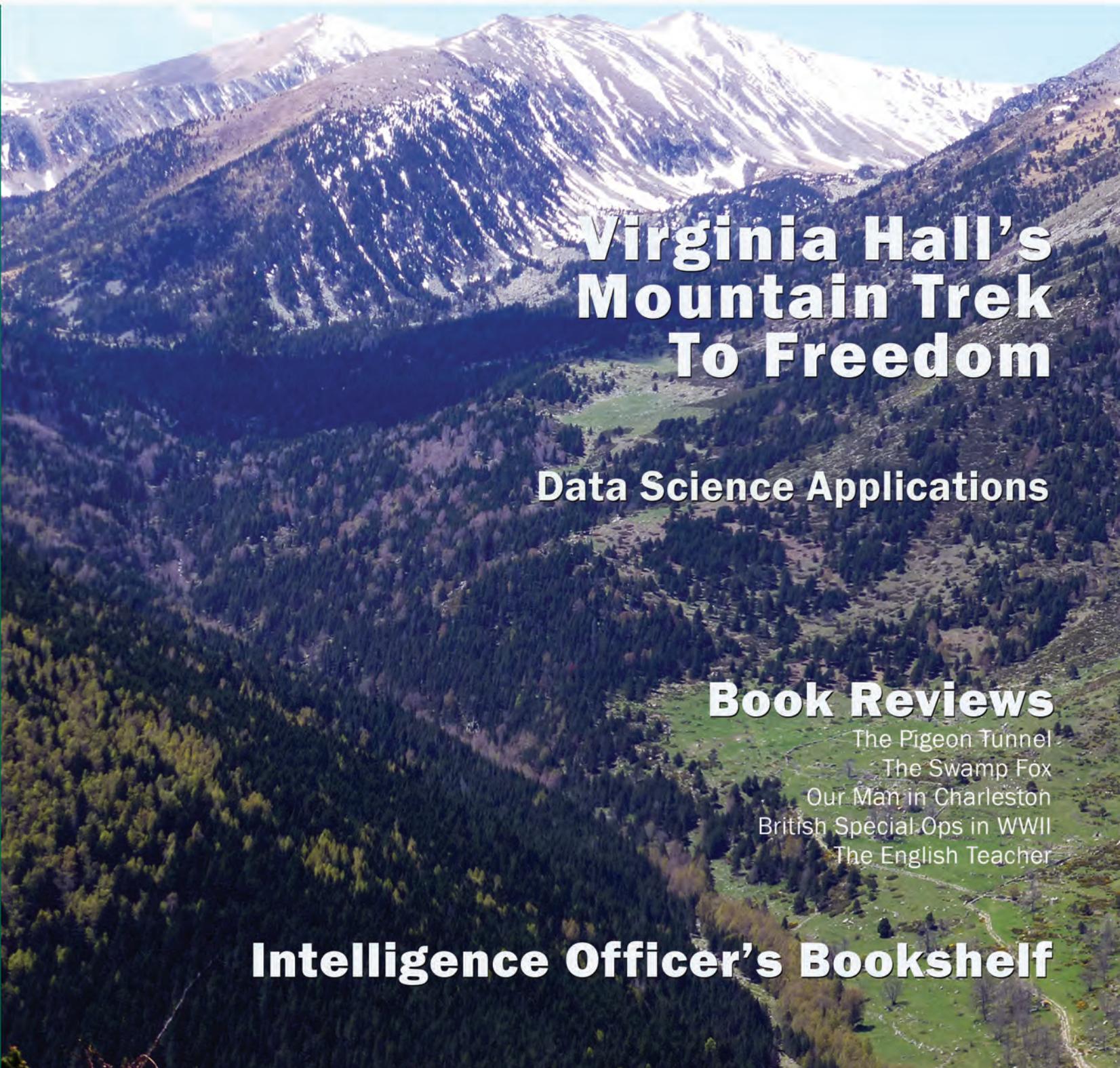


Studies in Intelligence

Vol. 61, No. 1 (Unclassified articles from March 2017)

Journal of the American Intelligence Professional



Virginia Hall's Mountain Trek To Freedom

Data Science Applications

Book Reviews

The Pigeon Tunnel
The Swamp Fox
Our Man in Charleston
British Special Ops in WWII
The English Teacher

Intelligence Officer's Bookshelf

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Cover: A view from France along Virginia Hall's trail toward the Pic de la Donya on the border of France and Spain. Photo courtesy of Craig R. Gralley.

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A Climb to Freedom: A Personal Journey in Virginia Hall's Steps

Craig R. Gralley

I'm hiking above 6,000 feet and have stumbled twice on this narrow and rocky trail deep in the French Pyrenees. There's nothing to grab on to if I fall; only thorny brush and an occasional scrub pine cling to the steep mountain slope. The glaciers of the snow-capped Canigou Massif are to my left; straight ahead, the Pic de la Donna, a rocky cone on the border with Spain, shines in the distance like a star.

As a wave of vertigo approaches, I take a deep breath of clean mountain air and begin to think of others who have made this climb: British and American pilots shot down over Nazi-occupied France, Jews facing deportation to death camps, Frenchmen escaping forced labor in Germany. I have found what the French call a "chemin de la liberté"—a freedom trail of the Second World War linking France with Spain.

Virginia Hall's childhood prepared her well for a life in espionage. The Halls of Baltimore—Edwin, a successful entrepreneur, Barbara, and their children, Virginia and John—loved outdoor adventures on the family farm and holidays in Europe. Young Virginia, a good though not exceptional student, was class president at Roland Park Country School, editor-in-chief of the school newspaper, and captain of the field hockey team. According to her niece, Lorna Catling, Virginia acted in school productions and "always took the role of the pirate chief."^a

Beneath her passion for leading was a streak of independence and self-confidence. The yearbook called Virginia "the most original of our class," and Catling remembered Aunt Virginia as "comfortable in any situation—nothing daunted her." After high school, Virginia went to Barnard and Radcliffe but quit after refusing to take classes required for graduation. She continued her studies in Paris and at the Konsularakademie in Vienna, where she earned a diploma in economics and international law. She also became fluent in French, German, and Italian. She understood Russian, too.

a. Author interview with Lorna Catling, 30 October 2015, at her home in Baltimore, Maryland.

It's been a difficult search. The French—even the locals—have forgotten this freedom trail exists. No historical markers or hikers are on this path. Like a dusty jewel buried in an attic trunk, its value and meaning have been lost to time.

I've come to the Pyrenees not to find any trail, but this very special one. I believe I've found the path used by Virginia Hall, one of America's most accomplished intelligence operatives of World War II, who fled France on short notice in November 1942 to escape capture, torture, and likely death at the hands of Gestapo chief Klaus Barbie, the Butcher of Lyon. But what would have been a difficult trek for an experienced hiker was an exceptional feat for this woman, who made the climb to freedom over the jagged Pyrenees wearing a prosthetic leg.

The Department of State seemed the perfect place to pursue a career for this self-reliant and adventurous woman. Indeed, she found work as a clerk at the US embassy in Warsaw. Virginia served in a number of European posts, including in Turkey. But she grew restless and having ambition sought to join the diplomatic corps, which had very few women at the time. But before she could take the required foreign service examination, she was accidentally wounded while hunting gallinago—a marsh bird found on the shore of the Gediz Peninsula in Turkey. After gangrene set in, Virginia lost a portion of her left leg just below the knee.

The State Department had strict rules against employees with disabilities joining the diplomatic corps, and Hall was furious when she was barred from testing. Her letter of appeal reached then-Secretary of State Cordell Hull, but he dismissed it. Implying Virginia should be satisfied with existing career prospects, the secretary wrote, "Hall could become a fine career girl in the Consular Service." His decision was final. Her preferred career path was blocked.^b

b. For more on Hall's career with the US Department of State, see Gerald K. Haines, "Virginia Hall Goillot: Career Intelligence

The views, opinions, and findings should not be construed as asserting or implying US government endorsement of its factual statements and interpretations or representing the official positions of any component of the United States government.

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On leave from State Department and back at the family farm in Parkton, Maryland, Virginia learned to walk with the prosthetic limb, which she nicknamed “Cuthbert.” Such devices in the 1930s were clunky appendages made of painted wood that often didn’t fit properly and pressure sores, created when the wood chafed the stump’s tender skin, were common. Though hollow, Cuthbert, with its aluminum foot, weighed more than 7 pounds. It was attached by leather belts wrapped around Virginia’s waist.

The Beginning of My Journey

I arrived in France in search of Virginia’s escape route, armed with three paragraphs from a book written in a language I didn’t understand. My wife translated the brief passage of Vincent Nouzille’s L’Espionne Virginia Hall: une Americaine dans la Guerre, which told of Hall’s arduous journey across the Pyrenees.

I thought a visit to France’s museum dedicated to freedom trails, the Chemin de la Liberté Musée in Saint-Girons in the foothills of the Pyrenees not far from Toulouse, would be the right place to start my search. I began by showing the two-room museum’s curator the paragraphs from Nouzille’s book. My enthusiasm crumbled quickly when she asked to make a copy of my thin record. She was not aware of Hall or Nouzille and had no knowledge of a freedom trail starting in Villefranche-de-Conflent. The museum’s exhibits displayed maps of trails beginning in Toulouse that crossed the central Pyrenees, well to the north of the route Nouzille described. I looked at the trails highlighted in red and blue, and decided that Virginia probably avoided these prominent routes to skirt German patrols and bypass the highest mountain passes. Coming up dry in Saint-Girons, my only option was to go to Villefranche-de-Conflent to conduct my search for Virginia Hall’s trail. (See map on page 4)

.....

Virginia Hall, having resigned from the State Department to find adventure and new meaning in her life, traveled to Paris on the eve of the German invasion. She saw the war up close as a driver in the French Ambulance Service, but after the Germans rolled through Paris in June 1940, she retreated to London. A vacancy opened at the US War Department, and she accepted a position as a code clerk.

Officer,” *Prologue*, 1994 (Winter): 249–50.

The United States was not yet in the war, but Virginia’s knowledge of the French countryside, fluency in French and German, and her moxie caught the attention of the British. Prime Minister Winston Churchill had just established the Special Operations Executive to “set Europe ablaze” by supporting underground resistance movements and conducting sabotage operations. But for all of its bravado, the new SOE had little real grasp of the European theater. It was using Michelin guides to cover the French war zone.

The SOE recruited Virginia to be its first woman resident agent in France.^a Using forged documents, false names, and working undercover as a reporter for the *New York Post*, Hall established in August 1941 a headquarters in the Haute Loire Department between the cities of Toulouse and Lyon. Her mission, code-named Geologist-5, was to provide SOE with information on Vichy France, including reports on political developments, economic conditions, and the popular will to resist.

But Virginia went beyond her charter and proved adept at recruiting spies. One agent, Suzanne Bertillon, a former government censor, who Virginia called “my unofficial Vichy correspondent,” established a chain of 90 agents in southern France. The group provided intelligence on ammunition and fuel depots, German troop movements, industrial production, and even a German submarine base under construction in the port of Marseilles, later destroyed by allied bombs.^b Some of Virginia’s encoded communications were sent via Western Union telegram to her cutout George Backer at the *New York Post*, who forwarded the information to SOE London.

Virginia also grew her agent network, code-named Heckler, into an important logistical hub. The British were ramping up agent operations, parachuting men and equipment into France for sabotage operations across the country. Heckler, first on the ground, was centrally located. Hall became an expert at support operations—organizing resistance movements; supplying agents with the money, weapons, and supplies; helping downed airmen to escape; offering safe houses and medical assistance to

a. See, M.R.D. Foot, *An Account of the Work of the British Special Operations Executive in France, 1940–1944* (Her Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1966), 170.

b. See Suzanne Bertillon, “Review of Chain–1942 (HIHI Chain)” available in the Freedom of Information Act Electronic Reading Room, http://www.foia.cia.gov/sites/default/files/document_conversions/1705143/REVIEW%20OF%20SS%20CHAIN%201942_0001.pdf

Virginia Hall's Freedom Trail, November 1942



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According to Nouzille, Hall had passed through the German-proclaimed “forbidden zone” by car to Villefranche-de-Conflent on 12 November 1942 and started her walk into the mountains. She, along with two companions and a guide, followed the Rotja River southward and up to a mountain pass near Mantet—down a valley and over another pass near Pic de la Donya into Spain. They continued down again to the Spanish towns of Setcasas and Camprodon and finally to the village of Sant Juan de las Abadesas, where she was to board a train for Barcelona. Nouzille’s account doesn’t allow for an accurate determination of the distance Virginia actually walked, but given the complex terrain, it could have been as much as 50 miles. (From: Vincent Nouzille. *L’Espionne Virginia Hall: une Américaine dans la Guerre*” (Fayard, 2007) 224–25.)

As I began to walk the path from Py, my thoughts turned to Virginia. How difficult it must have been to hike over the rugged Pyrenees with Cuthbert. Then I remembered Lorna Catling telling me that Virginia, who was not prone to hyperbole, said crossing the Pyrenees was “the scariest part of my life overseas.” And I began to understand. I noticed the topography changing. An overgrown, treed path next to a bold stream began to curve upward. As I began to gain altitude, nearly 5,000 feet in the first 14 miles. as the Rotja got smaller and finally disappeared. The dirt path turned to loose rock and then boulders interrupted the trail. Its sides dropped off steeply and the trees gave way to scrub brush and grass, exposing me to a stiff breeze coming off the snow-covered peaks of the Canigou Massif. I was fortunate. I was hiking on a beautiful day in May, and yet, I was struggling to catch my breath.



A portion of the trail under gentler conditions in May.

.....

I remembered that Virginia stayed in the Haute Loire another two months after her September message to London. Changing names and safe houses frequently to avoid capture, she told London she had one more mission: to aid the escape of two jailed agents code-named Alex and Fabian. But when the Germans flooded the unoccupied zone with troops after their defeat in North Africa in mid-November 1942, Virginia knew the borders would be sealed and more men would be hunting her. She left with only hours to spare.^a Her agent, Dr. Rousset, was arrested the day after she left, and the rest of Heckler was rolled up soon thereafter.

In November the temperature in the lower elevations of the Pyrenees hover around freezing, and the mountain passes become covered with snow and ice, making footing treacherous. I imagined Virginia taking the steepest part of the slick trail sideways, putting her full weight on her right leg and using her hip to lever Cuthbert over the rocks. The constant pressure on her stump must have been unbearable. I remembered reading that Virginia, in a wireless transmission to London, said Cuthbert was causing her problems. The operator, not knowing that Cuthbert was her artificial limb, said, “If Cuthbert gives you trouble, eliminate him.”

Two days later and after negotiating mountain passes over 7,500 feet in altitude, Virginia arrived exhausted in Spain. But there she made a mistake, unusual for a

a. She arranged the jailbreak but left just days before it was scheduled to take place. Note from Philomene, in Barcelona, 4 December 1942 (Kew) HS9/647/4 703284.

seasoned operative. She arrived at the train station at San Juan de las Abadesas hours before the Barcelona-bound train. She was spotted and jailed by Spanish authorities for illegally crossing the border.

Eventually, the US embassy secured her release, and though Barbie was still hunting her, Hall was determined to return to France. The British refused her request, because she was too well-known to the Gestapo.^b But Hall did return, this time with the US Office of Strategic Services in the spring of 1944 as Allied forces were planning the Normandy invasion for June. With the Germans beginning a retreat, Hall worked her way back to the Haute Loire, where she organized several thousand Maquis, blew up bridges, and conducted other sabotage operations to support the Allies’ D-Day invasion.

Virginia Hall left no memoir, granted no interviews, and spoke little about her overseas life—even with relatives. She was awarded Member of the British Empire and received our country’s Distinguished Service Cross, the only civilian woman in the Second World War to do so. But she refused all but a private ceremony with OSS chief Donovan—even a presentation by President Truman. By this time Virginia had joined the CIA and thought the publicity would blow her cover. And she couldn’t let her career in espionage end that way. Virginia knew she had more mountains to climb.

b. In a 6 October 1943 letter, the chief of the SOE French Section, Maurice Buckmaster, denied Virginia’s request, writing her: “You are too well-known in the country and it would be wishful thinking believing you could escape . . . we do not even want to give him even half a chance by sending in anyone as remarkable as yourself.” British Archives (Kew) HS9/647/4 703284.

Private-Sector Applications of Data Science

Doug Laney

Vice President and Distinguished Analyst,
Chief Data Office Research Team, Gartner, Inc.

. . . organizations are using information and analytics in innovative ways.

The following are Doug Laney's remarks to an Intelligence Community audience in 2016 on the ways that now abundantly available data are being used in the private sector.

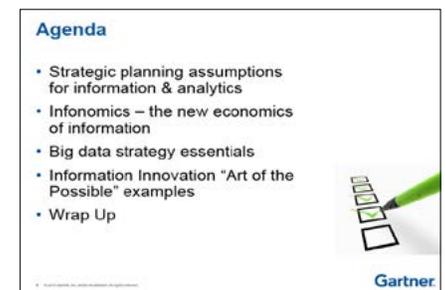
I'm part of Gartner's Chief Data Officer (CDO) research team and, as part of that team, focus on data and analytic strategy. So, while a lot of my colleagues at Gartner will track vendors and technologies in the marketplace, those of us on the CDO research team are under a mandate that, if we ever work on a magic quadrant, we'll be fired.^a So, we tend to focus just more on the strategy aspects.

We're going to cover a few things. I know we've got about 45 minutes, and I will leave some time for questions and answers, as well. I'm going to talk about some strategic planning assumptions, or what we at Gartner call "our predictions." It wouldn't be a Gartner presentation if I didn't share some predictions with you. I'm going to share some of the thoughts

a. The term "magic quadrants" refers to Gartner's proprietary research methodology that looks at challengers, leaders, niche players, and visionaries within a major technology market. Source: Gartner, Inc.; available online at http://www.gartner.com/technology/research/methodologies/research_mq.jsp.

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on infonomics—this idea that information is an actual corporate asset, or becoming treated much more like an asset, and kind of the imperative behind that. I'll share a bit on big data strategy essentials, some of our high-level thinking on what big data means, and how to approach it. Then I have some time to share some examples; we've compiled a library of examples of how organizations are using information and analytics in innovative ways. We've been compiling this for about five years, and I want to share with you mostly what's happening in the commercial world with respect to big data and analytics.



At Gartner, we issue probably 500 to 700 predictions a year. These are 24-word predictions with some detail behind them about what's happening in the world of technology over the next few years, usually about a five-year horizon.

about any kind of business process that you're involved in, maybe just as a citizen, 10 years ago. There's probably some aspect of that process or that service or that offering that has become digitalized in some way, even if it's just the tennis racket that you use. If you use one of the Babolat tennis rackets, it now has a sensor in the handle that you can track your swing. Examples abound of this and it's certainly going to continue.

By 2020, we think chief data officers are going to still continue to struggle to link what they're doing to financial objectives. I had the pleasure to speak with a number of organizations in the [Washington] DC area the last couple of days, and this continues to be a struggle. How does doing data quality or doing data governance or doing master data management or even analytics tie directly to the mission of the organization? That's going to continue to be a challenge and something that CDOs really need to pay attention to.

These are some new predictions. We have not published them yet, but I wanted to share them with you. You're among the first to actually see these and perhaps you'd like to help me vet them. By close to the end of the decade, we see organizations rejecting vendor solutions, and this is something that's of serious concern to some of our clients—that their package application vendors, especially when that application is running in the Cloud, feel that they have some dominion over that data, and that if you as an organization want to extract data from that application, then you have to have a license for anybody who's using that data. We think that's absolutely ridiculous. They refer to that as multiplexing; we

How does doing data quality or doing data governance or doing master data management or even analytics tie directly to the mission of the organization?

think that's just absolutely nonsense. If Microsoft or SAP thinks they own the data that you're creating in their application, then we think there's a serious issue with that and that organizations are going to get a little more cognizant about doing business with those kinds of companies.

Next is that we see the importance of algorithms. Even though organizations can't copyright or secure the intellectual property of information—because information is not considered property or an asset—organizations can patent the ways in which they are leveraging that information. From a commercial perspective, we're seeing organizations scrambling to secure the ways they're leveraging information. I just posted a blog on this a few weeks ago.^a I did an analysis of what kind of organizations were patenting algorithms. Any guess who's in the top 10?

Audience Member: Google?

DL: Google—no.

Audience: IBM (International Business Machines)?

DL: IBM's number 10.

Audience: Oracle [Corporation]?

DL: Oracle's not.

Audience: Car companies?

DL: No.

Audience: Uber [Technologies Inc.]?

DL: Not Uber.

Audience: Qualcomm?

DL: Qualcomm's not in the top 10, but close. Nine of the top 10 are Chinese companies or universities. Thirty-three of the top 40 organizations patenting algorithms are Chinese organizations or companies. So, if you want, you can read my blog and see why I think that's actually happening. I'm sure your suspicions are the same.

Next, we see companies participating in online marketplaces of information. These marketplaces are starting to emerge in the health-care space and other spaces where companies can participate in making certain data available, or in licensing that data. That's increasingly one of the exogenous data sources that is available. We think that within organizations, as information starts to become recognized as an actual asset, we need a new language for businesspeople, for IT people—for information people—to be able to communicate effectively. One of my colleagues, Valerie Logan, has come up with this notion of “information as a second language,” as a way to develop a vernacular that helps people talk about information and analytics in a consistent, clear way.

Finally, we're seeing a prevalence of equity analysts becoming interested in enterprises—in companies' in-

a. The blog entry to which Mr. Laney refers, “Algorithm Patents Increased 30x The Past Fifteen Years,” is available online at <http://blogs.gartner.com/doug-laney/patents-for-algorithms-have-increased-30x-the-past-fifteen-years>.

. . . organizations are going to start to audit value their information assets as a way to prove they're more serious about information and analytics. . .



formation and analytics capabilities. What we believe is that organizations are going to start to audit and, at least internally, value their information assets as a way to prove to investors that they're serious about information and analytics.

Let's talk now about this economics of information. After 9/11, I was an analyst with Gartner in my first go-around (I'm a Gartner recidivist). In my first go-around, some clients starting calling us, lamenting, of course, not only the tragic loss of life, but also the loss of their data. And while we revel in the first responders, I actually think there were some worst responders after 9/11—and those include the accounting profession and the insurance industry.

What happened was that some companies submitted . . . claims to insurers for the value of what [they] lost. A lot of companies (remember, this is in the days before Cloud and off-site backups) actually lost their data. So they submitted claims to their insurers. The insurers said, "Now, hold on a second. We don't think that information actually constitutes property. Therefore, we're not going to cover it on your property and casualty policies."

What ensued was a number of court cases, and we've tracked dozens of court cases around this. The courts are thoroughly confused as to whether information constitutes property or not. Some of the courts have said things like, "Well, yes, information can be represented by bubbles on an optical drive; therefore, it's physical in nature and should be covered." Other courts have said ridiculous things like, "Well, electrons have negligible mass; therefore, information should not be considered property." So, that's the world that we're in right now: no major insurance companies offer information insurance. They offer business continuity insurance and cyber insurance and but do not insure the value of the information itself.

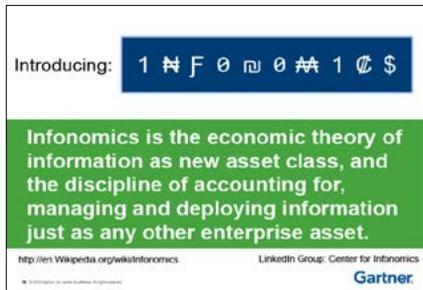
Not to be outdone, the accounting profession followed suit a few years later and updated a key accounting standard to state that, "Even if you wanted to capitalize the information that you have, even if you're a Google or Experian or Transunion and all you do is aggregate and sell data, you can't put the value of that on your balance sheet. It's not something that is capitalizable." And so, that's the world that we're in today. And that introduces, of course, some challenges for some companies but also opportunities—opportunities to leverage information in a way that's "off-book." We see some companies taking advantage of that. But we also see that there is some risk involved as well.

Okay: so accountants don't recognize information as an asset. However, they made an appeal to Congress.

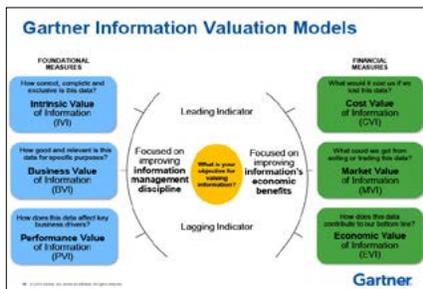


In the months before 9/11, there was a hearing on how to evolve a 1930-style accounting system into the 21st century. Of course, the appeals fell on deaf ears, and nothing ever happened. The accountants claimed, "The inability for us to account for information assets and other kinds of intangibles introduces undue volatility into the marketplace." But, again, nothing happened from that.

But we are starting to see investors take notice of the value of information, and one of the ways that they're doing so is in rewarding companies that are more information savvy. We took a look at companies that have chief data officers, that have data scientists, that have enterprise data governance functions. Those companies have a market-to-book value—more specifically, if you're an accountant, a Tobin's "q" ratio, which is a market-to-tangible asset value, so a metric devised by James Tobin, who was a Nobel economist in the 1960s, simple ratio—but anyway, companies have basically a market-to-book value that's two-to-three-times higher than the norm. There's something about these companies (and I'm not saying that investors are really paying attention to whether you're doing enterprise data governance) there's just something about these companies that investors notice, and it's really significant. We're looking to redo that study here shortly.



All of this gets us to the concept of infonomics. Infonomics is a term I started using somewhat casually about 15 or 16 years ago but never really put the meat on the bones. Gartner asked me to return and start to develop this idea. Infonomics is basically the idea that information is or should be a recognized asset. And even if it isn't, organizations should treat it as if were one: they should monetize it, measure it, and manage it with the same kind of discipline as they do their other assets.

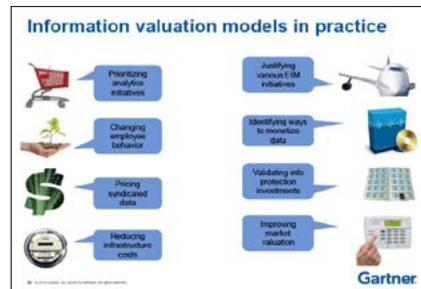


We have developed models on how to quantify information's value. I'm not going to go into detail, but we have come up with two sets of models. The first is a foundational model that looks at the intrinsic value of information. The second is a financial model, which looks at information's relevancy across a range of business processes.

The performance value of information is looking at information's contribution to one or more key performance indicators—nonfinan-

Infonomics is basically the idea that information is or should be a recognized asset. And even if it isn't, organizations should treat it as if were one.

cial key performance indicators. On the financial measures side, we've borrowed from the way organizations value any kind of asset—that is, using the cost approach, the market approach, and the income approach. We've adapted some of the models to accommodate the nuances of information, like, "when you consume information, it's not depleted," and "when you sell information, you're actually licensing it—you're not transferring ownership of it," in most cases. So, we've adapted those models. Now, our clients are using them, mostly in combination and very often they adapt them to their purposes.



Just a couple of examples to show how organizations are using these models. The two at the bottom [in the slide above, "Information valuation models in practice"] are probably the most interesting. There's an energy company in Indiana, MISO (Midcontinent Independent System Operator, Inc.) Energy, that used the cost model to understand the cost of retaining information—of collecting, securing, storing, and managing certain information assets that they felt they weren't utilizing very well. They ran the economic model on them and found that certain information assets were costing them more to retain than

the future probable economic benefits that they were going to achieve from them. They were able to then make a defensible disposal decision, saving over a million dollars a year just on that one kind of information asset—by disposing of it.

Another company—a security system company in commercial and residential security system—said, "Listen, we've got a lot of data that we feel is underutilized." And they ran the business value of information model just to find out which information had potential value if they were to leverage it across a range of business processes. Then they used the economic model to say, "Okay, what is this information actually generating from us in terms of economic value?" And where they found some great discrepancies, rather than disposing of the data, they said, "Let's figure out how to raise the value of that data—the realized value of that data—by leveraging it across these business processes." So, basically what they did was they innovated around underperforming information assets, which was something I hadn't ever really considered. But it turns out that this \$2 billion company increased the market value of the company by \$300 million by going through that effort.

The accounting perspective stuff notwithstanding, we think that if people are talking about information as an asset, then they should manage it like an asset. I was talking to the CIO (chief information officer) of the Navy yesterday and having this discussion, which is, "You guys are

The woman who used to head information innovation for the Navy and the Marines said, “You know, it’s a sad state of affairs that we have a better inventory of the toilets in the Pentagon than our information assets.”

experts at managing certain kinds of physical assets and human capital. Why haven’t you thought about how to apply those kinds of principles and practices to the management of information?” This is a discussion that I have with most organizations.



A former head of information innovation for the Navy and the Marines once said, “You know, it’s really a sad state of affairs that we have a better inventory of the toilets in the Pentagon than our information assets. For the business that we’re in, that’s a really sad state of affairs.” But this is endemic in organizations of any size and in any industry—that they have a better accounting of things that don’t really contribute business value to the organization than their information assets. So, job one is to inventory the information. But there are other asset management principles and practices that we think apply—or should apply—to information.

Some quick essentials on data strategies—first, “big data” is number one. “Big data” is the number one most ambiguous term, according to the global language monitor. So, a company in Texas that monitors terms on the web said, “Yeah, big data is the most ambiguous term,

because it’s ill-defined.” It’s also the number one search term on Gartner. Up until this year, it was number one search term about three years running. So, our clients were very concerned about it—what is it, what to do about it.



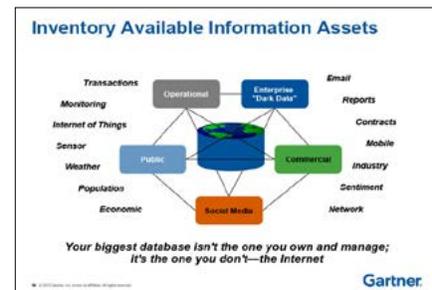
So, years ago, I came up with this idea of the three Vs—volume, velocity, and variety—and I was thinking in terms of Y2K (Year 2000) efforts and the emergence of e-commerce at that time. The three Vs are now applied kind of as a catch-all definition for big data and that’s great, but Gartner’s definition has evolved beyond that to appreciate that big data should be used for not just decisionmaking but also for generating insights for automation or optimization and, increasingly, for monetization as well. Some companies are commercializing their data as well. But we advised companies, “Hey, you’re in the realm of big data when you’ve got to retool your processing or your architecture and introduce new forms of innovative processing.” So, that’s really our overall definition—a bit of a mouthful.

When it comes to leveraging big data and the difference between doing enterprise analytics and big

data and advanced analytics, we refer to that as kind of the “suits versus the hoodies.”

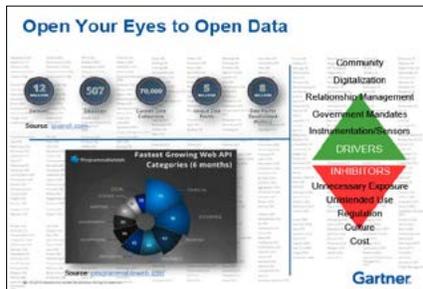


The suits are the classical enterprise data warehouse and business intelligence crowd, building solutions from the bottom up, having an enterprise focus, focusing on decisionmaking, more top-down design. The hoodies, on the other hand, are the folks who are more inventive, creative, experimental with information, even analyzing things and then throwing it away—very functionally focused. When we look at this library of examples and do a meta-analysis of them, almost all of them are on the right side, here—the hoodies. They are very functionally specific use cases, and high value; they’re not “enterprise reporting” it. It’s not pretty pie charts and bouncy bar charts: it’s much deeper than that.



When it comes to what kind of information is available, we advise our clients to think beyond their own four walls. When it comes to

information, think about not only your transaction data but about what else you could capture as part of that transaction—either using IoT devices or some kind of observation technology. Be aware that there are these thousands of commercial data sets available and millions of public data sets available—social media as well. But more than that, in the center here, a company’s biggest data base is the Internet itself. You probably know this, but a lot of commercial organizations don’t realize that they could harvest content from the Internet and use that for a particular advantage.



So, lots of open data out there; I’m not going to belabor the point. This is just an example of a couple of the companies that provide access to a variety of open and syndicated data.



When it comes to generating ideas for big data, a lot of clients come to us and they say, “What are others in our industry doing?” So, I really welcomed the opportunity to talk to you here today, because I don’t

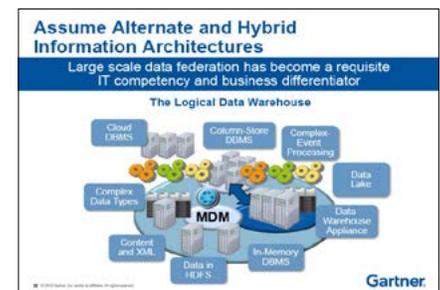
know a lot about what others in your industry are doing, but I know a lot about what others in other industries are doing. I say to our clients, “It’s good to know what others in your own industry are doing with information and analytics. But why do you want to be in second place? Why not gather ideas from other industries and think about how to adapt and adopt them to your own industry?”



When it comes to data monetization, we’re not so doctrinaire as to say that data monetization involves the licensing or sale of data. Data monetization is any way that you’re generating some economic benefits from the data. I know that may not be a comfortable vernacular in the public sector, but there’s a range of indirect and direct ways to monetize data, ranging from improving efficiencies, reducing risks, developing new products, all the way down to actually selling or licensing the data yourself. The most common way that we see organizations generating economic value from their data is by bartering it or exchanging it.

When you go to the grocery store and you scan your loyalty card, they call that a discount—you’re getting a discount on your groceries. But actually, it’s a barter transaction: you’re exchanging information about you and your purchase for free food. Of course, the grocers don’t want

to disclose it that way because that would have tax implications, but the reality is, that’s what’s happening. That kind of thing is becoming a lot more prevalent in the B2B (business to business) spaces, especially with telcos (telecommunications companies) and retailers.

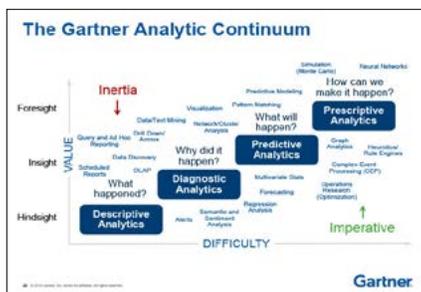


Hybrid architecture—so, I’m not going to talk much about technology other than to say most companies are thinking much more about a hybrid architecture when it comes to information, with a layer on top that makes it look like a common architecture to applications or individuals. Those application components may be data warehouse appliances; they may be a Cloud-based data, or Hadoop^a data, or in memory databases. But generally, it’s no longer a world of your father’s enterprise data warehouse—the monolithic enterprise data warehouse.

When it comes to analytics, we’re desperately trying to get our clients “off the schneid” when it comes to doing just descriptive analytics. There’s a huge comfort level with or-

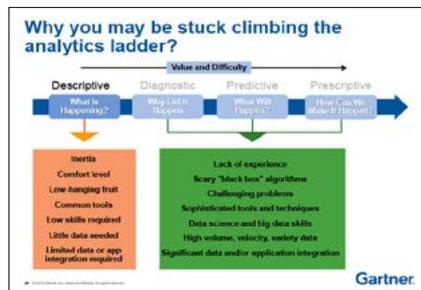
a. Hadoop is “an open-source software framework for storing data and running applications on clusters of commodity hardware. It provides massive storage for any kind of data, enormous processing power and the ability to handle virtually limitless concurrent tasks or jobs.” Source: http://www.sas.com/en_us/insights/big-data/hadoop.html.

organizations’ doing descriptive analytics that answers the question, “What happened?” This is represented by traditional typical BI (business intelligence)—pretty pie charts, bouncy bar charts, Excel spreadsheets—that kind of thing. We’re trying to get them to move up this maturity or this continuum into doing more diagnostic analytics that answers the question, “Why did something happen?”, predictive analytics that answers the question, “What’s going to happen?”, and prescriptive analytics that answers the question, “How do we make something happen?” The technologies—the skills—become much more sophisticated as you move up that continuum; but we think that there’s a real imperative to do so. This is the land of the data scientists, of course. Yet we see so much inertia pushing down on organizations, because there’s so much comfort level with people just sitting around creating bar charts and pie charts.



Okay. I think I just covered this (referring to slide above, right, entitled, “Why you may be stuck climbing the analytics ladder?”). We’ll include it in the materials, but this is basically what I was saying about the inertia and the challenges:

We also see organizations setting up or evolving their business intelligence competency centers more toward analytic centers of excel-



lence, involving a host of analytic kinds of capabilities from project prioritization to experimentation and governance. As organizations move toward self-service analytics, on one end, and data science on the other, this provides some adult supervision over that. Sometimes these analytic centers of excellence are virtual; sometimes they’re more physical organizations. We’re about to publish a piece detailing about 30 or so different competencies that we think ought to be part of an analytic center of excellence.



I’m going to wrap up with some examples; I have tons of examples! I made some notes, because the slides ended up getting too big if I had actually included them. I’ll make the same offer to you that I made to the Navy and the counterintelligence folks—that, while we generally don’t share the entire library with our clients (we have several hundred, maybe 300 examples in the library),

we do share more relevant examples with them.^a

Let me share some examples of operational performance. One of the interesting ones I really like, because I gave them the idea, is **Lockheed Martin**. Lockheed runs very complex, very sophisticated manufacturing projects that involve lots of people, lots of contractors, lots of different technologies and subsystems, and very protracted types of projects. Like most companies, they had been gauging the status of these projects using project managers’ reports, status reports, and then rolling them up. Well, that takes some time and, as you can imagine, most project managers want to couch potential issues.

So, we were having a discussion about dark data—dark data being data that is un- or underutilized in the organization—and Lockheed said, “Well, what dark data do we have?” And I said, “You know, you could probably use your e-mails and project communications and other kinds of project documents, and run some machine learning over them to learn what are the leading indicators of issues—project issues related to scope or budget or personnel or technology or name whatever kinds of issues there are, and then throw up yellow flags when there are such issues.”

This is actually the type of work they’ve done over the last few years. They implemented a system to identify these leading indicators by analyzing project communications, and it has led to their having what

a. Here, Mr. Laney refers to Gartner’s “Information Innovation Library,” a proprietary database.

they claim is three times greater foresight into emerging project issues than the previous, more manual methods—and it's saving them hundreds of millions of dollars a year in cost overruns. So, that's one great example.

Another one is a company called *PASSUR Aerospace, Inc.* I didn't know this, but airline pilots actually are the ones who issue the ETAs (estimated time of arrivals). It's not issued via any really formal process. Very often, they're off by five or 10 minutes, and that affects the scheduling of gate and ground personnel at airports. What PASSUR has done is to introduce passive radar at airports and also crunch all sorts of historical airline and weather and other kinds of data, and they create these various "sky scenarios." When the plane is flying, they say, "Ah, this is just like one of these sky scenarios that we've seen before. Let's adjust the ETA appropriately." At airports where this system is being used, they're saving millions of dollars a year in more efficient personnel—ground and gate personnel—scheduling. United Airlines has claimed that, at airports where this system is being used, they're avoiding two to three diversions per week.

The refinery of the Mexican oil company *PEMEX* had a terrible reputation for shutting down due to the failure of one or more components. So, somebody asked the engineers, "Well, how do you know when a certain component is about to fail?" And the engineer said, "Oh, hace ruido"—"It makes noise." Of course! So, they said, "Well, what creates noise is vibration . . . let's put vibration sensors on these components and take baseline readings, and then

They implemented a system to identify these leading indicators by analyzing project communications, and it has led to their having what they claim is three times greater foresight into emerging project issues . . .

identify when they're about to fail and do more proactive maintenance than reactive maintenance, keeping the refinery up and running." They've added thousands of hours of more capacity to the refineries where they've implemented this.

There are a lot of examples of organizations doing the same kind of thing. *Trulia* and *Zillow*—they're now one company—the real estate information aggregator. If you've ever bought or sold a house or are looking for a house, you probably landed on their site. Ninety percent of their web traffic were people looking at photos—photos of houses. Yet *Trulia* realized, "We have no idea what's in those photos. They've never been tagged." When you upload a photo of your house, you don't typically tag it as, "here's the living room, here's the dining room," etc. People just kind of scroll through it.

But *Trulia* wanted to understand what people are looking at in these houses and how that corresponds to their actually scheduling visits or purchasing houses, or how it relates to pricing. They actually want to improve the way they're pricing houses. So they built a billion-node neural network to understand what's in those photos. And now you can go to *Trulia* and say, "Show me houses in the Hamptons [New York] with wine cellars in the basement," and it could actually pull those up for you automatically. I know Google's got a similar feature, but this is really one of the first and most interesting uses of machine learning that I've seen.

Another example is *Coca-Cola*. This is probably one of my favorite examples. *Coca-Cola* owns the Minute Maid brand for orange juice and they've owned that brand since the 1960s. The CIO I spoke to there said, "Yeah, we had this issue one time where Chick-fil-A was going to cancel their contract with us, because the quality of our orange juice was inconsistent from month to month. Well, of course, the supply of oranges is inconsistent: sometimes they're coming from Florida, sometimes they're from California or Mexico or Brazil or Israel or wherever, and based on disruptions in the supply chain, we never know what kind of oranges we're going to get. We just kind of blend them as best as we can."

What they decided to do was, first, understand the 600 flavors that comprise an orange. They had flavorologists and scientists to analyze this. Then they started capturing all sorts of external data—weather data, crop yield data, multilevel insight into the supply chain and the suppliers—and developed a precise, dynamic formula on how to blend orange juice. They say that they take into consideration a quintillion data points to do this! (I've never done the math to see if that's reasonable; that's their claim.) So, now if there's a hurricane or a freeze or a frost, Minute Maid can replan the entire business in five to 10 minutes and achieve this orange juice quality.

The *Smithsonian Conservation Institute* tracks the migration of mostly large fauna across the United

States and it does this using tags—radio transmitters they tag the animals and then they pick up the signals by satellite. The problem was they wanted to start tracking smaller fauna, like fireflies and butterflies and grasshoppers. They said, “Well, the tags, the trackers, are too big. They’re too heavy to be able to be picked up by satellites.” They developed smaller transmitters they put on insects, and they outfitted United Airlines planes with detectors, so every United Airlines plane criss-crossing the United States has one of these detectors that can track and pick up signals from the small fauna. I thought that was a really interesting example of a private-public partnership.

A great example of leveraging an algorithm from a different market has to do with the *Los Angeles*, where somebody came up with the idea that crimes tend to follow a pattern that looks like seismic aftershocks—earthquake aftershocks. They experimented with this and found that by applying seismic algorithms, they can help to predict where crimes are going to occur in the city. By deploying resources accordingly, they’ve been able to reduce violent crimes in the parts of town where they’ve deployed this by 30 percent.

I’ll share two more. At the *University of Rochester*, some students and researchers started tracking people who tweeted that they had attended a particular restaurant. Then they tracked them for a 72-hour period to see if they subsequently tweeted about nausea or stomach pains or something like that. What they found was several hundred instances of this, that when they looked at the public database of New York City restaurant health scores correlated precisely to

those restaurants. So, that was just a little experiment. But the New York City Department of Health is now looking at the solution as something that they might want to use more proactively.

And then finally there’s a fun story of a really interesting use of information. In *Iceland*, everybody’s related to everybody else, right, which makes for really fun family reunions but difficult to find a mate who is not your cousin. So, some enterprising young folks took the Icelandic genealogy database, which is publicly available, and baked it into a mobile app. So, now if you’re out carousing and you’re out at a pub—and this is their tagline—this is not my tagline: “you can bump your phones before you bump in bed.” Apparently it’s the most popular app in Iceland, and everybody uses it just for fun, I guess, to keep cousins from kissing, or worse!

Let’s move to some of the financial examples, then I’ll take some questions. A lot of companies are concerned about knowing who their customers are. *Westpac* is one of the larger banks in Australia (but keep in mind Australia’s about as big as Missouri, in terms of population). They had this problem where they just didn’t know their customers very well. They weren’t able to provide them targeted offerings.

So they created this “know me” program, to better understand their customers—track them on all the touch points. Within nine months, they were able to target 25 percent of their customers with offerings that were meaningful to them and added about \$25 million of additional rev-

enue through this program. A classic “customer 360” example.

There is a guy in the Chicago area I know, who did something really interesting with respect to monetizing information. He built a private residence at the *University of Illinois*. His company is called HERELife. The private residence tracks all of the students—everything they’re doing: when their doors are opening, when they’re using the microwave. They have special iPads to use; they have cars they can share; the equipment in the gymnasium is tracked—they track everything about what these students are doing. He aggregates the data and then makes it available to major brands like Coke and Pepsi and Walmart and so forth. The kids are very happy to be part of this grand experiment, and they get some discounts on the housing as well. But it’s a really interesting way of setting up an IoT-laden residence for students and then monetizing that data.

We talk about this world of exogenous data and all the millions of data sets that are out there. One company in particular is taking advantage of this. It’s a software company called *Prevedere*, which has pre-curated two million external data sets from some syndicated sources and some open data sources. They can take a company’s forecast and tune that forecast, based on leading indicators. For example, they worked with Anheuser-Busch to improve its forecast for beer sales in China. Their beer sales forecast to China was about 75-percent accurate. By identifying what kinds of weather or economic indicators or other kinds of indicators were leading indicators of Anheuser-Busch’s beer sales, they were able to improve its forecast to 95-percent

accuracy. I don't know how that kind of solution might be leveraged in your world, but it's interesting to know that there's someone out there in the commercial space who is aggregating millions of data sets to improve forecasts.

Now, let us talk about Walmart. Walmart had a search engine, of course, so you'd go to Walmart online and type what you're searching for, and it would take you where you wanted to go—a great search engine. Walmart relies on about 45 million or so searches per month and uses that data very well to help you find what you're looking for; however, early on, it didn't take into consideration what was happening in the world at the time.

They tell this story about how people were searching for the word “house,” and how the search engine was taking them to housewares. So they realized they needed to be more cognizant of what's happening in the world to get people to what they want more quickly on the website. They introduced something they call the “Project Polaris” search engine, which now considers and rescores based on what's trending on social media, and it has added 10 to 15 percent more purchases—reduced shopping cart abandonment—by 10 to 15 percent. In Walmart terms, that's a billion dollars a year.

In traditional bank lending decisions, banks consider about 150 or so data points, including credit scores and whatnot. But 75 percent of individuals don't have sufficient credit data to get loans. A company in Germany called *Kreditech* has solved this in an interesting way: they say they've been able to under-

stand somebody's credit worthiness by analyzing their browser history and their telephone records. If you're desperate enough to want to get a loan, and you're willing to share your browser history and your telephone records with them, they can analyze that and come up with a credit score that's even better than many traditional credit scores. They're also able to analyze the data so quickly that they take into consideration about 15,000 data points per individual and they can process or determine loan worthiness in about 35 seconds, and process the loan in about 15 minutes.

There's a company in Chicago called *Food Genius*. Often restaurateurs and chefs open restaurants on a whim; they tend to be very creative. What Food Genius said is, “Listen, why don't you analyze what kinds of menu items are trending—what kinds of ingredients are trending—and use that to determine what kind of restaurant to open and where?” They started scouring the interwebs, harvesting all sorts of data on millions of menu items and 20,000 to 30,000 different types of food ingredients. They then make that data available to restaurateurs and chefs. They ended up getting acquired by US Foods, a food distributor, because US Foods found this data was invaluable to help their salespeople in targeting certain restaurants for certain ingredients, like, “When is white truffle oil trending in a certain part of town? Maybe this is something you want to add to your menu.”

Another dark data example: *Infinity Insurance* is a small insurance company out of Alabama, and they realized that they were sitting on 10 years of archived claims reports. The claims adjusters will process a

particular claim; they'll write up a report. The claim will either be paid or denied, and then that report—that adjuster report—gets archived. What they realized is that they could mine these adjuster reports for indicators of fraud. In doing so, they were able to identify \$12 million of previously paid fraudulent claims (this is, again, a really small insurer). They were able to subrogate that money and then bake those algorithms back into their sales and marketing systems to prevent them from doing any more than that.

One more example: at the *University of Michigan*, I judged a business information competition some years ago. Some researchers at the university found they were able to identify companies that were going to suffer subsequent years' performance woes by analyzing the complexity of the language in their annual reports. Using a fog index, they were able to say, “Yeah. These companies are trying to hide. They're trying to obfuscate bad news,” and it actually correlated with subsequent years' financial woes.

Just some key takeaways from all of this: a lot of organizations just talk about information as a strategic asset—as a corporate asset. We're trying to help them go beyond that, to actually manage it and monetize it, to measure it as an asset. We implore organizations to look to other industries and gain ideas from those industries and think about how to adapt and adopt them to their own. Very important to look at this world of exogenous data that's out there—public data, syndicated data, harvesting data from the web, entering into agreements with partners and suppliers to do so.

There are certainly emerging technologies out there to creatively solve certain kinds of problems, but it isn't really all about technology. The biggest issue for organizations of the three Vs—the volume, velocity, and variety—is the variety of data. It's the biggest challenge for organizations. Volume and velocity can be dealt with by scaling infrastructure

Key Takeaways

- Don't just talk about information as a strategic corporate asset. Rather, collect, manage, deploy and value it as one.
- Look to other industries for big Big Data ideas to adapt.
- Identify and curate open data and other external sources of data to enhance advanced analytics.
- Consider a variety of ways to monetize your data.
- Be aware of emerging technologies that can quickly or creatively solve information and analytics challenges.

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and architecture, but for the most

part, it's that variety of data that becomes really challenging.

I'm going to wrap up here. Thank you for having me in today. I really appreciate the opportunity, and I don't often get to say I appreciate the work that you do. Every time I take off and land safely and travel safely, I think of you all—so thank you very much.



Strategic Planning Assumptions

Through 2016, 80% of **chief data officers** will strive to maximize the value of information while they continue working to minimize its risks.

Through 2017, 60% of **big data projects will fail** to go beyond piloting and experimentation and will be abandoned.

By 2017, nearly 75% of organizations will have R&D strategies that include an **increased number of sensors** in products, but most of them will lag with digital data integration capabilities.

Through 2018, fewer than half of lagging organizations will have made **cultural or business model** adjustments sufficient to benefit from big data.

Assumptions-1

Strategic Planning Assumptions

By 2019, 75% of analytics solutions will incorporate 10 or more **exogenous data sources** from second-party partners or third-party providers.

By 2020, information will be used to **reinvent, digitalize or eliminate** 80% of business processes and products from a decade earlier.

By 2020, only 50% of chief analytics officers will have successfully created a narrative that **links financial objectives** to business intelligence and analytics initiatives and investments.

Assumptions-2

Strategic Planning Assumptions (Proposed for 2017 – D&A Strategy)

By 2019, 90% of organizations will reject vendor solutions that contractually **inhibit their ability to extract their own data**, or that monitor data.

By 2019, the importance of **algorithms** results in organizations scrambling to secure business method patents.

By 2020, 20% of companies will be either sellers or buyers of data via formal **online data marketplaces**.

By 2020, 80% of organizations will acknowledge an extreme deficiency in **information literacy** with the initiation of deliberate competency development.

By 2021, the prevalence of equity analysts valuing organizations' information portfolios in valuing businesses themselves, will lead to formal **internal information valuation and auditing practices**.

Assumptions-3

From First Responders to Worst Responders



*Recent Policies, Practices and Rulings Challenge
Changing Perceptions of Information's Role*

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Responders



Accountants don't recognize the value of your information

But investors are starting to

Especially if you do

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Wall Street

Introducing:

1 ₣ 0 ₣ 0 ₣ 1 ₣ \$

Infonomics is the economic theory of information as new asset class, and the discipline of accounting for, managing and deploying information just as any other enterprise asset.

<http://en.Wikipedia.org/wiki/Infonomics>

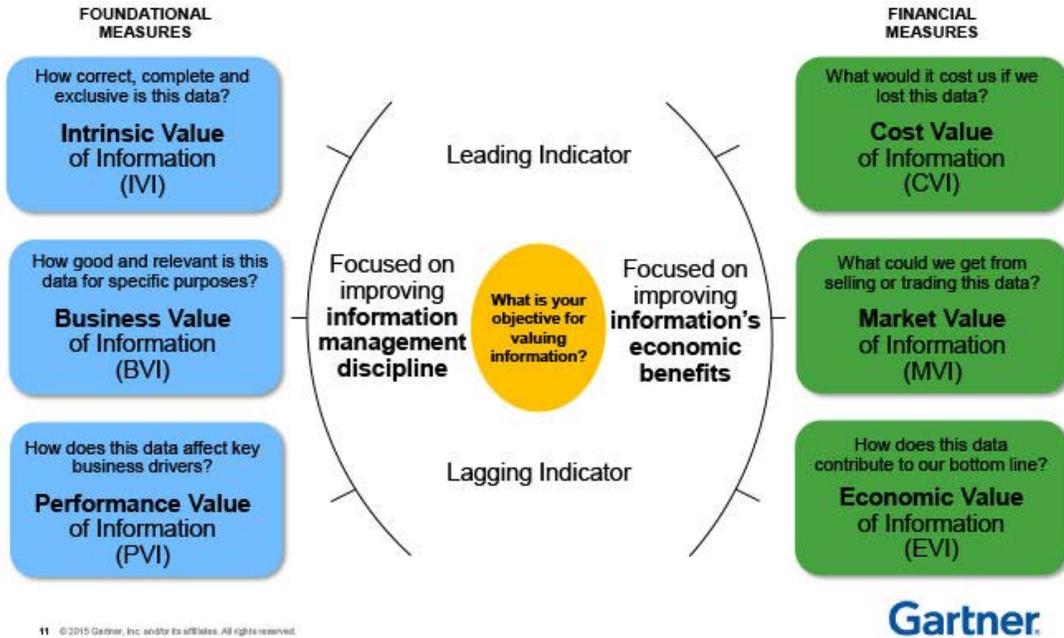
LinkedIn Group: Center for Infonomics

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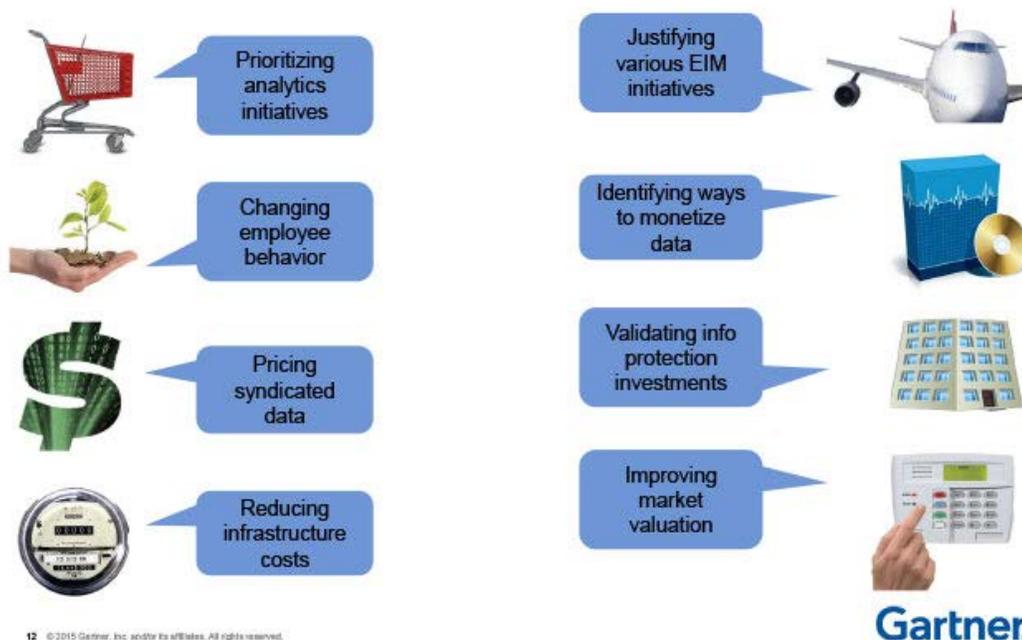
Infomatics

Gartner Information Valuation Models



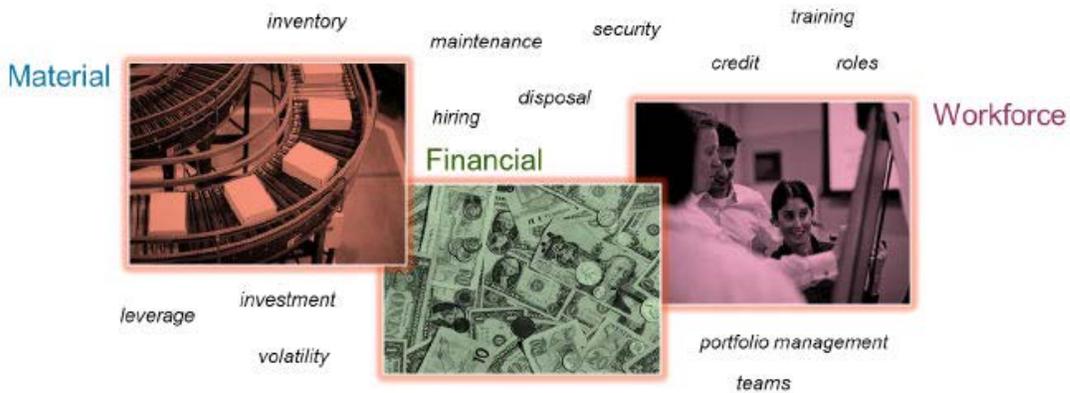
Valuation

Information valuation models in practice



Validation

Borrowing From Traditional Asset Management Practices



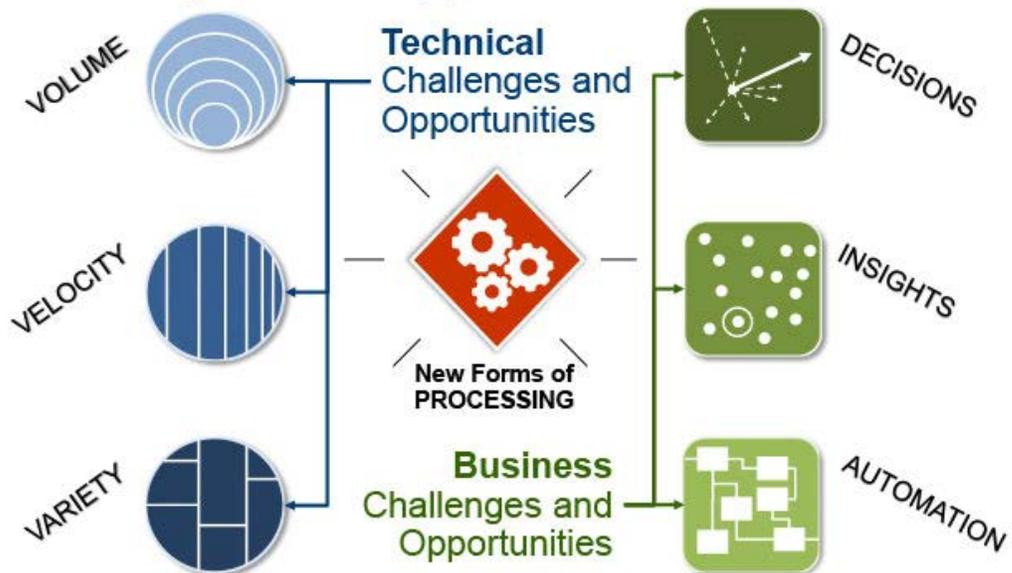
Apply your organization's expertise in managing other assets toward managing your information assets

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Asset Mngmnt

Recognize that Big Data Is Centered on Challenges and Opportunities



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Challenges

There's Room and an Imperative For Divergent Approaches



Requirements-based
Top-down design
Integration and reuse
Competence centers
Better decisions
Enterprise focus

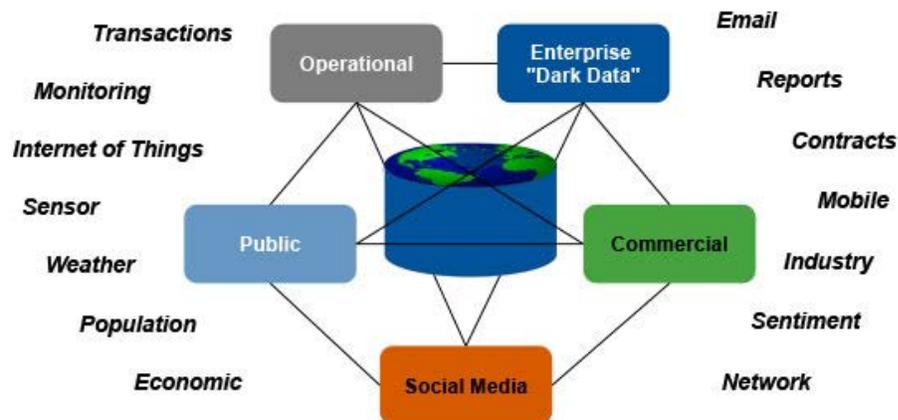
Opportunity-oriented
Bottom-up experimentation
Throw-away
Hackathons
Business innovation
Functional focus

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Divergence

Inventory Available Information Assets



**Your biggest database isn't the one you own and manage;
 it's the one you don't—the Internet**

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Inventory

Open Your Eyes to Open Data

12 MILLION
Datasets

507
Databases

70,000
Curated Data Collections

5 BILLION
Unique Data Points

8 BILLION
Data Points Downloaded Monthly

Source: quandl.com

Fastest Growing Web API Categories (6 months)

Source: programmableweb.com

DRIVERS

INHIBITORS

Open Data

Gartner

Open Eyes

Generate Big Ideas for Big Data

I waited to see what leaders in our industry were doing with data

Art of the Possible

We adopted and adapted winning ideas from other industries for using data

I worked with business partners to develop new ways to use data

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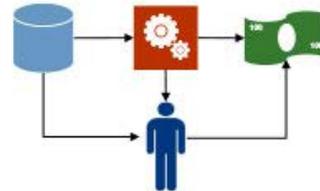
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Generate

Identify Ways to Generate Direct and Indirect Revenue Streams from Data

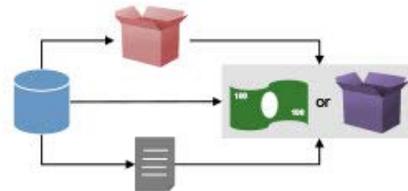
Indirect Data Monetization

- Using data to improve efficiencies
- Using data to measurably reduce risks
- Using data to develop new products, markets
- Using data to build and solidify partner relationships
- Branded indices



Direct Monetization

- Bartering or trading with information
- Information-enhanced products or services
- Selling raw data through brokers
- Offering data/report subscriptions



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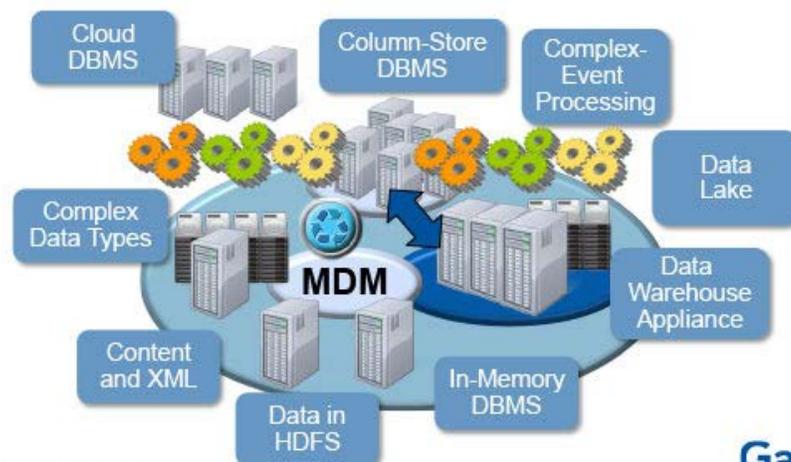
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Identify

Assume Alternate and Hybrid Information Architectures

Large scale data federation has become a requisite IT competency and business differentiator

The Logical Data Warehouse

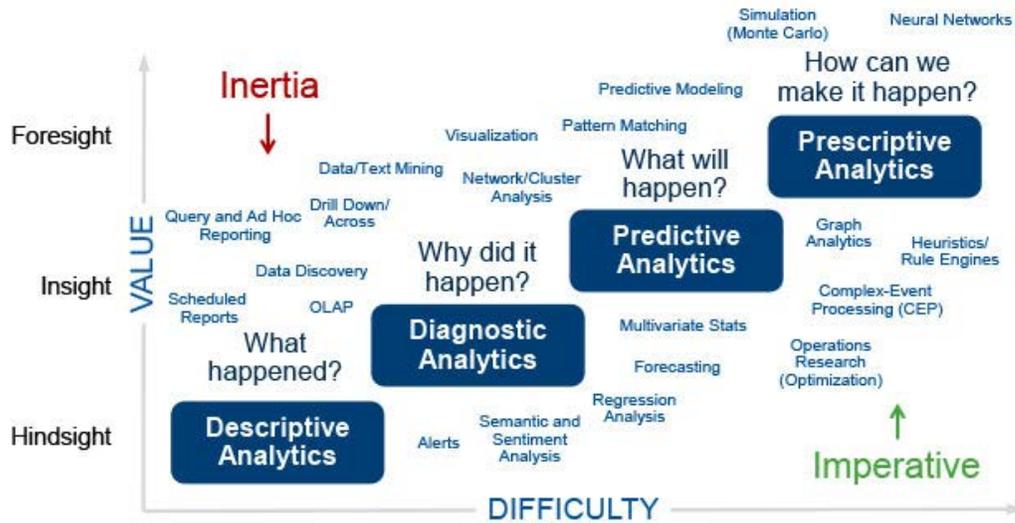


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Architectures

The Gartner Analytic Continuum

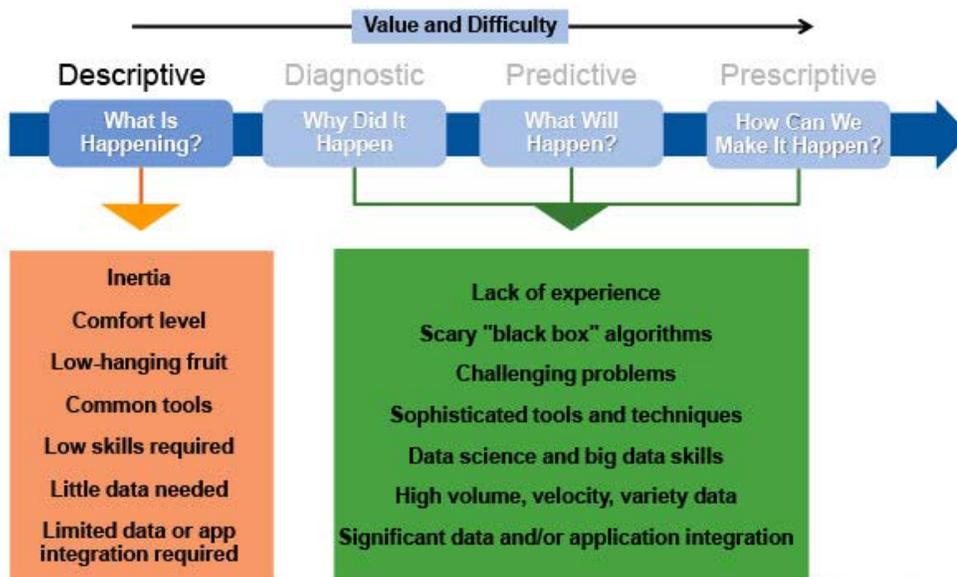


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Continuum

Why you may be stuck climbing the analytics ladder?

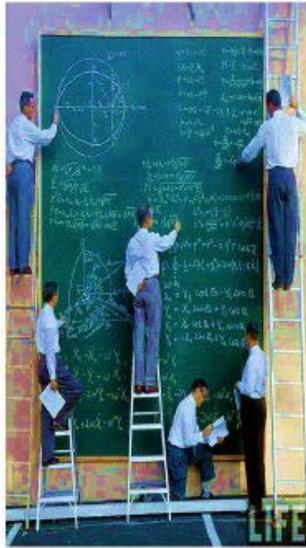


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Ladder

What Your Analytics Center of Excellence May Be Missing



- Tool Standards
- Reference Architecture
- User Engagement Procedures
- Measuring Success
- Roles and Responsibilities
- Project Collaboration
- Expert Roster
- Project Prioritization
- PMO Involvement
- Monitoring Non-ACE Projects
- Experimentation & Innovation
- Governance
- Technology Trends
- Budgeting & Financials
- Function Knowledgebase
- Information Asset Directory
- Infrastructure
- Innovation
- Communicating Capabilities and Results
- Steering Committee
- Change management
- Enterprise portal for analytics requests

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Missing

Key Takeaways

- Don't just talk about information as a strategic corporate asset. Rather, collect, manage, deploy and value it as one.
- Look to other industries for big Big Data ideas to adapt.
- Identify and curate open data and other external sources of data to enhance advanced analytics.
- Consider a variety of ways to monetize your data.
- Be aware of emerging technologies that can quickly or creatively solve information and analytics challenges.

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Takeaways

A Convivial Excursion, “Blending experience with imagination”—A Review of *The Pigeon Tunnel*

David Robarge

“Le Carré takes us on a selective and convivial excursion into most of the eight decades-plus of his life, providing along the way many engaging insights.”

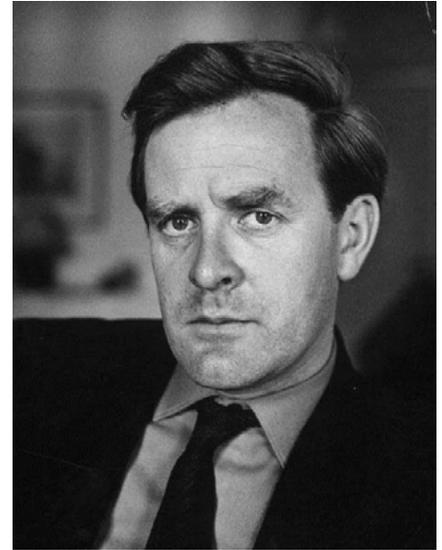
***The Pigeon Tunnel: Stories from My Life*, by John Le Carré**
(Viking, 2016), 310 pp.

John le Carré has produced a memoir-of-sorts, *The Pigeon Tunnel*, that is a timely companion to Adam Sisman’s excellent and comprehensive study of him published in 2015.^a This ramble through Le Carré’s “perhaps...irresponsible” life (11) is not a full autobiography but instead a compilation of 38 illustrative vignettes, eight of them previously published in whole or in part, others composed earlier and set aside until now, varying widely in length, roughly in chronological order.

In these vignettes, Le Carré (true name David Cornwell) recounts experiences and travels, sketches personalities, some whimsically, some dramatically, and comments on the intelligence business and his role in it, the novelist’s craft, and what he has elsewhere called the British “social comedy.”^b Throughout, he adopts a conversational tone, as if he were recounting the stories from an armchair in his Cornwall home,

a. Reviewed by Hayden Peake in the September 2016 issue of *Studies in Intelligence*.

b. See the insightful interview with Le Carré that accompanies the DVD version of the BBC production of *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*. He worked for British Army intelligence in the early 1950s and MI5 and MI6 in the late 1950s and early 1960s.



John Carré pictured in 1967. Photo © Horst Tappe/LIFE Images Collection

and his carefully constructed prose is variously evocative, humorous, sardonic, and self-deprecating. “These are true stories told from memory,” he tells us, but then adds, “Was there ever such a thing as *pure* memory? I doubt it.” With that caution, offered “after a lifetime of blending experience with imagination,” (6) Le Carré takes us on a selective and convivial excursion into most of the eight decades-plus of his life, providing along the way many engaging insights into the character of the world’s foremost creator of espionage fiction.

The views, opinions, and findings should not be construed as asserting or implying US government endorsement of its factual statements and interpretations or representing the official positions of any component of the United States government.

Le Carré states at the outset what will not be in *The Pigeon Tunnel*: rationalization of his personal shortcomings and revelations about his secret life.

In and Out of the Shadows

The book's odd title, which Le Carré says he often unsuccessfully proposed for his novels, derives from an unsettling scene he witnessed as a teenager with his disreputable father, Ronnie, who was on a gambling spree in Monte Carlo:

Close by the old casino stood the sporting club, and at its base lay a stretch of lawn and a shooting range looking out to sea. Under the lawn ran small, parallel tunnels that emerged in a row at the sea's edge. Into them were inserted live pigeons that had been hatched and trapped on the casino roof. Their job was to flutter their way along the pitch-dark tunnel until they emerged in the Mediterranean sky as targets for well-lunched sporting gentlemen who were standing or lying in wait with their shotguns. Pigeons who were missed or merely winged then did what pigeons do. They returned to the place of their birth on the casino roof, where the same traps awaited them.

"Quite why this image has haunted me for so long is something the reader is perhaps better able to judge than I am." (vii) Readers of Sisman's book or Le Carré's semi-autobiographical novel, *A Perfect Spy*, know how apt the metaphor is, for Le Carré, like the pigeons, has spent much of his life escaping from the psychological damage his dysfunctional parents, and especially Ron-

nie—"conman, fantasist, occasional jailbird" (255)—inflicted on him for nearly half his life. Le Carré sees his youth as a training ground for his stint with the British services and, it seems safe to say, his views about it afterward: "Spying did not introduce me to secrecy. Evasion and deception were the necessary weapons of my childhood. In adolescence we are all spies of a sort, but I was a veteran. When the secret world came to claim me, it felt like coming home." (23)

Le Carré states at the outset what will not be in *The Pigeon Tunnel*: rationalization of his personal shortcomings and revelations about his secret life. "I have been neither a model husband nor a model father and am not interested in appearing that way....Of my work for British Intelligence, performed mostly in Germany, I wish to add nothing to what is already reported by others, inaccurately, elsewhere." (11) He adheres to the first disclaimer, offering no ruminations on his relationships with his wives and children, but not the second, for he does recount several episodes from his handful of years with the services. He joined MI5 in 1956 at age 25 "with high expectations," but "when I entered their citadel ... I came smartly to earth."

Spying on a decaying British Communist Party 25,000 strong that had to be held together by MI5 informants did not meet my aspirations. Neither did the double standards by which the Service nurtured its own. MI5, for better or worse, was the moral arbiter of the private

lives of Britain's civil servants and scientists.... Meanwhile, young spy hunters such as myself, thirsting for stronger fare, were ordered not to waste their time looking for Soviet controlled "illegals," since it was known on unassailable authority that no such spies were operating on British soil. Known to who, by whom, I never learned. (20, 21)

After a few years, Le Carré decamped to MI6, and, soon after, the treacheries of George Blake and Kim Philby were exposed and left indelible marks on him, especially the latter's. "When I came to write *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, it was Kim Philby's murky lamp that lit my path." (22)

Le Carré was posted to West Germany and tells about encounters with ex-Nazis in the government, German official visitors to England he was assigned to shepherd, and a Soviet "diplomat" who might have been a potential defector or a dangle. His tour inspired one of his more underrated works, *A Small Town in Germany*, "which spared neither the British Embassy nor the provisional Bonn government" as he "contrived a conspiracy between British diplomats and West German officials which led to the death of an Embassy employee bent on exposing an inconvenient truth" (55-56) about the brittleness of democracy in that recently reconstructed but still fragile country. "Amid all the other preoccupations of my time in Bonn and later Hamburg, Germany's unconquered past refused to let me go." (31)

Le Carré resigned from MI6 in 1964, after *The Spy Who Came In*

from the *Cold* became an international bestseller, to devote himself to novel writing. Although he tried to deny he had worked in intelligence, his foreign service cover quickly eroded. Ever since, he has been amused at the reactions he evokes and the frequent attempts to tap his purported intelligence expertise or traffic in his presumed continuing connections with his former employers.

One person refuses to trust me another inch, the next promotes me to Chief of the Secret Service and, over my protestations that I was only ever the lowest form of secret life, replies that I would say that, wouldn't I? After which, he proceeds to ply me with confidences I don't want, can't use and won't remember, on the mistaken assumption that I will pass them on to We Know Who. (9)

The Writer at Work

A sizable portion of *The Pigeon Tunnel* concerns Le Carré as a “literary defector”—what he calls the other former MI6 operatives-turned-writers such as Somerset Maugham, Compton Mackenzie, and Graham Greene. (17) Several chapters cover trips Le Carré made to reconnoiter the settings for projects he had underway. Careful research into the physical and cultural topography of his novel’s settings has been one of his hallmarks, especially in his later works. He admits the reason why: he made an uncorrectable mistake about Hong Kong’s transportation infrastructure in *The Honorable Schoolboy* because

“The lesson I learned wasn’t just about research. It told me that in midlife I was getting fat and lazy and living off a fund of past experience that was running out.”

[t]o my everlasting shame, I had dared to write the passage here in Cornwall with the help of an outdated guidebook.... The lesson I learned wasn't just about research. It told me that in midlife I was getting fat and lazy and living off a fund of past experience that was running out. It was time to take on unfamiliar worlds. (70)

He did so enthusiastically and profitably. On a visit to Cambodia after it fell to the Communists, he shared a shallow foxhole with *Washington Post* reporter H.D.S. Greenway while Khmer Rouge sharpshooters waited across the Mekong River. On another to the Middle East in 1982, just before the Israelis invaded Lebanon, he embraced and danced with Yasser Arafat (“the beard is not bristle, it’s silky fluff. It smells of Johnson’s baby powder.”) (90) Trips to Russia before and after the Cold War enabled him to see the Soviet Union in its decline and the new Russia after organized crime became rampant. In Panama, he “was looking for the sort of crooks, smooth talkers, and dirty deals that would brighten the life of an amoral English arms seller.” (193) In eastern Congo, he saw hundreds of preserved corpses of genocide victims carefully tended to by a local woman in a former secondary school. “When will you bury them?” “When they have done their work.” Their work as the proof that it had really happened.” (207–208)

On some of these travels, Le Carré ran across people who later appeared in his novels. A benefac-

trepreneur of sick children in Cambodia became the humanitarian nemesis of Big Pharma in Africa in *The Constant Gardener*. The Russian gangster Dima in *Our Kind of Traitor* is just like the Dima of the same vocation Le Carré sought out on his visit to early 1990s Russia. On the same trip, he met a Chechen named Issa and later combined him with a Czech defector he knew before who had aspirations to be a doctor and created the émigré and unwitting terror suspect in *A Most Wanted Man*. He came across the intractable, pro-Palestinian, female terrorist in *The Secret Pilgrim* when he tried to interview a radicalized German activist in an Israeli prison. One of Le Carré’s most memorable characters, Alec Leamas from *The Spy Who Came In from the Cold*, grew out of an otherwise forgettable occurrence at a London airport:

[A] stocky man in his forties plopped onto a barstool beside me, delved in his raincoat and poured a handful of loose change in half-a-dozen currencies onto the bar. With a fighter’s thick hands, he raked through the coins till he had enough of one currency. “Large Scotch,” he ordered. “No bloody ice.” It was all I ever heard him say, or so I now believe, but I fancied I caught a whiff of Irish in his voice. When his glass came, he ducked his lips to it in the practiced movement of a habitual drinker and emptied it in two gulps. Then he shuffled off, looking at nobody. For all I’ll ever know, he was

“Out of the secret world I once knew I have tried to make a theater for the larger worlds we inhabit. First comes the imagining, then the search for the reality. Then back to the imagining, and to the desk where I’m sitting now.”

a commercial traveler down on his luck. Whoever he was, he became my spy, Alec Leamas. (197)

Other characters are modified or composite versions of people Le Carré knew in other ways. Probably the strangest case concerns journalist and operational stringer Jerry Westerby, who appears briefly in *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* and centrally in *The Honorable Schoolboy*. He was “loosely descended” from “an upper-class drifter of vaguely aristocratic origin whom my father had relieved of his family fortune.” Then, “in surely one of the eeriest encounters of my writing life,” at a Singapore hotel soon after the latter novel’s publication, Le Carré meets “not a pen-portrait but the man himself, right down to the huge cushioned hands and enormous shoulders.” He was a veteran British foreign correspondent who, just like Westerby, “was six foot three with sandy hair and a schoolboy grin, and a habit of barking *Supah!* when he fervently shook your hand in greeting.” (79)

Similar Professions

One of Le Carré’s friends, writer Michael Herr, has said that “David is a spy—the ultimate observer, the ultimate gather of data.”^a Herr’s comment relates to a recurrent theme

a. *Conversations with John le Carré*, ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli and Judith S. Baughman (University Press of Mississippi, 2004), 94.

in *The Pigeon Tunnel*, which is the conflation of truth, memory, and imagination as Le Carré makes the transition from spy to novelist to autobiographer and which to him represents one of the inherent flaws of the intelligence enterprise.

[W]hat is truth, and what is memory to a creative writer...? To the lawyer, truth is facts unadorned.... To the creative writer, fact is raw material, not his taskmaster but his instrument, and his job is to make it sing. Real truth lies, if anywhere, not in facts, but in nuance. (6)

With Le Carré’s life comprising time in the conventional and clandestine worlds, along with his frequent and unwilling inclusion in his father’s tawdry *demimonde* that featured aspects of both, applying that fusion of roles to the intelligence business is natural for him.

Out of the secret world I once knew I have tried to make a theater for the larger worlds we inhabit. First comes the imagining, then the search for the reality. Then back to the imagining, and to the desk where I’m sitting now.... Spying and novel writing are made for each other.... Born to lying, bred to it, trained to it by an industry that lies for a living, practiced in it as a novelist. As a maker of fictions, I invent versions of myself, never the real thing, if it exists. (12, 23, 272)

To Le Carré, the spy is just another form of creative artist, living with dim half-truths and some outright fabrications. What he said about giving interviews might also apply to writing novels and, he would likely say, spying: “First, you invent yourself, then you get to believe your invention. That is not a process that is compatible with self-knowledge” (8-9)—including intelligence organizations, often shown in his novels as coming to believe in their own deceptions. Despite that tendency, they can still provide insights into the character of the nation they serve: “If you are a novelist struggling to explore a nation’s psyche, its Secret Service is not an unreasonable place to look” (19); as he observed elsewhere, intelligence professionals “are the infantry of our ideology.”^b

Never Upstairs

On a few occasions in *The Pigeon Tunnel*, Le Carré—like Leamas, ever the lonely outsider—disparages the British social class system he grew up in and has so often criticized, although he does so here with a light touch. Earlier, he described himself as “a mix of traditions—son of a criminal, working-class kid, sent to a smart school, learned to speak proper”—in short, “fake gentry”^c—and he advertises his estrangement from the traditional British order by eschew-

b. *Ibid.*, 35. In *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, Le Carré speaks similarly through Bill Haydon the mole, who “took it for granted that secret services were the only real measure of a nation’s political health, the only real expression of its subconscious.” (Knopf ed., 1980, 342.)

c. *Conversations*, 157, 65.

ing titles, official honors, and literary awards. He describes how in 1986 he listened to a lengthy soliloquy from Nicholas Elliott, Kim Philby's most loyal friend in MI6 who heard the turncoat admit his treachery before defecting to the Soviet Union in 1963. Le Carré calls Elliott's account "the cover story of his life" (178) and, with credit to Ben Macintyre's *A Spy Among Friends*, which tells how the British governing elite closed ranks to guard one of its own and itself, he concludes that "ever since Philby had come under suspicion, Elliott had fought tooth and nail to protect his closest friend and colleague. Only when the case against Philby could no longer be denied did Elliott exert himself to obtain a confession—and a partial one at best—from his old pal." (188) Although Le Carré graduated from Oxford and taught at Eton, one can detect his disdain for the public school/Oxbridge culture that bred the arch attitudes implicit in Elliott's remarks in this exchange they had:

"So what were your sanctions if he [Philby] didn't cooperate?"

"What's that, old boy?"

"Your sanctions, Nick, what you could threaten him with in the extreme case. Could you have him sandbagged, for instance, and flown to London?"

"Nobody wanted him in London, old boy."

"Well, what about the ultimate sanction then—forgive me—could you have him killed, liquidated?"

"My dear chap. One of us." (180)

In another essay, Le Carré tells how, after finding the model for the title character in *The Tailor of*

"The legacy of that early immersion in things German is now pretty clear to me. It gave me my own patch of eclectic territory; it fed my incurable romanticism and my love of lyricism"

Panama, Harry Pendel, at a London haberdashery, "[a]ll I needed now was a decadent, well-born British rascal who could recruit my Pendel and use him to line his own pocket. But for anyone who has taught at Eton, as I had, there were candidates galore." (199)

Le Carré's early sense of alienation from the British upper and upper-middle classes led to his lifelong fascination with German literature and culture. He chanced upon them when he fled from an English public school to Bern, Switzerland, as a teenager: "It strikes me now that everything that happened later in life was the consequence of that one impulsive adolescent decision to get out of England by the fastest available route and embrace the German muse as a substitute mother." (3) He attributes his early intelligence work, his language studies at Oxford, his posting to West Germany, and his literary style to that brash act.

The legacy of that early immersion in things German is now pretty clear to me. It gave me my own patch of eclectic territory; it fed my incurable romanticism and my love of lyricism.... And when I came to study the dramas of Goethe, Lenz, Schiller, Kleist, and Büchner, I discovered that I related equally to their classic austerity and to their neurotic excesses. The trick it seemed to me, was to disguise the one with the other. (4-5)

Le Carré later infuses that element of his character into George Smiley: "Germany was his second nature, even his second soul. In his youth, her literature had been his passion and his discipline. He could put on her language like a uniform and speak with its boldness."^a Le Carré's intellectual and cultural affinity for Germany has prompted him to see it as a touchstone for the Britain he has never comfortably fit into:

We have long ceased to compare ourselves with Germany. Perhaps we no longer dare. Modern Germany's emergence as a self-confident, non-aggressive, democratic power—not to speak of the humanitarian example it has set—is a pill too bitter for many of us Brits to swallow. That is a sadness that I have regretted for far too long. (33)

From Page to Screen

Fifteen of Le Carré's 23 novels have been made into movies or television series,^b and some of the more

a. *Smiley's People* (Penguin paperback ed., 2000), 221.

b. Movies: *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold*; *The Deadly Affair*, an adaptation of *Call for the Dead*; *The Looking Glass War*; *The Little Drummer Girl*; *The Russia House*; *The Tailor of Panama*; *The Constant Gardener*; *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*; *A Most Wanted Man*; and *Our Kind of Traitor*. Television series: *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*; *Smiley's People*; *A Perfect*

Scattered throughout *The Pigeon Tunnel* are trenchant observations about the intelligence business that carry a ring of truth ... intelligence professionals would do well to be armed with rebuttals.

entertaining chapters in *The Pigeon Tunnel* deal with how they came to fruition. Le Carré did not always find the experience pleasurable, particularly the loss of control of his creative product. His first brush with that phenomenon was the casting of Richard Burton as Alec Leamas in *The Spy Who Came In from the Cold*. He had preferred Trevor Howard or Peter Finch (if the latter played English rather than Australian), but director Martin Ritt chose Burton, and their relationship grew so fraught that the film's completion came under risk. "Moviemaking is the enforced bonding of irreconcilable opposites," Le Carré noted. (218) Burton's drinking and Elizabeth Taylor's drop-bys to the set did not help, and the situation became so tense that Ritt had to summon Le Carré to placate the leading man, who was refusing to read his lines. "Richard needs a friend," Ritt told Le Carré. After a while at the studio, however, he concluded instead that Burton had plunged himself into the role of the book's protagonist.

He was being Alec Leamas. And as Alec Leamas, he was a prowling solitary going to seed, his career had hit the buffers, and the only people he could talk to were strangers like me.

Spy; *A Murder of Quality*; and *The Night Manager*. Le Carré has appeared in five of them: *The Little Drummer Girl*; *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (movie); *A Most Wanted Man*; *Our Kind of Traitor*; and *The Night Manager*. Several have been reviewed in these pages.

Though I scarcely realized it at the time, I was undergoing my initiation in the process of an actor plundering the darker regions of his life for the elements of the part he's about to play. And the first element you must plunder, if you are Alec Leamas going to seed, is solitude. Which in a word meant that as long as Burton was being Leamas, the entire Burton court was his avowed enemy. (222)

Le Carré similarly observes the inveterate skill with which Alec Guinness immersed himself in the character of George Smiley in *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* and *Smiley's People*, studying and fashioning mannerisms and expressions with an eye toward both suppressing and emphasizing his own personality: "Watching him putting on an identity is like watching a man set out on a mission into enemy territory." (229) Le Carré recalls a luncheon he had with Guinness and Maurice Oldfield, the former chief of MI6, from whom the actor adopted some of the traits of his version of Smiley.

Unable apparently to get enough of our departing guest, Guinness gazes fondly after him as he pounds off down the pavement: a small, vigorous gentleman of purpose, striding along with his umbrella thrust ahead of him as he disappears into the crowd.... It is a matter of entertainment history that Oldfield's suede boots ... and his rolled umbrella thrust forward to feel

out the path ahead became essential properties for Guinness' portrayal of George Smiley, old spy in a hurry. (15, 16)

In another chapter mockingly titled "Lost Masterpieces," Le Carré describes instances when renowned directors' efforts to make movies out of his novels went nowhere. (He no doubt wishes that *The Little Drummer Girl* was one of them; its director, George Roy Hill, blames its shortcomings on the bad casting of Diane Keaton in the title role, and Le Carré does not disagree.) Approaches from Fritz Lang for *A Murder of Quality*, Sydney Pollack for *A Small Town in Germany* and *The Night Manager*, Francis Ford Coppola for *Our Game*, and Stanley Kubrick for *A Perfect Spy* never got past the initial phases for various reasons. Le Carré depicts the parallel universe those flamboyant celebrities abide in with adroit understatement.

Mordant Perspectives

Scattered throughout *The Pigeon Tunnel* are trenchant observations about the intelligence business that carry a ring of truth—at least enough so from history that intelligence professionals would do well to be armed with rebuttals if they are confronted with them or similar ideas. For example:

If your mission in life is to win over traitors to your cause, you can hardly complain when one of your own ... turns out to have been obtained by someone else. (22)

Nobody can do corporate rot more discreetly than the spies.

Nobody does better mission creep. Nobody knows better how to create an image of mysterious omniscience and hide behind it. Nobody does a better job of pretending to be a cut above a public that has no choice but to pay top price for second-rate intelligence whose lure lies in the gothic secrecy of its procurement rather than its intrinsic worth. (58)

Intelligence services, somebody clever said, are like the wiring in a house: the new owner moves in, he drops the switch, and it's the same old lights that come on again. (146)

Other than repeating one German's observation that "the right side lost, but the wrong side won" the Cold War, Le Carré goes easy on the notion of the "moral equivalence" of East and West—at least on the operational level, where expediency rules, the work justifies itself, and success makes one good—that underlay many of his Cold War novels.^a He also reins in his vituperative side, which came to the fore after 9/11, when he grew evermore aghast at what he considered Anglo-American overreach in the global war on terror. He declared in the *Times of London* in 2003 that "The United States Has Gone Mad" and participated in rallies and wrote articles denouncing the

a. In 1974, just after *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* was published, Le Carré lamented "one tragedy of our present age...the fact that we have been forced into a position where we have to adopt the methods of our aggressors. There seems no way around this. But it does raise the question of how long we can go on defending ourselves by these methods and remain a society worth defending." *Conversations*, 16.

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Labor government's collaboration with the United States in the war in Iraq, and his 2004 novel *Absolute Friends* is partly a diatribe against that invasion. In *The Pigeon Tunnel*, however, besides a swipe at James Angleton as a "delusional alcoholic" and a reference to "the days when the United States was supporting every narco-tyrant in the [Latin America] region in its fight against whatever passed for communism," he keeps his political pen in the drawer. (182, 194)

Le Carré closes *The Pigeon Tunnel* with a wry story that serves as a parable about the intelligence world and encapsulates his jaded view of its efficacy.^b With the set-up title "The Last Official Secret," the chapter details how

when I was a young and care-free spy, it was only natural that I should believe that the nation's hottest secrets were housed in a chipped green Chubb safe that was tucked away at the end of a labyrinth of dingy corridors on the top floor of 54 Broadway ... in the private office of the Chief of the Secret Service.... What on earth could it contain? I had heard that there existed documents so secret that they were

b. "I entered it [the intelligence profession] in the spirit of John Buchan and left it in the spirit of Kafka," he said in 1993. "[W]hat espionage looks like now is what it always was: a side-show got up as major theater." *Ibid.*, 131, 130.

only ever touched by the Chief himself.^c

When MI6 moves to new quarters, "after a debate at the highest levels, it is reluctantly ruled that the safe, however venerable, is no longer fit for purpose in our modern world. It will be opened.... So who's got the bloody key?" Nobody, it seems. "So did [Stewart] Menzies [head of the Service from 1939 to 1952] take the key with him? Was he buried with it?" A Service safecracker is summoned.

With disconcerting speed, the lock yields. The burglar hauls back the creaking iron door. Like the treasure seekers Carter and Mace before the open tomb of Tutankhamun, the spectators crane their necks for a first glimpse of the marvels within. There are none. The safe is empty, bare, innocent of even the most mundane secret.

The assembled, thinking that it is "a decoy safe, a dummy, a false grave, an outer bailey to protect an inner sanctum," send for a crowbar.

The safe is gently prized from the wall. The most senior officer present peers behind it, gives out a muffled exclamation, gropes in the space between

c. In *A Perfect Spy*, a chipped green file cabinet houses the secrets of Rick Pym's crooked existence and produces a comparable fascination in his son Magnus. The two characters are stand-ins for Le Carré's father and himself.

safe and wall, and extracts a very dusty, very thick, very old pair of grey trousers, with a label attached to them with a nappy pin. The typed inscription declares that these are the trousers worn by Rudolph Hess, Adolf Hitler's deputy, when he flew to Scotland to negotiate a separate peace with the Duke of Hamilton in the mistaken belief that the Duke shared his fascist views. Beneath the inscription runs a handwritten scrawl in the traditional green ink of the Chief: Please analyze because may give an idea of the state of the German textile industry. (304-07)



Le Carré (in gray) in a procession at Oxford University on 20 June 2012, when he and Burmese leader Aung San Suu Kyi (foreground) received honorary degrees. Another recipient, walking beside Le Carré, was Eliza Manningham-Buller, a former chief of MI5. Photo © Ben Stansall/AFP/Getty Images

His Last Bow?

Le Carré has written 23 novels dating to 1961, along with many non-fiction essays and some short stories, and *The Pigeon Tunnel* may well be his last work. Now 84 years old, he reportedly put aside working on his

last novel—supposedly based on a short story by Joseph Conrad, one of his favorite writers^a—to prepare it, possibly inspired by Susman's sometimes critical narrative. “A recently

a. Robert Lance Snyder, *John le Carré's Post-Cold War Fiction* (University of Missouri Press, 2017), 148.

published account of my life offers thumbnail versions of one or two of the stories, so it naturally pleases me to reclaim them as my own, tell them in my own voice and invest them as best I can with my own feelings.” (7) Devotees of Le Carré's work will be glad that he took the time so late in life to do so.



Intelligence in Public Media

The Ministry of Ungentlemanly Warfare: How Churchill's Secret Warriors Set Europe Ablaze and Gave Birth to Modern Black Ops

Damien Lewis (Quercus, 2016), 402 pp., bibliography, appendices, gallery of photographs (eight pages), three maps, index.

The Ministry of Ungentlemanly Warfare: Churchill's Mavericks—Plotting Hitler's Defeat

Giles Milton (John Murray, 2016), 356 pp., illustrations and photographs (16 pages), notes, bibliography, index.

Rogue Heroes: The History of the SAS, Britain's Secret Special Forces Unit That Sabotaged the Nazis and Changed the Nature of War

Ben Macintyre (Crown, 2016), 380 pp., maps, photographs (32 pages), index.

Reviewed by J. R. Seeger

In the 1941, the only British land forces fighting the Germans and the Italians were doing so in North Africa; elsewhere in the European theatre, the British Army focused on building capability for a future assault on Europe. Small raiding units known as the Small Scale Raiding Force (SSRF) but better known as “commandos” were conducting operations along the Atlantic coast of Europe. At the same time, an organization known as the Special Operations Executive (SOE) was training soldiers and civilians to conduct sabotage and subversion operations in occupied Europe. SOE was not a military organization—at least not until the invasion of Europe. SOE had soldiers, sailors, and civilians—men and women who were committed to the orders from Prime Minister Winston Churchill to “set Europe ablaze.”

SOE operations are probably best known by students of intelligence operations literature for their program of training and supporting local resistance forces in France, Italy, Greece, and the Balkans. Dozens of books have been published on these operations—both memoirs and formal histories. Less well known are the SOE operations planned and executed by SOE members themselves.

The first of these operations was in January 1942. Operation POSTMASTER involved a small team of SOE operators sailing into a Spanish port in West Africa and stealing three Axis ships used to provide support to the German submarine fleet operating in the Atlantic. The operation involved infiltrating into the port and then “cutting out” the ships by destroying their anchor chains with plastic explosives and towing the ships out of the harbor using two ocean going tugboats. Once out on the open sea, the POSTMASTER team delivered the ships to

a Royal Navy squadron which “just happened” to be on patrol off West Africa.

POSTMASTER was an operation consistent with a British tradition of privateers going back to Sir Francis Drake, but this sort of operation was anathema to the War Office and the Admiralty. At its inception, the Admiralty refused to support POSTMASTER. Support was given only after the prime minister issued direct orders, as POSTMASTER was not considered an appropriate means of conducting warfare. Of course, SOE didn't work for the War Office or the Admiralty. Churchill had insured the new organization would be separate from both, placing it under the command and control of the Ministry of Economic Warfare. The minister, Sir Hugh Dalton, and Churchill received briefings from SOE seniors when it was deemed necessary. This was just the sort of buccaneer spirit that Churchill wanted in this new type of war against totalitarian adversaries. In fact, the SOE conducted this sort of operation not once, but twice—the second time, in March 1943, in the neutral harbor of the Portuguese colony of Goa. In another, similar operation—Operation CREEK—the SOE actually destroyed Axis ships in port.^a

Among the members of Operation POSTMASTER were three British army officers, Capt. Gus March-Phillips, Lt. Geoffrey Appleyard, and Lt. Graham Hayes, as well as Andre Lassen, a Danish refugee who had joined the UK military and, eventually the SOE. All three officers were part of the SSRF before joining the SOE, and none of them would live to see the end of the war.

a. For more on Operation CREEK, see James Leasor, *Boarding Party: The Last Action of the Calcutta Light Horse* (William Heinemann Ltd., 1978).

All statements of fact, opinion, or analysis expressed in this article are those of the author. Nothing in the article should be construed as asserting or implying US government endorsement of its factual statements and interpretations. © J.R. Seeger, 2017

After POSTMASTER, they continued raiding operations, either as part of the SSRF or as members of subsequent raiding forces. Lassen left the SOE and served as an early member of one of the squadrons of the Special Air Service (SAS) that focused operations in the Aegean. The high casualty rate in the SOE demonstrated that audacity clearly had its price among the members of the “Ministry of Ungentlemanly Warfare,” as Churchill described the SOE.

Though differently subtitled, two of the books in this review are entitled *The Ministry of Ungentlemanly Warfare*, and both are filled with one tale after another of incredible courage and audacity behind the lines in the European theater in World War II. Both books are focused exclusively on special operations in the European theatre. Many of the operations, such as POSTMASTER, have been covered in other books, including post-war memoirs from the members of the SSRP, SOE, and even the British Secret Intelligence Service. As the British war archives opened—50, 60, and 75 years after the war—a flood of books was published on SOE operations in Europe.^a But what makes these two books excellent additions to the shelf is that both their authors are superior researchers and writers who offer new insights into both the tactical and strategic decisionmakers involved in the SOE.

Despite their identical titles, these are two very different books. Damien Lewis’s follows the exploits of Andre Lassen, starting with Operation POSTMASTER, through his transition to the raiding parties in North Africa as a member of the SAS, and then into the Adriatic and Eastern Mediterranean raiding parties of the Three Squadron of the SAS, known as the Special Boat Squadron (and eventually known as the Special Boat Service (SBS)). Lewis’s book is filled with vivid descriptions of numer-

ous operations conducted behind German and Italian lines—operations conducted by Lassen and his team that ran the gamut from intrepidity to foolhardiness as they consistently relied upon the element of surprise in facing adversaries, often more than 50 times their number.

Lewis is a well-established military historian. He has pulled details from the British military and civilian archives that allow him to describe events that could well be fictional accounts in thriller novels. In fact, as noted in Brian Lett’s description of Operation POSTMASTER and in Lewis’s book, one of Ian Fleming’s early war responsibilities was to serve as the Office of Naval Intelligence liaison to SOE. He was well aware of many of the SOE operations and the early members of the SOE, including Andre Lassen. Fleming was also in regular contact with the future commander of the SOE, then-Col. Colin Gubbins, who was at the time of POSTMASTER the director of SOE operations and training and had the unofficial title. “M.”^b Most writers who have analyzed Fleming’s novels have pointed out that James Bond was an amalgam of several characters Fleming met in the war. One of these was Andre Lassen.

While Lewis delivers an excellent tale of wartime special operations, his book is really a biography of Andre Lassen. He provides significant detail on Lassen’s background and wartime experiences. One topic that Lewis covers in detail is Lassen’s slow and dangerous slide into what today would be diagnosed as posttraumatic stress disorder. While Lewis makes it clear that Lassen’s mates were aware of his increasingly reckless behavior in a dangerous environment, they were also aware that his bravery and skills made success possible and increased the chances of their own survival. As in many stories of special operations in World War II where “command” was hundreds of miles away, it was unlikely that anyone with authority would have taken Lassen off the line or would have even known of this development in Lassen’s mental state. This part of the story is hard to take in, but it is surely one of the most important reasons to read Lewis’s book.

Where Lewis’s book focuses primarily on the actions of one individual, Milton’s labors to expand the story to include many players inside the “ministry,” including staff officers, resistance leaders, commandos, and the scientists and engineers who designed special devices for the SOE—the real life “Q” section (“Q” for quarter-

a. Some recent titles include: A. R. B. Linderman, *Rediscovering Irregular Warfare: Colin Gubbins and the Origins of Britain’s Special Operations Executive* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2016); Bernard O’Connor, *Churchill’s School for Saboteurs: Station 17* (Amberley Press, 2014); Brian Lett, *SOE’s Mastermind: The Authorized Biography of Major General Sir Colin Gubbins* (Pen and Sword, 2016); Brian Lett, *The Small Scale Raiding Force* (Pen and Sword, 2014); and Brian Lett, *Ian Fleming and SOE’s Operation POSTMASTER: The Top Secret Story Behind 007* (Pen and Sword, 2012). Core resources for SOE research include Peter Wilkinson and Joan Bright Astley (both SOE seniors), *Gubbins & SOE* (Pen and Sword, 2011); E. H. Cookridge, *Set Europe Ablaze* (Thomas Crowell, 1967); and M. R. W. Foot, *SOE: An Outline History of the Special Operations Executive, 1940–1946* (BBC, 1984).

b. Lett, *Ian Fleming and SOE’s Operation POSTMASTER*: 18–20.

master). Milton describes in great detail the designers of the specialized explosives that are essential for sabotage. Milton's book moves smoothly from the SOE's Baker Street headquarters, to research facilities in rural England, to training facilities in Northern England and Scotland, to operations behind the lines throughout occupied Europe. Given this effort, what the reader receives from Milton is a greater understanding of the strategic value of the SOE and the bureaucratic as well as operational challenges that the SOE faced both in London and in occupied Europe.

The third book in this review is about the most famous of all special operations organizations in World War II: the British Special Air Service (SAS). In *Rogue Heroes*, Ben Macintyre provides a critical look at SAS operations throughout the war in Europe. *Rogue Heroes* is a very important addition to the public history of the SAS Regiment insofar as Macintyre was the first writer granted full access to SAS Regimental records from 1941–46. For *Rogue Heroes*, Macintyre researched countless operational after-action reports, intelligence reports, and formal correspondence between the Regiment's leaders and headquarters. Macintyre, who has written several books about espionage and counterintelligence in World War II, is an outstanding storyteller, so the book offers one adventure after another, punctuated with key insights into SAS origins, how it was perceived by the British Army command in North Africa, and how it was eventually understood to be an essential force in support of the Allied effort—both in the Italian campaign and after the invasion force landed in Normandy.

As with the Lewis and Milton books, *Rogue Heroes* can be read primarily as a tale of courage in the face of long odds, or it can be read as a tale of the strategic, bureaucratic, and personal challenges faced by a small, unconventional force conducting warfare outside the boundaries of conventional military doctrine. Macintyre spends two-thirds of the book on the creation of the SAS and its raiding operations behind German and Italian lines from 1941 through 1943. It was during the first two years in North Africa that SAS established its own policies on training, planning and raiding techniques, so Macintyre's decision to limit the discussion of the Regiment's operations in Italy, France, and eventually Germany to the last

third of the book makes sense from the standpoint that it could otherwise have easily doubled in size.

All three of these books make one critical point: neither the creation nor the survival of the SOE, the SAS, and British Special Operations in World War II was a foregone conclusion. The fusion of intelligence and special operations was by no means "invented" in World War II; there were similar UK efforts in World War I, such as the Great Arab Revolt and the British covert action against Bolshevik Russia, as well as similar efforts during the inter-war years in the British colonial conflict. Though these efforts created individuals experienced in special operations, none of these operations resulted in the creation of special operations forces inside the UK military establishment.

In the cases of the SSRF and SOE, Churchill bypassed senior command and uniformed and civilian bureaucracies inside the War Office, the Admiralty, and the Secret Intelligence Service in order to create these unconventional or "irregular" units. For most of the war, the UK military and intelligence services were reluctant—to the point of unwillingness to provide any material support, clandestine communication, or delivery (submarine, motor torpedo boat or aircraft). Churchill had to intervene several times to keep these elements alive. In the case of the SAS, Macintyre makes clear that the only reason the unit survived was that Capt. David Stirling's father, who was a retired senior officer who had served alongside General Officer in Command of Middle East Forces, General Sir Claude Auchinleck, and most of his senior staff. Further, Auchinleck and his staff had been on shooting parties at the Stirling residence in Scotland prior to the war; Auchinleck knew the family and was aware of David Stirling's commitment to the commandos and unconventional warfare. When David Stirling presented Auchinleck with his plan for the SAS, the general had little to lose, given the small size of the unit Stirling was proposing and the less-than-successful results conventional forces had achieved against Erwin Rommel and the German Afrika Corps. In sum, if the prime minister hadn't been Winston Churchill (who had his own experience in colonial wars and insurgencies) and if Stirling had had a design for a desert raiding force but no particular social pedigree, it is

entirely possible that the none of the three groups would ever have been created.

Special operations in World War II were designed to create the greatest strategic effect with the smallest number of personnel. These operations were critical in the first years of the war, when allied forces were forced off the European continent and onto the defensive in Africa and Asia. In 1940, commando raiding forces demonstrated to the Nazis that Occupied Europe was by no means secure. When Churchill instructed the minister of Economic Warfare, Hugh Dalton, to “set Europe ablaze,” he was asking Dalton to create an organization that would attack Axis units anywhere and anytime, using any means necessary. Auchinleck and his successor, Gen. Bernard Montgomery, understood that these operations could only be conducted by small, unconventional units. In sum, conventional leaders were willing to accept the low level of risk, balanced against potential successes and morale gains, that these forces might deliver.

These three books demonstrate precisely how important unconventional solutions were to the war effort and how the courage of a small number of men and women created conditions for key victories on the battlefields of North Africa and Europe during World War II.



Intelligence in Public Media

Our Man in Charleston: Britain's Secret Agent in the Civil War South

Christopher Dickey (Crown, 2015), 388 pp., notes, bibliography, index.

Reviewed by Clayton Laurie

In spite of the title and cover blurbs where the words *clandestine*, *secret*, *intrigue*, *espionage*, and *spy* appear, *Our Man in Charleston: Britain's Secret Agent in the Civil War South* is not actually a book about any of those things. It is, though, a well-written, well-researched, and very readable and interesting history of the relatively mundane pre-Civil War diplomatic career of low-level British Foreign Office Consul Robert B. Bunch in Charleston, South Carolina, from 1853 until 1861–62.

The author, Christopher Dickey, a journalist, who has reported for the *Daily Beast*, *Newsweek*, and the *Washington Post*, has consulted many Foreign Office Records in the British National Archives and the papers of the primary participants, as well as published correspondence and books on British and American diplomats, diplomacy, and pre-Civil War history. The diplomatic history revealed here has appeared elsewhere, however, as has the history of the often tense relations that marked Anglo-American interactions prior to the blossoming of the late 19th century “Special Relationship.” The all too familiar disdain and disregard with which British aristocrats in the foreign office held the American popular democratic “experiment” in self-government also shows through. Notably absent in the notes and bibliography, however, are references to any scholarly or popular intelligence histories—covering either the specific timeframe, or intelligence in general. Consulting such standard works as Christopher Andrews’s *For the President's Eyes Only*, or Edwin Fishel’s *The Secret War for the Union*, would, at a minimum, have provided the context needed to make Dickey’s study more plausible as intelligence history. The lack of an obvious familiarity with intelligence history may also explain the overly broad use of intelligence terminology to describe what most would view as routine diplomatic reporting.

Indeed, the vast majority of the activities attributed to this British “secret agent” are not secret at all. Bunch’s regular diplomatic reporting was not derived from espionage or “spying,” nor was the information he collected secret in any sense. Without doubt, most of his observations and insights, sent to London via diplomatic pouch in

envelopes marked “secret” and “confidential,” denoted a restrictive handling requirement to keep the contents from prying eyes of those who would have resented Bunch’s candor. Bunch’s views were no different from those of any journalist or astute observer of current events in the American South, or to those who had business or family ties and intimate knowledge of the views of leading Southern citizens, especially those in the slave-holding plantation aristocracy, or those who had contact with anyone in the region. While pro-slavery, anti-government, and secessionist views certainly predominated in Charleston, and while they may have been more unyielding and longer held than elsewhere in the South, such views were not secret, and South Carolinians had publicly voiced such attitudes as far back as the Nullification Crises of 1828–32. Intelligence officers looking for spy intrigue, insights into 19th century tradecraft, and sea changes in world events brought about through clandestine intelligence collection and reporting will not find it here.

For students of Anglo-American diplomatic relations before and during the early Civil War era, Dickey’s book is sure to enlighten and entertain. Consul Bunch, a young officer aspiring to higher diplomatic ranks, accepted the hardship Charleston post as a career-enhancing move after service in New York and Philadelphia. Although not a major American city at the time, with a mere 40,000 people, Charleston was a major Caribbean trading port whose local population had long had difficult relations with the US and British governments. Bunch’s primary job for five years after his arrival in 1853 was to soothe relations with the local population—relations that had been damaged by his haughty and overbearing aristocratic predecessor—to gain their trust, and to seek repeal of the notorious South Carolina state Negro Seaman Law. This statute allowed the incarceration of uniformed Royal Navy sailors of West Indian descent on shore leave in Charleston. The intent of the locals was to reduce the chances that these sailors would incite the local slave population to insurrection by their mere presence in the city. The local authorities would pass costs of detention to ship commanders and

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sell the sailors into slavery if payment did not appear. As the federal government would not intervene, and as other Southern states considered similar legislation, it remained to the British Foreign Office, in Consul Bunch, to curry favor with South Carolinian politicians and planters to have the law rescinded, which he accomplished in 1858.

Most of the book, however, describes Bunch's efforts to seek the friendship, cooperation, and acceptance of the Charleston and South Carolinian slave-holding planter elite to elicit information to inform British policymakers and diplomats. Bunch and his superiors—Foreign Secretaries Lord Palmerston, Lord Clarendon, and Lord Russell, staunch abolitionists all—clearly detested and despised the Southern slaveholding aristocracy for their ruthless, brutal, and inhumane treatment of their slaves and for the racist attitudes they espoused to justify holding human beings as chattel. Ever the diplomat, and perhaps through his professional bearing and training, Bunch always confined his personal views to his secret dispatches to London while moving freely among the Charleston elite, soon being trusted and counted as one of their number. Although hating the South, hating Charleston, and hating the slaveholding aristocracy, Bunch always maintained a friendly professional demeanor, never offering even a hint of his true feelings.

The United States and Great Britain had abolished the African slave trade in 1808, yet it continued unabated until secession in 1861 due to the rising world demand for cotton, the cost of native-born slave labor, and the limited US Naval resources committed to anti-slavery patrols on the West African Station. The refusal of the United States to allow the Royal Navy to intercept and board suspected American-flagged slave ships traveling from New York to West Africa to Spanish Cuba meant that new cargoes of Africans completed the Middle Passage on a regular basis. From Cuba, local slavers would continue the illicit smuggling of slaves all along the southern and gulf coasts. Only the US Naval blockade placed on the South during the Civil War stanching the trade. Through this era, Bunch wrote detailed dispatches describing not only the ongoing brisk slave trade, but also Southern thoughts and discussions about secession, the establishment of a permanent slaveholding Southern nation, and a full resumption of the West African slave trade and expansion to the American West and Caribbean.

Ultimately, Dickey's thesis that Bunch's pre-war reporting caused the British government to withhold diplomatic recognition of the Confederate States of America after secession in April 1861 is unconvincing. The British government had enforced prohibitions against slave trading throughout the Americas for most of the half century before the Civil War. In spite of Southern hopes, Her Majesty's government was not about to end this international and much publicized moral crusade on behalf of the commercial textile interests of the British Midlands, the primary customers for Southern cotton. Bunch reported on the efforts of South Carolina planters to have him intervene on their behalf with the British government, especially after the Confederacy placed an embargo on exports of cotton. Nonetheless, policies long ago established remained in place as Parliament and prime minister remained steadfast, even encouraging efforts during the pre-war years to accelerate cultivation of cotton in the Empire, specifically Egypt and India, to replace American supplies they suspected would one day soon trickle to a halt. Secessionist talk, threats of cotton embargoes, and wartime disruptions of trade had filled Bunch's dispatches for years, as they did the dispatches of other British diplomats in the United States, as they did newspapers North and South for years before the war. One consul in one small American city simply did not shape or change British foreign policy.

In 1861, soon after the Battle of Bull Run in July, Bunch embarked on a minor diplomatic mission to the Richmond government to negotiate a pact of neutrality of navigation and trade on behalf of the Foreign Office. Once this negotiation became public in the North, Union Secretary of State William Seward branded Bunch a Southern sympathizer and pulled his diplomatic credentials in fall 1862. Far from jeopardizing the Anglo-American relationship, at least not to the extent of the Trent Affair that would soon follow, Bunch would leave Charleston for diplomatic postings in South America. Far from making or breaking his career, let alone changing history, Consul Robert Bunch's 10 years in Charleston constituted little more than an entertaining and interesting interlude in what would become a long and inauspicious diplomatic career.



The Swamp Fox: How Francis Marion Saved the American Revolution

John Oller (Da Capo Press, 2016), 368 pp., maps, notes, bibliography, index.

Reviewed by David A. Foy

While the American Revolution is a popular topic for both authors and readers, the history of that conflict south of the Mid-Atlantic States has garnered less attention. Lawyer/journalist John Oller intends to remedy that situation with his new book, *The Swamp Fox: How Francis Marion Saved the American Revolution*, which focuses on the exploits of the partisan leader in the eastern third of South Carolina from 1780 to 1782. The author makes clear from the outset that his volume is intended to separate fact from the better-known fiction surrounding Marion, thanks to Parson Weems's fanciful portrayal and the equally history-light Mel Gibson movie, *The Patriot*, in which Marion himself might not have recognized the subject. In particular Oller notes that Marion was never referred to by anyone, even the British, as the "Swamp Fox" during his life. As a positive term, that sobriquet dated from an 1829 poem and the first professional biography of Marion, written by William Gilmore Simms in 1844.

In July 1780, General Horatio Gates became the new commander of the American Continental Army in the south, two months after Charleston, South Carolina, had fallen to the British. A former major in the British Army, Gates was no fan of either irregular warfare or the cavalry, straining relations with Marion, who specialized in irregular warfare and preferred to fight on horseback. Nevertheless, in that year Marion took command of a group of militia known as "Marion's Brigade," located in the Williamsburg Township area northeast of the Santee River. In describing the unit's early actions, Oller notes that the losses his unit inflicted were "individually small but cumulatively a large drain on British resources and morale" (9), a recurring theme in the volume.

In his first chapter, Oller—no doubt aware that many readers might be overly dismissive of the American Revolution as fought in a pocket of South Carolina—notes that more Revolutionary War battles were fought in South Carolina than in any other colony, that 20 percent of all battle deaths in the Revolution occurred in South Caro-

lina, and that of the 1,000 Patriots who died in battle in 1780, two-thirds did so in South Carolina. The British had adopted the so-called "Southern Strategy," which meant that they would occupy Georgia and subdue Virginia and the Carolinas in preparation for a final conflict with Washington in the north. The author also stresses that the war in Marion's home state was especially vicious and personal, driven less by ideology than by a desire for localized revenge. Men often switched sides in the conflict, and friends and neighbors often faced each other in battle.

Born in 1732—the same year as George Washington—Francis Marion became a prosperous indigo farmer at his inherited property, Hampton Hill, while learning the techniques of the British royal government force fighting Native Americans. As Oller points out, this experience taught Marion both the arrogance of the British commanders and the fickleness of the colonial militia, lessons Marion would have cause to remember. By 1776, Marion was serving in the state legislature and had become a professional soldier, a captain of militia.

For the next two-and-a-half years, Marion often found himself alone, or nearly so, in leading militia forces against the British within South Carolina, as regular Continental Army troops were seldom in the state. He continually pleaded with Gates for news, support, and even orders, and his commander's routine lack of response to the messages Marion dutifully sent was a continuing vexation for him. Nor did Gates's successor, the 33-year-old Major General Nathaniel Greene, who arrived in Charlotte, North Carolina, in December 1780, have any particular use for militia troops. But if his commanders tended to ignore Marion, the British did not—particularly after he led one of the first of his trademark hit-and-run raids on 25 August 1780, to rescue 150 Continentals from being marched to British prison ships. This raid elevated the previously unknown Marion to the official status of a thorn-in-the-side of the British, most notably that of Lord Cornwallis. Although subordinates repeatedly assured him that South Carolina was secure, Cornwallis had to

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dispatch a number of troops to deal with this “cautious and vigilant” pest. (72)

With Greene’s arrival and Marion’s withdrawal to winter quarters on Snow Island in late 1780, Marion in effect became the former’s director of intelligence. Marion, who always prided himself on his savvy with people, befriended the local Whig population on the island, already pre-disposed to oppose the Tory threat. Oller points out that Marion was one of the first militia leaders to curry favor with the locals, a tenet of Mao Tse-tung’s winning strategy in China and now a component of US Army official doctrine—interesting assertions on which the author does not comment further.

Through 1781 and into August 1782, Marion and his troops continued engagements with the British and at times with marauding loyalists from North Carolina. At that point he served at the pleasure of South Carolina Governor John Rutledge, to whom the militia answered at this stage of the Revolution. When the Continental Army entered Charleston as conquerors on 14 December 1782, both Greene and the governor decided the militia would not be allowed into the city due to the threat of loyalist-militia fights. Shortly thereafter, Marion dismissed his troops, mounted his horse, and rode off to Pond Bluff Plantation, where he spent the rest of his days.

Although Marion—sometimes referred to as the “Washington of the South”—had taken part in some two dozen engagements during the war, all had been small, both in numbers of men committed and casualties. But Marion’s influence upon those he led for several years was profound; one of the militia members who had been with him since the beginning, William Dobein James, described him as follows: “His appearance was not prepossessing, his manners were distant, but not repulsive, yet few leaders have ever been so popular among their men; none ever had more of their confidence . . .” (236)

In the years following the war, Greene and Marion grew estranged, in part because the state legislature of his native Rhode Island had granted Greene 10,000 guineas as a “thank-you” gift, while Marion received . . . nothing, at least for a while. In 1783, the South Carolina Senate did award Marion a gold medal and commendation and, two years later, a 302-acre land grant. The following year, the lifelong bachelor married his first cousin, Mary Esther Videau, who outlived him by 20 years. He resigned from the militia in 1794 and died the following year at Pond

Bluff at age 63. In an interesting sidenote, Oller mentions that for a man so concerned about the well-being of those he led, he never freed any of his slaves, including the half-dozen or so who had faithfully served him throughout his life.

The Swamp Fox makes for an engaging read, with satisfyingly-rich footnotes and three useful maps, although a volume replete with innumerable small-unit military actions would greatly benefit from additional graphics. The fact that Oller includes 80 pages of footnotes to complement 250 pages of text reflects his research skills and adds to the academic credibility of the work. The book’s dust jacket highlights that Oller’s volume is the “first major biography of Marion in more than forty years,” likely a reference to Robert D. Bass’s *Swamp Fox: The Life and Campaigns of General Francis Marion*, published in 1974. However, the publisher’s gratuitous comment ignores the 2012 work by US Marine Corps colonel and irregular warfare historian Scott D. Aiken, author of *The Swamp Fox: Lessons in Leadership from the Partisan Campaigns of Francis Marion*, which Oller consulted. Readers of Oller’s volume should approach it with the knowledge that accounts of small-unit tactical actions, in which the number of troops on both sides seldom exceeded a few hundred and never more than 2,000, get tedious after a while.

The major criticism of *The Swamp Fox*, however, concerns the subtitle—“how Francis Marion Saved the American Revolution” which is, at best, an exaggeration, and at worst, flat-out wrong. The impression most readers will have after reading the book is that, while Marion certainly “helped save” the American Revolution, it was hardly a one-man show, and most historians would agree that, at best, the war in South Carolina—even given the casualty figures—was a sideshow to the war in the Mid-Atlantic States and New England. Similarly, it is hard to believe that had Marion never been born, the British would have won. Nevertheless, a new biography of Marion is welcome, especially one that in general goes to great lengths to separate fact from fiction in discussing the near-mythical militia commander.



Intelligence in Public Media

The English Teacher

Yiftach Reicher Atir (Penguin, 2013), 260 pp.

Reviewed by John Kavanagh

The English Teacher is the fourth novel written by Yiftach Reicher Atir, who retired in 1996 from the Israeli army with the rank of major general. Each of his novels depicts intelligence operations. *The English Teacher* tells the story of Rachel, an experienced and resourceful deep cover Mossad operative who serves for two decades in several Middle Eastern countries, the specific locations variously described as “a large Arab city,” “an Arab capital,” or, simply, “enemy territory.” During a between-postings hiatus in London, periodic administrative contact with her goes unanswered—Rachel has disappeared. Frantic efforts to find her fail, but the few faint traces of her departure eliminate foul play or accident and point to an unavoidable conclusion: Rachel has dropped out and is on the run, her motivation unknown, and her decades’-long honing of the arts of deceit and deception will pose a serious challenge to her increasingly desperate Mossad superiors.

Mossad reaches out to Rachel’s retired handler, Ehud, who trained Rachel and guided her throughout her career via a series of brief, carefully managed third country meetings held under the auspices of her taking leave from her overseas “English teacher” duties to visit family in London. During these contacts Ehud diligently adhered to the professional rituals of agent handling, debriefing Rachel on her intelligence activities, refining her collection tasking, and—of paramount importance—assuring himself that she was vigilantly focused on maintaining her cover, fitting plausibly, seamlessly into her daily routine and interactions with coworkers and acquaintances. Rachel must do nothing to arouse curiosity or suspicion; her life depended on it.

In their relationship, Ehud was particularly sensitive to personal issues he was reluctant to bring up, as he knew owing to Rachel’s professionalism and root patriotism she would not acknowledge the strains her stress-filled, dangerous profession imposed. These were the costs Ehud knew Rachel was paying for her double life—the isolation, the enervating tension of living a lie, the constant

balancing of aggressive action and sensible caution, and always, the dread of exposure.

Called back to manage Mossad’s search for Rachel, Ehud is paired with Joe, a retired senior manager and Ehud’s former boss. Together the two take back-bearings on Rachel’s career and try to piece together a possible motive for her action. Mossad superiors organize an intense international hunt for her. Rachel had been involved in a number of sensitive activities, including lethal operations. Ehud and Joe struggle to understand why she is running and where she might go under the mounting, near panicked pressure of Mossad’s bottom line calculation—“she knows so much.”

Atir thus sets up an effective parallel narrative structure. We follow Rachel on her escape route and share her inner monologue as she reviews her career. Detailed are several exciting episodes displaying Rachel’s calculated daring in tight situations and her “in the moment” creativity when faced with an opportunity to collect valuable intelligence, by bluffing her way into a guarded restricted site, or manipulating a personal relationship with a prescribed target, a chance acquaintance, and in one instance, with a lover. We listen to Rachel’s inner tactical debates as, on her own with no on-site guidance, she measures each operational step towards a crucial risk versus gain decision. Unable to clearly estimate what gain her collected data may provide for her service, the daily risks she faces simply living where she does is never out of her mind.

Separately, we audit Ehud and Joe’s lengthy deliberations as they struggle to understand Rachel’s motivations. Their musings on Mossad’s selection and management of deep cover operatives is particularly interesting, and in the English translation takes on an elegiac tone: “In this country there are millions of Zionists, many of them are multilingual, but someone who’s prepared to volunteer is exceptional. There’s something special in him besides the ability to assume another persona and undertake opera-

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tions. He needs us. That's the point. He needs us the way we need him." In this section we begin to recognize the subliminal fixation Ehud shares with Rachel regarding the "why" in her character, the "need" that led her to volunteer and succeed as a deep cover operative—but from the "handler" perspective. It becomes clear that, while directing Rachel over the years to deployment after deployment, country after country, Ehud himself was not immune to the mounting tension, to the accumulating life-risking choices. These he could make as a decisive professional, but not as a man emotionally detached from the woman he dispatched to hostile territory. Rachel was

not a chess piece, not a simple "asset", but a colleague and friend.

The English Teacher rewards the general reader with an enticing premise, well drawn episodes depicting realistic, exciting renderings of intelligence methods, and a final, satisfying unraveling of Rachel's reasons for stepping away from the secret world. For the intelligence professional, Atir raises and invites serious debate on the issues we and our foreign counterparts everywhere ponder. In that vein, I believe Atir's fourth book about our profession deserves the positive description, "thought provoking."



Intelligence Officer's Bookshelf

Compiled and reviewed by Hayden Peake

CURRENT TOPICS

China and Cybersecurity: Espionage, Strategy, and Politics in the Digital Domain,
edited by Jon R. Lindsay, Tai Ming Cheung, and Derek S. Reveron

The Field of Fight: How We Can Win the Global War Against Radical Islam and Its Allies,
by Lt. General Michael T. Flynn and Michael Ledeen

A Passion For Leadership: Lessons on Change and Reform from Fifty Years of Public Service,
by Robert M. Gates

Spooked: How The CIA Manipulates the Media and Hoodwinks Hollywood, by Nicholas Schou

The United States of Jihad: Investigating America's Homegrown Terrorists, by Peter Bergen

HISTORICAL

Cold War Counterfeit Spies: Tales of Espionage; Genuine or Bogus?, by Nigel West

George Washington's Secret Spy War: The Making of America's First Spymaster, by John A. Nagy

House of Spies: St. Ermin's Hotel, The London Base of British Espionage, by Peter Matthews

The Man With The Poison Gun: A Cold War Spy Story, by Serhii Plokhly

A Season of Inquiry Revisited: The Church Committee Confronts America's Spy Agencies,
by Loch K. Johnson

The Secret History of World War II: Spies, Code Breakers & Covert Operations,
by Neil Kagan and Stephen G. Hyslop

Spies in Palestine: Love, Betrayal, and the Heroic Life of Sarah Aaronsohn, by James Srodes

The Spies of Winter: The GCHQ Codebreakers Who Fought the Cold War, by Sinclair McKay

The Spy Who Couldn't Spell: A Dyslexic Traitor, an Unbreakable Code, and the FBI's Hunt for America's Stolen Secrets, by Yudhijit Bhattacharjee

Spymaster: The Life of Britain's Most Decorated Cold War Spy and Head of MI6, Sir Maurice Oldfield,
by Martin Pearce

True Believer: Stalin's Last American Spy, by Kati Marton

The Winter Fortress: The Epic Mission to Sabotage Hitler's Atomic Bomb, by Neal Bascomb

REFERENCE

The Handbook of European Intelligence Cultures, edited by Bob de Graaff and James M. Nyce with
Chelsea Locke



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CURRENT TOPICS

China and Cybersecurity: Espionage, Strategy, and Politics in the Digital Domain, edited by Jon R. Lindsay, Tai Ming Cheung, and Derek S. Reveron. (Oxford University Press, 2015) 375, end of chapter notes, index.

“Born in a US university laboratory in the 1960s, the Internet is one of the most successful inventions in human history.” (123) This acknowledgment by Ye Zheng, a senior colonel in China’s People’s Liberation Army (PLA), reflects the more objective non-ideological analysis found in each of the five contributions by Chinese specialists in *China and Cybersecurity*. Moreover, they agree, in general, with the other authors from the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom about the importance of cybersecurity in foreign relations and domestic security, and the problems encountered. The latter include technical complexity, secrecy, privacy, national security constraints, and the form of government concerned. Understanding how these factors interact when they are complicated by cultural, political, economic, and military issues is the purpose of *China and Cybersecurity*. Each of the papers examines China’s cybersecurity program and its relationship with other nations.

In his introductory chapter, “Controversy and Context,” co-editor Jon Lindsay discusses how the Internet era has influenced China domestically and in its relationships with other nations, especially the United States. Western analysts, he suggests, see China as “the source and target of extensive cyber exploitation.” China agrees with the latter but views the former, in part, as “a thief crying, ‘Stop, thief!’” (3) *China and Cybersecurity* “investigates how China both generates and copes with Internet insecurity through its close attention to its domestic institutions and processes.” (4) Its 12 chapters, divided into four parts, cover the following areas: espionage and cyber crime, military strategy and institutions, national cybersecurity policy, and practical and theoretical implications.

Part I looks at the current organization, missions, and general tradecraft of China’s principal intelligence

services—the Ministry of State Security (MSS) and the intelligence departments of the PLA. Cyber espionage and cyber (online) crime are also discussed. The former raises traditional issues due to secrecy, while the latter raises new challenges due to the nature of the Internet and the volume of users.

Part II argues that national security is now dependent on cyberspace and its security. Forms of cyberwarfare, “a hidden and quiet type of combat,” (125) are examined, along with Chinese writings on the subject. Coercive applications as applied by the PLA, the role of information warfare militias, and the problems of civil-military integration are also assessed.

Part III deals with China’s cybersecurity and the need for policies that account for the fact that “China has the largest number of users around the world.” (228) This part of the book also considers the legal frameworks required to protect the right to privacy in China, and the “ideological and institutional differences” (239) between China and the United States. It concludes with a call for “a China-US bilateral dialogue” (240) to sort out common problems.

The final part of *China and Cybersecurity* considers China’s information security threats to the United States, the reasons for the US “political and diplomatic inability” (325) to deal with them effectively, and suggestions for surmounting these shortcomings.

For all but the best informed analysts, *China and Cybersecurity*—a thoroughly documented treatise—offers new material and new perspectives on a topic that will be a major part of global cybersecurity for the foreseeable future.

The Field of Fight: How We Can Win the Global War Against Radical Islam and Its Allies, by Lt. General Michael T. Flynn and Michael Ledeen. (St. Martin's Press, 2016) 194, bibliography, index.

The Field of Fight^a tells the story of Army Lt. Gen. Michael Flynn, an Army brat who devoted his 33-year career to military intelligence. A self-described “maverick, an atypical square peg in a round hole,” (3) he concedes that his critics see him as a strong-willed, unbending contrarian. After asserting his views on the war on terror to a Congress and government that did not wish to hear them, he was forced to retire one year early as director of the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA). He wrote this book to alert the public to the threat posed by “Radical Islamists”—a term he was forbidden to use while on active duty—to account for the mistakes that allowed the threat to increase, and to “lay out a winning strategy.” (3) To establish his credentials, after a brief account of his formative years, he describes the importance of military intelligence and how it evolved during his career, in the field at all levels of command; and the impact of political decisions on the military as it tried to fight the war on terror in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Flynn sets the stage by explaining how a “nasty tough kid” (13) who dropped out of college after one year managed to return with an Army ROTC scholarship and receive a commission as a military intelligence officer “in the field of signals intelligence and electronic warfare.” (18) After assignments in the states and overseas, Flynn was assigned to Ft. Polk as an instructor. It was there he met then-“Colonels Stan McChrystal [and] David Petraeus.” (32) From their discussions about fighting a guerrilla war, he realized that timely intelligence “would be vastly more important” (33) fighting terrorists than it had been under WWII conditions. Throughout the narrative he lays out the basic principles and innovative approaches he developed—both technical and personnel-oriented—

required to provide the timely intelligence needed in Afghanistan, Iraq, Central Command (CENTCOM), and to the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The Field of Fight provides examples of how Flynn implemented his largely successful concepts and their use in “the surge” in the Iraq War. In doing so, other problems emerged that, from Flynn’s frustrated perspective, complicated accomplishing the mission. For example, when Iranians were discovered supporting—financially and with sophisticated electronics—insurgents in both Iraq and Afghanistan, permission to “go after them” was refused repeatedly by two administrations. On the home front, when the administration assured “the American people that al-Qa‘ida was broken,” while intelligence showed “their strength had roughly doubled” and the threat spread to Yemen and Africa, (105) the decision to withdraw troops from Iraq and Afghanistan made things worse. Flynn asserts that these and other facts, coupled with the appearance on the scene of ISIS, whose members are highly skilled in the use of social media, meant that the terrorists were winning, and he would later say as much to Congress.

In a chapter titled “How To Win,” Flynn recommends destroying the jihadi armies and discrediting their ideology, among other actions—but he also discusses the political and military difficulties associated with actually doing so. He concludes with a warning about the global intentions and ambitions of ISIS/ISIL and other radicals—not Muslims in general. To emphasize the risks associated with failing to challenge them in the media and on the battlefield, Flynn quotes an ISIS leader: “the Caliphate will . . . take over the entire world and behead every last person who rebels against Allah . . . this is the bitter truth, swallow it.” (159)

The Field of Fight is a spirited, candid, and sometimes colorful account of the threat of radical terrorism and what is, in General Flynn’s view, necessary to defeat it.

a. The title is taken from Homer’s *Iliad*. (3) See also Jason Manos-evitz’s combined review of this book and *The Pivot: The Future of American Statecraft in Asia* by Kurt Campbell in *Studies in Intelligence* 60, No. 4 (Extracts, December 2016)

A *Passion For Leadership: Lessons on Change and Reform from Fifty Years of Public Service*, by Robert M. Gates. (Alfred A. Knopf, 2016) 239, index.

Former DCI Robert Gates begins *A Passion For Leadership* with a simple truism: “Everybody hates bureaucracies, even those who work in them.” (89) The reasons, he assures us, are neither complicated nor profound: “as bureaucratic tentacles extend their reach into every nook and cranny of America, the litany of their incompetence and arrogance grows exponentially.” (4) The irony is that many have “become indispensable,” especially at the national level. (4) Gates quickly gets specific, citing examples that include the 9/11 intelligence failures, the IRS, the failure to plan for a post-invasion Iraq, inconsistent rules for airport security, and “the entrenched cultures that make real change difficult” (5)—to name just a few. The influence of bureaucracies on “the everyday experiences of Americans makes a compelling case that [they] do not work and cannot be reformed.” (6) It gets worse when “elective bodies with oversight responsibilities also are unreliable, unpredictable, and even irresponsible when it come to the lifeblood of public institutions—funding . . . And when you toss in the mindless acts of congressional misgovernance—such as shutdowns, furloughs, and sequestration—and micromanagement masquerading as oversight, just keeping the doors open is a challenge.” (10) A final contributing factor “is the uneven quality of the individuals elected or appointed to fulfill” key positions. (11)

And yet, despite all evidence to the contrary, Gates concludes it doesn’t have to be this way. In *A Passion For Leadership* he offers “leaders in bureaucracies—public and private, at all levels of leadership—specific ideas and techniques that can enable them to successfully reform and improve their organizations.” (20) Drawing on his experiences “leading transformational change” (10) at the CIA, as president of Texas A&M University, Secretary of Defense, chancellor of William and Mary College, and president of the Boy Scouts of America, Gates argues that “reform is not a luxury but a necessity” and that his book “is about people and how to lead them where they often don’t want to go.” (21)

Before he provides examples of how he approached his leadership challenges, Gates considers two of the 54

dictionary definitions of the term “leader” or “leadership.” Calling a leader “a pipe for conducting hot air [is] an apt definition perhaps for Washington, DC,” but does not suit his purposes: rather, his definition is “one who guides; one who shows the way.” (23) The principal characteristic a leader must possess, writes Gates, is a bold vision of the organization’s future, and “a realistic path to attaining that future,” with the understanding that the “transformation must start at the top.” (24)

Each of the 10 chapters in the book covers factors Gates deems essential for a successful leader, with examples of how these factors should and should not be applied. In the latter category, he reveals how he approached the need for change in the Directorate of Intelligence at CIA when he became its director in 1981. He filled the auditorium with managers and analysts, lectured them on their deficiencies, and informed them how they would be corrected—with the result being that he managed to alienate everyone, even those who agreed with his ideas. He admits that “the resentment smoldered for a long time” (41) and his approach to reform changed forever.

Some of the topics Gates covers in the book are the risks of reorganizing to achieve operational benefit, encouraging the use of task forces to achieve specific goals, the importance of the “people factor” in all decisions, setting positive examples, the necessity of delegating authority, and the value of humor. In a surprising editorial gesture, Gates takes the somewhat stunning approach of defying convention with sentences such as this: “A leader’s heart must be on fire with belief in what she seeks to do. Changing institutions is a battle, and she must undertake it with courage. She must believe in it before she can persuade others to believe in it.” (227) While there are one or two uses of “he/she” (where either could be employed), the female pronoun is dominant throughout the book—without comment from the author.

A Passion For Leadership is full of valuable guidance and, while it does not tell how to train a leader, it does offer criteria that defines a good one.

Spooked: How The CIA Manipulates the Media and Hoodwinks Hollywood, by Nicholas Schou. (Hot Books, 2016) 146, endnotes, no index.

In his foreword, journalist David Talbot (author of a dreadful biography of Allen Dulles^a and now executive director of Hot Books) sets the tone for *Spooked* when he writes, “in today’s downsized media business . . . ambitious journalists soon learn to play ball with the right people at CIA headquarters . . . if they value their professional future.” He goes on to charge that “producers, directors, writers and stars . . . give CIA personnel supervisory powers and screen credits in return for the dubious benefits of private tours of CIA headquarters and meeting with CIA bigwigs.” The only accuracies here are the correctly spelled words. Author Nicholas Schou, writes Talbot, “. . . shows us how the Langley media machine works.” (x–xi)

Schou’s argument is straightforward: every journalistic and media contact with the CIA leads to CIA manipulation of the journalist and the journalist’s message. He attempts to support these and related charges with assertions, not facts, such as: “after 9/11, American screenwriters, directors, and producers have traded positive portrayal of the spy profession in film or television projects for special access and favors at CIA headquarters.” (4)

a. David Talbot, *The Devil’s Chessboard: Allen Dulles, the CIA, and the Rise of America’s Secret Government* (HarperCollins, 2015). The book was reviewed by JR Seeger in the December 2016 issue of *Studies* and is available online at <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/vol-60-no-3/seeger-the-devils-chessboard.html>.

The United States of Jihad: Investigating America’s Homegrown Terrorists, by Peter Bergen. (Crown Publishing, 2016) 387, endnotes, bibliography, photos, index.

First, the radicals mailed 36 mail bombs to government officials, business leaders, and newspapermen. Next, much larger bombs—with more than 26 pounds of explosive were sent to cities throughout the country. Among the victims, one secretary lost her hands, a watchman was killed, and a radical found eternal peace trying the blow up an attorney general’s home. None of the human targets were killed. The government reacted by deporting as many radicals as possible. America has experience with radicals’ attacking citizens. The bombings stopped the year they started—1919.

Schou fills his pages with examples of past CIA operations that he twists and misinterprets to conform to his preconceived notions. His treatment of the Gary Webb case is typical. Webb claimed the CIA was involved in drug trafficking; when the mainstream press and his own publisher repudiated the story, it was withdrawn. Webb lost his job, his marriage, and tragically took his own life. Schou claims the CIA was behind the withdrawal; he includes a quote attributed to the CIA, but typically fails to provide a source. (53–54)

Some *Spooked* accusations about media manipulation are dodgy, if not dishonest. For example, Schou notes that “not a single US official, military officer, or CIA interrogator . . . has been convicted in connection with the torture or death of a detainee.” He ignores the fact that the only CIA employee charged—a contractor—was, in fact, convicted.

After grinding on with other undocumented examples, *Spooked* attacks the media, concluding that “the spooking of the news works because the media allows it to work. The strongest deterrent to independent reporting is not the CIA or the NSA, but the relentless will of the corporate media to conform to official government policy.” (133)

Spooked has signposts that suggest gross ignorance of the topic and a severe case of confirmation bias. That, of course, can be overcome by accurate analysis.

Peter Bergen does not suggest that today’s problems with radical terrorists be similarly addressed; he realizes that the underlying circumstances are vastly different. He seeks instead to understand why and how a few American Muslims become “American jihadists,” (11) willing in some cases to kill themselves and their fellow citizens. Having interviewed 330 militants or jihadists while researching *The United States of Jihad*, he concludes that they were “ordinary citizens” in ordinary families—before something happened to change their worldview. (15)

To determine what that change was, Bergen reviews the perpetrators involved in known cases of homegrown terrorism, such as the Ft. Hood shooter, the Boston marathon bombers, and the San Bernardino couple. In the process, he analyzes their backgrounds and the outside influences from al-Qa'ida and ISIS discovered on the Internet, in other social media, and at the local mosque. He also compares these attacks with the attacks originating overseas, for example, the underwear bomber sent by Anwar al-Awlaki, and the ISIS-sponsored attacks in Europe. Bergen explores the mostly effective preventive and follow-up actions taken by the FBI and local police to identify, stop, or capture them.

The United States of Jihad doesn't provide a silver bullet explanation for why Americans become terrorists. Bergen lists possibilities, like feelings of power and importance, belonging, religious inspiration, and the influence of "social bonds" which is further explained in the book with the insights of former officer and psychiatrist

analyst Marc Sageman. (51) Looking to the future, Bergen discusses intervention by family, mosque elders, and law enforcement authorities as sensible paths to prevention, although he admits this is not new and has failed in the past. Perhaps the most curious observation is Bergen's suggestion that the media and the public overreact to the threat of terrorist attacks, noting the "golden age of terrorism in the States was in the 1970s, not post-9/11 America" (271) and the risk of violent death today is greater from other causes.

Somehow this is a troubling alternative, considering the well-organized, long-range ideological, legal, and political motivations of radical terrorists who seek to impose their will on the entire world.

The United States of Jihad does provide a framework for addressing and even eliminating the homegrown, lone-wolf terrorist threat, but the work will be neither easy nor quick.

HISTORICAL

Cold War Counterfeit Spies: Tales of Espionage; Genuine or Bogus?, by Nigel West. (Frontline Books) 252, end-notes, index.

After World War II, accounts of espionage and der-ring-do became popular and sometimes profitable subjects in books by journalists and historians. Some were first-hand descriptions as, for example, Sir John Masterman's *The Double Cross System* (Yale University Press, 1972) and Ewen Montagu's *The Man Who Never Was* (Evans Bros., 1953). Others, such as William Stevenson's *The Man Called Intrepid* (Ballantine, 1976)—still in print—achieved lasting fame, while Josephine Butler's *Cyanide in My Shoe* (This London Books, 1991)—also published as *Churchill's Secret Agent* (Blaketon-Hall, 1983)—reached a smaller audience. Both exposed adventures that seemed too good to be true. Nigel West's 1998 book, *Counterfeit Spies* (St. Ermin's Press, 1998) showed that they, along with 15 other titles, were indeed largely fiction. In Butler's case, she had spent most of the war in Holloway Prison. (vii) Unhappily, this fondness for deceit and fabrication did not end with WWII stories.

Cold War Counterfeit Spies presents more than 20 published specimens in which fanciful invention is documented. *Official Assassin* (Phillips Publications, 1998) by

Peter Mason is typical. Mason claims, inter alia, to have been part of a team that sought out and executed without trial unpunished Nazi war criminals. He says he was also recruited by MI5 to penetrate the IRA in the 1950s (but Special Branch had the IRA responsibility at that time). Mason also describes an undercover mission that required entering East Germany through Checkpoint Charlie some years before the Wall was actually constructed. (8) He also makes numerous factual errors; for example, he identifies Cyril Mills as an MI6 officer, when it was well known Mills served MI5. None of Mason's adventures is documented.

Perhaps the most egregious example in *Cold War Counterfeit Spies* is found in *The Secret Lives of a Secret Agent* (Kultura Press, 2010) by Tim Crook, a purported biography of Brigadier Alexander Wilson, a onetime MI6 linguist and author of espionage fiction. West shows that Wilson was never a Brigadier, though he was a "serial bigamist"—four wives, children by each, unknown to each other until after his death—a philanderer, and a thief. Finally, Crook's claim that Wilson's books demonstrated

“inside knowledge of SIS” does not stand up to scrutiny. (212)

The most outrageous examples of phony Cold War intelligence “literature” are contained in four volumes written under the name (a pseudonym) Gregory Douglas.^a Among the fabrications he attempts to foist on the public are the claim the WWII Gestapo chief, Heinrich Mül-

a. Gregory Douglas, *Gestapo Chief: The 1948 Interrogation of Heinrich Müller* (James Bender Publishing, 1995).

George Washington’s Secret Spy War: The Making of America’s First Spymaster, by John A. Nagy. (St. Martin’s Press, 2016) 374, endnotes, bibliography, photos, index.

Much has been written about George Washington’s use of intelligence during the Revolutionary War; the late John Nagy himself contributed several other books on the subject.^b Nagy justifies this level of attention because Washington’s “skill as a spymaster provided for the opportunity to win the American Revolution and independence from Great Britain.” (1) (Whether the opportunity came first and Washington’s skills then increased the chances of victory is another matter.) In any case, *George Washington’s Secret Spy War* takes a different approach to the subject by focusing on how Washington acquired his intelligence skills.

Nagy’s account shows how Washington learned on the job when serving in the British army during the French and Indian War. His mission was to learn what the French were doing in British territory. To answer this question,

b. Before his death in April 2016, Mr. Nagy wrote prolifically on the American Revolutionary War. His four other books include *Dr. Benjamin Church, Spy: A Case of Espionage on the Eve of the American Revolution* (2013), *Spies in the Continental Capital: Espionage Across Pennsylvania During the American Revolution* (2011); *Invisible Ink: Spycraft of the American Revolution* (2011); and *Rebellion in the Ranks: Mutinies of the American Revolution* (2007), all published by Westholme Publishing.

House of Spies: St. Ermin’s Hotel, The London Base of British Espionage, by Peter Matthews. (The History Press, 2016) 285, bibliography, photos, index.

In his memoirs, *My Silent War* (MacGibbon and Kee, 1968), Kim Philby wrote that in the summer of 1940, he

was interviewed at the St. Ermin’s Hotel for a position in the Secret Intelligence Service (MI6). In retrospect,

Cold War Counterfeit Spies sends a strong message: fact checkers, beware!

common military sense necessitated sending scouts—Nagy calls them spies—into French territory and recruiting personnel working with the French—in some cases, Indians—who would provide additional, corroborating intelligence. Nagy gives details of Washington’s not-always-successful efforts during this period that have not been written about before, and in some cases his research identifies agents not previously known.

The balance of the book describes Washington’s gradual application of espionage, counterespionage, codes and secret writing, and deception during the Revolutionary War. At one point, he digresses a bit to show how similar deception techniques are still used today, giving WWII and Operation Desert Storm examples.

Nagy’s descriptions of Washington’s use of and personal involvement in intelligence operations during the Revolutionary War are interesting but they are not new—though his extensive footnotes do add material not mentioned elsewhere.

There can be no doubt that Washington’s inherent grasp of military intelligence was a positive factor in the success of the Army during the war. *George Washington’s Secret Spy War* is a fine summary of his contribution.

this was a signal event in the hotel's history. In addition to rooms for recruiting interviews, MI6 had other offices in St. Ermin's during World War II because the hotel was a block from its headquarters on Broadway (the offices were given up after the war). Thus the book's claim that the hotel—still in operation today—was, as its subtitle suggests, *the London Base of British Espionage* does not apply after World War II. This contradicts the dust jacket blurb that states, "St. Ermin's has been at the centre of British intelligence since the 1930s," adding that "Ian Fleming and Noel Coward were found to be in the hotel's bar." Neither is mentioned in the book.

Author Peter Matthews does not account for these discrepancies. Moreover, his book adds a few more of them—for example, the omission of Philby's recruitment story. Equally surprising, St. Ermin's itself is barely

mentioned in *House of Spies*. There is a chapter entitled "London Spies," that comments on "the Cambridge spy ring" and its "association with St. Ermin's Hotel," but no association is ever established in the book and the occasional mention of the hotel bar makes no reference to any espionage operations. The chapter does discuss the recruitment of the Cambridge spies by the Soviets, but those events did not involve the hotel in any way. In short, the book has too many inexcusable errors. These might have been avoided had source notes been provided.

The bulk of the book is devoted to intelligence matters in World War I, World War II, and the Cold War with only incidental mention of St Ermin's; interesting, but not on topic. *House of Spies* does not live up to the promise of its title.

The Man With The Poison Gun: A Cold War Spy Story, by Serhii Plokhy. (Basic Books, 2016) 365, endnotes, maps, index.

On 12 August 1961, Josef Lehmann and his wife Inge took an S-Bahn train in the Soviet zone of Berlin, got off in West Berlin, and turned themselves in to the police. The Wall went up the next day. As was the custom then, they were promptly turned over to the CIA Berlin base, where Josef gave his true name—Bogdan Stashinsky—and confessed to having murdered, under orders from the KGB, two Ukrainians émigrés, Lev Rebet and Stepan Bandera, with a special gun that shot acid in the victims' faces. After several months of interrogation, the skeptical CIA decided Stashinsky was no longer of use to them and returned the couple to the West German authorities, who verified their story. In a sensational public trial, Stashinsky was convicted of murder and sentenced to eight years.

This much of the Stashinsky case was told in a 1967 book by Karl Anders (true name: Hendrik van Bergh).^a Harvard professor of Ukrainian history, Serhii Plokhy, after examining recently released documents from the archives of several countries, adds much more to the story.

The Man With The Poison Gun describes what is now known and suspected about Stashinsky's life. There are brief comments about his childhood in Ukraine and his recruitment by the KGB. The assassinations he performed

are covered in detail from the KGB perspective with considerable emphasis on the tradecraft employed. Equally important is Plokhy's discussion of the Soviet political justification for eliminating the leaders of the Ukrainian autonomy movement and how Stashinsky's defection influenced Soviet assassination policy. Intermixed with all this, Plokhy describes how Stashinsky met his wife and how the murders contributed to their defection.

Some aspects of Stashinsky's life are still not well understood. In 1964 while in prison, he was interviewed by US senator Thomas Dodd about the KGB as background for the Kennedy assassination investigation, and links to Oswald that Plokhy considers improbable. Another puzzle is what followed after Stashinsky's unannounced early release from prison in 1967. The German press claimed he was met by the CIA (296) and Plokhy speculates about what might have happened to him, had he been turned over to James Angleton. (299) Another report says he was retrained in Germany and later resettled elsewhere.

Other stories about Stashinsky have surfaced from time to time since then. The most bizarre was the assertion by the KGB that his defection was a KGB-controlled operation all along, and that he had been rescued from South America and returned to the Soviet Union. Plokhy dismisses the claim and, citing reliable South African

a. Karl Anders, *Murder To Order* (Devon-Adair, 1967).

sources, writes that he was sent to live in South Africa—“he is probably still living there”—from where he reportedly made occasional visits to his boyhood home in Ukraine. (xiii)

The Man With The Poison Gun concludes with allegations by Plokhy that “both Soviet and American intelligence services in the 1950s and 1960s resorted to assassination in order to deal with the same phenomena—insurgency aroused by the weakening or disintegration of empires.” (320) No examples of US assassinations are

cited. Moreover, he suggests the Russians have continued this policy into the present and, to make his point, equates alleged FSB assassinations of Russian journalists and former FSB office Alexander Litvinenko with US drone operations in the Middle East, omitting any mention of 9/11.

Professor Plokhy has added many well documented details and some speculation to the Stashinsky story. Readers should value the former and treat the latter with caution.

A Season of Inquiry Revisited: The Church Committee Confronts America’s Spy Agencies, by Loch K. Johnson. (University of Kansas Press, 2015) 345, endnotes, chronology, index.

Loch Johnson was a special assistant to Senator Frank Church, chairman of the Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities—popularly known as the Church Committee. The investigations occurred during 1975–1976 and initially focused on, inter alia, charges of domestic spying, assassinations, and covert actions by the CIA. Senator Church soon expanded his charter to include the entire Intelligence Community and published a 14-volume report documenting the committee’s findings. In 1985, Johnson published his account of the committee’s work in book entitled *A Season of Inquiry* (Dorsey Press, 1985). It was, as Johnson claimed, a candid “warts and all” description of the investigations that did indeed prove to be “a benchmark in the history of intelligence oversight.” (272) The present edition adds a new foreword, a lengthy postscript, an updated chronology, and new organizational charts.

The foreword summarizes the reasons for the committee’s creation and the difficulties it encountered executing its mandate. The postscript adds perspective to what Johnson describes as “the high-water mark of intelligence accountability.” (285) It also reveals that Senator Church’s famous “rogue elephant” charge about the CIA originated with McGeorge Bundy. (290) He then reviews the Intel-

ligence Community principal investigations undertaken by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (SSCI), formed after the Church Committee was dissolved. Johnson’s intent is to demonstrate the value of oversight in holding the Intelligence Community to account, and he does that. Unfortunately, though, his lengthy description of the SSCI report on the CIA’s use of enhanced interrogation techniques as displaying “laudatory tenacity” reflects a disregard for the facts that is atypical of Johnson’s usual objectivity. He does note that “the intelligence agencies are vital to the security of the United States, and intelligence officers are among the brightest and most dedicated of America’s public service.” (291) This truth notwithstanding, his general conclusion is that “intelligence accountability should be taken more seriously—by lawmakers, presidents, and their presidential aides, judges, and most of all, the public.” (291) By “more seriously” perhaps he means as seriously as the Intelligence Community itself regards accountability.

For those unfamiliar with the tumultuous events of the intelligence services in the 1970s, *A Season of Inquiry Revisited* is worth close study. It presents a view of the intelligence profession from the outside and should be understood by all officers. A really valuable, firsthand contribution to the literature.

The Secret History of World War II: Spies, Code Breakers & Covert Operations, by Neil Kagan and Stephen G. Hyslop. (National Geographic, 2016) 352, bibliography, photos, index, with a foreword by Kenneth W. Rendell.

The phrase “secret history” appears frequently as part of book titles, despite the semantic inconsistency—un-

less, of course, the book itself is secret. What is no doubt intended in books about intelligence operations is that the

subject matter itself was once secret. That is certainly the case with *The Secret History of World War II*, an elegant, oversized volume with many color photographs and informative commentary discussing artifacts of WWII intelligence.

The wide variety of artifacts represent most countries that were involved in the war. Examples include a false-bottom baby carriage used to transport resistance radios; special cameras; agent documentation; war plans; Enigma machines; weapons; war posters; and photos of officers, agents, and the aircraft they used.

The acquisition adventures and present location of the artifacts is a story in itself. It is told in the book's foreword by Kenneth Rendell, founder and executive director of Boston's Museum of World War II that exhibits 7,500 of the half-million items in the collection; a selection from this collection appears in *The Secret History of World War II*. Although not mentioned in the book, Rendell is an expert in the forensic analysis that he applies to artifact provenance certification. He is most well-known

for his investigation of the so-called Hitler Diaries, which he revealed to be forgeries in 1983.^a

The commentary accompanying the artifacts is provided by the National Geographic editors, Neil Kagan and Stephen Hyslop, with help from experts like historian Ann Todd of the University of Texas, and military historians Lee Richards and Harris Andrews. They reveal Dr. Seuss's contribution to the war (52–53); add details about the Midway codebreaking (97–100); explore Josephine Baker's role in the resistance (140); describe the grizzly guillotine employed by the Gestapo; explain artifacts associated with OSS (there are pages devoted to Virginia Hall and Betty McIntosh) and SOE in resistance operations; and discuss artifacts linked to many espionage cases, to cite just a few informative aspects of the compendium.

The Secret History of World War II is a major contribution to intelligence history.

a. Kenneth Rendell, "Forgery—Uncovering The Hitler Hoax," *Newsweek* 16 May 1983.

Spies in Palestine: Love, Betrayal, and the Heroic Life of Sarah Aaronsohn, by James Srodes. (Counterpoint Press, 2016) 203, endnotes, photos, index.

It wasn't the pigeon's fault: the bird had been poorly trained and frequently stopped for food in unsafe areas on its way to British headquarters in Cairo. Discovered by the Turks in Palestine, the bird was found to be carrying a coded message, which confirmed suspicions that spies were operating in their midst. When Sarah Aaronsohn, then leader of the NILI^b spies, learned of the pigeon's fate, she killed the remaining birds—but it was too late.

In *Spies in Palestine*, James Srodes (author of a fine biography of Allen Dulles^c) tells the NILI story. He begins with Ephraim and Malka Aaronsohn, who emigrated from Romania to Syria-Palestine—then part of the Ottoman Empire—in the late 1800s with their six-year-old son, Aaron, and other Jewish Zionists. They spoke neither Arabic nor Turkish, but working with the local Arabs, they established what gradually became a prosperous

settlement named Zichron Ya'akov, just south of Haifa. Ephraim was an agronomist, a skill at which Aaron later became an expert. After Aaron developed a strain of wheat that survived well in the harsh conditions, he attracted worldwide scientific recognition and financial support from wealthy French and Americans. By the start of World War I, the Aaronsohns had three more sons and two girls, Sarah and Rivka.

The war changed life in Zichron Ya'akov socially, economically, and politically when Turkey sided with Germany and began military actions aimed at the Suez Canal, and later against the British advance into Palestine. Srodes explains how these events led to what became the NILI spy network, initially headed by Aaron, which provided key order-of-battle intelligence to the British in Cairo in anticipation of their support for the Zionist goal of a Jewish homeland. When Aaron went to work with the British in Cairo, Sarah took over the network. Srodes describes the challenges she faced, both personal and operational.

b. NILI is an acronym taken from *1 Samuel, 15:29*, "the Eternity of Israel will not lie": *Netzach Israel lo Ieshaker* (NILI).

c. James Srodes, *Allen Dulles: Master of Spies* (Regnery, 1999).

Spies in Palestine offers much praise for the NILI spies, but little concrete information as to the effects of their efforts—though at times Srodes suggests these effects were more important than those of Lawrence of Arabia and the Arab revolt he led. What tradecraft is alluded to is amateurish, but of course that is just what they were: a family of spies learning on the job, with little support from other Jewish settlers in the area who feared Turkish reprisals.

That the NILI network endured over two years was due as much to Turkish corruption and ineptitude as to NILI luck and determination. When the Turks finally came to Zichron Ya'akov and began torturing the inhabitants to learn what they had revealed to the British, those who knew said nothing—and Sarah chose suicide rather than the torture she feared she could not withstand.

The story of the NILI spies has been told before and Srodes adds little new.^a But he does deal with some of

a. Anita Engle, *The NILI Spies* (Frank Cass, 1997).

The Spies of Winter: The GCHQ Codebreakers Who Fought the Cold War, by Sinclair McKay. (Aurum Press, Ltd., 2016) 345, endnotes, photos, index.

In 1901, Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* popularized the "Great Game" as a reference to classical espionage and the geopolitical confrontation between Russia and Great Britain. In *The Spies of Winter* journalist Sinclair McKay employs the term to describe two different forms of the British-Soviet Cold War relationship: chess and codebreaking. He deals with chess mainly in the prologue and the final chapter where codebreaker and chess amateur Hugh Alexander takes on two Soviet grand masters in 1954. The balance of the book is devoted to how British—and, to a lesser extent, American—wartime codebreaking programs evolved to meet early Cold War threats.

McKay's approach does not include the details of codebreaking; rather, he concentrates on the people who did the work and the practical challenges they overcame. Many of them, for example, Joan Clarke, a brilliant Cambridge university mathematician and one-time fiancé of Alan Turing, had worked at Bletchley Park during the war. In telling her story and others, he flashes back to the Bletchley experience to provide background. The

the myths about Sarah; for example, he revisits "one of the tantalizing puzzles of the Sarah Aaronsohn story . . . [which was] the widely believed romance with T. E. Lawrence [of Arabia]." (ix) That myth grew in part out of speculation that the "S.A." to whom Lawrence dedicated his book *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom* was Sarah. "Widely believed" is a stretch, and Srodes himself adds doubt to the dedication and romance stories by repeating an undocumented fable by author Douglas Duff. Duff claimed that when he met Lawrence in 1935, Lawrence asked him if Duff had dedicated a book to Sarah Aaronsohn. When Duff said he had, Lawrence noted it was strange that "both of us [have] a book dedicated to her, without either of us having seen her alive." (189) That Duff ever met Lawrence is extremely doubtful, and the book he dedicated to Sarah was published after Lawrence's death.

For those unfamiliar with the NILI spy story, *Spies in Palestine* is fine account of their contributions and testament to the bravery of Sarah Aaronsohn.

practical challenges McKay deals with include Clarke's decision to remain in government service; the difficulties associated with moving twice to new and improved quarters, when Bletchley Park proved inadequate; securing financial support; and the bureaucratic conflicts over who would have government responsibility for codebreaking.

In addition to the general techniques of codebreaking and the difficulties of signal collection, McKay considers the everyday professional challenges involved in operational security at a time when some Soviet codes were actually being broken. On the other hand, circumstances were complicated because Soviet agents had penetrated both British and American governments. McKay's discussions of the now-familiar penetrations of Fuchs, Philby, Burgess, Blake, and Melita Norwood (whom he persists in calling double agents—but they were just Soviet agents) are not always accurate. For example, he attributes to American Elizabeth Bentley and Kim Philby the exposure of the Venona secret to the Soviets. In fact, Bentley had merely passed on agent rumors and Philby learned of the program a year after the real culprit,

American Army officer William Weisband, had passed on hard facts in 1948. After Weisband's reporting, "all Soviet systems were changed, overnight, on 29 October 1948," ending British and American access. (229) McKay does describe the partially successful operations undertaken to

restore the capability in the years before satellites changed everything.

There is little new in *The Spies of Winter*, but for those unfamiliar with the early Cold War cryptologic story, it provides a well written introduction.

The Spy Who Couldn't Spell: A Dyslexic Traitor, an Unbreakable Code, and the FBI's Hunt for America's Stolen Secrets, by Yudhijit Bhattacharjee. (New American Library, 2016) 304, endnotes, photos, index.

In the fall of 2000, Air Force master sergeant Brian Regan decided to enhance his retirement nest egg by selling secrets he acquired while assigned to the NRO. Toward that end he prepared an encrypted proposal, separate decryption instructions, and a separate key. Next, he wrote a clear-text letter with contact and dissemination details. He then created three packages—for security reasons—each containing classified documents, portions of the encrypted material and additional coded- and clear-text instructions. Finally, he mailed the packages to the Libyan consulate in New York. That is when everything began to go wrong—though he didn't realize it.

in returning to the NRO as a contractor after retirement, but not sufficiently to solve his financial problems.

Meanwhile, the FBI traced the intercepted documents Regan had sent to the Libyan consulate to his computer at the NRO and he was placed under surveillance in April 2001. Bhattacharjee reveals how the FBI—with NRO cooperation—recorded Regan's copying top secret documents at work. Their hope was to catch him passing the material to a foreign agent, but when instead he scheduled a flight to Libya (he told others he was going to Orlando), they arrested him on a people-mover at Dulles Airport.

The person who received the packages at the consulate was an FBI informant who turned the material over to the New York field office; the FBI was thus able to decrypt some of the instructions. A special agent in Washington assigned to the case soon discovered that whoever prepared the material could not spell. *The Spy Who Couldn't Spell* describes the lengthy investigation that led to Regan.

While readers might expect a conviction to be a "slam dunk," the FBI wasn't satisfied. Regan was found guilty only of mishandling of classified documents. A charge of attempted espionage was pre-empted because the documents he had mailed to the embassy could not be used as evidence, in order to protect the informant. Moreover, they wanted to recover the thousands of documents—paper and digital—he had buried in parks, and Regan would only reveal their location in exchange for a much reduced sentence. In what is one of the most fascinating parts of the book, Bhattacharjee tells how the FBI overcame these obstacles.

By way of background, journalist Yudhijit Bhattacharjee explains what led Regan down the path of self-destruction. He reviews Regan's troubled childhood and the dyslexia that plagued his life, and he tells how Regan managed to overcome his disability enough to join the Air Force, rise to a senior enlisted rank, be commended for his leadership, and then assigned to a trusted position at the National Reconnaissance Office (NRO). Along the way, Regan married, had children, and seemed to establish a normal lifestyle. But once at the NRO where the staff was better educated and higher in grade, he became reclusive and began to demonstrate personality traits that led his colleagues to regard him as an oddball. At the same time, his wife was spending more than he could afford and his pending retirement offered little hope of improvement. It was then that he began copying documents, which he concealed in his basement and later buried in local parks. Things looked up briefly when he succeeded

Regan was sentenced to life in prison in March 2003, but the story doesn't end there. Part of the sentencing agreement required Regan to reveal the 12 locations of the buried documents, but some of the locations came up empty: his dyslexia had struck again, and it turned out that he'd reversed some numerals in the coded coordinates that identified the burial sites. *The Spy Who Couldn't Spell* is an attention-grabbing, well told espionage story with only one major flaw: there are no source notes. Bhattacharjee does identify the FBI agents and the other participants interviewed, noting that he also used court documents—but he does not cite them. Fortunately, most are available on the web. Overall, the book is a case study well worth reading.

Spymaster: The Life of Britain's Most Decorated Cold War Spy and Head of MI6, Sir Maurice Oldfield, by Martin Pearce. (Bantam Press, 2016) 389, endnotes, bibliography, photos, index.

Sir Maurice Oldfield was born in the Derbyshire Peak district of England on 16 November 1915 to a family of farmers. The oldest of 10 brothers and sisters, he was educated locally and won a scholarship in 1934 to study at Manchester University. In June 1941 he was called for military duty and served most of the war in Cairo with military intelligence, initially as a private. He was soon commissioned and transferred to the Security Intelligence Middle East (SIME), an element of MI5, where one of his subordinates was Alistair (later Sir) Horne (author of *A Savage War of Peace* (Macmillan, 1977), about the Algerian insurgency). Oldfield ended the war as a lieutenant colonel, MBE, and, having decided he liked the work, in 1947 joined the counterintelligence section of the Secret Intelligence Service (MI6). In 1973 he was appointed "C", the chief of MI6. *Spymaster* looks at the man, his professional career, and his final assignment, undertaken at the request of the prime minister, Margaret Thatcher.

Author Martin Pearce is Sir Maurice's grandnephew; his grandmother was "Uncle M"'s sister. Growing up, Pearce met his uncle during visits home from his uncle's many travels and recalls discussions about the places on the postcards Sir Maurice had sent. He first learned of his uncle's intelligence work when Kim Philby mentioned "the formidable Maurice Oldfield" (244) in his memoir, *My Silent War* (MacGibbon and Kee, 1968). In 1985, one of Sir Maurice's journalist friends, Richard Deacon, published a biography of Oldfield^a that Pearce found "something of a disappointment" (2) because it "didn't describe the person I knew"—so he decided to do it himself.

Pearce's main sources were family stories, passports, diaries, and letters Oldfield was careful to give to family members so they would not end up in MI6's archives. He also relied on media coverage, interviews with former colleagues, and his many journalist friends.

a. Richard Deacon, 'C': *A Biography of Sir Maurice Oldfield Head of MI6* (Macdonald, 1985).

Pearce is able to document Oldfield's many assignments, the important cases in which he was involved, and the bureaucratic skirmishes he overcame. Oldfield's time as head of station in Washington will be of interest to US readers. To put his CIA colleagues at ease, Oldfield voluntarily underwent a polygraph examination. When he was asked, "Are you now or have you ever been a practicing homosexual?", he lied—but he passed the test. (183) Pearce's claim that Oldfield "was the conduit for the voluminous intelligence HERO" (Penkovsky) (199) was providing—among other events said to have occurred during Oldfield's time in Washington—is not supported by other accounts.

Pearce portrays Oldfield as ebullient, incisive, subtle, and quietly professional. These descriptions are the strong point of the book. His too-frequent comparisons of Oldfield to James Bond and George Smiley, however, get a bit tiresome, though he accepts David Cornwell's statement that Oldfield was not his Smiley model.

When Pearce turns to historical events to bolster his story, he is frequently incorrect. For example, William Melville did not "found the Secret Service Bureau" (21); Philby's father never became "head of British intelligence in Palestine" (88); Philby did not teach "Angleton all he knew" (93); and the CIA's Bill Harvey was not the first "to publicly air the link between Burgess and Philby." (127)

Oldfield's final assignment as coordinator of intelligence in Northern Ireland led to his exposure as a homosexual shortly before his death. While Pearce does not attempt to diminish the impact this had on his reputation, he does point out that it was Oldfield's honesty (admitting that he had previously lied about it) that did the damage.

Spymaster presents the best account to date of a very professional and skilled intelligence officer and is an important contribution to the literature.

True Believer: Stalin's Last American Spy, by Kati Marton. (Simon & Schuster, 2016) 288, endnotes, bibliography, photos, index.

May, 1949, found one-time American diplomat Noel Field in Prague where he had gone to pursue a teaching opportunity. His wife Herta remained in Geneva. When Field's letters stopped, she called his brother Hermann, then in Italy, and they went to Prague to find out why. When Herta's foster daughter, Erica Glaser, tried to contact the Fields, she got no response so she went to Berlin to enlist the help of a wartime friend. Neither the Fields nor Erica were heard from again for five years. *True Believer* explains why.

The basics of Noel Field's story have been told before, but author Kati Marton adds new particulars based on material released after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Interestingly, the author's parents, Endre and Illona Marton, were the only journalists ever to interview Field, in Budapest after the Hungarian Revolution.

Marton traces Field's life from his birth to Quaker parents in London (1904), to his early education in Switzerland (where he first met Allen Dulles), and his college life at Harvard where he graduated with honors. By the 1930s he had married his childhood sweetheart and was a rising star in the foreign service. He was also on a "path to an alternate faith"—communism—and began addressing his mother as "Comrade Nina." (45)

True Believer describes Field's recruitment as a Soviet agent by Hede Massing and his contacts with communist coworkers Larry Duggan and Alger Hiss—links that would later seriously complicate his life. Marton goes on to explain his decision to leave the foreign service in 1936 for the League of Nations Disarmament Section, where he could work for world peace. But he also agreed to continue his work for the Soviets, and Massing arranged for him to support Soviet officers Ignace Reiss and Walter Krivitsky in several nasty operations. During the Spanish Civil War, the Fields helped anti-fascist refugees escape Franco's forces, which is when he and Herta met a

young teenager, Erica Glaser, who would live with them in Switzerland throughout World War II, eventually join the OSS, and marry an Army officer. Marton claims Field also worked for Allen Dulles during the war, a claim that has skeptics.

After the war, Field, knowing Krivitsky had defected, had no doubt Krivitsky had revealed to the FBI Field's role as a Soviet agent. In fact, others—including Massing—had also disclosed this information. Worse, his friend Alger Hiss had become the subject of a congressional espionage investigation, and if Field returned, he knew he, too, would be charged and required to testify against Hiss. Thus, he remained in Switzerland until he received the May, 1949, job offer from Prague—a ruse that led to his arrest, disappearance, and imprisonment in Budapest.

As Field would later learn, Stalin had had Field arrested so his putative links to Dulles and the OSS could be used to show Field was the leader of an anti-Soviet espionage network during the war. He was forced to acknowledge his guilt and to testify against Stalin's targets in a show trial that purged Hungarian communists. Five years later, thanks to a Polish defector to the CIA who had arrested Hermann in Warsaw and knew the fate of the Fields in Hungary, their story became public. Only then did Noel learn that Herta had also been a prisoner in the same jail; both were released, as was Hermann. The Fields remained in Budapest, ever the loyal communists, until their deaths. Hermann returned to the West. Erica, who had been in a Soviet gulag that kept her from raising a public fuss, was released a year later. She returned to her family in Warrenton, Virginia, where she taught in a local school.

True Believer reveals the power and dangers of total commitment to a radical political cause and offers many parallels to current events.

The Winter Fortress: The Epic Mission to Sabotage Hitler's Atomic Bomb, by Neal Bascomb. (Houghton Mifflin, 2016) 378, endnotes, bibliography, photos, index.

The 1965 British movie, *The Heroes of Telemark* starred Kirk Douglas and Richard Harris. It told how the

Norwegian resistance working with SOE destroyed the plant manufacturing heavy water intended for use in

making an atomic bomb in Vemork, Norway, in 1943. But the movie didn't tell the whole story. A number of memoirs and movies told other versions, but none was anchored in official accounts of the operation that author Neal Bascomb used to write *The Winter Fortress*.

There were several unsuccessful joint—British and Norwegian—attempts to destroy the heavy water plant at Vemork, and Bascomb deals with each one. The first, Operation Freshman, tried to use gliders to land commandos who would then destroy the plant. It failed when one plane had to return to Britain and the other crash-landed in the wrong location. The Norwegian team awaiting the commandos survived. The glider troops who survived the crash were caught, tortured, and shot by the Germans. A second attempt, Operation Grouse, involved four Norwegian resistance fighters who succeeded in penetrating the plant itself and destroying, with a bomb, a key portion of the facility. While the plant shut down production and the commandos escaped, the Nazis soon had it back in operation. Then the US Air Force, without informing the Norwegians as previously promised, attempted to bomb the plant, but they hit only the surrounding city, causing civilian casualties. The Norwegian headquarters in London complained about not being informed; US planners apologized for missing the target but would not promise not to try again: civilian casualties are an unfortunate consequence when fighting a war to win. (272–274)

The final attempt was carried out by the resistance when the Nazis decided to ship what heavy water there was to Germany. A Norwegian team placed a bomb on the ferry that was carrying the heavily protected cargo and it sank in the middle of a deep lake as described in the *Telemark* film. The saboteurs realized the danger to civilian passengers; not all survived.

The Winter Fortress gives a thorough account of these operations, and more. Bascomb also includes the personal stories of the operatives and their families in Norway and Britain. He discusses the contributions by British and US planners and air crews based in England. Finally, he considers the impact of the Vemork operations on the German and Allies' atomic bomb programs.

In the epilogue, Bascomb reviews what happened to the key players after the war. Most went quietly back to their former lives, though he notes that things were never quite the same. One of them, Knut Haukelid, became Thor Heyerdahl's radio operator on the Kon-Tiki expedition.

The details in some of the other versions of the Vemork operations differ from those presented by Bascomb, but they are not as well documented. *The Winter Fortress* is the definitive account to date.

REFERENCE

The Handbook of European Intelligence Cultures, edited by Bob de Graaff and James M. Nyce with Chelsea Locke. (Rowman & Littlefield, 2016) 450, end of chapter notes, index.

Knowledge of a nation's government and intelligence community has become a basic requirement for those concerned with world politics and commerce. But until recently, as noted by editors Bob de Graaff and James Nyce, nations studied in the literature are limited in number, and authors tend to presume a "hierarchy that equates a nation's size and/or economic value with the quality of its intelligence service." (xxx) Thus with just a few exceptions, "in spite of the growing number of intelligence studies, academic and public knowledge seems to begin and end with America, the United Kingdom, and Russia." (xxxii)

The Handbook of European Intelligence Cultures is intended to remedy that problem. It presents papers about the intelligence communities and services of 32 European nations that have received varying amounts of attention in Western/English intelligence literature: Albania, Austria, Belgium, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Montenegro, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Ukraine, and the United Kingdom. Including the UK makes possible a useful comparison and updates recent British studies. The 40 contributors are academics who

have written extensively about intelligence. At least eight have intelligence service experience.

In the very informative introduction, the editors review the intelligence literature and discuss the guidance provided to the contributors—parameters intended to establish a basis for comparing intelligence communities and services in the 32 countries. Each article describes an intelligence service and that service’s interaction with its

social and political environment. The former Soviet Bloc nations are of particular interest since so little has been published about them in English.

The original papers in *The Handbook of European Intelligence Cultures* (perhaps the word *Sourcebook* would be a better descriptor) are a major contribution to the intelligence literature.

