

PARTICIPANTS (IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER)

THE AUSTRALIANS

DR DESMOND BALL is an Australian academic who is now internationally acknowledged as an expert on nuclear war strategy. A frequent speaker at European and American conferences on strategic matters, he has also done consultancy work for the Rand Corporation and the Pentagon. He is the foremost authority outside Government on the US defence facilities in Australia, which were the subject of his book *A Suitable Piece Of Real Estate*. His other publications include *Can Nuclear War Be Controlled? (Adelphi Paper)*, *Politics And Force Levels: The Strategic Missile Program Of The Kennedy Administration*. He is presently Senior Fellow at the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University.

DR JOHN BURTON is an authority on the theory of international relations. He joined the Australian Department of External Affairs in 1941, served briefly as private secretary to the Minister, Dr H V Evatt, and was appointed head of the department at the age of 32. Soon after he took up that post, he discovered the existence of a secret group of the most senior intelligence officers (whom he dubbed the Gnomes of Melbourne) bound by oath to conceal national security secrets from ministers. He opposed the establishment of ASIO in 1949, and later produced evidence that some of the supposedly valuable material supplied by the defector Petrov had been provided for him by ASIO. He was moved by the Menzies Government in 1950 from Secretary of the Department to High Commissioner in Ceylon, and resigned the next year to contest — unsuccessfully — a Federal parliamentary seat as a Labor candidate.

DAVID COMBE was National Secretary of the Australian Labor Party from 1973 to 1981, and previously worked for South Australian Premier Don Dunstan. After leaving his ALP position, he set up as a lobbyist in Canberra. In 1983 the Hawke Government barred him from official contact with ministers because of his association with a Soviet official, Valeriy Ivanov, who was expelled for espionage.

CLYDE CAMERON was ALP member for the Federal electorate of Hindmarsh from 1949 to 1980. Before that, he was a sheep shearer and trade union official in South Australia. As a senior minister in the Labor Government (1972-75) he crossed swords several times with Prime Minister Whitlam. He has published one book, *China, Communism And Coca Cola*, and further memoirs are promised.

BRIAN DAY, a former Australian Army Warrant Officer, did two tours of duty in Vietnam. As a member of the Australian Army Training Team in 1971-72, he worked with irregular Montagnard units in the Central Highlands as part of CORDS (the Civilian Operations Revolutionary Development Staff), a joint CIA-State Department operation. CORDS ran the so called "black teams", special assassination squads in which Australians took part.

SIR JOHN GORTON held a number of ministerial posts including Navy and Defence before he was elected Prime Minister in 1968 following the death of Harold Holt. He was defeated as Liberal Party leader in March 1971, to be replaced by Sir William McMahon. One of the most colourful figures in Australian politics, he was noted for his frank and forthright statements. He was Prime Minister when the US satellite station at Pine Gap commenced operations, but later told an interviewer, "I don't even know what Pine Gap is all about. I didn't then. I could have asked but it didn't arise. I didn't ask about it".

JOHN GRENVILLE joined the National Civic Council in 1957, the year after he left school, and then became a member of the Democratic Labor Party. His union activities included research officer and later Assistant Secretary of the Melbourne Trades Hall, and in 1973 Federal Secretary of the Clerks Union. He knew most of the US Embassy Labor Attaches, who were usually CIA officers, in close contact with the rightwing NCC. He relates an incident in 1969 involving Bob Hawke, the US Labor Attache, Emil Lindahl, and US trade union leader Harry Goldberg. It was Goldberg who in 1950 wrote a report on Australia for the CIA which said: "The vermin have infiltrated more extensively into the labor movement than I thought . . . More attention must be paid to it."

SIR WILLIAM McMAHON was closely involved in Australia's contribution to the Vietnam war as Minister for Foreign Affairs (1969-71) and Prime Minister (1971-72). His government was defeated by the ALP under Gough Whitlam in December 1972, and he remained on the back benches of Federal Parliament until his retirement from politics in 1981.

ALAN RENOUF had held five ambassadorial appointments when the Whitlam Government put him in charge of the Department of Foreign Affairs in 1973. In 1976, he was posted as Ambassador to the United States, where he worked until his retirement in 1979. Author of *The Frightened Country*, a critical appraisal of the development of Australian foreign policy.

JOHN ROWE was a professional soldier for fifteen years. After active service in the Malayan Emergency, Kashmir and Borneo, he was posted to Vietnam in 1965 as an Intelligence Officer with the United States 173rd Airborne Brigade. He was later attached to the US Defense Intelligence Agency in Washington. He resigned from the Army with the rank of Major after the publication of his controversial first novel, *Count Your Dead*. He also wrote an Australian political novel, *McCabe PM*.

FRANCIS PHILIP (TED) SERONG retired from the Australian Army in 1970 with the rank of Brigadier, but for several years before and after that date he worked for the Americans and South Vietnamese governments in Vietnam. He commanded the first Australian Army Training Team that went to Vietnam in 1962, and enhanced his reputation as an expert in counter insurgency. Brigadier Ted Serong is a Chevalier of the National Order of Vietnam, he received the Vietnam Medal of Honour, the Vietnam Cross of Gallantry and the Order of Psychological Warfare.

SIR KEITH SHANN was Australian Ambassador to Indonesia from 1962 to 1966, the last years of President Sukarno's rule. A career diplomat, he previously served at the United Nations and in London and the Philippines, where he was Ambassador from 1956 to 1959. He was appointed Ambassador to Tokyo in 1974, and in 1977 he left the Department of Foreign Affairs to become chairperson of the Public Service Board in Canberra. Now in retirement, he does some consultancy work for Australian business people seeking openings in Asia.

SIR CHARLES SPRY spent twenty years at the helm of the Australian Security and Intelligence Organisation (1950-1969). He had been Director of Military Intelligence for four years when the Menzies Government selected him to take over ASIO — then only a year old — from its

founding Director General, Justice Reed, who had been appointed by the Labor Government under Chifley. Spry put a military stamp on the nation's civilian security service for what were in effect the first two decades of its existence. He also guided ASIO into an intimate relationship with the United States intelligence community. Former CIA chief of counter intelligence, James Angleton, said in an ABC interview in 1978: "J Edgar Hoover (director of the FBI) held Sir Charles Spry in great esteem. He was one of the few foreigners who was always welcome in his office, at a moment's notice."

MICHAEL THWAITES joined the fledgeling Australian Security Intelligence Organisation in 1950 and served for

twenty years. He was the ASIO case officer for Vladimir Petrov, the Soviet official who defected in 1954, and was the ghost writer for the Petrovs' book, *Empire Of Fear*. He has also published an autobiography, *Truth Will Out*, and a book of poetry, *Poems Of War And Peace*, under his own name.

PETER YOUNG was a military intelligence officer in Vietnam, retiring from the army with the rank of Major. He has subsequently worked in business and journalism, and is currently a commentator on defence matters for press and television.

THE AMERICANS

CHRISTOPHER BOYCE was a disillusioned 21 year old when he went to work for a Californian aerospace company, TRW Systems, in 1974. The company built satellites for the CIA, including the Rhyolite and Argus systems designed for use with the Australian ground station at Pine Gap. He handled coded communications between TRW (codenamed "Pedal"), CIA headquarters at Langley, Virginia ("Pilot") and Pine Gap at Alice Springs ("Merino"). With a childhood friend, Daulton Lee, he launched into a two year career of espionage, supplying Soviet officials with details of the CIA's space program. At his trial in 1977, he claimed that one motive for his treason was the discovery that the CIA was deceiving its ally: "In my briefing for the communication room, I learned about the way we would practise day-to-day deception in our transmissions to the 'Australians,'" he told the court. As Gough Whitlam said in Parliament at the time, "One does not condone Boyce's activities, but one cannot ignore his evidence . . . he was a man in the know".

EDWARD (ED) CLARK was sent as US Ambassador to Australia by President Lyndon B Johnson, a post he held from 1965 to 1968. He was previously a corporation lawyer in Texas, and a longtime personal friend and political associate of LBJ.

DR RAY S CLINE was a professional intelligence officer for thirty years starting with the Office of Strategic Services and rising through the ranks of the CIA to become Deputy Director for Intelligence, and later head of the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research. He visited Australia many times and considers himself a good friend of the Australians. Ronald Reagan hired him as an adviser on national security at the start of his presidency. He has now returned to the Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Georgetown, Washington DC. Author of *Secrets, Spies And Scholars*, recently reissued as *The CIA Under Reagan, Bush And Casey*.

WILLIAM COLBY joined the CIA in the 1950s to conduct covert operations in Sweden and Italy. He was chief of the CIA station in Rome 1953-58, a key period of CIA interference in Italian domestic politics. In his autobiography, *Honorable Men*, Colby describes how he channelled millions

of dollars to rightwing parties in the 1958 Italian elections. He was station chief in Vietnam, and later headed the "pacification" campaign which included the bloody Phoenix Operation. In 1972 he was appointed Director of Central Intelligence, the top job in the US intelligence community. On November 2, 1975, President Ford asked for his resignation, but he agreed to stay on until George Bush was sworn in as his successor on January 3, 1976.

DR DANIEL ELLSBERG was a Defense Department whiz kid (ex-Harvard and Cambridge Universities) who turned against American policy in Vietnam. His leaking of a secret 7000 page history of US involvement, *The Pentagon Papers*, (which he had helped to compile) drew public attention to official blunders and deception. Legal charges against him were dropped during the Watergate scandal when it was revealed that White House burglars had stolen his medical files from his psychiatrist's office. He once described the classified information provided to governments as "a magic potion that turns ordinary human beings into arrogant, contemptuous menaces to democracy".

MARSHALL GREEN was the most senior American career diplomat ever sent to Australia as Ambassador. He arrived in early 1973, and left in mid 1975. A former US Ambassador to Indonesia (1965-69), he served as Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and the Pacific under Nixon and Kissinger. From 1970 to 1972, Kissinger's memoirs relate, Green fell out with the White House over a number of issues, including China and Cambodia, and Nixon specifically excluded him from his talks with Mao and Chou in 1972 because he suspected him of leaking. William Shawcross, in his authoritative book on the Cambodian war, *Sideshow*, reports that Green argued strongly against the extension of the US war to Cambodia in 1972, and this was "ruinous to his career". "His dissent infuriated the White House, and as a result he was subsequently denied the one job for which he had trained himself for years, Ambassador to Japan," Shawcross writes. Instead, he came to Canberra.

EDWARD LANSDALE was a legendary figure in the 1950s and '60s when, under CIA auspices, he did battle against local insurgencies in the Philippines and Vietnam. Formerly in advertising, he became an expert in psychological warfare

and "black operations" (atrocities attributable to the enemy), and rose to the rank of US Air Force General. In 1954 he was sent to Saigon as first Chief of the US Military Advisory and Assistance Group and played a crucial role in building up support for President Ngo Dinh Diem. He also served as special assistant to the US Ambassador in Saigon in the mid '60s. His idealistic crusade against communism in Asia made him the model for the heroic Colonel Hillendale in the best selling novel *The Ugly American*, and he also inspired the character of the well intentioned but dangerous hero in Graham Greene's novel of Vietnam in the '50s, *The Quiet American*.

RALPH McGEHEE was a CIA officer for twenty-five years (1952-77), serving in Japan, Taiwan, the Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam, as well as CIA headquarters at Langley, Virginia. His chiefs in the East Asia Division included William Colby and Ted Shackley. From 1973-77 he worked in the International Communism Division at Langley, where he was custodian of a highly classified report describing the role of the CIA in the Indonesian coup of 1965. When he tried to write about this report in his recent book, *Deadly Deceits*, the CIA censored all details of its involvement. Upon his retirement, he was awarded the Career Intelligence Medal for conspicuous achievement throughout his CIA career.

VICTOR MARCHETTI was on the CIA staff for fourteen years, rising to the rank of executive assistant to the Deputy Director. His book *The CIA And The Cult Of Intelligence* (co-authored by John Marks) changed public attitudes towards the CIA when it was published in 1974. Marchetti disclosed no secret ongoing CIA operations or names of agents (thus disarming those critics who sought to label him irresponsible), but his insider's account of the Agency's power and incompetence introduced a new element of scepticism into public thinking about intelligence services. He lives in Virginia, not far from CIA headquarters, and lives by writing and lecturing – occasionally on the same platform as CIA defenders such as William Colby.

DR GUY PAUKER first went to Indonesia in 1955 as an academic researcher. Later he joined the staff of the Rand Corporation, the major think tank for the US Government on defence and security, becoming head of the Asia Section. He also gave a number of briefings to the former Prime Minister, Malcolm Fraser. His long experience in Indonesia has led him to the view that "the military are likely to be the major modernising force and the major source of managerial skills".

FLETCHER PROUTY is a retired US Air Force colonel. From 1955-1964, he was responsible for Pentagon support for the CIA – logistics, cover and equipment. Since he is not bound by the secrecy oath taken by CIA employees, he openly voices concern about the methods and policies of the Agency. He is regularly called upon to give evidence to

US Congressional committees probing national security. Author of *The Secret Team* (1974).

THEODORE (TED) SHACKLEY, who would not agree to be interviewed for *Allies*, is one of the most controversial figures in the US intelligence community. His name has recently been linked with those of Edwin Wilson and Frank Terpil, the notorious CIA graduates who sold weapons and expertise to foreign terrorist regimes. Shackley and Wilson were also connected with the shadowy Task Force 157, a free wheeling intelligence team that is believed to have operated in Australia. He first made a name for himself in 1962 as head of the CIA's Miami-based operation against Castro (practising such "dirty tricks" as contaminating Cuban export sugar), then as station chief in Saigon (1969-72), where he supervised the supply of millions of dollars to South Vietnamese politicians to neutralise opposition to President Thieu. Appointed chief of the CIA East Asia Division in 1973, his assessments of the Vietnam situation proved consistently wrong. He achieved unwelcome notoriety as author of the (leaked) message to ASIO in November 1975 warning that the Whitlam Government was threatening the intelligence relationship between ASIO and CIA.

FRANK SNEPP was the CIA's chief strategy analyst in Vietnam when Saigon fell in 1975 – an event long forecast by the Agency. The CIA station chief, in recommending him for the Intelligence Medal of Merit, wrote: "During the most critical final days of the American presence in Vietnam, Mr Snepp turned in a kind of performance which I have never seen equalled nor even approximated during my long years with US Intelligence". Soon after, he wrote a highly praised book, *Decent Interval*, on the bungling and inhumanity of US officialdom in the final days of the war. Although he revealed neither CIA names nor operations, his book was the subject of legal action by the CIA, which now receives the proceeds from the best seller. His duties since his first Vietnam posting in 1969 included running networks of Vietnamese agents and informers, and briefing American and allied ambassadors on the CIA's assessment of the war.

RICHARD LEE STALLINGS became an unwilling focus of controversy in November 1975 when publicity about his former role as head of the Joint Defence Space Research Facility at Alice Springs (better known as Pine Gap), revealed that it was a CIA installation. He had also rented a house from the leader of the Country Party, Douglas Anthony, which led Prime Minister Whitlam to accuse his political opponent of "taking CIA money". He was the author, with Victor Marchetti, of the secret annex to the Pine Gap treaty between the US and Australia. He later told Marchetti that Anthony had offered him a job when he left Pine Gap. By 1975 he had retired to Hawaii in poor health, and has since successfully avoided all interviews.