

are defending is that every branch delegate must be elected by that branch and report back to it. This issue — whether a union branch delegate must be nominated by that branch — has been at the centre of the present NEC inquiry.

THE BEHAVIOUR of the EETPU highlights the inadequacies of the current party rules. Perhaps the most extreme case is that of the union's London EESA (white collar) branch where a delegate had been appointed by head office to Bermondsey CLP without the branch secretary Mr. K. Linney even being aware this was taking place. The particular delegate chosen, Charles Sawyer, was in fact a housing officer. Mr Linney says the matter has now been sorted out and the branch have accepted Sawyer as delegate.

Currently all EETPU affiliations to Ber-

mondsey have been frozen pending the NEC inquiry. But some of the EETPU branches trying to affiliate to Bermondsey have a questionable pedigree. The EETPU General Office branch wishes to send a delegate but does not meet. Similarly the GEC, Plessey and STC telecomms branches applying to affiliate to Bermondsey are national branches, run by Mr Eadie, and meet only once a year. Active members of the London West contracting branch were unaware that they had affiliated to the Bermondsey party, which is some miles from their catchment area. (The full-time branch secretary is based in Luton.)

At Wembley Frank Chapple made a powerful speech against the corruption of the union bloc vote: it will be interesting to see how these reservations are transferred to the union influence on the party at local level. □

Panorama programme was to include interviews with at least four British security and intelligence agents: Lee Tracey, for more than 20 years an MI6 contract employee; James Rusbridger, a commodity broker who worked as an MI6 bagman carrying cases of US dollars to secret meetings in Eastern Europe; Tony Motion, a former official of MI5's 'B' division, responsible for counterespionage; and Jock Kane, a former radio supervisor for the gigantic monitoring organisation GCHQ, who last year revealed the scale of internal corruption at GCHQ stations in the *New Statesman*.

Many prospective interviewees and in particular all the current and past heads of the intelligence agencies MI5, MI6, and GCHQ were warned not to speak to the the BBC researchers. But the BBC were fortunate in reaching Tony Motion in Perth, Western Australia, before the word from Curzon Street. Motion told the BBC, as he had earlier told the *New Statesman*, how he had been dispatched to Oxford University in 1967 to check through the pre-war communist affiliations of Oxford students. He quizzed surviving administrative staff about students who belonged to left organisations. Although the search turned up hundreds of names with Marxist and communist sympathies, Motion will not say if he uncovered any unexpected moles. He did not know if his superiors at Curzon Street had any particular candidates in mind but the investigation appears to be linked to persistent suspicions that one of a very few senior MI5 officials of the 50s and early 60s was a Soviet spy.

The interview of such a recent ex-employee incensed MI5 and by late September, according to Tom Mangold, MI5 Director General Sir Howard Trayton Smith had been to complain to BBC Director General Sir Ian Trethowan. The result was a further series of curbs in addition to the self imposed ordinance on discussing intelligence sources and methods. Trethowan banned the interviewing of former agents, and the filming of supposed sensitive government establishments like GCHQ at Cheltenham.

Trethowan finally called in the proposed two films last month, but yielded to their being shown after a series of leaks about the internal argument led to considerable pressure from the broadcasting union. The programme has now been scheduled for next week — despite embarrassment earlier this week when a local newspaper in Cornwall turned up an awkward recent conviction for fraud by one of the agents the BBC filmed, James Rusbridger. Although this discovery was accidental and not motivated by MI5, subsequent attempts were made to sell derogatory copy about both him and Lee Tracey, who has had a colourful career as a manufacturer of bugs and other snooping electronics since he left MI6 in the late 60s.

LEE TRACEY, whose discussion of the possibility of assassinating Tony Benn is revealed on page 3, was a long term contract employee of MI6. He is unwilling to reveal much of his clandestine work for Her Majesty's Government, but has had a wide ranging, if less than Bondian, career.

He first entered the secret world at the end of the second world war, when he was offered small jobs to do after he became demobbed from the RAF's orthodox intelligence branch.

During his 20 years with MI6, he worked under journalistic cover on the *Daily Mirror* and other newspapers, went to Hollywood to join CIA agents on an undercover trip pretending to make feature films in Roumania, and ultimately ended up in Dublin on a plot to

SPOOKS

Secrets that won't be told

DUNCAN CAMPBELL reports on the censored *Panorama* programme and the security service's men in the media and at the *Daily Mirror*.

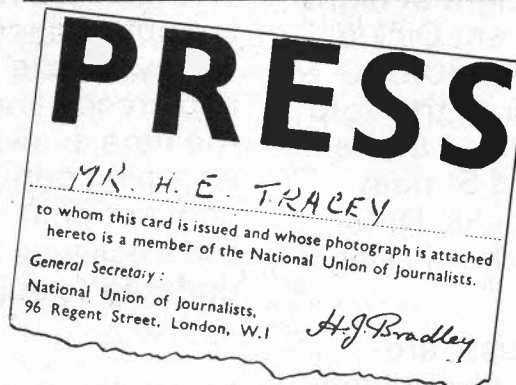
THE BBC'S REPORT on the British security and intelligence services, due to be screened on *Panorama* next Monday, is the first time this part of the establishment has dared to examine intelligence further than the nonsense of Smiley and his people. This has provoked the intelligence establishment to considerable fury, and strong efforts have been made, by MI5 in particular, to have the programme banned. These have succeeded to the extent of a very firm curb being placed on the investigation and form of reporting used in the programme.

Particularly ironical is the fact that, early on, the programme team checked for, and found, an official MI5 representative secretly within the BBC. The MI5 official is posted to the BBC for a tour of duty in a cover post, and is particularly responsible for checks on personal details of all BBC staff and new applicants.

According to *Panorama* reporter Tom Mangold, the MI5 'resident' is responsible for checking all BBC incomers out with 'Curzon Street' — a euphemism for MI5 headquarters. If he passes the word back that an applicant has 'come to notice' of the Security Services, then the applicant's job or promotion will be blocked. The criteria the Security Service use for judging subversion are, of course, notoriously wide and embrace any serious kind of libertarian or socialist position. One BBC producer told us how his promotion had been blocked after he had made a documentary in which a young communist student had had a prominent role. The event was dragged up repeatedly at BBC promotion boards and he was asked 'Do you think, with hindsight, you were right to put a card carrying Party member on the screen?'

A former senior BBC producer confirmed Mangold's story. He alleged the MI5 cover post was at the Shepherds Bush TV centre and involved being responsible for the security of VIPs visiting the BBC.

Most government departments have a secret



Harold 'Lee' Tracey, the intelligence agent who infiltrated the *Daily Mirror*. He still has his NUJ press card.

cell of MI5 staff to check covertly on their security besides the orthodox activities of each Department's Security Division. It enables them secretly to watch suspect civil servants and to consult files for information which they might not wish other staff to know was being obtained by MI5. It is little surprise that such an arrangement has also long applied to the BBC. Mangold, however, refuses to identify the official or his cover position, out of 'loyalty to the organisation' (the BBC). He and producer John Pennycate told interviewees that they had shown material to the official to 'clear' it.

Such voluntary co-operation did not however satisfy Curzon Street. The core of the

kidnap Sean Bourke, an Irishman who had been instrumental in the escape of Soviet spy George Blake from Wormwood Scrubs, and whom the intelligence services desperately wished to bring to trial in Britain. He often spent long periods of time working in telephone tapping centres in London, or fixing up individual taps on lines around the country.

Agents like Lee Tracey are generally managed by case officers who if possible, stay as their links throughout their active life. Tracey would report regularly for tasks to MI6's then headquarters at Queen Anne's Gate, SW1.

His first long term assignment was to get good journalistic cover, and he was found employment first, in 1948 at the Derbyshire Evening Telegraph, as a photographer. He then moved to a Bristol paper, and finally was planted on the *Daily Mirror* in 1952. His main task was to identify and report on likely recruits for MI6, either foreigners who might be compromised into becoming British spies, or Britons who might be useful to MI6. He was disliked at the *Daily Mirror* by those who can remember him, particularly for not apparently having had much interest in turning in material for the paper which notionally employed him. A reporter colleague of the time who recalls him describes the area which they both covered as centring on the 'organised vice scene'.

Tracey was assigned by MI6 to visit Stephen Ward and was supposed to do a *Daily Mirror* profile on the man. Nothing ever appeared but a full report went to MI6, who hoped that some juicy target might be sexually compromised inside the Ward circle. Six years later this circle ensnared War Minister Profumo. Tracey's penetration of the group was never revealed to Lord Denning during his investigation, when he commented adversely on the intelligence agencies lack of awareness of the case.

The *Daily Mirror* was not the only newspaper he was planted into. In the early 1960s, he went to the *Montreal Star* with fake Canadian citizenship to pursue MI6 investigations there. His next move finally took him to Hollywood and a cover post of a film company which he used to photograph East European military installations.

It was his work bugging and tapping which gave him the experience to set up in business as a private enterprise phone tap manufacturer. He has run a number of essentially similar businesses making bugs, taps, and bug detectors. He recalls the telephone tapping business of the 60s as completely unsupervised, as far as his department was concerned. Warrants from the Home Secretary were 'never heard of'. □

This England

£3 book tokens for entries printed. (On postcard, please.)

□ A nun told a court today that cardigans stolen from an Oxford Street store had got into her bag 'because of some devilish miracle'. Sister Bernadette O'Flanagan, 36, was found guilty of shoplifting after Wells Street magistrate Geoffrey Noel said that he could not accept her story. — *New Standard* (P. Roche)

□ The Rev Glyn Wilkinson, the Rector of Barwick, near Leeds, has told his parishioners to produce more babies so that the village infant school can be saved. — *Daily Telegraph* (G. Moor)

□ Shopkeepers in Boulogne say that the English no longer come just to gape, but account for up to half their takings on Saturdays. 'Big breakfast cups are our best seller,' one shopkeeper enthused, 'which is strange, because we get them from Portmeirion pottery, in Wales.' — *The Times* (Madeline Brent)

Local radio

Contd from p.7

Finally, the prospectus showed that the business directors were putting in very little money: hardly inspiring confidence in the venture.

UNSURPRISINGLY, the prospectus failed: only £80,000 was raised. John Thompson, director of radio at the IBA, rang to ask what had gone wrong. The bank told him that investors objected to not having full voting rights (this was not a problem in Cardiff); the community concept was blamed. At a subsequent board meeting Sues discouraged discussion of what had happened. In return for a vow of silence on the share issue the British Linen Bank promised not to claim their £10,000 fee. Sues was replaced by Mr Hugh Young who refuses to discuss the failed prospectus with us other than to say he does not feel very 'relaxed' about the incident.

For the Association, the effect was demoralising. One member mulled over the financial problems with the radio sales agency Broadcast Marketing Services, which had provided some early advice. BMS is owned by Standard Broadcasting of Canada and soon Standard's managing director, Robert Kennedy — a former IBA employee — was on the line. Two days later he was in Inverness and on the way from the airport to the city he offered cash and expertise, in return for a place on the board. The Association's seats were reduced to three.

The British Linen Bank said further money could only be raised by issuing another prospectus. They said the IBA would never approve of Kennedy's idea of raising it through a private

company (a method employed by other stations). Kennedy rang up Thompson who said there was no need for another prospectus.

PRIVATE CAPITAL is now being raised for Moray Firth, and Standard Broadcasting Company will have a share in the venture. The Association, which won the franchise, has, by taking professional advice, lost the initiative and seats on the board. They are fighting back by organising programme-making groups to put into practice some of the ideas which found support from the IBA, including a highly original studio system which would use post office lines to link together the many dispersed towns and villages that make up the Moray Firth.

The Association has found the IBA decision-making process perplexing. One of Moray Firth's directors remarked that it was hard to keep accurate records of decisions because these were frequently made at casual meetings outside the board room, which went unminuted. Symbolically, when John Thompson rang up he often prefaced his remarks to directors by the words 'Is this a private line?'

Moray Firth and Cardiff are not isolated experiments on the fringes of broadcasting. Rather the opposite: they are experiments which challenge the central ideas of commercial broadcasting in Britain today and for that reason have attracted widespread interest and abuse. In this the IBA has not attempted to resolve the crises in favour of the 'community' nor has it encouraged novel forms of organisation. On its record, it has acted in favour of the narrow, solely profit-seeking commercial interests which predominate in British broadcasting. If its claims about regulating the industry are to be taken seriously, it will need to behave differently in future. □

BEAT THE BUDGET A New Statesman Wine Offer

First, the bad news. The wine trade think it's inevitable that the Chancellor will increase duty in next month's budget. (This, of course, isn't a novel Tory desire to lean on the upper classes. Table wine is now drunk in more than half of British homes.)

Now, the good news. You can get a few glasses ahead of Chancellor Howe with this budget-beating offer of a case of good French wine, delivered to your door for £23.75 all-in. That's under £2 a bottle for wine with a touch of quality.

Each case contains

6 bottles of Domaines Les Milles VDQS, a flinty, dry white produced in vineyards a few kilometres from Aix-en-Provence.

6 bottles of Chateau St Vincent VDQS, a red Costiere du Gard, similar to the wines of nearby Cotes du Rhone.

But Hurry! Our shipper needs to receive your order before Budget Day (10 March) so this offer is for **TWO WEEKS ONLY**.

YES, I wish to get ahead of the Chancellor with a case of good French wine. I enclose a cheque for £23.75 payable to **NEW STATESMAN**.

NAME.....

FULL POSTAL ADDRESS*.....

Please send your cheque with your order to **New Statesman (Wine Offer), 10 Great Turnstile, London WC1V 7HJ.**

*Sorry, but because of carriage costs this offer applies only to the UK mainland. Please allow up to 21 days for delivery.