

- Okay, so welcome to the second week, and we are looking at spies who changed the course of history. And of course, we could pick any number of figures. But I love this, well, really quite controversial quote from Frederick Forsyth, crime writer, spy writer who wrote the likes of "The Day of the Jackal." And I always like to start with this one in this particular series. "The spies in history who can say from their graves, the information I supply to my masters, for better or worse, altered the history of our planet, can be counted on the fingers of one hand." And as I said last week, that's quite shocking really. Is it really only a handful of spies who've changed the course of history? And you might have your own reading, an idea that it's more than a handful that actually affected the course of history. Next slide please. And there is, of course, the whole myth and shadowy world that surrounds, particularly MI6, and it's worth saying again, MI6 is the intelligence service for gathering intelligence abroad primarily. And MI5 is the security service which gathers intelligence, security matters that affects United Kingdom on home soil. And of course, both of them have been ripe for fiction, drama series and sometimes it's really difficult to break that fine line between fact and fiction. Next slide please. And that, as I said, in a way fuels the love of this whole genre of espionage. I've changed the building from last week. I don't know if anyone's noticed that. I love this iconic building. It is of course the headquarters of MI6 in London. I mean, what a fabulous design. Very James Bond's. So, the purpose of a secret service then to steal secrets from others, to fiercely protect its own secrets, and to get others to betray secrets. Next slide please. But it's also, as Gordon Corera, the journalist has said, "It's a club prone to penetration and mishap." And last week, we focused primarily on the double agent Kim Philby. And we got most of the way through his life. And just how easy was it for the Soviets to recruit Oxbridge, Cambridge and Oxford men primarily, but also women into betraying their country for secrets? And we'll see a bit more of that later on. And you get a sense that Kim Philby in particular is still one of the most sensitive topics, and it'll be great sometime to write more about him if new material is available. But Gordon Corera, I love his stuff. Anything that he's written on MI6, on intercepts, espionage, is really, really worth reading. And he said that MI6 is, and I quote him, "a self-selecting and self-perpetuating gentleman's club for members of the establishment with a naughty streak." Well of course he's not, as far as I'm aware, describing MI6 as of today, but in its past, and if you think of those Cambridge Five, Six, Seven however many historians think there are now, they think there's certainly more than three, possibly more than seven, but those double agents of the Second World War and the Cold War kind of are encompassed in Gordon Corera's comment there, that it was, yeah, a very closed world of who-knows-who and with, as he says, a bit of a naughty streak.

Next slide please. And just briefly to say then, to pick up from where we've, just before where we left off last week, everything comes to our head in 1951 with a defection of Guy Burgess and Donald Maclean. It said that Burgess, when he dropped Maclean off the port was suddenly said that "you are coming too." So it's really unclear where the Burgess was part of the original defection. But of course both of them disappear and nobody knows where they are. And the news surfaces a few weeks later that they are actually in Moscow. And it triggers a very interesting chain reaction, and one of which is that Philby becomes under a bit of suspicion and he's, and I've put resignation in quotation marks there, because it's far from clear whether he really did subside from MI6, but his resignation from MI6 and then he himself, of course, defects to Moscow in 1963. Next slide please. But it was Harold McMillan who said that cleared him of being the third man and that very famous film footage of Philby giving that press conference in 1955, which he openly says, "I have never been a communist." Well, we might take issue with that. Next slide please. And it was his very, very close friend Nicholas Elliott, longstanding MI6 officer, who was posted to Beirut in the early 1960s. But it's now clear that MI6 sent Elliot to Beirut to try and gain a confession from Philby. On the right there you can see the image of Ben Macintyre. He's did a fabulous documentary, I'm not sure if you can still get it on YouTube, but he did a fabulous documentary on Kim Philby, and very much focusing on the tapes and the interrogation of Philby by Elliot. And Elliot feels incredibly betrayed. Philby does admit to having worked for the Russians. Next slide please. So he confirms himself that, yes, you know, your suspicions of espionage, and he offers to give up everything in interrogation, but he asks for a delay. Now the interrogations are recorded, and during that delay, of course, he's due to arrive at a posh dinner one evening. And in fact, he doesn't turn up. 23rd of January, 1963, he just vanishes. And again, like Burgess and Maclean, there's no news of what's happened to him, although there are suspicions, and I've worked on some of the Philby files, it's really clear that there's this gap where even his family don't know where he is, and suddenly the report's coming up and he pops up in Russia and he's actually smuggled out of Beirut on the Dolmatova via Odessa. And that would be it. He wouldn't leave Moscow and would spend the rest of his life until his death in 1988 in Moscow.

Next slide please. But I still think there are a number of very interesting unanswered questions, because life in Moscow wasn't quite what he expected. He marries his fourth wife. You know, it's really quite something to leave your family, your connections, particularly with your children, although his son was allowed to occasionally visit him, but he was not given the privileged position in the Russian intelligence, what was then the KGB, that he thought he was going to get. They kind of gave him somewhere to live, just 500 rubles a month. And he's, as I've put there, on virtual house arrest. And you get a

glimpse that I think he missed England, because one of his friends, and if I'm not mistaken, I think it was Graham Greene, actually sent him a painting of Trafalgar Square, and he would always read the Times newspaper, he would go out every morning to collect the Times newspaper. And he wrote his memoirs finally called "My Silent War," very, very interesting memoirs. And his close friend Graham Greene, yep, the author of "The Third Man" in Vienna at the end of the Second World War, Graham Greene actually wrote a foreword to "My Silent War," and he only paid one visit to his friend Philby in Moscow. And it is said that he said to Philby, "Look, we can arrange for you to re-defect to Britain." But it said that Philby refused. He's made his bed, you know, he's going to lie on it, he's going to stay there. So he died in Moscow in 1988. Next slide please. And he's given a hero's funeral, a state funeral. He's buried, my understanding, I've not visited myself, but he's buried in a secure locked cemetery where a lot of the high ranking colonels and KGB members are also buried. But don't normally quote myself, but I am going to quote myself here, because I think there are some gaps maybe, some unanswered questions about Philby, that's just the way it has to be. And one of my key questions is, looking back to that period in the 1930s, I don't know whether the last word has been said on any of those Cambridge Five and whether we're, so Cambridge Three, I'm getting very confused now, 'cause we've got Five, Seven, all kinds of people who are suspected of possibly being part of this ring. But those Cambridge Five, why did Philby's communist links in Vienna in the 1930s in 1933-34, not prevent him for later working for MI6? And my recent biography, "Spymaster, the Man Who Saved MI6," Thomas Kendrick, as we know, cross paths with Philby. Kendrick was the British passport officer in Vienna in the '20s and '30s. It would be highly unlikely that Kendrick was not tracking Philby, certainly through his close friend and agent Eric Getty. And you can read more about that in my book. So Kendrick also gave the passport for Philby and his new wife in April, 1934. So why is he off the radar by the time of the early 1940 when he joined MI6? And one suggestion is that MI6 just didn't have the resources at that time to check on people's backgrounds. I'm not sure, maybe that is just that simple answer. And I've also written here then Philby's greatest asset was his ability to convince people that he was who he purported to be, even if that was a cover. And in this respect he succeeded for the rest of his life, even after he defected to the Soviet Union in 1963, he managed to pull off in the 1930s in the Franco War, he managed to pull off his support there for the fascists and also to cover up a lifetime, pretty much, of working for Soviet intelligence.

Next slide please. And we still don't know the extent, we have an insight into the extent of his betrayal, but exactly what did he betray to the Soviets and how did that, next slide please, how did that change the course of history, because he was one of those that was passing from my understanding, again, there's no paper trial, but he was passing some of the new technology, some of the techniques, and

during the Cold War itself, potentially some of the atomic secrets. And he has been described as all-time Britain's greatest traitor and Soviet penetration spy. He successfully penetrated the higher echelons of MI6 and passed devastating secrets back to the Soviet Union. And, as we saw with the Albania case, potentially caused the deaths of hundreds of agents in operations. And it was said that it was due to him that John le Carre, otherwise known as, his real name, David Cornwell, had to stop working for MI6. Next slide please. But you know, very interesting quote, we don't know, from an unnamed intelligence officer, and I've put this in here 'cause I think it sums up really interestingly that "no British intelligence officer other than Kim Philby caused more mayhem within the British Secret Services, and no more trouble for British politicians than Peter Wright, former assistant director of MI5."

And I'm going to come now to Peter Wright, because he was given the task within MI5 across the security to actually try and hunt down the moles that were working within Britain. And it was known that there was a mole or moles sending intelligence back. And just the sheer extent of it, I think, we're just getting an insight into now with declassified files. Next slide please. And this cartoon with MI5 on the door there, sorry about the quality of this, but of course, it's the sort of final interview as one of the intelligence officers coming up for retirement. And I just love the sense of humour. "As perks of the job at the end of your time in the service, there should be a book in it for you now." Well, of course, that's said with ironic humour because that is absolutely the last thing that MI5 or MI6 will support. There are lots of cases, one in particular at the end of the Second World War, of intelligence officer who ran a controversial interrogation centre in Kensington Palace Gardens, the London Cage, wrote his memoirs within four years of closing the centre. And, of course, the intelligence services get incredibly nervous. All of them have signed official Secrets Act, next slide please, and writing a book is absolutely forbidden. But of course Peter Wright does eventually bring out his very controversial autobiography, "Spycatcher." Next slide please. And we're going to look at why this was as equally controversial and problematic as trying to even hunt down those Cambridge spies. And it's said that if they had re-defected, any of them, whether they really would've been prosecuted, because too many secrets might have come out. So who was Peter Wright? Of course, apart from being the assistant deputy to MI5. Born in 1916, he went on to marry in 1938. He eventually died in Tasmania in 1995. And he was actually recruited into MI5 in 1954. He was the one, as I said, who was tasked with trying to track down the moles that had successfully penetrated the British establishment for Soviet intelligence. And he was working really with a blank sheet, because nobody really knew how many they were talking about and just how extensive the penetration by Russian agents actually was. And so he has the blessing of Dick White, Director General of MI5. And ironically, Dick White himself would come under suspicion. Actually,

he also went on to become head of MI6. So both services. But he would come under suspicion as well as potentially being also a Soviet agent. And you know, this very, very murky world. Next slide please. And Peter Wright was, as I quoted there, hailed as MI5's first scientist in an era where MI5 was staffed by relics of the colonial service, so mainly officers with prior police experience and stuff like that. But Peter Wright was, if you like, had a first with a sort of scientific mind.

Next slide please. And in a sense, he wasn't the only one that was trying to hunt down these moles. He was a primary one, but it kind of had, there were no conclusions, it hadn't really been able to uncover much. It sort of ground to a halt. But then he began very gradually to uncover evidence of this huge Soviet recruitment of British students, primarily, at both Oxford and Cambridge. Now, I don't know anything about any double agents coming out of Oxford University, but apparently there are rumours that there were. I'm not quite sure how one would research that. And of course the Cambridge traitors we actually know about pretty much. But what Peter Wright discovered was that the penetration by Soviet intelligence went far beyond the British Foreign Office, the intelligence services, or MI6, but it actually went into the British Trade Unions. And then you can imagine, if you are starting to influence trade unions' thinking, and we'll come onto the consequences of that shortly, but any of the figures that MI5, next slide please, had brought in for interrogation, that actually not given up anything. And behind the writing of his memoirs, it became very, very controversial, because it was believed that the only reason Wright wrote his memoirs was try and get some income. And in the background, there was this discussion, apparently, that the British government ruled that the time that he'd worked in GCHQ, his pension rights were not transferable. Consequently, he had quite a poor pension. And he thought, "Well, I'll write my memoirs and write a bestseller." But of course MI5 and the intelligence services came down very heavy on him as we'll see. Next slide please. So in the end, he wrote his memoirs whilst in retirement in Tasmania. And his first attempt at publication, of course, in 1985 was blocked, it was banned by MI5, just as MI5 had banned the publishing, initially, of the memoirs of Colonel Scotland of the Secret Interrogation Centre of the wartime. Ultimately he was allowed to publish, Colonel Scotland was allowed to publish. But MI5 heavily redacted, came to an agreement and heavily redacted his text. In the case of Peter Wright and his "Spycatcher," there was no attempt to redact what was in his memoirs. So it was completely banned from publication in England. And I think I stand right in saying that it's still banned from publication in England. I mean you can find it in charity shops, but it's still banned from actual publication. He also thought, "Well, I'll publish in America or Australia." But there was legal action against him in Australia. And eventually, the place that he could publish, very interestingly, it was Scotland. And of course, English newspapers tried to publish extracts, tried to get him to release stuff, but they

were served with various gagging orders.

Next slide please. So there was nothing to be coming out of here. But the Scottish newspapers were not subject to the same laws, and therefore a number of reports started to come out. And of course, after its publication you get the smuggling of books. I love it! The smuggling of books not rum from the Far East or something or from Jamaica, but actually books being smuggled over the Scottish border. Actually probably make quite a good novel. Smuggled into England, but also to other countries. But of course, as I've put there, banning his book assured its success and it became a bestseller. He went on to sell over 2 million copies. Next slide please. And of course, what he was supposed to be doing was to uncover the moles in his lifetime, in his career, the likes of Kim Philby. But for reasons of money in retirement, he decides to go public. And just to remind ourselves, the Official Secrets Act has actually been updated 1911, you can't just publish anything. So I, as a historian, even though I haven't signed the Official Secrets Act and that is, as any historian, even though we haven't signed Official Secrets Act, we cannot publish classified information. Of course, you're probably thinking, how do you know it's classified? Sometimes you don't. But basically it now covers anyone. You can't just be spilling state secrets. So the Official Secrets Act, you can't disclose to an unauthorised person any documental fact that the government deems secret. So the likes of Philby and co., absolutely have contravened the Official Secrets Act in the first part. The penalty is imprisonment, and the government can block a publication. So I guess if I found any classified material from somewhere, perhaps someone passed me classified material and said, "Here we are, Helen, you can publish all of this," I guess, it's not happened to me because I haven't done that, but I guess a book could be blocked, and the government decides what files are declassified. And some of the MI5 files have been declassified and they're available to historians in the National Archives.

I will reiterate again, in case some of you didn't hear last week's lecturer, MI6 does not declassify any of its files ever. Sometimes you get copies of their letters and reports if they're sent to MI5, and that file's been released by MI5, occasionally you will get some MI6 material in there. But by and large, it's not that after 30 years, 50 years, 100 years, this material will come out. Some of it will never come out. And of course, that leads to all kinds of conspiracy theories. Next slide please. And in a bit of irony, the Economist, well, the British version, I love this actually, do you know what the Economist did after the publication of "Spycatcher"? It decided to publish a blank page and on it, "In all but one country," it said, "our readers have on this page a review of 'Spycatcher,' a book by an ex-MI5 man Peter Wright. The exception is Britain, where the book, and comments on it, have been banned. For our 420,000 readers, this page is blank," dash, "the law is an ass." So a bit of irony there, but also a touch of anger, I guess. The British readers couldn't know. And

they weren't allowed, the newspapers were not allowed in Britain to even print a review of the book. And it was serious. Next slide please. But later the overseas publication meant that it potentially didn't contain any secrets, because officially 1999, apparently, the book was cleared for sale. I haven't seen it published or set or for sale in the UK, so that's worth checking out. But Margaret Thatcher made sure that Peter Wright was not allowed a single royalty from any sales of the book that occurred here in the UK. And in 1991 it went to the Court of Human Rights, the European Court of Human Rights that ruled that the British government had breached human rights for the press gag. Next slide please. But of course it's that dilemma, isn't it? If you've got state secrets and the case of... Ah, his name's gone for me! His name's gone. Edward Snowden. The case of Edward Snowden is one, in case you cannot have people deciding to publish information that they've had privy to during their career, because we don't know the consequences of what's going on already and it could compromise our accuracy. But the irony, of course, for all the attempts by MI5 to suppress Peter Wright's book, it did make him a millionaire and to sell 2 million copies in 1995 did make him a multimillionaire. Next slide please. And there were newspaper reports about, you know, kind of questioning his mental stability, very easy ones to sort of trash one's character if you like. And headlines as I've picked out just one there that he was more dangerous than the KGB.

Next slide please. So what, as I put there, is all the fuss about? You're all going to want to go read "Spycatcher" now, aren't you, if you haven't already? Well, a number of points of problems. It claims that one of the Soviet moles, one of that they were tasked to uncover was Roger Hollis, former director general of MI5, but also he names people who might have been moles, and it narrated a history of MI5 in the time when MI5 didn't officially exist. It didn't admit to existing. And 30 years later, as we are today, we tend to forget that, that when I started a lot of my research into spies and espionage, yes, I've been working on declassified files, but when I started MI5 and MI6 didn't officially exist until their official histories came out. And we tend to forget that. But the problem was that Wright had named intelligence officers from around the 1930s until contemporary time. So not only those double agents that we knew about, the Cambridge Five, but also those that we potentially we didn't know about. And the intelligence services vowed to protect the identity of their agents and officers forever. And he has crossed a line here in actually naming potential moles. Next slide please. But it went further. He revealed that MI6 had a plan to assassinate Nasser during the Suez Crisis, the Suez Crisis in 1956. He also says, and will come back to the case of Harold Wilson, that there was a joint MI5-CIA plot to bring down Harold Wilson and all these allegations that he was actually a KGB agent, and these allegations were made by a Soviet defector. And you might think this is a kind of really wild stuff. Can we really think that a Labour British prime minister was actually a Soviet agent, and we're going to come back to that. But he also

revealed, and this is hugely sensitive, that MI5 was eavesdropping, putting bugging devices or bugging telephones, listening into conversations on telephones on high level commonwealth conferences on European conferences. Next slide please. And that's a sort of gentleman's thing that they don't really admit to, and he revealed picture of Wright there on the left and Wilson on the right, the Independent later covered this story of how MI5 itself was actually plotting to bring down Harold Wilson. Now I haven't studied, it's a fascinating period, I haven't studied Wilson's life and MI5 and whether there is any truth in any of this.

Next slide please. But the problem is that Wright has exposed techniques of intelligence gathering, the technological techniques used in its day far, far less than what we are using today with all our electronic gadgets. But nevertheless, the whole idea that he would admit to the fact that MI5 was listening into people's conversations and bugging potential double agents, was hugely sensitive. He even goes into a bit of detail on the type of technologies that were used and how they very cleverly were able to hide things in rooms. And he also revealed that the intelligence services had this ethic, and kind of 11th commandment, you have the 10 commandments, but there's the 11th commandment: Thou shall not get caught. So again, very, very controversial, because he really was saying that the intelligence service had a card blanche do whatever they want but they shouldn't get caught. They also blew a lid on some of the special adapted radio equipment that was potentially still being used. And it was said that Soviets in London, the moles, Soviet agents in London, and they were themselves monitoring MI5's own communications. Next slide please. So what you don't want is somebody to be revealing secrets of MI5 but also that the Russians were potentially listening into MI5 hugely, hugely embarrassing. But he already had this background. His father worked for Marconi, he had this background and understood how this technology worked, how the microphones and the radio frequencies and the new development in technology. And that probably is in the history of the intelligence services of any, I guess. intelligent service to reveal its modus operandi, and in particular its technological stuff, which is what Wright believed also that those Soviet penetration spies were doing, the likes of Philby and co., is potentially dangerous because then you can't use those techniques, you can't use the intelligence, you can't gain reliable intelligence.

We are now moving into the height of the Cold War, very, very dangerous time. And he revealed the fact that London had become this base of Soviet intelligence officers who had really been working in the Soviet Embassy undercover, but also those other countries connected, those satellite countries of Russia, many of whom are now part of the European Union. They also had their spies embedded in London. And he even admitted that Britain had been unable to break the Soviet codes, so the success of Bletchley Park during the Second World War. But he actually revealed that Britain hadn't been able to break



Soviet codes. And that really MI5 British intelligence had been totally incapable, if you like, of really penetrating that network. The mole hunt had effectively failed. They had not discovered who was betraying secrets that could change the course of history. And we'll see that shortly. Next slide please. And the Cold War, it is that period of exposure of men and women who were passing atomic secrets to the Soviets. There is a race for technology at the end of Second World War. There is a smash and grab, if you like, of not only technology, documentation about technology. We needed to get German technology, the Americans and the British, ahead of the Soviets because we knew we were entering, we had already, before the end of the Second World War, entered the Cold War. And as Winston Churchill said, that iron curtain that descends from the Baltic to the coast of Trieste, that whole iron curtain that descends. And this is about survival. It is about getting technology ahead of your enemy. And at the heart of the British establishment, you have these double agents who are prepared to pass these secrets. And amongst them were Allan Nunn May and Klaus Fuchs, they are fascinating characters. That's a photograph from Fuchs's MI5 file, which has now been released, and we've got an understanding he was prosecuted, he did actually serve a jail sentence. But there were others like the Rosenbergs in America. Anne Sebba's just written a fantastic book on the Rosenbergs. But they were prepared for ideological reasons, and this is perhaps one of the most dangerous reasons, maybe, maybe you think not, to be selling secrets, if you like, for ideological reasons, because you believe that, in this case the Soviets, needed to be on an equal footing with America and Britain in the race for atomic weapons.

Next slide please. But he also reveals that those Soviet intelligence agents that were working undercover in London were watching the MI5 watchers, so that there were trails, shadowy trails in cars, those that were secretly trying to follow suspected KGB officers were themselves being trails. So you've got people watching people across the rooms in cocktail parties or street corners. It is a world so well captured by John Le Carre. I don't think he's really created anything. When you read his novels or you watch those films, you are entering that shadowy world. There is a new version of "The Ipccress Files" out now. You can get it on Catch-Up TV, on ITV or BritBox. It's one of those, but do Google it. Absolutely fantastic drama and it's so close to that world of intelligence officers from both sides shadowing each other. And he also admitted to the changing of MI5 radio frequencies that they were operating blind really, that they'd successfully bugged the Egyptian embassy during the Suez Crisis. So not only was there a potential plan to assassinate Nasser, which of course doesn't happen, potentially, we have listening to foreign embassies. This is hugely sensitive, and I think you can perhaps get an understanding of why his book was so sensitive. And in a way, what impact does his book have on really changing the way that enemy intelligence officers start to view British and American intelligence. And he starts to introduce his expertise and new equipment himself to the CIA. Next slide please. We

get an insight into further spy rings and circles. There are the Portland Spies.

There's been quite a lot of new information released into the archives in the last 12 months. So if you are interested in that, in the nuclear submarines and the base of the technology, Portland, not far from South Hampton on the south coast, but around Portsmouth, Southampton that were being developed in the 1960s. Well there were moles, the Soviets had moles that were prepared to leak those technological developments to the Soviets. In the 1960s, Wright did do some good. He used his expertise to listen, to develop bugging devices for the intelligence services. Of course, that whole listening is a controversial ethical question that people might have view on themselves. And it finally, they managed to unmask this one of the spy ring leaders, Gordon Lonsdale. That wasn't his real name, of course. And he is convicted of espionage in 1961. It's that whole period, excuse me, around the Bay of Pigs in Cuba, the Cuban Missile Crisis, these are really dangerous times, and there are times when the tanks in Berlin of both sides are literally nose to nose. But it's said now, White claimed, that Lonsdale's arrest, the Soviets already knew that the British were onto Gordon Lonsdale, and his files, as I said, have now been declassified. But somebody leaked to the Soviets that Gordon Lonsdale was about to be arrested. But the Soviets, the KGB allowed it to go unchecked. They allowed Lonsdale to be arrested. And the question is that potentially he was sacrificed to protect a more important Soviet spy in Britain. The question is, who? And some historians believe that it was Kim Philby, that they were protecting their higher source, if you like, Kim Philby. I'm not sure that we can ever prove that.

Next slide please. So all sorts of evidence that Wright has been collecting that there were an interesting number of radio signals, he said, coming from Soviet embassy in London, there it is in Kensington Palace Gardens, yes, it's the same address that in the Second World War was used as that controversial British interrogation centre. It's not at the same end as Israeli embassy, it's at the other end, and it's 6-7 8 Kensington Palace Gardens, so three properties there, but now 6 and 7 used as a Soviet embassy. But there was a flurry of radio activity just the day before Lonsdale's arrest and it falls silent after his arrest. Next slide. But this is all, of course, highly controversial. So just as a sort of summary, there is this important investigation going on in utmost secrecy, of course, we know about it now, but at the time, in utmost secrecy, to hunt down those moles, those traitors within the establishment that were passing secrets of all kinds, not just atomic secrets, but secrets about other technologies, I've said the development of nuclear submarines and weaponry. This is not stuff that anyone should be passing out. Very, very sensitive. But also what else is known, you know, names of agents, operatives, incredibly controversial. So what did he discover? So his search, and this comes out in his book, is that that that

penetration can be found by the Soviets in pretty much a lot of British institutions. And the idea too that potentially there were Labour politicians who were secretly working for Soviet intelligence. That the KGB were trying to destabilise the country. And that's not something new. That's something we might recognise today in Russia's actions from a Western perspective, that in the 1920s and '30s it was the threat, the threat even after the First World War, that the Soviets were trying to spread communism to destabilise the armies of Europe at the end of the First World War. And that theme runs through the 1920s and '30s.

And one could say apart from a small period in Second World War has Russia ever stopped trying to destabilise Western democracy? And you may have your own views. And the first suspect that Wright comes up with is a deputy director of MI5 himself, a man called Graham Mitchell. Some of you may not have heard of him, but of course, he then finds himself secretly trailed by MI5 and a two-way mirror installed in his room in MI5. But they couldn't really pin any evidence, it was all kind of circumstantial. And then Wright turns his attention to the head of MI5 himself, Hollis. And as far as I'm aware, most historians would believe that Hollis wasn't actually guilty of being a Soviet agent or officer. But you see in this period of a very dangerous Cold War that could turn into a hot war. And I guess if you make parallels with today, if you've got somebody busting state secrets behind the scenes, you have the chances of survival in a particular conflict are lessened. Next slide please. But his hunt went even further. And some of you may know that Harold Wilson came under suspicion of being a Soviet agent. Now this might seem utterly, utterly ludicrous and on one level it does, so he is leader of the Labour Party and then of course Prime Minister. Next slide please. It's said that his code name was Fluency, and in 1964, Wright headed this joint MI5/MI6 committee in which he was charged at this time. So we've got the mole hunt that's going on, they haven't found the moles, it's all circumstantial evidence. Philby has, of course, defected by now, defected the year before. But Wright is now charged with a very specific directive to find the traitor and to reinvestigate, to bring out all the previous investigations on that Soviet mole hunt and to see what gaps are there, what has been missed, because it's still believed and potentially that that extension has even gone into the Labour Party, in particular Harold Wilson, and there were theories in recent years, wasn't though about Corbin's links potentially to Russia and whether, again, his really strong leftist wings meant that he was really working for somebody else. Again, I mean, I haven't studied it myself. But what he comes up with, Wright, with regard to Harold Wilson is there's no evidence. Again, it's all kind of circumstantial, conjecture, conspiracy theories. But he does uncover that in 1949, Wilson bartered a secret deal over Rolls-Royce jet engines. Well, we're really kind of at the beginning of the Cold War. It's the time of the Berlin Airlifts. We haven't got into the really tricky period of the mid to late-1950s and early '60s. These certainly uncovers that

there's some kind of sale, secret deal regarding Rolls Royce engines. Next slide. And of course that places Wilson under suspicion. And then, of course, there is the evidence potentially given by a Soviet defector Golitsyn and he actually claimed that Wilson was a KGB agent. So now Wright is going back over all of the evidence and in the end Wright says they had 30 MI5 agents working to try and unmask Wilson to find the evidence that he was a KGB agent and to undermine his government and to bring him down. Next slide please. And this is all going on in the backdrop of the recent defection of Kim Philby, a very, very sensitive time.

So, Harold Wilson, a mole? You can imagine, head of the Labour Party and then British Prime Minister. The implications for changing the whole course of history, if that's really true. Now he investigated a number of business associates of Harold Wilson, and found KGB connections. Does that make him a KGB mole? Of course, not. But those business connections threw him under suspicion. And in the so-called Wilson Plot, Wright reveals this whole period of breakings the properties, of government leaks and not quite sure where they're coming from, all these false stories that begin to be planted in the newspapers all with a view to bringing Wilson down, to discredit the Labour government and prove that he was a Soviet agent. Of course, in the end he couldn't. So next slide please. Is there any truth in that? Well in 2009, Christopher Andrew, Professor Christopher Andrew, who's a professor at Cambridge, wrote the official history of MI5. Absolutely brilliant, great for reference too, some fabulous stuff in there. So this is the official history as approved and sanctioned and commissioned by MI5. And in it he claimed that MI5 kept a file on Wilson from 1945 'til pretty late in the 20th century, because, quote, "Communist civil servants claimed that he'd had a similar political sympathies to communism." Now as far as I'm aware, those files have not yet been released. One day they might be, hopefully. Next slide. So you are thinking, well is there any truth in this? Well, what about the case of Hugh Gaitskell? I'm just giving you these kind of tantalising threads to what is an incredibly complex period in espionage history. If we think some of the Second World War stuff is complicated with the deceptions and double agents, then when we come to the Cold War, all those kind of shadowy areas, really, really tricky to unpick what may have happened.

And what about Hugh Gaitskell? Hugh Gaitskell was in Vienna, you can read about him in my "Spy Master" book, in 1934, what's he doing there in 1934? Well, potentially brushing up on his German. He goes on in the Second World War to work in propaganda, the political warfare executive. So he has worked for British intelligence, but he was leader of the Labour Party until his premature death in January, 1963. And behind the scenes he had been to the Moscow just a few weeks beforehand and he'd met Khrushchev. But the most alarming claim then at this time, and Wright writes about it, that the KGB, it's alleged, poisoned Gaitskell to allow Harold Macmillan, 'cause Harold Macmillan

was the obvious successor to Hugh Gaitskell. For those of you that live in northwest London, Hug Gaitskell is actually buried in the churchyard just at the side of that lovely big church in Church Row in Hampstead, and you can walk past that just near the railings. And I wonder how many people walk past and not realise that that's actually where Hugh Gaitskell is buried. So there was this claim, that Hugh Gaitskell dies very suddenly in January, 1963. His doctor's quite suspicious by the symptoms. Next slide please. So his doctor contacts MI5. He's got some really rare symptoms, which seem to be showing at a time when medicine wasn't at advance of lupus, an autoimmune disease. And so these suspicions around his death, and he asks for an investigation. So like any autoimmune disease, it attacks various organs, but it is incredibly rare in the UK, in what's described as temperate climate. And his doctor tried to think back about where he'd been, where had Gaitskell been in recent weeks? Yes, he'd been to Moscow, but he'd been nowhere other than that where he could have contracted the disease. Next slide please. So the case gets given to Porton Down, and we've heard a lot about Porton Down in recent years because of the Skripal poisoning in 2018, if I'm not mistaken, March, 2018. And he asked, the doctor contacted MI5 and said, "I think this needs to be investigated by the military." Next slide please. And Wright himself visits Porton Down, and the doctor investigating there eventually concludes, we don't know how Gaitskell had contracted this. But it is now largely believed, and I think it's the accepted belief, that Hugh Gaitskell died of lupus.

Next slide please. But MI5 did conduct an initial search and it looked for any Russian papers that have been published within a five to seven-year period. And they discovered, 10-year period, and they discovered that seven years earlier, that the Russians had published a paper on lupus. That's my attempt at finding a molecular photograph of lupus. I think it is close, but it's not... Any chemist out there will know if it's totally accurate or not. And it was discovered that the Russians had experimented with a chemical, which produced lupus in rats, but you needed large quantities. So you'd need to minister large quantities for it to affect Gaitskell. But they had an open mind about whether in that intervening seven years the Russians may have developed this further, such as a single shot could have actually induced this disease. Next slide please. So Wright eventually... it's still an open question, by the way, there's still unanswered questions around Gaitskells' death, but it's all feeds into this difficult period in the Cold War. Wright, as we know, eventually retires to Australia. He's raised a lot of emotions in the intelligence services. He's left a trail of anger and concern. But Wilson is back in power. And in 1984, Wright finally agrees publicly on TV, he will openly break the official Secrets Act and he does give a television interview. And of course, around this whole conspiracy and speculation, it feeds a kind of spy mania and an interest in spies that still hasn't abated. Next slide please. And so shortly after his retirement, as I've said, he brings out this memoir, this highly

controversial memoir, when in the early days what he was supposed to be doing was just discreetly trying to find the moles that were desecrating the secrets of United Kingdom. And he says that this book is "filled with unprecedented detail about British intelligence activities." And I love this phrase, "how," 'cause I think it's just so succinctly sums up exactly what he was prepared to reveal, "how MI5 bugged and burgled its way across London and the world."

Next slide please. But Margaret Thatcher, that Iron Lady, was totally determined to set an example, yes, but she was totally determined that Wright would not profit, as I said earlier. What he had done was deeply damaging to the intelligence services. Lives are potentially at risk. You cannot be breaching the official Secrets Act. So she sought, and successfully actually, I believe, for a time to have the book banned in Australia. But by the time her envoy went to Australia on a visit and he got there, the bans had been lifted. And it was again, of course, a bestseller as it had been elsewhere. Next slide please. And my final kind of rounding up today. So that whole murky period, I think what I wanted to draw out from today is to follow that trail of Philby, yes, to really say that as historians, there is a lot more assessment to be made in this whole era, particularly of the Cold War, of just how damaging were those double agents. Number one, one has to identify exactly how far reaching that was. And I think that's incredibly difficult. You know, was Wilson the Soviet mole? I personally think probably not, but there are others who will make other claims. I've thrown in Christine Keeler there and the Profumo affair, this whole period was incredibly dangerous and difficult for the intelligence services. And the last thing they wanted was one of their officers, their senior officers to be busting state secrets. But I think there is still potentially a lot more to come out in years to come. So historians can begin to analyse, which of those double agents really, by the intelligence that they passed on, changed the course of history. And if you like spies and espionage, there is a series on in the UK at the moment on the channel ITV, you can get it on Catch-Up, it was on last night, first one, it's one of three, called "Secrets of the Spies." And I've done a snapshot there. It is on BritBox, but it's also on ITV. And I think you'll love that because, again, it merges across different periods, what's at stake. But it does also give us an interesting rare insight into that murky world.

And I'm going to unpack a bit more for you in part three. Thank you.