

Appendix 1: ISC, FWF, IRD

The origins of the Institute for the Study of Conflict go back to the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF) which was set up in West Berlin in 1950 as the CIA's major cultural offensive during the cold war.¹ CCF is believed to have originated in the fertile mind of Frank Wisner of the Office of Policy Coordination (OPC) which later became the CIA's covert Directorate of Plans. OPC was responsible for starting the business of front companies and groups.² An international organisation of anti-communist intellectuals, CCF sponsored seminars, congresses, and funded a string of prestigious magazines and information services including:

Preuves Informations (Paris)

El Mundo en Espanol (in Spanish, from Paris)

Encounter and Forum Information Service (in English, from London)³

The groups round *Encounter* and the Forum Information Service, a low-level feature service, formed the centre of CCF activities in Britain. In 1965 the CIA decided to shift Forum to a new identity as a supposedly straightforward commercial firm, to be called Forum World Features. (FWF)

FWF was incorporated in Delaware (very popular for the formation of CIA front companies) in 1965 by Peter M. Gates, Haward Barrett Flanders Jr. and Thomas Richards Coolidge.⁴ Flanders and Coolidge worked for the New York (and Republican Party supporting) law firm of Carter, Ledyard and Milburn, in

¹ CCF was funded by two foundations, the Hoblitzelle and Fairfield foundations. They received their money in turn from the Tower Fund, Borden Trust, Beacon Fund, Price Fund, Heights Fund and Monroe Fundall CIA fronts. A CIA agent, Michael Josselson, ran the latter, as well as being executive director of CCF. Josselson was in OSS during WW2 and worked as a propagandist in post-war Germany. On Fairfield see Whittaker (1979).

² See Timothy Leary's recent autobiographical *Flashbacks* for a biography of Cord Meyer, apparently responsible for this area. Meyer was later CIA station chief in London. This was thought to be a demotion at the time but, on the other hand, might indicate the seriousness with which the CIA took events in Britain at the time – the early seventies.

³ Thomas Braden, former CIA executive, said in 1967 in an article in the *Saturday Evening Post* ("I'm glad the CIA is immoral"), after the first revelations of CIA involvement in CCF *et al* was revealed in *Ramparts* magazine, that the CIA had planted one full-time agent inside CCF and another on the board of *Encounter*. According to C. M. Woodhouse, *Encounter* was in fact jointly funded by the CIA and MI6 – the last time the agencies collaborated together in a close manner. (Woodhouse 1982) In 1964 Cecil King's Mirror Group assumed financial responsibility for *Encounter*. (International Herald Tribune, 10 May 1966)

⁴ Coolidge was 1974-75 President of the Diebold Group Inc., New York, whose founder was on the board of the US version of ISC – Washington ISC (WISC).

New York. Frank Wisner of OPC/CIA had worked there before he went into intelligence, as had Kermit Roosevelt's grandfather.⁵ (Kermit Roosevelt, who is perhaps best known for his role in the coup in Iran) went round America's largest corporations asking, "Are you patriotic?", raising money for the CIA front companies and securing the use of their trusts and foundations.⁶

Directors of Forum World Features were:

the late Samuel Culver Park Jr., Chairman of the Whitney Communications Corporation and a trustee of Whitney's charitable trust from which he resigned in 1974;

Walter Avery Kernan, attorney;

Thomas Coolidge, attorney;

Murray Mindlin – who was company secretary;⁷
and John Hay Whitney.

As company secretary, Mindlin was succeeded by Kenneth Eugene Donaldson (1965/66); John Tusa (now on BBC TV's Newsnight) (1967); and Chewn Jotikashira (1968).

John C Hunt was FWF Director (1965-66) and ran the Paris headquarters of the CCF as senior assistant to Michael Josselson, CCF's Executive Director.⁸

John Hay Whitney (who was married to a Roosevelt), had been ambassador to Great Britain 1956-61, and was Chair of the Whitney Communications Group – the New York *Herald Tribune*, *International Herald*

⁵ On Wisner, see Loftus (1983).

⁶ Freemantle (1984)

⁷ Mindlin was a shareholder of the original CCF-backed Forum Information Service. He moved to FWF as secretary in 1965. In 1966-67 he was editor of the magazine *Censorship* sponsored by the CCF. Later he became secretary of the British "Pall Mall Publications" which was then owned by Frederick Praeger in the U.S. (Praeger with extensive publishing links to CIA.) Publisher and front for a number of CIA books and publications, Pall Mall had originally started as a feature service connected to the British Liberals and the Liberal International. Pall Mall was started by Peter Calvocoressi (biography in *Lobster* 10), ex GCHQ. Also involved was Colin Legum, who turns up in the 1970s on the IRD distribution list. (See *Leveller* March 1978.) Calvocoressi was in the Royal Institute for International Affairs (1949-70) and the Institute for Strategic Studies (1961-71). Legum works for *The Observer* and is one of its authorities on Africa.

⁸ A full-time CIA official, Robert Gene Gately, served as corporate treasurer and vice president of FWF during the mid 1960s shift to commercial cover. Gately had come to London in 1965 to work for FWF's London HQ. He told his colleagues that he had worked for *Newsweek* in Asia, but veterans on that paper had no recollection of him. In 1975 Gately was serving as political officer in the American embassy in Bangkok. On the use of American journals/newspapers as cover for CIA see Carl Bernstein, CIA and the Media in *Rolling Stone*, October 20 1977

Tribune and the J. H. Whitney Foundation. In 1964-65 the CIA gave the foundation at least \$325,000.⁹

Whitney was Chair of FWF when it changed its name in 1969 to Kern House Enterprises. The majority of the voting shares were held by Edith R. Buckley (of *that* Buckley family?) and the solicitors used for the change, Thompson, Snell and Passmore, also set up the Institute for the Study of Conflict the following year, 1970.

According to a report to CIA Director Richard Helms in 1968:

"FWF Ltd. is an international news feature service located in London and is incorporated in Delaware whose overt aim is to provide, on a commercial basis, a comprehensive weekly service covering international affairs, economics, science and medicine, book reviews, and other subjects of a general nature. In its first two years FWF has provided the US with a significant means to counter communist propaganda and has become a respected feature service on the way to a position of prestige in the journalism world."

A hand-written note on the report added: "Run with the knowledge and co-operation of British intelligence."

Brian Crozier became President of FWF in February 1966. (He had known Whitney when Whitney was Ambassador to the UK.) FWF's managing editor was Iain Hamilton, previously editor of the *Spectator*. Hamilton went on to become the Institute for the Study of Conflict's director of studies.¹⁰

Supervised by the CIA station in the American Embassy in London, FWF sold its weekly package of features to newspapers all over the world. It employed a wide range of authors "many evidently channelled into the Forum orbit by other CIA units like *Encounter* and the Asia Foundation which the Agency used extensively in its work with Asian journalists." Most of their material was legitimate, building up FWF's credibility for the occasions when serious disinformation was pushed out.¹¹

Through Whitney and Kern House the CIA financed a small library and

⁹ *Time Out* 20 June 1975. The CIA memo had been uncovered by Granada TV's World In Action who were in Washington in April 1975 to do a programme on the CIA. Considered too hot to handle by World In Action's editor, the memo filtered down to *Time Out*. (See Steve Weissman, 'CIA, Students of Conflict', in *Embassy*, August 1976.)

¹⁰ *State Research* No 1.

¹¹ *Time Out* *ibid*.

research staff for FWF. In 1968 that became part of the "Current Affairs Research Services Centre" – Brian Crozier's idea – aimed at making greater use of FWF's existing intellectual resources. This centre began publishing a series of 'Conflict Papers' which were continued by, and formed the basis of, the Institute for the Study of Conflict's output.

The Whitney Trust (and, presumably, the CIA) weren't willing to support this new venture wholeheartedly, though they did pay for "a bit of time so that if you wish to seek alternative financial backing to enable the project to continue, possibly on a non-profit making basis, it will be available."¹² By January 1970 the idea had taken off and, as Crozier explained in a letter to the Foreign Office, he was trying to turn the research centre into a new "Institute for the Study of Conflict".¹³

At this time major changes were occurring in the Foreign Office's Information Research Department (IRD). IRD was set up in 1948, the brainchild of Christopher Mayhew (S.O.E. during WW2), a junior minister in the Labour Government. Its original aim had been to attack communism in Europe, the Middle East and Asia by the promotion of social democracy as a "third force". It was to have been an open organisation, balancing anti-communism with anti-capitalism to appease Labour backbenchers.¹⁴ This aim was never realised. IRD became secretive, another covert arm in the intelligence cold war, a propaganda unit which, like its war-time counterparts, used all the variants of propaganda – white, grey and black.

IRD had its own men in British embassies abroad, set up "front" organisations and played an intelligence role through its close relationship with MI6.¹⁵

¹³ *State Research ibid.*

¹⁴ IRD is said to have been financed by the "secret vote" but Pincher claims that it was largely financed by the CIA (Pincher 1978 p. 175). Pincher also describes IRD as "psychological warfare branch . . . to disseminate information and disinformation to undermine communism *in Britain* (emphasis added) and elsewhere and particularly to expose communist front organisations for what they are." (Pincher *ibid*) This is quite a long way from the view of IRD expressed by journalists like Fletcher and Leigh (see note 5 of main text), and it might be misinformation. But it is not far from the view of IRD implicit in this comment of Colin Wallace's: "MI5 believed that (attempts by the Labour Government to curtail or disband IRD) was a deliberate ploy . . . to remove the system's main anti- communist propaganda weapon. I believe, however, that the government discovered that IRD was, in fact, being used against themselves."

¹⁵ See note 5 in main text.

During WW2 the British intelligence services, principally the Special Operations Executive (SOE), set up a number of new agencies which served as propaganda agencies and as cover for agents. After the war these front agencies were picked up by MI6, reactivated, and a little later, reorganised into a large network run by MI6/IRD. These companies, particularly the Arab News Agency (ANA), also developed a close relationship with Reuters which was already receiving a "disguised subsidy" from the government. In 1954 ANA was appointed sole agent for the distribution of the Reuters Service in the Middle East, an area where Reuters had made little headway. Initially a fee of £28,000 per annum was agreed, but this would increase over the years.

This arrangement went on successfully until July 1969 when Gerald Long, Reuters' managing director, negotiated a new agreement with IRD personnel. Reuters was to assume direct trading in the Middle East, taking over some key ANA personnel, the principal offices in the region, and, most importantly, the teleprinter network which had been paid for by the British government. Reuters also received an undisclosed sum from the Foreign Office.

The head of ANA, Tom Little, who had done much to build up the agency, opposed the deal. Where Reuters had failed he had succeeded and he did not trust them to keep the whole network. Little took no part in the negotiations and resigned soon after, saying that ANA had got a very poor deal. All the IRD/MI6 front agencies now collapsed and wouldn't be revived until 1971, under the wing of "Seventh Nominees".¹⁶

Eventually IRD's star began to wane. It was cut down in 1964 and again in 1968, former employees say.¹⁷ The big cut came in 1971 when the Permanent Secretary at the Foreign Office, Sir Dennis Greenhill, pruned IRD heavily and changed its function. It became less exclusively anti-communist and more a wide-ranging covert propaganda arm of the British government – something which can hardly have gone down well with its more right-wing elements.¹⁸

The close links formed between ISC, right-wing journalists and IRD

¹⁶ The revived fronts were Africa Features – in Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana and Zambia – and World Feature Services.

¹⁷ *Guardian* 27 January 1978.

¹⁸ IRD set up a "counter subversion unit" to deal with the IRA. It published a manual on the IRA distributed to journalists and others, including ISC's Iain Hamilton. (*Guardian* 27 January 1978) Sections of the manual appeared in Barzilay (1973) (*Time Out* 14 October 1977). In volume 1 of the book there is a picture of Colin Wallace posing in front of a pile of arms "seized" by the Army. Wallace says these were mostly British Army weapons. (p. 119)

eventually led to IRD's closure: ISC's Crozier and Moss had been giving lectures on communism to new IRD personnel. Anthony Crosland (ironically, once a member of the *Encounter* group), was the first to attempt to close the department, insisting that the more notoriously right-wing journalists be removed from IRD's distribution list.¹⁹

In 1976 Sir Colin Crowe, the former High Commissioner to Canada, came out of retirement to conduct a secret inquiry into IRD's operations. He recommended that IRD's overseas offices be closed, individual operations, publications and distributions list be kept under close scrutiny and the Department's anti-communist terms of reference be re-written.²⁰ On April 30th 1977, David Owen, Crosland's successor as Foreign Secretary, closed the operation down. Only a small section named the Overseas Information Department, survived. It was later re-named the Information Department.²¹ Dr. Owen prefers not to discuss IRD. All he has said is that "it was closed down very gently over a period. It was in my time that the name was changed and certain sections were kept, but this was part of a fairly continuous change that had been going on from 1970 as far as I can gather."²²

Tom Little (see above) was one of those involved in the setting up of ISC. In early 1970 FWF took on a number of the journalists who had worked for Little in the intelligence-sponsored agencies in the Middle East and Africa. Practically all the key personnel at ISC were ex-IRD and most of the journalists involved had intelligence connections. As the *Leveller* noted: "IRD became the midwife of the ISC".²³

Seeking funding for ISC, Crozier wrote to the Foreign Office in January 1970. He actually wrote to a friend, Sir Peter Wilkinson, Chief of Administration

¹⁹ Leigh (1978) pp. 222-224.

²⁰ One of the 1976 changes suggested by Crowe was the shifting of the Counter Subversive fund to IRD control (Bloch and Fitzgerald 1983 p. 98). What the CS fund is, what size it is, and what it has been used for, we don't know. In one of his documents Colin Wallace refers to "projects funded by the Counter Subversive Fund", apparently referring to the covert funding of Civil Assistance, Unison and GB75.

²¹ Leigh (*ibid*).

²² Smith (1980). In that piece Smith makes the interesting point that IRD had close links with the BBC's external services. One of ISC's staff, Peter Janke came to ISC, via IRD, from BBC external services.

²³ *Leveller* no. 64 1981.

of the Diplomatic Service.²⁴ Wilkinson had been head of IRD and later became Co-ordinator of Security and Intelligence in the Cabinet Office. Wilkinson eventually found a retired Major General, F.A.H. Ling, to be ISC's fundraiser.²⁵ This official support of ISC was confirmed when ISC, only a month old, had its first registered offices at the Royal United Services Institute building in Whitehall. (ISC moved to Northumberland Avenue in 1973 and later to Golden Square.)²⁶

ISC was set up as a company (witnessed at Kern House) in April 1970, and as a charity in June 1970. Its original subscribers were: Brian Crozier, W. F. K. Thompson (died 1980), Professors Beloff, Schapiro and Miller. Fergus Ling was secretary. All these were on ISC's Council with John Hugh Adam-Watson (resigned March 1974) Geoffrey Fairburn (resigned 1975), Louis Le Bailley (who joined October 1975), Sir Edward Peck (joined October 1975) and Richard Clutterbuck (resigned December 1977).

It was always Crozier's intention that ISC receive no finance direct from the CIA, in fact should have no direct connection with that organisation or any other intelligence agency. (Money came through third parties whose intelligence links could be denied.) Besides the money made available to Ling as fund-raiser, money came from the following sources.

Kern House enterprises had already paid for the FWF library which was subsequently given free to ISC. FWF then paid ISC for the right to use the library which remained in FWF's office at Kern House. (In 1973 the structure of Kern House enterprises changed. In place of Whitney, Richard Mellon Scaife became Chair. He had inherited the vast fortune made by the Gulf Oil Corporation and the Mellon Bank.²⁷ Directors were Ross Daniel McMichael, Scaife's assistant; Lewis Thompson Preston, a banker with Morgan Guarantee Trust – in 1978 its President. (Preston was on the Council on Foreign Relations.)

Quentin B. Salzman of the Public Affairs Research Group in Washington, an organisation about which almost nothing is known, took 100 subscriptions a year for the Conflict Studies – worth about £15,000.

²⁴ *State Research* no. 1.

²⁵ Ling's salary at ISC was paid by Kern House until 1972.

²⁶ Director of RUSI at this time was Air Vice-Marshal Stuart Manual, later a member of ISC Council.

²⁷ When Kermit Roosevelt left the CIA he joined Gulf in a PR capacity as a trouble-shooter in the Middle East. It is clear that his intelligence role continued. (Eveland, 1980)

Various think tanks including (a) the Ford Foundation, which gave £20,000 over three years,²⁸ and (b) the NSIC. Minutes of the ISC Council meeting of 2 January 1972 noted that NSIC was covering the salary of a research assistant plus the advertising and printing costs of the ISC annual.²⁹ (c) Companies like Shell and BP gave considerable sums.³⁰ ISC also received help from Europe via The Pinay Circle. (See separate appendix note on The Pinay Circle after this appendix.)

Whitney (of FWF) hadn't apparently been very generous in the funding of ISC because other activities in the CIA's view were more important. Whitney wanted FWF to "confine (itself) solely to the book publishing effort. We are impressed with the book programme that you have begun and look forward hopefully to an expanding list of titles and authors."³¹

The second purpose of FWF (first was the news service) was to commission, promote and organise the publication of books by authors of whom FWF approved. Because of the covert nature of the operation the publishers were apparently unaware of the CIA connection. The publications were promoted throughout the world and provided an "international network of soft propaganda".

FWF started its operations in the publishing world in the 1960s through an arrangement with Secker and Warburg. This lasted until 1969 when, with three books published, it lapsed, mainly through poor sales. (one by Sir Robert Thompson sold only 1800 copies).

In 1971, through its managing director Iain Hamilton and Crozier, FWF revamped the book publishing operation. Negotiations were started with to publish books under the "World Realities" series begun with Secker and Warburg. Starting in February 1972, FWF saw to the selection of authors, commissioned the actual book and then sent a synopsis to the publishers. If they agreed to go ahead FWF handled all the negotiations with the author and

²⁸ Following the revelations of CIA funding of CCF, CCF was revamped as the International Association for Cultural Freedom, ICAF. ICAF was financed by Ford, as was *Encounter* which received \$50,000 via ICAF in 1972 to try and increase its sales in the US. Relations between Ford and the CIA have always been close: Richard Bissell, Helms' special assistant, Robert Kilen, John McCoy, Shep Stone and McGeorge Bundy all worked for both organisations. (On Ford's support of other institutions see Whittaker (1979).)

²⁹ Knight (1982) p. 176.

³⁰ Such companies were also financing British intelligence fronts like the Atlas Foundation and the Ariel Foundation at this time. On Ariel see Bloch and Fitzgerald pp. 151/2.

³¹ *Guardian* 20 December 1976.

oversaw the book down to the final draft.

The most famous of FWF's publishing ventures involved Robert Moss, Crozier's friend. In 1971 the book, *Chile's Marxist Experiment*, was first mooted by FWF while Allende was still in power. Moss was sent to Chile as the *Economist's* correspondent and soon made a name for himself as one of the most determined foreign journalist critics of the Allende government. (See biography of Moss for details.) In March 1972 Crozier informed David and Charles that Moss was just back from a special trip to Chile "in connection with his forthcoming 'World Realities' book".

The book was finally pushed out at the end of 1973 and, because the Allende government had fallen by then, a hastily written introduction said that Washington had nothing to do with the coup. The Chilean junta bought 9750 copies at a reduced rate, most of which were sent to the Chilean embassy in Washington. A Spanish edition was also produced, supervised by Thomas P. McHale, a Chilean citizen who had, before the coup, run the book department of the Institute for General Studies in Santiago, financed by the CIA.

In the course of 1973 and 1974 the book publishing passed to Rossiter Publications owned by Crozier. This transfer may have had something to do with the eventual closure of FWF. Following the press disclosure in 1975 that FWF and possibly ISC had been set up with CIA money, Crozier replied with a large article in the *Guardian*,³² which included a long series of letters from his files which he hoped would show that he had no knowledge of CIA involvement.

Most people naturally assumed that the press stories on FWF had forced its closure. In fact that's probably not the case. The CIA knew some time before that that the operation was "blown". Victor Marchetti, co-author with John Marks of *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, had been forced to allow the CIA to vet the manuscript of that book in 1973. The result was 168 deletions and one of them was a section describing FWF operations in London. No doubt that CIA had warned its friends.³³

Appendix 2: the Pinay Circle

The Pinay Circle was set up in 1969 around the former Prime Minister of

³² *Ibid* 31 December 1976.

³³ Campbell (1984) pp. 146/7.

France, Antoine Pinay. Pinay was very old and seems to have been little more than a figurehead. Its chief fundraiser and leading light is the former lawyer, Jean Violet. A senior figure in the French equivalent of the CBI, Violet has also been a member of SDECE, the French equivalent of the CIA and MI6.³⁴ According to reports from West German intelligence³⁵ Violet had links with South African, American, British, Swiss and West German intelligence. The West German BND is said to be one of his sources of finance. With these contacts Violet had put together an informal group of conservative, anti-communist politicians, bankers, journalists etc – The Pinay Circle. It is said to meet twice a year discussing how to promote the conservative cause. The following are said to have been, or still are, members of the circle:

Julian Amery MP, Brian Crozier, Nicholas Elliot (ex MI6), William Colby (ex DCIA), Edwin Feulner of The Heritage Foundation, and General D. Stilwell (DIA).

Pinay projects are said to have included the promotion of Mrs Thatcher in the UK and Strauss in West Germany.

ISC records from as early as 1972 mention efforts by the Pinay Circle to generate moral and financial support for ISC: Crozier was apparently hoping for £20,000 from the Circle in 1973 – a large contribution by ISC's standards. The Circle paid for an ISC study "European Security and the Soviet Problem". Further correspondence from 1975 shows the Circle active in organising meetings in "Madrid, Rome, Milan, Brussels and Bonn . . . with the object of raising money for the Institute (i.e. ISC) and enhancing its reputation."³⁶

Appendix 3: FARI – Foreign Affairs Research Institute, & INTERDOC

In 1976, using South African money, Geoffrey Stewart-Smith set up FARI with another raft of "names" on the notepaper, including one or two – Sir Ian Gilmour, for example – that are rather surprising. FARI's council overlapped

³⁴ Faligot, 1985 p. 194.

³⁵ In *Intelligence/Parapolitics* (Paris) December 1984.

³⁶ *Time Out* 27 June 1975.

with that of ISC through Brian Crozier, Air Vice Marshal Stuart Manual and Robert Moss.

FARI was said to have "strong CIA links" by Gerry Gable in a memo leaked to the *New Statesman* (15 February 1980). (Gable, despite being editor of the anti-fascist magazine *Searchlight* is, on the basis of that memo, some kind of MI5 agent with extensive links to other intelligence agencies. See also *Anarchy* Summer 1983 on Gable's history.)

FARI was also reported to be receiving money from the US company Lockheed.³⁷

Chair of FARI in 1978 was Sir Frederick Bennet MP, member of the Bilderberg group and host in 1977 for the Bilderberg's annual meeting which took place in England that year.

In 1978 FARI was co-sponsor with ISC and the National Strategy Information Centre (NSIC) of the so-called "Freedom Blue Cross" conference in Brighton, apparently an attempt to persuade predominantly British multinational companies to fund a private "pro freedom" propaganda organisation. David Leigh saw this as an attempt to create a privately funded version of IRD (IRD having just been finished off by the Labour Government).³⁸ Little has been heard of "Freedom Blue Cross" since and if the follow-up piece in the *Guardian* (7 June 1978) is anything to go by, the British companies present were hugely underwhelmed.³⁹

Nevertheless FARI has grown and grown. In 1980 it began organising an annual "balance of power" conference in Britain, attracting some of the top level figures on the new right: Feulner of the Heritage Foundation, Ray Cline of NSIC, Frank Barnett of NSIC and the Committee for the Present Danger, General Daniel Graham ex-"Team B", DIA etc. Two pages of *Sanity* (February 1984) are devoted to FARI and its conferences, and they look pretty accurate despite having no sources for the information offered.

INTERDOC

Stewart-Smith's publishing company, Foreign Affairs Publishing Co. (FAPC) had links to The East-West Institute in The Hague, which was run by Cees Van Den Heuvel, the Dutch representative on the World Anti-Communist League. The Institute ran "Interdoc", the "information and

³⁷ *Counterspy* November 1981.

³⁸ *Guardian* 6 May 1980.

³⁹ On Bluecross see also *State Research* no. 7 and Peoples' News Service 6 February 1979.

documentation centre", which specialised in research on the European left. According to one report, "Interdoc was set up during a meeting at Brabizon, near Paris, on 5-8 October 1961 . . . the participants decided to unite behind the new organisation . . . all the efforts and initiatives of the struggle against communism and place them on a serious and expert footing." ⁴⁰

The Italian participant was Professor Luigi Gedda, the CIA and Vatican's man. An Italian secret service document states that the whole endeavour had been financed by the Dutch secret service.⁴¹ There is also a report that it received support from the CIA and Moral Re-armament. (!)⁴² This latter piece states that Interdoc gave financial assistance to the Lady Birdwood-Ross McWhirter Inter-City Research. There were also links with The Monday Club and ISC.⁴³

The British representative of Interdoc at the London office during the sixties and early seventies was Major Charles Howard Ellis. Ellis' intelligence career went back to Czarist Russia. During WW2 he worked for Stephenson's British Security Co-ordination in the US. Post-war he rose to no. 3 in the MI6 hierarchy and ended his career weeding MI6 files. He had been recommended to Interdoc by ex MI6 head Stuart Menzies.

While working for Interdoc, 'with the other chaps' Ellis put together an "action group", keeping it "private and confidential as publicity would kill it".⁴⁴ What this "action group" did isn't known. Ellis was a contributor to Crozier's 1970 anthology *We Will Bury You* which included contributions from members of other anti-communist research groups.

Appendix 4: the Conflict Between MI5 and MI6 in Northern Ireland

The conflict over the cease-fire negotiations was part of a struggle

⁴⁰ *Liberation* 9 October 1975

⁴¹ *Sifar* October 1973.

⁴² *Mole Express* no. 28 1973.

⁴³ *Time Out* 29 August 1975.

⁴⁴ Stevenson 1985 p. 272

between MI5 and MI6 for control of the intelligence activities in Northern Ireland. MI6 had been called into Northern Ireland by Edward Heath, thus extending its normal area of operations, Northern Ireland being part of the UK and MI6, up till then, working only abroad. The UK was MI5's bureaucratic "territory". Maurice Oldfield, MI6 head at the time, is said to have opposed the move.⁴⁵

Once in Northern Ireland, MI6 began doing what MI6 does. It recruited agents, tried to create a political alternative to the IRA – the Social Democratic and Labour Party (and, perhaps, the Alliance Party)⁴⁶ – and began trying to talk to the IRA.

MI5, which began operating in Northern Ireland with the advent of the IRA bombing campaign on mainland Britain, saw MI6 not as an ally but as an opponent. Colin Wallace:

"The 1973-4 period was particularly critical because it was, in my opinion, a watershed in the battle for supremacy between MI5 and the SIS (i.e. MI6). In the UK the problems associated with the increases in international terrorism, the miners' strike, the 3-day week, alleged increases in power and influence by Left Wing activists etc all had a profound effect on the roles of these two services.

In Northern Ireland the chief intelligence post was given to an MI5 officer, Dennis Payne, much to the chagrin of SIS. As you can imagine, Ireland was, at that time, the "in" place to be both in military and intelligence terms. If one examines most of the top posts held in these fields today, the incumbents have, almost without exception, had experience in Northern Ireland.

There was a strong difference of opinion between MI5 and the SIS over who should have overall responsibility for the Irish problem – particularly in the case of operations in the Republic of Ireland. To make matters worse, the two services regarded Army Intelligence as amateurs and the RUC Special Branch as totally unreliable. You can imagine the problems such a situation created for joint operations, the channels of reporting etc.

⁴⁵ Verrier, 1983 p. 302.

⁴⁶ Verrier *ibid.* p. 286.

In theory the head of Army Intelligence in the Province was a full Colonel, Peter Goss, who came under the direction of MI5's Dennis Payne. The SIS, who came under the direction of Payne, had their own senior officer at Army HQ at Lisburn, Craig Smellie, and a complete office at Laneside, and reported directly to Century House (i.e. MI6 London base)

When MI5 gained control of the overall intelligence operation they tried to replace those who were already in key posts with others with total loyalty to them. For example, in 1974 there was an attempt to use SAS personnel to replace the normal Army SMIU [Special Military Intelligence Unit] men. This was a total disaster. Not only did MI5 have much less experience of running agents in a hostile environment than SIS, the SAS at that time had no experience of Northern Ireland-type operations – they had been prohibited from taking an active part (officially at least) for purely political reasons. After a number of quite amazing blunders the SAS were withdrawn from plainclothes duty in the Province.

As the hostility between the various intelligence factions increased they began to “nobble” each others operations. The Army had a number of key agents “taken out” by the terrorists and a FINCO [Field Intelligence Non-commissioned Officer] in Belfast committed suicide. It became quite clear that MI5 were trying to get the SIS removed from the Province completely – this they almost achieved by late 1976.”

Below is a list of incidents which, if investigated, would throw light on this MI5-MI6 conflict.

- * A bank robbery in Coleraine carried out by the SAS. (The soldiers were ex-Para and ex-Royal Irish Rangers.)
- * The shooting of William Black in 1974. This is said to have been a bungled SAS operation designed to “take out” Charles Harding Smith, a UDA commander. (The shooting is the central subject matter of Kennedy Lindsay's *Ambush at Tullywest: the British Intelligence Services in Action* (1981))
- * Explosions caused by the Parachute Regiment in 3 Brigade area.

- * The bombing of the Alliance Party HQ in 1974 during the General Election – suspected of being the work of the security forces.
- * SAS activities in the Irish Republic, including the arrest of two patrols in plain clothes by the Irish police.
- * The plot to recruit an ex-professional football player to assassinate Provisional IRA officer Martin Meehan in Dundalk.
- * The leaking of material by MI5, on MI6 operations, including the production of a booklet on the Littlejohns, and information on Howard Marks.
- * An attempt to assassinate ex-IRA officer Jim McCann in Holland where he was involved in a drugs ring which supplied arms to the IRA.
- * The bombings in Dublin in 1974 by Protestants linked to the security forces, and, in particular, an RUC Special Branch officer.
- * A bomb attempt on Enoch Powell MP by the security forces.
- * The Miami Showband killings by Protestants linked to the security forces.
- * The smearing of the Joseph Rowntree Trust which was the conduit for money from MI6 to the political organisations it supported in Northern Ireland.
- * “The Ulster Citizens’ Army” – a “black” operation *not* set up by Wallace and Information Policy.
- * The assassination of Catholics in 1975 by Protestant groups linked to the security forces. The increased killings were designed to break the Provisional IRA truce arranged with the help of MI6.

Appendix 5: TARA

TARA was a prototype Protestant paramilitary group set up by William McGrath within an Orange Lodge he had started. TARA never got off the ground. In a report he wrote while still working for Information Policy in September 1974, Colin Wallace commented:

"In theory 'TARA' was basically a credible concept from a loyalist paramilitary point of view. . . . but it never progressed beyond the planning stage. . . .the idea failed for a number of reasons, mainly because of William McGrath's rather strange political views which are more akin to Irish Nationalism or Republicanism, that Unionism, and the fact that other organisations which appeared to be more in keeping with the needs of the Loyalist community at that time, sprung up during the period."

From about 1971 on, as far as we can tell, "TARA" existed solely as an Information Policy psy ops project. Its success can be judged by the extent to which people took it seriously.

"TARA" was formally launched on 11 April 1973 when a proclamation was issued in its name and distributed to journalists in Belfast. It was carried on the Associated Press wire that day. The *Guardian* carried a substantial report on it the following day.

The timing of this and the subsequent use made of "TARA" indicate that its primary function was to smear the Protestant leadership in Northern Ireland – notably the Reverend Ian Paisley – in support of attempts being made by the Heath government to create a political solution – attempts which culminated in the so-called power-sharing executive.

"TARA" appeared in the following books and articles:

David Blundy (*Sunday Times* 13 March 1977) – "the Protestant paramilitary group, Tara, a small, obscure and ineffective group as Ulster paramilitary organisations go."

Liz Curtis (1984): "a shadowy loyalist paramilitary group called Tara".

Geoffrey Bell (1976): "one of the competing Protestant paramilitary organisations" (p. 131) (Bell includes another, non-Inf Pol project, the "Ulster Citizens Army" in his list.)

Robert Fisk (*New Statesman* 19 March 1976) quotes from an Army "intelligence" report on TARA as a demonstration of how good Army intelligence in Northern Ireland was.

Merlyn Rees (1985) says TARA was "a loyalist group that particularly concerned me. . . although very small. . . it was evil plus." (p. 48)

The reports by Blundy and Curtis describe the attempts to link the Reverend Ian Paisley to TARA. TARA was one of Wallace's projects and, curiously enough, it achieved its fullest expression that we know of (and we obviously haven't done a search of the Irish press) in the Summer 1980 edition of the "underground" paper *International Times*. An anonymous article on Paisley stated:

"Paisley is also connected with the less well known Tara which specialises in burning down Catholic churches and whose masonic T with a circle around it is wont to appear on the walls of East Belfast after any sectarian killing. . . . (they) have also quickly formed an alliance with the National Front Tara's chosen sacrament is the pipe-bomb."

Appendix 6: Examples of political psy ops targets 1973/4 – non Army origin

Betty Sinclair

Andrew Barr

Edwina Stewart

James Graham – All members of the Communist Party of Ireland

Brian Graham

Hugh Murphy

Glen Barr – Chairman of the co-ordinating committee of the loyalist strike of 1974

Lord Brockway	All members of the Campaign for Democracy in Ulster (CDU) which monitored civil rights (or their absence) in Ulster. CDU was pressing for reform in 1968/9.
Stan Orme MP	
Stan Thorne MP	
Kevin McNamara MP	

Lord Belstead (John Ganzoni) – 1973-74 Conservative Parliamentary Under Secretary Northern Ireland; House of Lords spokesman; maintained interest in local legislation as Conservative front bencher 1974-79

William van Straubenzee MP – 1972-74 Conservative Minister of State in the

Northern Ireland office. Known as “the Bishop” in Westminster, he presided over a committee which drew up proposals to counter religious and political discrimination in jobs. This led eventually to the setting up of the Fair Employment Agency in Northern Ireland.

Paul Channon MP – 1972 Conservative Minister of State, Northern Ireland office. His London home was the venue for the secret meeting between Secretary of State Whitelaw and Provo leaders in 1972.

Ian Gilmour MP Conservative spokesman on Northern Ireland 1974-75. He was closely involved with security policy in Northern Ireland between 1970 and 1974. As opposition spokesman he gave strong support to the Labour government’s convention initiative.

Norman St. John Stevas MP – Prominent lay Roman Catholic.

Edward Heath MP – As Prime Minister he sent in MI6.

William Whitelaw MP – Northern Ireland Secretary of State.

Lord Hailsham – Occasionally suggested radical changes in Anglo-Irish relations which created unease among unionists.

Humphrey Berkeley – Was Conservative, then Labour, now SDP. Like Heath and Jeremy Thorpe, was the target of homosexual smears.

Joan Maynard MP and Tom Litterick MP – Both supporters of the “Troops out Movement” which was started at the end of 1969. They attacked the anti-terrorist laws (as did members of the CDU), the use of undercover soldiers. In December 1974 Litterick also attacked the use of psychological warfare, referring to Information Policy.

Lord Avebury (Eric Lubbock) – Head of Peter Hain Defence Fund; Peter Hain, Emylyn Hooson MP, David Steel MP, Jeremy Thorpe MP Cyril Smith MP – all Liberals.

Harold Wilson MP, Edward Short MP, Joan Lester MP, David Owen MP, Judith Hart MP, Merlyn Rees MP, Roy Hattersley MP – all Labour

Marcia Williams – Harold Wilson’s personal secretary and confidante

John Hume SDLP

Rev. Martin Smith - Grand Master of the Orange Order and vice president of the Official Unionist Party. In 1975 he took part in secret talks with John Hume and Paddy Devlin in an attempt to break the political deadlock.

Rev. Ian Paisley, Sir Knox Cunningham QC, James Molyneaux and William Craig – all targets of psy-ops campaign called “Clockwork Orange 1”

James Flanagan – Chief Constable RUC 1973-76 (first Catholic to hold the post)

The Rowntree Trust – Has contributed substantial grants to political parties and groups in Northern Ireland. Total grants in 1974 were £70,000. £11,000 of this went to the SDLP including a contribution to the party's election expenses in October 1974. Was a conduit for MI6 funds which is why MI5 would have opposed its operation. Rowntree also funded the Alliance, Northern Irish Labour Party and the New Ulster Movement. Rowntree assisted the loyalist paramilitaries to finance a conference in Belfast in 1975, and contributed to the expenses of paramilitary delegates attending an Oxford conference on Northern Ireland in 1974. Some payments made to individuals: as Shadow Northern Ireland Secretary Merlyn Rees had a fellowship enabling him to employ a special adviser.

Appendix 7: John Colin Wallace 1968-76

Ministry of Defence (Army Department): Army number 474964.

Commissioned 1962 (TAVR Gen. List) Officer Cadet, Cadet Training Officer, St. Patrick's Barracks, Ballymena, and later with the Field Marshal Earl Alexander Cadet Company Irish Guard. Appointed Assistant Command Public Relations Officer, HQ Northern Ireland in 1968 and engaged in a wide variety of information work both as a serving officer (Captain) in the Ulster Defence Regiment and as a civilian information adviser. Overseas work during this period included assignments in West Germany, Malaysia, Australia, Hong Kong, New Zealand, Berlin and the U.S.

Appointments held included:

Senior Information Officer (Psychological Operations) Army HQ, Northern Ireland.

Member of the Northern Ireland Information Co-ordinating Committee.

Member of the tribunal of inquiry set up under Lord Widgery – the "Bloody Sunday" tribunal.

Commander of the Army's free fall parachute team "The Phantoms", 1972-75. BPA number 3150: "D" licence No 1416.

Staff Officer (Information Policy) Ulster Defence Regiment.

Head of Production Services (cover title for Senior Information Officer, PSYOPS) Army HQ, Northern Ireland.

The trial of Colin Wallace by Captain Fred Holroyd

In March 1981 at Lewes Crown Court, Colin Wallace was convicted of the manslaughter of 29-year-old Brighton antiques dealer, Jonathan Lewis. During a controversial three week trial, the Prosecution alleged that Wallace and Lewis' wife, Jane, had had an affair the previous year when they worked together on the BBC TV programme "It's a Knockout". It was claimed that between 6.45 and 7.15 pm on the night of 5th August 1980, the two men – who were close friends and squash partners – met at Wallace's home for a drink before going on to a surprise dinner party at a hotel near Arundel. During the meeting, it was alleged, a fight developed between them in which Lewis was knocked unconscious by a karate-type blow to the base of the nose. According to the Crown, Wallace then bundled the unconscious Lewis into the boot of a highly-decorated British Leyland courtesy car which he had been using in connection with the TV event, and then went on to the dinner party attended by 12 other guests including Jane Lewis and the local police commander, Superintendent Bill Taylor. The Court was told that Wallace left the dinner party for a short time at around 10.30 pm and the police claimed that during this absence he drove to the River Arun, dumping the unconscious Lewis into the river, where Lewis drowned.

Four days later, the body was recovered from the river some three miles south of Arundel, and, following a postmortem by Home Office pathologist, Dr Ian West, the police issued a press statement saying that "foul play was not suspected". It would appear that Dr. West was of the opinion that Lewis had slipped and fallen into the water while urinating into the river – when his body was recovered it was noticed that his fly was undone – and that a cut above his right eye had been caused by the propeller of the boat which was used to recover the body. That the boat's propeller had struck Lewis' body was confirmed by two of the boatmen who found it.

Wallace, however, became a prime suspect in the case after it was reported to the police that a car similar to his had been seen parked near the Arundel swimming pool car park where Lewis had parked his car on the night he disappeared. An entry in Lewis' diary for the 5th August also said, "Colin. 6.30pm". Later forensic scientists found minute spots of blood in the boot of the car that Wallace had been using that night and it was noticed that the car boot mat was missing. When asked about his movements on that night Wallace at first denied that he had seen Lewis but then admitted that they had met as

stated in the diary.

Wallace was originally charged with murder but the trial judge, Mr Justice Kilber-Brown, directed that the charge be withdrawn because of the weakness of the prosecution case. The trial was repeatedly punctuated by references to mysterious unidentified people, and conflicts in the scientific evidence. Most of these mysteries and questions still remain unanswered and the authorities have repeatedly refused to provide explanations for some of the more contentious aspects to the case.

One of the most controversial conflicts in the evidence came from a barmaid, Amanda Metcalfe, who knew Lewis as a regular visitor to the bar of her parents' hotel on the outskirts of Arundel. Shortly after Lewis had disappeared, the police appealed for anyone who had seen him on the night of 5th August to contact them. Miss Metcalfe went to the police and told them how she had seen Lewis that evening in the company of another man in the bar of the hotel where she had been working. She described accurately and in detail the clothes Lewis had worn on that occasion, and said that she had seen him at some time after 7.00pm when she had been assisting a new member of staff at the bar. According to Miss Metcalfe, Lewis' demeanour on that occasion indicated that he was not having an amicable meeting with the other man. It was clear from her evidence that the man seen with Lewis was not Wallace, and the significance of what she had said was commented upon by the trial judge who told the jury:

"If Miss Amanda Metcalfe is right, let us take it from about twenty past seven, if you like; or more favourable to the Defence, on the Prosecution case even a bit earlier than that; or, above all, after twenty five past seven – if she is right then this deceased man was still alive when the Prosecution say he was knocked unconscious, he was still alive when the Prosecution say he was incapable of standing up. He was in the bar of the Golden Goose when the Prosecution say he was stuffed in the boot of the car, or may have been. It is absolutely vital, members of the jury, that you concentrate upon this because – and I would go so far as to advise you that you must rule out the accuracy of Miss Metcalfe's evidence before you can reach any safe conclusion that this man knocked out the deceased, as the Prosecution say he did, stuffed him in the boot and dumped him in the river."

What the jury was not told, however, and what did not emerge at the trial, was that the suit worn by Lewis that evening had been worn for the first time,

having just returned from the dry cleaners. It has now been confirmed that Mrs Lewis found the cleaning labels from the suit when she returned home and this substantiates the view that Lewis could not have worn the clothes described by Miss Metcalfe on the days preceding his disappearance. This information greatly increases the overall strength of Miss Metcalfe's evidence as to the evening on which she saw Lewis.

No traces of blood were found on any of Wallace's clothes or in his house and Supt. Taylor told the court that when Wallace arrived at the hotel where the dinner party was to take place – allegedly only minutes after the fight had taken place – he certainly did not appear to have been involved in a violent struggle. An examination of Wallace's hands by the police and a police doctor did not reveal any abrasions or bruising. It was later revealed that there was bruising to the knuckles of Lewis' right hand which Dr Ian West described as being consistent with him punching a "hard unyielding target". If Wallace had been the target of such a blow, then he certainly showed no signs of injury.

The police's claim that Wallace had disposed of the mat from the car boot to destroy evidence of blood stains was totally contradicted by a radio telephone engineer who had carried out some installation work on the boot of Wallace's car some months before Lewis died. He told the court that he remembered clearly that there had been no mat in the boot when he had carried out the work. His evidence was supported by two other witnesses who had used the car during the TV event and who recalled noticing the lack of covering in the boot and had commented on the fact because the car was new.

It was also revealed at the trial that some weeks prior to his death Lewis had expressed fears about his personal safety to his wife. It was claimed that on one occasion he named a business associate to her and said: "If anything ever happens to me, look out for 'Mr X'." He had also revealed to her details of financial and other alleged irregularities connected with business. After Lewis disappeared his wife and his father went to the Sussex police and told them of these matters; but none of this information was recorded in any of the statements which the police took from Mrs Lewis and presented to the court.

Another significant aspect of Miss Metcalfe's evidence was that both she and Wallace quite independently confirmed that Lewis was wearing both his jacket and his tie when they saw him last. However, when his body was recovered from the river, his jacket and tie were missing and his shirt was unbuttoned at the neck. His jacket and tie have never been found.

A forensic scientist from the Metropolitan Police Forensic Laboratory who carried out tests on the blood samples found in Wallace's car admitted under cross-examination that there was "no scientific explanation" for how some of the spots of blood had come to be deposited in covered or inaccessible parts of the car boot other than that they had been deposited during the manufacture of the car. Indeed, Wallace's lawyers discovered from British Leyland accident report records that three car assembly workers had received injuries to their hands whilst working on the assembly line shift which had assembled Wallace's car. At one point the same forensic scientist also admitted that information which he had earlier given to the court was inaccurate and that a photograph of the results of his tests on one of the blood samples really indicated that it could not have come from Lewis. In the absence of the jury, the trial judge strongly criticised the scientist and told Prosecuting Counsel:

"It is not the first time that the Director of Public Prosecutions quite properly has had to rely upon scientific evidence with reference to grouping of blood and matters of that kind when at the end of it all the situation is such that, quite frankly, I think the scientists got themselves into a mess. It is intolerable, in my view, if they really stop to think, as Mr Silverman should have stopped to think. If he was going to give that final answer to Mr Kennedy, which he did, he had no business to have said the things in chief and misled the Director and misled you. I am sorry to be forthright about it but, as I say, it is not the first time it has happened."

Another remarkable aspect of the Wallace case was the total absence of forensic evidence indicating that he had been involved in a fight with Lewis. Although the police claimed that he had kept the unconscious and bleeding man in the boot of his car for some three and a half hours, this was not supported by the evidence. The Prosecution admitted that human hairs found in the boot of the car had not come from the victim. No blood was found on any particles of dust, fibres or other debris taken from the boot. This supports the theory that the blood had been deposited and dried when the car was new and long before the dust and debris had collected.

There is little doubt that the absence of the detailed information given to the police by Mrs Lewis had a strong influence on the trial and on the cross-examination of various witnesses, because the trial judge told the jury:

"There is no evidence, is there, that the deceased man was involved in

any matrimonial misconduct, nor that he had any enemies who would be minded to use violence upon him?"

Some witnesses told the court that they had seen Lewis frequently using the Arundel Swimming Pool car park where he had left his orange Volvo estate car on the night he vanished. On each occasion he had used exactly the same parking bay at the entrance to the car park and directly opposite the police station. On the night he disappeared he had been seen there in his car with a "dark haired woman". Mrs Lewis denied that she had been with her husband on that occasion and she told the court that as far as she knew her husband never used that particular car park. Her claim was supported by some of his close business associates who also said that, to the best of their knowledge, Lewis had never parked his car there. It would appear, therefore, that Lewis had some particular reason for keeping his use of that car park a secret from those close to him. It is also remarkable that although Jane Lewis gave the police a detailed description of her husband's car, including the registration number, in the early hours of the morning of 6th August, and although the police circulated the description, it was not found until four days later – even then it was found by a member of the public, parked directly in front of Arundel police station, less than 20 yards from the police station enquiries desk window. During the trial there was considerable debate over the alleged sightings of Wallace's brightly coloured and highly distinctive car on the night of 5th August. The police put Wallace's car – one of a number of identical cars on loan from British Leyland – on public display and asked that anyone who had seen such a car between 6.00 pm and midnight on 5th August to contact them. They claimed that only one of the cars, the one driven by Wallace, was in use that night. But it became clear from the large number of sightings reported to the police that one of the other cars must have been in use. Not all the statements given to the police by members of the public were used at the trial and mystery still surrounds the identity of the "second car".

Superintendent Taylor told the court that when he and his wife arrived at the hotel just before 8.00 pm to attend the dinner there were *two* 'It's a Knockout' cars in the hotel car park and that Wallace was already in the hotel bar. The police, however, claimed that two of the cars had remained in the hotel car park since the TV event finished, and that neither of them had been in use on the 5th August. Bearing in mind that Wallace's car would also have been there when Superintendent Taylor arrived, he should have seen *three* "It's a Knockout" cars parked side by side if the police claim is correct.

Referring to the confusion over evidence relating to the alleged car sightings as a whole, the trial judge told the jury:

“It sounds almost at times as if we were dealing with unidentified flying objects.”

The failure of the police to identify and interview certain obviously key people associated with the case is most disturbing. Mention has already been made of the woman seen with Lewis on the night before he vanished, and of the man seen with him in the Golden Goose Hotel at a time after the police claimed he had been knocked unconscious. The existence of an even more mysterious figure emerged during the trial when a local fisherman claimed that he had seen someone searching the Arun riverbed by torchlight at half past midnight on the night Lewis vanished, and at the exact spot where his watch and keys were later found. The Prosecution accepted that the mysterious figure could not have been Wallace because all the evidence showed that he was then still attending the dinner party some miles away. The fisherman, who had been standing on the main A27 road bridge over the Arun, said that the incident was most odd because it would have been highly dangerous for anyone to clamber down the steep, slippery riverbank even at low tide, and it was difficult to imagine what anyone could be looking for in the river at that time of night. Despite all the publicity surrounding the case, none of the unidentified people mentioned have ever come forward to be identified, nor are the police aware of their identity.

The police had claimed that Wallace had driven the unconscious man down a narrow lane to the riverbank and then dumped him in a sluice gate directly opposite the end of the lane. This is contradicted by evidence relating to where Lewis' watch and keys were found – the keys by the side of a towpath to the North of the sluice gate ten days after he disappeared; the watch on the towpath to the South of the sluice gate. The police theory was also contradicted to some extent by one of their own divers. Sgt. Cannon, who told the court that a “skid mark” found on the concrete bank of the river by the sluice gate was probably made by someone climbing out of the river or by a boat, rather than by an inert body being slid into the water.

Having listened to the Prosecution case, the judge directed the jury that he was going to remove the original charge of murder from their considerations. In his summing-up he said:

“Here there is no direct evidence from any witness that the accused was responsible for the crime alleged against him. The evidence is all

circumstantial.”

The jury retired to consider their verdict just before lunch on Friday 20th March. They returned at approximately 4.00 pm to say that they could not reach a unanimous verdict. The judge said that the court would rise at 4.00pm and if they had still not reached a unanimous verdict by then he would accept a majority verdict. They returned at 4.25 with a unanimous verdict of ‘guilty’ Following his conviction, Wallace applied for leave to appeal, but this was rejected. (By coincidence, one of the judges who rejected his application had been a member of the “Bloody Sunday” Inquiry in 1972 on which Wallace worked as an Army psychological operations officer.) He then petitioned the Home Secretary, asking that various “irregularities” concerning the events leading up to his conviction be “investigated independently of those police officers who carried out the original investigation.” The Home Office agreed to look into the points he raised but passed the investigation back to the Sussex police and *not* to an independent force.

In his petition Wallace listed a number of witnesses whom he claimed had given statements to the police in 1980 about alleged sightings of the “It’s a Knockout” cars on the 5th August but whose evidence had not been considered at his trial. In particular, two independent witnesses, one a retired barrister, the other a salesman, had told the police that they had seen one of the cars being driven by a woman on that day. One witness had seen one of the cars near a lake on the outskirts of Arundel at around lunchtime when Wallace and his car were at the Council offices in Littlehampton where he worked. The other saw a woman parking one of the cars at Worthing at around 6.30 pm that evening. It is clear from all the evidence presented at Wallace’s trial that at that time he and his car were some ten miles from Arundel. The reported sighting of an “It’s a Knockout” car near the lake is significant because three other witnesses claimed that they too had seen one of the cars parked at the same spot just before 10.00 pm on the 5th August, when Wallace was still at the dinner party.

One of the strange aspects of the case was the number of unfounded rumours being circulated by official sources to potential witnesses in the early stages of the investigation. For example, it was claimed that a child who had disappeared from a nearby picnic site on the day Lewis vanished, had been kidnapped by Wallace to lead the police away from his own activities. The police have now admitted that there was absolutely no connection between Wallace and the child’s disappearance – the child was later found alive and well

having just wandered away from its parents. Even more bizarre was a claim made by a police officer to a journalist at Arundel Magistrates Court that "Wallace had planned the murder of Lewis and then hoped to escape behind the Iron Curtain" – an interesting claim in the light of Wallace's background! Wallace also referred the Home Secretary to matters concerning a background press briefing which police officers had given to journalists whilst his trial was in progress and said that one of the jurors had been seen talking with a reporter during a lunchtime recess. The juror, Wallace said, had been challenged by other people involved in the trial but had not reported the contact with the reporter to the court. Wallace pointed out that he did not object to the police attempting to influence press reporting after the trial had ended but only to the fact that this has been done while the hearing was still in progress.

Exactly one year later, Wallace received a brief note which had been sent to him by the Home Secretary via the Governor of Lewes Prison saying that the Home Secretary had made enquiries into matters raised "but has concluded that these issues do not have the significance of throwing doubt on the safety of your conviction." Wallace replied that he found the Home Secretary's response "remarkable, and, indeed, disturbing" because at no time during the past year had any police officer or other official contacted him or his solicitors to discover what information he wished to have investigated or to obtain the names of those witnesses who could corroborate his claims.

In addition to writing to the Home Secretary, Wallace also wrote to the Chief Constable of Sussex pointing out a number of apparent "irregularities" in the handling of the investigation and in statements made by police officers. For example, two police officers had, it would appear, written statements quite independently of each other at an interval of some two weeks, but managed to use exactly the same words and punctuation; and one officer had written a statement and apparently signed and dated it two weeks before an event referred to in it had taken place.

He also asked the Chief Constable to explain the attempted use by the police at the hearing of a bail application of a photograph which had been taken of him when he was working at Army headquarters in Northern Ireland. In the photograph Wallace was shown in civilian clothes holding two automatic rifles. The police had been challenged about the picture by Wallace's counsel and, although they were by then aware of the nature of Wallace's work in Ulster, admitted that they did not know where, when or why the photograph

had been taken, nor had they checked out the original source of the picture. It later transpired that the photograph had been taken in the Royal Ulster Constabulary Data Recording Centre where all weapons captured from Ulster terrorists were sent for examination!

The Sussex Police Authority replied saying that the various matters set out in Wallace's letter "have already been the subject of enquiry during your trial and in the years following your conviction. I am writing to inform you that it is not intended to make any further enquiries or have further discussion into these various matters."

Wallace points out that, as the official records show, "none of the matters contained in my letter were raised during my trial nor was the item regarding the apparent irregularities in the police statements ever raised by me on any previous occasion. "

Not satisfied with the Police Authority's refusal to answer his questions he wrote to the Police Complaints Authority who said that because the incidents referred to took place before the Authority was set up "they would not appear to have any jurisdiction to supervise any investigation which the police might carry out into your allegations." The Authority, however, again forwarded Wallace's complaint to the Chief Constable of Sussex. On this occasion, Assistant Chief Constable J.D. Dibley replied to Wallace saying that "he did not propose to record as complaints" the matter raised because there appears to have been ample opportunity to question the matters you raise either during your trial or in the subsequent Appeal and petition to the Home Secretary." This response seems rather odd because, as Wallace points out, he waited for a whole year for the police to contact him as a result of the Home Secretary's request to the Sussex Police to investigate the affair. The subsequent report and statements taken by the police during the investigation are, it would appear, "confidential" and have not been released to Wallace or his solicitors.

In July 1985 the Prime Minister asked Lord Trefgarne at the Defence Ministry to investigate and reply to a series of questions which Wallace had sent to her concerning the circumstances leading up to his conviction and to the Kincora scandal. A reply sent to Wallace by the Ministry of Defence said that the matters he had raised relating to Kincora were "the subject of investigation by the Committee of Inquiry into Childrens' Homes and Hostels in Northern Ireland and by the RUC", and "it would not therefore be appropriate to comment on the allegations." It is interesting to note that the Inquiry's report has now been published and it points out that Wallace's information was

not considered by them because it was outside their terms of reference! All the rest of Wallace's questions were totally ignored by the Ministry of Defence and his solicitor later commented: "I don't see any legal or other valid reason why the authorities should not answer Colin Wallace's questions. Perhaps it is a case that they might have been only too ready to provide robust answers if the conclusions were in their favour."

It would appear, therefore, that five years after the death of Jonathan Lewis the mysteries surrounding Wallace's case not only remain unsolved but also grow deeper. Perhaps one of the most telling comments on the affair came from Professor Keith Mant, Head of Forensic Medicine at Guy's Hospital, who carried out a post-mortem on Jonathan Lewis in 1980 and who studied the forensic evidence available at the trial. In a written report on Lewis' death he said: "It would appear that the reconstruction of events by the police is wrong if Mr Wallace was involved."

Appendix 8: Biographies

ASTOR, Hugh Waldorf: 1939 Intelligence Corps, Europe and S.E. Asia: 1947 assistant Middle East correspondent for *The Times*: 1948 Director Hambros Bank: 1956 board of Times newspapers: 1959 Deputy Chair Times Newspapers: NAFF Council member.

BALL George Joseph: 1921 MI5 (Civil Assistant to Military Intelligence): 1924 head of Government Central Intelligence Department (renamed Publicity Department): 1930-39 Director Conservative Research Department: 1940-42 Deputy Chair of Security Executive overseeing the intelligence services, particularly MI5.

BELOFF Max: 1940-41 Royal Corps of Signals: from 1957 Professor of Government and Public Administration Oxford University: founder and Principal of University College, Buckingham: chaired NATO committee handling allocation of research grants: ISC Council.

BENCHLEY Thomas Frank: WW2 Royal Corps of Signals: post-war with GCHQ and long experience with the Middle East: Ambassador to Norway 1968, Poland 1972: Deputy Secretary Cabinet Office 1975-76: ISC Council: ISC Council minutes June 1975 recorded "The chairman commented on the good fortune of the ISC to have had (Benchley) working with them during the winter."

BENTON Kenneth: 30 years with MI6, retiring in 1968: involved in ISC early on when the Conflict Studies were put out by the Current Affairs Research Centre of Forum World Features: travelled to Africa and the Persian Gulf to investigate terrorist and other threats to petroleum shipments coming to Europe and the Americas – Benton's oil study contains a detailed breakdown of Soviet intelligence personnel in Africa: wrote ISC Conflict Studies: author of espionage/thriller novels.

CLIVE Nigel: Long career in MI6: one-time head of IRD (1968-70): wrote for ISC and recently ISC editorial consultant.

CLUTTERBUCK Richard: Expert on counter-insurgency: WW2 served in Western desert and Italy: Palestine 1947, Malaya 1956, Singapore 1966: instructor at British and US Army staff colleges: chief army instructor, Royal College of Defence Studies (1971-72): lecturer in politics, Exeter University: author: ISC Council.

CROZIER Brian Rossiter: Although Crozier has always denied his connections to intelligence organisations it has been accepted in a number of publications that Crozier is some sort of intelligence asset both for MI6 and the CIA. It is probable that he was recruited either in the war when it was quite normal practise to recruit journalists for propaganda purposes. 1936 Journalist: 1941 Aeronautical inspection: 1943 Reuters: 1944 News Chronicle: 1948 Sydney Morning Herald: 1951 Reuters: 1952-54 *New Straits Times*.

Note the curious Reuters appointment in the middle of the war – or when he re-joined Reuters and worked for the *New Straits Times* (used by IRD during the Malayan emergency). Crozier claims he became an anti-communist in 1946 after reading Kravchenko's *I Chose Freedom*. He appears to have strengthened his dislike of revolution while reporting in S.E. Asia. Not an unsophisticated anti-communist, he disowns McCarthyism not because he doesn't support the ideas of McCarthy but because McCarthyism was the "creation of the great communist propaganda machine and a hugely successful one" (*Daily Telegraph* 24 January 1977)

In 1954 Crozier joined *The Economist*, which increasingly looks like an outpost of British intelligence. In 1958 he became editor of the *Economist Foreign Report*. "Crozier provides cover for the agents on brief assignments abroad and furnishes intelligence information from time to time." (*Digest of the Soviet Press*, No 51 1968). Although this is a Soviet source it's probably accurate. Although printed in 1968, it must have been compiled by 1960 at the latest, to judge by the stated career of an

MI6 officer responsible for journalist assets. It may well have come from Philby.

Philby worked for *The Economist* and *The Observer* in the Middle East until his defection. He had been suggested to *The Economist* by G.K. Young with support from Sir John Sinclair, both MI6. (Philby's place in the Middle East was taken by Patrick Seale.) The assistant foreign editor of *The Economist* from 1947-54 was Donald McClachlan of Naval Intelligence. Crozier's friend, later author for IRD and ISC, Dr. Patrick Honey (B) was at one time foreign editor of *The Economist*. A Reuter correspondent in Saigon, in 1965 Honey became Reader in Vietnamese Studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies. (Peoples' News Service 3 April 1979). Robert Moss, of course, worked for *The Economist*; and some reports claim that Geoffrey Stewart-Smith did, although it is not included in his current *Who's Who* entry. Dr Albert Still of MI6 (named by Philby) originated from *The Economist* Intelligence Unit. After leaving *The Economist* but before joining Forum World Features, Crozier toured South America for *Encounter* and *The Sunday Times*. A West German intelligence report (quoted in *Intelligence/Parapolitics* December 1984) says Crozier has been "a CIA agent for several years and none of his activities are unknown to the agency in Langley." Crozier is certainly an Atlanticist who finds strong support for his views in the USA.

He has long supported the Common Market and has expressed the hope for a European supranationalism, (*Newsweek* 21 January 1974) presumably as a bulwark against communism. He has written biographies, and sympathetic biographies, of ultra-nationalists Franco and De Gaulle (criticising De Gaulle for his opposition to European supranationalism).

In an issue of *International Review* in 1975 he looked to the military to step in following the breakdown of Western democracy – a breakdown he then saw as inevitable.

Crozier also had a close friendship with Sir Arthur Temple Franks, one time head of MI6. "Dickie" Franks was reportedly a hardliner at odds with his boss, Maurice Oldfield who was, by the standards of the intelligence world, something of a liberal. (Duncan Campbell, *New Statesman* Reports No 2, January 1981).

Crozier was on ISC Council, NAFF Council, and a member of The Pinay

Circle.

CUSSOLD Stephen: background in intelligence: during sixties senior research assistant in the Foreign Office. Wrote two ISC Conflict Studies, one of them on Croat separatism.

DAVIES Evan ("The Bishop"): WW2 in the commandos and as bodyguard to Winston Churchill: in 1950s Special Branch officer in Kenya and Malaya during the emergencies: 1960s training MI6 officers, resigned, became London-based advisor on security to Gallaghers, the tobacco company. While with Gallagher Davies had helped set up ISC. In Southern Angola in mid 1970s at the time of the South African invasion: advisor to Unita: said he was there to produce an economic plan for Southern Angola. He was travelling with Robert Moss. 1979 security adviser in Saudi Arabia.

DUNCANSON Dennis: Malayan emergency. With Thompson on the 1961 British advisory mission to Vietnam: 1969 Reader in South East Asian Studies, University of Kent. Did ISC studies nos. 5 and 39.

ELLIOT Nicholas: ex-leading light in MI6. Director of Lonrho, used for a number of MI6 operations. Chair of Lonrho at the time was son of Joseph Ball (see above). Member of Pinay Circle.

EPRILE Cecil: According to Winter (1985 p156, 186/7) Eprile was one of those who helped set up Forum World Features. Eprile was editor in chief of South African magazine *Drum* before joining FWF as managing director. Also served as treasurer of Kern House Enterprises, channelling money to, among others, ISC. Moved to Washington just before FWF closed down. Did ISC study on the civil war in the Sudan. Author.

FAIRBURN Geoffrey: Australian National University: member of CIA-funded Australian Association for Cultural Freedom, an off-shoot of the Congress for Cultural Freedom. AACF produced the magazine *Quadrant*.

GOODWIN Michael: IRD, involved in book publishing fronts. 1935-47 BBC features and overseas news: WW2 Royal Artillery: editor *19th and 20th Century* (1945-52): 1952 toured US at invitation of State Department: editor Bellman Books (1952-55): Director Contact Publications (1955-60): Director Newman Neame (1960-65): financial advisor to International Association for Cultural Freedom (1967-73): ISC (1973-)

HAMILTON Iain: editor *Spectator* in early 1960s: Forum World Features (1965-75): Managing Director Kern House Enterprises (1970-75):

director of studies ISC (1975-77). There is a gap between *Spectator* and FWF, perhaps filled by place at IRD – some reports place him there.

HONEY Patrick: Reuter correspondent in Saigon and foreign editor of *The Economist*: 1965 became reader in Vietnamese Studies at School of Oriental and African Studies: wrote for ISC and IRD: close friend of Brian Crozier.

JANKE Peter: IRD and BBC external services before ISC role as senior researcher. Presented papers on political violence at conferences in Canada, South Africa, W. Germany, Switzerland, USA and UK. UK includes the National Police College and Royal Naval College at Greenwich. Strong links to South Africa with a number of publications in that country. Regularly published by RUSI and Brassey's. In 1978 helped compile South African *Freedom Annual* published by South African government front Foreign Affairs Association. Involved in "Control Risks" with ISC librarian Richard Sims.

KAY Hugh: worked for ISC: "one of only two British newspapermen permitted to enter Angola in the early sixties after the 1961 flare-up". (*Fortune* June 1964)

LE BAILEY Louis: Director General of intelligence at the Ministry of Defence (1971-75). ISC Council.

LITTLE Tom: Joined Arab News Agency in Palestine in 1943: 1949 became its General Manager in Cairo and London: close to Nasser when other ANA people were being expelled. Wrote for *Times*, *Observer* and *Economist* while in Cairo. Heavily involved in all the IRD/MI6 news agency front companies. Involved with ISC, and London correspondent of Al-Ahram and Saudi News Agency. Died 1975.

LUKE William: war-time in MI5: one-time secretary of the XX committee. Post war involved in supporting trading links with South Africa: trustee of the South Africa Foundation. Member of the grand council of FBI (now CBI), and on Council of Aims since 1958. Managing Director Lindustries: NAFF Council.

MCMILLAN Maurice: wartime member of Intelligence School No 9 – MI9 offshoot: members included Airey Neave and Hugh Fraser. MP 1955: director of a number of MI6/IRD news agencies. Member of the European Movement.

MORGAN Ellis: ex MI6: long career in the Middle East: 1973-79 political and economic advisor to Commercial Union Assurance.

MOSS Robert: It seems difficult for the British left to take Robert Moss seriously but through American eyes he looks different: "acting in concert with a network of hawkish think tanks, intelligence officers, and honest but easily deluded conservatives, (Moss) has at critical periods spread disinformation in Chile, Britain and the US." (Fred Landis in *Inquiry* 29 December 1980) 1970-71 involved in setting up ISC. By 1974 Moss had written 5 ISC 'conflict studies' – 2 on Chile, 2 on Uruguay and 1 on Northern Ireland. 1973 working with CIA front Institute for General Studies (IGS) in Chile: makes first public call for a military government in Chile in CIA-funded magazine *SEPA*. (March 1973). 1975 founder member of Washington Institute for Study of Conflict – ISC's US branch. Founder member and then director of National Association for Freedom (NAFF) 1975: speechwriting for Margaret Thatcher 1976. Visited Argentina, addressed the Air Force on the value of the Argentine military government as a model for the rest of the continent: 1976 visited Angola with Evan Davies (see above): on editorial board of US "new right" journal *Policy Studies* – wrote cover story for first issue. 1979 participant at Jonathan Institute first conference on international terrorism from whence a good deal of the "Soviets behind world terror" line has emerged. Other participants included Pipes, Pohhoretz, Decter, Claire Sterling, Bush and Ray Cline. Another UK participant was Crozier. 1980 co-wrote international best-seller *The Spike* putting in factoid form some of the new right fantasies about the KGB.

NEAVE Airey: 1942 joined P15 section of MI9, the escape organisation controlled by MI6. 1944 part of IS(9), Intelligence School No 9 (West European area) MI9 "secret army" attached to Shaef. 1945 Nuremberg on War Crimes Executive and, according to Rebecca West, working for MI6. In chambers with Margaret Thatcher who was then specialising in tax law. 1949-51 in Territorial Army version of IS9 which later evolved into SAS 23rd regiment (TA). Regarded by some as a psy-war expert. Tory MP from 1953. Ideologically a hard-liner who organised the election of Thatcher to leadership of Tory Party. Opposition spokesman on Northern Ireland 1976-79. 1979 murdered by INLA just before he was to take up the position of overseeing the intelligence agencies.

ONSLOW Cranley: MI6 till 1960. Experience in S.E. Asia. Left to take up

a post in India in one of the MI6/IRD news agencies, either The Globe or The Star. Director of another of them, Near and Far East News Ltd. Tory MP from 1964. Under Thatcher took the job originally for Neave – oversight of intelligence complex.

PRICE David Lynn: came from IRD to Forum World Features in 1969. Spells in Djakarta and Paris; and served on the Poland and Arab IRD desks. 1970 researcher for ISC. In 1978 left to become consultant and political analyst on Middle East affairs. Editor *Arab Oil*, Kuwait. In 1975 the M.O.D. arranged for him to visit Oman. Trip paid for by the Sultan of Oman who bought several hundred copies of the resulting ISC study.

SCHAPIRO Leonard: Joined BBC monitoring unit in 1940: MI5 for the rest of the war, including a time in the German Control Commission. From 1970 Chairman of ISC. Professor with special reference to Russian studies at LSE. Schapiro and Beloff are remembered for the zeal with which they pushed the ISC to academic colleagues.

SETON-WATSON George H.N.: intelligence during WW2, including SOE (Cairo). Professor of Russian and East European Studies at University of London: visiting professor to a number of universities including the Australian National University at Canberra. Member of the Council Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University: Council of the RIIA. Author – some of his books published by IRD fronts.

SHIPLEY Peter: Wrote ISC conflict studies: in Thatcher's cabinet office (left 1984). Expert on revolutionary groups in Britain.

STIRLING David: 1941 formed SAS: 1952-56 set up and ran Capricorn Africa Society, classic (but failed) attempt to co-opt the leaders of the African nationalist movement: Capricorn had backing of Colonial and Commonwealth Office with funding via banks, Ford, Rockefeller etc. 1964 recruiting SAS troops for "private" ops in Middle East: 1967 set up Watchguard to provide bodyguards for leaders the British government approved – essentially a front: 1970 involved in the 'Hilton Operation' against Ghadaffi: 1974 GB 75: 1975 Truemid.

THOMPSON Robert: a long career in Malaya and counter-insurgency: close to MI5. Rose to be permanent secretary for defence, Malaya: head of British advisory mission to Vietnam (1961-65). Knighted 1965: major influence on British Army thinking on counter-insurgency. Member of Council of NAFF. Author: some books published by Forum World Features.

THOMPSON W. F. K.: *Daily Telegraph* military correspondent 1959-76: on IRD's distribution list: ISC Council member.

TUCKER Herbert Harold: Journalist during the forties: spell with the economic information unit at the Treasury before joining the Foreign Office: 1972 IRD: 1974 Deputy head IRD: 1974 -83, Canberra and Vancouver.

WATSON John Hugh Adam: Long career in the Foreign Office, including a spell with IRD: 1973 visiting fellow at Australian National University: 1974 onwards, Director General of the International Association for Cultural Freedom, the renamed CIA-backed Congress for Cultural Freedom.

WILKINSON Peter: member pre-war dining club "Castlereagh" whose members included Airey Neave and (Sir) Val Duncan, later chair of Rio Tinto Zinc: worked with Colin Gubbins in Poland in 1939 and on the secret "auxiliary units" which were prepared for possible German invasion: SOE with Gubbins. Post war head of IRD and senior posts in the Foreign Office. 1968 Chief of Administration of the Foreign Office: 1972 Co-ordinator of Intelligence and Security in the Cabinet Office. Retired 1976.