

REVEALED for the first time...
how Britain's spymaster for 9 years
was accused of working for the KGB

**Mail
world
exclusive**

MI6 CHIEF WAS RUSSIAN SPY SUSPECT

By CHAPMAN PINCHER



SUBSIDIARY

By CHAPMAN PINCHER

SIR ROGER HOLLIS, head of MI5 from 1956 to 1965, is feared to have been a KGB agent.

I can reveal that, shortly after he retired, Sir Roger was called back to face an official and unprecedented interrogation covering the 30 years during which he stood either near or at the top of this country's security services.

Penetrated

For 48 hours, in a MI5 safe house in London, he was interrogated about his past life and associations by men who had been his juniors in the service. But Sir Roger never cracked and his answers to questions were regarded as unsatisfactory.

He died in 1973. The following year Lord Trend, formerly Sir Burke Trend, Secretary of the Cabinet or a decade and one of Britain's most distinguished post-war Civil Servants, was secretly recalled from retirement to conduct an astonishing inquiry and give his independent judgment on the appalling probability that Sir Roger had been a spy for almost 10 years.

Lord Trend was also asked to pass judgment on evidence suggesting that another most senior officer of MI5 had also been a spy at the same time. Lord Trend concluded after his three weeks' study that there was a strong prima facie case that MI5 had been deeply penetrated over many years by someone who was not Sir Anthony Blunt.

He named Sir Roger Hollis as a likely suspect in the circumstantial evidence against him being so weighty as to demand explanation. Lord Trend said that Hollis had not cleared himself during the interrogation which had taken place shortly after his retirement.

He had provided unconvincing answers to the searching questions which had been put to him and his memory had been at fault only when it suited him. The evidence showed, said Lord Trend, that Hollis had consistently frustrated attempts by loyal MI5 officers who investigated the obvious penetration of their service. His behaviour during the investigation into Anthony Blunt had been particularly suspicious. Lord Trend recommended that the case against Hollis should be left open pending the possible arrival of further evidence from a new defector from the Communist bloc or some other source.

Delayed

But Lord Trend cleared the other senior officer whose code-name was 'Peters' during the investigations. The inquiry report, which was received by very few Ministers and officials, also criticised the way the investigations against both Hollis and 'Peters' had been delayed for many months, inside MI6 by a people either unwilling to believe they had been spies or determined to cover up for them.

This, Britain's latest and most sensational security scandal is bound to lead to calls for a full-scale inquiry into the whole history of this country's intelligence community since the end of the war.

Even though it proved impossible to prove Sir Roger's guilt either by Lord Trend or by a joint Secret Services Security Service committee (called the Fluency Committee) which investigated the matter, the fact that it was even suspected that the head of our security services could have been a KGB agent is a serious matter.

Turn to Page 2, Col 1



Sir Roger Hollis and his second wife in 1969

INSIDE MONEY Column 2, Mail Diary 13, Page 23, Gridword 23, Deal Home 28, 29, Letters, Stars & Strips 30, City 32, Classified Advert 32, 33, 35

Suspicion

It was on Saturday, farmer Robert Few's 11th wedding anniversary, that he noticed symptoms of the dreaded foot and mouth in the dairy herd he had used his savings to building up at Hampstead Farm, near Yarmouth, Isle of Wight.

At 2 p.m. he telephoned the Ministry of Agriculture to tell them of his fear.

Their vets arrived at the farm at 4 p.m. to examine the animals and at 5 p.m. confirmed the suspicions with Whitehall.

Foot and mouth is a carcass, which is why Ing. Years of hard work affect cattle, pigs, and lime pits or burned. Be-

were being slaughtered and buried 15ft. deep, and a larger restricted area spread to the mainland around Southampton and Portsmouth.

Last night Mr. Few, a 37-year-old former Merchant Navy officer, said: "What do you say when you see every-thing you have built up over nine years destroyed before your eyes?"

Mr. Few, who has two young children, went on: "I will get compensation

Immediately a restriction of a five-mile radius was placed on the area so that no animal could enter or leave the district.

At 5.30 p.m., samples were sent to the Animal Virus Research Institute at Pirbright, Surrey, and by 10.30 p.m. foot and mouth was confirmed. At 11 p.m. a 10-mile restriction was ordered.

At 5.45 a.m. yesterday the 165 cows

Continued from Page One

agent is enough to rock the public's confidence in the organisation.

In fact, I have established that loyal MI5 officers who uncovered the evidence which led to Sir Roger's dramatic interrogation believed that the Russians 'petrified' the security and intelligence services so deeply and for so long that they not only neutralised them but effectively ran them. I have established that this is also the view of senior officers of the CIA who had to be alerted to the facts. Some of them are satisfied that the main culprit was Hollis, in which case he may have been the most damaging spy in history.

The Director General of MI5 is responsible for counter-espionage, counter-sabotage,

Starting today:

The secret file on MI5's greatest scandal — See Page 19

counter-subversion and protective security. Protective security is regarded as much more important than catching of spies. It involves prevention of espionage by physical security precautions, the investigations of leakages and the weeding out of those who are unreliable. Though the evidence against

Sir Roger assumed frightening proportions in the late 1960s. It was not until 1975 that the Whitehall cover-up came to an end when the then Director General of MI5, Sir Michael Hanley, told Sir Harold Wilson, then Prime Minister, that one of his predecessors seemed to have been 'a renegade' working for the other side.

Since then both James Callaghan and Mrs Margaret Thatcher have been told of the facts.

Those who now possess this information have to face a scenario which comes right out of the pages of spy fiction. At one point, with Kim Philby in place, the KGB looked as if they had in their pocket the head of the Soviet desk in the Secret Service, Kim Philby, and the head of the MI5 desk responsible for the investiga-

tion of Soviet penetration in Britain. Roger Hollis, believed that if there was treachery then this explained much that has been unexplainable about the Burgess and Maclean case about Philby, and about Blunt, traitors who have already been exposed.

It also sheds fresh light on other great post-war cause celebres such as the Profumo Affair.

The Hollis Affair also suggests an explanation as to why the KGB allowed Blunt to quit MI5 as soon as the war ended when he could have remained there as an active spy. If Hollis was also a spy, clearly e-marked for steady promotion, they could afford to let Blunt go.

Sir Roger Hollis was the son of the Anglican Bishop of Taunton. One brother,

Michael, also became a churchman and was at one stage in his career the Bishop of Madras.

His other brother, Christopher Hollis, was well known as an MP, a Catholic convert and an eminent writer and historian.

Roger Hollis joined MI5 in 1939 after working for a period in China and became acting head of Section F, a department responsible for overseeing Soviet and Communist operations in the UK and Colonies.

He served for several years as Deputy Director General of MI5 becoming Director General in 1956. He retired in 1965.

Sir Roger was knighted by the Queen in 1960. © Chapman Pincher and Associated Newspapers Group Ltd., 1981.

MI5 chief was a spy suspect

Cordon

The cordon which has been imposed on the mainland stretches between Christchurch, Portsmouth and Winchester.

About 60,000 animals are covered by the restriction of movement order, which remains in force until 21 days after the last outbreak has been notified.

Restrictions are still in force on 14 farms around Ringwood, Hampshire, which bought stock from a market attended by a man who had been to the infected farm in Jersey.

to hold its fares British Airways consider the position. Sir Freddie Ch...

mind following the 'We all expect fall in the Minimu Rate which would ered the value of he said. And we did prizes would n much as we h there would be effect on peop income. Sir Freddie a are prepared to a mistake. We n can save more from our expe this must be p customer. He said hum t h they had been cel flights to A of fare rises. It shows th greedy we h headway we h the past few troy our int Freddie. Now thousa gers who pla America later h do not know h will pay.

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to the Social De Party, dear?

Ever thought of

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Weatherwise

RAIN at times. Windy. Outlook: Still unsettled.

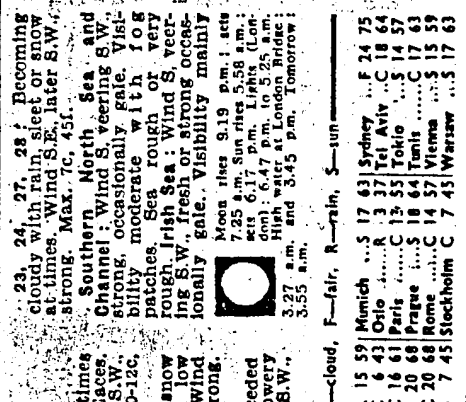
District Forecasts

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. Clear at times. Drizzle and rain in evening. Wind S.W., fresh or strong. Max. 12-14C, 54-57F.

11. 12. 13. 14. 15. Mostly cloudy with rain, preceded by snow in places. Showery later. Wind S.W., strong, locally gale. Max. 10-12C, 50-54F.

World Weather at Noon YESTERDAY

Amsterdam C 5 F Brussels F 14 57 Dubrovnik S 14 57 Lisbon C 15 59 Munich S 17 63 Sydney F 24 75

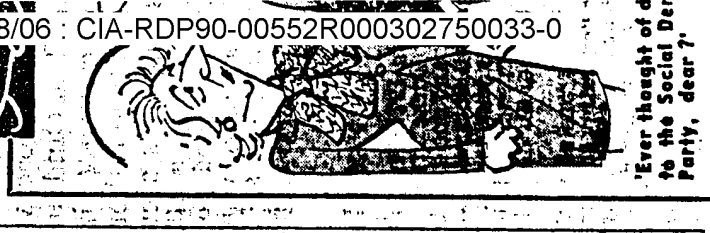


Snow Reports

| | | | |
|------------------|----|-----|------|
| North (in) State | 32 | 132 | Good |
| Alaska slopes | 68 | 98 | Good |
| Alaska | 42 | 88 | Fair |
| Let Area | 8 | 32 | Fair |
| Texas | 44 | 52 | Fair |

SCOTLAND. — Caberfeidh: Most main runs complete. New snow, firm base. Glenheath: Most main runs complete. New snow. Glenties: All main runs complete. Powder snow drifting across, firm base.

YESTERDAY (24 hr. to 6 p.m.) — Warmest: Watlington and Honington (Suffolk), Coltham (Norfolk), Bourne Coldest: Glastonbury (Somerset), 1c. 52f. 27f. Wettest: Priddy (Avon), 1.71 in. Sunniest: Watwick (Stratford), 9.8-hrs. London: Max. 50c. Min. 35c. Rain: Sun. 0.7, 0.04 in. Humidity: 29-65 in., rising. Humidity 55-65 per cent.



The Hollis Affair

M15

The secret file on Britain's greatest spy sensation



**BY CHAPMAN
PINCHER**

BRITAIN'S FOREMOST AUTHORITY ON ESPIONAGE

THIS is the story of what is perhaps one of the most dramatic and sensational secret investigations ever conducted in the history of this country.

Over a period of several years, from 1963 to 1974, loyal officers of M15 conducted a long exhaustive and exhausting inquiry into the alarming probability that there was a 'mole', a long-standing Soviet agent implanted deep in the heart of our Intelligence Services.

What is more, as the old files were dusted off when M15 officers began the laborious process of back-tracking old operations, it was clear that if there was a 'mole', he was placed close to the very pinnacle of the Service.

Eventually, these M15 officers, first acting unofficially, and then managing to persuade the Secret Service, M16, to work with them in a joint committee, called the Placency Committee, conducted the most difficult and the most sensitive inquiry which either agency had ever been involved in.

With a quickening sense of foreboding, the investigators narrowed the short list of possible 'moles' down to five, including one woman. Each was fed 'barium meal', specially doctored documents or 'verbal information' which might enable the investigators to ascertain where the leakages came from.

The suspects were quickly narrowed down to three and then to two. One, a very senior officer in M15, was given the code-name 'Peter'. The other, astonishingly and frighteningly, was the Head of the Service himself, Sir Roger Hollis.

Two-way mirror

'Peter' himself was put through the most remarkable series of tests. His telephones at work were bugged, even the mirror in his office was removed and replaced by a two-way mirror behind which a television camera recorded every move. Despite it all, 'Peter' was in the clear, leaving the last of the five Sir Roger Hollis himself, as the chief suspect. The unimaginable now seemed possible. The head of the Security Service could have been a Russian agent.

By then, Sir Roger had retired and was living on a modest pension in a tiny cottage in the beautiful village of Catcott in Somerset. He was a very model of the distinguished retired public servant. He was a Rural District councillor, captain of the prestigious Burnham-Berrow Golf Club and president of the Somerset Golfing Union. He had been knighted by the Queen in 1960 and the only

bit of public scandal which had ever touched his life was when, in February 1966, after 22 years of marriage, he was divorced by his wife. He then married his secretary of 18 years standing, Miss Edith 'Val' Hammond.

Sir Roger, the son of a Eishop, was born in 1905, educated at Clifton College in Bristol and Worcester College, Oxford, which he entered in 1924.

However, he left without a degree as he felt he would not do well in the examinations and joined the British American Tobacco Company working for them for nine years in China. There, he contracted TB and was sent to Switzerland for a cure and in 1938 returned to England apparently with no prospects. He had no degree, his health was suspect and the only job he could find was as a clerk/typist. Yet, within a year, he managed to worm his way into M15, quickly rising to become Acting Head of Section F—responsible for overseeing Soviet and Communist operations in the U.K. and Colonies. Then in the early 1950s, he became Deputy Director-General of M15 and in 1956, when the then top man, Dick White, moved over to the Secret Service, Director-General of M15 and the man in charge of all of Britain's security services.

Safe house

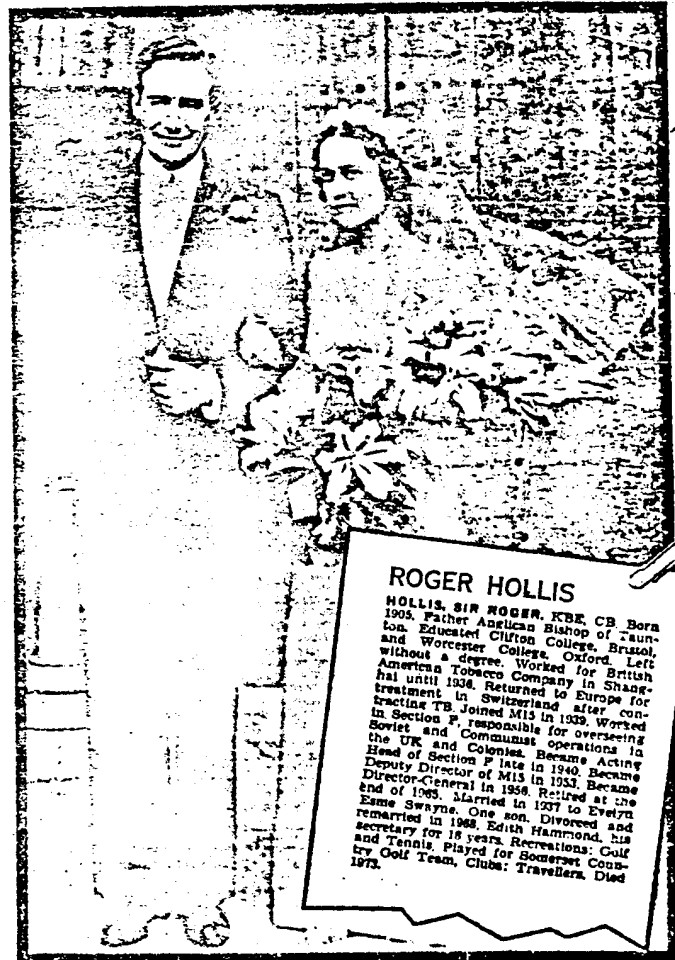
But all of that was in the past as Sir Roger was enjoying his retirement in his idyllic rural retreat where he was looked up to and respected by local people.

That peace was finally shattered when on a day in 1970 he was told that he was required to come to London to M15 headquarters to face allegations which had been made about him. There he met his successor, Sir Martin Furnival Jones, who told him that suspicions which had arisen about his past activities had to be cleared up. The man who had once and for so long been the chief of the department now faced the humiliation of being taken to a 'safe house' nearby to face 48 hours of virtual non-stop interrogation.

Then, and during a subsequent interrogation, Sir Roger never broke. His frustrated interrogators believed that they had before them the most successful spy in history—a KGB agent so successful that he made the notorious spies of the past like Burgess and Maclean, Philby and Blunt look very much in the second league.

But in order to prove it they needed a confession and this they were never to get. Probably the Hollis Affair would have been left buried forever within the vaults of the M15 if certain members of that service and the Secret Service had not been so concerned about the astonishing scale of Soviet penetration into the service over such a long period of time and had not agitated privately for an independent inquiry.

It was because of that pressure that the Cabinet Secretary of the period, Sir John Hunt, asked his retired predecessor, Lord Trend, to carry out a personal investigation. By that time Hollis was dead, but Lord Trend



ROGER HOLLIS

HOLLIS, SIR ROGER, KBE, CB Born 1905. Father Anglican Bishop of Taunton. Educated Clifton College, Bristol, and Worcester College, Oxford. Left without a degree. Worked for British American Tobacco Company in Shanghai until 1938. Returned to Europe for treatment in Switzerland after contracting TB. Joined M15 in 1939. Worked in Section F, responsible for overseeing Soviet and Communist operations in the UK and Colonies. Became Acting Head of Section F late in 1940. Became Deputy Director of M15 in 1953. Became Director-General in 1956. Retired at the end of 1963. Married in 1937 to Evelyn Esme Swayne. One son. Divorced and remarried in 1968. Edith Hammond, his secretary for 18 years. Recreations: Golf and Tennis. Played for Somerset County Golf Team. Clubs: Travellers. Died 1973.

ENTERING MARRIED LIFE: Roger Hollis, in 1937, with Evelyn Esme Swayne.

had put before him the evidence which proved without question that since the war there had been a Soviet 'mole' buried within the topmost echelons of M15—a 'mole' who was other than Anthony Blunt.

This week I will present this extraordinary saga in public for the first time in the pages of the Daily Mail.

For the first time, the public will learn how the KGB rendered M15 almost completely impotent thanks to traitors in high places, and for the first time, too, I will reveal the real truth behind the Philby Affair. Anthony

Blunt and all the other notorious post-war spy cases which have so disfigured the political landscape of this country.

I will reveal, as well, details of other spies, once respected people in our society, who also sold their souls to the KGB, who betrayed their country and their friends.

I will deal first with my files on Hollis... these documents which with remorseless logic build to such a shocking conclusion.

The tell-tale clues: Next page

The Hollis Affair



The jigsaw of clues to a super-mole somewhere

THE CASE OF COLONEL PRIBYL

200 leaks that told the KGB every move that MI5 made

THAT there was a 'mole' in MI5 — whether or not he was Sir Roger Hollis — there had never been any doubt. During the whole of the decade from 1951-1961, MI5 had achieved no major success against the Russians — an appalling indictment of the organisation.

Slowly, at first in dribs and drabs and finally in a flood, loyal MI5 officers came to the certain conclusion that the reason for this was that the service itself had been penetrated at the highest level.

Hard and frightening evidence came in which proved that the Russians knew every move that MI5 was making. They could only have had that information if they had a 'mole' at the top. Look at some of the facts.

A defector from the Czech Embassy in Washington described a conversation which he had once had with Col. Oldrich Pribyl, the Czech Military Attache in London. Pribyl had told him how he had once been followed by what he thought was an MI5 vehicle in London while deferring one of several British traitors. He took evasive action, but he was so concerned that the British might know what he was up to he consulted the Russian Military Attache in London.

Spring a trap

The Russian explained that as it was a Bank Holiday weekend he could not find out immediately, but would give him the answer on Tuesday. Sure enough, on that day, the Russian told Pribyl that MI5 watchers had indeed been following him but had given up the chase because they had decided that he was only giving a colleague driving instructions.

This information horrified MI5 because it was correct. Pribyl had also related that

the Russians had warned him that MI5 men who called Soviet Bloc cars had changed their tactics. Instead of waiting near Communist Embassies where they could be too easily seen, they were waiting by the main Thames bridges, which the Soviet Bloc spies were likely to use. As a result, no Russian ever came near the bridges.

Talkative Pribyl also revealed how MI5 tried to spring a trap for him. British technician Brian Linney was providing highly secret information about the RAR missile which he had picked up while working as an engineer in a factory at Shoreham in Sussex. The plan was to arrest Linney at the moment he was handing the material over to Pribyl so that they both could be brought in. MI5 knew of the arrangements for the crucial meeting between the two. Linney turned up but Pribyl, though the information was vital to the Russians, never left his office. He had clearly been warned.

MI5 had been convinced for many years that the British Communist Party was in regular receipt of substantial sums of money from the Soviet Government which was handed in cash to a senior Party member who served as paymaster.

'Granny' installed

The transfers of cash in shoe boxes had been observed, but what MI5 wanted to see was the ledger showing how the Russian money was dispersed and whether any was used for espionage and subversion purposes. In the early 1960s, the current paymaster lived in a two-storey house divided into two single-floor flats. One day it was seen that he was advertising for a tenant for the bottom floor flat so a security man applied for it through the agency and installed a 'Granny', as such women agents are called.

Soon afterwards, at Christmas, when the paymaster went to stay for two days with another Communist in the country, the MI5 men decided to search his flat. They never did so because he left the friend's house where he was staying and was met by the watcher following him, so the break-in had to be called off in case he was on his way back. When he returned home on the day after Boxing Day, he gave the 'Granny' a week's notice, refusing to give any reason. The MI5 top management had been told about the projected operation only two days before-



COLONEL OLDRICH PRIBYL: Defector with a strange knowledge of MI5's tactics.

hand, its approval being necessary before the flat could be entered.

Having access to an ingenious device, new at the time, called the probe microphone, MI5 was keen to use it in counter-espionage work against the Soviet Consulate in Baywater Road, which was known to harbour several dangerous KGB spies. Knowing the details of the building, MI5 technicians were able to bore a hole through a party wall so that it came out behind a moulded leaf, in the high frieze of a specially selected room of the Consulate. The hole, where it emerged behind the leaf, was no wider than a pin and there was no way in which it could have been detected by accident.

The microphone operated successfully for only a short time. At a later date,

when a chance opportunity presented itself to an inside agent who is no longer active, examination of the pin-hole showed that it had been plugged up with plaster, rendering the whole apparatus useless. The MI5 officers involved in the operation were in no doubt that it had been betrayed by a source which could only be inside MI5.

So damaging

In 1962, Anatoli Golitsin, a senior KGB officer with a mass of information, defected to the CIA from the Soviet Embassy in London. Among the many leads he provided, he revealed that the Soviet Embassy in London had no 'SK' (for Soviet Control) Department. This is a group of KGB officers installed in

almost every Russian Embassy to ensure that there are no defectors from the ranks. Golitsin explained that the Russians had such an excellent source in MI5 that they could be confident of being warned of any likely defectors in London. So no SK officers were needed.

All in all, investigators established 46 clear leaks of precise information of this kind to the Soviets, and as the investigation proceeded this list was to grow to an astonishing 200 incidents.

Overwhelmingly the investigators proved that these leaks—so damaging to the defence of the realm—could only have come from someone from the very highest echelons of the Security Services.

Clues that proved there was newwhere at the top of MI5



THE CASE OF IGOR GOUZENKO

Curious link with a Blenheim Palace base

WHILE one group of investigators looked into the files seeking evidence of Soviet penetration, another group investigated the rather strange history of Sir Roger himself. What they came up with was alarming.

Certainly, they showed that Sir Roger had been less than frank when he first applied to join MI5, particularly concerning his past associates. No one knew, until the investigation of his past began, that two of his closest friends at Oxford were members of the Communist Party, both to become well-known journalists and writers.

No one knew, until the investigators found it out for themselves, that while in Shanghai he had become friendly with an American left-wing journalist and a dedicated agent for the Russians who had been deeply involved with Soviet spy rings then active in Shanghai.

And no one knew that he had known a notorious Soviet agent, the particularly brutal recruiter for the KGB. This was how the CIA described him when, at the behest of the British, it also began investigating Hollis's background. He was known for the ruthlessness with which he used bribery, women and blackmail to secure agents. Hollis, it was shown, was susceptible to sexual indulgence and developed a notable reputation as a lady's man.

Prominent recruit

What was significant, too, was the persistence with which Hollis had got into MI5. He had been seen once by an MI5 Board and also by the Secret Service. But this did not put him off. He tried everything he knew to break in and eventually succeeded when he met an MI5 officer at a tennis party and was finally recommended for recruitment.

Assuming for a moment that Hollis was already in the hands of the KGB, then he was certainly running true to type. Whenever Soviet Intelligence scores a prominent recruit, he or she is pushed to get a job in MI5, the Secret Service, Government Communications Headquarters, The Times, the BBC, the Foreign Office or the Home Office, in that order. There is, of course, nothing wrong in a young man trying hard to get into the Security Services, but when, in the process, he conceals extremely relevant aspects of his past life, there that is bound to raise suspicions about his activities.

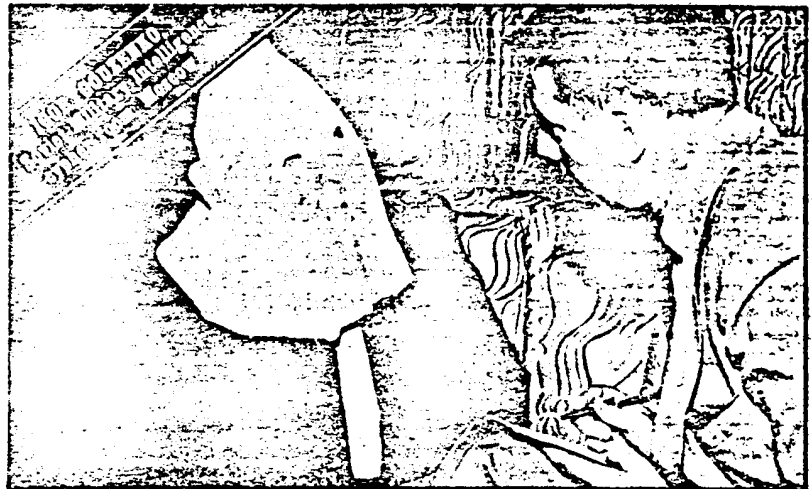
As for Hollis's behaviour, once he was established as the Director-General of MI5, that, too, caught the attention of the security investigators. His habit of remaining late in his office in Leonfield House in Curzon Street, often until about 8 p.m., suggested some activity which he wished to keep private.

More suspicious

But there was something infinitely more suspicious which came to light than that. A meticulous search of MI5 offices revealed that there was a locked drawer in an antique desk which had not been used for years. Examination showed that, unlike all the other drawers, the edges of which were dusty, the locked drawer had recently been in use.

One evening Hollis was asked for his permission for this drawer to be opened the following morning by means of a skeleton key. He agreed. When, on the next day, the drawer was eased out there was nothing inside but, from marks on the dust, it was obvious that some flat object on four buttoned feet had been in the drawer on more than one occasion. What was the object? The investigators assumed it to be a tape recorder.

It was in this room that weekly meetings took place to decide how MI5 men watching opposition agents were to be used. Hollis himself did not attend but a recording of what occurred would have obviously been of enormous value.



IGOR GOUZENKO: No wonder he faced the cameras hooded... his information changed for ever our views of Soviet espionage.

IN 1945 when the West was slowly waking up to the dangers posed by Soviet imperialism, a top level defector from the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa sought the protection of the Canadian Government.

It was quickly realised that Igor Gouzenko was one of the most valuable sources of information about Soviet intentions the Western world had ever had. The information he produced was to change for ever the rosy view some had about Soviet intentions in the world once the war was over. Gouzenko, who had worked in the main cypher room of Soviet Military Intelligence in Moscow, had been able to monitor the secret radio traffic between Moscow and its spies all over the world. The stories which he had to tell were hair-raising.

Valuable

Gouzenko was able to reveal that the Russians had an agent working in MI5 whose code-name was 'Elli'. And he also revealed that through 'Elli' the Russians had top secret files which could only have come from the war-time MI5 out-station at

Blenheim Palace, Oxford. Though this information was of the first importance, a subsequent investigation showed that MI5 did nothing at all about Gouzenko's material.

When questioned as to why this was in 1952, Gouzenko himself said that 'Elli' had probably smothered every piece of information that Gouzenko had brought with him. Startlingly, it was subsequently realised that the man MI5 sent to Ottawa to interrogate Gouzenko about his revelations concerning MI5 was none other than Roger Hollis.

Reading his reports many years later, it was found that on his return to London he had reported the minimum amount of information to the Department about this most valuable defector.

As they went through the Gouzenko

LADY FALKENDER remembers when Sir Harold Wilson was told in 1975 about the suspicions centring around Roger Hollis. He emerged from a meeting and said: 'Now I have heard everything. I have just been told that the Head of MI5 himself may have been a double agent.'

MI5, suspicious MI5 officers began to ask this alarming question: Had the 'Elli' allegations been investigated on the spot in Canada by 'Elli' himself?

But there was more to it than that. MI5 now believed, because of the Blenheim files, that they knew why in December 1940, a professional Russian spy, an expert wireless operator, Ursula Beurton, had been sent to Britain from an important job in Switzerland to live in Oxford. Later, in 1942, she was able to serve as a courier for the atom bomb spy Klaus Fuchs. But the big question which had long puzzled the security men was who had she been working for until then.

Now it looked as if they had the answer. They knew Beurton had been in contact with someone through dead-letter boxes in Oxford — secret hiding places where messages could be left or gathered. One, for example, was a split in a tomb in a certain graveyard in the locality. Now they knew that Moscow possessed the Blenheim files, it didn't take too much a stretch of the imagination to guess what material she was sending.

Only one man had access to all those documents. His name was Roger Hollis.

TURN TO NEXT PAGE

The Hollis Affair

The smokescreen confession

IT WAS the circumstances surrounding the defection of Kim Philby from Beirut in 1963 which were finally to force a reluctant Intelligence Establishment to probe in depth the whole question of Russian penetration.

Though the Security Service were convinced that Kim Philby was a Russian Mole there was no hard evidence against him. He had been interrogated by a judicial inquiry and had successfully stonewalled the legendary Jim Skardon, the MI5 interrogator who had broken Klaus Fuchs, the atom spy, in the 1940s. But he confessed to nothing.

It was I can report a Jewish woman, not a mally resident in London, who provided the evidence which was to nail him. She was attending a cocktail party in Israel and was heard to say that she was extremely snooty at the way Philby was slanting his articles in the Observer against the Israelis and in favour of the Arabs.

Evidence

He was supporting Nasser and Nasserite nationalists in South Yemen and elsewhere in the Arab world. As usual, Kim is doing what his Russian controller tells him, she said. I know that he's always worked for the Russians.

These remarks were reported back to London and she was asked to make a statement to the security authorities. Reluctantly she agreed, though she realised that her



PHILBY...BURGESS...MACLEAN...a web of deceit turned Philby's confession into a final smokescreen.

THE CASE OF KIM PHILBY

evidence would imply that she had known that Philby was a Soviet spy for many years and had failed to report it.

The woman, who is still alive, was interviewed by the head of Soviet counter-espionage in MI5. She described to him how Philby, an old friend, had taken her out to lunch before World War II and told her that he was doing a very dangerous job for peace, working for the Communists. He needed help and he asked her to join the cause.

While the woman said that she had refused to help him, she con-

ceded that she had told him that he could always come to her for help if ever he was desperate, and that she would keep his secret.

This confession, in a routine way, went straight to Roger Hollis, by now head of the Security Services. Philby and he had been opposite numbers during the war.

Hollis, working out of Blenheim Palace, in Oxfordshire, headed the MI5 department responsible for overseeing Soviet and Communist operations in Britain and the Colonies; while Philby, in London, was involved with Secret Service operations against Russia outside Britain.

As Philby recalled later: 'We both served on the Joint Intelligence Subcommittee and never failed to work out an agreed approach to present to the less well-informed representatives of the Services departments and the Foreign Office.'

In the light of this new evidence, Hollis had to agree that Philby should be re-interrogated in Beirut. Nicholas Elliott, a former close friend of Philby, was sent out, under conditions of maximum security, for what everyone expected to be a most dramatic confrontation.

Yet, though only a tiny handful of people knew what was going on, it quickly became clear that Philby had been forewarned.

A check made by MI5 later showed that a very special KGB officer had visited Beirut in May 1962, shortly after the woman made her confession. His name was Yuri Modin. During his service in London before 1951, he had run Burgess, Maclean, Blunt, Philby and had supervised the defection of Burgess and Maclean.

His mission now was almost certainly to warn Philby of this potent danger to him and to discuss plans for dealing with it.

So why didn't Philby run then and there? The answer is that if he had done so, then there would have been no doubt in anyone's mind that there was still a mole in place in MI5.

Defection

So the best all-round solution for the KGB was for Philby to make a confession of old events, no longer of consequence and use it to give misleading information to cover current operations. The confession would provide the reason for his eventual defection, the implications being that he could not trust any British promises.

There is little doubt that Philby's confession, which was tape-recorded, was written in advance under KGB control, most probably with Modin at his side. Philby's intense anxiety during the few seconds he had to wait for the showdown after Modin's warning can well account for his extreme drunkenness at the time.

Elliott travelled to Beirut early in January 1963 and remains satisfied that no indication of the purpose of his visit came from him or from any officials in the Embassy there. Further, I have established that the CIA, which had a mission in Beirut, was not told in advance of the coming interrogation, in spite of reports to the contrary.

Elliott telephoned Philby from a private flat, which had been hired and wired, and invited him round for a drink. The first thing Philby said was: 'I was half expecting to see you.' In his diary Harold Macmillan recorded that Philby had confessed 'in a drunken fit'. In fact, throughout his encounters with Elliott, he was sober.

Connivance

Without delay, Elliott told Philby that new evidence had come to light and that both White and Hollis no longer had any doubt about his guilt.

Without even asking what the new evidence was, Philby agreed to confess and said: 'This was bound to happen one day. There was bound to be a defector, a cipher-clerk or a spy-in-place who would know about me.' But at no time did he ask for any details.

About ten days later, on January 23, Philby disappeared from Beirut, probably on a Soviet freighter conveniently docked there, and it is believed, with the connivance of the Lebanese police, Modin may well have been with him.

While Elliott strongly suspected that Philby had been tipped off by an MI5 source, the Secret Service, whose man Philby had been, tended to accept the confession as a reasonably true account, though incomplete.

In MI5, however, there were some officers who regarded both the avowed confession which Philby gave Elliott and the tape recordings of their conversations to be KGB confessions and it was concluded that the KGB had been able to follow from sources within MI5 every nuance of the conduct of the Philby case from early 1962 onwards. Among the possible lies listed by MI5 was Philby's admission that he had been able to give Donald Maclean the final alert by telling him the precise date when he was to be interrogated.

Horrendous

In fact, it was most unlikely that Philby could ever have possessed this information. Only five senior officers of MI5 were in on the secret. One of these was Roger Hollis. The implications of that were horrendous.

There was someone inside MI5 who was providing the KGB with top secret information. And that information was used by Philby in his 'confession' to try to take the heat off the 'Mole' who was still in place.

That 'Mole' was likely to be a man at least as important inside Britain's Security Services as Philby had once been, and possibly even more so.

From Their Trade Is Treachery, by Chapman Pincher, to be published later this week by Sidgwick and Jackson, £7.00.



The Leeds change of interest rates

From 1st April 1981, the basic rate of interest charged to existing borrowers for owner occupation will be reduced to **13%** (or the appropriate equivalent in the case of endowment and option mortgages).

The following reduced rates of interest will apply on savings accounts from 1st April 1981.

| | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|
| SUBSCRIPTION SHARES for regular savers | 9.75% | |
| <small>Basic rate income tax paid by the Society.</small> | | |
| PAID-UP SHARES for 'now and then' savers | 8.50% | |
| <small>Basic rate income tax paid by the Society.</small> | | |
| HIGH RETURN OPTION SHARES for fixed term accounts | | |
| 5yrs. 10.50% | 3yrs. 9.50% | 1yr. 9.00% |
| 4yrs. 10.00% | 2yrs. 9.25% | 6mths. 8.75% |
| <small>Basic rate income tax paid by the Society.</small> | | |
| DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS Ordinary accounts | 8.25% | |
| <small>Basic rate income tax paid by the Society.</small> | | |
| <small>Other Deposit Accounts reduced by 1.00%.</small> | | |

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TOMORROW: The KGB and Blunt... the sinister delays

Daily Mail

TUESDAY, MARCH 24, 1981

12p



Daily Mail
REVEALED for the first time...
MI5 CHIEF WAS RUSSIAN SPY SUSPECT
Yesterday's Daily Mail exclusive which took No 10 by surprise.

Mail disclosures shock No 10 and Prime Minister demands: Why did none of my staff warn me?

MAGGIE FURY AT MI5 BOMBSHELL

TODAY: Sir Roger and the scandalous delays in the Profumo and Blunt Affairs
—SEE CENTRE PAGES

MARGARET THATCHER was shocked yesterday by the disclosure in the Daily Mail of evidence that former MI5 chief Sir Roger Hollis was suspected of having been a Russian spy.

Until the Mail's first edition was delivered to Downing Street late on Sunday night, she was unaware that, for the second time in her Premiership, a major security scandal was about to break.

With the revelations about Sir Roger coming on top of the unmasking of Anthony Blunt as a traitor, she was angry and worried.

Mrs Thatcher intends to make a full statement on the Hollis Affair in the Commons on Thursday.

Before leaving Downing Street for the Common Market summit in Maastricht, Holland, she ordered two investigations:

1. The current MI5 head, Sir Howard Smith, should forthwith make a full report to her on how the suspected treachery by Hollis when he held the job from 1956 to 1965 went undiscovered.

2. Sir Robert Armstrong, head of the Cabinet Office, should assess the effect on Britain's security standing in the Western alliance of the revelations being published this week in the Mail in extracts from Chapman Pincher's new book *Their Trade is Treachery*.

More immediately, it was being asked in political circles how Downing Street did not know well in advance that a book with such disturbing implications for security was about to come out.

Normally Whitehall ensures it has copies of books on sensitive issues long before review copies are issued to newspapers, under embargo, around three weeks before publication.

From **JOHN DICKIE** and **GORDON GREIG** in Maastricht

As head of the security services, Mrs Thatcher is answerable to Parliament for every aspect of their conduct and she should have been warned.

Yet last night she was still waiting to know if her staff at Downing Street had obtained a copy of the book.

In contrast, somebody apparently did tell Hollis's widow that the storm was about to break. On Sunday morning, she was cancelling an appointment with the words: 'I have been told that I have to go away.'

Opposition

But Mrs Thatcher was left without an inkling until she read with great interest the front page of yesterday's Daily Mail.

Subsequently, she hurried her staff over and over at the prospect of another Establishment cover-up, as happened over the Blunt Affair. In that case the Prime Minister defied opposition to insist on naming as a traitor the Queen's Adviser on the Royal Art Collection.

Once again an urgent check was being made to see if there was any

Turn to Page 2, Col 1



Suspect: The late Sir Roger Hollis

The world picks up the Daily Mail

THE Daily Mail's disclosure about the MI5 affair was given prominence in newspapers and on TV and radio bulletins all over the world yesterday. In BRITAIN this morning's Times will carry the Daily Mail's full account of the Hollis affair which Mail readers saw yesterday.

By special agreement, The Times has arranged this week to publish the revelations on the day following their appearance in the Mail.

The Mail story dominated British radio and TV programmes yesterday.

In AMERICA, under the three column headline 'Dark story of a British Knight', the New York Daily News ran the story at length.

HOLLAND: The news sent a buzz around the summit centre in Maastricht and one veteran Dutch diplomat said:

Turn to Page 2, Col 6

MIS CHIEF WAS RUSSIAN SPY SUSPECT

I've been told that I have to go away, says Sir Roger's widow

Riddle of 'quit' message to Lady Hollis



Lord Trend says No comment

THE widow of suspected KGB agent Sir Roger Hollis vanished from her Somerset village a day before the storm over her husband broke. On Sunday night, Lady Hollis should have been taking notes as honorary secretary of a parochial church committee at Catcott on the north side of the Polden Hills. But this morning the view, the Rev. John Graham, received a terse phone message from her. She told him: 'I have been told that I have to go away. I'm afraid that I can't say where or why, and I am not sure that I will be back.' Yesterday the view said: 'I didn't know what it was all about until I saw the paper. This is absolutely astounding news. Lady Hollis is a charming woman, a stalwart of the church and always has been. She is full of good works like taking the senior citizens in her car for outings. Cross ways, the stone cottage where Lady Hollis has lived now since her husband's death eight years ago, was deserted yesterday. Lady Hollis, who was Sir Roger's secretary at MIS for 18 years before their marriage, was his second wife. His first marriage ended in divorce. Sir Roger's son, Adrian, a lecturer at Keele College, Oxford, said last night: 'At the end of the day, all I can hope is that my father's name will be cleared. Nothing I knew of his opinions, on his way of life, suggested that he would behave like this. It seems to me very strange that someone supposedly working for the Russians over a long period of time would not give something away to somebody. I was very close to my father and he never showed any particular political leaning. He would have voted for different parties depending upon the issue at the time.' Sir Roger lived in Catcott for five years before his death.

Lady Hollis: Left before Neighbour Jack Fowles, a farmer, said: 'We all knew he had been in MIS. We had known for years, long before he died. I don't know how it became common knowledge but it didn't seem to bother anyone very much. He and his wife didn't really mix much with us. They were a different sort of people, different backgrounds and different accents.' Another neighbour, Mrs Dorothy Gardner, remembered Sir Roger as a very good man. 'He was the sort the people went to if they needed help.

LORD TREND, who conducted the inquiry over Sir Roger Hollis in 1974 — a year after Sir Roger's death — said yesterday: 'I have no comment to make on this at all.' Lord Trend, 66, a former secretary of the Cabinet speaking from Lincoln College, Oxford, where he is now Rector, added: 'The Government has no comment, and therefore I have no comment.' The Prime Minister's Office also refused to say anything. A spokeswoman said: 'We don't make comments on security matters.' Sir Roger Hollis's brother, the Right Rev Michael Hollis, 82, former Bishop of Mauritius, said: 'I have not seen these allegations, and I am not interested in them.' Former Tory MP Commander Anthony Courtney, 72, who was forced to resign his seat in 1974 after a Russian attempt to blackmail him over an affair with a woman, spoke out yesterday in support of Sir Roger. He said: 'I knew him for many years, he was a very dear friend, and I am sure he was not the slightest bit inclined to have been a KGB stooge.

Maggie orders probe into new spy scandal

Continued from Page One evidence that the Establishment had been lax in not exposing a possible traitor within its own ranks. Amid the hubbub at the BBC summit and the security scandal overwhelmed other issues, relegating the clashes on fish, steel and farm prices — there was a searing anxiety that the Hollis affair could question the trust that Britain's allies, especially the U.S., had in our security. Labour MP Dennis Canavan is due to cut the first Commons question over the affair to Deputy Prime Minister and Home Secretary William Whitelaw today. Mr Whitelaw is expected to duck any direct question about Sir Roger — to await Mrs Thatcher's return from Holland tonight. Mr Canavan said that the Mail report seemed like yet another cover-up by the Establishment. If it is true, it is quite appalling. There is a great deal of public concern about the way



SIR ROBERT ARMSTRONG Ordered by Mrs Thatcher...



SIR HOWARD SMITH to report urgently

Asked whether he had written to Mrs Thatcher about Hollis in 1979, he said: 'I confirm that this is true, but I regard the contents as confidential.' Apparently Mrs Thatcher is worried that there might well still be serious gaps in her knowledge. Under the present security system, her intelligence chiefs are required to respond with a complete answer to a very specific query she raises. But they are not in the habit of going beyond a precise area of any inquiries put to them.



Blackmail In 1971, Commander Courtney, who now lives in Devizes, Wiltshire, accused Sir Roger of laying himself open to blackmail. He said yesterday: 'He made himself an obvious blackmail target through having a long affair with his secretary. He knew the KGB were keen to get a hold on him, but it was never known whether they had attempted to blackmail him. If they had tried, I am sure he would not have succumbed.' Another former head of MIS, Sir Dick Goldsmith White, would not comment on the report. Sir Dick director-general of the service before Sir Roger took over, has publicly defended a former deputy director, Guy Liddell, after speculation in the wake of the Bhatti scandal that a top Secret Service man was a Russian agent.

In which our so-called security services are operated, especially after the Bhatti scandal. Mrs Thatcher has insisted that the Hollis affair is an issue of such gravity that she alone should face the Commons outcry and give her views of what happened and what can be done now. Tory MP Jonathan Aitken warned the Prime Minister of the Hollis affair within weeks of her Commons statement naming Anthony Bhatti as a former Soviet agent. It is understood that he asked for a full-scale inquiry — backing up his demand with information about Hollis which had not previously been divulged to the Prime Minister. But last night Mr Aitken refused to go into detail about the correspondence.

Specific So highly sensitive information could well remain secret even from the Prime Minister because it was not thought relevant to any inquiry made. As soon as Mrs Thatcher has assessed the reports of Sir Howard Smith and Sir Robert Armstrong she will be anxious to assure President Reagan and the American security chiefs that any weaknesses laid bare by the Hollis affair have been successfully plugged in the years since he left the service. In Parliament she will be under strong pressure to submit the whole issue to Lord Diplock's Security Commission — the high-level panel which investigates the evidence of security lapses.

World news! Continued from Page One 'Not another security leak by the British?' It was widely quoted in BRUSSELS, and was given prominence over the Common Market summit. One typical newscast on Belgian radio said: 'In London, the Daily Mail revealed exclusively today that a super mole once served at the head of Britain's Secret Intelligence Services.' LUXEMBOURG TV described it as a new, startling revelation about Britain's security services. FRANCE: The news agency AFP reported the item without comment, making the Daily Mail, but French press media reaction to foreign news stories invariably comes 24 hours later. AUSTRALIA: In Melbourne, the MBS circulation is rising as The Herald carried the story in a prominent position under the heading 'Top spy in KGB shock.'

Weatherwise section including district forecasts, world weather at noon yesterday, and saw reports with a map of Europe.

The Hollis Affair



Profumo, Blunt . . . On

SIR ROGER HOLLIS, as the head of MI5, was at the very heart of two of the greatest scandals in post-war Britain . . . the Profumo Affair, and the discovery that Anthony Blunt was a KGB agent. As suspicions about Roger Hollis hardened, security men began looking once again at the way these two affairs were handled by the country's security forces. What they uncovered horrified them. This week, for the first time, the full story of what are perhaps the most dramatic and sensational secret investigations ever conducted in this country can be told. During lengthy, humiliating interrogation in the Seventies, Sir Roger never broke, but his interrogators believed they had before them the most successful spy in history—a KGB spy so deeply dug in as a Super Mole that he made notorious names like Burgess, Maclean, Philby and Blunt very much second league. These, then, are the files on Profumo and Blunt. They point with remorseless logic to a shocking conclusion.

THE PROFUMO AFFAIR

Warning for a spy, but not for the Minister

I I WAS on November 11, 1962, that a Labour Back Bench MP, military expert and trouble-shooter extraordinary, George Wigg, received a mysterious telephone call at the home of his party agent in his Dudley constituency.

His caller appeared to be speaking in a deliberately muffled voice. He said: "Forget about the Vassall case. You want to look at Profumo." So was set into motion an event which was to haunt British politics for years, The Profumo Affair.

It was, of course, this sad, unsavoury though often tragic story which was to lead to the premature retirement of Harold Macmillan as Prime Minister in the Autumn of 1963 and helped bring about the fall of the Tory Government in the 1964 General Election.

Call girl

Looking back, the suspicion must exist that the Soviets had deliberately and brilliantly engineered an event which was to bring so much embarrassment to the British Establishment and create a mood of cynicism which has never quite been removed from British politics ever since.

At the same time the course which the Profumo Affair was to take right through to its painful finale was conditioned by the behaviour of the Director General of MI5, Sir Roger Hollis.

If the Director of the KGB at the Centre in Moscow had been controlling the case day by day he could hardly have handled it more effectively to Russia's advantage than Hollis did.

It is true that Hollis repeatedly failed to do rather than what he did which called for censure. That censure was made at the time inside MI5 but the public was never allowed to hear of it.

As is well known, John Profumo, Minis-

by
**CHAPMAN
PINCHER**

BRITAIN'S FOREMOST AUTHORITY ON ESPIONAGE

ter of War, was having an affair at the time with a young call girl, Christine Keeler.

At the same time, she was on familiar terms with a senior member of Soviet Intelligence, Captain Eugene Ivanov, officially Assistant Naval Attaché at the Soviet Embassy, but known to MI5 for a period of six months before Profumo ever met Christine Keeler as a senior member of GRU, the military arm of Soviet Espionage and Subversion.

What made MI5's conduct during the months that followed so extraordinarily difficult to understand was that Stephen Ward, Christine Keeler's protector, was an MI5 informant. It was not hard, therefore, for MI5 to discover that the Minister for War was having an affair with a girl who was also involved with a senior member of Russian Intelligence.

But MI5, under Sir Roger Hollis, did nothing and it must now be presumed that the telephone call to George Wigg was a Soviet bid to bring this whole embarrassing affair deliberately out into the open and this they succeeded in doing brilliantly.

It has been said in defence of the Government of the time, and said by Harold Macmillan, that there never was a real chance of a security breach. Ivanov seemed to be interested in nuclear weapons and Profumo certainly did not possess any kind of scientific background.

But it was not that sort of information that Ivanov was after. He wanted to know when the Americans were planning to arm West Germany with atomic weapons and the exact date when this was likely to occur so they could be ready with a weighty political counter.

Even though Sir Roger learned that Ivanov had asked Stephen Ward if he could get this information from his influential friends, MI5 did nothing, not even informing the Foreign Office that he was a spy.

And when it became clear that Profumo had fallen into the Keeler/Ward-Ivanov set, Sir Roger's only action



THE MAN AT THE HEART OF BOTH AFFAIRS: Sir Roger Hollis (centre), pictured on a visit to Germany, looking over the border into the East.

was to ask the Secretary of the Cabinet, Sir Norman Brook, to suggest to Profumo that he should try to get Ivanov to defect.

It was an outrageous suggestion, for no Minister of the Crown should ever be embroiled in espionage or counter-espionage, but at the same time it managed to distract attention from what ought to have been the main issue, to warn Profumo as to the dangers he was running into.

Certainly Hollis told no-one else in a position of authority about what was going on. The Home Secretary, Mr Henry Brooke, to whom Hollis was officially responsible, knew nothing about the matter at all when it was first raised in Parliament, and was given the background only after he had taken the initiative and sent for Hollis.

Main issue

But by that time the damage had been done. Ivanov, scandalously once more, as a result of a tip-off, had skipped out of Britain, and Hollis himself issued a remarkable instruction actually forbidding his officers to continue investigations.

"Until further notice no approach should be made to anyone in the Ward gallery, or to any other outside contact in respect of it. If we are approached we listen only."

Hollis's Director of Counter-Espionage was so concerned about the lack of action that he put his view on record to Hollis stating:

"If a scandal results from Mr Profumo's association with Christine Keeler there is likely to be a considerable political rumour . . ."

If, in any subsequent inquiries we are found to have been in possession of this

information about Profumo and to have taken no action on it, we would, I am sure, be subject to much criticism for failing to bring it to light.

I suggest that this information be passed to the Prime Minister and you might also like to consider whether or not, before doing so, we should interview Miss Keeler.

It was a memorandum which Hollis was to ignore to the subsequent embarrassment of MI5 and the near political ruin of Harold Macmillan.

When Hollis came to give evidence to the Denning inquiry on the Profumo affair there is some reason to believe that some of his evidence was at least untrue.

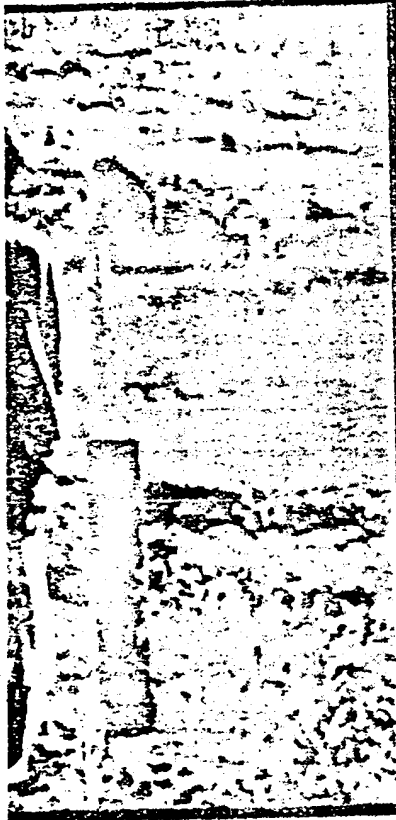
He told Denning that he did not learn of Profumo's sexual association with Keeler until the end of January, 1963, which, by strange coincidence, was exactly the time that Ivanov was warned to scurry home safely to Moscow.

There is evidence to suggest that MI5 watchers knew all about the affair for there was plenty of talk about their relationship in the Ward household and much of this was relayed to MI5.

The Denning Report cleared Hollis and MI5 completely, but MI5 officers whose hands had been tied by one negative directive after another from Hollis, not only disagreed with the findings of the Report but regarded the facts on which they had been based as a shameful indictment of their organisation and of their leader in particular.

The Profumo Affair was to ruin its principal actors. It was also to have a profound influence upon the future reputation of the man who stood in the shadows—Sir Roger Hollis.

The man dictated their fate



THE BLUNT AFFAIR

Two astonishing weeks when he just disappeared

THE behaviour of Roger Hollis during the confession and continuing interrogation of Anthony Blunt in the spring and summer of 1964 helped to intensify the suspicions against him.

The case officer who induced Blunt to confess happened to be the man who first suspected Hollis, and was a prominent member of the M15/Secret Service Committee, called the Fluency Committee, investigating Soviet penetrations of the Service.

Roger Hollis forced a row with this officer when he had barely begun to interrogate Blunt and suspended him from duty for a fortnight.

The case officer offered to carry on with the questioning of Blunt from his home, but Hollis forbade it. As a result Blunt was astonishingly left alone for two weeks, during which time nobody knows what he did although it is now thought he took the time so scandalously given to him to consult his Soviet employers.

Leakages

But Hollis was still not finished. He picked another quarrel with the same case officer, and, though he was very senior, summarily sacked him.

However, this time he did not get his own way. The man's reputation was so high that he was snapped up by the Secret Service and, to Hollis's mortification, remained on the Fluency Committee investigating the leakages.

Anthony Blunt was, in fact, a much more important S's agent than has yet been realised.

His crimes against his country, dragged out of him during hundreds of hours of taped interrogation, were such an indictment of war-time security that every effort has been made to cover them from public knowledge.

Firstly, I can reveal precisely what it was that happened in late 1963 which led to his unmaking.

A middle-aged American belonging to a rich and famous American family, was invited to undertake a political task by the White House. Having a guilt complex about his secret past, he went to the FBI headquarters in Washington hoping to clear himself before accepting the White House post.

There he confessed that he had been a Communist while in England at Cambridge Univer-



SCANDAL No. 2 : KGB talent spotter Anthony Blunt with, inset, Guy Burgess, with whom he kept in close touch.

sity, had been recruited to Soviet intelligence and had served the Russian interests for several years.

He named the man who had recruited him as Sir Anthony Blunt and said he was prepared to give evidence against Blunt in court if necessary.

The FBI passed this information to M15 and it was only when confronted by it in April 1964 that Blunt decided to confess after being first assured that he would never face prosecution.

Blunt has said publicly that he felt free to confess because something that happened in 1964 freed him from loyalties to his friends. The sanctimonious hypocrite confessed because, for the first time in his treacherous life, he was frightened.

Blunt, who became the KGB's chief talent spotter in Cambridge, recruited several important spies before leaving for London. As we know, Blunt got himself inside M15 where he performed many valuable services for the Russians.

For many months Blunt served as the M15 officer in charge of

the 'watchers', the men and women who carry out surveillance of hostile agents. As he was responsible for allotting their various tasks every week, he had also to be told of every counter-espionage operation in which they were involved.

He confessed he regularly gave all this information to the Russians so that Soviet intelligence could operate against Britain in safety.

He warned the Russians that the Communist Party headquarters in London was being bugged and how it was done and also, most damagingly perhaps of all, kept the Soviets regularly informed about the personnel in M15.

In the Registry of M15 each file on its member is entitled 'Sovblue Green' in the case of those believed to be unknown to the KGB; 'Sovblue Amber' for those who might be known; 'Sovblue Red' for those definitely known.

As a result of Blunt's activities alone, apart from those of the other spies in the organisation, every member was really 'Sov-

blond Red' during the whole period he was working there. In a similar way Blunt also prejudiced many American operations and endangered their personnel because he informed the Russians about the activities of the U.S. wartime intelligence organisation, the Office of Strategic Services, whose members worked alongside M15 in a joint endeavour from 1943 onwards.

Blunt had no further access to secret documents after he left M15 in 1945. But he remained in close touch with Guy Liddell, the Deputy Director of M15 who, having no knowledge of Blunt's treachery, shared interesting M15 gossip with him.

Defection

However, this does not mean, as Blunt implies, that he ceased working actively for the Russians.

Spies cannot function effectively in a foreign land without home-grown assistance to do routine work like finding safe houses, organising dead letter boxes, serving as paymaster and so on. This became Blunt's new role.

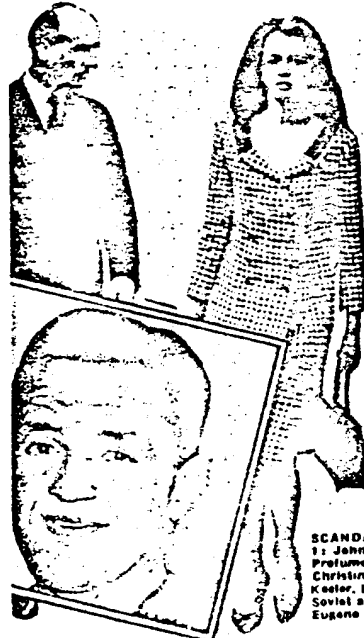
He told his interrogators, for instance, how he had emptied a dead letter box under a tree on a common in the East End of London where Burgess had left information and where he found a pile of money left for Burgess by the KGB.

Though Blunt did not, contrary to previously published information, know the precise date on which M15 planned to interrogate Maclean and so could not therefore have tipped him off, he did keep close touch with Guy Burgess during the vital period that he was planning his defection.

One question which has never been resolved about the Blunt affair is, did the Queen know that one of her employees, Surveyor of the Royal Pictures, had admitted to being a Soviet spy?

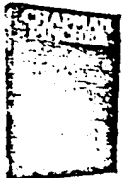
Normally writers do not really know what the Queen does or says but, because of a fluke circumstance, I know that the Queen was properly alerted to the Blunt situation by her Private Secretary, Sir Michael Adeane, as soon as he had received details of Blunt's confession. She merely asked what the official advice was and, on being told that he should be left where he was, agreed to accept it in the national interest.

Presumably, the Queen experienced some distaste, but she rarely had occasion to meet Blunt.



SCANDAL No. 1 : John Profumo and Christine Keeler. Inset, Soviet attaché Eugene Ivanov

From Their Trade Is Treachery, by Chapman Pincher, to be published later this week by Sidgwick and Jackson, £7.95.



TOMORROW: Revealed . . . the Left-wing MP who was a double agent

MI5 Scandal - Exclusive new disclosures in the Mail

LABOUR PARTY CHAIRMAN WAS DOUBLE AGENT

By CHAPMAN PINCHER

TOM DRIBERG, Left-wing Labour MP, ex-chairman of the Labour Party, member of the National Executive and finally life peer, was a double agent, working for the KGB and MI5.

I can reveal that Driberg, who died in 1976 aged 71, reported on the personal and political activities of his friends and colleagues in Parliament to both agencies.

He did this from the moment he first entered the House in 1942 to when he

A LIFE OF BETRAYAL

Pages 30 and 31

NOW I EXPOSED BLUNT

Page SIX

finally retired in 1974, and thereafter when he became a member of the House of Lords.

Both MI5 and the KGB had no illusions about the fact that he was working for the other side, and both sought to use him for their own purposes.

There was only one occasion that MI5 had seriously to take him to task. That was when they discovered that, not content with working for them and the KGB, he had found himself a third paymaster—the Czechs.

Apart from the money he received from his clandestine activities, Driberg's relations with MI5 were to be of immense benefit to him personally. He was a compulsive homosexual, repeatedly caught either procuring or committing a homosexual act in public places.

Yet, though such behaviour was unlawful and invariably led to prosecution, Driberg escaped retribution. The extraordinary

Turn to Page 2, Col 5

Battle for Biggs



BACK in custody at last... escaped Great Train Robber Ronald Biggs yesterday with police in Bridgetown, Barbados. Extradition proceedings are expected soon—they could last about four weeks—to bring him back to Britain to serve the rest of his 30-year jail sentence. Biggs has hired lawyers to resist this move and wants to return to Brazil. He was detained after being found on a yacht with a group who had apparently kidnapped him in Rio de Janeiro. Mystery still rained about the ir motives... and his. Details and more pictures—Pages TWO, THREE and FOUR.

BL boss shot in H-block protest

A TOP Leyland executive was shot in an IRA-style attack as he addressed a conference in Dublin yesterday.

Industrial relations director Mr Geoffrey Armstrong, 35, was wounded in the legs after three gunmen burst into the packed university hall where he was speaking. One shouted an H-block protest.

Last night Mr Armstrong was recovering in a Dublin hospital. He is expected to be flown home today.

Mr Armstrong, married with three young children, had been talking to hundreds of businessmen at an industrial relations seminar for about ten minutes when the attackers struck.

Gasped

The men, two wearing balaclavas and the third with a scarf round his head, entered the hall of Trinity College's arts building. One held the door open and the second covered the audience while the third advanced towards the rostrum.

Pointing his handgun at Mr Armstrong, he shouted: 'Freeze.' As the audience gasped in horror, he fired two shots into Mr Armstrong's legs below the knees at close range. One attacker shouted: 'This is in support of the H-block protest.'

Conference organiser Elizabeth Nigin dashed forward and caught Mr Armstrong before he fell. The gate had

Turn to Page 2, Col 1

GORDON in Bridgetown, Barbados

then, in a very formal manner told Police Commissioner Aviston Presod:

"I would like to say I have no complaints about the treatment from my captors, but I would like to go back to Brazil."

He paused, looked at the ring of police officers and added with a grin: "But I realise it is probably impossible."

Within hours, however, he had sent for local lawyer Ezra Alleyne and informed the Brazilian Consul here that he wanted to go back.

And a New York criminal lawyer, David Neufeld, was on his way from the U.S.

He had been hired by a friend of Biggs, German photographer Armin Heim and a New Yorker who identified himself only as 'Fred'.

The story Biggs told the

Barbadian police was essentially the same one as a freelance journalist, said to be acting for the kidnapers, was putting out on their behalf.

This was that the snatch group was led by 36-year-old John Miller (also known as McKillop) of Single Point, a London security firm. The same group had tried unsuccessfully to grab him two years ago.

Meeting

Miller and Patrick King, a Londoner who runs a taxi firm in Hendon, were collected in a police van from the Holiday Inn in Bridgetown last night and taken in for questioning.

Biggs said he was lured into arranging a meeting to discuss what he thought was a financial deal.

Biggs was there first. Then, he said the restaurant doors burst open. The first person he recognised was Miller. "I said: 'Oh no, not you.' I

knew what was happening."

According to Biggs, he was grabbed, punched in the side of the head and hurled across the table.

In the ensuing uproar, it was said, the tear gas Mace was sprayed, and a civilian and an off-duty policeman were knocked down.

Biggs said. "They tied me up, gagged me and bundled me into a bag."

Said the freelance journalist, Gerry Brown: "Mace gas was used at the Rio end, and he may have been bruised. They zipped him up in a canvas bag with four carrying handles to take him to an aircraft waiting outside Rio."

The plane landed at Belem, where a second vehicle took the party to the quayside.

Biggs said: "They let me out then. They said if I caused any trouble, they would kill my son. They had a lot of details. I knew I couldn't get away, so I just walked on to the yacht."

The yacht was the Nowcani

Filmed

There is still mystery over the motivation of the people behind the snatch and whether Biggs himself was in on the plot. That is puzzling everyone, not least the Barbadian Police.

Last night Miller denied that there was a book or film deal in the offing. He claimed he and his men had been paid simply to bring Biggs back to justice. He would not say by whom or why.

Shortly before Biggs arrived on the island, John Miller got married in the Holiday Inn. The service took place in the dining room beside the swimming pool. His bride is Sarah Hannam, daughter of a merchant banker.

They toasted each other in champagne bought by British television crews. One of the guests was comedian Jim Davidson. Miller, however, abruptly left the reception. News came through that the yacht with Biggs was approaching.

BL chief

Police chiefs fear that the outrage indicates a sinister new direction in terrorist tactics. They believe that in addition to military and political targets, senior civilian officials of major British companies with interests in the republic may now be on a target list.

Last night BL said it had no idea why Mr Armstrong should have been attacked.

Police mounted a watch on Mr Armstrong's Midlands home last night.

His wife Diane was holding a children's party to celebrate her son Daniel's third birthday when a BL executive telephoned with news of the shooting.

Mrs Armstrong remained calm and carried on with the party



Victim: Mr Armstrong

Double agent

Continued from Page One

reason for this is that he was given an MI5 telephone number which he passed on to arresting officers with a request to pass it on to Special Branch.

This invariably secured his release, as MI5 put the mantle of its protection around him.

Throughout his career, Driberg, who was to become Lord Bradwell in Mr Harold Wilson's honours list of December, 1975, was prosecuted only once. That was in the 30s because of the persistence of two members of the public, who insisted that action should be taken against him. He was found not guilty.

Though Driberg was never in a position to pass on State

secrets as such to the Russians, he nevertheless consistently betrayed everyone with whom he came into contact.

He reported at length over a period of 30 years on the private lives of his most senior ministerial colleagues.

To swell his information he made his London flat available to parliamentarians, including Ministers, for their sexual liaisons, and then collected the evidence which he passed on to both the Security Services and the Russians.

MI5 was able to use his information as part of their file on MPs they were worried about. The Russians could also have used it as blackmail material.

He even betrayed Guy Burgess who, feeling wretched and homesick in his self-imposed exile in Moscow, saw in Tom Driberg, his one friend, the only Englishman he could trust. As it was, as I explain in the centre pages today, it was Tom Driberg who was directly and cynically responsible for scuppering any vague illusion that Burgess might ever have returned to this country.

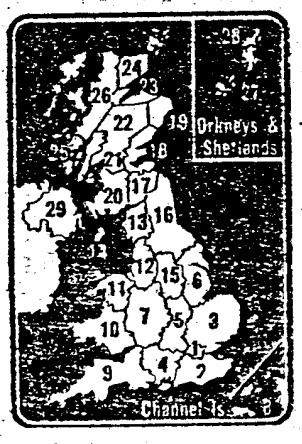
ALAN YOUNG reports from Westminster: A Labour MP who tried yesterday to raise the case of MI5 chief Sir Roger Hollis was halted by Speaker Mr George Thomas.

Mr Arthur Lewis, MP for Newham North-West, asked how much money had been spent in educating the various Soviet Knights like Sir Anthony Elunt and Sir Roger Hollis?

Wind S., fresh or strong. Max. 12 to 14c. 54 to 57f.

17, 18, 19, 21, 22: Cloudy with occasional rain and hill fog. Becoming drier. Winds S., moderate or fresh. Max. 12 to 14c. 54 to 57f.

23, 24, 26, 27, 28: Cloudy with occasional rain, heavy at times, and hill fog. Winds E. or S.E., fresh or strong. Max. 7



YESTERDAY (24 hr. to 6 p.m.): Warmest: Colwyn Bay, North Wales, 16c. 61f. Coldest: Glencoe, Dumfriesshire, Scotland, 0-0c. 32f. Wettest: Wick, Scotland, 0-9in. Sunniest: Leam Wick, Scotland (Shetlands) 7 hrs. London: Max. 15c. 55f. Min. 10c. 50f. Sun: Nil. Rain: 0-62in. Barometer (6 p.m.): 1005.5 millibars, 29-63in. steady. Humidity 87 per cent.

Snow Reports

| | Depth (in.) | State |
|----------------|---------------|-------|
| | lower upper | |
| | slopes slopes | Place |
| Andermatt | 28 152 | Good |
| Annere | 10 16 | Fair |
| Crans-Montana | 14 44 | Poor |
| Flain-Montana | 44 206 | Fair |
| Grindelwald | 12 64 | Fair |
| Kiubueli | 12 76 | Poor |
| Les Aven | 40 84 | Fair |
| St. Anton | 14 176 | Good |
| St. Gervais | 10 | Wet |
| Corvatsch | 10 | Wet |
| Kleinwalsertal | 32 | Wet |
| Kitzbuehel | 8 | Old |
| Oberaldorf | 20 | Wet |

SCOTLAND: Cairngorms: Most runs complete. Wet snow on lower base. Glencoe: A few runs complete, but narrow. Wet snow. Glencoe: All runs complete. Wet snow on upper base. Loch: All runs complete. Wet snow on upper base.

| | | | | | | |
|-------|---------|------|----|----------|------|----|
| 10 50 | Majorca | 5 19 | 46 | Prague | C 12 | 54 |
| 5 31 | Malaga | 5 20 | 66 | Riyadh | C 34 | 93 |
| C 12 | Malta | 5 16 | 41 | Rome | F 17 | 43 |
| C 18 | Moscow | 5 18 | 50 | Taegyer | 5 20 | 68 |
| R 11 | Oslo | C 3 | 37 | Tel Aviv | 5 18 | 64 |
| F 16 | Paris | R 12 | 54 | Warsaw | C 10 | 50 |

Kr. FRANCE 5 Fr. GERMANY 2-50 D.M. GREECE 60 Dr. HOLLAND 2-75 HFL. ITALY 1,200 L. MALTA 14c. PORTUGAL 75 Esc. SPAIN 80 Pes. SWITZERLAND 2-50 fr.

The Hollis Affair

THE MAIL'S exclusive series, uncovering some of the most sensational — and best — kept — secrets of espionage in Britain since the war, has brought a shocked reaction from the Establishment and politics. Today: more revelations, as the row rages over the affair of Sir Roger Hollis, the head of MI5 for nine years who was not only suspected of being a spy, but possibly of being the most successful super-mole in this country's history, so deeply dug in that he put notorious names like Burgess, Maclean, Philby and Blunt in the second league. Now Chapman Pincher exposes the activities of another agent, one who also had far-reaching consequences, only this time he was on the side of MI5. Or so it seemed. . . .

by
CHAPMAN PINCHER

BRITAIN'S FOREMOST AUTHORITY ON ESPIONAGE

TOM DRIBBERG, or Baron Bradwell juxta Mare, as he was to become in 1975, was perhaps one of the most extraordinary and certainly most colourful agents that MI5 have ever recruited.

His cover was never less than brilliant. Some may have suspected that he worked for the KGB (which he did as well) but no one ever guessed that the man who was to become Chairman of the Labour Party was on the payroll of the Security Services.

The man who always stood on the far Left of his party did so because MI5 had, while he was still a schoolboy, intrigued him into the Communist Party. His life thereafter was but a brilliant lie.

It was while he was at Lancing College that he "went runner", the late Maxwell Knight, well known for his EBC talks on natural history, instructed him to join the Brighton branch of the Communist Party.

He continued as a member of the Party while at Christchurch, Oxford, and was still a member when he joined the Daily Express in 1938.

However, MI's hopes of employing him as a long-term agent inside the Communist Party was soon to collapse.

In 1941, reports from an MI5 agent with the code name MA crossed the desk of Anthony Blunt.

Expelled

Blunt was asked by the Russians to try to establish the identity of MA but failed to do so. Subsequently he was told by his Russian controller that Soviet intelligence had discovered MA was Dribberg.

With unusual clumsiness, the Russians alerted Harry Pollitt, the General Secretary of the Communist Party about the spy in his camp. Because of this tip he summarily expelled Dribberg from the Party.

Nevertheless, though the Russians knew about Dribberg, MI5 continued

The MP code-named Crocodile . . . and his astounding life of betrayal

to use him and his value soared when he entered Parliament and was able to report on the activities of MPs on both sides of the House.

After the war, the KGB, knowing of his MI5 connection, tried to use Dribberg to feed false information to mislead British intelligence. To this end they persuaded Harry Pollitt to induce him back into the Party as a clandestine member, something which Pollitt assured Dribberg was already the position of several other MPs. Dribberg reported the whole episode to MI5 and was told to keep the channels to Pollitt open.

After Dribberg visited Moscow in 1946 to see Guy Burgess about the possibility of writing a book about him, he reported back to MI5 that the Russians had asked him to provide information to them about the internal proceedings of the Labour Party.

Trysts

He was well placed to do so after having been elected to the National Executive in 1949 where he remained until his retirement from Parliament in 1974.

As Labour was not in office, MI5 had no commitment to it, so it was agreed that Dribberg could report what he liked about his own Party to anyone since no official secrets were involved. In return he promised to use his connection with the KGB in MI5's interest whenever possible.

The Russians gave Dribberg two identical brief-cases. When he handed one containing his reports to the Russians in London they handed him the other, containing his payment in banknotes.

Under agreement with the security authorities, Dribberg was supposed to give all the money, as well as copies of his reports, to MI5. Over a period of several years he handed in wads of notes amounting to many thousands of pounds, but there seems to be little doubt that he began to retain more and more of the money for himself.

Dribberg reported at length on the private lives of his most senior ministerial colleagues including some close friends, and on other MPs, men and women, of all parties,



Tom Dribberg: Ex-chairman of the Labour Party . . . code-named 'Crocodile' by the KGB.

given to philandering, as well as on political activities.

This material went not only to the Russians, who could use it for recruiting purposes, but to MI5 as well.

To swell his information, he lent his files to Parliamentary colleagues, including ministers, for lunch-time trysts. He invariably made subsequent searches, in the hope of discovering the identities of ladies who had been taken there.

Slanders

On one occasion, after lending the files to a senior colleague, he found an envelope in the handwriting of a woman MP, which he recognised. He then had the effrontery to accuse the colleague concerned of risking damage to the Party by causing what could easily have become an open scandal.

Both MI5 and the KGB benefited from Dribberg's activities. MI5 was able to extend its knowledge of

crypto-Communists in the Labour Party machine as well as in Parliament. The Russians were able to extend their list of those with character weaknesses who might be susceptible to blackmail.

In the context of Dribberg's double agent effort for MI5 and the KGB, the circumstances which enabled him to write his book, Guy Burgess — Narrative in Dialogue, are intriguing in every sense of the word.

What has not been appreciated before is that when Dribberg travelled to Moscow to see Burgess, with the intention of preparing the book, he did so with the blessing of both MI5 and the KGB. MI5 knew that the book would be a disinformation exercise, controlled and checked both in the preparation and the proof stage by the KGB. MI5 also knew that Dribberg would submit the proofs to it for vetting and that, therefore, it would be party to the KGB operation.

In the book, Burgess denied he had ever been a Russian spy, and Dribberg ended the book by stating

that he believed him. This was a blatant falsehood by Dribberg.

In the event, Dribberg's book contained enough lies and slanders against MI5 and the political system of the West for the KGB to be pleased with it, but MI5 was not too bothered with this because they believed they got a worthwhile trade-off as well.

Astonishingly at the time, there was no real reason why Guy Burgess should not have returned to London. There was no actual evidence against him to hold him and MI5 was terrified, knowing that he hated living in Moscow, that he might suddenly return one day, awn around Britain, cocking a snook at both the security services and the British public.

Censored

So Dribberg's task was to induce Burgess to recall some details of his brief time in the highly secret war-time Special Operations Executive and to name some of the people who had worked with him. This Dribberg succeeded in doing.

The publishers, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, were totally unaware of the part they were playing in this extraordinary game of bluff when they were warned that they risked prosecution under the Official Secrets Act unless they removed the censored parts of the manuscript before publication, which in all innocence they duly did.

In the meantime I was approached by an outsider to write a story in my newspaper to say that because of what Burgess had told Dribberg, the authorities now had evidence which could lead to the arrest and prosecution of Guy Burgess should he ever return to Britain because he had committed a provable breach of the Official Secrets Act. So Burgess was effectively frightened off.

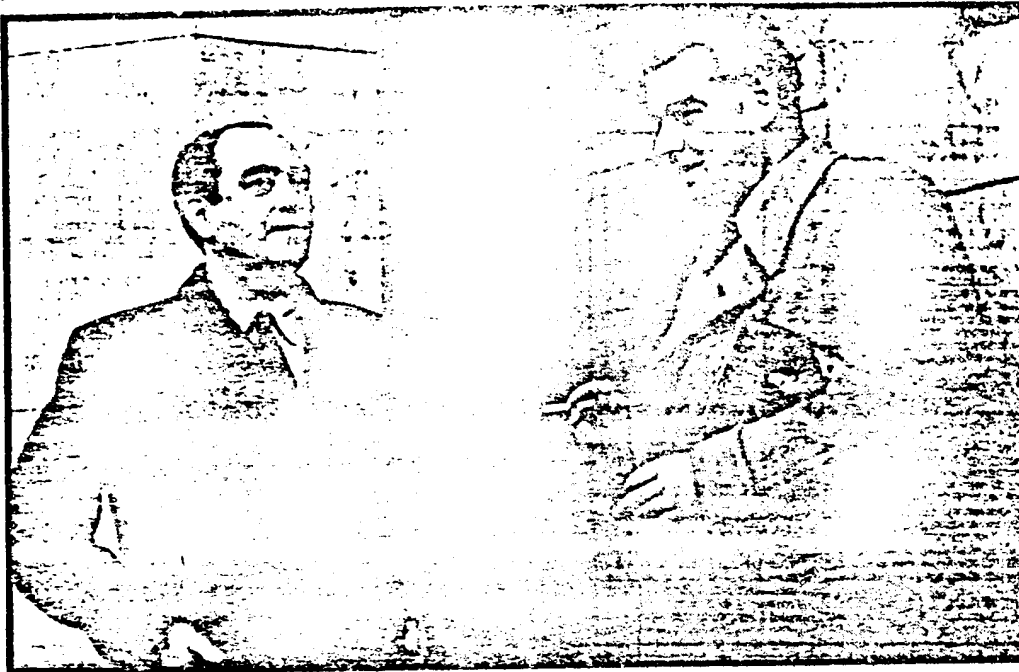
Suspected

It was an extraordinary episode from which nearly everyone gained. Dribberg made money; both out of his publishers and out of the funds of KGB and MI5. The KGB was happy because it managed to put across its story and MI5 was contented because it used this device to ensure that Burgess himself was never able to return to Britain.

Burgess died aged 53 in 1963, lonely and homesick in Moscow, perhaps only guessing how just as he had betrayed his friends, so Dribberg had betrayed him.

As with many double agents, Dribberg was suspected by MI5 of doing more for the Soviet bloc than for

WORLD EXCLUSIVE



Meeting point in Moscow for Driberg and Burgess: and behind it, an elaborate double-cross

admitted in his regular debriefings. Then in 1960 the Czech defector, Josef Prolik, who laid information against several Labour MPs, gave specific information about a senior Labour MP who was a homosexual, had been recruited by Czech Intelligence and had the code-name 'Crocodile'.

Prolik described how the Czech Intelligence man in London had been smartly censured by the KGB for approaching Driberg because 'Crocodile' was already their man. Prolik, who had seen 'Crocodile' but did not know his name, identified him as Driberg from a spread of photographs shown to him by MI5.

Squabbles

Driberg was therefore taxed with this information by the MI5 case-officer handling him. 'Have you ever done anything for the Czechs?' he was asked. 'I have written them a few articles,' he replied with a shrug.

Under questioning, however, he admitted that he had sold to the Czechs additional information about the internal squabbles of the Labour Party and personal scandals about who was sleeping with whom. 'All harmless stuff,' Driberg insisted with his usual charm.

He admitted that he had continued to do this while Chairman of the Labour Party in 1964 passing the information to his Czech controller whom he knew only as 'Vaclav'.

Apart from warning him about the danger of giving the Russians any information which had not been passed by MI5, there was nothing the security authorities could do or wanted to do, in view of the scandal which open knowledge of the way they had employed the Labour Party chairman, would create.

Favours

An opportunity for MI5 to dispense with Driberg's services had arisen during the premiership of Harold Macmillan, who had discovered that several MPs, mainly Tories, were being run by MI5 as agents.

The MI5 chiefs were told that this was no longer permissible and the MPs were all paid off with the exception of Driberg, who refused to desert. He continued to report information to MI5 even after he had been elevated to the Lords as Lord Bradwell, being known in MI5

headquarters as The Lord of the Spies'.

The award of a peerage to such a notorious homosexual, who had admitted to another MP, Woodrow Wyatt, that he had once enjoyed the favours of a House of Commons employee in the Members' Lavatory, was also a cause for public curiosity. While the award was made by Harold Wilson, ostensibly for Driberg's devotion to the Labour Party, it had been requested by his friend Michael Foot.

Lady Falkender explained to me that Foot felt sorry for Driberg because he was going blind, a fact confirmed to me by another of his

friends, Mervyn Stockwood, the Bishop of Southwark. Foot, apparently, had never asked for an honour on behalf of anybody before and Wilson felt that he could not refuse.

Blackmail

Inquiries after Lord Bradwell's death in 1975 convinced MI5 that he had been controlled primarily by the KGB since the end of the war, partly because he may have been blackmailed, but mainly because he had moved farther to the Left. The KGB had plenty of incriminat-

ing photographs. He had even been caught in a homosexual situation with Burgess when he visited him in Moscow and was shown the photographs as an extra 'inducement', as he reported to MI5 on his return.

To his friends Driberg pretended that because his homosexuality was so well known, photographs, however revealing, would be useless as blackmail. In reality this was far from being the case, as Driberg well knew.

All the KGB needed to do was to post prints of the pictures to various influential people and to newspapers and magazines.

The publicity would have made it impossible for MI5 to continue to support Driberg's immunity from arrest, for his propensity for committing homosexual acts in public places remained an offence, it would also have ended his political career.

It would have been no more than just if Driberg had been betrayed, for the overall verdict on him—in journalism, politics and intelligence—is that, eventually, he betrayed everybody. His deceitful behaviour over so many years hardly justified Michael Foot's post-mortem tribute that 'he never budged from his Socialist convictions'.

... And the MP who recruited for Moscow

SIR Martin Furnival Jones, the ex-Head of MI5, once said: 'If the Russian Intelligence Service can recruit a Back Bench MP and he climbs to a Ministerial position, the spy is home and dry.'

He did not make that remark without case evidence to back it.

MI5 and Special Branch acting on information provided by defectors and by surveillance of Soviet Bloc intelligence officers, have hit lines on more than 60 Labour MPs and on a score or so of Labour Peers. Such files indicate that while some are or have been helpful to the Soviet cause for money, sometimes coupled with threat of blackmail, the majority are ideological agents of influence, giving their assistance because they are secret members of the Communist Party.

An instructive example of suspected Soviet penetration of the House of Commons concerns a former Labour MP for Acton, Bernard Floud.

In 1967 Harold Wilson wanted to make Floud a Junior Minister and it is standard practice that if a Prime Minister wishes to give office to an MP, MI5 is specifically asked if it has anything to his detriment. In this case there was plenty.

It was known that Floud had been recruited to the Soviet cause at Oxford by James Klusmann, a Communist best known for his activities at the rival University of Cambridge.

Floud, in turn, had recruited others including a woman who later managed to induct herself into a highly sensitive position in the

Home Office. She had been interrogated and had named Floud as her recruiter.

Wilson, told that there was serious suspicion against Floud involving Communism and possibly espionage, gave permission for Floud to be interviewed so that the security authorities could judge whether his activities had been no more than youthful follies.

Floud was interrogated closely for two weeks during which he denied any connection with the KGB. Then, on being shown evidence, he claimed that he could not recall it.

The MI5 man suspected he was still in touch with Soviet Intelligence but told him that if he confessed his past activities and could convince them that he was no longer involved they would not object to his appointment.

Floud did not react to the offer, even after prolonged thought, so he was interviewed again. This produced nothing further and while MI5 could not give him clearance, they needed to persist with their questions and inquiries for a little longer.

After an unproductive session in October 1967, Floud went home, wrapped himself in a blanket with a gas poker, turned on the tap and killed himself.

From Their Trade Is Treachery, by Chapman Fletcher, to be published this week by Sidgwick and Jackson, 57-55.

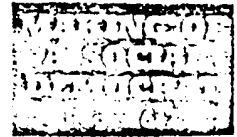
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TOMORROW: The Real Fifth Man

Daily Mail

THURSDAY, MARCH 26, 1981

12p



The Mail's startling MI5 disclosures: Three ex-Premiers told of Commons statement

MAGGIE: NO MORE COVER-UPS

REVEALED for the first time...
Britain's spy chief for nine years...
was accused of working for the KGB

MI5 CHIEF WAS RUSSIAN SPY SUSPECT

By Chapman Pincher

From Monday's Daily Mail

LABOUR PARTY CHAIRMAN WAS DOUBLE AGENT

Battle for Biggs

From yesterday's Daily Mail

By GORDON GREIG, Political Editor

MRS THATCHER will explain to MPs today how the former head of MI5, Sir Roger Hollis, was feared to be an agent of the Soviet KGB.

After three days of uproar and consternation inside the Whitehall establishment over a succession of revelations in the Daily Mail, the Prime Minister is preparing to tell the Commons as much of the story as she knows.

Mrs Thatcher saw both Sir Howard Smith, the present director-general of MI5, and Sir Robert Armstrong, Secretary to the Cabinet, at meetings in Downing Street yesterday. At both briefings, the Prime Minister appears to have made it clear that she is not going to be a party to any cover-up — however much it might hurt the pride of British Intelligence.

Three former Prime Ministers who were in power during the time Sir Roger Hollis was head of MI5, Britain's counter-intelligence agency, are being informed of the contents of a substantial statement the Prime Minister intends to make this afternoon.

Confidence

Mr Harold Macmillan, Lord Home and Sir Harold Wilson all knew Sir Roger as Britain's security chief in the period 1956-65. Lord Home declined to comment on the affair yesterday but said: "I do hope this is not going to damage the confidence of our country in the security services." The Cabinet will be told by Mrs Thatcher this morning what she intends to say.

It was still unclear last night whether her lengthy explanation of Soviet successes in compromising British security services will cover the astonishing revelations about T. Jan Driberg, the Left-Wing Labour MP and former party chairman who died in 1975. Driberg was named by journalist Chapman Pincher as a double agent working for both MI5 and the KGB.

TODAY: The deputy who deceived The Man Called Intrepid—Centre Pages

Mrs Thatcher fought a hard battle against Whitehall protocol to unmask Anthony Blunt as the fourth traitor in the Burgess-Maclean spy scandal. As a result, she was widely praised for being as open as possible on a case which others would have preferred to have hushed up.

But the allegations against Sir Roger Hollis are in a different league, transcending in gravity almost every other spy scandal since the war.

The Hollis affair spread to the Canadian Parliament yesterday with MPs demanding to know if the suspected former agent had undermined their own national security.

Hollis was closely connected with Canada at the time of the defection of Russian spy Igor Gouzenko in 1950. Gouzenko says he now believes one of his interrogators was Hollis—but that he faked the results of the interviews.

As the Mail's revelations echoed around the world, Canada's Premier Pierre Trudeau was bombarded with questions. He replied that there was no evidence to suggest his country's security had been breached. But Solicitor General Robert Kaplan admitted Hollis was given vital information on Canadian security.

HE WAS FRIGHTENED ALL THE TIME!



Mark, reunited with his father. Picture: BILL CROSS.

Kidnap plot boy tells of ordeal

By JOHN WOODCOCK and GILL SWAIN

MARK THODY stumbled out of the rain into a transport cafe and asked for a cup of coffee.

Most of it spilled from the cup in his shaking hands and finally cafe owner Gordon Braithwaite asked the young man what was wrong.

He was stunned by the reply: "I think I've been kidnapped — where am I?" Then 16-year-old Mark rested his head on the table and told, between sobs, of his 38-hour ordeal.

Mark, the son of a Cambridgeshire fruit farmer, was snatched at knife-point as he rode his moped to school on Monday morning. Then, bound and blindfolded, he was driven around for hours while a £100,000 ransom was demanded for him.

But without warning, on Tuesday night, he was dumped in a wood by the 31 in West Yorkshire, 150 miles from home.

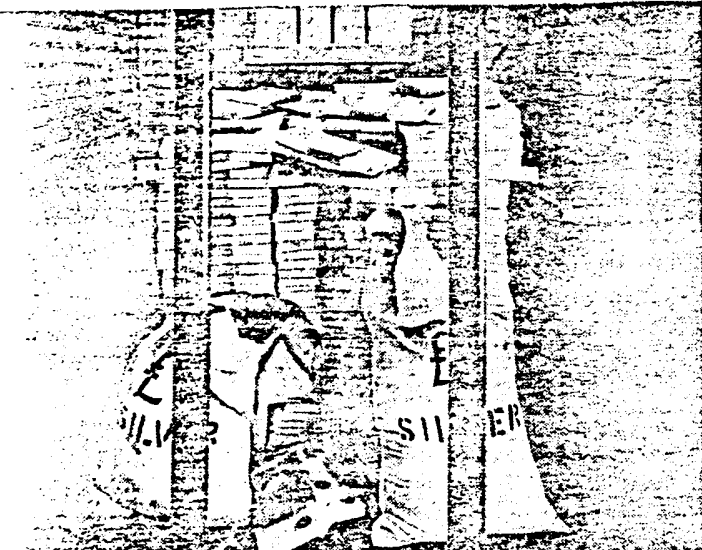
The kidnapers gave him 15p and the instruction: "Phone your dad and tell him you are safe."

Yesterday, after being re-

Turn to Page 2, Col 2

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The Hollis Affair Uncovered: y in the Secret

RARELY has any series of exposures created such impact world-wide, stunned the Establishment, and triggered a blazing row in the nation's highest political circles. Already this week the revelations in the Mail have gone right to the heart of the security services. First, that Sir Roger Hollis, the head of MI5 for nine years, was suspected not only of being a spy but of being the most successful super-mole in history. Next, that Tom Driberg, colourful Left-Wing MP, former chairman of the Labour Party, and later a peer, was a double agent, betraying friends and colleagues alike to MI5 and the KGB. Now, the latest uncovering of a spy, this time the man who was effectively No. 3 in the entire Secret Service hierarchy after the war...

By **CHAPMAN PINCHER**

BRITAIN'S FOREMOST AUTHORITY ON ESPIONAGE

KIM PHILBY is not the only Russian agent who managed to bury his way deep into the heart of Britain's Secret Service. Today I reveal the existence of another senior Secret Service officer who is believed to have operated for Britain's enemies for close on 30 years.

Indeed, what I can reveal now is something which has been so carefully concealed for political purposes that even former Secret Servicemen will be astonished by what I have to tell.

For in 1963 a man called Charles Howard Ellis, known to his friends as 'Dick', was finally revealed to be a man who spied for the Germans before the war and the Russians after. Dick Ellis was a man held in the highest regard by most senior members of the intelligence community in Britain and America and elsewhere too.

He was a career intelligence officer best known for his war time service as second in command to Sir William Stephenson, 'The Man Called Intrepid', during the war. In this position he had access to the most secret operations of British Security Co-ordination, the Anglo-U.S. intelligence organisation, set up in New York during the war under Stephenson at Winston Churchill's request.

In 1944 he returned to Secret Service headquarters in London to become the Controller dealing with South East Asia and the Far East, and was soon also made Controller of North and South American Affairs. This meant that, effectively, he became No. 3 of the Secret Intelligence Service, controlling its activities in about half the world.

Betray

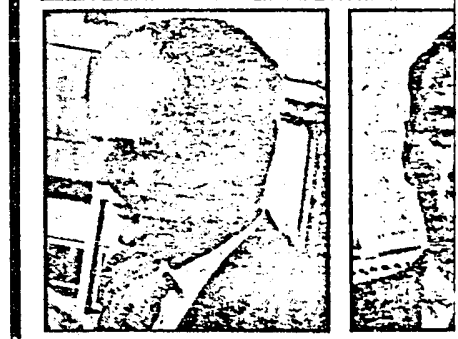
Yet this man, in 1965, made an abject confession of his guilt in spying for Germany up to 1940. He admitted handing over detailed charts of British intelligence before the war, knowing that they would go both to Germany and Russia.

He confessed that he had betrayed the British Intelligence achievement in tapping the Hitler-Tribunets telephone link, knowing that the information was going to Germany.

He admitted making use of a brother Secret Service officer, to deliver secrets, unwittingly, in an envelope to an agent whom he knew to be working for the Germans, and to bring back a package containing money.

Ellis was never to confess to having continued to spy for Germany during the war though his interrogators took the view

THE NOTORIOUS



FIVE FACES THAT BETRAYED BRITAIN... top, above, Donald Maclean. C

that this constituted unquestionably the worst case of British espionage to the Nazis both before and during the war.

Neither did Ellis ever confess to having ever worked for the Russians though the case against him seemed overwhelming.

However, his interrogators' consensus, as entered in the case records, was that Ellis had spied for Russia after the war as he admitted he had done before the war.

It was concluded that it would never be possible to make a detailed assessment of the damage this man did his country, but the objective view of those who dealt with the case was that if, as seemed likely, his treachery had covered something like 30 years, it would have put Philby's in the shade.

Ellis was an Australian, born in Sydney in 1908. He joined the British Army and served with missions on the Russian border immediately after World War I, becoming fluent in the Russian language.

Eventually he left the Army to study languages at Oxford and the Sorbonne and joined the Secret Service in 1924. In 1940, in the uniform of a Colonel, he was posted to serve on Intrepid's staff in New York.

There he worked as a cover for a Russian command to be heavily pro-Live Intelligence eventually reveals brother-in-law, As a valuable cover a man called Wm Von Petrov was chain which, as W

Ellis was often KGB agents who intelligence services. secret Communist Ellis was a Jew, was recruited by ber of the Service

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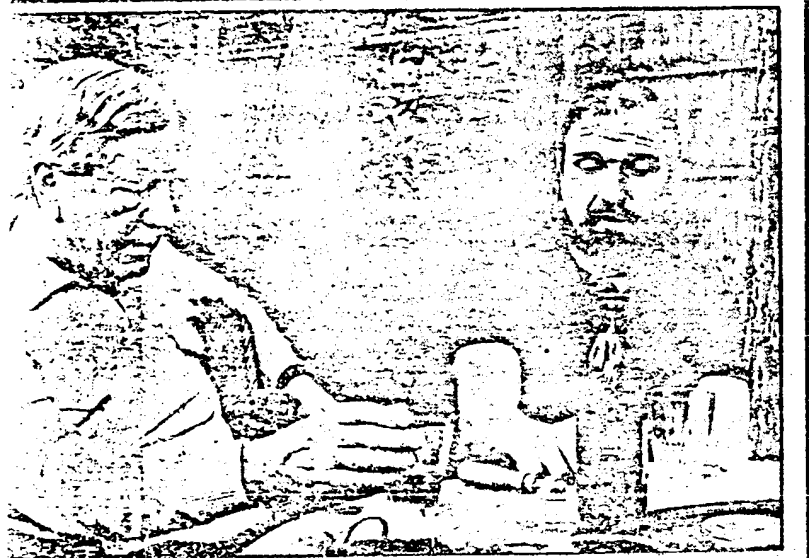
Ellis was often KGB agents who intelligence services. secret Communist Ellis was a Jew, was recruited by ber of the Service

Affair

FORWARD EXCLUSIVELY

Red: yet another spy high Secret Service hierarchy

VOTORIOUS NESH OIP TRAITORS



THAT BETRAYED BRITAIN ... top, a picture of togetherness for Kim Philby and George Blake. Above, Donald Maclean, Guy Burgess and Anthony Blunt.

ed unquestionably the espionage to the Nazis during the war. He never confess to having been a Russian though the charges were overwhelming. Interrogators' consensus, based on the declassified records, was that Maclean was a spy before the war and did not become one until it would never be possible to assess the loyalty of those who dealt with him. It was, however, as seemed likely, his last something like 30 years ago when he put Philby in the chair, born in Sydney in the British Army and then on the Russian border during World War I, he spoke Russian language. He joined the Army in 1947 and the Sorbonne and in 1948. In 1949, Colonel, he was posted to staff in New York.

There he worked with such apparent effect that he was eventually awarded the U.S. Legion of Merit to add to his CMIG, CBE and OBE.

Ellis was different from those other KGB agents who have infiltrated our intelligence services. All of them had become secret Communists before they ever joined. Ellis was a loyal Secret Service man who was suborned by enemy agents as a member of the Service.

Recruit

In 1924 Ellis, who had married into a White Russian emigre family, the Zelenkias, was posted to Paris with a journalistic job as a cover to operate in the large White Russian community there which was known to be heavily penetrated by Soviet Military Intelligence. Among agents Ellis eventually recruited in Paris was his brother-in-law, Alexander Zelenki, who was a valuable source because he had access to a man called Waldemar von Petrov.

Von Petrov was part of an espionage chain which, as the Nazis came to power in

Germany, reached out to Heinrich Himmler and Alfred Rosenberg, both close to Hitler. As World War II drew near, Ellis used the chain to send back a mass of confidential information about Nazi affairs, but most of which turned out to be faked.

Many years later the Secret Service was to know why. While investigating files relating to Kim Philby, the MI5 investigating team found a thick file on Von Petrov in the old records. This file showed that Von Petrov had been working for the Germans and the Russians.

A German officer under interrogation said that Von Petrov had assured him that he had an excellent source of high grade intelligence inside the British Secret Service, material which consistently produced information of the utmost value. These British secrets had not reached Von Petrov directly, but through an intermediary, Zelenki, who was also a double agent.

Following up this lead, MI5 found another captured German officer, able to confirm that Zelenki was a German spy and that his British source was a certain Captain Ellis.

However, though they had this friction-

The slips that pointed to the elusive Fifth man

MOSCOW CENTRE — KGB headquarters — was proud of what it called The Ring of Five. These were Soviet agents all operating in high positions in Britain, all recruited at about the same time in Cambridge and all friends.

We already know four of them — Donald Maclean, Guy Burgess, Kim Philby and Anthony Blunt. The identity of the fifth has so far eluded all researchers outside MI5 itself.

It has been established that he was a defence scientist in a most sensitive position in Government service but he is NOT, I am able to confirm, Dr Basil Mann, the atomic scientist living in the U.S. who has recently been named as a suspect.

While Helms remained Head of MI5 he refused to allow the case officers who interrogated Anthony Blunt to interview the scientist they suspected.

Soon after Helms retired in 1965, however, inquiries involving telephone tapping and surveillance revealed that the scientist and his wife were both still secret Communists. It was also discovered that MI5 had been warned about the man 16 years previously but nothing had been done.

As the man was about to be given special clearance to visit secret American installations, he had to be pulled in sooner than the authorities would have liked, for an interrogation which lasted six weeks.

He admitted that he was still a committed Communist and had breached the Civil Service security rules by failing to admit it on his positive vetting form. He admitted meeting 'Otto', the early Russian agent in 'The Ring of Five, while he himself had been at Cambridge.

Quarrelled

He agreed that he had ceased to be an overt Communist and had made a pretence of seeming to be Right-Wing in order to secure a post in a Government defence establishment.

The scientist insisted that he had never given any secret information to the Russians but, when confronted with evidence, he admitted that he did occasionally meet Russians from the Soviet Embassy and appreciated that they might be intelligence officers. Again, he admitted that he had breached security regulations in failing to report such contacts, even if they had been innocent.

He was then shown a spread of photographs of Soviet bloc intelligence officers, and picked out pictures of two whom he had met. One was Yuri Modin, Blunt's controller for a time and the man who had supervised the defections of Burgess and Maclean.

The other was Sergei Kondrashev, a senior KGB officer who had served in Britain. It seemed unlikely that he would have met two such active spymasters on purely social terms, and what followed made it even more improbable.

Four years previously, in 1967, the important KGB defector, Anatoli Golitsin, had reported on Kondrashev, saying that he had been specially trained to control two very important spies in Britain. One proved to be George Blake, the spy inside the Secret Service, while the other, who had not then been detected, was known to be in defence work.

Golitsin had recalled how this Communist scientist had quarrelled with Kondrashev, whom he considered to be 'too bourgeois' for a Russian Communist.

When the suspect Fifth Man saw Kondrashev's photograph he exclaimed: 'I hated the man. He was so bourgeois. You know—he wore blazers and had a pet poodle!' Such are the strange remarks which can mean so much to an alert counter-espionage interrogator who has done his homework.

As a last-ditch effort to induce the suspect to



SIR MARTIN FURNIVAL JONES ... MI5 chief who had to decide what action to take against the suspected Fifth Man.

talk, a confrontation was arranged between him and Blunt in Brown's Hotel. The interrogator provided plenty of drinks—gin for Blunt, sherry for the suspect and watered whisky for themselves.

During the long session, which lasted until after midnight, they talked about the Russian intelligence officer Yuri Modin, and among the slips the suspect made was to call him by code name 'Fater', which he would be unlikely to have known unless professionally involved with him.

The suspect was the first to leave, whereupon Blunt, who had polished off a whole bottle of gin, remarked: 'You have convinced me that he was one of us.'

Blunt then recalled that after the 1951 crisis, when Philby had been very touchily interrogated by Helenus Milmo, the barrister, now a judge, Philby had told him: 'They didn't seem to know about my return to Cambridge after I got back from Austria. Thank God they don't know.'

Blunt then suggested that Philby might well have been referring to the recruitment of the Fifth Man. Burgess had accomplished that recruitment but Philby had been involved in it in some way. What was known about the suspect's life and activities at Cambridge fitted the date of Philby's return.

Evidence

As the suspect had been positively vetted three times, at intervals, and each time had failed to admit that he had been a Communist, he knew that his career was blighted. He also knew that he would be barred from further access to secrets and was not allowed to visit the American installation, the CIA being given the reason.

To induce him to confess he was offered the chance of immunity from prosecution if he would co-operate, but he ignored the proposal as though he had not heard it, perhaps reserving it in his mind in case he might, one day, be faced with harder evidence.

The MI5 chiefs, then headed by Sir Martin Furnival Jones, met with Civil Service representatives to decide what other action should be taken against the suspect.

As he was quite close to retirement—and perhaps to cover up the suspicions, which could have serious consequences for the Anglo-American exchange of defence secrets—he was allowed to retire early for 'personal reasons' and on full pension.

TURN TO PAGE 24

The Hollis Affair

Back to Philby—in a panic

FROM CENTRE PAGES

In evidence on Ellis, one of the Secret Service's most valued officers, the Secret Service itself insisted that it was responsible for its own security and refused to permit M15 to interrogate him or even look at the files.

Not until Philby defected in 1951, when SIS was on the run, could the Ellis case be re-opened as part of the general inquiry into the penetration of both Services by the Russians.

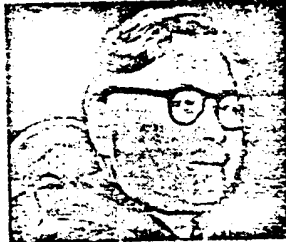
When the investigators were at last allowed to examine the Secret Service files they discovered the original report of the German Secret Service officer, naming Ellis, lying there.

Blackmail

Why it had never emerged before quickly became clear. It had landed on the desk of Kim Philby who had scribbled across it: 'Who is this man, Ellis? NPA. NPA meant No Further Action and news had ever been taken. At that time Ellis, by then a Colonel, was sitting in an office a few doors down from Philby in Secret Service Headquarters in Broadway, Victoria.

This action by Philby strengthened the suspicions that Ellis had been recruited by the Russians, possibly through Von Petrov or perhaps because they had found out about his past activities with the Germans and had been able to blackmail him.

Satisfied that Ellis had been a spy for Germany, at least until the British were driven out of Europe in 1940, M15 decided to investigate the possibility that he had continued to spy for the Nazis afterwards or had been recruited by the Russians. Ellis had been with the 'Intrepid' organ-



Defector Vladimir Petrov... as he waited for his wife to join him.

isation from 1940 to 1944 and it was already known, from captured German documents and the interrogation of German prisoners that there had been more than one spy inside it. The Germans had known, for instance, that Leslie Howard, the film actor, had been carrying out a secret war mission in New York or in the ports he held soon after the war in the Far East and South-East Asia. So the inquiries were concentrated on his behaviour after he had returned to London.

It was found that just when M15's investigations into Philby's complicity in the Maclean-Burrows affair had been gathering momentum, Ellis, then in his late thirties, had suddenly decided to retire and return

to Australia because of heart trouble.

It had not seemed unusual at the time but his later behaviour strongly suggested that his 'heart trouble' was an excuse for getting himself abroad, where, even in a British Dominion, he could not have been extradited for offences under the Official Secrets Act.

After the customary farewell parties, Ellis emigrated in late 1951, immediately, though he was supposed to be too ill to do further intelligence work, he signed a two-year contract to work for the Australian Secret Intelligence Service, the counterpart of the British organisation from which he had just retired.

Shortly after doing that, and in line of duty, he called on Sir Charles Spry, the Director-General of the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation, the counterpart of M15. Spry told him, in good faith, that his agency was in touch with an important KGB officer based in the Russian Embassy in Canberra and that there were high hopes that he would defect. The man's name was Vladimir Petrov.

Suspicious

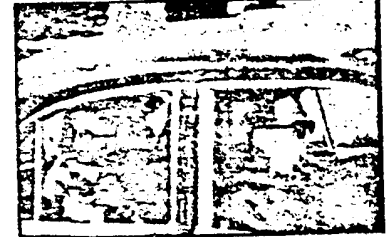
This Petrov, who was no relation to the Von Petrov whom Ellis had known earlier in Europe, was head of the Soviet espionage apparatus in Australia and, as it was discovered later, his wife was also a career KGB officer. So it was expected that he would bring with him documents and information about other KGB agents operating in Australia and, perhaps, elsewhere in the world.

If Ellis was a Russian spy at that time his consternation on hearing this can be imagined. After emigrating all the way from Australia to escape possible arrest there, he would find himself faced with possible betrayal in Australia.

Ellis's immediate behaviour suggested that he was in a state of panic. He resigned his two-year contract after only a few months in Australia, claiming that he had to return to Britain to marry a woman he had met there shortly before leaving.

Though some of his old Secret Service colleagues may have known about M15's previous suspicions concerning Ellis, he was nevertheless briefed, in return for his news about Petrov, on the state of the investigations into Philby, about whom there was still no firm evidence. He was specifically told not to see Philby or talk to him. His response was to leave a note for Philby at his club, the Athenaeum, asking him to lunch.

Philby, who was under telephone surveillance, rang Ellis and fixed an appointment. It is not known what they discussed but, that same afternoon, Philby telephoned his current girl friend to say the clouds are parting in his house. My Silent War, the war a chapter called The Clouds Part in which he relates how, after being ignored by the KGB for two years (save for the probable payment of money) he received through the most ingenious of Russian messengers from his Soviet friends conjuring him to be of good cheer.



Russian officials surround Mrs Petrov (she's hidden behind the door pillar) as her car leaves the Canberra Embassy.

It is possible that Ellis was that 'route' though it could have been via Anthony Blunt.

As I have pointed out, the M15 investigators did not have the opportunity to reopen the case against Ellis until after Philby had defected early in 1951.

It was 1966 before the case officers decided that they could get no further without direct action. It was therefore agreed that the time had come for a full interrogation of Ellis, hostile if necessary, to be conducted jointly by officers from the Secret Service and from M15. As the recently appointed head of counter-espionage in the Secret Service was co-operative, Ellis, by that time fully retired and on the pension list in England, was asked to attend for an interview.

He was told, bluntly, that there was serious evidence impugning his loyalty and was confronted with the report of the German officer who had named him as a spy.

Debt

At first he denied everything but the following day Ellis, who was kept under surveillance against his possible defection, arrived with a document which was an abject confession of his guilt in spying for Germany up to 1940.

He complained that the Secret Service had sent him into the field in Europe with inadequate training, which was probably true. He said that it was his unfortunate recruitment of his brother-in-law, Alexander Zilenski, which had turned him into a spy for the Nazis.

While Zilenski had produced some useful information for Britain he was also selling spy secrets he could get hold of to the Russians and to the Germans and to the Russians being in the game purely for money. Ellis explained that he had run into debt because his

British pay was too low and had borrowed from Zilenski, who then started pressuring him for information to sell to the Germans and Russians.

He claimed that, at first, the information he handed over was trivial but Zilenski, urged on by his Soviet contact, then threatened to expose him to his Secret Service chiefs unless his provided more valuable material. Ellis excused his action by pointing out that his wife had been ill and that he needed money for her treatment.

When told that he had committed treason in war, and could have justifiably been hanged, he broke down and pleaded physical frailty against any further cross-examination, but the interrogators were determined to continue their probing on the following day.

He denied that he had met Philby on his return from Australia, which was known to be a lie, or that the Secret Service had warned him not to contact his former colleagues. Fearful that he might collapse under the strain of further grilling, it was decided that, as a last thing, Ellis should be offered immunity, after the Attorney General had been consulted. If he would confess his treacherous activities with Russia and name his contacts, he refused to believe that immunity would really be granted and held to his position regarding any Russian espionage after 1940.

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WH SMITH

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