



FILE
da

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

21 May 1984

This is just a note to thank you on the Prime Minister's behalf for your letter of 14 May and for showing her the plan for Vernon Newton's book about Donald Maclean. The Prime Minister was glad to be warned of this.

E. E. R. BUTLER

The Lord Thomas of Swynnerton

da



file 2

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

Sir Robert Armstrong

I enclose a copy of a letter to the Prime Minister from Lord Thomas, together with a proposal for a book by an American, Mr. Vernon Newton, which will aim to tell the story of Donald Maclean's espionage from the American end, and to show that he did more damage to American interests than has hitherto been revealed.

I would like to put these papers in the Prime Minister's box for this weekend. Have you any comments which you would like to put to her at the same time?

Ferb

16 May, 1984.



W/e Box 4

① ~~ASC.~~

② Prime Minister

Prime Minister

I thought it just possible that you & yr. advisers might like to see the enclosed. It is a plan for a book about Donald Maclean, by an American writer (Vernon Newton). He argues that Maclean was a more effective spy than has been generally realised < (or the public has been).

Gough Thomas
~~Just~~ May 14 1984

DRAFT

BOOK PROPOSAL

Vern Newton
5235 Sheriden Pl. NW
Washington, DC 20016
202-966-3631

OTHER GENTLEMEN'S MAIL

Synopsis

This is the true story of a Soviet agent who penetrated our national security apparatus at the highest levels while a senior diplomat at the British Embassy in Washington. Documents never before uncovered in the case of Donald Maclean will detail his activities during the crucial post-war years from 1944-48, his lethal treachery during the Korean War and his eventual discovery.

I. BACKGROUND

On the night of May 25, 1951 Donald Maclean, A British diplomat suspected of spying for the Soviets, took flight from England just as security agents were about to close the net on him. Strangely, Guy Burgess--not a suspect--went with him. Their disappearance triggered the largest manhunt ever in Europe---15,000 fanned out across the Continent--and began what has become the longest running spy drama in Western history. Enraged security officials were certain someone must have tipped-off Maclean, someone very highly placed in either London or Washington.

The case has remained an unhealed sore on the public mind of England, re-opened every decade with yet another painful revelation. In 1963 Kim Philby, once one of the highest ranking intelligence officers in the West, ^{also} took flight to Moscow. Decorated by the King, assigned under Churchill the task of sabotaging the world wide Soviet spy network, Philby had been a KGB agent all along, the "third man" who had dispatched Burgess to save Maclean.

In 1979 Sir Anthony Blunt, then curator of art to the Queen was publically unmasked as the "fourth man" in the spy network that formed at Cambridge University in the 1930s. And in 1982 Michael Whitney Straight, from one of the most wealthy and prominent families in America, published the first inside account

of those turbulent days at Cambridge University when he Maclean, Burgess, Philby and Blunt pledged themselves to the Soviet Union in a mission of deceit.

II. THE COVER-UP

A. The British Side

The British government pretended to be as baffled as any over the missing diplomats. The two were portrayed as two dissolutes whose once promising careers had become shipwrecked on the rocks of alcoholism. Perhaps, the government earnestly speculated, they went off to get a fresh start behind the Iron Curtain. The possibility of their being long-term Soviet agents was dismissed as chimerical.

This absurd subterfuge was shattered in 1955 and the government was finally forced to issue a White Paper on the case. It was an exercise in ineptitude making the government, said the Spectator, appear as "egregious asses." History repeated itself as farce when Philby too escaped to Moscow. The ensuing uproar gave birth to a publishing boom in England.

The resulting books were of three distinct types: 1) Philby's life thinly fictionalized in the works of LeCarre (who saw in Philby the symbol of the divided West) and Graham Greene (a close friend of Philby's); 2) Those who saw the whole sordid Cambridge spy saga as an illuminating chapter in the deplorable way the Establishment ran the Empire and the cause of its ruin; 3) The detective genre seeking answers to this ever-baffling case. Who protected and promoted these men? Why did Burgess go with Maclean? Was Philby sacrificed by the Soviets to protect a higher placed mole?

None of these considered the damage to British national security or made more than just passing reference to their years in Washington (which is still more than the Government did). Why? Because the British were blind players in this story of treachery. True, ^{The three} they were unwittingly concealed by the Establishment, but to comprehend the damage they did it is necessary to look to the American side of the ledger sheer.

B. The American side

For two weeks the case was kept out of the press. But on the morning of June 8 it exploded in newspaper headlines around the world. That same morning Secretary of State Dean Acheson appeared before a Senate Committee and was asked if he knew Maclean. "No", he lied, "I do not."

While Acheson was on the Hill, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover was reading a "damage assessment" from the Atomic Energy Commission. After reading it Hoover commented indignantly "It is obvious the AEC is not particularly cooperative on this matter."

Hoover knew Maclean was a Soviet spy of major importance, but he too had a problem. He was supposed to be the staunch protector of the West's secrets and preventing enemy agents like Maclean from doing what he did. ^{True.} The FBI took the lead in insisting to journalists there was no American angle in this story. "It concerned British citizens, violating British law and was being investigated in England by British authorities." In fact, "it would be inappropriate for the United States" to even comment on the case.

III. FOLLOWING THE TRAIL

I have been drawn to the story of the "Cambridge Marxists" since my doctoral studies in the European protest movements of the 1930s. As the body of literature grew I continued to be struck by the absence of any book covering the American side of the story. Surely during those seven critical years in Washington the activities of Maclean (1944-48), Philby (1949-51) and Burgess (1950-51) were not confined just to fouling things up inside the British Embassy. My interest was in knowing at what level they operated in Washington, who did they deal with, and did they have any impact on the issues which now dominate the world we live in? Surely such espionage operations do not exist in a policy vacuum, the celebrated Great Game played by Bond-like adventurers for its own sake.

Those questions--if the British, American and Soviet governments had their way-- would never be answered unless I could find some new evidence on the case. I went

to both the FBI and the CIA, where there is still a great deal of sensitivity about the case, and reviewed all the documents obtainable under the Freedom of Information Act. Interesting, but mainly about the cops and robber aspect of the story.

For my purposes Philby was not that critical. Only the KGB really knows what he provided, but as linkman to the FBI and the CIA--even with an astronomical clearance--his primary activity was with an agency that was not in the foreign policy area and an embryonic agency which ^{was} ~~is~~ still fighting to get a seat at the table. As for Burgess, his Washington posting was so resented by the Embassy he did little other than clip papers. But what of Maclean?

History had not treated him kindly. Colorless compared to the swashbuckling Philby and the outrageously flamboyant Burgess, he has been painted as a neurotic misfit who, lacking the right stuff, became unnerved, panicked and finally took the other two down with him. His weakness of character was humiliatingly showcased when his wife left him in Moscow for the newly arrived Philby.

Still, he had been the First Secretary of the Embassy and the Head of Chancery under the extremely capable British Ambassador Lord Halifax, ^{and} when the British Embassy was pivotal to the remarkable Anglo-American wartime relationship. There must be some record in our own State Department archives that would provide some clue as to ~~his~~ the duties he was intrusted.

I realized as I started going through the diplomatic archives that any paper trail may have been shredded. Or perhaps his name would be found only at the bottom of invitations to celebrate the King's birthday. I was armed with an old State Department directory and, as best as I could reconstruct it, a rooster for the British Embassy. I also had the advantage of having run a communications secretariat within the State Department and ^{being} ~~am~~ familiar with the routing of papers through our foreign policy apparatus.

IV. THE FIND

Given the random nature of the archives I was surprised how quickly I found a document with Donald Maclean's name on it. And it wasn't an invitation

to an embassy garden party. It was a note to the Secretary of State (Byrnes) from the British Ambassador (Halifax) expressing British Foreign Minister Bevin's concerns over a/^{Molotov}proposal for a meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers. The Top Secret/ Immediate communique was signed for Lord Halifax by Maclean.

That was only the beginning. There were strategy meetings, memoranda and reports on American base negotiations from the North Atlantic to the South Pacific, strategy on countering the Russian war of nerves against Greece and Turkey and the wrenching issue (still) of foreign armies on the European continent. And ^{Two Years 12} the ~~almost breathtaking~~ involvement in matters of atomic strategy, diplomacy and development that are breathtaking in their scope and implication.

For instance, it was acknowledged soon after Maclean disappeared that he had served as the UK Secretary to the Combined Policy Committee on atomic development. But few could grasp what that meant and the State Department and the AEC did little to enlighten them and for good reason. At the time he joined the CPC its existence was unknown to the Congress or the Cabinet. And most importantly ^{no} ~~know~~ more than a handful (Maclean was one of them) knew about the Quebec Agreement that established the CPC. So secret that Secretary of War Forrester, ~~was~~ one of six on the CPC, ^{signed} was not told of the underlying provisions of the Agreement between Churchill and Roosevelt ⁱⁿ 1943. The terms went far beyond any treaty this nation ever entered into ~~so far as~~ ^{is} binding ^{us} it to another nation. So tight was the tie that ultimately it came to suffocate the Anglo-American war-time relationship (to Stalin's delight), a traumatic break-up that took seven years to achieve; And Maclean was frequently at the center of the dispute.

V. THE IMPORTANCE

To misunderstand Maclean's role is to misunderstand the ~~purpose of the~~ purpose of intelligence. ^{There} ~~This~~ is no ultimate secret that each side is trying to keep the other ~~side~~ from gaining. The role of strategic intelligence is more prosaic. Simply put, it is to learn the political intentions of your enemy,

to narrow the band of uncertainty over what he is likely to do, where he will backdown, where he will fight and when he is bluffing and when he is not. The value of the penetration agent is that he can tell what the "other ~~was~~ side" is saying and thinking when he feels secure the enemy is not watching or listening. Access---which Maclean certainly had---was therefore indispensable. But to the Soviets, particularly to Stalin, the only acceptable source of intelligence was the other gentlemen's mail---original documents.

The Soviets ultimately expressed their appreciation of Maclean's role by rescuing a non-Soviet citizen for the first time ever, and leaving one of their best, Philby, holding the bag. And for all the insistence in London and Washington that he ^{wasn't} important, they almost returned the compliment with a daring CIA plan to kidnap Maclean from the Soviets.

The skepticism in this country over the necessity for government secrecy extends into the international arena. Our citizens may have a near obsessive concern over their own privacy, but the suggestion that as a nation we have secrets and that others will stop at almost nothing to obtain them, is often met ~~with~~ with derision. I will explore the reasons for this, including the little understood legacy of McCarthyism in permanently discrediting claims of Soviet spies at work. But there is another side to it, the Soviet perspective.

It is ironic that many writers in countries which have repeatedly been victims of Soviet intelligence operations tend to mockingly dismiss their importance. Meanwhile the Soviets, the beneficiaries, continue to invest increasingly vast amounts of human and financial capital into its world wide operations. One might wonder what they know about the "yield" from such operations that we don't. It

And one might further wonder if it is not so important why the Soviets would elect as the Supreme Soviet leader/^{Yuri Andropov} a man whose whole career was spent on ~~such operations~~ in the KGB or why the highest military rank in the Soviet Union has just been accorded to Andropov's successor as KGB chief, V Victor Chebrikov?

VI. WHY HAS THIS STORY NEVER BEEN TOLD?

This isn't simply a matter of a cover-up or suppression of an important chapter in our nation's history. The documents I have come upon could have been found by others, ^{but} though I believe the parochial ^{though} intense rivalry between the intelligence and diplomatic communications and their respective chroniclers prevented this. The fact of the matter is those who are concerned with the activities of our statesmen, most notably themselves, are loathe to ~~ever~~ acknowledge intelligence operatives ever influence events. Conversely, the subterranean civil war waged by our security organization against the Soviets seems to be fought without ^{any} ~~ever~~ awareness of the greater foreign policy & issues. If the two mention each other it is often ^{only with in} ~~in~~ disparaging ^{tones.} judgments.

It is from this rivalry that the title of my book originates. In 1929 Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson abolished the highly successful Black Chamber codebreaking unit with the guileless assertion that "Gentlemen, do not read other gentlemen's mail." ~~The~~ After WWII President Truman directed ~~the~~ the OSS intelligence function and operatives be transferred into the State Department, in the not illogical assumption that foreign policy ought to have such an input. But the foreign policy establishment revolted and openly and defiantly lobbied Congress against the President, protesting that "these people" were not trained in the science of foreign policy, they were intelligence people whose ^{very} loyalty was uncertain. It would be an insult to the career foreign service officer to be expected to work beside such rabble. Acheson, who agreed with Truman, was so upset when the career people carried the day, he resigned.

Ultimately Truman, reluctantly to say the least, had to create the Central Intelligence Agency entirely independent—to the State Department's everlasting regret—~~reporting to the~~ and setting the stage for competing foreign policies and operations.

An example of the gap created by the limits each discipline is willing to go comes out in the Maclean-Hiss connection. Alger Hiss's diary on September 14, 1946 had ~~an entry~~ Maclean's name on it. Both the State Department security and the FBI

tried over a period of years to establish a connection between Hiss and Maclean, but couldn't and concluded there wasn't ~~was~~ or even the ~~was~~ basis for such contact. Allen Weinstein in his book on Hiss (Perjury/1978) also tried to establish the link and also concluded there wasn't one or the grounds for one and that the entry would forever remain a mystery. But so far I have found a half-dozen memoranda detailing meetings and phone conversations ^{between Hiss and Maclean} including the precise meeting they had on September 14. It never occurred to the sleuths or the academics to go to ~~the~~ the files.

Maclean's dual career—a trusted senior diplomat and a secret Soviet agent ~~is~~ provides the perfect opportunity to demonstrate the impact of intelligence on foreign policy, in a way never before accomplished.

VII. WHAT WILL BE INCLUDED?

The period from 1944-51 when Maclean, Philby and Burgess served in Washington. The spotlight will stay on Maclean whose access and ease of operations would be appalling at anytime in our nation's history. But coming during the crucial post-war period when triumph (as Churchill put it) was transformed into tragedy, the break-up of the Grand Alliance, the erosion of the Anglo-American relationship, the origins of the East-West conflict, and the emergence of the atomic superpowers, the advent of McCarthyism and the bitter experience of the Korean War makes it an even more ~~simple~~ compelling story. We will follow Maclean as he stalks for the Soviets the issues and events which comprise these historical ~~benchmarks~~ benchmarks.

VIII. WHAT WILL NOT BE INCLUDED?

I will not cover British social history or the 1930s protest movements. Maclean's character needs to be developed enough to provide the reader with a sense of whether they would have accepted Maclean as a trusted allied official, but in no way will it be a biography of his life or career. Philby and Burgess will be in supporting roles. The Philby-Angleton relationship, while a fascinating one, will not be dwelled upon nor the theories about a CIA mole. Except for an epilogue the story will stop in 1951.

IX. HOW WILL IT BE SOURCED?

I am certain more time at the Archives will result in more supporting documents and possibly some primary ones. I am not optimistic about prying much more out of the CIA or the FBI. But both the State Department and the Senate is promising. In fact, within the next two months I believe I may be among the first to be able to review files on their own investigation into the Maclean case.

I have interviewed a number of people who knew Maclean, Philby and Burgess in Washington and have a lengthy list ~~to finish~~ yet to go. I am also in touch with Chapman Pincher among others in England and believe a trip there will be both necessary and productive.

OTHER GENTLEMEN'S MAIL

CHAPTER OUTLINE

Introduction

Brief sketch of "Stalin's Englishmen", at Trinity College to outbreak of World War II: Donald Maclean, Kim Philby, Guy Burgess, Anthony Blunt, Allan Nunn May and Michael Straight, their embrace of communism and dedication to the Soviet Union.

Prologue

THE DOUBLE PATRIOTS

Churchill-Roosevelt secret and personal correspondence ~~was~~ conducted through American Embassy in 1939-40 by cipher Tyler Kent who is outraged ~~that~~ by their "conspiracy" to bring America# into war against Hitler. He leaks documents to Anna Wolkov who shares his pro-Nazi, anti-semitic beliefs which she gets published in Italian press causing great embarrassment.

Anna boasts of it to Burgess, a colleague in pro-German group when he buried his communist tracks in right wing activities, Burgess tips off Blunt, then in MI5, (British Internal Security) and with permission of American Ambassador Joe Kennedy they smash into Kent's apartment where they find treasure trove of documents. In May 1940 he was tried, convicted and jailed in England (to keep it out of America).

Had they been printed, the 1500 documents Kent had would have caused an uproar possibly endangering Roosevelt's election to a third term and certainly altering the course of history. But it may have anyway. Convinced many in Washington that the State Department and the Foreign Service were unreliable, of dubious loyalty (some even wondered if Kennedy was somehow involved given his isolationist convictions) and not secure. Thereafter, the key-link in the Anglo-American wartime alliance, "the most remarkable relationship in the history of nation-states," would be the British Embassy in Washington.

Chapter One

PENETRATION

May
1944
Oct.

Late April 1944 Donald Maclean and American-born wife sail on Queen Mary to U.S. where ~~is~~ he is to be Second Secretary at the British Embassy Washington. ^{At 31} He is the "darling of the Foreign Office",

Washington its most important assignment. Maclean "exceedingly able and handsome" (Washington Star) settles in quickly and his reach is established early. On August 29 he calls H. Freeman "Doc" Matthews at State Department to discuss a memorandum written and sent ~~top secret~~ only that day from the Joint Chiefs of Staff to the Secretary of State. Matthews has not seen the memo, and is unfamiliar with its content and is startled that Maclean has seen it. After their talk Matthews calls Admiral William Leahy, President Roosevelt's Chief of Staff, to get filled in.

^{all}
Top Secret memo concerns Indo-China Theater where ~~are~~ the superpowers are jockeying for position. France wants back in to Southeast Asia, and UK and Soviets are both nervous with Stillwell's overtures to Mao.

^{new}
In London Philby is the ~~new~~ head of the /Soviet Division (read ~~was~~ anti-Soviet) and is handed a directive from Churchill: "remorselessly weed out" anyone with communist past from security operations. He coordinates response with Anthony Blunt in MI5.

October Maclean is promoted to rank of First Secretary and is acting Head of Chancery including control of code room and secret cipher.

Chapter Two

END OF AN AFFAIR

April
1945
July

Roosevelt's death on the eve of VE Day changed the whole nature of the US foreign policy apparatus. Truman, feeling too small for the job was surrounded by advisers who for the first time felt they knew more than the president did. Grand Alliance dissolved from pursuing the common victory to insisting on the separate peace. US ~~is~~ goes through a period of being as distrustful of Churchill and "Empire" as of Stalin and cables passing through Maclean and British Embassy reflect that split.

Maclean making twice a week trips to New York to deliver documents to Soviet mission for transmission to Moscow.

(Ch. Two Con't.)

Divisiveness over Operation Sunrise (surrender of Kesserling's Army in Northern Italy) and Philby's role in it).

Chapter Three

RECORDS OF BETRAYAL

July 1945 Maclean attends meetings at State Department at war's end over
Oct. the capture of Nazi files. Scramble in all capitals to recover,

discover or destroy documented betrayals. German truck convoys laden with hundreds of tons of files ~~from~~ from the German Foreign Office are captured by Patton and Bradley. OSS takes over Marburg Castle and hundreds of tons of documents searching for anything that could affect Pacific war and evidence for war crimes.

King George personally recruits Blunt to go to Germany to recover documents that have fallen into American hands including letters between his brother (former King Edward, now ~~Duke~~ Duke of Windsor) and Hitler on Duke's willingness to become German quisling king. Blunt ^{was} refused, then steals documents.

Soviets worried that Allies will discover secret protocols to Nazi-Soviet Pact giving Russia, for not interfering with Hitler, what Stalin would now demand from West, ~~for going to war~~.

In Ottawa employee of Soviet Embassy, Igor Gouzenko defects with bundle of files detailing Soviet espionage against Western allies during war. Documents so sensational Prime Minister Mackenzie King flies to Washington for emergency meeting with Truman and Dean Acheson. Warns him of determined Soviet effort to find out about U.S. troop deployment and strength in U.S. and abroad, and the atomic secrets. Says they know British scientist Allan Nunn May supplying Soviets with information Warns Truman-Acheson that Gouzenko says a "personal assistant to Secretary of State Edward Stettinius" working for Soviets.

Maclean able to send warning to May who fails to appear for meeting where he would be arrested.

Chapter Four

DRAMA AT DARDANELLES

Oct. 1945
Dec.

Stalin had been insisting since Potsdam that treaties regulating

strategically important Turkish Straits must be revised. U.S. promises to take lead in negotiations and by October Maclean is pressuring State Department for U.S. position, which is finally delivered in rush to Embassy. Three days later C.L. Sulzberger, New York Times correspondent in London writes story that US-UK are meeting in Washington to coordinate position on Straits before dealing with Soviets. Acheson denies it; Molotov charges collusion, "ganging-up."

Everyone distressed over how it happened. Maclean assures Loy Henderson that Foreign Minister Bevin is upset and is trying to find source of leak. Maclean says Bevin apologizes to Byrnes, who is further irritated with many questions about it at news conference. American Ambassador in Turkey very upset and writes private letters to Henderson to find out how the whole episode got so out of hand. Grumbling around State that British Foreign Office not secure.

Maclean unaware how close he came to getting exposed over Turkey but in ~~entirely~~ entirely different episode. A KGB Colonel Volkov in Istanbul offered to defect to British and, among other things, identify three Soviet agents at the top level of Foreign Office, most certainly including Maclean and Philby. The case was promptly turned over to Philby; Volkov disappeared.

Philby returns from this "nasty Business" in Turkey in early September on same day former Secretary of State Stettinius is meeting with Gromyko. When Gromyko asked who he would like to see as Secretary General of U.N. he says best choice one of Stettinius's former personal assistants, Alger Hiss.

November 15 Prime Ministers Attlee and King fly to Washington to discuss with Truman future of atomic development and problem of the atomic spy ring. Agreement made on atomic policy that later triggers hostility between US and UK which Maclean is in the thick of.

December 15 Tyler Kent allowed to return to America and insists he did nothing wrong.

Chapter Five

Feb
1946
Sept.

TO THE FRONT

~~By late 1946 Soviets intensifying war of nerves against Turkey and Greece. Greek government overwhelmed with civil war,~~

Chapter Five

"HOW MANY TROOPS HAS THE PRESIDENT"

Feb.
1946
Oct.

Gromyko tries to outmaneuver West at UN by forcing Anglo-American disclosure of military strength and sources around globe with only minimal disclosure by Russia. At time Bevin steaming towards New York where Byrnes already is. Communications link established with Byrnes-Acheson-Hiss on American side and Bevin-Halifax-Maclean on British side. Hiss hand delivering messages to Maclean at Embassy for him to send by code to Bevin at sea.

Drew Pearson breaks story that Sept. 30, 1945 meeting between King and Truman-Acheson over discovery of atomic spies in Manhattan Project.

Allan Nunn May is arrested, pleads guilty and is sentenced to ten years in prison.

Hiss makes effort to become State Department "atomic energy man."
Truman abolishes OSS, feud over intelligence function in State Department.

Chapter Six

TO THE FRONT

Nov.
1946
Dec.

Soviets intensifying war of nerves against Turkey and Greece. Greek government overwhelmed with civil war economic chaos and external threat. Pleas for Anglo-American aid.

November 18 American Ambassador in Greece gets purloined copy of order for top Yugoslavian general to take command of all guerilla activity directed against Greek government.

The same day Maclean calls on State Department to determine U.S. response to Greek call for help. Maclean several times emphasizes need for US-UK coordination and that ~~th~~ he will be responsible. "He seemed to want to make sure this was understood" said State Department official to superiors.

Philby is being sent to this front of East-West tensions, takes over British intelligence in Turkey. Decorated earlier by King for outstanding service with Order of the British Empire.

Chapter Seven

EXPLOSIVE SECRETS

Jan.
1947

Maclean named UK Secretary to the Combined Policy Committee (CPC)

Established by Secret agreement between Churchill and Roosevelt in Quebec 1943 not even the Congress or the Cabinet know of Agreement for CPC. ~~the~~ Acheson was the number two man at State for seven months before the Secretary told him, and Secretary of War served on CPC but did not know the provisions of the Agreement that established it. Even ~~new~~ Atomic Energy Commission not allowed to sit in on meetings.

U.S. struggling to extricate itself from an Agreement that goes beyond any made before. Key provision: The United States will not use atomic weapons without the consent of the United Kingdom. Goes beyond any treaty. Not only violated Congressional law but if known would cause problems at U.N./Anglo-American alliance coming unglued over issue and Maclean is in center of it.

Chapter Eight

RACE FOR THE RAW MATERIALS

March
1947

The U.S. government would later claim Maclean's access not terribly important in atomic area because it was on policy questions (such as Quebec Agreement) and raw materials. Sounds benign but those were the issues.

While the issue of consent would later play a critical role the immediate division between US and UK is over acquisition and division of raw material. Secret Agreement ~~is~~ with Belgium entitles US-UK rights to all ~~the~~ uranium extracted from Belgium Congo ~~is~~ which is then split between ~~two~~ two. But US needs more and does not want to see UK develop atomic weapons. Meanwhile Belgium agreement, discussed in CPC, leads out to communist in Belgium who demand it be abrogated, the mines be nationalized and Belgium go into atomic production. Soviets fanning flames. Government collapses.

Bernard Baruch suggests the way to ~~control~~ prevent arms race is to control raw materials that are needed to produce them. Little chance. World-wide scramble for pre-emptive buying by major powers. Maclean able to provide Soviets with detailed information of all deposits and ~~is~~ terms and conditions US is offering. Soviets have low-grade ore, desperate for outside ~~foreign~~ sources.

Chapter Nine

MAKING THE ROUNDS

Feb.
1947
Dec.

Winter of 1947 most severe in recent European history. Philby's departure for Turkey delayed 10 days, insufficient coal and uncleared tracks. Coal, food, and clothe shortage throughout. Churchill: Europe is "a rubble heap, a charaal house, a breeding grounds for pestilence and hate." A number of governments on verge of collapse, communists ready to take over.

On February 21, 1947 Maclean delivers a message that would ultimately transform United States foreign policy forever: The United Kingdom informed the United States that in Six weeks they would completely pull their military forces out of Turkey, Greece and Iran, they would cease all economic and other aid. The United States could either take over or concede the whole areas to the Soviets. This leads to emergency meetings in Washington unseen since height of war. Soon the Truman Doctrine is announced, Point Four, and eventually ~~NATO~~ the Marshall Plan and NATO. All thoughts of American withdrawing from European affairs vanishes forever.

Because of duties in atomic policy Maclean is issued, in violation of AEC's own security regulations and Congressional law, a "non-escort" pass to the AEC allowing him to go wherever he wants without prior clearance or escort. When J. Edgar Hoover comes to AEC building...he is escorted. Maclean goes to AEC 20 times during next nine months. Also going frequently to CIA headquarters.

August 1947 Maclean and British charge advise Bob Lovett (succeeded Acheson as UnderSecretary) that US cannot assume UK support on atomic issues against Russian until after US-UK issues have been resolved.

Late in year Maclean participates in discussions ~~wh~~ over which atomic secrets can be declassified. Also in attendance ~~B~~ German-born, British naturalized atomic scientist working at top ~~e~~ level of Manhattan Project, Klaus Fuchs.

Joint Chiefs of Staff putting pressure on AEC for higher production levels but they ~~say~~ not enough raw materials. US wants UK share, UK lacks know-how to use. Relationship becoming poisoned. US insists Quebec Agreement must be revised. Maclean on drafting committee.

A NEW BEGINNING, ALMOST

Chapter Ten

Jan 1948
March

Results of redrafting culminate in Modus Vivendi signed January
by U.S., UK, Canada. Senators Vandenberg and Hickenlooper had finally
been told of Quebec Agreement which they described as "astonishing"
"shocking", "incomprehensible". They now congratulate State on finally
extricating US from Quebec, and prior consultation before using atom bomb.

But they did not know the day after the Modus Vivendi the US-UK officials were back
negotiating another agreement that went beyond the provisions of Quebec Agreement!
Still at issue: Does United States have to get British consent to use the bomb?

secretely

In March Maclean informs State Department on behalf of Bevin that for the
past year England has secretely been developing its own atomic weapons.

Chapter Eleven

AN ATTACK ON ONE IS AN ATTACK ON ALL

March 1948
April

Deadlock in UN over nearly every issue, British withdrawal
from Greece and Turkey, Soviet intransigence over all issues under
negotiation leads to European and American determination in mutual

defense agreements. On March 22 senior officials from U.S., Britain, and
Canada begin nine days of the most secret talks ever held in Washngtn. Though it
was the new era of great bi-partisan foreign policy, Congress not told for security
reasons. Also for security: French not invited, talks held in Pentagon, participants
were not permitted to take notes, and "cover" trips taken to New York to throw-off
any Soviet suspicions. Talks led to NATO and Donald Maclean participated in every
one of them. Key issue same as today: collective security pacts define the "hold
line" where U.S. would fight to protect national interest. Where is that line?
As important, is everything which is outside hold line up for grabs by the Soviets?

Chapter Twelve

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

June
#ans1948
Dec.

Tito makes his historic break with Stalin and appeals
secretely for Western aid. Soviets watch nervously to see what
West will do. Maclean frequently at State Department to coordinate
US-UK response and compare US and Foreign Office intelligence on events.
July Maclean attends last session of CFC. Because of urgency

(Ch. 12 con't.)

and pressing nature of issues dealt with, Maclean's stay has already been extended year. Now promoted to rank of Counselor and assigned to Cairo. L^{aves} in September just as HUAC hearings start on activities of Soviet agents in U.S.

Sept 48

Several months later Soviet cipher in New York mission commits a colossal blunder by transmitting a message on New York-Moscow channel using low-grade commercial code. Engbles Armed Forces Security Agency to break diplomatic code. Start decoding messages stacked up unread for years. Officials dumbstruck to discover a hemorrhaging of secrets out of British Embassy and Manhattan Proeject during post-war years.

Chapter Thirteen

THE SEARCH FOR HOMER

Jan.
1949

Only clue to Embassy spy is Soviets call him "Homer." Anglo-American investigation launched to discover identity. Search focuses on janitors, charwomen in belief as Acheson told Senate: treason is the calling of the low born; Soviets could only fail if tried to recruit privileged. West absorbs another shock when Soviets explode an atomic bomb in August, two to ten years ahead of most estimates.

British, confronted with increasing American charges that they are not secure send over one of their best to find Homer: Kim Philby. Philby ~~arrives early~~ serves as liaison to CIA and FBI.

Chapter Fourteen

EFFORTLESS FAMILIARITY

October
1949
~~Oct~~

Wartime comraderie still exists in intelligence community. Americans still hold British in awe, to be emulated. Philby uses charm, limitless capacity for drink and aura of man on his way to the top to penetrate highest level of FBI and CIA. Hoover, Allen Dulles, James Jesus Angleton, Richard Helms, Frank B. Wisner, Kermit Roosevelt, and many others ~~spanish~~ lunch partners, dinner guests, and on-the-town companions.

LeCarre: what made Philby so devastatingly effective was his effortless familiarity with quarry.

Chapter Fifteen

FALL FROM GRACE

Jan.
1950
Oct.

January 1950 Alger Hiss convicted of perjury and sentenced to seven years imprisonment. In February 1950 Klaus Fuchs is arrested and confesses and sentenced to 14 years. In Cairo Maclean is becoming unglued, finally cracks in May with drunken binge, trashing apartment of State Department employee. Sent back to London on psychiatric leave.

Joe McCarthy starts his grubby, gratuitous campaign which makes a mockery of notion of spies at work in America.

August Guy Burgess arrives Washington and moves in with Philby.

In October Maclean is back at work and incredibly, assigned as head of American Department of Foreign Office.

Chapter Sixteen

TREACHERY IN KOREA

Oct.
1950
November

When Maclean took over war in Korea considered largely over. MacArthur has surrounded North Korean Army and marched through country to banks of Yalu. "Boys will be home by Christmas." Fewer than 5,000 American dead. Less than two months later 600,000 Chinese came sweeping out of mountains of Manchuria overwhelming UN forces. Another 18 months of fighting resulted in over 33,000 American dead and 150,000 casualties.

Issue: Did any information passed from Washington to London and Maclean to Soviets reduce the risk to the Chinese sufficiently they decided to invade?

MacArthur went to his grave convinced enemy knew in advance everything he was going to do and--more importantly--everything he could not do. Paranoia of a leading general said many. But more respected James Gavin said the same thing. More recently former Secretary of State Dean Rusk who was Assistant Secretary of State for Asia at time said "It can be assumed that 1) anything we in our government knew about Korea would have been known at the British Embassy and 2) that officers in the Embassy of the rank of those three would have known what the British knew."

I will examine this issue and evidence using for first time documents recently declassified under Freedom of Information from CIA, NSC, White House and State.

Chapter Seventeen

"HOW COULD YOU?!"

Jan.
1951
April

January 1951 dinner party at ~~Phil~~ Philby's Washington house where he hopes to pry into status of Homer investigation from top CIA and FBI men. Burgess crashes party, bitterly insults Bill Harvey's wife (the CIA man whose job it is to find the Kim Philbys of the world), turns party into a fiasco and devastates Philby. Harvey starts to check into Philby-Burgess background, remembers Volkov case (see article). Burgess recalled to London.

Chapter Eighteen

RULING CLASS ON THE RUN

April
1951
June

By April Maclean is the suspect. Rosenbergs have been sentenced to die May 21. Maclean becoming unraveled. Philby and Russians determine Burgess must be sent back to get Maclean out by June 1. First time Russians decide to save non-Soviet.

In London Blunt helps. Burgess and Maclean vanish. Two weeks later Bill Harvey concludes Philby is the "third man" Philby is forced out of service.

The cover-up starts.

Chapter Nineteen

DOES IT MATTER?

EX PAUSIM ON THEMES 2 PAGE 9+10