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Spender, the poet, at St. John's Wood, and asked to speak to a friend of both, the poet W. H. Auden.

Auden, at that time, was staying with Stephen and Natasha Spender. Burgess wanted to know the address of Auden's summer villa in Italy. (It was in the village of Ferio, on the island of Ischia.)

The call from Burgess was answered by Mrs. Spender, who said later that she forgot to pass on the inquiry to Auden when he came home.

Next morning—Friday, May 25—Burgess telephoned again and left the same inquiry for Auden with Stephen Spender. By the time the message reached Auden—Burgess had gone.

Before Burgess spoke to Spender that morning, Hewit had taken a cup of tea to Burgess in bed.

"Guy Seemed Unworried"

Hewit said later: "Guy lay back, reading a book and smoking, and he seemed normal and unworried. When I left the flat to go to my office, Guy said 'See you later, Mop'—that was his pet name for me.

"We intended to have a drink together that evening before he left for France with Miller.

Burgess left his flat at about 10:30 that morning. He went to the Green Park Hotel and met Miller. They spent some time together.

At 2 p.m. Burgess called on Welbeck Motors, in Crawford Street, W.1, and hired a self-drive car, a cream Austin A70, numbered VMP 196.

Mr. Michael Coffa, joint managing director of the firm, said later:

"Mr. Burgess paid £25 [£70] cash in advance. This sum covered £15 hire and £10 deposit.

"The car should have been returned on June 4, but we did not worry. Customers often keep cars over the stipulated time and pay the extra.

"But on June 7, I read the reports about the disappearance of the two men and I told the police.

Burgess took the car with him. At 3 p.m. he called in at Gieve's the tailor, in Old Bond Street, and bought a white mackintosh and a fibre suitcase.

He met Miller and at about 5:30 he dropped Miller at his hotel and told him: "I'll call for you at half-past seven."

Miller did not see him again.

Burgess drove back to his flat. Hewit returned from his office. The phone rang. Burgess answered. Hewit gathered he was talking to Donald Maclean.

After the phone call Burgess seemed upset. He left the flat—and Hewit did not see him again. That is Hewit's version of what happened around 5:30 p.m. that evening.

Burgess was next seen at the Reform Club. He asked for a road map of the North of England, presumably to lay a false trail. He drove off from the club to Tatsfield. Did he pick up Maclean in London? Or did he travel alone? The evidence about this comes from two sources and is contradictory.

According to Mrs. Maclean, her husband had already told her that a man named Roger Styles was coming to dinner that night. Mrs. Maclean was annoyed because members of the family were due for the weekend.

Friday, May 25, was Maclean's birthday and he wanted it to be a family-only affair. Maclean had asked for the Saturday morning off at the Foreign Office—apparently to interview his relatives.

It is certain that Maclean lunched on Friday with friends who later said they had rarely seen him in better form.

He had oysters with the friends—a married couple, the Wheelers, in Old Compton Street, Soho, and they had the meal at Schmidt's in Charlotte Street, W.

At 3 p.m. Maclean left after arranging to stay with the friends while his wife was having her baby—the very short.

He went to the Traveller's Club in Pall Mall and cashed a cheque for £5 [£14]. He then went home to his wife.

That afternoon—or earlier—Mr. Morrison had given authority for him to be questioned by security men. But Saturday morning leave was not cancelled.

What follows is Mrs. Maclean's version. She said that Maclean went to Charing Cross and caught the 5.15 p.m. train, the usual train on Friday evenings to Sevenoats, and arrived home around 6 p.m.

If this is so, then he must have been on the train at the time Hewit thought he was talking to Burgess.

On the other hand, Mrs. Maclean reported a "suggestion" later that Burgess and his wife had travelled to Tatsfield together.

Before she got that "warm feeling" she said that Burgess arrived in his hired car at 6:30 p.m.—a half an hour after his husband. Even before he arrived Maclean had told his wife that they would have to sort out "business" and that he might have to stay out the night.

Burgess was introduced to Mrs. Maclean as Roger Styles. She had not met him before, she said, she was waiting to meet him again for more than two years. They were to meet in Moscow.

But by her own account there was no hint that evening—as she, her husband and Burgess had—of the faint events in store.

Maclean had put a few things—a full dressing gown, one—in his briefcase. He told his wife again that he

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SELF-DRIVE AGREEMENT

WELBECK MOTORS LIMITED
117 CRAWFORD STREET, W.1
WELBECK 3221

DATE OF THE AGREEMENT: 25.5.51

NAME: [Signature] ADDRESS: [Address]

SIGNATURE: [Signature] DATE: 25.5.51

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SELF-DRIVE AGREEMENT to Mr. Burgess and Maclean to Southampton. Signature of Burgess: [Signature]

Nobody saw them take a train. Nobody saw them arrive in Paris. From the main square of Rennes, a town of 102,000 in Brittany, Burgess and Maclean vanished from the sight of the western world.

...would have to go out on business. He said he would away for more than a day. He was not drunk. He was restrained, even off-hand. He told her of his intentions. Mrs. Maclean later told the M.I.5 and Foreign Office investigators. She maintained—right up to September 11, 1953—herself, without a word of explanation to her mother, from Geneva to join her husband and Burgess. He left his own Humber Snipe in his garage. Burgess at the wheel they drove off in the hired car. They were making for Southampton, 100 miles. They caught the cross-channel steamer *Falaise*, leaving for England at midnight. And they had left it late. They had booked a two-berth cabin at Victoria two days before. He had booked it in his own name. Two men arrived at Southampton with only minutes to spare. They ran up to board the steamer, abandoning the car on the quayside.

Burgess: "Back on Monday"

A worker called after them: "What about your car?" He shouted: "Back on Monday." A passenger reported later that a man in a Homburg and a 10 ft. 10 in. tall, clean-shaven and sallow, greeted Burgess as they boarded the steamer. He had travelled with them to St. Malo. The trio kept their heads down. Whenever seen they were in deep and solemn conversation. They left the ship together at St. Malo. Burgess returned to the ship the same night and prepared his business was done. For Maclean and Burgess were good. That man returned to England. A question about that man came from William John Lyons, an old London produce merchant. Mr. Lyons travelled with Maclean and Burgess. Mr. Lyons saw Burgess in Lyons' office at Springfield, Goods Station, he told

...going to St. Malo to buy potatoes and boarded the ship with my wife in good time. The ship was due at midnight. And just three minutes before that—I was at my watch, because it was cutting it so fine—two men now recognise to be Maclean and Burgess boarded the ship. I turned to a man next to me, a man in a Homburg hat and a top hat, and I said: "My word, they are cutting it fine." He turned to me with a look of surprise and an expression which meant: "What business is it of yours?" Then, Maclean and Burgess reached the top of the gangway, and I stepped forward to greet them. They were smartly dressed and carrying a small briefcase. Burgess was a great contrast because he was in a top hat and wasn't wearing a hat. The three men got into conversation. I did not see them again until the morning, when they were having a worried-looking

...came the incident which made me remember all the time. We arrived at St. Malo. It was about 10:30 in the morning—and it was simply bucketing with rain. My thought it was out of the question to go ashore

through that downpour. So did all the other passengers—all except the diplomats and their friend.

"That's why we noticed them. Just as soon as the gangway was placed they went ashore, getting soaked. But then we noticed another odd thing. There was only one taxi waiting, a very nice new black job, and it was waiting not on the rank opposite the gangway, but opposite the forward part of the ship.

"I thought I saw all three men get into the taxi and off it went. It was another three-quarters of an hour before other taxis appeared and they lined up opposite the gangway for the passengers.

"The rain that Saturday lasted until three o'clock. I went about my business in St. Malo and returned to the *Falaise* which was due to sail for Jersey that night. Some time between nine and ten the nurse called over the loudspeakers for Mr. Burgess to report to his office for customs and passport purposes. Three times that message was repeated.

"Of course, not only did the name mean nothing to me at that time—but I didn't connect it with the three men I'd seen going off in the rain.

"A couple of weeks later I saw in the *Daily Express* that those two diplomats were missing, and then, as soon as I saw their pictures and read the name Burgess, it came back to me very clearly."

Here it has to be said that the Special Branch investigators following up Mr. Lyons' account were not able to trace the third man.

It was discovered that Burgess had left all his luggage on the *Falaise*. Why? This has never been satisfactorily explained.

At St. Malo there were two trains they could have caught which would pass through Rennes and go on to Paris.

But they hailed taxi driver Albert Gilbert and paid him 5,000 francs (£25 or \$14) to drive them to Rennes in time to catch the 1:18 p.m. to Paris. Gilbert said later that he took only two men.

At Rennes the diplomats got out of the taxi in the main square before the Hotel du Commerce. But no one saw them take a train. Nobody saw them arrive in Paris.

What Burgess Took With Him

From the main square of Rennes, a town of 102,000 in Brittany, Burgess and Maclean vanished from the sight of the western world.

At Friday midnight, meanwhile, Miller, the American deserted by Burgess—had telephoned the flat in New Bond Street. Hewitt told him he had no idea where Burgess might have gone, that Burgess might have been drinking and then forgotten or ignored his arrangements.

Next day with Burgess missing, gone without a word, Hewitt began to look around the flat. He made an inventory of his friend's belongings and listed these things as missing:

1. Savings Certificates totalling £240 or £250 (\$1426 or \$1401) which had been in Burgess's possession for years, and which he had taken to America and brought back untouched.
2. Two bundles of new pound notes—one bundle of 125, the other slightly bigger.

Hewitt had first noticed these when he unpacked Burgess's baggage on his return from America. He had asked Burgess: "Where did you get all this money?" Burgess had shrugged

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"Burgess and Maclean had three clear days to get unimpeded to wherever they were going. A clever agent had organised the escape. Who was he? How did the Russians outwit and outmanoeuvre Britain's security authorities?"

and said: "Oh, in some black-market dollar deal in the States. Don't worry about it."

3. The black leather official briefcase used by Guy Burgess at work.

4. A large suitcase containing a green and brown Irish tweed suit, a biscuit-coloured American gaberdine suit, a blue pin-stripe suit, a grey flannel suit, several nylon shirts, two pairs of blue jeans, and one pair of shoes.

Hewitt could find no note from Burgess.

For three days Hewitt and Miller kept in touch, their theory that Burgess was on a drinking bout fast fading. On the third

day—Monday, May 28—they reported that Burgess was missing.

On that Monday Mrs. Maclean reported that her husband was missing.

Thus Burgess and Maclean had three clear days to get unimpeded to wherever they were going.

A clever agent had organised the escape. Who was he? How did the Russians outwit and outmanoeuvre Britain's security authorities? This shall be told.

It was the culminating episode in the long history of the diplomats' treachery.

CHAPTER

V

The Road to Moscow

HOW DID THE DIPLOMATS take the first steps on the road to Moscow? Mr. Morrison pointed out—and most reasonable people agreed—that there is a stark difference between undergraduates talking Communism and diplomats giving secrets to a Foreign Power.

Who then led Burgess and Maclean to such treachery? One answer was given to Gordon Young of the *Daily Mail*, who wrote on Oct. 20 this year [1955]:

"A highly nervous man in a brown tweed suit who spent part of the last war in Pentonville Prison claimed to give the name of the secret agent who first recruited the two British diplomats for the Soviet Intelligence Service."

The informant produced to me papers which identified him as, in fact, a person who has occupied a highly responsible position in foreign Communist official circles. This is what he said:

"In the early days of the last war I was one of a group of Communists who were interned by the British Government, first in Pentonville and later on the Isle of Man."

"In that same group was the man who claimed to have been the Red agent who originally contacted not only Burgess and Maclean but a number of other British people whom I could name if I wanted to and won them over as secret agents for the Soviet Government."

"His name was Ludwig Freund, a Sudeten-German of Jewish origin, who was born in 1904 in Reichenberg. He was at one time editor of the German-language Communist weekly *Die Rote Fahne* in Prague."

"Freund was a brilliant—and dangerous—young man. As an ardent young Communist he had first studied commercial law in Berlin and, in 1926 and 1927, economics at London University. He spoke almost perfect English."

"After being briefed on his mission in Germany, Freund went back to Britain in the early thirties ostensibly to attend lectures at both Oxford and Cambridge Universities."

"It was while visiting Cambridge that he contacted Burgess and Maclean and the others, and it was he who arranged their necessary Intelligence 'contacts' for them, both in London and also in Paris when Maclean went to work at the Embassy there."

"The wartime official positions held by the two diplomats greatly increased their usefulness, and more for the first time Moscow allotted to them financial payments."

"Freund was ordered by the Kremlin to set up a unit in Britain along with Karl Kreibitz, a former director of the Comintern's British section in Moscow."

"Both men were released from internment after Russian entry into the war, and it was easy for Burgess to maintain contact with them."

"During the conversation with the man who was at that time acting as his contact man, a Hungarian Communist spy, Maclean revealed that he had taken his Melinda into his confidence and that she was helping him in his work."

Gordon Young added this footnote:

"And what happened to Freund? The man who was coming to the man from Pentonville, claimed the whole affair."

"After the war he returned to Czechoslovakia, changed his name to Ludvik Frejka, became economic leader of the Government, and was hanged as a traitor along with Clementis in 1952."

And now meet another character of the weird and sinister half-world in which the diplomats lived who they managed to keep up Foreign Office appearances. The man who claimed some responsibility for their defection.

In March 1954 Serton Delmer, Chief European correspondent of the *Daily Express*, met Baron Wolfgang von Putlitz in a Cologne hotel. This was the intriguing agent sent by Delmer.

"You would expect, would you not, that British Intelligence officers would at least give a routine check-over to a man who?"

"One is a close friend of Guy Burgess, the vanished British diplomat. Two has himself fled from Britain to the Iron Curtain and holds a job now in a Communist office in Berlin's Soviet sector. Three is an ex-Briton. Four is an ex-diplomat. Five is at present visiting his mother in West Germany and therefore available for questioning."

But so far no British Intelligence officer has bothered 52-year-old Baron Wolfgang von Putlitz in his Cologne

... The Daily Express: "Petrov, former Third Secretary at the Russian Embassy in Canberra, has revealed the WHEREABOUTS of the diplomats: HOW they are employed; HOW they are paid"

Hotel. Only Dr. Otto John, head of the German Security Services, has had a chat with him.

"The baron is quite ready to chat. You know," he said to me, "I may have been the indirect inspiration of Guy Burgess's decision to come over to us."

"He smiled and quickly added: 'Of course I cannot be certain that Maclean and Burgess are with us. I have never seen them or even been told anything about them. But then—such things are secret."

"However, I have a good notion that I was responsible. Yes, that is possible—very possible."

"Wolfgang zu Putlitz, member of a Junkers family, had used his position in the German Foreign Office to fight Hitler by passing secret information to the British between 1935 and 1939."

"But in September 1939 he managed to get on a plane and escaped from The Hague to London."

"Burgess," said the baron, "had been an intimate friend of mine since 1934. He was immensely impressed with what I had done. He kept telling everyone we met he thought I was the bravest man he had ever met. It was most embarrassing. Probably he made up his mind to follow my example."

"Last time Putlitz and Burgess met was at the farewell party Burgess gave in his Bond Street flat before his departure for America."

"A Terribly Wild Evening"

"It was a terribly wild evening," said Putlitz. "But everyone was there, including Professor Anthony Blunt, the art expert."

"Putlitz, a naturalised British citizen by then, was given a £25-a-week job as a shipping clerk in London."

"I could hardly live on that," he said. "I had to eat fried fish every day. My rent alone cost me £3 a week."

"But while I starved, Britain began to support the rearmament of Germany and the rebirth of German militarism."

"Everything in fact was being restored that I abhorred and to fight which I had sacrificed my name and my career. I decided to get out and go over to the Russians."

"Don't you think this friend of Burgess is a man our intelligence experts should take the trouble to look over while he is around?"

"There is no record that they ever did."

But one month after Delmer wrote this the Intelligence Service were to be spurred into interest by another man—named Petrov.

Vladimir Petrov was Third Secretary at the Russian Embassy in Canberra. He was also head of the Russian spy ring in Australia. He was head of an important branch of the MVD, the Soviet secret police. He held the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the service.

In April 1954 it became known that he had decided to break with Communism and seek asylum in Australia. He had over secret documents and gave much information to Australian security officers.

Since this information involved Australian citizens a Royal Commission was set up to investigate the allegations. Petrov

gave no evidence before the Commission on Maclean and Burgess, since the story of the diplomats did not concern Australian security—but Petrov had told a very great deal about them to security officers.

And in that month Perry Hoskins, Chief Crime Reporter of the Daily Express, reported:

"As a result of disclosures made by fast-talking Vladimir Petrov, ALL is clear now to British Intelligence about the missing diplomats Burgess and Maclean."

"Petrov, former Third Secretary at the Russian Embassy in Canberra, has revealed the WHEREABOUTS of the



VLADIMIR PETROV

Seen after giving evidence before the Royal Australian Commission on Espionage. He revealed: "Burgess and Maclean were long-term spies for the Soviet Union."

diplomats; HOW they are employed; HOW they are paid."

"He has told Australian security officers the names of those WHO planned the escape route which Burgess and Maclean took nearly three years ago."

"Petrov, former chief in Australia of the Russian secret police, has also told WHO helped the diplomats to get across the Continent."

"And heavily guarded couriers are daily bringing to London these secrets and others concerning disappearances and kidnappings."

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"Petrov stated that Maclean and Burgess did not know of each other's activities as Soviet agents until just before their flight. One or other had been led to believe that both of them were under investigation"

With Petrov is his 35-year-old honey-blond wife Evdokia. She was a cipher clerk in the embassy, and she was, it is further revealed, a key operative in the secret police.

With her husband in political asylum in a hiding place in New South Wales—she is talking fast too.

Couriers are bringing copies of their statements by plane not only to London but to the Intelligence Departments of the other Western Powers.

Revealed already are the details of most Communist subversive activity in the West since 1945, when Igor Couzenko, Russian cipher clerk in Ottawa, exposed the spy-rings in Canada.

The leak of Communist spy activities has become a waterfall—so that all branches of the Intelligence Services of NATO are now fully occupied checking facts, identifying agents, and tracing payments to 'fifth columnist' co-operators.

Already yesterday came news of developments in Moscow, where Prime Minister Malenkov had reorganised his Government.

And the most notable change is the setting up of a State Security Committee, independent of Sergei Kruglov, the Minister of the Interior who succeeded Beria, the shot traitor.

To the head of this new committee goes General Ivan Serov, until now deputy to Kruglov. And Serov, 48-year-old ladies' man, with a long record of undercover arrests in Russia, will have the task of reorganising his foreign services.

As a result of this story the Foreign Office was bombarded with questions from the Press, and a spokesman said this:

"We have not yet received a full account from Australia of the evidence produced by Petrov.

In these circumstances, any hearsay evidence which Petrov may produce must be treated with some reserve, and cannot be regarded in any sense as conclusive, or to justify statements made in the Press this morning."

Keeping "the Other Side" in the Dark

And on May 3, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, then Minister of State, added:

"It should be remembered that in these security matters it is important not to let the other side know how much we know."

There this aspect of the case had to rest until September this year. It was then that the Australian Royal Commission reported its findings. And one of its findings was this: that Petrov had been a reliable witness.

On September 18, 1955, *The People* began publication of Petrov's own story, and several cats were out of the diplomatic bag.

This, in part, is what Petrov had to say about the missing diplomats. One of his best agents in Australia, Kislytsin by name, approached him excitedly in September 1953—after Mrs. Maclean had vanished to join her husband.

Petrov, until this point, had not been let into the Maclean

and Burgess secrets, but now Kislytsin wanted to get in touch with MYD men in Moscow with whom he had planned Mrs. Maclean's journey.

To get permission to send coded cables he had to tell Petrov of his connection with the diplomats and from the messages sent and received Petrov picked up the story in detail.

Petrov stated that Maclean and Burgess did not know of each other's activities as Soviet agents until just before their flight. One or other had been led to believe that both of them were under investigation.



V. KISLYTSIN
This was the man, said Petrov, who in the Kremlin helped to organize the flight of Maclean and Burgess. Later he was to have a hand in organizing the flight of Mrs. Maclean.

Kruglov was released from his duties on Feb. 1, 1956.

"The route to Paris was plotted. From Paris a Soviet or Czech plane flew them to Prague. The rest was easy. They ended in Moscow. The diplomats were appointed advisers to the Soviet Foreign Ministry."

They reported the fact to their Soviet contact in London and the resources of the MVD were mobilised.

In Moscow the top agents, headed by a Colonel Raima including Kislytsin, gathered to discuss the situation. They decided that Maclean and Burgess had to be saved in arrest and taken to Iron Curtain sanctuary.

The route to Paris was plotted. From Paris a Soviet or Czech plane flew them to Prague. The rest was easy. They ended in Moscow.

There Kislytsin met them—for the first time—and he became their welfare supervisor. He settled them in a Moscow suburb. The diplomats were appointed advisers to the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

What have they been doing since? A Russian envoy, Frederick Sands of the *Daily Mail* in Geneva this November that Maclean analyses all plans put forward by the West.

During the Big Four's "Summit" conference last summer Maclean, the official said, was brought to East Berlin and consulted at every stage of the discussions. Sands cabled:

"The Russian told me: Yes, I have met Maclean. I saw him the first time in Moscow in the summer of 1954.

"I also had dealings with him later, but he never appeared in Moscow after that."

Maclean was using another name. When I saw him last he was still wearing typically English clothes, which made him very easily recognisable.

"Neither Burgess nor Maclean is allowed into Moscow except on very rare and special occasions. Maclean has been kept away from Burgess."

"It does not appear that Burgess has anything like the position of trust that Maclean has."

"When the Soviet delegation, consisting of Bulganin, Khrushchev, and Zhukov, left Moscow last July for the 'Summit' conference, Maclean went with them to East Berlin. He stayed there all through the conference and was regularly consulted."

"The Western proposals were brought to him for an analysis of 'what they imply' between the lines, and to discover the weak points."

"I have not met Burgess personally. His work is concerned mostly with a department which deals with foreign trade," said the Russian.

"He thought that to be used as they are, both must have had many years of contact to be taken into the confidence of Soviet authorities."

CHAPTER VII

The Trail Is Followed

ON SUNDAY, May 27, 1951, Maclean was already overdue as far as his wife was concerned. Mrs. Maclean was worried. She made no effort to contact any one in the Foreign Office, nor did she ask that Department for the details of the whereabouts of "Roger Styles."

Instead, she telephoned the Foreign Office the next day, Monday. She learned that he had not turned up for work. It appears that no action was taken immediately; that this vital information about a man under surveillance for espionage was not passed on automatically to the Foreign Office "Q" (Security) Men.

In the afternoon Mrs. Maclean spoke directly to Mr. C. A. Carey Foster, head of Q, and spoke of her worries. He learned, for the first time, about "Roger Styles," and told Mrs. Maclean to keep silent.

On the same day Jack Hewitt became certain that his friend Burgess had fled. He went not to the police but to Professor Anthony Blunt, Surveyor of the King's (now Queen's) Pictures. Professor Blunt had been a friend of Burgess since Cambridge days, said Hewitt, and they had once shared a flat with him in Bentinck Street, W.

The professor had been a wartime officer in Military Intelligence, said Hewitt, and was therefore in a position to relay the news to the highest authorities at once.

This Professor Blunt did. The names of Burgess and Maclean were readily linked. And then, in the strictest secrecy, the hunt was on.

The official version of how the search began was given in the White Paper:

Maclean's absence did not become known to the authorities until the morning of Monday, May 28. The Foreign Office is regularly open for normal business on Saturday mornings but officers can from time to time obtain leave to miss a weekend off.

In accordance with this practice, Maclean applied for and obtained leave to be absent on the morning of Saturday, May 26. His absence therefore caused no remark until the following Monday morning when he failed to appear at the Foreign Office.

Burgess was on leave and under no obligation to report his movements.

Immediately the light was known, all possible action was taken in the United Kingdom and the French and other Continental security authorities were asked to trace the whereabouts of the fugitives and, if possible, to interview them.

All British Consulates in Western Europe were alerted and special efforts were made to discover whether the fugitives had crossed the French frontier on May 26 or 27.

The news that the men had vanished did not reach the public until the morning of June 7. Six days after the Foreign Office knew they were missing.

There was a widespread impression that there had been a delay of up to six days in the passing of information to the French authorities.

In Paris, L. S. Solon, then Chief Correspondent of *France Press*

Only one material clue was found—and it was ignored as a clumsy trick. A snapshot of Maclean was found on the seat of a train to Paris. It was believed that the snapshot had been left by an agent deliberately to mislead.

tal for the *Daily Express* spent an afternoon with one of France's leading investigators. He wrote:

"Confidentially, the French detective said to me, 'do you really think the British want to find these two men? I could hardly understand the question.'

"This puzzles me," he said, "why did they delay informing us for six critical days—ample time to organise a hiding place and an airlift from France?"

"Second, why did they keep the information from the Press? If they had wished they could have had an immediate alert throughout Western Europe and that at least would have hindered any Communist escape plan."

"Undue Delay" Suggested

In the House on June 11 Mr. Nigel Fisher asked Mr. Morrison why there was an apparent delay in seeking the co-operation of French and perhaps other authorities who might have been able to help in the matter of these officials had they been informed earlier.

Mr. Morrison: "The point was a matter for the discretion of the security services, of course. I do not think that there was any undue delay there—"

Lord John Hope: "Six days."

Mr. Morrison: "The reference made by the noble Lord opposite to six days is wrong. I think that in the context of this question it should have been one day."

The truth seems to be this: there was some delay in the passing on of the first warning to the Ministry of the Interior in Paris.

And as soon as that message was received, a general warning was circulated to French frontier and customs police with the descriptions and passport numbers of the two men. The orders were to stop them on sight and take them to the Ministry headquarters in Paris.

But the French Ministry of the Interior delayed further in passing on their warnings to the *Sûreté*, the French Security police, who could have closed many gaps in the net.

As a result, the general warning was not given in France until June 4 or June 5.

Only one material clue was found—and it was ignored as a clumsy trick. A snapshot of Maclean was found on the seat of a train to Paris.

It was believed that the snapshot had been left by an agent deliberately to mislead.

The search went on at two levels. There was the official activity conducted as a private operation. And there was the unofficial activity of newspaper reporters conducted as a competitive enterprise. So it is instructive to see just how much (or how little) Whitehall knew about the men's movements even four years later. The White Paper records:

"It was established that Maclean and Burgess together left Tatsfield by car for Southampton in the late evening of Friday, May 25, arrived at Southampton at midnight, caught the s.s. *Falaise* for St. Malo and disembarked at that port

at 11.45 the following morning, leaving suitcase and some of their clothing on board."

"They were not seen on the train from St. Malo to Paris, and it has been reported that two men, believed to be Maclean and Burgess, took a taxi to Rennes and there to the 1.15 p.m. train to Paris. Nothing more was seen of them."

"In view of the suspicions held against Maclean and of the conspiratorial manner of his flight, it was assumed though it could not be proved that his destination and that of his companion must have been the Soviet Union or some other territory behind the Iron Curtain."

"Petrov has the impression that these escape routes included Czechoslovakia and that it involved a aeroplane flight into that country."

That is all.

Note the official assumption that the destination of the two men must have been the Soviet Union or some other territory behind the Iron Curtain. And note that British Embassies and Consulates behind the Iron Curtain were never alerted.

Therefore the official search began and ended in Paris. The unofficial search took reporters further afield, as will be related.

More Strange Telegrams

The first hard news came on June 10, 1951, one week after the first report in the *Daily Express*. It was announced that telegrams from the missing men had been received by both families. They created another mystery.

Maclean's telegram to his wife, sent from Paris, read:

MRS MACLEAN MELINDA BEACON SHAW
TATSFIELD NEAR WEST HAM SURREY ENGLAND
HAD TO LEAVE UNEXPECTEDLY TELLING SORRY
I AM QUITE WELL NOW DON'T WORRY DANCING
I LOVE YOU PLEASE DON'T STOP LOVING ME
DONALD

His telegram to Lady Maclean, his mother, was also sent from Paris, and read:

LADY MACLEAN 87 IVERNA COURT LONDON W.8
AM QUITE ALL RIGHT DON'T WORRY LOVE
TO ALL
DONALD

It was at once obvious that though Maclean may have dictated the telegrams, "Teento" was his pen name. Maclean never wrote the telegrams which were handed in at the Paris office.

The word "leave" had the final "e" missing. His wife, Melinda, was written after the surname. No woman would do that. And the "7" in his mother's address was crossed out in Continental fashion.

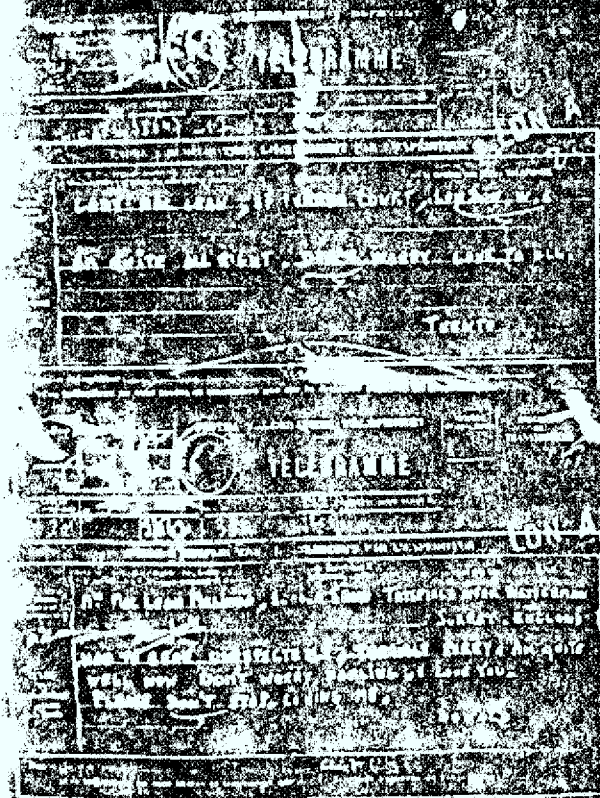
The Foreign Office gave this text of a telegram sent from Rome, to Mrs. J. R. Baxsen, Burgess' mother:

TERribly SORRY FOR ABSENCE AND EMBARKING ON LONG
MEDITERRANEAN HOLIDAY TO A SHORT TIME

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"An immense force of detectives, estimated 15,000 strong, was mobilised throughout Western Europe in a late effort to find Burgess and Maclean. . . . The hue and cry at home and abroad was unparalleled"

Why—or even if—Burgess was in Rome has never been established. The telegram may have been handed in at Rome to confuse the trail. For nothing that Petrov revealed pointed to Rome as a place on the escape route. Burgess had been, just before his flight, most anxious to see W. H. Auden's address in Italy. This indicated some contact in that country at a significant time. And Pontecorvo, the Harwell atom scientist, who left to join the Russians,



TELEGRAMS which purported to come from Donald Maclean after his flight. His family called him "Teento."

made Rome—where he was on holiday—his point of departure.

When the texts of the telegrams were released Supt. George Wilkinson, a Special Branch Investigator, flew to Paris. Wilkinson, a Russian linguist, had once been bodyguard in England to Molotov. He had worked on the inquiry into Pontecorvo's defection.

He compared the originals of the telegrams with the diplomats' handwriting; it was certain now that they had not written them.

An immense force of detectives, estimated 15,000 strong, was mobilised throughout Western Europe in a late effort to find Burgess and Maclean.

There was a secret meeting at No. 10 Downing Street of security chiefs, Commander Leonard Burt, head of the Special Branch, and members of the Government. Mr. Attlee, then Prime Minister, was given a full report of the hunt for the two men.

The hue and cry at home and abroad was unparalleled. Foreign Office methods came in for blunt criticism. On June 8, the *Daily Mirror* wrote:

"The Foreign Office took a strange and dangerous decision in the mystery of the vanished diplomats."

"It was decided NOT to take those steps which would most quickly and surely lead to the discovery of its two missing officials."

"There can be few newspapers in France or Britain not anxious to assist in tracing the men."

"In a few hours yesterday tens of millions of men and women could have learned through those newspapers what the men looked like."

"Photographs and descriptions could have been made available all over Europe in a matter of hours."

"The Foreign Office decided against this step. It has photographs. It has detailed descriptions. But it refused them to all comers."

Thirteen days passed after the men had disappeared before the news was given out. Even then the step was taken only because the news leaked out and had to be admitted.

Indeed, it was true, the news of the flight of Burgess and Maclean was not given to the people of this country until after it had been published by the *Daily Express*.

"Mystery" of the Messages

The *Daily Telegraph* said on June 9:

"It was learned in Paris last night that the text released there of the telegram sent to Maclean was an abbreviated version. The full text contained 85 words. French authorities declined to explain why they omitted the missing words."

The newspaper added: "The number of missing messages was increased by the number of their contents."

"The text of the two messages, apparently from Mr. Maclean, was not released by the Foreign Office but in Paris."

"The Foreign Office thereupon released the text of the telegram purporting to come from Mr. Burgess."

And then the *Daily Express* was criticised for releasing the news at all. This is from *Hansard* (official parliamentary proceedings) of June 11, 1951:

Miss Ward: Could the hon. hon. Gentleman tell us why this information came to be made public having regard to the need for keeping it as secret as possible, and the hon. hon. Gentleman was in a position to deal with the facts of the case, which is most important to the country?

Mr. Morrison: I have a lot of sympathy with the purpose of the hon. Lady's question, but when inquiries were instituted on the Continent it was possible that they would leak out.

As a matter of fact, we did not at first issue our own announcement, for I did not particularly want to do so for the reason given by the hon. Lady, but we had to do so. One national morning newspaper had some information and had already published a story about it.

"It was learned that the French police had been told by an informer working in the Czech Embassy in Paris that two men, answering to the description of the diplomats, had been seen entering the Embassy between May 28 and the first two days of June."

Upon which the London *Star* commented:

"This is 'security' mania. If the diplomats have been kidnapped or have voluntarily gone East then clearly 'security' could not hide the facts from those responsible.

"Why hide them from the people of Britain? Why was it naughty of the *Daily Express* to print the story?"

"Every newspaper of whatever political views would have done the same. That is what newspapers are for—to give the public the news."

See how foolish was the suppression of the news. A French official at Rennes said that when the *Falaise* sailed back from St. Malo, in the course of her week-end cruise, it was reported to him that two Englishmen with week-end tickets had failed to rejoin the ship.

It was not until June 5, ten days later, that he was warned of the disappearance of Burgess and Maclean.

Had news of the disappearance been made known at the earliest possible moment, on May 28 or May 29, the reports would have been dovetailed at once. And valuable time would have been saved.

As it was, the official did not learn details of the route taken by Burgess and Maclean until some six days after they took it.

But in the face of official non-cooperation—disapproval, even—-independent inquiries by newspapers went ahead.

When 23 days had gone by, there was still no definite clue to the men's whereabouts from any official or unofficial source. But rumours multiplied.

Therefore, on June 30, 1951, in an effort to secure some piece of evidence that would solve the mystery, the *Daily Express* offered a £1,000 [\$2,800] reward for information that would establish the whereabouts of the diplomats.

"All information," said the newspaper, "will be carefully sifted and passed on to the Security authorities—M.I.5, Scotland Yard Special Branch and Foreign Office police—for investigation."

The offer of the reward was circulated and it was reprinted by newspapers throughout the Western world.

"False Clues, False Trails"

Many false clues resulted—and many false trails were followed. And then came the first genuine news.

It was learned that the French police had been told by an informer working in the Czech Embassy in Paris that two men, answering to the description of the diplomats, had been seen entering the Embassy "between May 28 and the first two days of June."

Both men knew Paris and were known in Paris. Their old haunts, the Existentialist cafés and the Left Bank bars off the Boulevard St. Germain des Pres, were humming with rumour.

The *Daily Express* declared: "Some clues relate to Burgess's wide circle of friends in Paris. It is of the utmost importance to a solution of this problem of disappearance that it should be established beyond doubt whether or not the two men ever reached Paris."

In view of Petrov's statement, it would seem that the report of the diplomats entering the Czech Embassy in Paris was probably correct. The diplomats, it is virtually certain, left Orly airport for Prague in a Czech plane. And they would need official protection to leave France by air in secret.

The interest shifted to Prague. On July 8 came this report in the *Daily Express*, quoting a man of repute whose name was withheld to safeguard his friends in Prague. He said:

"On June 3, which was Sunday, I drove with my wife about 12 miles out of Prague to the Hotel Rene, a little two-storey place among pinewoods and a couple of miles off the main road."

"At Rene, which has half a dozen rooms, a bar, a fancy-pictured bar, and a rustic-styled restaurant, you escape the feeling of being spied on that we all get in Prague."

"Western diplomats often go there for lunch or tea. When everything was nationalised the Communists made the owner keep Rene going, mainly for foreigners."



MRS. MACLEAN GOES ON HOLIDAY
She is seen leaving London Airport in August 1951

"Mrs. Maclean, with Foreign Office approval, went on holiday with her mother and her children. She went to the South of France, where rumours had been circulating that Burgess and Maclean had been seen."

"My wife and I arrived about 2.30 which was late for Czech. Only one table was still occupied—by two Englishmen and two Czech girls."

"The Englishmen were strangers to us, and in Czechoslovakia these days you can count all the British here. We know them all."

"The girls were pretty, and smartly dressed, the type of girls who are paid to show foreigners a good time, and keep an eye on them."

"The Englishmen took little notice of the girls. They were finishing a bottle of red wine with a Bulgarian label, and talking to each other in clear, educated voices."

"We wondered who they could be. Obviously not trade unionists sampling the 'people's democracy'—the Press would have heralded such a visit, anyway."

"Not diplomats, we know them all and meet most of them for cocktails every week."

"Not businessmen—there is no business to be done, English fellow-travellers? Again, the Press would have made a fuss of them. It always does. The taller man, sitting in

profile about six yards away from us in the empty restaurant, seemed to resent my scrutiny."

"He drained his wine, then the four rose. I did not see a bill presented."

"Through the wide window I saw them go off in a chauffeur-driven Buick, sky-blue, with ordinary Czech number plate—foreigners in Prague get distinctive plates, yellow with red numbers."

"I had not heard of Maclean and Burgess then."

"A week later we saw an English newspaper and we recognised their pictures with a shock. The tall man in Rene's was Maclean, the other was Burgess."

"It is dangerous to discuss such things even on the phone, so I went round to a British diplomat, a friend of mine in Prague, and sitting in his bathroom with the taps running in case there was a microphone about, I told him what we had seen."

"He knew Burgess and Maclean, and said they were exactly as I described them."

"I went back to Rene's once or twice in the hope of running into them, but they did not show up. The belief in Prague is that they have gone off to Warsaw."

The British Embassy in Prague was informed of this life encounter.

Police Guard for Mrs. Maclean

Mrs. Maclean, meantime, had been requested by the Foreign Office to stay in England, in the hope that she might help the inquiries.

She now, with Foreign Office approval, went on holiday with her mother and her children—two-month-old Melinda, Fergus, aged 7, and Donald, aged 4. She went to the South of France, where rumours had been circulating that Burgess and Maclean had been seen.

She left on August 17, 1951, and three days later the London Evening Standard reported:

"Britain's Intelligence chief, Sir Percy Sillitoe, is at La Baule, the resort in Brittany. He arrived there last week."

"Mrs. Donald Maclean, wife of one of the missing diplomats, is with her children at a villa called La Sauvageonne, at Beauvallon on the Riviera."

"They are under police protection and ostensibly are on holiday."

"French newsmen think the presence in France of Sir Percy and Mrs. Maclean is more than a coincidence."

Lady Maclean, the missing diplomat's mother, who, with her son Alan, saw her off at Northolt airport, said: "It's purely a holiday. Mrs. Maclean is making no attempt whatsoever to find her husband while she is in France."

On August 25, Mrs. Maclean, having made one secret trip, left the villa again for two days. Mr. Harold Walton, Foreign Editor of the London Evening News, wrote:

"Today, Mrs. Melinda Maclean left on another mysterious journey. From inquiries it became clear that Mrs. Maclean had gone to the village of La Garde Fremer, high up in the



THE RETURN FROM HOLIDAY

Maclean with baby Melinda, son Fergus and her mother

"The White Paper has put Mrs. Maclean's mysterious journeying in a fresh light. . . Far more was known by Mrs. Maclean—and the Foreign Office—than the public was allowed to learn."

lonely mountains of Maitres, twenty miles inland from St. Tropez."

On August 30, the *News Chronicle* quoted her as saying: "I know my husband will come back some time."

The *Daily Mail* said on August 31: "Mrs. Melinda Maclean, quoted by the *Sûreté*, France's Scotland Yard, as having said today: 'I have received no message from my husband. I don't know where he is.'"

Mrs. Maclean returned to England with her family on September 17, 1951. She had nothing to say except: "I have had a holiday."

But the White Paper has put that holiday and Mrs. Maclean's mysterious journeying in a fresh light—and justice, the newspaper vigilance at the time. Far more was known by Mrs. Maclean—and the Foreign Office—than the public was allowed to learn.

As we shall see.

CHAPTER VIII

"Maclean Is Alive"

THE FIRST PROOF that Maclean was alive had come secretly on August 31, 1951—a fortnight before Mrs. Maclean left on her holiday in the South of France.

For on August 3, Mrs. Melinda Dunbar, living with her daughter, Mrs. Maclean, at Tatsfield, received two registered letters posted in St. Gallen, Switzerland, on August 1.

It was ten months later before the public learned about this. On June 2, 1953, the *Daily Express* published the following by chief crime reporter Percy Hoskins:

"The first tangible evidence has reached the British Foreign Office that the missing diplomats, Guy Burgess and Donald Maclean, are alive.

"A stranger walked into a Swiss commercial bank a few weeks ago and deposited currency valued at £1,000.

"He asked for the money to be forwarded to the London account of Maclean's American mother-in-law, Mrs. Dunbar.

"So a credit note was sent to a firm of City merchants.

"Mrs. Dunbar was notified.

"She went at once to the British Intelligence authorities, and reported that she did not know the person who deposited the money.

"The Swiss bank was asked for more information about the identity of the depositor but could give none. An official said the money was forwarded in the normal way.

"Now it lies untouched in a London bank.

"British Intelligence feels it safe to assume that the deposit was made by an emissary sent into Switzerland by Maclean.

"He is the only person outside Mrs. Dunbar's immediate family who knows of her banking arrangements in England.

"It is thought that he used Mrs. Dunbar's account so that the money would reach his wife Melinda and three children without the authorities knowing.

"There are no regulations to stop such payments, and if the Secret Service theory is correct it indicates that one missing diplomat is profitably employed by a Communist State."

A *Daily Express* reporter submitted a question to Mrs. Dunbar about the £1,000. She sent the reply: "The authorities know all the facts. I cannot make a statement."

Four days later Ernest Ashwick, *Daily Express* correspondent in Zurich, cabled a descriptive account of the way in which the money might have been sent to Mrs. Dunbar from Maclean in Prague.

"Where is Maclean getting the money from? This is the fact which I have checked beyond doubt from Swiss informants who do business with Czechoslovakia and make regular visits to Prague.

"About a year ago, two Englishmen were installed in a large house in Prague which had been seized by the Communist Government after its owner, a lawyer, fled to the United States.

"This house became the headquarters of an export-import organization controlled by the Englishmen.

"Its business is to evade United States export restrictions, laws in order to get strategic goods from America to from certain countries.

"He went on: "Maclean's secret numbered account in the Swiss bank has had very large sums of money passed through it for payments to business houses.

"It has also had sums of money transmitted to Mrs. Dunbar, and left untouched by her in her London bank—and people in America.

Percy Hoskins added:

"British Intelligence officers are certain that the £1,000 sent to Mrs. Dunbar came from Maclean by this concealed amount method.

"They are also certain that both men reached Prague a few days after their disappearance.

During a Press controversy which came later, and which is reported later in this book, the *Sunday Observer* prepared an article attacking the *Daily Express* for statements made on the matter of Burgess and Maclean.

The article, as submitted before publication for the inspection of the Editor of the *Daily Express*, contained this paragraph:

"Mr. Donald Maclean says his wife has not sent £1,000 to his mother-in-law since his disappearance, at roughly the same time as the *Daily Express* first announced this event (described as the strongest clue to Maclean's whereabouts). Mrs. Maclean's mother received a sum