AN AFFAIR OF STATE
THE PROFUMO CASE
AND THE FRAMING OF STEPHEN WARD

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
PHILBY THE SPY WHO BETRAYED A GENERATION

JONATHAN CAPE
THIRTY-TWO BEDFORD SQUARE
LONDON

AN AFFAIR
OF STATE

Phillip Knightley
Caroline Kennedy
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Blackburn, 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... 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... at that time that Fleet Street had seen one of Profumo's letters to Christine Keeler — and had considered publishing it. This denial of any impropriety seems foolhardy.

personal statement to the House of Commons...

convention 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... 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 took its revenge on Profumo with public ridicule and condemnation. The we have provided a public service of warning and education. It was clear that the defence of the Minister, the Prime Minister, was in the balance. The Prime Minister took his own decision and when the Churchill Committee would have been expected to... descendant of Chatham's. The Churchill Committee was not the only body... Churchill Committee had an evidence of the facts. If we had to choose a Minister or a... Churchill Committee had an evidence of the facts. If we had to choose a Minister or a... Churchill Committee had an evidence of the facts. If we had to choose a Minister or a... Churchill Committee had an evidence of the facts. If we had to choose a Minister or a... Churchill Committee had an evidence of the facts. If we had to choose a Minister or a...
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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... 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... 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 event. His triumph 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 lavando...'

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... 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... The statement was short and false: 'What Mr Profumo said is quite correct. I have not been in his company since 196... 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... When the Queen Mother and the Press didn't chase her, 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...
Even George Wigg, who must have still been savoring 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; 27 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.'

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 American President. The British public did not know that the American President was also involved in the Profumo scandal. The British public did not know that the American President was also involved in the Profumo scandal. The British public did not know that the American President was also involved in the Profumo scandal. The British public did not know that the American President was also involved in the Profumo scandal. The British public did not know that the American President was also involved in the Profumo scandal.
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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. ... 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 ... of information for Communist call girl rings who numbered many diplomats, especially black ones.

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

influence of his former and current application of the next-to-

Recorder Clough to hear of London's success. After he spoke

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had gone together in Hoover's mind and the result was the report he presented to the Office of Security. There was no question because it showed both how the operation could

In the wake of the London Bridge incident, Hoover had become convinced of the need to create a more comprehensive system of espionage control over the KGB and its agents. He was determined to prevent such incidents from occurring again.

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 didn't — and he knew that Fedora had boasted about his success, when on leave in Moscow, to a fellow GRU officer and this officer had later told Fedora.

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part of a large vice ring involving many people including many prominent people in the U.S. and England including other ... 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 ... 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, Jr, movie actor; Earl Felton, American screen writer; and many others also involved. Early reports from Bates must have made Hoover wonder whether ... on whose Cliveden Estate sex orgies reportedly occurred: it was here that Profumo first met Keeler; Douglas Fairbanks, Jr, 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 ... 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.' ... of State, Washington, and not known this office.' Bates must have realised how his boss would interpret this because

SAVE JOHN F. KENNEDY
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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 ... 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, 6 June when an article by Michael Eddowes appeared in the 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 the 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...’

McNamara said he was concerned about the affair and would like Belmont to come over to his office that very afternoon to meet with the director of the CIA, John McCone, and Frank C. Carlucci, then the Assistant Secretary of State for Intelligence. ‘Himself, McNamara said, was returning to Europe on June 10th. The President was in Germany the next day and would like to come over to his office there. McCone, at least, would like to be there when the President returned. The conversation in the President’s office was highly confidential...’

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. They also went to see 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. They also went to see the Profumo scandal to be identified and investigated without delay. He wanted the whole affair cleared up quickly.

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...
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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 had not been encouraged, and that 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, . . . 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 now wrote another memo, dated 18 June, saying that apart from his meeting with Corbally on 29 January he had seen 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 . . . Profumo scandal were linked through an international call girl ring based on the UN — Hoover's original thesis. When the . . . Profumo scandal was published in the morning, 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 anything about possible links between Bond and one of the UN call girls. Roosevelt continued to press Roosevelt and he was advised to report his findings.

The CIA's London liaison officer, Archie Roosevelt was 'constantly badgered by my headquarters to try and find something out. . . .

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 any American involvement in the affair. The London Embassy continued to press Roosevelt and he was advised to report his findings.
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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

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, according to an internal FBI 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 is that 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 is that Robert Kennedy was right to be concerned.

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