ambush is just a conspiracy to murder. No declaration of war means killings are legally problematic unless certain special circumstances pertain. Hence, finally, the endless, laughable courtroom accounts – usually at inquests – from soldier 'A' *et al* of how the dead IRA or INLA suspect 'moved his hand aggressively', 'seemed to be going for a gun' *etc etc*.

On the first page of the preface Urban gives us 'contest' (twice), 'conflict' and 'struggle' – but not 'war'. (Look at the subtitle of his book.) Surveying the work of the SAS and other special units he acknowledges that they have been ambushing and murdering the IRA. What he refuses to acknowledge is the Protestant-state collaboration in such killing. While Urban simply omits James Millar and rejects without discussion the claims of Albert Baker, it is not possible to ignore Fred Holroyd. Having quoted endlessly off the record military and intelligence sources who support the state's 'line', Urban declined to talk to Holroyd, the only British Army officer to date from that 'war' willing to be interviewed on the record. Instead he quotes Martin Dillon who 'finds Holroyd an unreliable witness'. But Dillon didn't talk to Holroyd either, while writing his book *The Dirty War* from which Urban took the quotation.

Hedging his bets as expertly as the MOD answering an inquisitive Labour MP, Urban concludes that his 'own research has not produced any evidence to support the claim that the security forces colluded with loyalist death squads in *any planned or systematic way*'. (Emphasis added.) What precisely does 'planned or systematic' mean? This is pretty poor and it gets worse when he dismisses Holroyd, Baker and Colin Wallace because they have 'something to gain' by making their allegations. The state (and its employees), we are apparently supposed to think, do not. This is insulting.

Red-handed

Just how difficult the 'no collaboration' line is to defend was illustrated by Colin Wallace in a long review of Steve Bruce's book in the *London Review of Books* of 8 October 1992 (pp. 18-19). In it he ran through the major items of evidence against this 'line': the testimony of Fred Holroyd; the testimony of Albert Baker (Wallace recalled 'the serious concern some of my colleagues at Army Headquarters in Lisburn and I felt in 1973 following the confession made by [Baker] who had operated as part of what was

known as the UDA's No 1 Assassination Team'); and the role of James Miller, the mid-1970s version of Brian Nelson. Take a bow MI5, for penetrating the UDA completely, twice getting an agent into the role of UDA 'intelligence officer'.

Bruce, a Professor of Sociology at the University of Aberdeen, who had previously worked for over a decade at Queen's University, Belfast, cautions the reader on p. 5 of his introduction 'that this account... is still often little more than plausible speculation'. Unfortunately this very proper uncertainty is applied selectively. There are some things he is quite certain about, chiefly – if unsurprisingly – that those who have alleged state-Protestant paramilitary collaboration are wrong. Yes, Holroyd, Wallace and Baker, the crew that got rubbished in Urban, get it again from Bruce.

There are now three substantial non-republican accounts of the 'war', by Urban, Bruce and Martin Dillon. All three are based on anonymous sources: Urban's chiefly on British military and intelligence sources, Dillon and Bruce on sources within the paramilitary organisations; all three reject or dismiss the allegations of Wallace, Baker and Holroyd; and all three declined to talk to the readily available Wallace or Holroyd while writing their books. (Baker is harder to get at, in prison.)

Bruce's hostility towards Holroyd (and Wallace) is so irrational as to seriously undermine the status of the rest of his book. He writes (p. 203) 'In the circumstance of claim and counter-claim, assessment of the evidence will hinge on our measure of the character of the witnesses'. This being so, he concludes that there must be doubts in Fred's case – without ever meeting him – more doubts, apparently, than he feels about the testimony of his anonymous Protestant paramilitaries. The word of terrorists before an Army officer? This is a pretty eccentric decision on any terms.

Of Holroyd he writes (p. 203) 'his entirely uncorroborated evidence is that of a man who has a very large axe to grind'. This is a gem. In the first place, Fred's allegations are not 'entirely uncorroborated'. Right at the beginning of the story Duncan Campbell of the *New Statesman* checked out much of it. In the second place, since Fred's book was published, to my knowledge not a line of it has been refuted. And in the third place is it not ludicrous for a man writing a book about the actions of (mostly anonymous) Protestant paramilitaries to imply that Fred is in any way unusual in having 'a very large axe to grind'? The sound of axes being ground is deafening in all three books.

Martin Dillon has his uses. On his say-so Urban dismisses Holroyd and Bruce dismisses Albert Baker. (pp. 211/2) Bruce gives a long quote from Dillon explaining how Baker's allegations went from prison, out to the Provos, thence to Ken Livingstone and finally back to Baker again when Livingstone interviewed him in prison. So, argues Bruce (after Dillon), Ken Livingstone confirmed to Baker his own allegations. Nice theory, which Dillon (or Bruce) would have discovered to be false by ringing any of the people involved. In fact Ken Livingstone got onto Baker through his researcher at the time, Neil Grant, who was put on to Baker by a member of the Birmingham 6 campaign as a possible source – not on Protestant-state collaboration – but on the Kincora Boys Home story on which Grant was working at the time. This account of

International Labour and the Origins of the Cold War

Denis MacShane
Clarendon Press, Oxford, £37.50

The origins of the Cold War in Europe has been a major battle ground now for nearly 40 years. The first version of the story, written while the Cold War was still going on and produced as part of the ideological struggle, was a simple folk tale of evil Joe Stalin stopped by the forces of American (sorry: NATO) Democracy and Freedom. This was being unpicked almost as soon as it was circulated, and was seriously challenged in the late sixties and early seventies by left-leaning historians who had begun to re-examine the Cold War (and U.S. imperialism) through the lense of Vietnam. This revision was followed by two further shifts in the English-language literature. The first was a straightforward post-revisionist synthesis; the second was a re-examination of the period from the point of view of the non-U.S.

Dillon's is simply a fiction.

Bruce's animus against Wallace and Holroyd is bizarre. Despite having read Paul Foot's book on Wallace, on p. 70 he states that Wallace 'seems' – seems! – 'to have worked on intelligence matters and "black propaganda" ', and then provides an inaccurate account of the Ulster Citizens Army (UCA) story. (On which see my piece in *Lobster* 14). Bruce has problems with the UCA. In his glossary of Protestant groupings at the beginning of the book he describes the UCA as 'a completely fictitious left-wing loyalist paramilitary organization invented by British intelligence'. By p. 71 he has changed his mind and says 'the British Army may not have been the inventor of the UCA.' In fact, as the Information Policy briefing on the UCA reproduced in *Lobster* 14 showed, the UCA was quite definitely not the invention of 'British intelligence'. It just looks like one.

His use of the term 'British intelligence' is revealing. Only those still ignorant of the spook dimension to recent history use that expression. Knowledge entails disaggregation. Bruce's index includes a reference to a tiny Scottish Protestant group, the Young Cowdenbeath Volunteers, but no reference to MI5, MI6, the RUC Special Branch or Information Policy.

It's not that the book isn't interesting – it is. Like Dillon's and Urban's it contains many interesting bits and pieces, some of which may even be true. But since virtually all the sources are anonymous, mostly we can't tell. And the British state's forces, especially its clandestine forces, are almost completely missing from Bruce's account.

How important are the spooks in this story? How can we tell? In the end the IRA is still there – so they are not all powerful. Finer discrimination than that? In 1987 James Miller, sometime UDA 'intelligence officer', told Barry Penrose that MI5 told him to encourage the UDA to call what became the 1974 UWC strike. (Penrose telephoned a rather startled MI5 officer who was Miller's 'handler'. He took an informative beat or two to work out who Penrose was.) But it seems certain to me that there would have been a UWC strike anyway. Miller's testimony tells us more about MI5's ambitions and political inclinations than it does about the UWC strike. But no matter what political, causal weight you attribute to the spooks in Northern Ireland, they ought to be in there somewhere.

In the end Bruce's determination to exculpate the state's forces gets silly. Looking at the record of the Ulster Defence Regiment, he points out (p. 222) that in the 19 years of its existence 'only 23 [members] have been convicted of murder or manslaughter.... [and] the record of the UDR is exemplary when set against that of armies and police forces in Latin America.'

23 members of one regiment convicted? So how many not convicted but guilty? The figures are there: the UDR's record was appalling. It was the sectarian outfit the republicans said it was. That's why it got disbanded. But hell, why stop with Guatemala and Argentina? Why not add Stalin, or Hitler? Compared to the SS, it is true, the UDR was exemplary in its conduct.

He really does this, I kid you not. A Professor, too.

RR

participants, especially Britain. (This process seems to be connected to the waning of American power and influence in 1970s.)

With the break-up of the Soviet empire and the ludicrous capitalist triumphalism accompanying it there was bound to be a further re-working of the period. McShane's expanded doctoral thesis is the first such I have come across.

The left revisionist received wisdom on this period is something like this (the *Doonesbury* version). To avoid a return to a slump in the U.S. and the political dangers that implied, its ruling elite had to maintain war-time levels of production. To do this meant massive expansion of the U.S. sphere of economic influence (or: their informal empire). Cue, notably, the Marshall Plan: Europe rebuilds with American money, buying American goods, employing the American urban masses. But the loans have American strings. Cue the 'regulators' – good old Irving Brown *et al* – a regiment of CIA agents and Labour Attaches to fund and

steer the anti socialist wing of the European labour movement in the name of 'the communist threat'. This left revisionist thesis, specifically the wide-spread belief on the European Left that the shape of post-war unionism in Europe was largely down to the machinations of American agents like Irving Brown, is McShane's target. But he intends his narrow focus on the struggle within the international trade union movement to stand for the wider events.

Against the revisionist thesis MacShane argues that the 'Cold War was not external to the trade union movement but grew from existing political divisions that resurfaced as soon as the fighting stopped in 1945.... the evolution of French and German trade unionism after 1945 is based mainly on national traditions and politics.... The anticommunism of labour leaders in 1945 did not emerge from malignant, right-wing personalities but was based on a quarter of a century of disappointed observation of the Soviet experiment.....(and) deep suspicions of Russian splitting tactics the 1920s and 1930s.' (pp. 179, 281, 285/6)

'Malignant right-wing personalities?' No matter: the thesis is undoubtedly plausible. It is *almost* certain that the Soviet concept of trade unions as arms of the Soviet state, and the capitalist unions of the 'west' would have shattered the international trade union movement's fragile post-war accord eventually. But not quite certain, unfortunately. It remains the case that the World Federation of Trade Unions was wrecked by Anglo-American machinations rather than Stalinist obduracy.

MacShane's thesis is based on extremely wide research. In his preface the author lists 7 trade union archives and 4 university libraries – in four countries – that he has consulted; his secondary sources are in English, French and German. Though this is undeniably impressive, here and there are I had odd flickers of doubt in the generally convincing picture. In the first place, he facilitates his thesis by concentrating on the pre 1948 period. Had he extended it even a year it would have been much less convincing, for by then the spread of U.S. personnel and money around the European labour scene was better organised and funded.

Then there is the way he handles the break-up of the biggest French union, the CGT. The conventional version – on both Right and Left – is that Irving Brown and American dollars persuaded part of the anti-communist faction of the union to quit and start a break-away: standard union-splitting tactics, no doubt well

known to U.S. labor veterans like Brown. But while acknowledging that 'The American embassy was an open house for elements of every political hue in the [big French union] CGT', MacShane then tries to qualify this by informing us that 'the American embassy was fulfilling its professional role of trawling for information with no very clear idea of the exact balance of forces, or orientation inside the CGT.' (p. 272) In other words, it can't have been the U.S. which split the CGT because the paper record shows that the embassy staff were never sure of 'the exact balance of forces'. Depends, I guess, on what you mean by 'exact'.

Interesting, isn't it, that MacShane describes the American Embassy's meddling in the politics of French labor as merely 'fulfilling its professional responsibility'. Would he say that of the Soviet embassy of the period? Would he say that of the U.S. embassy in London of the period? How about in 1974? Further down the same road, he questions the actual influence of Irving Brown and the U.S. claiming that only \$25,000 has been identified by researchers in the period as going from the USA into the CGT dispute. Yes, but \$25,000 in one union in the war-ravaged 1940s would be at least 20 times that now; and there may be other monies better laundered.

Coming at the thing from the other end, he attempts to minimise the scale of the opposition in Europe to the Marshall Plan. He argues (pp. 267/8), for example, that the strikes called in France by the Communist Party in 1947 which are generally interpreted as being against the Marshall Plan, were actually basically about other, bread and butter issues, with the PCF piggy-backing its opposition to the Plan on these other parochial issues.

So, there wasn't really that much communist opposition to the Marshall Plan, the U.S. did much less by way of directing events in France than is generally believed, and while the World Federation of Trade Unions split, it was bound to split and the blame lies at the Soviet door.

It is an attractive thesis, a nice, new revisionist synthesis – and it might even be true. It's just that MacShane hasn't really adequately described the theses he is attacking: we get a line drawing rather than the painting. There is much more to the left-revisionist case than he acknowledges. But even though I can't quite shake the sense of being shown some sleight of hand here, this is an extremely interesting book.

RR

Cocaine Politics: Drugs, Armies and the CIA in Central America

Peter Dale Scott and Jonathan Marshall
University of California Press
Cambridge (UK) 1991, £8.95.

The basic rule of politics, domestic and international is that my enemy's enemy is my friend. That rule ensured that the CIA adopted as allies the opium growers of the Golden Triangle in the 1960s and 70s, and the heroin producing mujahadeen of Pakistan and Afghanistan in the 80s. The ostensible 'enemy' was communism in one guise or another. But if you look at the destruction wreaked on the American cities by the drug explosions caused by American foreign policy 'friends', the enemy also appears to have been the urban American poor, especially the black sections of it.

To the surprise of no-one who had read, say, Alfred McKoy's *The Politics of Heroin in South East Asia*, exactly the same thing happened, for exactly the same reasons, when the Reagan administration set about destroying the Sandinista regime. It was simplicity itself: planes flew from America carrying supplies for the CIA's *contra* army camped along the Nicaraguan border, and flew back to America carrying cocaine. The authors note in their preface to this second edition, 'Our conclusion remains that the first target of an effective drug strategy should be Washington itself, and specifically its own connections with corrupt, drug-linked forces in other parts of the world.'

The peculiar American twist to this sequence of events has been the accompanying noisy, utterly futile, 'wars' on drugs. As Edward Herman's book (reviewed in this issue) would have it, this is beyond hypocrisy. It's rather as if the Nazis had

simultaneously spent tens of million of pounds preaching racial tolerance and cultural diversity while stuffing the ovens.

Building on the courageous (but largely ignored) investigation by Senator John Kerry's terrorism and narcotics subcommittee into the *contra*-cocaine-CIA connections, the authors pile up layer after layer of further evidence of those links. The result is a dense, massively documented indictment of U.S. foreign policy. There is no comparable work being done in this country. For one of the paradoxes of the contemporary U.S is that alongside the mind-boggling corruption, stupidity and hypocrisy of its policies, there is a tradition of openness in its political culture which is unimaginable in this declining island. The point is this: Scott and Marshall have put together this incredible indictment from existing, published sources. Everything from Congressional inquiries to underground newspapers have been ransacked for the fragments which have been assembled into this wonderful piece of research.

RR

Information Wanted

Libel victim seeks information about the following subjects:

- Fred Bridgland, a journalist, of South Africa
- post 1987 South African disinformation in Britain and Ireland
- post 1987 allegations of ANC-IRA co-operation.

All replies will be acknowledged and useful material will be paid for. Write in confidence to 'Mr Fixit' c/o *Lobster*.

Beyond Hypocrisy: Decoding the news in an age of propaganda.

Edward S. Herman (with illustrations by Matt Wuerker)
South End Press, Boston, USA, 1992, \$13.00 (USA).

The passing of the Bush regime is a good time to pause and express thanks to one of those American writers who have tenaciously dug out the reality behind the business-sponsored counter-revolution that has largely formed the politics of the past decade. In that time, Ed Herman has scoured beneath the public relations veneer of U.S foreign policy and become, sometimes in partnership with Noam Chomsky, the scourge of its conventional wisdom. In the early Reagan years we had an expose of the 'Bulgarian plot to kill Pope John Paul II' – a critical event in the winding up of the Second Cold War – and more recently *The Terrorism Industry: the experts and institutions that shape our view of Terror*, written with Jerry O'Sullivan (for Pantheon Books, New York, 1990) an examination of the think-tanks, intelligence agents and assorted media manipulators who have attempted to develop 'terrorism' as a more cogent focus of political loyalty than the tattered remnants of its predecessor, the 'Soviet threat'.

Beyond Hypocrisy is a guide to the Orwellian world of reality control through which most of us come to 'understand' the world around us. In part it is an updated summary of Herman's previous analyses of the eighties, with the detailed references we have become used to. In part, in the book's *Doublespeak Dictionary*, it is a lively, provocative and punchily-illustrated guide to the language of our age, drawing on the material which precedes it, but which also stands alone as an incisive counter to the accepted nostrums of political reaction.

A few examples will give its polemical flavour:

Money: Something that does the job for National Defense, but which is 'not the answer' to educational and social problems; money is quietly appropriated for the former, it is futilely 'thrown at' the latter.

Moderate: In domestic politics, a spokesperson and representative of the National Interest, or of the consensus – or of sponsors of Political Action Committees. In reference to the Third World, a Leader.

The Occult Roots of Nazism

Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke
I.B.Tauris, London, 1992, £9.95.

In his last paragraph the author concludes: 'Books written about Nazi occultism between 1960 and 1975 were typically sensational and under-researched. A complete ignorance of the primary sources was common to most authors and inaccuracies and wild claims were repeated by each newcomer to the genre until an abundant literature existed, based on wholly spurious "facts" concerning the powerful Thule Society, the Nazi links with the East, and Hitler's occult initiation.' The chief target of this paragraph is presumably Pauwels and Bergier's *The Dawn of Magic (a.k.a. The Morning of the Magicians)*, which first appeared in this country in 1966 or 7 and blew the minds of thousands.

I remember vividly the blast I got from that book, my first introduction to the Fortean world. But what remains in my memory, fifteen years after I read it, are fragments about crank sciences which flourished – perhaps I should say allegedly flourished – under the Nazi regime: hollow earth, solid sky, ice and fire; foreign policy conducted by horoscope, troop deployment by dowsing over maps; and hints about strange links between the Nazis and the occult. I had never come across any of that before and it rang the bell. For the big puzzle about the Holocaust was explaining how people who lived in the same world as my parents, only a few hundred miles away, apparently post-Enlightenment Europeans, decided that it was a good idea to wipe out the Jews, gypsies, gays, communists *et al*. Then along came Pauwels and Bergier with the message: relax, do not adjust the set. The reason you can't understand the Nazis is they didn't live in the same world as you; that was the surface. And finally, with this fascinating research in the original German sources, we have a reliable guided tour through some of the weird shit inside some German minds. And, boy oh boy, weird it was.

Another Hitler : Last year's 'moderate', now threatening our interests.

Public diplomacy: The Reagan era name given to a large-scale government propaganda operation, which included massive disinformation and intimidation of the media, designed to manage public opinion. A part of this program was called Operation Truth.

Privatisation: Disposing of public sector assets at low prices and high sales commissions to powerful groups and individuals who generously supported the ruling party's last election campaign. It provides short-run cash windfalls to the government while weakening its power and its cash flows in the years to come. In the Third World, a means of making valuable assets available to First World creditors and investors at fire sale prices in a situation of virtual state bankruptcy.

I read *Beyond Hypocrisy* just after rereading Christopher Lasch's fine essay about the Congress for Cultural Freedom, written shortly after its CIA funding was exposed in 1967. * More than 20 years later, it still has much to commend it, including the following:

'The modern state, among other things, is an engine of propaganda, alternately manufacturing crises and claiming to be the only instrument which can effectively deal with them. This propaganda, in order to be successful, demands the cooperation of writers, teachers, and artists not as paid propagandists or state-centred time-servers but as "free" intellectuals capable of policing their own jurisdictions and of enforcing acceptable standards of responsibility within the various intellectual professions.'

Herman's latest work is useful because it not only gives us some historical and conceptual purchase on these unfolding 'crises', but provides us with words we can use to cut through and expose them.

John Booth

* Christopher Lasch: 'The Cultural Cold War: A Short History of the Congress for Cultural Freedom', in *Towards a New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History*, ed. Barton J. Bernstein (Vintage Books, New York, 1969)

For example there is the work of Jorg Lanz von Liebenfels, according to whom (p. 94) 'the chief pursuit of antiquity appeared to have been the rearing of love-pygmyes (*Buhlzwerge*) for deviant sexual pleasure. The prime purpose of the Old Testament had been to warn the chosen people (the Aryans!) against the consequences of this bestial idolatry..... Lanz finally interpreted the Passion as the attempted rape and perversion of Christ by pygmies urged on by the disciplines of the satanic bestial cults devoted to interbreeding.'

For example, there is Phillip Stauff (p. 132), whose 'esoteric treatise *Runenhauser [Rune Houses]* (1912) extended the Listian thesis of "armanist" relics with the claim that the ancient runic wisdom had been enshrined in the geometric configuration of beams in half-timbered houses throughout Germany.'

And so on through the Templars, Germanic Theosophy, Theozology, the Germanorden, the Thule Society, Ariosophy..... all the fools who followed the slimey trail left by late 19th century shysters like Madame Blavatsky and her disciples who cobbled together the nonsense which paved the way.

A wonderful piece of research and a fascinating read.

RR

Footnotes

Footnote enthusiasts will want a copy of a splendid polemic in their praise by Libertarian Alliance's Editorial Director (a title which I think means that he does all the keyboarding) Brian Micklethwait: *A Message to all would be Libertarian Alliance writers on the vital importance of supplying complete and completely accurate FOOTNOTES*. This was Tactical Note No 11. No price is stated but its 4 A4 pages plus postage, from Libertarian Alliance, 25 Chapter Chambers, Esterbrooke Street, London SW1 P41N.

The Dust Has Never Settled

Robin Bryans

Honeyford Press, 58 Argyle Road, London W13 8AA
£9.75.

I first came across Mr Bryans when, under his other pen name, Robert Harbinson, he became embroiled in the Kincora Boys Home aspect of the Colin Wallace affair in 1987 and 88. As Harbinson, he began including me on his distribution list for a series of 'open letters'. Though obviously highly libellous, the content of these letters was largely obscure to me – and to the other people I knew who were getting them – but they seemed to indicate that the author knew a good deal about a number of scandals connected to Northern Ireland, including the Kincora Boys Home. Unfortunately, precisely what he knew, and precisely what he was willing to say in public was never made clear. Eventually Harbinson/Bryans and I appeared on the same edition of the tv programme After Dark on which he was as gnomic and obscure as his letters. The last contact I had with him was in 1990 when I met a journalist who was supposed to be working with him on a book. He was toting round the country an enormous typewritten manuscript by Harbinson/Bryans which I had flipped through in about 10 minutes. This book, I guess, is

that manuscript – or its first cousin – finally in print.

This is 623 pages, jumbled, unedited (or badly edited), and frequently virtually incomprehensible; but it is also dotted with interesting fragments. It is supposed to be an autobiography, and it is in a way. But the directly autobiographical material is mostly obliterated by rambling, digressive accounts of feuding in the social circles that writer Harbinson/Bryans has lived in since the war. Since those circles included Anthony Blunt and an upper class Anglo-Irish homosexual mafia, this essentially private memoir has wider resonances. There are tid-bits in here on issues as diverse as Rudolf Hess in Britain, the peace plots of 1940, and black magic circles in South Wales (those three all linked together, incidentally); Blunt and Burgess; Labour Party politicians, war-time diplomacy and the sexual habits of Mrs Simpson and a great many others; the rise of Ian Paisley, Kincora and John McKeague etc. This is score settling on a grand scale.

Since most of this book concerns people I know nothing about my evaluation of it should be taken as tentative; but on first reading I suspect this is one of the great scurrilous memoirs of the age and I think you'd better buy a copy before it gets injunctioned and disappears.

RR

Previous Lobsters

NB Copies of issues 1–8 are not available.

Issues 17 onwards are type-set; previous issues have been produced on a variety of electronic key-boards.

9 Who's Who of British spooks, part 1; KAL 007; Watergate revisited – Jim Hougan's *Secret Agenda* reviewed; Trying to kill Nasser; Falklands conspiracy theories; Jonathan Bloch on the overseas repression business. 1985, 24 pages. [NB personnel listed in the Who's Who in this issue and in No 10 are included in the Special Issue, *Who's Who of the British Secret State*, listed below.]

10 Spooks Who's Who, part 2; Kitson, Kincora and Counter-insurgency; Anthony Summers and 'Maurice Bishop'; Jim Hougan on Frank Terpil and 'Deep Throat'; statement from Fred Holroyd on Northern Ireland, 'dirty tricks' and Colin Wallace. Early 1986, 24 pages. NB *This issue is now out of print and available only as a photocopy*

11 Wilson, MI5 and the rise of Thatcher – the start of the 'Wilson plots' story; the first attempt to understand and explain what Colin Wallace was saying. Published April 1986, before Peter Wright appeared on the scene. 56 pages.

12 Peter Dale Scott on Transnational Repression – the major previously unpublished essay by this American master; Notes On the British Right. 1986, 42 pages.

13 The Rhodes-Milner Group (Round Table); Two Sides of Ireland; Colin Wallace's 1974 notes on MI5's plots to smear British politicians; more jottings on the British Right. 1987, 24 pages.

14 U.S. involvement in the Fiji coup; Colin Wallace update – and the Ulster Citizens Army smear decoded; Irangate – the 'October surprise'; Martin Walker on Policing the Future. 1987, 46 pages.

15 Inside *Inside Intelligence* – Steve Dorril on Anthony Cavendish; *The Independent's* smearing of Wallace and Holroyd; Christic Institute on 22/11/63; the Tory Right between the wars – review essay; Fiji coup update; review essay on *Geheim*. 1987, 34 pages

16 Rothschild, the right, the far-right and the Fifth Man; death of Hilda Murrel; French Vendetta – from Rainbow Warrior to the Iranian hostages; KAL 007; Ken Livingstone's questions; Philby names names; overthrowing Gough Whitlam. 1988, 40 pages.

17 Five at Eye: Private Eye and the Wilson smears; Colin Wallace and Information Policy in fiction; disinformation and the new 'terrorist threat'; the London CIA station; Crozier, Goldsmith and the Pinay Circle; more anti-Labour forgeries; the death of Zia. 1988, 24 pages.

18 Jeffrey Bale's 'Right-wing Terrorists and the Extraparliamentary Left in Post-World War 2 Europe: Collusion of Manipulation?'; Covert Propaganda and the Right – more on the Pinay Circle; a Short History of the SAS in Northern Ireland; *Inside BOSS* and after – Gordon Winter. 1989, 36 pages.

19 The final testimony of George Kennedy Young; Common Cause: the CIA and the British trade unions; Supplement to spooks 'Who's Who'; Hugh Thomas on Fred Holroyd; Jeffrey Bale on Shooting the Pope; Disinformation; ELF; Obituaries of Michael Stewart, Stanley Mayne, Greville Wynne; Conspiracy theories reconsidered. 42 pages, 1990

20 Peter Dale Scott's 'The United States and the overthrow of Sukarno, 1965-67'; Clay Shaw's United Kingdom contacts analysed; Dean Andrew's testimony to the Warren Commission; Scott Newton's 'The Economic background to appeasement and the search for Anglo-German detente before and during World War 2'; an extract from Hugh Thomas' response to the 'Timewatch' hatchet job on his research about Hess; the text of David Calcutt QC's judgement on Colin Wallace's appearance before the Civil Service Appeal Board in 1975. 36 pages: 1990.

21 Jeffrey Bale's 'Heavenly Deceptions: the Moonies, WACL and the Korean CIA'; Colin Wallace on Chapman Pincher's version of Colin Wallace; Western Goals (UK) 28 pages: 1991.

22 The Fall of Willi Brandt; MI5 and the British fascists before WW2; A Who's Who of Appeasement; More British spooks spotted; ELF update. 24 pages: 1991.

23 Mind control and the American Government; U.S. Army Intelligence LSD testing; Stalker reconsidered; British Fascism 1974-83 Part 1; Bits and pieces on JFK and JFK; Timothy Good demolished; the British Parliamentary Lobby's rules circa 1969. 36 pages 1992

Special Issue A Who's Who of the British Secret State, compiled by Steve Dorril. 110 pages, 2000 (approx.) names and brief biographies.

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