The Archaeology of Cold War Intelligence: Material and Landscape Studies of BRIXMIS Intelligence

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Abstract

This paper applies an archaeological methodology to analyse the British Commanders'-in-Chief Mission to the Soviet Forces in Germany (BRIXMIS) and its intelligence collection efforts. Methods of artefact analysis, experimental archaeology, and landscape studies of mobility through rhythmanalysis and observational chains are applied to the various material representing BRIXMIS—these include reconnaissance vehicles, kit equipment material, Soviet military sites, and the landscape of restricted zones enforced throughout East Germany. These methods allow for the reconstruction of a critical Cold War intelligence collection operation in a way not possible to do from archival records alone.

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Introduction

Academic studies of intelligence history are often approached through theoretical or empirical studies based upon archival research, supplemented by memoir and oral histories. This is a valid approach and will continue to be the basis of intelligence studies. However, there is room for growth in approaches to methodology. This paper proposes to apply archaeological methodologies of material and landscape analysis to the study of intelligence collection. The study focuses on the British Commanders'-in-Chief Mission to the Soviet Forces in Germany (BRIXMIS) and examining the reconstruction of the mission's experience and relationship with the material forms of collecting intelligence. This paper is introductory to the doctoral thesis *The Archaeology of Cold War Intelligence: Material and Landscape Studies of the BRIXMIS Intelligence* and will focus on the proposed methodology and approach of applying archaeology to the study of BRIXMIS intelligence collection through specific case studies, and what these methods aim to provide in its future analysis. This report is not driven by results but provides the foundation to which this project (specific to BRIXMIS) and future research towards various intelligence collection, can be based from.

This paper will first provide a brief historical background to BRIXMIS and a look into its intelligence work, introducing the context in which this paper's research is applied. This is followed by an introduction to the field of archaeology where definitions and concepts of material artefacts and landscapes are explored, highlighting the idea of 'entanglement' - that materials and landscapes are present in any human experience, and are therefore appropriate towards the study of intelligence collection and its tactics. The paper then presents the main archaeological methods used within the study of BRIXMIS, defining the methods of artefact analysis, experimental archaeology, site surveying, and landscape mobility studies of observational chains and rhythmanalysis. These methods are explored in their application to various BRIXMIS case studies including the mission's kit equipment, tour vehicles, Soviet military sites, and the physical landscape of former East Germany. The paper concludes with a consideration of the current scholarship on intelligence collection, both within scholarship on BRIXMIS and within broader research in intelligence studies, and how the use of archaeological practices opens doors to previously unstudied material to provide insight into the tactical nature of intelligence collection.

BRIXMIS: Origin and Intelligence

After the Second World War Germany was divided into four Zones of Occupation (ZOs) between the Soviets, Americans, British, and French. Each zone was assigned a Commander-in- Chief, each in command of his military, naval, and air force representatives to carry out liaison functions. This organisation eventually formalised and was given legal status as formal Military Liaison Missions (MLMs) with the Robertson-Malinin Agreement[1] signed on 16 September, 1946, between the British and Soviet forces in Germany. The Soviet Union signed similar agreements concerning MLMs between the U.S. and French in 1947[2] (Furs 2000). The signed agreement had detailed administrative matters, but vague specific tasks for the Military Liaison Missions, and left room for interpretation. The document also went unchanged from its 1946 signing until its end with the reunification of Germany at the end of the Cold War.

The original intent for the liaison mission was to maintain order in the mangled post-war Germany, with focus on the repatriation of POWs, displaced persons, war criminals, border disputes, and to broadly serve as a passage for communication between the Soviet and British Commander-in Chiefs (Furs 2000; Williams 2007). However, by the late 40s with Soviet tensions rising, while remaining legally a liaison mission, BRIXMIS saw that their position was favourable to gain intelligence. Their role within the intelligence community of the Cold War continued to grow until its disbandment in 1990 (Williams 2007).

BRIXMIS members were directly accredited to the Soviets in Germany and therefore had diplomatic immunity, with Soviet identity cards and legal access between both East and West Germany ('BRIXMIS, British Defence of Berlin, and Rudolf Hess' n.d.; Williams 2007). They always wore their uniforms clearly marked with 'BRIXMIS' armbands and drove marked BRIXMIS vehicles, hard to miss with their bright yellow licence plates. Yet despite their 'open'

[1] The Robertson-Malinin Agreement, signed on 16th September 1946, was the first official agreement in the process of formalising Allied Military Liaison Missions between the British and Soviet Union. It was signed by Colonel General Malinin, Deputy CINC [DCINC] and Chief of Staff [COS] of the Group of Soviet Occupation Forces in Germany [GSFG], and Lieutenant General Robertson, Deputy Military Governor (the title of the DCINC of the British ZO).

[2] The Noiret-Malinin Agreement (French-Soviet) and the Huebner-Malinin Agreement (U.S.-Soviet).

appearance, BRIXMIS managed to maintain clandestine operations and gained invaluable intelligence behind the Iron Curtain (Williams 2007).

BRIXMIS operated in 'tours'- ground tours and air tours. Ground based operations consisted of a Tour Officer, a Tour SNCO (often a Warrant Officer), and a Tour Driver (often a Corporal)- On occasion roles deviated and members were trained in all roles should they be expected to operate across traditional inter-service boundaries (BRIXMIS Association Committee 2017). Tours were given tasked targets - Soviet garrisons, tac routes and convoys, rail loading ramps, etc - often observing these sites from a chosen Observation Point (OP) to photograph, record, or film this military activity. On frequent occasion, there would also be physical Soviet equipment and material, such as munition or discarded paperwork that tours would collect. Tours were conducted in reinforced vehicles with multiple gadget features, safety measures and improved driving capabilities to accommodate the various conditions, tasks and risks that intelligence gathering brought. Airborne tours operated in the BRIXMIS Chipmunk aircraft, which would cover the densely garrisoned grounds within the 20-mile radius of the Berlin Control Zone (BRIXMIS Association Committee 2017, Williams 2007).

BRIXMIS did have its limitations, however, in that their movement was largely controlled by Permanently/Temporary Restricted Areas (PRAs, TRAs) set up by the Soviets to keep the liaison missions out of their more secretive and high profile sites (though this did not always prove effective) (BRIXMIS Association Committee 2017, Williams 2007). As tours were in identifiably marked BRIXMIS vehicles and personnel wore uniforms, a tour's discretion and navigation between and around PRAs and TRAs were heavily reliant on concealed observation points and other cloaking features within the landscape. When in the open a tour depended on their speed and skill with their equipment to capture clear images, collecting valuable intelligence. BRIXMIS intelligence collection efforts reflect a relationship between the mission's spies, the tools of their trade, and the environment in which they worked. This paper aims to address this relationship.

Archaeology: What is it and how does it apply to intelligence?

Archaeology is often associated with the ancient, however this view remains somewhat narrow. Archaeology is the study of past cultures through material and landscape but the cut-off date for what is considered the *past* is not strict. Within the last decades, archaeologists have begun to consider our modern times as appropriate to the study of archaeology (Myers, 2011; Schofield et al., 2002; Schofield and Cocroft, 2007). The artefacts and concept of time are very different between the ancient and the modern, but the same methods applied to study the ancient can still be applied to study the modern.

Archaeology is a 'science of objects'. An object is more commonly referred to in the field as an *artefact*, being anything "made or modified by people". An artefact is a thing of the past, 'things' that are reflective of human "needs, capabilities, and aspirations" (Hurcombe, 2014, 3). They are 'things' that people depend on. Different cultures usually have different 'things', or at least characteristics of things that set them apart from other cultures. An artefact, as a 'thing', is not isolated to itself, they are part of a chain connected to other 'things' – other artefacts, landscapes, people, animals, and so on. The importance of an artefact or landscape lies within the 'entanglement' of this relationship (Hodder 2012). In its relationship to humans, an artefact is an active source of information, reflecting the human's knowledge of what that artefact is and how to use it - what did people do with the object, and how can the life histories of objects reveal the activities and thoughts and strategies of that past society (Shanks 1998, 27)? In the case of BRIXMIS, an artefact is relevant to the collection of intelligence. For example. a camera will require the human knowledge about its function and physical properties. This provides insight into the skills of personnel (Preda 1999). Artefacts also have a relationship with other artefacts, be it components of the same object or separate. A BRIXMIS vehicle can be treated as an artefact in its entirety, but beyond the exterior there are pipes, ducts, cables and valves, each also considered an artefact.

BRIXMIS experience the 'things' around them as they pertain to intelligence. The 'things' of BRIXMIS are their equipment, their tour vehicles, their Soviet targets, and the landscape around them – were experienced and drawn attention to by BRIXMIS differently to others within the same time and place. A BRIXMIS tour will notice the finer details of a passing Soviet convoy than the average person driving by. Furthermore, through training and repetition, comes specific skills and thought in their tactics, their planning based upon the motor memory

of interaction with the 'things' that remain in constant use. Breaking from intuitive unawareness, there is also view into instances in which personnel become very *aware* of the 'things' around them when they are faced with improvisation. Through the study of BRIXMIS 'things' - its artefacts and landscapes – this thesis incorporates these themes of thought, repetition, skills, and improvisation into analysing the experience of BRIXMIS intelligence collection.

With the repetition of interaction with 'things', dependency creates a pattern. However, what of an interaction with a 'thing' in flux? There are natural cycles to anything within this world, and these cycles may move within the second, or over years. The decay, loss, destruction of a 'thing' will ultimately affect its relationship with the human, prompting a response to adapt to this change. Our dependency on a 'thing' is now constrained. There has been a number of studies analysing the sciences and laboratory work. The actors in an experiment are all linked 'things' – the scientist, the equipment, the animals (Latour, 1999; Latour, 1993; Latour 1990) In these studies, the focus is on what happens when things go wrong and the effect this has on an experiment. This research proposed in this paper does not focus on the material representation of how things went 'wrong' for BRIXMIS as a study of intelligence 'failure'. Instead, it will consider the cycle of material change and identify the moment a 'thing' changed and how BRIXMIS personnel adapted to this in their intelligence collection. How did they deal with broken equipment, or a detained and damaged tour vehicle? How did they adapt to the changing landscape of new barriers and PRAs? How did this affect their intelligence collection?

Landscape archaeology is the study of how people construct, modify, use and interact with their surrounding landscape (Greene & Moore 2010, 82-85). Ultimately, landscape archaeology analyses the 'space' in which past human activity is present. This space takes on either material, social, or cognitive forms. 'Material' being the space one that is physically created by past humans, 'social' being the relationship one has with both others and the material space and how one navigates within it, and 'cognitive' being how one comprehends these material and social spaces (Delle 1998, 38-39). This paper identifies methods to analyse BRIXMIS mobility within its operating landscape, Soviet occupied East Germany.

In a traditional sense, archaeologists study mobility through the remains of material culture dispersed throughout a landscape – objects, art and architecture. These are found in campsites, structures in the landscape such as graves or graves, or art and architecture styles or influences can be studied (Barnard and Wendrich 2008). Archaeology studies the 'occupation debris'. However, when dealing with a historic community, archaeologists are also using the written accounts, either from the mobile community itself, or from accounts written by contemporary observers of the group. With modern age mobility, methodology is altered. Modern mobility is fast. Traveling by a vehicle with the capability of reaching one's destination in a short period of time will not create the material remains such as a group setting up camp overnight in their transit. Instead, the material of *technological data* has to be considered. Using GPS tracing, this puts movement into a context of latitude and longitude – marked points on a map. This depicts precision and the ability to identify patterns in social and spatial interaction that we are otherwise unaware. This has the ability to break down movement into micro-level interactions of individuals. This GPS data becomes the material culture for study, not only for current studies of mobility, but for future archaeologists (Galloway and Ward 2006).

The study of BRIXMIS mobility falls somewhere in between the methods applied to study of ancient mobility and modern. The very nature of their work in collecting intelligence meant that BRIXMIS missions had to leave as little of a trace as possible in their movements, particularly in the moments in which a tour might stop. A tour's movements were also very temporary, at most stopping overnight, but their camp would only consist of a pitched tent. It is very unlikely that its mobile presence has left 'occupation debris'. The remains of its mobility are not present, nor is its presence within any sort of database. Its movements were not recorded with GPS and its detailed tour accounts providing exact tour routes have all been destroyed when the mission was disbanded. Instead, the study of BRIXMIS mobility is based on its *motivations* for moving through the landscape. Motivations are what causes people to move or to pause at a particular place for a particular period in a particular time, which requires the reconstruction of the activity pattern. Through historical context, it is known that a BRIXMIS tour's motivations were to collect intelligence on pre-determined target and locations of Soviet military activity (although deviation could occur). Their motivation also included to remain inconspicuous in doing so. The *material* of their first motivation therefore

becomes their Soviet targets, while the material of their second motivation becomes the landscape in which they are operating in. Through archival and oral accounts, approximate locations and points of movement can be mapped, and by retracing these movements in real-time driving along the mapped route, GPS coordinates can be collected. In addition to the collection of coordinates, landscape is analysed for its features and how it may affect the mobility of the vehicle in movement.

Archaeological methods

With the *methodology* of archaeology better defined, the *methods* applied becomes more specific in its practices. The methods applied are Artefact analysis; experimental archaeology; site surveying; observational chains; and rhythmanalysis. Artefact analysis will be applied to the study of BRIXMIS kit equipment and vehicles; experimental archaeology is applied to a continued study of mission vehicles; and site surveying methods apply to the landscape study, incorporating rhythmanalysis and observational chains to study BRIXMIS mobility.

Kit Material and Artefact Analysis

Artefact analysis is the structural platform to archaeology. Artefact analysis will be applied to the study of kit material to assess how these materials changed in relation to the type of intelligence tasks they were given. The study will also look at *how* BRIXMIS personnel used their equipment- in what occasions was a piece used, did it have multiple uses, and so on. In an overarching view, artefact analysis will study the *change* of kit material and how that represents an evolving culture in BRIXMIS intelligence collection – how it coincided with the changing intelligence requirements and the overall theatre of the Cold War. Within this study of change, the analysis will be addressing how personnel adapted to this change in how they were using their equipment, and whether it adhered to the intended use.

A range of vehicles were used throughout the years, including various models of Opel saloons, Range Rovers, and the Mercedes Geländewagen (by the 1980s). Vehicles were upgraded with larger fuel capacity, under-armoured for cross-country capacity, and rewired to isolate lights or pattern them to replicate East German vehicles (Gibson, 1997; Williams, 2007). Cameras also ranged in models and capabilities dependent on the image needed, along with its film.

Video cameras varied dependent on image and time of day. Personal survival equipment included high-tech and practical clothing and equipment while also remaining inconspicuous. Food rations were carried, the most important item being the Brew Kit for coffee and tea. Aside from providing needed refreshments, it also acted as a cover for misdemeanours from the Soviets and East Germans ("British Commanders'-in-Chief Mission to the Soviet Forces in Germany | BRIXMIS," 2014). The British having tea on the side of the road while a vehicle convoy went past seemed practical (Gibson 1997, 234). Touring equipment included several forms of maps, some changing week by week with updates on Temporary Restricted Areas in addition to the more stable Permanent Restricted Areas. Target maps were used for close target reconnaissance and marked observation points. There was a number of miscellaneous equipment also carried, including various visual aids (binoculars, snipers 'swift scope'), and various tools to aid in entering and observing sites.

What does this material tell us about BRIXMIS's intelligence collection? The most apparent would be to see the change in equipment through the years, but this is to be assessed in more detail to examine how material changes in relation to intelligence objectives, how this may have been corresponding with the contemporary political events in East Germany. BRIXMIS equipment material can also show what conditions they were working in when on tour- kit for all weather, hygiene, food facilities, etc. Looking further, however, physical signs of use on artefacts may tell us more. One artefact may be more worn, have more signs of use - say the Nikon F3 Manual camera has more wear than the AF 35-mm Canon, this may mean that the Nikon was the preferred camera or the one better suited for the conditions of tours.

Figure 01. Display of various BRIXMIS kit equipment. Photo taken by Soviet Officer when a tour was detained (BRIXMIS Association Committee, 2017)

Tour Vehicles: Artefact Study and Experimental Archaeology

BRIXMIS Ground and Air tours (if not operated from the Air) were organised into two to five-day tours driving through East Germany collecting information on Soviet activity. Their vehicles were highly specified to the tasks being carried out, the saloon cars and jeeps were significantly altered and reinforced with multiple gadget features, safety measures and improved driving capabilities (Gibson 1997; Williams 2007). These altered vehicles can be studied through both methodologies, artefact study and experimental archaeology, to reveal different sets of information.

The vehicle can be 'excavated' as a site, analysing and interpreting the assemblage of material culture resultant from this 'excavation'. Considering each component of the vehicle as an

individual artefact, one can find manufacture numbers providing their date. Different dates may symbolise repairs of the vehicle and may perhaps correspond to road incidents mentioned in archival reports. The use of manufacture dates can also roughly track how long the particular vehicle was in use based on the first and last date of part manufacture (Myers 2011, 147). Comparing BRIXMIS vehicles of different eras will also give insight into the evolution of BRIXMIS vehicles changing with the roles of intelligence gathering- how the vehicles are updated according to their required tasks and how the 'gadgets' in the interior advance through the years.

These very alterations also created an entirely different *experience* of driving and being in a vehicle, especially for over long periods of time. It is this *experience* that can be recreated through experimental archaeology, and how this experience is specific to BRIXMIS. **Experimental archaeology** is a living analytical process used to re-create aspects in part or in whole, of past societies in order to test hypotheses or proposed interpretations and assumptions about that society (Cunningham et al., 2008; Millson and Conference, 2011). The method of experimental archaeology will be applied to the study of BRIXMIS tour vehicles, recreating the experiences that took place within the vehicles while on tour. It is important to understand that some things cannot be recreated – physical experiences can be recreated, but individual emotions cannot. In specific reference to BRIXMIS and this project, through experimental archaeology, the experience of driving within the confines of the vehicle and within the same landscape can be recreated, but their emotions, such as the fear and adrenaline that may occur in the act of intelligence collecting may never be fully recreated. Experimental archaeology is focussed on the recreating of interaction with physical objects, and this particular project will analyse the interaction with the physicality of intelligence gathering within BRIXMIS vehicles.

Through oral and documentary accounts, we know that men on tour would have *lived* in these cars for three to four days at a time (Williams 2007). Within the confines of the vehicle, *experiences* were taking place. Photographic documentation of a BRIXMIS ground tour (*BRIXMIS 1988. Transit routes to and from DDR via Glienicke Bridge*, 2017) adds to the documentary evidence of intelligence collection. According to Williams (2007, 40), cooking and eating was carried out in the car- curry was the common meal, and its smell would often

permeate the car for the entire three days, and became a bit sickening to those within. Driving through the rough terrain is a memory that is often recalled by the men, the jerking about, the sloshing of the 180 litres of petrol in the tank that was outfitted just behind the back seat. This intangible interaction with material and individuals within a space that has only been attested for by film and memory (Pearson, 2001). Recreating these experiences to be tangible will bring a specific past into a live experience in the present. Nevertheless, there are still experiences that we cannot recreate within this practice, such as the experience of fear and the *reality* of threat.

Site Surveying

The method of site surveying is a broader method that must be conducted in order to gain data to lead to more specific methodologies and analysis. Though BRIXMIS has sites specific to them- such as the BRIXMIS Mission House and HQ- this project will instead focus on the Soviet sites that BRIXMIS operated around and in, as this provides a closer look into the BRIXMIS intelligence collection and its motivations. These sites will include, but are not limited to:

1. Barracks
2. Local training areas
3. Amphibious crossing areas
4. Railway loading ramps
5. Emergency deployment areas
6. Bunkers
7. Airfields/runways
8. Areas of operation tamarisk and operation tomahawk

Based on preliminary archival research, an extensive number of Soviet sites will be listed and marked on necessary maps, creating both an excel sheet and a geographic visual of each site's location- considering their location and relation other sites, roads, and surrounding landscape. Only a handful of sites will be considered for a full-scale field survey. The selection of sites will be determined by their current state - will they be easily identifiable in the landscape, are they on accessible property, are there still traces left of the structure or similar

environmental state, etc. With these identified, traditional field surveys will be carried out, conducting an in depth recording of landscape, orientation, dimensions and any material still remaining.

These recordings will reveal specific material for analysis for each individual site in and of itself, but even more so to study in the wider context as a cluster and leading into the study of landscape archaeology -– to gain the finite details of several sites will give further information to their place within the wider landscape and their relation to one another. This is a preliminary method that will lead to further analysis within studies of Landscape archaeology.

Landscape Archaeology: BRIXMIS mobility through rhythmanalysis and observational chains

A defining characteristic of BRIXMIS' intelligence efforts was its mobility throughout East Germany and its ability to 'legally' get close to Soviet sites, whether by ground in BRIXMIS vehicles, or air in the Chipmunk aircraft (Morrison 2007, 54). How an individual or group moves through their space, gives assumption to one's identity (Leary, 2014). The Soviet East German landscape that BRIXMIS was operating in also dictated their movement - the topography and barriers (permanently restricted areas and checkpoints) would affect their mobility.

With archival and oral accounts, there is an idea of why BRIXMIS moved from one site to another and the landscape they encountered. These accounts provide the *strategies* of past movement presenting the organisational frameworks of their intelligence collecting. However, with the addition of materiality to this equation, it becomes far more tangible to nearly recreate movement and the *tactics* of BRIXMIS mobility, understanding the *how* they moved and *what* they did in their movements (Aldred 2020). This is done by applying **observational chains** and **rhythmanalysis**. Rather than approaching mobility as linear between two points, these methods recognise the complexity of movement, incorporating speed and distance, into the study of *materialised* movement, movement of the past represented the material form. In order to study movement that occurred in the past, archaeologists must act in the present. To do so, we must position moving bodies (in the place

of BRIXMIS personnel) with the material evidence of movement (Soviet sites). The moving bodies will be represented by a contemporary archaeologist (myself) and perhaps a few willing former BRIXMIS personnel themselves, all acting as surrogates for past bodies to inhabit past movement (Aldred 2014, 30-31).

Figure 2 depicts four identified patterns of mobility sourced from scholarly discussion on the archaeology of mobility of nomadic communities. Pattern A shows the entire group traveling from resource to resource; B depicts segments of a different groups traveling to and from specific resource areas; C shows segments of the group gathering resources for a base camp; and D illustrates the entire group traveling, following a distinct and fixed pattern. In regards to BRIXMIS, their mobility is a combination of these patterns, depending on the section of the pattern one is looking at and within what context. Pattern A is most applicable to a BRIXMIS tour going from target to target, and this is if a tour team is considered 'the entire group'. However, if one zooms out to a broader scope, one should consider the Mission House HQ as the 'base camp' in which pattern C would be applicable, although not with as many segments 'sent out' at one time. A cross-section detail of these straight arrows in pattern C would resemble pattern A. While this thesis concentrates specifically on the intelligence collection of BRIXMIS and will therefore be centred on representing the combined pattern of A and C to include the movement of a tour going from target to, but also including the tours movement beginning from the Mission House and ending at the Mission House. The newly adapted pattern combining the original pattern A and C is shown below in Figure 2. However, it should be noted that the pattern is displaying the mobility of two different tours and therefore is shown over a longer period of time. The mobility of these two tours is separated not only by its individual pattern, but by time as well.

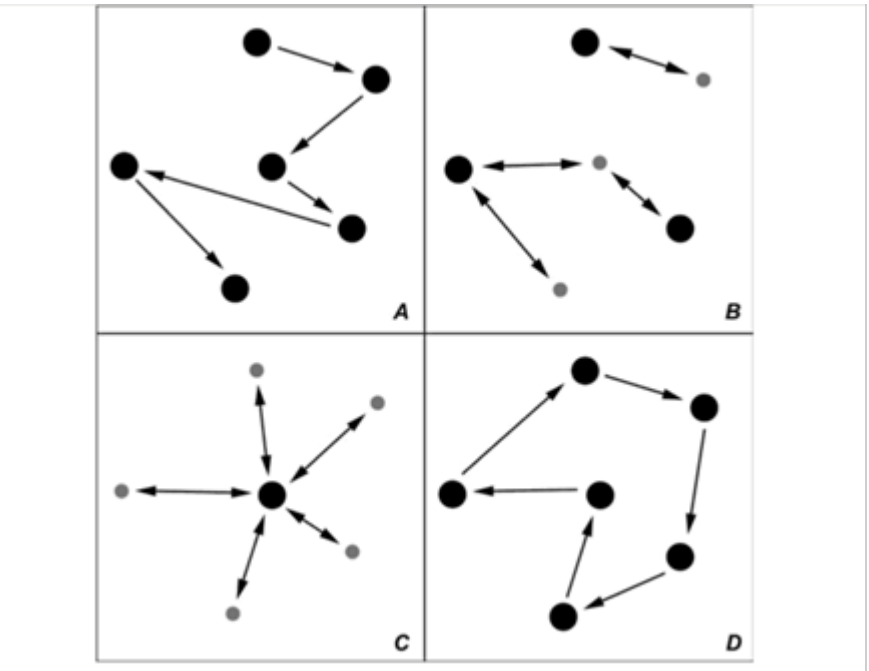

Figure 02. Representations of mobility patterns. Black dots indicate the main group, while grey dots indicate segments of the group (Barnard and Wendrich 2008).

The pattern proposed in Figure 3 for the mobility of a BRIXMIS tour resembles that of hunter-gatherer mobility pattern proposed by Binford (1980) and Yellen (1972). In contrast, Binford and Yellen's 'daisy patterns' were reached using ethnoarchaeological studies of contemporary Inuit tribes to compare to historic and prehistoric hunter-gatherer communities. The movement of a BRIXMIS tour collecting intelligence can be compared to hunter-gatherers. Both leave a base camp, moving and traveling in the hunt for their objective, be it an animal, plants, or Soviet military activity. Both the hunter and the BRIXMIS tour rely on the landscape around them to obscure their presence and to approach their target. Once their objective is completed, they return to a base camp. While these comparisons may be drawn between hunter-gatherers and spies, ultimately, ethnographic studies are not attainable for the study of BRIXMIS (due to that there is no comparable intelligence outfit available for study due to the nature of secrecy).

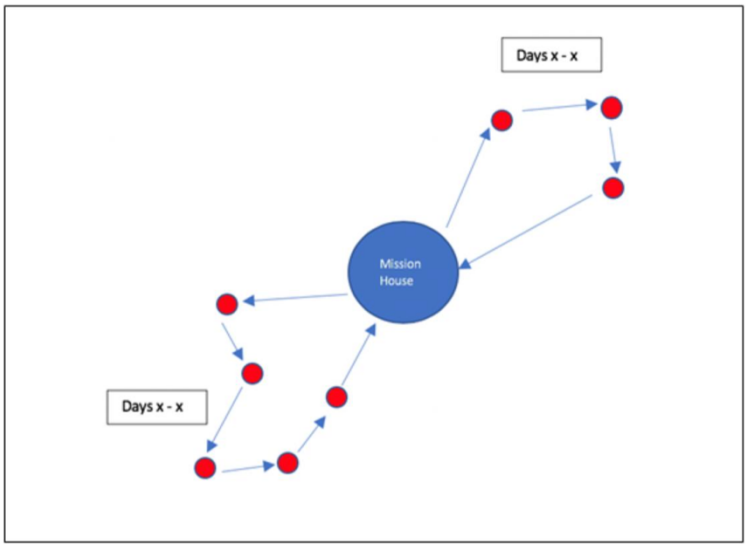

Figure 03. A hypothetical representation of the mobility pattern displayed by BRIXMIS tours. The pattern illustrates the movement of a tour leaving the Mission House, moving between targets, and then returning to the Mission House (Yelamos 2020).

With the use of context descriptions from memoirs, archives, photographs of the intelligence target, and analysis of topography, Figure 4 shows the preliminary mapping carried out on BRIXMIS tour movement in the town of Großheringen. Its pattern follows the previously identified 'pattern A', moving between various observation points and in active pursuit of a train loaded with Soviet military equipment and vehicles. While movement can be approximately mapped, the analysis of this movement can be applied in full using methods of observational chains and rhythmanalysis. These methods allow for the analysis of movement as a complex pattern. Rather than approaching mobility as linear between two points, these methods recognise the complexity of movement, incorporating speed and distance and the pausing moments between the start and finish line.

Figure 04. Großheringen. Mapped movements of a BRIXMIS tour observing a Soviet rail loading ramp and eventually pursuing the Soviet train. This image shows the preliminary mapping necessary to proceed towards observational chains and rhythmanalysis in the study of tour mobility within the landscape.

Observational chains are a series of interdependent processes that are connected to one another along a chain of 'material' transformations - a 'series of operations which brings a primary material from its natural state to a fabricated state' (Cresswell 1976, 6 quoted by Lemonnier 1986; 149). This 'material' transformation can also be applied to moving bodies when they enter the chain of process between sites. The observational chain considered towards BRIXMIS is the mobility that occurs from the start of their tour- leaving the Mission House, driving towards Soviet targets, and then their return to the Mission House, marking the end of the chain. The archaeological 'material' within this chain are the various Soviet sites that were the objective for a BRIXMIS tour and their movements would be focused upon, as well as the corresponding observation points (OPs) that BRIXMIS would position themselves. Certain landscape features may also serve as sites (depending on their obvious correlation to other sites). While the 'sites' are a fixed, material presence in the landscape,

that can be viewed in the context of motion, they were also viewed multiple times, perhaps each time differently and from specific observation points along a route. Observation points and routes are also dependent on the topography leading to and surrounding the sites (Geraghty, 1996; Gibson, 1997; Williams, 2007). Like those word problems in primary school maths, the basic equation of an observational chain is 'material systems (Soviet sites and OPs) plus the topography plus the people that used them to move from one place to another'. The answer this provides is a narrative that identifies mobility along a route that is defined by the relationship between site, topography and person - between Soviet sites, East German landscape, and BRIXMIS tours.

Rhythmanalysis is the study of rhythmic signature that is represented by the materialisation of actual movement in the past, and the virtual images of those movements that can be reproduced from the material record (Aldred, 2014, 21-48). As it is a mix of actual and virtual, there is a transference between two sets of movement – 'past movement' that has materialised, and 'contemporary movement' in the present. To merge these, we must look back at what was already considered in the concepts of observational chains - that archaeologists have the ability to become the contemporary moving body. This creates a potential actualised movement that maps two synergistic layers (Aldred 2014, 40): the material made of sites, routes and landscapes that have been surveyed and interpreted; and the movements of archaeologists (myself and other participants), recording the distance and time it takes to move along these material routes (Aldred 2014, 40). With tour routes mapped out and sites marked, as demonstrated in Figure 4, driving between each site along the known route using a GPS tracking device will measure speed, direction and distance in relation to the movement. 'Rhythm' is created when the actual data being collected while moving, is combined with the spatial and material components of the route, the soviet site, and the topography of the landscape (Aldred 2014, 42). Done with multiple set routes, this will produce a detailed data set that offers the calculations to relate BRIXMIS mobility to the routes and sites surveyed.

Using observational chains and rhythmanalysis offers insight into intelligence collection and BRIXMIS mobility can begin to be articulated. The data set creates a model that can be applied to the landscape and routes and provides an acumen to understand past tactical decisions

being made by BRIXMIS personnel in navigating between the Soviet sites and their intelligence objectives - why certain routes were taken and not others. This methodology allows for studies in the tactics of movement, the *how* and *what* involved in making decisions on the ground. It offers insight into the reasoning, intention and cognition involved in the movement of intelligence collection, providing further depth to an otherwise passive understanding of the strategic framework in BRIXMIS mobility.

Conclusion

Considering collection forms the basis of intelligence, there is surprisingly very little scholarship concerning the physical *doing* of intelligence. Most literature on intelligence collection is often carried out on the basis of budget, technology, all-source synergy, and the noise and overload of intelligence (Lowenthal 2012). The *doing* of intelligence is often left to the memoirs of those recounting their time as spies. What is meant by the *doing* of intelligence collection? It is the act, the physical process of someone or something conducting reconnaissance or surveillance. Not on a broader agency level or the conceptual idea of intelligence collection, but the individual/group/thing embodying an action to gather intelligence: the snapping of a photograph, the stealing of a document. These things are often only recognised in memoirs – a person will remember the exact moment of taking a photograph – but for reasons of security and the process of intelligence reporting, that information does not make it into official documents and therefore rarely into forms of scholarly analysis.

The study of BRIXMIS faces the very same dilemma, in which an understanding of the mission's intelligence *collection* is left out of its record. Indeed, memoirs often refer to the memories of operating on tour and high stakes intelligence collection, but these accounts are fairly descriptive of one's personal experience following the form of a story. The process, the thought, the reliance on equipment and landscape is rarely analysed beyond this story front. There is also a gap in the attention to intelligence collection within BRIXMIS archives. The archives available, mainly BRIXMIS annual reports, give more focus to the intelligence collected on the Soviets rather than the intelligence collection process itself. This paper proposes research to analyse the *doing* of intelligence collection by BRIXMIS and addressing what can only be represented through the physical trace of artefacts and landscapes, and in

doing so aims to open up the potential for material analysis to be applied in various themes of intelligence studies.

On a broader level of scholarship, the *study* of material is lacking within intelligence studies. In many ways this is surprising; after all, the material itself is abundant and fairly attainable. The most public and accessible collection of material artefacts of intelligence can be found in various museums around the world.[3] Spy Museums dedicate their entire existence to these materials, while various military and war themed museums often have permanent or temporary exhibitions on intelligence themes. Beyond these public exhibitions are vast collections of artefacts held within a museum's archival storeroom. In addition to the more accessible artefacts sourced from collections, there remains objects and building structures in landscapes once occupied by those within the intelligence field – anything from discarded equipment to a prominent site, such as a satellite intercept station. While the sourcing of material in landscapes of former intelligence operations is not always as easily attainable, what is held in museum collections is fairly accessible, and yet rarely is it referred to for research on intelligence and intelligence history. When on display, these artefacts are placed within a context and described, but they are not *analysed* for the connection they have with subjects of study. The artefacts that lay in archival storage are catalogued and preserved, but again, are rarely requested for analysis or reference. With all this tangible material available, why is it not used for studies of intelligence history? Here lies the opportunity to broaden our scope of research on intelligence history and bring in a new source of information beyond (and in addition to) what the archival documents have to offer.

[3] Museums include the National Spy Museum in Washington, D.C.; the National Cryptologic Museum in Fort Meade, U.S.; the German Spy Museum and the Stasi Museum, both located in Berlin, DE; the Military Intelligence Museum in Shefford, U.K. and Bletchley Park in Milton Keynes, U.K.; and the KGB Museum in Prague, CZ. In addition to the museums specific to intelligence, various other museums have permanent and temporary exhibitions on themes of intelligence, in addition to storing a fair amount of collections containing materials of intelligence that are not on display. These include the Imperial War Museum and Science Museum, both in London, U.K.; and the Allied Museum in Berlin, DE.
H. Keith Melton is the private owner of one of the largest private collections of intelligence material and artefacts and is a key donor to museums. He has also published a number of books on the gadgets of espionage (Melton 2015; Melton et al. 2011).

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