Also by Phillip Knightley

THE SECOND OLDEST PROFESSION
The Spy as Bureaucrat, Patriot, Fantasist and Whore

THE FIRST CASUALTY
From the Crimea to Vietnam, the War Correspondent as Hero, Propagandist and Myth-maker

THE VESTEY AFFAIR

THE DEATH OF VENICE
(co-author)

SUFFER THE CHILDREN
The Story of Thalidomide
(co-author)

THE SECRET LIVES OF LAWRENCE OF ARABIA
(co-author)

PHILBY THE SPY WHO BETRAYED A GENERATION
(co-author)

AN AFFAIR OF STATE

THE PROFUMO CASE AND THE FRAMING OF STEPHEN WARD

Phillip Knightley
and
Caroline Kennedy

JONATHAN CAPE
THIRTY-TWO BEDFORD SQUARE
LONDON

For Elisar, Mayumi, Jasmine, Aliya, Marisa and Kim –
and for Stephen Ward

First published 1987
Copyright © 1987 by Phillip Knightley and Caroline Kennedy

Jonathan Cape Ltd, 32 Bedford Square, London WC1B 3EL

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Knightley, Phillip
An affair of state: the Profumo case and
the framing of Stephen Ward
1. Profumo, John D. 2. Ward, Stephen
3. Great Britain—Politics and government—1945–
I. Title II. Kennedy, Caroline
941.085'6'0924 DA591.P7
ISBN 0-224-02347-0

Printed in Great Britain by
Mackays of Chatham Ltd

CONTENTS

	Introduction	xi
	Acknowledgments	xvi
1	Scandal in High Places	1
2	The Crusading Osteopath	11
3	Ward Cracks the Social Scene	19
4	A Magnet for Girls	25
5	A Rising Star in the Tory Party	33
6	The Waif and the Crooked Businessman	37
7	Delightful Days at Cliveden	46
8	The Promiscuous Showgirl	53
9	Living Together	58
10	The Artist and the Royals	61
11	Enter Ivanov, Soviet Spy	67
12	Mandy and Christine Run Riot	78
13	Astor's Summer Swimming Party	84
14	Playing International Politics	90
15	Wigg Seeks Revenge	93
16	The FBI and the London Call Girl	97
17	The New York Caper	100
18	Cooling the Cuban Missile Crisis	105
19	Problems with Profumo	113
20	A Knife Fight in Soho	117
21	A Shooting in Marylebone	121
22	Ward Stops the Presses	129
23	The Police Show Interest	138
24	The Scandal Begins to Break	144
25	The Boil is Lanced	148
26	The Move to Silence Ward	161
27	Cooking a Case	168

Blackburn [Mrs Castle], opposite, spoke of the rumours connecting a Minister with a Miss Keeler and a recent trial at the Central Criminal Court. It was alleged that people in high places might have been responsible for concealing information concerning the disappearance of a witness and the perversion of justice.

I understand that my name has been connected with the rumours about the disappearance of Miss Keeler. I would like to take this opportunity of making a personal statement about these matters. I last saw Miss Keeler in December 1961, and I have not seen her since. I have no idea where she is now. Any suggestion that I was in any way connected with or responsible for her absence from the trial at the Old Bailey is wholly and completely untrue. My wife and I first met Miss Keeler at a house party in July 1961 at Cliveden. Among a number of people there was Dr Stephen Ward, whom we already knew slightly, and a Mr Ivanov, who was an attaché at the Russian Embassy. The only other occasion that my wife or I met Mr Ivanov was for a moment at the official reception for Major Gagarin at the Soviet Embassy. My wife and I had a standing invitation to visit Dr Ward. Between July and December 1961 I met Miss Keeler on about half a dozen occasions when I called to see him and his friends. Miss Keeler and I were on friendly terms. There was no impropriety whatsoever in my acquaintanceship with Miss Keeler. Mr Speaker, I have made this personal statement because of what was said in the House last evening by the three hon. Members, and which, of course, was protected by privilege. I shall not hesitate to issue writs for libel and slander if scandalous allegations are made or repeated outside the House.

With hindsight it is easy to see where the legal minds occupied in drafting the statement realised that their case was weak. The disarming phrase 'my wife and I first met Miss Keeler at a house party' – although strictly true, hardly accurately reflects the actual meeting. Again, 'My wife and I had a standing invitation to visit Dr Ward' suggested that if the Profumos visited Ward it would be as a couple. Yet in the very next sentence, Mrs Profumo has vanished, and Profumo is going alone to Ward's flat where he meets Miss Keeler on about 'half a dozen occasions'. They are on 'friendly terms'. But, and here there had to be a direct lie, otherwise the statement would have totally lacked conviction – 'There was no impropriety whatsoever in my acquaintanceship with Miss Keeler.' Since it was widely known at that time that Fleet Street had seen one of Profumo's letters to Christine Keeler – and had considered publishing it; something a newspaper would not do unless it

suggested a close relationship – this denial of any impropriety seems foolhardy at best.

By convention a personal statement to the House of Commons cannot be debated or challenged because the honour, truth and integrity of the Member making the statement is accepted absolutely. Yet what Profumo had to say reeked of omission, inconsistency and unanswered questions. Why did his wife not accompany him on the occasions he saw Christine Keeler at Ward's flat? Exactly how friendly was he with Keeler? For example, did he ever see her alone? Take her out? Give her any gifts? Write her any letters? If the House of Commons had known about the outings, the gifts, the letters and the use of the endearment, 'Darling', it is inconceivable that anyone who heard Profumo's denial of any impropriety in his relationship with Christine Keeler would have believed him for an instant.

But the convention was observed. The establishment backed its beleaguered Member. The Prime Minister gave his support by sitting alongside Profumo on the Government front bench, and when Profumo had finished speaking Macmillan clapped him on the shoulder, a public gesture of warmth and confidence. Yet we have discovered that Macmillan had every reason to believe that Profumo was lying.

One of Macmillan's closest American friends was the ambassador, David Bruce, a great Anglophile, with whom he lunched regularly at Bucks Club. Macmillan had been hearing rumours about Profumo and Keeler since November the previous year. He had begun to suspect that his own advisers were not telling him the truth about the affair, either because they were involved in it themselves, or they were trying to cover up to avoid a scandal. So at one of his lunches with Bruce, the Prime Minister asked the ambassador to make discreet inquiries to see what he could discover.

Bruce went to Thomas Corbally, the American businessman who was a friend of Ward. Bruce knew of this friendship from his nephew, Billy Mellon Hitchock, the cousin of Center Hitchcock, the American who had taken Mandy Rice-Davies to Paris three months earlier. Corbally recalls, 'Ambassador Bruce asked me to find out what was going on and to let him know as quickly as possible. I telephoned Ward from Bruce's office and arranged a lunch – Ward, me, the ambassador's secretary Alfred Wells, and Billy Hitchcock.

'The lunch was held upstairs at Simpson's in Piccadilly in a booth where, we hoped, none of us would be recognised. There Ward told Wells the fully story, including Christine's dealings with the newspapers and the letter from Profumo she had kept which made clear her relationship with him.'

On 29 January, in Wells's office in the American Embassy in Grosvenor Square, Corbally filled in the details while Wells made a note of them. The substance of this note is now in the FBI files in Washington. The FBI got some of Corbally's details wrong – they said, for instance that it was Profumo who had taken Christine Keeler (and Mandy) to Astor's swimming party – but the thrust of their account was correct: Profumo had definitely had an affair with Christine; Ivanov may have done so. And the FBI version added some new information. They insisted that Macmillan had been informed of the scandal the day before by 'a British newspaper' and that an official letter had been sent to this newspaper warning it of the dangers of publishing anything until the trial of Johnny Edgecombe was over.

Wells passed his note to Bruce. Bruce in turn passed the information to Macmillan. (Foolishly, Bruce failed to tell as well his employers, the State Department, and this was later to cause him a lot of trouble.) So Macmillan, with every reason to believe that Profumo was lying over the main point in his statement, must have had some uneasy moments as Profumo read his way through it. But the reaction from the Government benches quickly reassured him – they had got away with it; Labour's attack had been routed. 'The atmosphere in the House was icy,' Crossman wrote in his diary. 'We were extremely isolated . . . We had made ourselves unpopular.' Wigg was furious; Profumo had beaten him again. 'I left with black rage in my heart because I knew what the facts were. I knew the truth . . . I had been trussed up and done again.'

Profumo gloated over his victory. That afternoon he went to Sandown Park races with his wife and the Queen Mother and in the evening he appeared at Quaglino's for a fund-raising dance given by the Hatch End Conservative Party. He received a rousing reception. All this was reflected in the newspapers the following day. Most reported Profumo's statement in full and with sympathy. (But the *Daily Sketch* called Profumo 'lucky' and said that 'the spectacle of a Minister of the Crown having to get up to explain his acquaintance with a 21-year-old girl is, to say the least, unedifying.') When the European press – *Paris Match* in France and *Il Tempo* in Italy – failed to follow Fleet Street's lead and instead said that Profumo's name continued to be linked with Christine Keeler, Profumo sued. *Paris Match* published a retraction and *Il Tempo* paid Profumo's costs and damages of £50 which he gave to an army charity.

Robbed of Profumo as the main target for their stories, the Press turned instead to the other players. Reporters had been scouring Spain for Christine Keeler and they finally found her in Madrid on 25 March. Mann quickly did a deal for her with the *Daily Express*. She was to get £2,000 immediately, of which a quarter would go to Mann. This was for a statement about Profumo, and photographs which showed her as a sex goddess. The statement was short and false: 'What Mr Profumo said is quite correct. I have not been in his company since 1961.' The *Express* then flew her back to London.

The following Sunday, in an interview with the *News of the World*, Christine repeated her line on Profumo. 'Certainly both he and his wife were friends of mine. But it was a friendship no one can criticise.' Ward supported her. Interviewed on television he said, 'I was there when the meetings took place, and there is absolutely nothing of a sinister nature to these occasions.' In this welter of denials, the one point Fleet Street failed to probe was: who was behind Christine's disappearance?

It is possible, knowing how impulsive and irresponsible Christine could be, that she just decided on the spur of the moment to run away from all the fuss and the pressures around her. It is also possible that she was manipulated by one or more of those with an interest in seeing that she was out of the country. As her manager, Mann would expect to see publicity and money in her disappearance. Wigg and Lewis might have wanted to exploit her absence to highlight the security risk of her association with Profumo. Astor or Ward could have been trying a desperate exercise in damage limitation.

Lord Denning went to some lengths to find an answer. He reasoned that whoever wanted Christine out of the way would have had to pay for it. True, the trio did not have much money in Spain and it would appear that all Christine got out of the trip was her £2,000 contract with the *Daily Express*. But that does not rule out a payment to, say, Mann, for organising the disappearance. Denning followed up this line. When he asked about Mann's bank account Mann said he had a couple of safe deposit boxes that were not in his name and were 'entirely secret'. But he strongly denied that they contained any money given to him for organising Keeler's disappearance or, indeed, that he had received any such sums.

Next, Denning checked the bank accounts of Profumo and Lord Astor and could find nothing to indicate that they had made payments to anyone to further Christine Keeler's disappearance. Both denied making any such payments. But what little evidence there is points to a joint effort by Ward and Astor, motivated by a desire to save themselves – and Profumo – from a scandal. As we have seen, Ward first suggested the idea that Christine should go away as early as February. His solicitor warned him of the dangers of being seen to be involved in such a scheme.

Even George Wigg, who must have still been savouring his victory over Profumo, conceded in an unremarkable speech that he could not hope to emulate Birch's graceful oratory. The vote was, of course, a foregone conclusion – in that the Government would win; no one expected the Conservatives to commit suicide. But every member who abstained from voting for the Government was, in effect, casting a vote against Macmillan's leadership. The Whips had done their figures; 20 abstentions would be bearable; any more would be alarming. There were 27. The Government majority was down to 69 and anything under 70 was considered a threat to the leadership.

There would have to be changes. The *Daily Telegraph*, the most Conservative of papers, headlined the debate 'Premier likely to resign soon'. The *Daily Mail* said, 'Mac: the end'. The *Daily Mirror*'s view was, 'His future, short of a miracle, will be brief.'

Macmillan, who had looked drawn and dejected throughout the debate, confided to a friend, 'My spirit has not broken but my zest has gone.' But he survived. Two factors helped him. He did a deal with some of the more senior Conservatives. He would go, but not yet. It was in the party's interest that he should not be seen to have been forced out of office by the Profumo scandal. He would lead the party into the next election and after victory, bow out. Macmillan took the opportunity of a television interview with Independent Television News to hint at this decision. 'All being well,' he said, 'if I keep my health and strength, I hope to lead the party into the election.' Interpreters of political nuances got the message – Macmillan would resign after the election pleading health reasons, which is exactly what happened.

The other event which gained Macmillan a reprieve was a 24-hour visit to Britain by the President of the United States, John F. Kennedy. The two leaders were photographed together, and the Press announced a tactical victory for Macmillan in persuading the President that NATO should not have a mixed-manned nuclear surface fleet because this would mean the Germans getting near atomic weapons for the first time. Macmillan was seen as a statesman of international stature, on terms of amiability and equality with the American President. What the British public did not know was that the Profumo scandal had created almost as big a stir in the United States as in Britain. But all the American investigations into the affair had been conducted in deep secrecy – because they concerned the President himself.

31 | *Save John F. Kennedy*

One of Ward's close friends was Thomas Corbally, the American businessman who had told the US ambassador, David Bruce, about the Profumo affair. They first met at a party. Corbally was in pain from an old knee injury and Ward, noticing this, treated him on the spot. After that they met frequently. 'Ward was a lovely, decent kind human-being,' Corbally recalls. 'He was a fine artist and a brilliant osteopath. He was the most unmaterialistic person I've ever met. There was a period when he was at my flat twice a day to treat me and there was no way I could get him to accept any money at all from me. He would accept dinner. He liked going to the Mirabelle and some other places. And sometimes there he would say, "Tom, can you cash a cheque for me for five pounds?", and I'd say, "Stephen, I haven't got five pounds. Let me give you fifty, I owe you at least that by now." No way. All he would want was five pounds. It gave him a thrill to live on the brink of financial disaster.'

Corbally remembers that all Ward could talk about at this time was the Profumo affair. 'If only Stephen had kept his mouth shut, Profumo would never have been disgraced. But Stephen talked about it and talked about it. At every dinner party he went to and everywhere else. There was no way to shut Stephen up. And he was greatly amused by it all. It was typical of him. He loved being the centre of attention, loved being the one to come out with all the latest gossip. He loved telling stories and taking the establishment apart.'

Corbally's close relationship with Ward had made him the ideal man to gather information for Bruce. But Bruce's mistake was to pass the information to Macmillan and neglect Washington. Perhaps he was worried that he and his staff might be dragged into the scandal. There certainly had been a connection. The US naval attaché in London, Admiral R. B. Lynch, had met Ivanov frequently on the diplomatic party circuit, and when Ivanov had suddenly left London amid rumours that he had been an intelligence officer, Lynch had told many people, 'If he was a spy he certainly fooled me.' The assistant naval attaché, Captain Thomas W. Murphy, had been even friendlier

with Ivanov and there were photographs of Ivanov in a warm embrace with Mrs Murphy at a party, about to kiss her on the lips.

Unknown to Bruce, someone in the United States Government was already deeply interested in the Profumo affair and had even been in touch with the President over it. This was J. Edgar Hoover, head of the FBI. From the summer of 1962 the FBI had been listening to a Soviet defector who had agreed to remain in place as an employee of the United Nations. Codenamed 'Fedora', this would have been either Victor Lessiovski, a short, plump Russian who worked for the UN Secretary General, or a lowly press attaché at the Soviet Embassy. 'Fedora' had been in New York only a short while when he contacted the FBI, revealed that he was a KGB officer under diplomatic cover, and offered to work for the United States.

Hoover personally assessed Fedora before accepting him and for the next twenty years Fedora's reports so intrigued Hoover that often he passed them direct to the White House. They played a role in the Kennedy assassination investigation and the 'Pentagon Papers' controversy. Hardly an intelligence event in the Western world took place in this period without Hoover seeking Fedora's views on it. One reason for this was that Fedora confirmed Hoover's worst prejudice about the UN. It was, Fedora said, a hotbed of espionage. As well as housing dozens of Communist spies under diplomatic cover, it provided an easy source of information for Communist call girl rings who numbered many diplomats, especially black ones, among their customers.

Hoover was greatly titillated by this because cursory investigation indicated that call girl rings did indeed operate in the vicinity of the UN – it would be surprising if they did not – and the link between sex, espionage and degenerate 'non-Caucasians' was something that had long intrigued him. It was almost an automatic reaction therefore, to consult Fedora when the first whispers of another political sex scandal in Britain reached Hoover. Fedora did not disappoint him. He said that yes, he had heard of the scandal in London. Ivanov, a competent GRU officer, had been using a British call girl ring to collect valuable Western secrets by taping pillow talk between the girls and their highly-placed political clients. Fedora knew all this, he said, because Ivanov had boasted about his success, when on leave in Moscow, to a fellow GRU officer and this officer had later told Fedora.

All this sounds like a spy fairy tale, especially the route by which Fedora claimed to have heard of Ivanov's success. Given the Soviet Intelligence's division of duties and strict application of the 'need-to-know' principle, it is much more likely that Fedora had heard of the

Profumo scandal from gossip at the United Nations and added the espionage details to intrigue Hoover. But why would Fedora fake a report to the FBI?

It is not unusual for genuine defectors to exaggerate or even invent information to please their employers. But Fedora had an even better reason: he was a KGB plant, a fake defector sent to sow disinformation and dissension in the West, to encourage Western security services to waste energy chasing phantom spies while the real ones worked unimpeded. At the time Fedora was reporting to Hoover no one in the FBI or the CIA knew this – although some suspected it. It was only in 1981, when Fedora's tour of duty in the United States ended, that the FBI became convinced that he was a KGB plant and not a genuine defector. For, with his usefulness as a defector-in-place ended and with him about to be recalled to the Soviet Union, the FBI fully expected Fedora to seek asylum in the United States as any true defector would. Instead Fedora went home to Moscow.

For Hoover in 1962, this was all in the future and Fedora was his pet Russian. Under Fedora's influence Hoover developed a theory of a Soviet conspiracy of international proportions. A call girl ring, secretly controlled by the KGB and made up from girls of many nations, was operating in the major cities of the Western world. The ring was run by local Communists or fellow travellers. It had a dual aim. The first was to gather intelligence from men in important posts – politicians, servicemen, public servants – who used the girls and who could be encouraged to be indiscreet. The second was to create scandals involving Western leaders so as to destroy public confidence in those leaders.

So Hoover had watched the Profumo scandal develop with horrified fascination. All his worst fears about a KGB-controlled international call girl and blackmail ring were being realised. The head of London FBI, Charles W. Bates, was placed on full alert and Hoover sent off an urgent radiogram to the main American stations giving them his version of the background to the scandal. Some of this document remains secret even today but it is worth quoting what is now declassified because it shows both how the conspiracy came together in Hoover's mind and the extent to which he believed the rot had gone.

> For information. John Profumo was British Minister of War until his recent resignation following disclosure of his relations with Christine Keeler. Stephen Ward, London osteopath, has been arrested in London charged with living on the earnings of Keeler and Marilyn Rice-Davies, prostitutes. Ward's operations reportedly

part of a large vice ring involving many people including many prominent people in the U.S. and England including other Ministers of British Cabinet not yet identified. Other individuals involved include Yevgeny Ivanov, aka [also known as] Eugene Ivanov, former Soviet Naval Attaché, London, who patronised Keeler and who reportedly requested Keeler to obtain information from Profumo; Thomas J. Corbally, U.S. citizen engaged in business in Britain, who reportedly gave wild parties in his flat; Michael H. B. Eddowes, British attorney for Keeler, now in the U.S. representing her interests re sale of her story to publications; Horace Dibben, British citizen, in whose residence sex orgies were held is husband of Maria Novotny; Maria Novotny is prostitute who operated in NYC [New York City], was arrested on March three, one nine six one, and was victim in white slave case involving her procurer, Alan Towers. She fled to England and has participated in orgies at Ward residence. Alan Towers was in NYC for two years prior to his arrest in above white slave case. He jumped bail and is now a bureau fugitive. He is reportedly now permanently residing behind Iron Curtain. Novotny alleges Towers was a Soviet agent and that Soviets wanted information for purposes of compromise of prominent individuals; Lord Astor of England [*sic*] on whose Cliveden Estate sex orgies reportedly occurred: it was here that Profumo first met Keeler; Douglas Fairbanks, Jnr, movie actor; Earl Felton, American screen writer; and many others also involved.

Early reports from Bates must have made Hoover wonder whether he had badly underestimated the extent of the conspiracy. First, Bates revealed that Admiral R. B. Lynch, the U.S. naval attaché in London, had met Ivanov a number of times on the diplomatic cocktail circuit, and that the scandal was having widespread ramifications. 'Some allege that the Macmillan Government may fall as a result of it.' Then Bates sent a long 'very urgent' message in code. This set out what investigations Bates had been able to carry out at the U.S. Embassy in Grosvenor Square. 'Thomas Corbally told the ambassador's office on January 29 that Keeler and Margaret Davis [*sic*] had sold article to a Sunday paper listing men with whom they had spent the night. One was Profumo and another was a Russian naval officer.' Bates's message confirmed that the Prime Minister was advised of this on January 28. Then came the sentence that excited Hoover: 'Info received by Embassy from Corbally was not furnished Department of State, Washington, and not known this office.' Bates must have realised how his boss would interpret this because

he concluded with : 'Recommend extreme care in handling this.'

Hoover immediately deputed one of his senior officers, William C. Sullivan to look into the Embassy's handling of the matter. As Hoover saw it, the ambassador, David Bruce, had advance knowledge of the scandal and appeared to have kept it to himself. Could Bruce be one of the prominent Americans whom Hoover believed were involved in the international vice ring? Hoover would probably have kept these investigations secret, but a report in the *New York Post* forced him to go public. The report said, wrongly, that 'information had been forwarded to the FBI on the possibility that American diplomats or politicians may have been compromised.'

This brought a flush of inquiries from other U.S. Government departments asking what the FBI knew and Hoover was forced to reveal that the FBI had not received any such information and that he was trying to find out why. In one way the inquiries helped him. He now had the backing of powerful people for his investigations, as an FBI internal memorandum indicates: 'General Joseph Carroll, former Bureau agent and present head of the Defense Intelligence Agency has informed us that Defense Secretary [Robert] McNamara is extremely interested in the Keeler case and has asked to be kept promptly informed of all developments.'

Washington being the town that it is, the State Department quickly learned of Hoover's moves. The last thing it wanted was the FBI investigating the London Embassy. It moved quickly to protect its rights. On 21 June, the FBI recorded: 'Mr Emory Swank who said he was Secretary [Dean] Rusk's special assistant, called at 9.30 a.m. to advise that Secretary Rusk had asked him to check into the report that there were some contacts with the Embassy in London with regard to the Profumo/Keeler matter. Swank said that there is nothing in the State Department files to substantiate that there were such meetings at the London Embassy, but that this, of course, did not mean that the meetings did not take place. Swank said that Secretary Rusk would probably appoint a personal emissary to take this up with the Ambassador in London.'

Two hours later Rusk appointed William C. Burdett, deputy assistant secretary for European Affairs as the emissary. The State Department duly notified the FBI of Burdett's mission and asked, 'in view of the delicacy of the embassy in this matter,' if the FBI wanted a report on the result of the mission. Hoover cunningly replied that the FBI was not investigating the matter in London and it was up to the State Department to decide to whom to distribute Burdett's report. But Hoover immediately alerted Bates in London to watch for Burdett's arrival.

In the meantime Hoover made certain that the Attorney-General, Robert Kennedy, knew what was going on. He did this by sending him a personal letter summarising the case and highlighting the American involvement, both at the US Embassy and at the US Air Force base at Ruislip, West London. 'There is a possibility that some Air Force enlisted personnel may have had relations with Christine Keeler. One airman was reported to have said that Keeler charged 100 pounds a night and gave the impression that he had spent several nights with her. Another enlisted man is said to have referred a coloured airman to Keeler.' Both airmen, said Hoover, had access to classified information.

Hoover's conviction that British society was riddled with whores, pimps, sex maniacs and Soviet agents must have received a boost on Sunday, 16 June when an article by Michael Eddowes appeared in *Journal-American*. In it Eddowes told of his meeting with Ivanov during the Cuban missile crisis. Eddowes described Ivanov as highly aggressive and full of blustering threats to wipe out England and to drop an atomic bomb in the sea 60 miles off New York. According to Eddowes, Hoover immediately 'instructed' him to make further inquiries into the security aspects and report back to him. Washington was now buzzing with as many rumours as had swept London during the height of the scandal, so what happened next was not entirely a surprise. The White House became involved. The most likely explanation for President Kennedy's sudden interest in the affair is that his brother, Robert Kennedy, told him of the long report from Hoover. There were then both political and personal reasons for the President's interest. One was that the scandal could provide Kennedy's opponents in Congress with ammunition to attack his plans for a multi-nation NATO nuclear force. If Britain was so leaky, why should the US share its defence secrets? Another was a call in the *Washington News* for Kennedy to cancel his scheduled visit to London because it would provide 'prestige and moral support for the foundering Government of Prime Minister Macmillan . . . We can think of no better time for an American President to stay as far as possible away from England.' And a third reason, a personal one, was that given Hoover's animosity for the Kennedy family, the President became concerned that Hoover would somehow use the scandal against him. So, on the President's behalf Defense Secretary Robert McNamara telephoned Hoover on 20 June. Hoover was out and his call was returned by one of Hoover's lieutenants, A. H. Belmont.

McNamara said he was concerned about the affair and would like Belmont to come over to his office that very afternoon to meet with him, the director of the CIA, John McCone, and Lieutenant General

Carroll of the DIA, for a conference. What went on at the meeting remains classified, but a note of its discussions made by a CIA officer, was sent off immediately to McGeorge Bundy, the President's special assistant. From what then occurred we can make an informed assessment of what McNamara would have said at the conference. He would have told the FBI that the President wanted any security risk that the United States might have incurred through the Profumo scandal to be identified and investigated without delay. He wanted the whole affair cleared up quickly.

What followed was a rapid acceleration in the FBI investigations. Two FBI agents left for London where they liaised with the Scotland Yard team still gathering evidence against Ward. Sergeant Glasse recalls: 'The two FBI men were here on a fairly permanent basis. Their job was to interview people about possible security leaks because of the Ivanov connection. We would pick the people up and take them to the American Embassy to be questioned. In return the FBI brought two girls over from the United States for the British police to question. The FBI seemed to me to be more interested in the security angle than our own service did.'

At some stage during the FBI investigation the Bureau learnt that Christine Keeler and Mandy Rice-Davies had been in the United States. The resources of the Bureau were then mobilised to find out what the two girls had been up to, whom they had seen, and why? Agents from the Bureau's New York office tramped around the city reconstructing the girls' visit the previous year, checking their telephone calls, questioning hotel staff, and filing minutely-detailed reports. These were then read by Hoover himself who sometimes queried the details and sent the agents back to double check. For example: the FBI agent checking the Hotel Bedford's records reported that the girls had checked out at 3.03 p.m. on 14 July 1962 after paying their bill of $15.50. Hoover queried the date. The chastened agent reported, 'Recheck of Hotel Bedford records discloses the date to be correct. However the bill was $15.50 per day for both rather than a total bill of $15.50.'

The background of everyone who had volunteered information on the affair was checked. Anyone who knew Ward either in Britain or the United States was tracked down and asked to agree to an interview. Some refused. Others, like Margaret Brown, agreed, and said Ward was a wonderful person.

The investigation was not without its funny moments. On 24 June, the *Daily Sketch* said that Ward's former wife, Patricia Baines, had married a lawyer called Charles Hammond, who, the paper said, was the former head of the FBI in London. The Bureau was suitably

outraged. 'This is obviously not right . . . The article shows a photo of Hammond and Baines at the time of marriage. He appears to be a lieutenant in the U.S. Navy's uniform.'

The stepped up investigation soon produced results. On 20 June three U.S. airmen, all black, were flown to the United States for interrogation 'to ensure that the thrill-seeking English press does not get their story before the Air Force does'. According to the FBI, 'the three Negroes had met Keeler in low class night clubs, generally frequented by non-Caucasian elements in London . . . The three airmen will be housed at Bolling Air Force Base and the investigation is designed to determine whether Keeler had attempted to pump them for intelligence data which they might have in connection with their Air Force assignments.' The men were given lie detector tests and questioned over a period of days. The results, announced publicly by the Defense Department the following month, was to clear the three men completely. The Department said that the investigation had shown 'none was involved directly or indirectly in any way, or had any knowledge' of the case. Two of the men had met a girl called 'Christine', who was presumed to be Christine Keeler but, the Department added, 'they had no intimate contact with her and didn't even know her last name until they read the publicity concerning her in the newspapers.' As a gesture of confidence in the men, the Department flew them back to Britain to resume their duties.

Meanwhile the State Department's investigation into the London Embassy's knowledge of the affair, the role of Admiral Lynch and Captain Murphy, Ambassador Bruce's possible involvement, and the Embassy's failure to report its knowledge to Washington, had proved equally swift. A search of the Embassy's files produced several memos from Bruce's secretary, Alfred Wells, which showed that apart from Corbally's information, the Embassy did not know any more than Fleet Street as the scandal developed. Wells had either lunched or dined at parties at which Ward had been present, and he had been intrigued at Ward's lack of discretion.

At a dinner party on 5 November 1962, Wells wrote, Ward had made loud statements that he had been the principal liaison between the Soviets and the British Government during the Cuban missile crisis. 'Ward spoke concerning the confidential messages he carried between Ivanov and his friends in the British government.' Wells wrote that he had asked a man sitting next to him who Dr Ward was and the man had replied that he was an osteopath and that he procured girls for wealthy clients.

When the scandal broke, Bruce had asked Wells to put down anything else he remembered of what had occurred in January and

February. Wells now wrote another memo, dated 18 June, saying that apart from his meeting with Corbally on 29 January he had had another meeting with Corbally on 5 February. Corbally had said that he had met Clive Bossom, Parliamentary Private Secretary to Hugh Fraser, the Air Minister, and had told him about Keeler's story naming Profumo. Wells said that while writing the memo on the second meeting, he had telephoned Bossom to learn whether Bossom had actually done anything about Corbally's conversation. Bossom had replied that after hearing Corbally's warning he had passed it to both Fraser and Profumo, and that Profumo had shrugged it off with, 'There are always rumours about men in the limelight'. (Corbally has no recollection of the meeting with Bossom.) Even the FBI saw nothing in this worth pursuing further. It noted, 'While interesting, this does not add anything to the Profumo case.'

Links between a UN call girl and the Profumo affair were now also looking very tenuous. The Office of Special Investigations (OSI) had become interested in the possibility that the Novotny case and the Profumo scandal were linked through an international call girl ring based on the UN – Hoover's original thesis. When the *Journal American* published its own attempts to link the two, the OSI asked the FBI if there was any substance in the report. Three of Hoover's senior men went through the FBI files, talked with agents, and assessed the theory. They had to tell the OSI that there was no evidence whatsoever to establish such a link.

The CIA investigation was the briefest of all. The CIA officer who liaised with the British Secret Intelligence Service, Archie Roosevelt Jnr, was asked to check if Ambassador Bruce knew Ward. Roosevelt adopted the direct method – he asked Bruce. Bruce at first said that he did not. However Bruce later told Roosevelt that when he had checked his diary he had discovered that Ward had called on him to sketch him. Roosevelt passed this news to CIA headquarters, but the agency continued to press Roosevelt and he was ordered to report instantly if any further American connection emerged from the case.

Yet, at the end of the day, the whole American investigation revealed nothing of importance to Washington, there was nothing to substantiate Hoover's thesis – no evidence of treachery or KGB conspiracy. But the extent of the investigation and the high-level interest in Washington in its results cannot be explained solely by Hoover's obsession. The FBI investigation provoked a meeting of three of Washington's most powerful men – Defence Secretary McNamara, CIA director John McCone, and DIA director, Lieutenant General Carroll. The CIA's London liaison officer, Archie Roosevelt was 'constantly badgered by my headquarters and Supreme Boss

personally about an American connection with the Profumo case.' The President's special assistant, McGeorge Bundy, showed intense interest in the affair. And the President's brother, the Attorney-General Robert Kennedy, asked Hoover personally to keep him informed about the investigation.

The only feasible reason for this widespread fascination is that all these people feared that the President of the United States was about to be dragged into the scandal, not on a political level, but on a sexual one. There is evidence that this fear existed. On 2 July Robert Kennedy asked Hoover if he could tell him exactly what Christine Keeler and Mandy Rice-Davies did when they visited New York the previous year. It seems strange that Robert Kennedy, the Attorney-General of the United States, a man with enormous issues on his mind, should have the slightest interest in what two then unknown English girls had done during a seven-day visit to the United States a year earlier.

The reason was that Robert Kennedy was worried that one, or both girls might have slept with his brother, the President of the United States, during their visit and he needed to know for certain so that he could protect the President from the scandal that would follow if the girls blabbed. It would have been simpler for Robert Kennedy to ask his brother if he had slept with Christine or Mandy instead of asking Hoover, however indirectly. But, as we now know, John F. Kennedy's sexual appetite was so prodigious and so indiscriminate that he would not have been able to remember.

Robert Kennedy was right to be concerned. On 23 July, according to an FBI internal memorandum, the tape recording which Christine Keeler had made with her new manager, Robin Drury, mentioned President Kennedy as one of Keeler's lovers. All that needs to be said about this allegation is that if Keeler had indeed slept with Kennedy then it would have been completely out of character for her to have kept it quiet on her return to London. She would have told everyone. The fact that she never mentioned it until she was recounting her memoirs for sale to Fleet Street strongly suggests that she invented it to make them a more valuable property.

The FBI hastened to tell Robert Kennedy, 'There is attached [to this memorandum] a letter to the Attorney-General furnishing the information concerning the allegations about President Kennedy for his information. It is recommended that this letter be delivered to the Attorney-General by assistant director Evans.' The letter was never sent. Hoover considered the information to be too sensitive to come to rest in the Attorney-General's files. Evans was ordered instead to contact Kennedy and *tell* him what the FBI had learnt.

We have only the FBI's account of what transpired. This makes Robert Kennedy appear almost pathetically grateful for the FBI's help. According to agent Evans, 'The Attorney-General was appreciative of our bringing this matter to his attention personally. He said that it did seem preposterous that such a story would be circulated when a presidential candidate, during the campaign, travels with scores of newspapermen. He added that with the next Presidential election now less than 18 months away, he anticipated that there would be more similar stories and he would like us to continue to advise him of any such matters coming to our attention on a personal basis, as he could better defend the family if he knew what was being said.'

This, then, was the effect of the Profumo scandal had on the United States. It allowed Hoover to consolidate the hold that he already had over the Kennedy family, by making the FBI appear indispensable in protecting the family name. Stephen Ward would have enjoyed the irony.