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Strathclyde University Sociology

The Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies

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Abstract

The general hypotheses is that the Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies (IEDSS) was not an impartial independent think tank, but that it was part of large scale US public diplomacy and propaganda strategies to influence UK domestic politics, funded by the Central Intelligence Agency and a small group of foundations. This is identified through a focus on think tanks and organisations that aimed to extend the Cold War and, at its close, to further the interests of US capital with the expansion of NATO into Eastern Europe aided by organisations such as the National Endowment for Democracy. The IEDSS' 'Atlanticist' dimension, including its connections to the Heritage Foundation, reveal it as integrated with other US, UK and European covert networks as part of a 'cultural apparatus' which stemmed from post-war projections of US power into Europe, and included organisation such as the Congress for Cultural Freedom or Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. In the late 1970s this extended into a network of UK think tanks modelled on and shaped by the Heritage Foundation, the Center for Strategic and International Studies and state intelligence agencies and their proxies. The thesis also identifies the IEDSS as a gathering of actors involved in an ideologically driven sub-culture that influenced the Reagan and Thatcher governments that gathered together other quasi-official anti-left groups such as the Information Research Department and parapolitical organisations typified by the Institute for the Study of Conflict and other organisations run by Brian Crozier, a key actor in this story.

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THE INSTITUTE FOR EUROPEAN DEFENCE AND STRATEGIC STUDIES

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Section 1: Introduction
1. Introduction

I became interested in writing on the Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies (IEDSS) largely because almost nothing has been written on it. Why had a 1980s 'Thatcherite' foreign policy think tank, backed by a high-level and politically astute advisory and management figures been so neglected? My preliminary investigation led me to the question that forms the basis of this enquiry: was the IEDSS an independent organization as it purported to be or was it a propaganda organization, possibly part of *larger* propaganda projects? After investigation of the IEDSS my contention is that it was a propaganda organization and that it was part of larger propaganda projects, and this is what is set out below.

Since the end of the Cold War these propaganda elements have become comparatively easier to research and my analysis of the IEDSS has revealed occluded, submerged elements in Western society that were connected to the process whereby mass opinion is guided by an elite but this elite direction is obscured. That the IEDSS was part of *larger* Cold War 'public diplomacy' projects and networks emerged from efforts to understand the biographies of the key members of the IEDSS within the historical span of the phases of the Cold War. Its mentors, Board of Directors, Advisory Board and writers, all worked largely through what are generally termed front groups, think tanks or lobby groups that had connections to the intelligence services. After the Cold War they engaged in similar tactics with the expansion of NATO into Eastern Europe and the development of democracy promotion. Although the IEDSS has been ignored in the literature on think tanks, it was relied upon as an impartial source by the mainstream media. There is no official history of the IEDSS, but the *solitary* analysis that did examine it expressed concern about the use of think tanks by the Thatcher and Reagan

governments for ulterior motives'.

The IEDSS was a London-based think tank that was founded in 1979 with the remit to study political change in Europe and to assess its impact on strategic and defence issues. Its aim was to influence, not so much the public, as decision makers. The IEDSS was particularly concerned with developments that affected the Western Alliance and it can be viewed as a bridge between the group of 'Thatcherite' think tanks such as the Centre for Policy Studies, and their US counterparts, such as the Heritage Foundation. But the IEDSS brings together a complex range and historical continuity of organizations that are difficult to understand and explain. My starting point in understanding this complicated network was the organisation C. Wright Mills alluded to in his 'Letter to the New Left:' the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF). I will range over this network of organisations with each IEDSS member's name in bold following a rough historical progression and return to further contextualise and introduce the IEDSS.

The CCF was instigated by the forthright Trotskyist, turned 'Cold Warrior,' **Melvin J. Lasky,** the editor of *Encounter* who had a long-term overt and covert relationship with the US State (Scott-Smith, 2000). In the UK in the 1950s and 1960s Lasky had been a key ally of the Gaitskellite factions around the *New Leader*, *Socialist Commentary* and other organisations that according to Fletcher (1882; 1972) represented the confluence of the UK's Information Research Department (IRD), the CCF and the CIA's attempts to influence organised labour and the Labour party. In the late 1960s **Leopold Labedz** had operated within the CCF's networks and had provided the propaganda material to **Brian Crozier's** Forum World Features, and then his Institute for the Study of Conflict at the behest of the CIA. The IEDSS eventually took over the CCF's magazine, *Survey* that was edited by Labedz and Lasky and included noted 'Sovietologists' **Leonard Schapiro**, who also supervised the ISC and **Robert Conquest** from the IRD. The IEDSS can be seen as a continuation of the ISC and shared its offices at one point.

Although predominately right wing, the IEDSS included **Stephen Haseler** as Secretary throughout its existence. A Thatcherite intellectual who believed her radicalism would free Britain from its class-bias and produce something like the USA In the 1970s Haseler, influenced by **Brian Crozier**, had created the Social Democratic Alliance to attack the Labour party and become an alternative political party. **Lord George Brown,** the former Labour foreign Secretary had moved to both the SDA and IEDSS at the end of his career. In the 1970s Haseler had connections to the right-wing Gaitskellite factions outlined by Fletcher and subsequently moved to the US in positions with the main Atlanticist propaganda organisations: the Heritage Foundation, the CIA-connected Center for Security and International Studies and the National Strategy Information Center. These organisations are the main sources of the IEDSS' propaganda. Haseler had also worked with the IEDSS' mentor, Brian Crozier in the National Association For Freedom that influenced Margaret Thatcher's political outlook (Crozier, 1993). So too did **Douglas Eden**, an American who worked in Crozier's 'Shield' organisation that advised Thatcher on security issues and continued the work of the IRD. This had similarities to the work of the Army's Information Policy (IP) largely based on MI5 black propaganda distributed by Colin Wallace: IP, Shield, the ISC and the IEDSS promulgated the view that the KGB had infiltrated many British institutions, including the Labour Party. While accounts vary, Haseler is said to have initiated the idea of the IEDSS in 1979 with two Conservative MPs: **Ray Whitney**, the final director of the IRD and Sir **Peter Blaker**, who ran IRD's successor, the Overseas Information Department and who co-ordinated the anti-CND government propaganda group, Defence Secretariat 19. The IEDSS was incorporated as the 'Centre for European Defence and Strategic Studies' in 1982 and its first publications and events contributed to the attacks on CND and its leaders as the nuclear arms race escalated. Ray Whitney's research assistant was **Dean Godson**, who had the same role in the IEDSS and was part of the CSIS European Working Group (his father, Joseph Godson was a follower of Jay Lovestone, the ex-Communist trade union leader who ran the CIA's international network previously mentioned with Lasky). **Alan Lee Williams** was also with the CSIS's European Working Group (as was Haseler) and as such ran right-wing anti-union and anti-CND operations funded by NATO via a range of Atlanticist organisations such as Peace Through NATO and the Council for Arms Control. These

organisations such as Peace Through NATO and the Council for Arms Control. These included members of the conservative anti-CND network around Blaker that drew in the support of the Heritage Foundation.

Gerald Frost came from the Centre for Policy Studies (CPS) to run the IEDSS as Executive Director. Crozier (and Haseler) had attended the CPS' meetings in the late 1970s, as did **George Urban** from Radio Free Europe, **Caroline Cox**, **Reg Prentice**, Crozier and Labedz and the Heritage Foundation's **Edwin Feulner** who was the IEDSS' chairman.

The IEDSS in the 1980s included several of Thatcher's official and unofficial advisers, promoters and speechwriters such as **John O'Sullivan** who were previously associated with the CPS, which was modelled on the Heritage Foundation. Its Atlanticist journal, *Policy Review* was run by, O'Sullivan and Haseler and featured many of the IEDSS' network. As well as funding the IEDSS the Heritage Foundation funded and influenced a small group of interlocking think tanks that supported 'Thatcherism' and gathered to attack CND, and in the mid-1980s it also provided money for projects Crozier co-ordinated in Europe: these also included the Social Affairs Unit that featured **Antonio Martino**, a member, with Feulner of the Mont Pelerin Society (MPS) and its US variant initiated by Feulner, the Philadelphia Society. Martino's associates included Michael Ledeen, one of the main propagandists of the CSIS working in Europe. Both Societies included several IEDSS members who were advocates of socio-economic reform of a Hayekian or Friedmanite orientation with other institutional connections. Heritage Foundation money supplemented and replaced CIA funding and this network is dotted with other Foundation funding, that had been contrived largely to distance and obliterate elite involvement.

As well as their involvement with the Heritage Foundation, **Richard V. Allen**, **Frank Shakespeare** and Fuelner had been at the top of the US elite with the National Security Council, the US Information Agency and the US Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy respectively. In the early 1970s all three had been part of the targeted leaks against Daniel Ellesberg during Watergate at the behest of Richard Nixon, and helped shape and found the CSIS and the National Endowment for Democracy, then orientated to support South American Contra groups, Polish unions, European anti-CND and anti-socialist groups and publications in the 1980s again in place of CIA funding.

Along with Crozier and **Ellie Kadourie**, **Albert Wohlsteter**, a key neoconservative figure, mentored the IEDSS as part of his lobbying for the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) through his consultancy Pan Heuristics. This developed the IEDSS into an SDI lobby and was eagerly supported through figures such as **Lord Chalfont**. In the early 1980s Wohlstetter and the groups he inspired set about to capture the debate around arms control. As part of the public diplomacy work Feulner and Allen were overseeing in Europe the IEDSS contained other RFE/RL individuals such as **Iain Elliot,** also a co-ordinator of the British American Project for a Successor Generation, which included the aim of altering the Labour Party's stance on nuclear weapons. Frost ran the IEDSS office that was initially next to Crozier's ISC's office. The continuity of **Leonard Schapiro's** presence in the early IEDSS cemented these IRD, MI6 and ISC links. Both Haseler and Schapiro had connections with and wrote for US propaganda outlets, as did fellow 'Sovietologist,' **Robert Conquest**. Other IEDSS figures included the former Chief of Defence Intelligence (1986-87) Air Marshal Sir **Michael Armitage**, who ran the intelligence arm of the MoD performing the same role as Sir Louis Le Bailly had with the ISC from 1972-1975.

So the aim is to penetrate the complexities of the subject matter but also retain a focus on the IEDSS and its relations with US and UK government agencies and institutions, and to develop the argument that elite directed propaganda was a key factor in the activities of the IEDSS. For ease of analysis, the individuals have been classified and grouped into three sections based on character types. These offer detailed comparative and interpretive analysis based on a selection of the salient features of the complex flow and tumult of events that enhance and clarify the limited knowledge of the role of the IEDSS, mainly by interpreting the official record of a particular actors' institutional

IEDSS, mainly by interpreting the official record of a particular actors' institutional involvement in key *elite* driven projects. This was complicated by the position whereby, such as with the nuclear deterrent and subversion, official records remain closed or were destroyed. At other points the research outlines involvement in lesser-known *clandestine* projects: some of a lobbying nature for pecuniary interests, some seemingly ideologically driven or with an apparently deliberate ambiguous nature.

The IEDSS' propaganda themes are largely related to complex issues around security and defence and the problems of the Atlantic Alliance: particularly with the 1979 NATO 'twin track' policy of seeking an arms reduction agreement while deploying Intermediate Nuclear Forces in Europe. It fell to the Reagan administration in 1983 to accomplish the deployment of ground-launched Cruise missiles and the Pershing II ballistic missiles. To aid the US government's strategy it convened a United States Information Agency committee of private citizens (including James Goldsmith, Rupert Murdoch and Joachim Maitre) that also included the US ambassador to NATO, and founder of the CSIS, David M. Abshire who oversaw the propaganda operations to defuse any problems with the deployment including public protest (Cull, 2007). Hughes (1995: xvii) stated that Abshire was also the US government's "point man" in Europe on the Strategic Defense Initiative. His working group was a mixture of US agencies. My study of the IEDSS' literature and activities demonstrates different propaganda projects that were attuned to these and other drives.

I also develop the research to draw out the deeper backgrounds, hidden economic interests and the social connections of individual members to further demonstrate their part in a widespread intelligence and propaganda apparatus. The extent of this combinatory analysis encompasses the internal power structure of the major UK and US propaganda organisations and their use of the mass media, together with the more covert projects and political activities in which they were engaged: because of this at times I can only make careful speculative *inferential* judgements.

The IEDSS' American members: Feulner, Allen and Shakespeare are studied in section two. They worked for the Republican Presidential campaigns, created the image of the Nixon and Reagan governments, and had previously worked together, holding positions as propagandists, image consultants and in conducting psychological operations via the NED's Project Democracy, Radio Liberty/Radio Free Europe (RL/RFE) and the US Advisory Committee on Public Diplomacy. They shared a connection to David Abshire, Melvin Laird the US Defense Secretary and William Casey, who was appointed as the CIA director while the IEDSS was being funded from the US. With Anthony Fisher, Casey set up the 'Atlas Network' of think tanks that contributed to overarching US international propaganda drives such as the NED's 'Project Democracy' with UK and international think tanks (Oberdorfer, 1980; *National Journal*, 1980: 674).

Section three deals with Frost, Blaker, Urban and Elliot, who as stated, came from networks around the CPS, or who organised the Conservative government's projects targeted at CND, or who ran RL/RFE. The fourth section deals with Schapiro, Labedz and Chalfont from the field of 'Sovietology,' and Haseler and Eden, the Liberal members who were allied to Atlanticist institutions such as the Heritage Foundation and the CSIS and who set up the pro-NATO Social Democratic Alliance as a political party.

In the course of the research I was also concerned with the character and role of special interests in lobbying government and shaping legislation and how these related to the IEDSS. For example the network of political action committees set up, mostly with a quasi-militaristic ethos to 'stiffen the resolve' against détente and to deal with internal dissent. The key organisation here is the CSIS, and it was set up by the US' NATO ambassador David Abshire and the Heritage Foundation's Edwin Feulner. The CSIS had close ties to, but was arguably an attempt to reform and redirect the CIA; and a move to reorient the British Secret Intelligence Service also seems a common concern of many IEDSS members. So the core institutions that interpenetrated with the IEDSS included: the Heritage Foundation, the CSIS, the CPS, the Institute for the Study of Conflict (ISC), the Information Research Department (IRD), the Congress for Cultural

Freedom (CCF) and RFE/RL. The membership of the IEDSS ran, or were members of these organisations. Other significant ties include more general groupings based on loose associations with those members who wrote or edited *Encounter*, *Commentary*, *Policy Review* or the *National Review*; or organisations that were co-opted in Cold War lobbying, or revived such as the Committee on the Present Danger. The purpose of this brief summary is to aid the reader in following my mapping of the relations that created particular social structures and institutions such as the IEDSS, that facilitated US-driven propaganda in the UK, and to identify its central elements that are examined in more detail later.

So one aspect of the study is an investigation of the role of foundation-funded 'think tanks,' that refer to themselves as 'apolitical,' 'bipartisan' or 'independent'; and their relationships with other more informal and privately constituted associations. The investigation is largely carried out by a comparative analysis of the self-description of the organisations' goals and policies, and the specific nature of their intellectual content, and in relation to a network analysis of the composition of the group. This aims to *descry* their more *objective* functions and less openly professed goals and policies, drawing on critiques, a synthesis of viewpoints and theoretical analysis of the influences and provenance of some of the participant's ideological orientation. For example, membership of the IEDSS markedly overlapped with membership of the Mont Pelerin Society and the lesser-known US version the Philadelphia Society. These Societies merged economists, intelligence agents, propagandists and political theorists, arriving at a convergence of political, economic, military, kinship and religious orders with the aim of influencing the direction of European and US public and foreign policy.

2. The IEDSS: the components of the network

In the chapters that follow section one (which contains the methodology, historiography and theoretical chapters) the interactions and interlocks within the patterns that emerged are used to identify: convergences, correspondences, coincidences and coordination. The findings, once connected to historical events, locate the IEDSS within a network of propaganda organisations and observe its utility as a staging platform for US public diplomacy in terms of propaganda and 'psychological warfare.'

Through its conferences and events the IEDSS functioned to link a network of activists beyond those formally working there who had previously been part of recently disbanded propaganda organisations such as the IRD and CCF, or were linked to the CPS or Heritage Foundation that tried to fill this propaganda gap. It should be emphasised that many of the IEDSS' members: Crozier, Schapiro, Urban, Elliot, Conquest, O'Sullivan and the iconoclastic Kedourie were advisers to Margaret Thatcher, and at times wrote her key speeches. It is also important to stress that Feulner was the chair of the US Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy *and* chair of the IEDSS in 1985 as US public diplomacy gained momentum. Allen (who had fallen from his position as White House National Security Advisor) moved from the Advisory Council to the Board of Management, reinforcing the Heritage Foundation's influence.

An over-simplified version of the IEDSS' history might be that there is not much more to it than Heritage Foundation money connecting with a residual ISC and vague intentions to start a foreign policy think tank with the small group of proto-Thatcherites gathered around the CPS. But this is complicated by the strong presence of the anti-left and propaganda factions hitherto gathered around Crozier's groups. As an aid to the understanding of Crozier's complex intelligence-connected activities I have related them to key interpretations of the British Army information and psychological operations officer Colin Wallace's testimony. The presence of UK government ministers and advisers with direct previous propaganda involvement such as Ray Whitney running the IRD made the IEDSS another vehicle for anti-Communist propaganda including attacks against the left, smearing them as Communist agents along Crozier and the ISC's lines. Lord Chalfont and Blaker's involvement was mainly because the IEDSS could provide a pseudo-academic cover for anti-CND psychological operations: the ISC (which

Chalfont championed) had been formed on the basis of the IRD's material on the Soviets and 'terrorism' *via* Schapiro, Labedz, Lasky and Conquest. The IEDSS' literature is reviewed in section eight with its propaganda features highlighted and key texts are dealt with in detail such as Frost's 'Protest and Perish'.

Heritage Foundation money on the scale invested in the IEDSS represented something akin to a dripping roast for the subversion hunters in the UK of the 1980s and can be seen as providing the *necessary conditions* for the IEDSS. The funding also rendered it amenable to the growing US public diplomacy project that was becoming centred on the citing of nuclear missiles in Europe. There is some indication that Blaker, Whitney and Haseler set up the organisation in 1979 to replace the ISC, which had been exposed as a propaganda organisation, and to continue the work of the then recently disbanded IRD. Crozier's ISC had gathered anti-Communists from the IRD and CCF networks (and the military and far-right) and while there are several continuities here, the unwanted press attention and exposure of Crozier's propaganda activities in the mid-1970s suggests that the IEDSS, minus Crozier, could return to an aspect of the CCF's anti-communism: the encouragement of a surrogate left. The indications of this are in the form of the inclusion of members of the Social Democratic Alliance faction and right-wing former Labour MPs, most with strong US connections. At its instigation the ISC's main benefactor was the Mellon family-backed propaganda organisation, the National Strategy Information Centre (NSIC) together with Shell and BP (*Times*, 1970). The NSIC also influenced the IEDSS via Crozier (Crozier, 1993).

Crozier's autobiography is silent on the IEDSS and presented his removal from the ISC in typically conspiratorial terms. But his description of events also indicated that the Foreign Office was looking for think tanks that could be used by the government and "made into a pliable adjunct to HMG's policy: an unembarrassing junior partner to the Royal Institute for International Affairs" (Crozier, 1993: 177). But the IEDSS proved too irascible for the adoption of this position: a great deal of the small committees set up and populated by this network were advancing criticisms of the Reagan and Thatcher governments for not going far enough. Internecine squabbles abounded: some individuals such as George Urban were utterly dismayed by Thatcher's approach to foreign policy.

Gerald Frost, the organisational mainstay of the IEDSS, held Crozier in high regard and Crozier's activities offer something of a model in how to use think tanks that the IEDSS would have been aware of. In 1979 Crozier was busy setting up the '6I' organisation in offices in Trafalgar Square, producing briefings for world leaders, selected politicians, secret services, his own network of agents and trusted journalists: much as the IRD had operated. A pilot briefing was launched while Crozier was "on sufferance, in Golden Square," meaning the ISC's office that was shared by the IEDSS in the early 1980s. Crozier also mentioned that he worked in "the Shield manner," meaning the "Psychological Actions" and "secret counter-subversion operations" of his previous venture called the 'Shield,' this was with MI6 officer Nicholas Elliott and a former Special Operations Executive (SOE) member Harry Sporburg (Crozier, 1993: 129). Shield acted as a secret advisory committee to brief Thatcher and her closest colleagues with a particular view on security and intelligence issues, largely using ISC material and following the directives of another Crozier-linked pan-European private security organisation, the Pinay Circle. In the mid-1970s Crozier attempted to persuade Thatcher that she should set up a Counter Subversion Executive, a secret political police: to counter the Soviet's ultimate aim to turn the UK into a 'people's democracy' on an East European model; and to expose that the trades unions and the Labour Party had largely been taken over by the subversive Left, as were the schools, universities, the media and the Churches (Crozier, 1993: 129). Crozier described Thatcher's reception of his ideas:

> She read it attentively, then sprang to her feet, walked to a cupboard and said, as she unlocked and relocked it: "From now on, Brian, these are *my* ideas." I did not object. Many, though not all, of the points made surfaced in her speeches and those of her followers in the run-up to the next elections. (Crozier, 1993: 133)

These were also key IEDSS themes. Shield's researcher for the findings was the IEDSS' Douglas Eden whom Crozier had met, with Stephen Haseler in 1975 at a meeting to set up what became the National Association for Freedom (NAFF), a right-wing group that engaged in numerous parapolitical projects and involved Thatcher as a figurehead. Haseler then moved to the US to the Heritage Foundation in 1977-1978 and Crozier stated he met Eden and Haseler on numerous occasions at the ISC offices discussing "the accelerating take-over of the Labour Party by the Marxist-Leninist left" (Crozier, 1993: 147-148). Crozier claimed to have worked with Eden and Haseler in the mid-1970s in setting up the Social Democratic Alliance (SDA) as an attempt to weaken the Labour Party at the next election thus aiding Thatcher's election—a goal the NAFF and Shield shared.

Crozier kept in touch with Eden via his private intelligence organisation the 6I and would pass anti-left propaganda to Eden to be recycled in the *Daily Telegraph* (Crozier, 1993: 249). Immediately after Crozier's account of the launch of the 6I, a *nascent* IEDSS appears in his description of Thatcher taking office in 1979 and immediately setting up the Overseas Information Department (OID) as a replacement for IRD, led by the IEDSS' Peter Blaker. I will return to this later in the chapter on Blaker, but with a greater focus on Defence Secretariat 19 (DS19), the organisation set up to counter CND that was also staffed by ex-IRD members. Crozier described Blaker as "a friend of mine from Cambodian days," and claimed to have acted in an advisory capacity with the OID in passing on his Soviet conspiracy theory of the demise of IRD. The 6I seems to have operated in tandem with OID and I view the IEDSS as possibly encapsulating these drives to maintain government funded anti-Communist propaganda. This is supported by the make-up of the ISC's study group on the Soviets: Schapiro, Conquest and Labedz, who would go onto work with and join the IEDSS (Crozier, 1993: 189). These are also much the same individuals that appear in the CPS Soviet Study group, including Crozier.

What Crozier referred to with his 'Cambodian' reference, points to another loose grouping that I identify in the IEDSS: these could be called the 'Wilson Plotters,' and I return to these groups in chapter 47. These included Crozier, Blaker and Lord Chalfont (and the IEDSS' associations with London Clubs such as the Reform) and intelligence professionals such as Crozier's associate Stephen Hastings, the Conservative MP Tony Brooks, Peter Wright, Airey Neave MP, Gen. Sir Walter Walker, George K. Young, Anthony Cavendish, and David Stirling. They could be found ruminating in the Carlton Club and Special Forces Club—many had come under the influence of the CIA's James Angleton in believing that Harold Wilson was a Soviet Agent and that the Labour Party was controlled by Moscow (Leigh, 1988: 216-223).

I identify another US grouping coming together in the aftermath of the 1980 election when the Reagan transition team revamped its public diplomacy strategy by assigning responsibility for this to the Board for International Broadcasting (BIB). This had taken over from the CIA in running the network of radio stations partly at the urging of Richard V. Allen. Initially the chairmanship of RFE/RL was offered to William F. Buckley. After he turned it down, Frank Shakespeare, a close friend of William Casey was offered it as Casey took up his senior position with the CIA. RFE/RL was the largest known CIA-funded propaganda operation. As the new RFE director, Shakespeare chose George Urban as the new RFE director. David Abshire had previously been the head of the BIB, though he had resigned with the election of Carter in 1976 (Puddington, 2000: 260-262). The point here is to indicate how integral these three IEDSS individuals were to US propaganda: they are not a feature of it so much as running it at the top of the management hierarchy.

There is a confluence of interest between the sections of the thesis, but they have been revised largely to avoid repetition and to represent the flow of influence chronologically. A chapter on how think tanks have been theorised is included: through an examination of the literature on think tanks this highlights the absence of the IEDSS in academic

study (and the need to draw on parapolitical investigation) and to explain the conceptualization of the 'Phantom Academy,' essentially as a way to view the network in relation to the Mont Pelerin Society.

Section Two: Historiography

The purpose of this chapter is to offer a general overview of the historiography of the IEDSS. This is set out and analysed in terms of a review of the IEDSS' reception in the limited range of literature that commented on or evaluated its projects and publications. The main feature that emerges is the IEDSS' contested relationship to the Heritage Foundation, US and UK government covert agencies and the IEDSS' funding relationships with specific foundations. My assessment of the drives behind this offers three models of the IEDSS, and I conclude with how it dealt with the end of the Cold War with the IEDSS' final project, the New Atlantic Initiative. I offer more detailed evidence and a contextualisation of the wider propaganda drives outlined here, together with an explanation of the somewhat enigmatic and cryptic elements within the IEDSS in the chapters presented later.

3. The Conservative International?

The creation of the IEDSS was clearly attuned to contributing to the anti-CND networks that gained funding as a result of US government influence via the Heritage Foundation. Several anti-CND organisations such as the Coalition For Peace Through Security (CPTS) were formed in the UK. In early 1981 the CPTS ran a private conference funded by the Heritage Foundation to adapt US right-wing opinion former's methods to the UK (Campbell, 1981). Its main activists included Stewart Menaul from the recently closed ISC and Francis Holihan who (with long hair and beard) set out to infiltrate and smear CND and harass the BBC (Campbell, 1981a). Dorril (1984) traced the CPTS initiative to a propaganda campaign run by the CIA's William Casey via the US Information Agency deliberately using a network of private groups: with the demise of the ISC a new institute was required to lend credence to propaganda.

The CPTS was linked to the Thatcher government via the Campaign For Defence and Multilateral Disarmament (CDMD) that was run and funded by Conservative Central Office, and helped distribute CPTS literature (Dorril, 1984). Both committees were fronts with little or no membership and were 'private' to allow the Government to distance the 'dirty tricks' of the CPTS and the smear tactics of Winston Churchill MP in the CDMD (Dorril, 1984). In early 1982 both Peter Blaker (formerly) Minister of State for Defence and Ray Whitney, then a MoD spokesman arranged CDMD informal meetings—sometimes with Mrs Thatcher—to prepare and co-ordinate policy against the peace movement. It is at this point, March 1, 1982, that the IEDSS was registered and founded (Duedil, 2013) and on February 12, 1982 the Heritage Foundation's Edwin Feulner had become chairman of the US Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy and chairman of the IEDSS (Bonafede, 1982). It was at this point that the Heritage Foundation started funding the IEDSS (Gavshon, *et al*., 1987). The IEDSS' first publications emerged in 1982 with an attack on CND and a critique of NATO by Angelo M. Codevilla, a former US Foreign Service Officer, who helped formulate the Heritage Foundation's 'Mandate for Change' (*Washington Post*, 1981).

There were few voices raised that were cognisant of what was taking place at the time. The Labour MP Bryan Gould was astonished at the involvement of Blaker and Whitney

The Labour MP Bryan Gould was astonished at the involvement of Blaker and Whitney "in spending rightwing American money to discredit the British left" (Norton-Taylor, 1987). Gavshon, *et al*. (1987) remains the only critique of the IEDSS and below I contrast its findings with Stone (1991) who offered a celebration of the winning of the Cold War that glorified the IEDSS. Arthur Gavshon, the main writer, had previously warned that the Heritage Foundation had urged Reagan to recognise "the reality of subversion" within America and that "individual liberties are secondary to the requirement of national security and internal civil order" and that the Foundation had argued that *any* arms control accord with the Soviets would be a betrayal morally equivalent to a Munich-style appeasement (Gavshon, 1985: 1). Gavshon, *et al*. (1987) cited Barlow (1982) as Heritage's clarion call to NATO that "its affiliated public support organizations [spread] information concerning the links […] between known Communist front groups and the 'independent' peace groups."

In the interview for Gavshon, *et al*. (1987) Heritage's Jefferey B. Gayner denied that there was any *formal* connection between Heritage and the IEDSS. However Gavshon, *et al*. (1987) contested this with the points that (1) IEDSS was set up with Foundation funds and Heritage's president Edwin Feulner chaired the IEDSS' board (2) Richard V. Allen, Reagan's first national security adviser, a Heritage distinguished fellow and head of an advisory council, was also a board member and (3) Frank Shakespeare, chair of the Heritage's board of trustees and the Reagan Administration's Ambassador to the Vatican, was a founding member of the IEDSS' Advisory Council. Yet the nature of this interconnectedness with US public diplomacy is only alluded to in the report.

Gavshon, *et al*. (1987) quoted Gerald Frost as crediting Stephen Haseler with the idea for the IEDSS and stated that he had distanced himself from it. Haseler was the IEDSS' Secretary from 1982 until it was wound up in 1998 (Gavshon, *et al*. 1987; Duedil, 2013). Although British, Haseler was a Heritage scholar and a member of the editorial board of Heritage's *Policy Review*. According to Frost, Peter Blaker joined the IEDSS because he "saw the implications of an upsurge in peace movement activity, which was a movement of concern to him" (Gavshon *et al*., 1987). In 1983, Blaker headed DS19, a secret ministerial propaganda group on Nuclear Weapons and Public Opinion, which generated films and literature against CND, which is examined further below. Also in DS19 was Ray Whitney, who served on the IEDSS' board until 1984 while a junior minister in the Thatcher government. He preceded Blaker as chair of the Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Committee in Parliament. Until it was shut down in 1977, Whitney had previously headed the Information Research Department, overseeing its covert propaganda activities, including some directed against the UK left. Gavshon, *et al*. (1987) stated that Whitney took a more direct role than Blaker in the smear campaign against CND and was one of Michael Heseltine's chief sources on CND:

> IEDSS publications also regularly attacked the CND. Its first monograph, Protest and Perish, an assault on E.P. Thompson's Protest and Survive, accused Thompson of "furthering the arms race by destabilizing NATO and the bloc system." (Gavshon, *et al*., 1987)

These attacks on CND were also tied in with attacks on the Labour Party's stance on nuclear weapons that had troubled the in-coming Reagan administration. Gavshon, *et al*. (1987) clearly believed that propaganda was being made possible by grants from the Heritage Foundation and used the example of an 1982 IEDSS publication by David Carlton which argued that the UK could face civil war if a Labour government took office, and warned that NATO could not entrust secrets to a governing party under the sway of a "pro-Soviet faction," meaning the Labour Party. Other publications attacked the presence of the churches in the peace movement and the teaching of peace studies in UK universities. Co-author of the latter of these was Caroline Cox, a former director of the CPS who would later join the IEDSS. Blaker was involved with both groups, and the two co-operated in the publication and distribution of 'Protest and Perish.'

In the UK scepticism of the IEDSS' stated aims was initiated by Gavshon, *et al*. (1987). But why was the assertion that since 1982 the Heritage Foundation had channelled $1m to right-wing organizations in the UK and other Western European

countries, with the aim of influencing domestic political affairs ignored? The article had outlined that small UK think tanks were closely linked to senior figures in the Thatcher government in a comparable linkage to that of the Heritage Foundation's relationship to the Reagan government. In the case of the IEDSS the claim was that the Foundation provided start-up capital and the overwhelming bulk of continued financial support, which for Gavshon, *et al*. (1987) created a Heritage satellite. Frost (2009) indicated that Heritage money was directed at a nascent group that had been discerned around the CPS that was modelled on the Heritage Foundation to a certain extent. Feulner had also greatly influenced the Adam Smith Institute and was familiar with the UK scene having previously attended the London School of Economics and the University of Edinburgh (Cockett, 1994: 263).

Gavshon (1985) had earlier stated that Heritage was funding a London affiliate, meaning the IEDSS, and contextualised this with Heritage's Jeffrey Gaynor's assertion that this was part of a cooperative relationship with an estimated 200 overseas groups and university professors; a process that also included exchanging information and visits and the periodic appointment of non-Americans to specific assignments and fellowships, with the intention of producing an international confederation of Conservatives. Gavshon, *et al*. (1987) reiterated Gayner's statements, but although a connection is somewhat implied with the Heritage Foundation identified as the ideological headquarters of the New Right, these moves were not fully understood or connected or set out as an active component or adjunct of US public diplomacy or covert political influence that developed in response to the priorities of the Reagan administration in the 1980s; although a connection is somewhat implied with the Heritage Foundation identified as the ideological headquarters of the New Right. Below I view these moves alongside Antony Fisher and William Casey's 'Atlas' network and interpret this in more direct relation to US public diplomacy drives. The main emphasis of Gavshon, *et al*. (1987) was that the reason for these networks was interference in UK politics in terms of both subvention and subversion; but little of this was explicated apart from the activities against CND that were also outlined in Duncan Campbell's (1987) 'Secret Society;' itself the subject of government suppression.

Gavshon, *et al*. (1987) did acknowledge Feulner's chairmanship of the US Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy: a position which also entailed responsibility for evaluating programs of the US Information Agency (USIA) and the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). But again this lacked clarity and detail that I have tried to add. Gavshon, *et al*. (1987) did briefly observe that the IEDSS' John O'Sullivan was the editor of the Heritage Foundation's journal, *Policy Review* in the key dates of the IEDSS' formation from 1979 to 1983, and had then became a policy adviser to Thatcher, writing key sections of the 1987 Conservative Party's election manifesto; and identified Heritage funding of British projects as early as 1979, becoming more systematic in 1982 when both the US and UK governments were alarmed by the growing influence of the peace movement. Thus Gavshon, *et al*. (1987) established a link between the campaign to prevent the deployment of cruise missiles in Europe and a steady acceleration of Heritage funding rising from $106,000 in 1982 to $254,000 in 1985, some 95% of Heritage's international funding. The main recipients identified for 1982-1985 included the IEDSS, which received a total of $427,809— substantially more than any other group. The report also mentioned that the International Freedom Fund Establishment (IFFE) was given $140,000. The IFFE can be identified as a semi-private fund run by Brian Crozier as alluded to in Crozier (1993: 244-245) who conceded that ultimately the money came via the CIA in disguise to set up counter groups. Gavshon, *et al*. (1987) did find that the IFFE was not registered in the UK either as a company or a charity, but failed to establish that Crozier was a member of IEDSS.

Crozier (1993: 244-245) related that his group, the 6I, set up European 'peace counter-groups' alongside the CPTS; and that he set up the Council for Arms Control, which closely involved IEDSS members in an attempt to shut out CND from the arms control debate. CIA funding had been a mainstay of Crozier's activities since at least the 1960s and in 1979-1980 he turned to his CIA liaison officer for further funds, having already

informally approached both William Casey (then head of the CIA) and Thatcher. In connection to this request Crozier mentions a March 1981 meeting with Richard V. Allen who helped persuade the CIA to put up £50,000, and Peter Blaker's anti-Communist efforts with the successor to the IRD. Casey is said to have insisted to Crozier that the "private sector must be associated with these activities," and to have eventually found "a way to get the money to me," a figure Crozier puts at £50,000 in 1981 and £100,000 in 1982 (the same figure as the IEDSS received). The IEDSS' George Miller is also named in the context of carrying out the projects the money funded, as is the IEDSS' Douglas Eden, which I return to below.

Gavshon, *et al.* lists three other UK groups who were funded: the Social Affairs Unit (which still features John O'Sullivan), the International Symposium of the Open Society (ISOS) and an organization listed simply as Aneks about which no information was offered. The ISOS was part of George Soros' apparatus. Examination of the make-up of the Soros-supported Human Rights Watch, revealed figures such as Morton Abramowitz, the US Assistant Secretary of State for Intelligence and Research from 1985-1989, ex-ambassador Warren Zimmerman, whose spell in Yugoslavia coincided with the break-up of that country and Paul Goble the director of communications at the CIA-created Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL). The Soros-supported International Crisis Group included former national security advisers Zbigniew Brzezinski and the IEDSS' Richard V. Allen, as well as General Wesley Clark, the ex-NATO supreme allied commander for Europe (Clark, 2003). It may not be coincidental that the CIA had operations in all of the countries in which Soros operated. One goal of the CIA was similar to that of the Open Society Fund: to dismantle socialism, and by the mid-1980s this was moving towards overt intervention from the NED, the AFL-CIO, USAID and other institutions, with individuals recruited by Soros' Open Society Fund (Clark, 2003).

It is both possible and likely that the IEDSS' Heritage Foundation funding was directed by the CIA: Teacher (2008) suggests that money from the Pinay Circle (an earlier pan-European right-wing intelligence apparatus that included Heritage's Edwin Feulner and Brian Crozier) was coordinated to create several new UK groups specializing in anti-disarmament propaganda at exactly the same time. In my interview Frost maintained that the IEDSS was not funded by the UK government but did state that money came from the "US Treasury." For Teacher (2008: 146-147) this distance between state backing and its activities also allowed Blaker, Whitney and the MoD to recycle their anti-unilateralist propaganda under the guise of academic respectability via an 'Institute'; and given that the ISC had been compromised a new one was necessary.

4. Models for the IEDSS
Having examined the other organisations in receipt of US funding, it is apposite to have regard to the similarities in the description of how Crozier's earlier operations were funded, particularly in the context of the subsidy of publishing and propaganda. Freemantle (1983: 189) stated that the CIA set up Kern House Enterprises through a multi-million dollar corporate 'cut out' to avoid any immediate connection. Using Kermit Roosevelt to approach patriotic wealthy families, funding was secured from Richard Mellon Scaife's (heir to the Mellon fortune in Gulf Oil) organisation and channelled to Kern, which set up a UK subsidy, Kern House Enterprises Ltd., in London. The managing director was Iain Hamilton and other funding came from the National Strategy Information Center (NSIC). According to Teacher (2008: 19) in 1965, the International Organizations Division of the CIA decided to use the CCF to create a new propaganda outlet called Forum World Features (FWF) and that turned into Rossiter (Crozier's middle name) Publications. At the same time FWF became the Current Affairs Research Services Center which became the Institute for the Study of Conflict (ISC). This CIA-funded venture ran as a features service from 1966 until its exposure in 1974 and eventually turned into the IEDSS. According to Crozier, FWF had started with Kern House Enterprises with the aim of supporting the CCF: *Encounter* was funded through much the same circuitous procedure including money from the IRD using the same key individuals, some of whom are represented on the IEDSS (Crozier, 1993: 62).

There are three descriptions of the IEDSS that can be used to view it from three different perspectives: these come from the minutes of Crozier's ISC, E.P. Thompson's critical appraisal and Dean Godson's proscription. All of these attest to a propaganda orientation. An initial insight into what the IEDSS was set up to do can be gained by comparing it to the outline of the ISC activities described in internal documents leaked to *Time Out* in the mid-1970s. I would infer a similar orientation: a commonality of purpose mirrored in the commonality of members, location and other relevant factors. The leaked ISC minutes from 1972 also confirmed the connections between the ISC and the Pinay Circle and touched on the relations between the NSIC and ISC, which also resembled the IEDSS' relationship. The documents portrayed the ISC as a parapolitical agency at the service of the state that could offer:

> The provision of "contributions by certain well-known journalists in Britain, the US and other countries and access to television."
> The creation of a "lobby in influential circles directly or indirectly through middlemen whether they are informed of this or not."
> The organisation of "public demonstrations in particular areas on themes to be decided and selected."
> The involvement of the "main intelligence and security agencies both as information sources and as recipients for information in these institutions."
> "[U]ndercover financial transactions for political aims." (*Time Out*, 1975)

This was then broadened out to include what the group could do if financing was available:

> Conduct "international campaigns aiming to discredit hostile personalities or events."
> The "creation of a (private) intelligence service specialising according to a selective point of view."
> The "establishment of offices under suitable cover each run by a co-ordinator from the central office. Current plans cover London, Washington, Paris, Munich and Madrid." (*Time Out*, 1975)

I will return to explore these themes in the specific chapters below and observe here that the ISC itself was set up under the auspices of the government-run Information Research Department (IRD) as a private offshoot. This also mirrors the IEDSS in several respects as does both the ISC's and CPS' relations with the private anti-union blacklisting groups: the Economic League, Common Cause, Aims of Industry and the Industrial Research and Information Service and other groups also discussed below (Teacher, 2008: 24).

The second model of the IEDSS is E. P. Thompson's view that it was little more than part of a lobby for the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). Thompson (1985) mapped out the public diplomacy promoting the SDI as the proposals vacillated to conform to various propaganda positions: from an all-encompassing shield that would free the world from nuclear weapons, to space-based weaponry, to a plan that was designed to confine a nuclear exchange to Europe. Thompson contextualised the Committee for the Free World's 'Beyond 1984' conference in that the US government (and their publicists) had previously secured the loyal commitment of most Western European establishments and had carried the political centre and the right. But with the first phase of SDI the same Atlanticist allegiances faltered because of the Reagan administration's enlistment of:

> [A]rdent Cold Warriors and the 'loony Right.' Both the Heritage Foundation and High Frontier entered the export business. An office in London with the pretentious name of the Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies […] turns out—surprise!—to be 'associated with the Heritage Foundation. (Thompson, 1985: 93)

Thompson connected the IEDSS' lobbying with the advent of the lobby group High Frontier-Europe and stated that the lobbying tried to re-enact the tactics of the attacks on the Peace Movement and the Left from 1980-1983—hence the involvement of the

IEDSS. The SDI was initially framed within 'anti-nuclear morality' in an attempt to capture the debate. But the establishment was reluctant to go through the process again (including initially Margaret Thatcher). Thompson seems to have been unaware of another more secretive SDI lobby, Pan Heuristics run by the IEDSS' Albert Wohlstetter, who came to London to find supporters for the SDI. An attachment in Pan Heuristics (1984: 5) records an October 9 meeting in London with Pan Heuristics: Gerald Frost chaired the meeting, with the speaker being Fred Hoffman. Attendees were: Bruce Anderson (Weekend World); Arnold Beichman (Hoover Institute); Gino Bianco (a journalist); Christopher Cviic (Chatham House); Peter Foster (Director of the Council for Arms Control); Lawrence Freedman; Dennis Gormley (Pacific Sierra Corp, IISS); Paul Hodgson (BBC Eastern Europe); Melvin Lasky (IEDSS); Sir Louis Le Bailly (ISC); Kenneth Minogue (LSE); Norman Reddaway (FCO); Prof. Stankiewicz; Philip Towle (IEDSS) and Albert Wohlstetter.

Wohlstetter had met with the IEDSS' Lord Chalfont a month earlier to arrange meetings in the House of Lords. Pan Hueristic's report of this recorded the names of any Lords who asked difficult questions (Pan Heuristics, 1985a: 20). Wohlstetter had also met MI6's Malcolm Macintosh on the same day of the IEDSS meeting; Wohlstetter then met Pauline Neville-Jones (then with Policy Planning at the FO's) on November 11, who would attend Pan Heuristics conferences (Pan Heuristics, 1985a: 3). Much of Pan Heuristics concerns focused on combating the resistance to the SDI in organizations such as the IISS (again those dissenting are listed on a unattached appendix). The meeting with the IEDSS was a much more positive reception with Wohlstetter joining the IEDSS' Advisory Board.

The third model comes from reflections on US propaganda strategy in Dean Godson's (1987) work on the SDI. This was in a report for the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis' (IFPA) Panel on Public Diplomacy. This confirmed Thompson's assertions and conceded that the US could not count on the core constituency that had carried NATO to victory during the INF dispute. Observing that SDI was supported in the UK by a small group of Conservative-connected individuals, Godson also presented the UK establishment's reluctance towards the Initiative, but "in spite of this bleak picture," stated that (emphasis added) "there exist several persons and groups, hitherto *uncoordinated*, who, if amenable, could form the spearhead of an indigenous Public Diplomacy program" (Godson, 1987: 62). Godson recommended the following individuals and groups that largely represented the IEDSS, behind a figurehead:

> An elder statesman (perhaps Lord Home?) might be persuaded to head up a major campaign.
> A key centrist figure, who is not opposed to SDI research, possibly in the SDP/Liberal Alliance, might be persuaded to support the program.
> Many of the leading Alliance figures are instinctive Atlanticists who want to be seen as people who can think up "new ideas" to escape from the dilemma of the nuclear age. SDI could be the vehicle for doing it.
> The Labour Committee for Trans-Atlantic Understanding, the last remaining group of Labour Party and trade union officials organized to support NATO on security questions.
> The "strategic" and academic communities—such as Lord Thomas, Gerald Frost, and Lord Chalfont. (Godson, 1987: 63)

Godson's IFPA panel was chaired by US Ambassador, Evan Galbraith the chairman of the *National Review*, then trying to promote SDI in France. The IFPA was an offshoot of the NSIC (Lord, 1998). Godson subsequently joined the IEDSSS.

5. Foundation Funding
Some kind of heuristic, a thread in the labyrinth, to aid our understanding of certain think tanks and their propaganda function, can also be found in how they were funded, notably via Richard Mellon Scaife, who had a penchant for covert action and a connection to the CIA. Crozier said that the CIA introduced him to Scaife, who's father, Alan Scaife, was a Major in the World War II-era Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the predecessor of the CIA. Alan Scaife was a sidekick of Richard Helms, who would later become the director of the CIA in the 1960s (McGrath, 2001). Easterbrook (1986) holds that the transformation of Conservative philosophy was really begun by

(1986) holds that the transformation of Conservative philosophy was really begun by just a handful of people: Richard Larry, the grant director for the Scaife Foundation; Michael Joyce, the grant director for the Olin Foundation; and Leslie Lenkowsky, of the Smith Richardson Foundation, the AEI and the USIA. These small groups of individuals believed that just by funding a few writers they could make a significant breakthrough (Miller, 2003).

I would place the IEDSS firmly within these parapolitical funding networks, models and US and UK covert policy drives. The IEDSS' funders included the right wing US foundations the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation Inc., and the John M. Olin Foundation Inc., where Heritage trustee William E. Simon was in charge of grants, that gave the IEDSS $20,000 in 1986. This continued from 1987 to 1991 with the IEDSS being given $20,000 by Olin each year to support the publications program. In 1992 this was reduced to $17,500 with the money coming from the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation. With the end of the Cold War funding seems to have ceased. In 1995, $25,000 was given for the New Atlantic Initiative (NAI) by the Olin Foundation and a further $5,000 to support a conference on the UN by the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation. Publishing and funding ceased in 1995 as the NAI also ceased (Media Transparency, 2007). Gavshon, *et al.* (1987) did state that in 1981 an aide to Scaife reported that the IEDSS had set up solid working relationships with the Heritage Foundation and that its "research into political and psychological warfare, revolutionary activities, insurgency operations and terrorism is consistently used by the Thatcher government." But is it confusing the IEDSS with the ISC here or Brian Crozier's organisations?

The leaders of the three major Conservative think tanks: William Baroody of the AEI, Edwin Feulner of Heritage, and David Abshire of the CSIS once served *together* as aides to Secretary of Defense, Melvin Laird and these and other connections are explored in Section two (Easterbrook, 1986). In the historical context of the use of foundations, I would also make note that the CCF originated with Frank Wisner of the Office of Policy Co-ordination (OPC) that formed the basis of the CIA's covert Directorate of Plans and initiated the tactics of using front companies and groups based on techniques developed by the Nazis, Soviets and the Allies' during WWII. The CCF was funded by the Hoblitzelle and the Fairfield foundations: they received their money in turn from the Tower Fund, Borden Trust, Beacon Fund, Price Fund, Heights Fund and Monroe Fund, all CIA fronts. The CIA agent, Michael Josselson, ran the latter, as well as being executive director of CCF. Josselson was in the OSS during WWII and worked as a propagandist in post-war Germany (Ramsay & Dorril, 1986: 39-34).

This distanced and convoluted funding pattern is also related to attempts to bypass restrictions on the spreading of propaganda by the US government. Leary (1984: 81) described the *Ramparts* exposure of CIA operations as prompting the Katzenbach Committee to *recommend* that no federal agency provide covert financial assistance to American educational and voluntary institutions. Leary added that the CIA *realigned* its work so that overseas activities could continue, and that the Katzenbach Report did not affect major operations in propaganda. Johnson (1991: 158) adds that the report had little effect on the CIA's relationship with academia: that professors continued to be hired for propaganda activities except that their material was targeted for foreign distribution only; and that by the 1980s the CIA had clearly resumed its activities because the report had no legally binding status. According to the Church Report, despite the Katzenbach Report, and although the CIA had stated that: "We will, under no circumstances, publish books, magazines or newspapers in the United States" (US Congress, 1976: 194) the CIA still funded:

> (1) A publications and press institute that maintained a worldwide network of stringers and correspondents. A CIA report on the project asserted that it "exerts virtually no domestic influence in any quarter, although its publications are read by U.S. students."
> (2) Several international trade union organizations.
> (3) A foreign-based news feature service.
> (4) A foreign-based research and publishing institute.
> (United States Congress, 1976:118)

This is a reference to (1) the NSIC (2) the AFL-CIO (3) Forum World Features and (4) the ISC. So it is reasonable to assume that the function of Heritage's (and other Foundations') funding was to circumvent the Katzenbach Report by publishing propaganda overseas: this could then be fed back into US domestic propaganda. This seems to be Crozier's utility to the CIA with the ISC. Gerald Frost confirmed that he considered the IEDSS as a continuation of the ISC:

> ….we took over Brian Crozier's role because he had been director of the Institute for the Study of Conflict and produced good material but he left his position—he thinks it was as a result of a conspiracy organised by the Foreign Office. (Frost, 2009)

Frost argued that to some extent IEDSS was based on the CPS and the IEA's success in that he tried to apply certain principles to foreign policy and defence in the same way that the IEA had applied market principles to the study of economic issues. The IEDSS had initially operated as the Institute of European Studies based at 14 Broadway SW1 (*Times*, 1980). In 1982 it was re-named and based at 12a Golden Square; an address also used by Brian Crozier's ISC (*Times*, 1982). It then operated out of 13-14 Golden Square in 1984 (Norton-Taylor, 1985). Although Crozier fell out with the ISC board he was kept on for a short period. When directly asked what were the connections between the IEDSS and the ISC, Frost (2009) stated that Crozier was on the IEDSS Advisory Council and had "his own sort of intelligence organisation." For Frost, Crozier was a friend and a senior mentor who had transferred his loyalty to the IEDSS because he saw it as a continuation of what he had set out to do. Frost stated that Crozier's *connections* enabled him to raise an intelligence service that opposed the arguments that were coming from the unilateralist left via publications on "what the Soviets were up to in the areas of propaganda and disinformation" (Frost, 2009). When asked exactly what the Soviets were up to, Frost maintained "…they obviously supported CND, we know they gave money to left-wing trade unionists like Jack Jones."

Why Crozier found the IEDSS consanguineous can be partly attributed to the ISC having a funding and working relationship with the Heritage Foundation, the NSIC and the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis; and that it also had an association with a group of journalists who also acted as Thatcher's speech-writers, including Robert Moss, also connected to the Heritage Foundation. Moss was the author of *The Collapse of Democracy*, which warned of such far-left subversives as Robert Killroy-Silk and drew heavily upon Crozier, Paul Wilkinson, Hayek, and, in its acknowledgements, mentioned several of the IEDSS: Lord Chalfont, Stephen Haseler, John O' Sullivan and Leonard Schapiro (Moss, 1975: 37-38).

In Gavshon, *et al*. (1987) Frost had declined to reveal how much the IEDSS had received from Heritage stating: "O.K., in 1986 they were still our biggest source of funds […] If you're seen as having this connection […] people might take less notice of you […] the media becomes suspicious." This seems a reasonably cautious remark given that the IEDSS would have considered sections of the press ideologically opposed to them. For Frost there was no "automatic identity of interest," but he acknowledged that Heritage would not have supported the IEDSS if they "didn't think that on balance we were a good thing." For Frost, Heritage wanted more robust Atlantic partners because it was very difficult for democratic politicians to get support to base nuclear missiles in Western Europe (Frost, 2009). Not surprisingly, the IEDSS was denounced as a propaganda body by the Soviet's Moscow Home service. It was described as pseudo academic cover for the MoD, the Home Office and the government (BBC, 1987).

6. Norman Stone's defence
Gerald Frost's sanguinity about the connections concerning a web of intrigue involving the CCF and the CIA involve his belief that the validity of the arguments such as *Encounter's* did not depend on who funded the magazine: they depended on their cogency and internal qualities. He observed that Gavshon, *et al*. (1987) was:

....based on the fact that we got the money from Heritage, which they thought automatically destroyed the validity of anything that we said. What we said must be judged on its merits—it does stand up. I think our concerns were understandable given the circumstances, and I think that subsequent scholarship has borne that out. Norman Stone wrote a piece about it […] and gave IEDSS a place of honour in a long article he wrote for the *Sunday Times*. (Frost, 2009)

Norman Stone and his wife, Christine were both part of the IEDSS milieu and supported and praised its network while denigrating the 'Chatham House' establishment. Stone's article praising the IEDSS began with denouncements of writers he personally disliked and concluded by praising those he did, such as Leo Labedz ("a hero of our time. Again and again, unfashionably, he has been right about the USSR"). Other "unsung heroes" included Richard Pipes, Radio Liberty, and its director Iain Elliot, also with the IEDSS, as were the top echelon of RFE/RL (Stone, 1991). Stone's assessment was that during the Cold War, the small private institutions and groups did the work of failing government institutions in dealing with the Soviets:

> Encounter did rather well. There were some, such as Brian Crozier and his Institute for the Study of Conflict, who got it right, and endured much flak while doing so. Frank Chapple, the trade union leader, was another. Privately-funded institutions, such as Gerry Frost's, for European Defence and Strategic Studies, again have a good record. Those who campaigned for Soviet jewry, including their journalistic champion Bernard Levin, never faltered in their uncompromising critique of the Soviet Union. (Stone, 1991)

A week after Stone's article, Melvin Lasky (also with the IEDSS) responded in much the same vein, arguing that a number of great figures omitted from Stone's 'honour roll' should have been given prominent mention. This again returned to the IEDSS with Leonard Schapiro and "three other distinguished figures on the British scene who resisted the 'newspeak' of Marxist-Leninist mendacity and with their articles and books prepared the ground for the profound ideological re-evaluation." These were named as: George Urban, Walter Laqueur (who worked with Labedz) and Max Hayward, the Oxford translator of Solzhenitsyn (Lasky, 1991). The historian, Alistair Horne also responded in the *Sunday Times'* tributes, praising other aspects of this network including William F. Buckley "and his galaxy of anti-Marxist stars, from Whittaker Chambers to James Burnham." Horne added that to single out Reagan without reference to Buckley made very little sense, citing Buckley as "the philosophic dynamo which initially charged Reagan's awareness of the 'evil empire'" (Horne, 1991).

If I take stock at this point, even from the selections of individuals above, it can be seen how the IEDSS network fits into:

> (1) The CCF and IRD networks.
> (2) The 'Sovietology' subvented by the state via the IRD or the ISC.
> (3) Large-scale CIA and MI6/MI5 propaganda organisations.
> (4) Key elite-level connections by those providing rhetoric and policy advice (mostly to the Right) over a long time span.
> (5) Crozier's and Buckley's networks, which both have strong ties to the CIA and also encompassed the propagandistic right-wing economic thinking, as with Buckley's Philadelphia Society, itself a US variant of the Mont Pelerin Society.
> (6) US propaganda networks such as RFE/RL and other publications which are also used as an outlet for the same material, such as *Survey*, *Encounter* and the *National Review*.

These themes and connections inform my later analysis. This network can be 'surfaced' as the Cold War of which they were a part began to recede and unravel. The network can be presented as an inter-organizational field: a set of inter-organizational relations among its groups and between its members and also a communication structure. I will explore these dimensions once I have concluded my examination of the literature contained in the journalistic field, examined the reception of the shift in emphasis of the IEDSS subject matter away from Soviet subversion and the eventual termination of IEDSS activity.

7. As the Cold War Ended

As the 1980s drew to a close the IEDSS seemed reluctant to loosen its rigid Cold War stance. It moved to 14-17 Wells Street, W1, but arguably did not move with the times. Possibly the IEDSS' high point was a 1985 conference held at King's College, London on public perceptions of defence matters. Based on a Gallup poll that found that: "Less than a third of people questioned in a poll realize that the Warsaw Pact has any superiority over NATO forces in conventional and intermediate range nuclear missiles," speakers included Lord Carrington then Secretary-General of NATO, who according to Frost (2009) had launched 'Protest and Perish'. Along with the IEDSS, the organizers were: the Foundation for Defence Studies and the Committee for the Free World (CFW) that included most of the IEDSS: Elie Kedourie, Lord Chalfont, Carl Gershman (President of the NED), James Goldsmith, Edward Shils, Irving Kristol, Leopold Labedz, Melvin Lasky, Lord Hugh Thomas, George Urban and other right-wing propagandists (*Times*, 1985). As the promotion of a global conspiracy of secret Soviet subversion slowly began to wane so too did the IEDSS' funding. The Cold Warriors seem to have allowed a short interregnum to exist, before coming to the conclusion that the Cold War had actually been a *stabilizing* factor: particularly when voices began to argue against the retention of NATO, because it had lost its *raison d'etre*, at least in part, since a nuclear military alliance was no longer inevitable and was beginning to resemble a costly mistake (Laqueur, 1997). The abatement of East-West ideological and military rivalry seems to have ushered in a revival (or admission) of traditional mercantilist conceptions: that economic power had become the fundamental component of national power. The moves to tie NATO expansionism to a build up of its military capabilities was led by a consortium of US arms manufacturers, notably Lockheed (Johnson, 1999).

As the IEDSS drew to a close there is some evidence of a softening of attitudes towards the very Communists that were previously regarded as the epitome of the subversive threat. Post-Cold War their utility would seem to be as a core around which could others could be gathered to produce the verisimilitude of dialogue and debate. The *Sunday Times* (1990) reported that the IEDSS organised a conference entitled 'What's Left?' at the LSE, noting that it had right wingers like Roger Scruton, Sir Keith Joseph and Kenneth Minogue ready to argue with the left, but that out of 55 invitations sent, only one left winger agreed to appear and the conference was cancelled (Appleyard, 1990). Yet at this stage, a certain awareness (or wariness) of how Socialism would be re-defined by the Cold War Left seems to be in evidence. The article is written from the point of view of "the right's attempt to transform the entire intellectual orthodoxy from left to right" (*Sunday Times*, 1990). It is unclear, but the article seems to give the impression of promoting the work of Martin Jacques, then editor of the Communist Party of Great Britain's *Marxism Today*, because Jacques was "the man at the centre of the attempts at redefiniton" and that: "For Jacques, therefore, the economic policy of a future Labour government can only be highly conservative and conducted within the confines of the existing international order" (Appleyard, 1990). Jacques would go on to form Demos to implement this redefinition to support the 'New Labour' project (Clark, 2003). To my mind no real contextualisation of this existed in the literature of the time, but I can also identify a connection to what would become New Labour think tanks with the IEDSS' Christopher Coker and Ian Elliot's involvement in setting up the British American Project for a Successor Generation (BAP), and also with his role as a senior fellow of the 21st Century Trust. This is discussed below.

I would describe the 21st Century Trust as an Atlanticist talent spotting organization, similar to BAP, addressing the problem of the Successor Generation then transiting to power. The Director of the 21st Century Trust was John Lotherington, a former US Ambassador to NATO (1993-1998) and the Director of the Associate Network of the Council for a Community of Democracies (CCD). The CCD's Chairman, Robert Hunter, was the Director of European Studies at the CSIS, and served on the National Security Council as Director for West European Affairs (1977-1979). The CCD's other directors include: Jeffrey Gedmin, the President and CEO of RFE/RL; Frank C. Carlucci, Deputy Director of the CIA (1978-81); William E. Brock III, chairman

emeritus of the NED, the late Walter Raymond Jr., who established the NED, and from 1987-1992 was Assistant Director of the USIA. This formulation would put the CCD well within the confines of US public diplomacy if not an outright psychological operation (Council for a Community of Democracies, 2006). Most directors were either from the NED, RFE/RL, CSIS or the Atlantic Council and it was funded by a range of Foundations including Freedom House, the Open Society Institute and the NED (Council for a Community of Democracies, 2009).

In conclusion it could be asked: what came of the IEDSS' plans to become a Thatcherite think tank? In 1990, the IEDSS' Christopher Coker, perhaps influenced by George Urban's frustrations in advising Thatcher on foreign policy, wrote that Thatcher had both trivialised and over-personalised foreign relations, and failed to grasp that Britain was no longer a significant player on the international stage (Coker, 1990). Coker also added that "chasing after the past, not the future, is perhaps the worst conformism of all" (Pick, 1990). I will close by noting that Coker's arguments can be said to have had some implications for the IEDSS itself; particularly with his assertion that Thatcher had "magnified out of all proportion the UK's relationship with the US," and that her ambition to act as an intermediary between the two superpowers could not be sustained once Reagan left office. In viewing foreign policy as Thatcher's "greatest failure in that she has allowed the Foreign Office and its policies to continue broadly as they were before 1979," Coker is offering the IEDSS' final lament of the position *it* wanted to occupy to fend off and replace the establishment views of the Foreign Office. But if nothing had changed since 1979, what had the IEDSS achieved? Edwin Feulner (1995) in the *National Review*, writing as the zenith of Thatcher's time in office descended into the nadir of John Major's government, maintained that "there is in London an impressive network of thriving conservative think tanks." Feulner did not mention the funding ties that he had orchestrated, and ultimately he challenges, or certainly spins, the notion that these think tanks were influenced by the US, denying the Americanization of British Conservatism (Feulner, 1995). In terms of the continuation of the mythos of the Reagan-Thatcher years, Feulner's essay is one indication of the desire to continue the network of right-wing think tanks and it is in this context that the IEDSS' final venture, the New Atlantic Initiative (NAI) should be viewed.

8. The New Atlantic Initiative
In the mid-1990s the IEDSS acted as a forum for a post-Cold War policy directed towards co-ordinating elite opinion on the economic exploitation of former Communist countries. These took the form of two congresses under the auspices of the IEDSS' New Atlantic Initiative (NAI) in Prague and in Phoenix that are analysed below as propaganda operations.

Under the umbrella of the American Enterprise Institute (AEI) the NAI was launched in 1996, with the Congress of Prague gathering political, intellectual and business leaders to set a new agenda for transatlantic relations, in an echo of the Congress of Vienna in 1815 (Odom & Frost, 1997). The organisers viewed the expansion of NATO in terms of creating a 'Transatlantic Free Trade Area,' similar to the North American Free Trade Agreement. The NAI had been formed as a type of public policy research centre engaged in what the AEI termed 'Research Project 11.' At this point the AEI had become a gathering of the right who had linked themselves to the George W. Bush campaign: Richard Perle, David Frum, Michael Ledeen, Lynne Cheney (wife of Richard) and Irving Kristol, and as such the NAI was also instrumentalized into lobbying for the 'war on terror' on behalf of the Bush administration to a somewhat reluctant Europe (American Enterprise Institute, 2011).

The NAI's role was similar to the IEDSS' as regards the Heritage Foundation and the Reagan administration's public diplomacy apparatus: this time it joined with the AEI's focus on European affairs by bringing the former Soviet satellite states into NATO and into a US-defined free market. The IEDSS would go on to develop its links with resistance movements in the former Soviet dominated countries as they became lobbyists for this expansion. This process was led by Radek Sikorski, who was installed by the AEI as executive director of the NAI (UPI, 2002) and had a somewhat

enigmatic role with the IEDSS.

9. The reinvigoration of Atlantic institutions

On its creation the NAI faced criticism from the US right for its support for further expenditure on NATO and the European Union, but press response was muted (Gedmin, 1996). The AEI set out the NAI's central objectives as strengthening Atlantic cooperation in the post-Cold War world by bringing together Americans and Europeans to work toward common goals, including:

> The reinvigoration of Atlantic institutions of political cooperation and consultation.

> The admission of Europe's fledgling democracies into the institutions of Atlantic defense and European economic cooperation, notably NATO and the European Union.

> The establishment of free trade between an enlarged European Union and the North American Free Trade Area as a complement to strengthening global free trade.

> The NAI also sponsors conferences, debates, and roundtable discussions in the US, Europe and elsewhere. (Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 2011)

Following the pattern of support, influence and direction I have already set out above, the NAI was initially funded by the John M. Olin Foundation in 1995, *via* the IEDSS, with Gerald Frost and John O'Sullivan as key organisers and the NAI drawing heavily on the IEDSS' network (Media Transparency, 2007a). In the *Economist*, Frost (1996) outlined the purposes of the NAI as "the speedy incorporation of the Central European democracies into the West's economic and political structures." Frost described the NAI as an *ad hoc* group of scholars, writers, business leaders and ex-public servants who formed a business lobby. The contact address given by Frost was that of the Centre for the New Europe (CNE) also part of the NAI, said to be "born out of the urge to create a European Heritage Foundation." The CNE was funded by Heritage and via Pfizer's Catherine Windels (Pfizer also prominently funded Frost's *Economist* article) with assistance from the IEA's Lord Harris, and launched at the 1994 general meeting of the Mont Pelerin Society in Cannes. The CNE also initiated the Stockholm Network of think tanks and organises the Capitalist Ball (Belien, 2006).

In 1996, to support the Conference of Prague, the NAI was funded via a trustee grant designated by James Piereson, the director of the (now-defunct) Olin Foundation, and of the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research, established in New York in 1978 by Antony Fisher and the CIA's William Casey, a pairing which I will examine below. From 1999 onwards the NAI was funded by the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, and received 27 grants totalling $4,108,000 (Media Transparency, 2007a). John O'Sullivan quoted Charles Powell who described the purpose of the conference as propagandistic *selling* of Atlanticism that would embrace the totality of transatlantic relations: politics, trade, and defence, viewing political cooperation as "the entrenched habit of consultation in the formative stage of policy making" (Odom & Frost, 1997: 153). O'Sullivan also thanked Louise Oliver from the Donner Foundation, who funded the NAI; Adrian Karatnycky of Freedom House "who did much to make this a genuinely bipartisan enterprise;" and Peter Rodman of Freedom House, the CSIS and the *National Review*. So in one sense the NAI can be seen as a development of the NED's propaganda apparatus in the former Soviet Union into one of commercial exploitation (Odom & Frost, 1997: 224).

The Congress of Prague was described by the *National Review* (1996) in quasi-religious terms as having the mission to reaffirm the moral unity of the Atlantic Community in the "new context of democracy's triumph in the Cold War and its spread into Central and Eastern Europe" with the highlight being "Czech President Vaclav Havel leading a procession of dignitaries." The NAI had an impressive advisory board that included three members of the IEDSS. Frost & Odom (2000) described the its first event, a May 1996 meeting at the Cernin Palace in Prague, as an offshoot of the IEDSS.

Frost remained a consultant director and the IEDSS was described as "our first organizing home and which did so much to get us started;" Andrew McHallam is also specifically mentioned (Frost & Odom, 2000: 233). The AEI's president, Christopher DeMuth, and its scholars, Richard Perle, Jeffrey Gedmin the RFE/RL president, and Irwin Stelzer are also specifically mentioned as important influences on the event. Frost summed it up as concluding with a declaration of common ideological principles:

> ….an eloquent and unapologetic statement of belief in individual liberty, the market economy, and democratic pluralism, which those present were invited to sign. (Frost & Odom, 2000: 233).

Attendees from the UK included: Anne Applebaum, Max Beloff, Conrad Black, Robert Conquest, Iain Duncan-Smith, Douglas Eden, Daniel Finkelstein, Dean Godson, Paul Johnson, Peter Mandelson, Andrew McHallam, Kenneth Minogue, Roger Scruton, Alan Lee Williams.

Frost (1998) documented the follow up venture, also held under the auspices of the NAI in 1997, with commentaries by (or written for) Margaret Thatcher, Norman Stone and Paul Wolfowitz. This had more of an AEI slant, the attendees are much the same as before, with new names including: Michael A. Ledeen, Paul Wolfowitz, Dan Quayle, Richard N. Perle, John McCain, Douglas J. Feith, John Bolton and Bruce P. Jackson who was described as the director of planning of the Lockheed Martin Corporation and president of the newly formed US Committee to Expand NATO.

My analysis of the Congress of Phoenix is that of the editors and contributors: 15 were involved in right-wing politics, 13 were involved in right-wing think tanks, 5 were involved in right-wing publications, 3 in finance and 2 in the arms trade. The list of attendees is very similar to the (2001) AEI/*Daily Telegraph* conference 'Britain and America: A Strategic Dialogue,' held in London (AEI, 2000). The Atlantic Alliance and NATO expansion was complicated by the ascendant Project for a New American Century's growing antipathy towards European attitudes to the invasion of Iraq. Gedmin (2002) represented this mood by arguing that Europeans "grew tired of playing the role of deputy sheriff during the Cold War. Now, it seems, they have grown tired of the sheriff, too." Because NATO 'crises' have occurred so often and passed so quickly, commentators have resorted to a particular way of writing about the Alliance and its ills, labelled as the 'Alliance crisis syndrome,' and described as "exaggerated claims based on unexamined premises and backed by superficial comparisons drawn from the history of the Alliance" (Thies, 2009: 3).

The NAI also sponsored conferences in Israel and Jordan, hoping to promote Israel joining NATO. Proponents of this initiative included the then Italian Defence Minister, the IEDSS' Antonio Martino (Rupp, 2006). The Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs (run by former Israeli Ambassador to the UN, Dore Gold) gives a list of co-operating institutions in the NAI network that once more links it to the NED, Freedom House, RFE, the Atlantic Councils, Prague and Brussels-based think tanks and lobbyists (with connections to the Social Affairs Unit and Antonio Martino), the Centre for European Reform, the Civic Institute (a front group that involved several members of the IEDSS), the CSIS, the German Marshall Fund of the United States, the Hudson Institute, the Project for the New American Century and the US Committee on NATO (Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 2011).

10. The 'neo-conservative International'?
Lobe (2008) presented the NAI as part of a network that encompassed the US neo-conservative propaganda and public diplomacy work including RFE, which has strong ties to the IEDSS and is headquartered in Prague. Lobe's view of the NAI's rhetoric is that it was, or became, more orientated towards a self-serving purpose and he cited *Washington Post* columnist Anne Applebaum's appeal for Congress to increase funding for RFE/RL. He also observed her relationship to Sikorski, who took over as director of AEI's NAI from Jeffrey Gedmin, who, immediately after 9/11, left for the AEI-linked Aspen Institute in Berlin (O'Sullivan had worked with Gedmin at RFE/RL).

The NAI was chaired by Edward J. Streator, a former ambassador in the US Embassy in London, a director of the Ditchley Foundation and a US representative to various NATO bodies (Reagan, 1984). Stanhope (1984a) described Streator as "arguably the most influential American in Britain," and alluded to Streator's veiled involvement with the Northcote Parkinson Fund, now the Train Foundation, a financier of international destabilisation activities in the NED-like disguise of democratisation. Here the NED's NGOs are extensions of US foreign policy, and "almost always co-ordinated with the International Rescue Committee and Freedom House" (Africa News, 2007). The Train Foundation was created in 1987 from an association with Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, a past advisor, along with Jeane Kirkpatrick (Civil Courage Prize, 2010).

The NAI can be seen as part of the long-standing attempts to produce a 'Neo-Conservative International' alluded to in Gavshon, *et al*. (1987). But there seems either an exaggeration of its achievements and/or much secrecy about it. Although the organisation was little known, from the lobbying perspective, Gaffney (1996) would claim that the NAI was the most important new institution for the defence and expansion of freedom since the creation of NATO in 1949. For Gerald Frost, the NAI was conceived as an attempt to persuade senior levels of government to redefine Atlanticism within a greatly changed strategic and political environment. From this perspective Frost does not think that it was successful and that Europe and the US have grown further apart rather than closer together. Some left-wing criticism seems to picture a very monolithic and ever entwined US and UK: but this should not be considered as seamless or as fixed as might be argued, particularly with the variable of Europe factored in. Frost stated:

> …we're obviously closer to America then other Europeans but if you read Mrs Thatcher's speech to the NAI conference in Prague you'd see to what extent she believed, and many of those involved believed, that an increasingly integrated Europe would be very bad for the Western Alliance; and that Europe would ultimately be, not an enemy, but at least a rival to the United States. (Frost, 2009)

The work of the NAI can be seen as an *attempt* to frame elite policy development in the aftermath of the Cold War, influenced by a complex of issues and events such as the right-wing reaction to the Clinton and then the Blair Administration's 'Successor Generation' coming to power in the US and UK; the opportunities and difficulties of the Baltic nations gearing themselves for membership in NATO, the EU and other pro-Western bodies and many other conflicting issues. For Frost, the hope was that the NAI would lead to the end of a period of European introspection and try to create new or re-modelled institutions which would reflect Atlantic values; it would appear mostly those under the umbrella of the NED. But there were too many differences over too many areas. He also believed that ultimately the European project is flawed and that Europe itself is in a state of political and economic decline. For Frost the big political battles in his life had been over whether the UK would have a socialised economy or market order and here he believes himself on the victorious side, similarly with his opposition to Soviet Communism; but (in 2009) before the economic crisis, he did not think his third struggle, 'Euroscepticism' was going to prevail and indeed this impasse is reflected in the difficulties of the NAI to a certain extent.

From the US side the rhetoric seemed reluctant to unclench its grip on anti-Communism. Gaffney (1997) in attacking Clinton and promoting the NAI, turned his ire in a general direction and stated that one of the IEDSS' main Cold Warriors Albert Wohlstetter must be 'spinning in his grave.' Until it was revamped the NAI's AEI website linked to the Atlantic Council of the UK, a long standing arena for Atlanticism; the Centre for European Reform, a newly formed one with ties to the left-face of Atlanticism; the Institute of Economic Affairs, again an old hand; and a new venture: the New World Order Forum, described as an independent UK-based think-tank that was set up in March 2002.

11. Conclusion

In conclusion I will say that to fully understand the IEDSS a basic understanding of the

nature and extent of the operations of the Heritage Foundation and how its apparatus grew and spread to the UK is necessary. It is apparent from the available information, by no means all of which has been summarised in the preceding chapters of this study, that the IEDSS was a UK part of a well-organised, well-financed apparatus designed to influence and if necessary change, defence policies of the UK, together with other policy areas also targeted by the network of 'Thatcherite' think tanks. Though perhaps not as well known as other organisations that comprised what could be termed the 'Phantom Academy,' the IEDSS was one of the more skilled. IEDSS propaganda, written by semi-professionals in various aspects of military and weapons policy, was produced and pitched to the appropriate policy-making audiences in government, and achieved some degree of acceptance or influence among certain leaders concerned with the shaping and implementation of the UK's national defence and defence-related policies. It can be located within the creation of a nexus within which it operated with organisations such as RFE/RL, *Encounter* and Brian Crozier's covert ventures. Its ambitious media-oriented program to exploit the dangers of unilateralism, and the projects against UNESCO or the attacks on E. P. Thompson, indicate that it can be regarded as a force of significant import—particularly as high-level discussions over SALT and other defence controversies such as SDI, or the end of the Cold War occupied national public policy and defence concerns. I would trace the Heritage Foundation's interest in this respect to William T. Poole's (1979) Heritage report, that engaged in an institutional analysis to examine the interlocking directorates of the Center for Defense Information (CDI), led by retired Rear Admiral Gene R. LaRocque, and the Fund for Peace aided by General Motors heir Stewart R. Mott, who was described as "a major financial backer of an assortment of leftist projects and groups." Poole argued that the Center for National Security Studies was "one of the nation's principal anti-intelligence community operations," and identified its 'In the Public Interest' project as one designed to "counteract the onslaught of right-wing broadcasting," with information made available through the efforts of a large group of "peace" movement activists, members of Congress, and others. Of the Fund itself, the former president was identified with the activities of the World Peace Council "a Soviet-controlled international Communist front organization" (Poole, 1979). It is possible the Heritage Foundation was interested in funding the IEDSS in response to this perception and in some way tried to mirror the 'conspiracy.' This predated Jeffrey G. Barlow's (1982) 'Moscow and the Peace Offensive,' which cited Poole's work and set out Heritage's perceptions. Poole also produced the (1977) 'The Environmental Complex,' reworked in 1982, focussing on 'anti-corporate rhetoric;' and the (1982a) 'The New Left In Government,' that outlined the New Left's "transformation of movement activists from outsiders into insiders within the policy-making process on a scale perhaps unprecedented in our history." But there is likely to be a nexus of concerns rather than a mono-causal reason that I explore further in the following chapters.

Section 3: Methodology
This chapter contains an outline of the methodological approach used including the relevance of the work of C. Wright Mills to the study. The general hypothesis of the work is outlined, together with the basic research design and research strategies and the

use of social network analysis. The methodology was derived from a range of published works by Mills and developed a research strategy based on the key question sets that I identify in Mills' work below. What Mills offered was a variety of lines of interpretation to provide a flexible, but definite, set of methodological guidelines drawn from the *models* and questions Mills (1960) identified in the classic tradition. I combined these with the parapolitical investigative writing that Mills inspired in a renewal of the kind of thinking represented in the classic tradition. For Mills the standards that ought to be used by critics of current social study *and* by sociologists are those that have slowly accumulated in the *classic tradition* of sociology and yet the liberating aspect of reading Mills is that he passes on the conviction that sociology contains a greater variety of intellectual styles than any other area of cultural endeavor.

12. Defining the problem

Ultimately this study argues that the IEDSS was part of an extensive propaganda network operating in the US, UK and Europe. To methodically make the case for this, drawing on Mills (1960) the study deals with:

> (1) Structural definition through the identification of the inter-relation of essential components; differentiation of social orders by comparative analysis to identify meaning in terms of continuance and change.

> (2) Historical definition and orientation in terms of the characteristics of the mechanics of change. The location of an intellectual perspective in terms of its affects on (and the affects of) human development in terms of its essential features, to differentiate the ways of history making.
> (3) Prevalent varieties in terms of selection and formation, future tendencies, liberation and repression, sensitization and desensitization. To find the meaning for 'human nature' in terms of conduct and character.

Mills (1960a) was a 'Letter to the New Left,' and a starting point in that I tried to follow the trajectory it advocated in an attempt to locate the IEDSS: first, in terms of its institutional relationship to the power structure of the Atlantic Alliance; then, historically in a Cold War and post-Cold War time frame and also in terms of its desired effect on society. Here I began to ask: what was it attempting to achieve, what was its version of its purpose and was it telling the truth about what it was doing? The IEDSS stated aim was to study political *change* in Europe and to assess its impact on strategic and defence issues and the changes in the UK. It was also part of an intensified Cold War and the creation of a range of think tanks linked to promoting 'Thatcherism' in the UK and the 'Reagan revolution' in the US. As I began to envisage the dimensions of the study, my initial task was to determine key themes and topics. Methodologically I drew on Mills & Gerth (1964: 377-378) in relation to the psychology of social institutions, and identified key general sociological questions that outline how political change can be studied by asking:

> (a) What is it that changes?

> (b) How does it change?

> (c) What is the direction of change?

> (d) What is the rate of change?

> (e) Why did change occur or why was it possible?

> (f) What are the principal factors in social change?

I define social change as a change in social structure or in particular social institutions, or in the relationships between institutions. The IEDSS propounded a certain form of society by putting certain values at a premium while denigrating others. To understand the relevance of this I related what I knew of their work to a set of wider questions on the socio-political features of the period gathered from Mills (1959: 13). These aimed at

determining the structure of a particular society as a whole and ask:

(a) What are its essential components, and how are they related to one another?

(b) How does it differ from other varieties of social order?

(c) Within it, what is the meaning of any particular feature for its continuance and for its change?

Answering these questions began to uncover what the IEDSS advocated: essentially the IEDSS was waging a war against the New Left Mills had influenced. I then used Mills (1959: 13) to ask where did the type of society the IEDSS propounded stand in human history including:

(a) What are the mechanics by which it is changing?

(b) What is its place within and its meaning for the development of humanity as a whole?

(c) How does any particular feature we are examining affect, and how is it affected by, the historical period in which it moves?

(d) And this period—what are its essential features?

(e) How does it differ from other periods?

(f) What are its characteristic ways of history making?

This began to examine at its propagandist *modus operandi*, its exclusive Cold War focus, its identification of a Soviet conspiracy, its attacks on peaceful co-existence with Russia, its use of networks and the media and its links to the covert state agencies. To focus further on this historical orientation I also asked what varieties of men and women did the IEDSS *not* want to prevail in this society and in this period, and also ask:

(a) What varieties are coming to prevail?

(b) In what ways are they selected and formed, liberated and repressed, made sensitive and blunted?

(c) What kinds of 'human nature' are revealed in the conduct and character we observe in this society in this period?

(d) And what is the meaning for 'human nature' of each and every feature of the society we are examining.

The IEDSS' authoritarian, right-wing orientation included concerted attacks on those it identified as Soviet agents, it advocated strict social prohibitions and sanctions and a return to the past, and the rejection of progressive social tendencies. These questions are useful stating points for any sociological study. For my purposes they were brought to bear on the IEDSS and formed the backbone of the study in that I returned to them throughout and they underlie the study.

More specifically, Mills (1960a) had revealed the influence of the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF) in its propaganda relationship to the Atlantic Alliance. The covert activity that Mills described began to develop my understanding of the IEDSS: it contained numerous members of the CCF, including its instigator Melvin Lasky and those who ran some of its offshoots such as Brian Crozier and Leopold Labedz. As these continuities became informally *apparent* within the IEDSS' membership I felt it could be demonstrated that it occurred and operated in accordance with particular covert political undercurrents that now had certain, quite accurately specified, precedent and antecedent conditions. The growing body of work on and surrounding the CCF and the Information Research Department (IRD) seemed to provide a basis for this.

Lasswell (1998: 133) offered a way of analyzing propaganda that can be summed up by the following simple question: "Who says what to whom in what channel with what effect?" Mills' work is appropriate to the study of propaganda because of his identification that the shift towards the centralization of political power meant that authority needs, and has recourse to manipulation in its desire for legitimization, to secure loyalty and obedience; that manipulation develops when centralized authority is not publicly justified, and when those in power do not believe it can honestly be justified. Here power shifts from the overt to the covert, from the obvious to a more subtle exploitation of psychological processes to manipulate consent. Because such manipulation is hidden it deprives the oppressed from identifying the oppressor and effectively removes the check of reason and conscience of the ruled on the ruler. My contention is that the IEDSS engaged in these types of activities.

I also ask at who's behest did it work? According to Mills (1956) there is a 'Power Elite' in modern societies who command the resources of vast bureaucratic organisations that dominate industrial societies. As bureaucracies have enlarged they have centralized the circle of those who run the organizations, this narrowing makes the consequences of their decisions enormous; they occupy the key leadership positions within the bureaucracies in which the effective means of power is located. Thus their power is rooted in the attributes of the social organization's authority, not of the individuals themselves. Aspects of *coordination* stem from the interchange of personnel between the three elite hierarchies: Economy, Government and Military. These coordinating moves are evident in the network of institutions of which the IEDSS was part. Its milieu affirms Mills' assertion that the closeness of business and government officialdom can be seen by the ease and frequency with which individuals pass from one hierarchy to another. Mills (1956) described the inner core of the power elite as consisting of those who interchange commanding roles at the top of one dominant institutional order with those in another: one example of this in the IEDSS was Richard V. Allen. Mills (1956: 385-386) offered conceptions that helped to understand the IEDSS in terms of its relation to this power elite in terms of:

> (1) The sociology of institutional position and the social structure these institutions form.
>
> (2) The statistics of selected values.
>
> (3) Membership in a clique-like set of people.
>
> (4) The morality of certain personality types.

This provided me with task of identifying as Mills put it: what they head up, what they have, what they do and who they really are.

The IEDSS' members are defined in terms of their institutional position because of the practical advantage that this provides a great deal of information. An institutional or structural definition does not force us to prejudge by definition what should be open for investigation. Nor does it prejudge whether the elite are conscious members of a social class. Similarly, the institutional positions people hold determines their chances of holding certain values; the kind of psychological beings they become is determined by the values they experience and the institutional roles they play. My target for research became the context and details, rather than the pros or cons of the various arguments propounded by the IEDSS. Here I drew back from them to re-evaluate them.

I did not have to conjecture various suppositions of what might influence the IEDSS—I had the advantage of the few existing forms of analysis of the IEDSS, but these were like disparate scraps of a mosaic; most of the process of understanding came from re-examining earlier assumptions and the long process of preparing as detailed a biographical history of the thirty-seven members as possible. I methodically arranged the IEDSS member's network of associations in a *scientific* way: so that the work might be used generally for other research projects and opened itself to criticism. This is what

became the most time-consuming part of the study. The preparation of the biographies stimulated the realisation of the need to know the history of the period at quite a deep level. To aid the task of identification I set out questions based on Mills (1956: 304) to compare what the IEDSS said about itself to what others said about it to establish:

(a) What is the ontology, the descriptive model of the world?

(b) What is the explanation of the world?

(c) What is the futurology, answering the question: where is society heading?

(d) What are the values and answers to ethical questions: what should we do?

(e) What is the methodology and theory of action: how should goals be attained?

(f) What is the epistemology, or ethics: what is true and false?

(g) What is their account of their own origins and how they are constructed.

Again drawing on Mills (1956) I pursued this process of identification further by trying to assess:

(a) Its professed goals and policies, whether they are reformative or revolutionary and what their specific contents are.

(b) The recruitment and composition of its members and leaders.

(c) Its objective functions; that is, to whose benefit does its existence and operation redound?

As a field of study aspects of social psychology and other specialisations contain a useful body of literature on examining how the state uses propaganda and it was at this point I began a long series of literature reviews on areas such as social psychology, propaganda, think tanks, covert operations and so on and I began to collect and interpret a range of military, government and declassified documentation and to record my observations using a MacBook and use its facility to search and re-research within the individual file structures I had amassed.

The examination of the file's independent variables included political affiliation, religious affiliation, military/civilian status membership affiliation, nationality: a broad range connected to biography and history which established what social groups an individual belonged to and indicated their network interactions. From there what I looked for was based on Mills & Gerth (1964: 26) whereby they offered specific areas to focus on in their sociological definition of: Orders, Structures and Traits. Orders can be defined as:

(a) The political order: those institutions within which people acquire, wield, or influence the distribution of power and authority.

(b) The economic order: those establishments by which people organize labour, resources, and technical implements in order to produce and distribute goods and services.

(c) The military order: those institutions in which people organise legitimate violence and supervise its use.

(d) The kinship order: institutions that regulate and facilitate legitimate sexual intercourse, procreation, and the early bearing of children.

(e) The religious order: those institutions in which people organise and supervise the collective worship of God or deities, usually at regular occasions and at fixed places.

Mills & Gerth (1964: 30) defined the aspects of social structure to pay attention to in research and interpret in terms of:

      (a) Symbols which sustain the order: including signs, emblems, ceremonies, language, music.

      (b) Technology the physical devices of the order: including tools, apparatus, machines, instruments.

      (c) Status: consisting of agencies for the means of distributing prestige, deference, or honour.

      (4) Education: including activities concerned with the transmission of skills and values to persons who have not yet acquired them.

Mills & Gerth (1964: 79-80) defined traits in four specific ways in terms of what is premiumed:

      (1) A general trait that is generally premiumed has a high chance to be presented by the person and to be firmly organized into his character.

      (2) A specific trait that is generally premiumed will tend to spread, to become a general trait.

      (3) A general trait that is specifically premiumed will tend to become a specific trait, or, if kept general, to be modified or camouflaged in all contexts except the one in which it is specifically premiumed.

      (4) A specific trait that is specifically premiumed will tend to be stabilized; a person predominantly composed of such traits will be a compartmentalized specialist.

Mills & Gerth (1964: 279-280) offered ways to combine these elements and explain the connection between vocabulary and motives in terms of six orders:

      (1) The vocabulary is a major element in the style of life that sets off different status groups.

      (2) In the economic order, the jobs that people do together give rise to specialised trade jargons.

      (3) Families may develop special terms understood only by its members.

      (4) The symbols of the political order may be visual or auditory, like the flag or the national anthem, or they may be sentimentalized places like the Capitol or written documents as in the constitutional states of modern democracies.

      (5) The symbol spheres of the military order and of the political order are blended in the modern national state.

      (6) In the religious order the symbol sphere is very important, since the contents with which religion deals and the sanctions it employs are "psychic."

At this point I began to have a working model of the IEDSS that contained statements of the elements to which attention must be paid to understand how the IEDSS related to society. The task was then to study the range of possible relations among these elements, so that they are not left merely to interact in some vague way. Rightly or wrongly, they must be constructed in close and specific interconnection with one another, and causal weights are assigned to each. These imputed connections and weights of course are the specific theories on the IEDSS set out in the thesis.

13. Forming a hypothesis and building a research design

My initial hypothesis was that the IEDSS' purpose could be explained by the

independent variables if the network ties were revealed and related to the historical development of mostly US propaganda, loosely co-ordinated via think tanks such as the Heritage Foundation. I engaged in several initial conjectures with a view to facilitating hopefully rewarding research. The series of initial hypotheses directed the plan for the collection, analysis and evaluation of the data that would allow me to confirm or disconfirm the initial hypothesis. In my case there was an on-going confluence of ideas here: the research design was modified over time and formulated in reflexive response to the hypothesis construction, taking account of itself and of the effect of the personality of the researcher on what was being investigated by adopting an intellectual detachment.

I tried to test my methods so that they really fitted the type of problem being investigated. I used a secondary analysis by reusing previously collected data: I also began a study of government records that included information about some of the variables. When I examined what mention of the IEDSS had been made in *Hansard*, certain themes emerged and from this I identified the initial set of concerns that further informed the direction of my enquiry:

> (1) Accusations by IEDSS members in the House of Lords that aimed to stifle dissent: such as the assertion that educational institutions were used by the Soviets for disinformation and propaganda (*Hansard,* 1984; 1985).

> (2) Statements by individuals with formal or informal (but unacknowledged) connections to the Secret Intelligence Services who used IEDSS material in an attempt to influence specific issues (*Hansard*, 1984a; *Hansard*, 1985a; *Hansard*, 1991a).

> (3) The IEDSS' ancillary input into the Heritage Foundation's attempts to influence leading politicians and the media in areas related to UK foreign policy, such as the campaign to urge the UK to withdraw from UNESCO (*Hansard*, 1987).

> (4) The mediation of the UK's relations with the US and the Soviet Union in the 1980s and 1990s, particularly concerning the influence of the CIA's William Casey and other of the IEDSS' US members (*Hansard*, 1987a).

> (5) The use of IEDSS material as a counter-measure towards anti-Americanism via propaganda networks such as Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and other US public diplomacy drives (*Hansard*, 1987a).

> (6) The use of IEDSS material as an aid to the arms lobby and the networks that serve it by denying the Cold War had ended (*Hansard*, 1991; *Hansard*, 1991a).

> (7) The use of IEDSS material as an attempt to push the agenda of the Conservative government further to the right (*Hansard*, 1994; *Hansard*, 1989).

An examination of the discussion of the IEDSS in parliamentary debates in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords revealed few (but somewhat tactical) uses of its material. When I conducted a literature review of the mainstream press, what little mention there was tended to be polemical in nature with the IEDSS being used to reinforce a distinctly right-wing position. The seven Parliamentary concerns I specified above can help to understand the issues that are apparent in the review of the main texts on the IEDSS that I offer below.

14. The relevance of Parapolitics
I then realized I would have to deal with a more theoretical understanding on how think tanks have been understood and the use of social science to the state, but that academic writing, apart from scant allusions, had *completely* ignored the IEDSS. To counter the limited amount of information available on the IEDSS and its networks I had regard to the expansive work of a specific sub-type of 'parapolitical' investigative literature produced by a set of journalists working from the late 1960s onwards. Mills (1948: 272-273) made an accurate prediction on the future of US social science that it would end up:

> (1) Providing information about war potentials and psychological resistances

> (1) Providing information about war potentials and psychological resistances of various peoples of the world to the administrators of warfare […] their knowledge would be used for psychological warfare upon enemy peoples, and as psychological aids to the administrator of the cultures of conquered peoples. (2) They would also provide nationalist public relations men with materials of use in propagandizing American culture to those in enemy and backward areas. In doing so they would talk of culture, in the liberal anthropological manner: without explicit policy reference. If that were so, it seems to me they would obscure to themselves and others what is happening in and to world.

The parapolitical work I have drawn on represents a tradition, influenced by Mills, that uncovered this process and a common feature is that the writers were academically ignored, or persecuted and smeared by the state, as indeed Mills was. Thompson (1960) influenced Mills (1960b) in drawing attention to the CCF foundation-funded network and developed elite power structure research with the concept of the 'Secret State' that included the activities of the IEDSS (Thompson, 1978; 1978a; 1979; 1980; 1982a; 1982b). Lasch (1973), Fletcher & Hirsch (1977) and Fletcher (1982) extended understanding of the covert influence of the CIA, IRD and the CCF. As the mainstream media developed a reluctance or complicity towards understanding the Secret State, writing shifted to underground magazines such as Kelly (1981) in the *Leveller* or their commercial variants, such the *Time Out* (1975) exposure of the ISC, Campbell (1981a; 1981b; 1986) in the *New Statesman* with similar work in *Tribune* (1979; 1983; 1988). In 1974 Alvin Gouldner's journal *Theory and Society* tried to develop a new agenda for social theory that included the secret police as centres of social control and integration in the modern state; as political vanguards of a new state. Prompted by Watergate, the writing of CIA 'defectors' such as Marchetti & Marks (1974) outlined the distortions of history created by CIA disinformation and described the cult of intelligence as a secret fraternity of the American political aristocracy and how, in the wake of the Church Committee, covert activity shifted into the private sector. With the 'ABC trial' and state harassment of the work of Duncan Campbell, Crispin Aubrey and Philip Agee, a greater awareness of the role of the secret intelligence and security services emerged reflected in Agee (1975), Agee & Wolf (1978), Aubrey (1981). These are combined with Tony Bunyan's work in *State Research* and Bunyan (1977) on the political police in the UK; the work of *Covert Action*, such as Sklar, & Berlet (1991) on the NED or Blum (1990) on US foreign policy; Dale Scott (1986; 1993) Marshall, Scott & Hunter (1987), Herman & O'Sullivan (1987), Chomsky & Herman (1988) Bellant (1991) and Blumenthal (1986) on the parapolitical role of think tanks and foundations. Investigations prompted by the Iran-Contra revelations, such as Parry (1988) and Simpson (1988; 1995; 1996) offer an understanding of the extent of state propaganda. Dorril & Ramsay (1987; 1991) established that Thatcherism grew out of a right-wing network with extensive links to the military-intelligence establishment—what they termed the 'Permanent Government'—and that her rise to power was the climax of a long campaign by this network which included a protracted destabilisation campaign against the Labour Party during 1974-1976, to discredit other parties, to engineer a right-wing leader of the Tory Party and then a right-wing government. Teacher (2008) placed the IEDSS' network as part of these drives.

Although these writers have been largely ignored, their work is reinstated here because it offers a perspective on a hidden history. Inasmuch as it constitutes a way of seeing, the parapolitical tradition stands in marked contradistinction to the officially sanctioned versions of events. It can be used to restore what was hidden concerning MI5's response to 'internal subversion.' According to former MI5 director, Stella Rimington, after she was brought into F2 section, in 1982, before the Miners strike, she was part of a review whereby the subject areas on "what is subversion" were destroyed (emphasis added):

> We'd inherited a position where our predecessors had been slightly less intellectually rigorous about this than we were. We took the responsibilities of the service very seriously. We reviewed many of those files created by our predecessors and *destroyed them*. (Corera, 2009)

This focused on the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB), Unions, and 'Soviet

infiltration of CND'. Through an examination of its literature it can be established that these were areas that the IEDSS, with a strong government and intelligence input, created disinformation and conspiracy theories around. These were designed to serve the purposes of the state and possibly give us an indication of what some of the material in the destroyed files contained.

The membership of the IEDSS formed the main set of independent variables and were conceptualised in terms of the organisations and networks of which they were a part (this is set out in the table below). Thus the analytical process started with the clarification and the specification of the sets of indicators and the data that enabled me to map the dimensions, presence or absence of these the individuals, together with the organisations that I aimed to establish were engaged in propaganda operations. The interpretation of these sets of indicators provided the specifiable aspects of the concepts. For example, an IEDSS member might also be a member of an organisation that covertly performed a propaganda function. This organisation might be interlinked with other similar organisations and were overseen by a socio-metric individual (an example here would be David Abshire's role in the CSIS and US public diplomacy previously touched upon) and this individual might transpire to be part of the co-ordination of a larger propaganda project.

The danger was becoming lost in the myriad connections of this type of research: avoidance of this required a clearing away of possible confusion over concepts and reality: to focus on a statement of the essential nature and attributes of the object under study. This is complicated because the organisations under scrutiny engaged in activities such as disinformation and propaganda and used 'front groups' in the deliberate creation of a pseudo-reality. The organisation might also present itself and construct itself in terms of camouflaging its actions or produce publications intended to disguise or mislead, or deliberately include well-intentioned individuals to mask its ideological thrust and obscure any propaganda function. Nevertheless, after the Cold War many of these formerly occluded networks and connections have been acknowledged and written about by several of their organisers such as Brian Crozier and such acknowledgement has also confirmed or disconfirmed the investigative analysis of the time.

A great deal of the research involved the time-consuming process of the identification of specific supporting evidence that would lead to a reasonable inference that parts of the IEDSS' work combined with other public diplomacy operations over a specific time span. Here an accurate chronology was important, together with an understanding of the relevance of particular projects to foreign policy concerns. This process also involved using the guide of particular definitions, postulates and theorems whereby each member was researched (and re-researched) to classify observations in terms of biographical and historical attributes relating to a continuity and interpenetration of covert operations. This can be expressed by identifying the purpose of each specific political action committee, association and so on. For example, the networks that comprise the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) and their relation to US public diplomacy can be described as containing similar covert strategies to similar CIA networks whose work they carried on. The evidence here can be built up to reveal a coherent meta-epistemic network of what Scott (1993: 6) termed a 'parapolitical' and or 'deep political' nature; meaning the system or practice of politics in which accountability is consciously diminished, these organisations are usually repressed rather than acknowledged.

Over an extensive period of time I built up a view of the IEDSS as a type of modifiable template that was refined in the study once a new evidence base was established and refined. The logical relationships among variables and the typology or taxonomy of the measures were influenced by, and compared to the external criterion of Mills' question sets and the range of parapolitical writing that dealt either with the IEDSS directly or allied organisations. This was also combined with prior research, existing theories and their systematic observations of for instance the intelligence or propaganda field; or, in elite theory. As the research became integrated 'epistemic' networks (mostly comprised

of think tanks, with some little more than façades) became apparent. With the advent of computerised forms of analysis a much wider and deeper picture of the networks represented in the IEDSS can be gained than was evident at the time. This was combined with the historical dimension whereby it can be said to reveal the purposes for which the numerous organisations were established in a less *opaque* and spurious manner than contemporary accounts.

15. The collection and analysis of the data

Although little was written on the IEDSS, much more available information on its members and what they were engaged in is in existence now. I engaged in a lengthy examination using the electronic archives including: Elsevier, JSTOR, Emerald, Omnifile and Web of Knowledge; the Nexis database and other more dedicated and far-reaching archives such as the Gale Database of the *Times*, which covers a wider area than Nexis and also offers a feel of how the articles were positioned, or the many full-page advertisements used as campaigns. The *Times* also had another significance in that I realised that it ran similar propaganda material. The examination of the online archives such as *Hansard* or the Thatcher Foundation, provided useful insights into the Centre for Policy Studies as a precursor of the IEDSS. Numerous other archives, such as that of the Hoover Institution, the Heritage Foundation, Stewart Menaul's, Brian Crozier's and RFL's offered similar insights into new lines of enquiry based on positive correlations. The information gathered was then fed into the thirty-seven individual profiles of the individual members that were cross-referenced to confirm or disconfirm previous hypotheses put forward by other writers, and my own earlier position, and I began to group the findings on a web site I had set up to aid the understanding of the data.

I also examined all the back issues of key publications run by the IEDSS' members, including *Encounter* (most of which I bought second-hand but they are available online together with many other right-wing periodicals) and, crucially, I began an analysis of the literature the IEDSS produced, which confirmed the previous hypotheses and developed my understanding of how the IEDSS modulated over its existence: how it changed, particularly with the end of the Cold War as the IEDSS became part of the think tanks and lobbyists engaged in 'democracy building' in Eastern Europe. The IEDSS' writers could all be identified as writing propaganda for a set of related propaganda organisations—this is remarkable given that the same can be said of those who ran it.

To qualify the findings I conducted several interviews and/or engaged in ongoing correspondence with a number of individuals in the course of the research that developed various themes and topics. Due to the nature of the subject matter it proved difficult to schedule interview participants that fitted the background requirements, but I will offer a brief summary of these. On early work on think tanks, I interviewed Chris Blackhurst, although encouraging and informative, this did not progress much further than the New Labour think tanks of the 1990s. I engaged in an ongoing correspondence with Tim Pendry that ranged from a debate on phenomenology to propaganda and public relations techniques. An edited version of these exchanges was published in *Lobster* (Clark & Pendry, 2009). I also engaged (and collaborated) in an ongoing correspondence with John Barker on how C. Wright Mills and elite theory related to the study of think tanks, and with Stuart Christie, who are both knowledgeable sources on the counter-culture, anarchism and the New Left. Christie, in particular published numerous books, pamphlets and commentaries on a wide range of issues relevant to the IEDSS network. I also engaged in an ongoing correspondence with Robin Ramsay, the editor of *Lobster*, and would draw on his advice and assistance over the course of the study. Ramsay is one of the few writers on the IEDSS and passed on to me his own collection of material on them, including the *New Statesman* essay and much of their publicity material and press releases. The work of *Lobster* is one of the main influences on the approach of the study. I was also contacted by David Teacher during the course of the study: he had seen some of my writing and had completed a study of the Pinay Circle that touched on the activities of the IEDSS and independently confirmed several observations that I had made, reference to this can be found throughout. The most revealing interview was with Gerald Frost in that it

revealed that Brian Crozier had been a member of the IEDSS, and that it directly connected to the previous propaganda organizations that he ran. Frost was the only member of the IEDSS to be directly interviewed. None of those contacted replied to my requests apart from one or two of the IEDSS' writers, but these met with an abrupt silence once I explained the nature of my study. It is a pity that Stephen Haseler chose not to reply, but this is understandable: because of the intelligence and propaganda connections individuals may wish to be silent on the matter. Richard Cockett, one of the key writers on the development of the 'Thatcherite' think tanks, did reply but was too busy to make a substantial contribution. Both John Eldridge and Greg Philo offered advice on the work of Mills and sociological enquiry in general and our meetings were informal, wide-ranging, enjoyable and informative. An examination of the results that specifically mention the IEDSS provided by a Nexis search, coupled with more specific newspaper archives, provided very little information as a basis for analysis. The results break down to the following amounts:

Mentions	Newspaper	Earliest	Latest
52	Times	1981	1997
20	Guardian	1984	1993
13	Daily Mail	1992	1995
7	Independent	1989	2009
5	Herald	1992	1996
3	Evening Standard	1992	1995

As regards these results: some of the later entries are not examinations of the IEDSS, they are mostly brief mentions in obituaries, although membership of the IEDSS is rarely recorded in *any* IEDSS member's contemporary biographies. The earliest mentions of the IEDSS' publications, beyond the UK press, was in *Foreign Affairs* in 1982/1983 (*Foreign Affairs* went on to mention the IEDSS on 32 occasions mostly in the form of very short reviews) and the Heritage Foundation's *Background Reports* of the same year. In early 1983 the IEDSS was also advertised in the Heritage Foundation's journal *Policy Review*, whose editorial board featured some of the IEDSS' members (*Policy Review*, 1983: 156; *Policy Review*, 1983: 112; *Policy Review*, 1984: 81). Although it was not mentioned by name, aspects of the IEDSS' network were described by TASS (1981) and portrayed by the Soviets as a propaganda operation.

The IEDSS' activities were most favourably covered and regularly promoted in the *Times* and most unfavourably and critically in the *Guardian*, indicative of a political polarisation. There is no extensive history and examination of the IEDSS. What I concluded from an initial literature review was that the IEDSS was rarely mentioned in any depth in the UK press and that foreign policy think tanks are not sufficiently explained in the press. To my mind a study of the IEDSS would have to contextualise it in terms of US public diplomacy in Europe; follow its activities, and those of its members, including into today's networks of influence; and follow it back to the formation of post-war 'Atlanticist' networks set up to influence the 'climate of opinion.'

16. Drawing a conclusion to form a theory

The task was to make sense out of the data I had collected—to examine whether the early series of hypotheses were accurate. My analysis led me to identify and name distinct patterns and types and to move to a last step of interpretation: a conclusive theory that is a comprehensive *explanation* of the observed relationships among the variables. I believed I had arrived at a sociological explanation that indicated the social forces behind the IEDSS and tried to set this out in the early drafts.

The general hypotheses became that the IEDSS was not an impartial, independent think tank, but that it was part of large scale UK and US public diplomacy and propaganda strategies (planned psychological adjustments) and that it was funded by the CIA and a small group of foundations, to influence UK domestic politics. Part of this entailed the destruction of perceived enemies and the silencing of critics. This strategy eventuated certain groupings that aimed to extend the Cold War, and, at its close to then further the interests of US capital in the expansion of NATO into Eastern Europe aided by organisations such as the NED. The IEDSS' 'Atlanticist' dimension, including its

connections to the Heritage Foundation, reveal it as integrated with other US, UK and European covert networks as part of a 'cultural apparatus' which stemmed from post-war projections of US power into Europe, and included organisation such as the CCF or Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. In the late 1970s this cultural apparatus began to extend into a network of UK think tanks modelled on (and shaped by) the Heritage Foundation, the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) and other state intelligence agencies and their proxies. I also identify the IEDSS as a gathering of actors involved in an ideologically driven sub-culture, mostly serving the Reagan and Thatcher governments, which gathered together other anti-left groups such as the *official* IRD or those organisations typified by Brian Crozier's *quasi-official* organisations that are also in evidence in the IEDSS. So this general hypothesis links the independent, mediating, and dependent variables in a set of causal assertions. The hypothesis predicts that there is a relationship, the causal direction of the relationship, the mechanics (the drift) of the relationship, and the form of the relationships.

However, according to Gouldner (1970: 56) there is a very basic problem with turning a human being into a variable; but as far as the individuals involved in the IEDSS are concerned, at times, how they interacted *indicated* more than what they ostensibly said and did. I used certain *clues* and interpretations to gain a deeper hypothetical understanding. Just as when someone might offer hints or clues that would make us want to 'read between the lines,' I used inference to go beyond *prima facie* evidence to try to work out other meanings and implications that certain details might suggest or imply: such as the non-denial denial common in bureaucratic rationality. For me this also had a relevance to the propaganda, the sociology of knowledge elements of the study. Drawing on Charles Pierce and John Dewey Mills offered a general idea of what good reasoning is.

Because the IEDSS sought to influence perceptions, in this sense, I felt I had to go some way to examine its role in the causation of knowledge related to specific events: such as the debate over arms control, in terms of how these were controlled, how remote the public are from this process; or how this might relate to an official monopolistic model of validation and truth. This was supported by inferences based on such factors as the hierarchically centralized position of most of the IEDSS' members. Here I enquired into methods of fixing belief and the setting out of representative modes of thought and their structure, from which particular conceptions are built up—mostly using a network of small think tanks, publishing and media campaigns (Mills, 1948: 272-273). Here I had regard to the selective acceptances and rejections of criteria by the elites represented by the IEDSS and viewed their cultural influences and sociological investigations in relation to social situations, to cultural determinants: for example in terms of motivating values largely within the domains of 'security' and 'strategic thinking' to influence public opinion. For Mills (1943: 165) the expert is "a man with learning but without power who advises a man who has power but who feels he is without learning" and this was the role—the power—many IEDSS members held.

17. Network Analysis

The identification of a series of networks is a major component of the work and the IEDSS' networks were small enough for its network connections to be made apparent to the reader. I have tried not to produce an overly complicated spider's web where the facts are *designed* to create a visual *illusion*. Largely for propaganda purposes, the individuals involved were consciously setting up interlinked networks. Once the main organisations were identified I extended the institutional ties of the membership to a second order of analysis exploring and began to identify a merger with key right-wing UK and US organisations typified by herd-like groupings in small networks funded by ideologically driven foundations. These acted collectively and interpenetrated, to a greater or lesser extent, with covert government projects. An analogy here could be 'Beau Geste's' propping up of dead soldiers round the battlements of the fort; and, indeed some web sites still bolster their ideological drive by leaving dead members on their advisory board.

Objects, people in this case, become interpretable primarily as vehicles or terminals of purpose, as mediators of consequences with some sort of socially shared order of reality and value. So I was careful of the evidential weight that I accorded to a network that *I* have constructed and which *I* take to be a reality. Similarly I was wary of what

that *I* have constructed and which *I* take to be a reality. Similarly I was wary of what behaviour I might ascribe to a dyadic correlation or identification of a maven: a front organisation is after all a façade. The table shows a membership affiliation with propaganda organisations. There are over 200 such affiliations out of 37 directors and advisory board members.

	HF	CSIS	RFE/RL	Enc	CPS	CIA	MI6	SDA	ISC	IRD	NSC	MP	CPD	HOV	USIA	CFW	
Feulner	X	X	X		X							X		X	X	X	8
Haseler	X	X	X	X		X		X	X					X			8
Frost	X		X		X							X	X		X	X	7
Bowen	X					X											2
Durrant																	0
Eden	X							X									2
Martino	X	X	X	X	X	X						X		X			8
Whitney	X			X	X		X		X	X							6
Allen	X	X	X			X					X	X	X	X		X	9
Barzini				X										X		X	3
Conquest	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X				X		X	11
Brown				X	X		X	X	X			X				X	7
Key												X					1
Lasky	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X						X	9
Schapiro	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X				X			10
Schwartz	X		X	X								X					4
Shakespeare	X	X	X	X		X					X		X		X		8
Urban	X	X	X	X	X		X						X		X	X	9
Miller						X	X	X									3
Crozier	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X			11
Kedourie						X										X	2
Blaker		X	X	X	X		X			X			X				7
Elliot	X	X	X	X		X	X										6
Luxmoore																	0
Godson	X	X		X	X	X			X		X		X	X	X	X	11
Cox		X			X											X	3
Benoist					X								X				2
Chalfont		X	X	X	X		X		X	X			X			X	9
Labedz		X	X	X	X	X			X	X				X		X	9
O'Sullivan	X	X	X	X	X							X		X			7
Williams	X				X	X			X							X	5
Towle							X										1
Wohlstetter	X					X					X		X	X		X	6
McHallem	X																1
Armitage							X			X							2
Coker	X				X	X											3
Prentice				X	X			X								X	4
	22	14	17	20	19	18	14	5	10	11	4	8	9	12	5	16	

Drawing on Carrington & Scott (2005) the types of networks I studied can be broken down into:

> (1) Ego-Centered networks which are defined from the standpoints of focal individuals. The example here would be those organisations led by Brian Crozier.

> (2) One-mode networks, this is presented in the breakdown of the IEDSS' management structure.

> (3) Two-mode (affiliation) networks where only two (or more) sets of nodes

and ties are established between nodes belonging to different sets, at times I exceed this but broadly speaking these are the limits of the research.

The mapping of the relations that created social structures took into consideration: kinship, social roles, affective, cognitive, actions, flows (mostly in terms of transfer of material resources and co-occurrence as the main groupings to be made evident for the purpose of analytical clarity (Scott, 2000). The features I attempt to elucidate, mostly via its mavens, such as Feulner, can be clearly discerned in simple analysis of its organisational make-up. The effects of the IEDSS networks are presented in terms of:

(1) Diffusion of ideas and attitudes.

(2) Mutual support in terms of the structure and effects.

(3) Change in terms of its production, such as the shift in emphasis as a result of the end of the Cold War.

(4) Economic relations in terms of exchange and competition, information and advice and ownership.

This type of analysis was important for ascertaining acquaintance and communication networks and finding observable patterns of behavior in interaction. I could begin to ask why the IEDSS' network was set up and trace this back to other think tanks such as the CPS and the Heritage Foundation. But the problem with devising a 'small world' is that the map is not the territory. This approach helped me understand the Mont Pelerin Society's use of a 'Phantom Academy' that operated under the propaganda dictates of Hayek as second-hand dealers in ideas and how this constituted an influential semi-organised network related to the Atlas Network of free-market think tanks funded by Anthony Fisher and Brian Crozier's various covert networks such as the 6I or the Pinay Circle. The action within and the building of the IEDSS network in its early phase can be related to friendship, acquaintance and cognitive co-occurrence: particularly to Gerald Frost's social network based on the CPS. Here I was heavily reliant on individual testimony and the initial sketches of this could be termed 'making random graphs and small worlds.'

Theories on networks include some helpful observations in penetrating the domain of security and intelligence, such as the Simmel, Wolff & Bendix (1964) concept of the 'web of affiliation' in networks and groups involving the duality of persons and groups: here interactions can be entered into to achieve some individual or collective purpose external to the interaction. The specific dimensions of such processes: 'sociation' as outlined by Simmel include the concept of *tertius gaudens*, the form of interaction in which a third party plays off two other parties against each other (Simmel, *et al.*, 1964). In terms of networks and identities I also began to consider the networks of the IEDSS' writers in terms of language shibboleths, personality and control. Here I also drew on Mills and Gerth's concept of vocabulary of motive.

The network analysis established a range of organisational affiliations in terms of identifying connections, relationships and correlations that offered sufficient evidence to infer whether they were part of acknowledged, unacknowledged or under-acknowledged propaganda organisations. The investigative process then moved to the ancillary institutions that advised, directed, funded or influenced the IEDSS. With the passage of time many of these formerly covert connections are now quite overt. Below, the main actors of the IEDSS are discussed in terms of the high-level, but at times covert projects and organisations of which they were executive members or a component part. As I examined the IEDSS' development over time, I ascertained the provenance of certain propaganda statements, positions, patterns and commonalities and tried to establish to what extent the IEDSS' members were involved in larger, government or private propaganda initiatives, many of which are now partially documented and declassified or were the subject of contemporary investigative analysis. This also offered an evidence base that supported the development of the argument that the IEDSS represented a propaganda network. One of the features to emerge in the

analysis at an early stage was the IEDSS' involvement within propaganda projects and organisations that aimed to smear, misrepresent or discredit opponents. That this was a component of the propaganda is also contended by the thesis.

18. The relevance of Mills and the Classic Tradition

I have tried to adapt Mills' methods and the models he recommended. I believe what is needed is *vision* in method in historical sociology. We are lacking that which might question what acceptable sociologists have said on the relationship between the disciplines of history and sociology, as well as between theoretical generalization and historical particularity: thus a continual investigation of the arguments offered in conventional practice was often the basis for methodological decisions. Mills defined the master tasks for intellectuals as:

> (1) To define the reality of the human condition and to make our definitions public.

> (2) To confront the new facts of history making in our time, and their meaning for the problem of political responsibility.

> (3) Continually to investigate the causes of war, and among them to locate the decisions and defaults of elite circles.

> (4) To release the human imagination, to explore all the alternatives now open to the human community by transcending both the mere exhortation of grand principle and the mere opportunist reaction.

> (5) To demand full information of relevance to human destiny and the end of decisions made in irresponsible secrecy. (Summers, 2008: 2)

> (6) To cease being the intellectual dupes of political patrioteers.

With the methods I used to analyse the IEDSS I drew on guidance from a tradition of theorists who were able to reflect on capitalism's spiritual roots as it opposed Communism: particularly those who had studied elites and who had keenly blended social psychology and the sociology of knowledge. I will pick out four themes that emerged from the study of Mills (1960) that have helped structure the analysis and outline them below to briefly describe the dimensions of the study; then I will briefly outline the relevance of the writers collected in Mills (1960) to the study.

19. Four Themes

(1) *The Cultural Apparatus*: this provided me with a theoretical basis for understanding the field that propagandists and covert networks seek to act upon and influence. In the case of the IEDSS it was part of Friedrich von Hayek's use of a propaganda network of think tanks developed by William Casey. As a propaganda organization the IEDSS provided material reinforcing the authority of US dominance to a mass audience. Mills' observation in 'The Power Elite' that society in the US had moved a considerable distance along the road to the mass society added that this afforded the power elite subsequent propaganda opportunities. Mills (1956: 304) distinguishes a mass society from a 'society of publics' that can guide an investigation of suspected propagandistic material by examination of how:

> (1) Far fewer people express opinions than receive them.

> (2) The communications are so organised that it is difficult or impossible for the individual to answer back immediately or with any effect.

> (3) The realization of opinion in action is controlled by authorities.

(4) The mass has no autonomy from the official
institutions of society, but is permeated by agents of
these institutions.

Ascertaining how the cultural apparatus is influenced describes the methods of numerous propaganda projects overseen by IEDSS members aimed at influencing and shaping elites, such the British American Project or Project Democracy. The underlying conceptual framework has its own roots in the work of Lippmann and Lasswell (Mills, 1959). The term can also be connected to the growing extent of manipulation as a form of exercising power.

(2) *Crackpot Realism*: essentially this describes the functional rationality that was used by US power elites in various Cold War arguments around the principle of deterrence that emanated from figures such as the IEDSS' Albert Wohlstetter and the lobby groups around the Strategic Defence Initiative, of which the IEDSS was a key part. Here Mills drew on the work of Thorstein Veblen and Karl Mannheim. This is also related to Mills' idea of the 'NATO intellectuals' created by the CCF network to support and propagandize these and other positions and to demonize and conflate Communism and Socialism. It can also be extended to the Conservative Foundations that funded and maintained the propaganda networks outlined below, themselves akin to Veblen's analysis of the role of 'Absentee Owners' (Veblen, 1938). Mills asked what the absentee owners had been doing while absent from their businesses? His answer was they have continuously devoted themselves to politics. This is key to understanding the role of the Foundations as CIA funding conduits.

(3) *Liberal Practicality*: this theme was to form the basis of Mills' last work, as the basis of a critique of the left and the advent of the 'postmodern period' or 'Fourth Epoch,' as he termed it. It aided my understanding of the critique offered by the US right that gave rise to the Heritage Foundation, a major funder and influence on the IEDSS. Moreover it also provided a way to understand the motivations of the input into the IEDSS by liberals in the UK, mostly those gathered around the Social Democratic Alliance and the CCF (Mills, 1952). Mills (1960a) was one of the first critiques of 'the end of ideology' position, as advanced by Daniel Bell. Mills (1942) tackled similar themes in his critique of James Burnham, a central influence on key IEDSS figures such as Brian Crozier. For Mills the 'end of ideology' was the imposition of a false consciousness that tried to block the consideration of aspects of what may be happening in the world. Mills held that Liberalism was the political common denominator of most then current social study but had become the "plain and fancy retreats from the tasks which classic sociologists confronted so boldly" (Mills, 1960: 8).

(4) *The Conservative Mood*: drawing on Mannheim's work on the right, this is related to Mills' attempt to predict the ambit of the post-war development of Conservatism within the US (Mills, 1954a). I argue that the drives he outlined fed into 'Thatcherism' mainly via the Heritage Foundation. The Conservative Mood offers a fundamental insight into the *mélange* of contradictory forces in organisations such as the Philadelphia Society and the Mont Pelerin Society, all three of which are well represented in the IEDSS and prompted an investigation into the influences of the key US IEDSS members. Mills (1954a) offered a critique of the work of Russell Kirk, a main influence on the US members of the IEDSS and I explore these intellectual and 'spiritual' roots further below.

20. Conclusion

Mills (1960) is relevant to the study in terms of his communication of the classic tradition in sociology. Mills' working methods were useful in the analysis of the underlying assumptions and features of the Cold War (including the co-optation of union leaders into the power elite) and they provide a way to understand the ideological orientation of the membership of the IEDSS. One of the distinguishing marks of the classic tradition is that, unlike propaganda, it can satisfy the demand for useful knowledge in terms of clarification instead of manipulation (Horowitz, 1963: 2). Mills' interpretation rested mainly upon the kinds of questions that its practitioners *asked* and the manner in which they went about *answering* them. I have tried to identify and adapt to my own ends the type of questions Mills asked, together with how he and others

went about finding answers.

Most of the ideas of the classic sociologists are not of the sort that can readily be shaped for precise *testing*—they are interpretive ideas, they orient us to various ways of looking at social realities, they are in effect attempts to state the general historical trend, the main drift, of modern society. They are attempts to make sense of what is happening in the world that are uninhibited by the boundary lines of academic disciplines or specialties (Hodges, 1969: 327-329). Mills identified what would now be rationalized as political science, social psychology, economics, anthropology and sociology *integrated* so as to form "a master view of the structure of society in all its realms, the mechanics of history in all their ramifications, and the roles of individuals in a great variety of their psychological nuances" (Mills, 1960:3).

What I drew from the signal characteristics of Mills (1960) was that the great ideas consist not of theories or detailed hypotheses but working models: *a synthesis*. Mills' advice is that should we wish to produce a work drawing on the classic tradition, the classic tradition may *not be defined* by any one specific method, nor by the acceptance of *any one theory* of society, history, or human nature: it is defined by the character of the questions that guide those who wish to be part of the classic tradition. These questions are a synthesis of the *models* offered by it. These questions are of a wide scope concerning 'total societies,' their transformations, and the varieties of individual men and women that inhabit them. This is why in explaining the sociological imagination Mills (1959) stated that the classic social analyst *avoids* a rigid set of procedures. My approach to 'Method' was concerned with how to ask and answer questions with some assurance that the answers are durable. 'Theory' concerned paying close attention to the words used, in terms of their degree of generality and their logical relations. The purpose of both was clarity of conception and economy of procedure: to release rather than restrict the sociological imagination (Mills, 1960a: 178).

The models of the classic tradition that informed this study drew on Mills' guide in such matters as political authority, the nature of bureaucracy, the nature of capitalism, forms of rationality and other facets identified in the specific references made below. Historically, a great deal of the classic sociological tradition came out of the debates surrounding the ideas of Karl Marx and one aspect of this work outlines how this was covertly traduced in the UK by covert state agencies, who subsequently destroyed their records and archives as I will set out below. Mills (1960: 8) warned that source material such as the journalistic report-in-depth, the documentary study or the statistical survey (influential features of our intellectual age though they may be) should be regarded as commercial and political features of society as well as an intellectual matter suitable for answering the kinds of questions raised in the classic sociological tradition. He made us aware that the demand for facts and the ways of supplying and selecting them are part of well-established administrative routines and purposes of business, government, universities and of covert and semi-covert associations of different kinds. However, Mills did assert that within the lacuna he outlined, some of the best sociological work available (and this was before the explosion of social commentary of the 1960s) was performed by journalists, commentators, historians and literary critics, *rather than* by sociologists.

Mills (1960: 7) noted a deeper problem he termed the crisis of social reflection; two main features of which he outlined as a retreat into the supposed neutrality of sheer fact, and the other he related to the more political essays of Weber, and a crisis of orientation by no means overcome. Mills & Gerth (1946) in the translation and *interpretation* of Weber's works was a response to Talcott Parson's (1930) translation of Weber and his legacy and marked the beginning of Mills' and other sociologists' rejection of the levels of abstraction and analytical value of Parsonian 'Structural Functionalism' *and* Parson's interpretation of Weber's philosophy of science. To my mind this is a key divergent point in sociology that pointed to a new direction and a much more critical and questioning attitude. What the parapolitical writers have tried to follow is the path opened up by Mills and Gerth in providing an alternative view of Weber's sociology in

terms of the importance of power, conflict, authority and violence in social life (Turner, 1999: 2). Mills and Gerth also challenged Parsons as the defender of modern society, specifically as the champion of the US version of liberal capitalism.

Mills' period was fast becoming a domain where such a tradition was *suppressed* by political authority; *diverted* by the institutional and academic trends that formed the climate of cultural work and *abandoned* by those who ought to be practicing it. For Mills (1963: 299) the independent artist and intellectual were among the few remaining "personalities equipped to resist and to fight the stereotyping and consequent death of genuinely lively things" and he added that: "Fresh perception now involves the capacity continually to unmask and to smash stereotypes of vision and intellect with which modern communications swamp us." This has also been an influence on the direction and purpose of the study.

Section 4: Think Tanks in Theory

The purpose of this chapter is to briefly outline the literature that has guided my understanding of the role of think tanks in the UK and the US with respect to the work of Mills and the incorporation of parapolitical dimensions; to explain the concept of the 'Phantom Academy' and to set out some of the difficulties the study of think tanks presents and to offer recommendations for future directions.

21. Omissions in the study of Think Tanks

Think tanks are thought of as a fairly recent phenomenon, usually traced to conclaves in World War II underground bunkers (Stone, 2007: 5). But the IEDSS conforms to the type of collegiate advisory body outlined by Max Weber much earlier. One of the distinctive characteristics of bureaucratic regulation that Weber set out was its marked element of secrecy inclusive of what could be termed the bureaucratic collegiate principle. Mills & Gerth (1946: 233) states that every bureaucracy seeks to increase the superiority of the professionally informed by keeping their knowledge and intentions secret: "Bureaucratic administration always tends to be an administration of 'secret sessions' in so far as it can, it hides its knowledge and action from criticism." The concept of the 'official secret' is both the specific invention of bureaucracy and fanatically defended by it; and everywhere that the power interests of the domination structure (orientated towards the 'outside') are at stake we will find a tendency towards secrecy far beyond purely functional interests. In facing forms of accountability the bureaucracy will fight attempts to gain knowledge of its activities by the use of its own experts, or from interest groups or the bureaucratic expert, and will surround themselves with *collegiate bodies* that operate continuously. For Weber the 'Prince' will exert personal influence less from presiding over the collegiate body, but more from having written memoranda submitted to them—this was the case with the IEDSS and the Thatcher government (Frost, 2009). Weber also asserts that this collegiate principle extends into the ruler trying to fashion a type of synthesis of specialized experts into a collective unit:

> As long as an expert knowledge of administrative affairs was the exclusive product of a long empirical practice, and administrative norms were not regulations but elements of a tradition, the council of elders—in a manner typical often with priests, 'elder statesmen,' and notables participating—was the adequate form for collegiate authorities, which in the beginning merely gave advice to the ruler. (Mills & Gerth, 1946: 236)

Weber also observed the feature that interpenetrating 'notables' are drawn in to be exploited for representation and advertising. The fetishization of the commodity has a corollary here, whereby eminence in one collegiate body can be transformed into political influence—especially in a democracy so based on *public opinion*. For Weber the collegiate administration will be made to *disappear* when, from the point of view of the ruler's interests, a strictly unified administrative leadership appears to be more important and criticism from the outside and publicity increase.

I have observed that in the case of the IEDSS' and its forerunner the ISC, some form of distancing from Thatcher occurred. Weber's description of an ideal type generalizes a setting in which government chooses or is forced to be concerned about the loyalty (the bureaucratic reliability) of sections of the population. Conceptualized thus, 'loyalty' implies that there was information within a bureaucracy which could be used to injure the government or the 'national interest' if revealed by the 'disloyal.' With the IEDSS and other collegiate groups, Conservatives extended this notion of 'disloyalty' and attacked the academic intelligentsia on 'patriotic' grounds. Lapham (2004) gives a concise round up of the Conservative propaganda apparatus stemming from Goldwater and Buckley and begins with Richard Hofstadter's remark: "When, in all our history, has anyone with ideas so bizarre, so archaic, so self-confounding, so remote from the basic American consensus, ever got so far?"

One of the starting points of my study was a return to Mills (1960). His open letter to the 'New Left' *descried* the beginnings of a psychological warfare operation directed by the Western Alliance. Mills' letter was a reference point for this study because, with his comments on *Encounter* magazine and the CCF I began to discern features of the *parapolitical* structures that developed via a range of inter-linked projects and began to trace this to the creation of the IEDSS via its forerunners. Mills' observed a typology of 'NATO Intellectuals,' collegiate groupings who's main task was to delimit the political struggle and hem in the positions of the indigenous intelligentsia, together with the instigation of a proscriptive conceptualization of cultural tasks and attempts to create a consensus via various fora to serve these ends. Intellectuals (some willingly, some reluctantly, some naively) were to become the producers of ideas, including false ideas and systematically distorted ideas, which would help to legitimate the dominant political power. The intellectuals would produce socially necessary and expedient illusions in a managed conjuncture of discourse and authority. They would do so at the expense of engaging themselves politically in ways that would bring them into conflict, resistance or opposition to such authority, institutions and culture; and in doing so escape from, and develop a critique of, conventional definitions of social reality.

The dimensions of this covertly funded project grew with the expansion of NATO's bureaucratic structure to accommodate a cultural propaganda network in Western Europe and beyond. Backed up by official management and business philanthropy, and if needs be coercion, subvention or subversion, this comprised of an elaborate set of institutions, radio networks, books and magazines. Network nodes such as the CCF developed into Forum World Features to produce a 'news service' controlled by the US and UK government intelligence agencies and run by the IEDSS' Brian Crozier. This network merged with other existing organizations in the US such as the Hoover Institution, Heritage Foundation or the CSIS in the US and the ISC in the UK. Its activities were, and still are to a general extent, deliberately obscured.

Two key works in understanding the use of think tanks are Ranelagh (1991) and Cockett (1994) and the latter has a serious omission in its line of enquiry in terms of its understanding of the parapolitical dimension to the 'counter-revolution' the author writes of. Cockett ignored the ISC's relationship with the UK and US intelligence services, attested to throughout Brian Crozier's memoir, and that Thatcher was someone who accepted the conspiracy theory of 'the enemy within,' whereby the Soviet Union ran the Communist Party of Great Britain, which ran the unions, which ran the Labour Party (Ramsay, 1994). This is a fairly widespread problem with the literature on the CPS, ASI and IEA. Much the same could be said about Ranelagh even though he was a member of the Conservative Research Department (CRD) between 1975-1979 and

had written extensively on the CIA. There is a similar omission concerning this intelligence influence in the literature on the Heritage Foundation, and, as previously stated, within the literature on think tanks there is a lack of writing on the IEDSS. Denham & Garnett (1998) assessed UK think tanks without *any* mention of the Heritage's influence in the UK. Stone & Denham (2004: 216) did observe that the Heritage Foundation is *ideologically* driven but gave no serious comment on what effects this might have. Although valuable in many other respects, their account makes no real mention of the Heritage's influence in the UK even although they aimed to contextualise the significance of think tanks in the wider international setting. Stone, Denham & Garnett (1998) examined international relations between think tanks without providing a comparative assessment of what government-directed or private sector propaganda operations they may have been part of. McGann & Weaver (2002) did have a section on the Heritage Foundation: but this was written by Heritage's president, Edwin Feulner. Kandiah & Seldon (1996) in total made three very minor references to the Heritage Foundation in connection to the ASI.

These works ignored the volume of work in publications such as *Lobster* and confined themselves to addressing academics. Despite exhibiting awareness that many think tanks are essentially propaganda operations, the second volume of Kandiah & Seldon (1997) offered a passing mention of the IEDSS in a long discussion between Seldon and Lawrence Freedman. In response to Seldon's question "have the right-wing think tanks had any influence on government thinking?" Freedman stated that the IEDSS was the "main right-wing think tank," but that he was "not sure of its influence," offering a cursory view that it was part of Lord Chalfont's lobbying for the SDI (Kandiah & Seldon, 1997: 137). Sardar (1999) in summation of Denham & Garnett (1998) defined the function of the original think tanks as justifying the rhetoric of the Cold War, promoting defence-oriented research and influencing US foreign policy, with the term gaining currency in political circles to describe a hotchpotch of private research organisations, including pressure groups and lobbyists. But the trajectory of this development into the revived Cold War of the 1980s with its merger of public diplomacy and psychological warfare 'fronts' is an area that think tank literature seems wary of. Fantasia (2004) suggested the problem as stemming from the inclusion of writers in a type of insider trading in the scholastic marketplace. He suggests that the position of think tanks in the social mechanisms of elite reproduction needs to be addressed.

22. Knowledge networks, Gramsci and Bordieu
Despite the omission of analysis of the IEDSS, there is an emergent body of study that uses think tanks as a basis to derive various abstract theoretical positions that might account for this blind spot. Parmar (2006) offers theoretical, historical and contemporary perspectives on themes around think tanks and power in foreign policy, including Nye's conception of 'Soft Power,' and an interpretation of Gramsci's concept of hegemony in relation to US foreign affairs—although at times this seems to border on rephrasing Mills' conception of the power elite. The argument is that the US Foundations have constructed policy-oriented intellectual-academic networks inside and beyond the US to build specific types of expertise for specific purposes, mainly to develop and consolidate US hegemony in world affairs. These 'knowledge networks' consist of interpenetrating research, teaching and administrative components, as well as key agencies and individuals within the US state. Parmar finds that that these networks, despite stated intentions to *solve* social and economic problems, become the principal long-term *product* of such sponsorship rather than offering any real solutions. This network functions to train, socialise, inter-connect, cohere and discipline scholars and institutions. For Parmar the networks are an end in themselves not a means to an end. His findings are that such networks may be conceptualised using the work of Pierre Bourdieu, as a *field* of power which socialises current and future generations by enabling the conversion of their intellectual products, into 'symbolic capital,' that can in some way legitimate the wider global system and reinforce the power relations which constitute elite cohesiveness. So the US foundation-sponsored knowledge network's role in US hegemony can be the fostering of counter-elites (such as Chile's Friedmanite 'Chicago Boys') who act as a proxy for pro-US free-market thinking against indigenous elites. This is essentially a public diplomacy reading of the knowledge

indigenous elites.' This is essentially a public diplomacy reading of the knowledge network.

Parmar (2006a) researched the rise of anti-US positions using a comparison of the role of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) and the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) in UK and US foreign policy during World War II, with a view to establishing to what extent these organizations mattered; and he has also explored Gramsci's little-examined notion of 'state spirit.' On the latter, he focuses on Gramsci's ideas on the resistance to socialist revolution of Western capitalism: its apparent relative immunity to revolution. Parmar (2007: 5) argues that a coalition is generated by the "consent of the governed" (the phrase is from the US Constitution) under the hegemonic leadership of politicians and intellectuals of the capitalist class and engineered by intellectual, political and cultural elites through numerous channels that includes organizations like think tanks. This alliance of state elites and private ruling class organizations is, for Parmar, motivated by 'state spirit': that which inspires leaders to see the problems of the state as their own, and view themselves as the embodiment of national and global historical developments—but he seems unaware of Mills & Gerth (1954). The example of the Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundation's construction of a dense network of think tanks, policy research institutes, publicity organisations, and student societies to encourage globalism is set out as part of the rise of the major US Foundations at the turn of the 20th century, and as intimately connected with the rise of the corporate capitalist economy as also attested to in O'Sullivan & Herman (1989). For Parmar the Foundation elites are intimately interconnected with other influential institutions such as the large corporations, universities and the US state and can justifiably be classified as part of the US power elite.

In returning to Cockett, some appreciation of think tanks did emerge with the fall of Thatcher and the reconfiguration evident on the right related to the emergence of what could be termed 'New Labour' think tanks: those with a submerged neo-conservative agenda who aimed to emulate (or re-imagine) the relationship think tanks had with the Thatcher government—possibly without any clear knowledge of what this was. Certainly in the case of Demos and the Institute for Public Policy Research, efforts were made to work with some of the members of the IEA (Clark, 2003).

Sherrington (2000) cites Cockett's work as one of the first contributions to reflect a new, more *academic* concern and offers a progressive view of the purpose of think tanks whereby they *advance* the intellectual debate to provide some sense of distance and thus perhaps see the bigger apolitical picture. Sherrington reviewed Denham & Garnett (1998), two volumes of Kandiah & Seldon (1996), Stone (1996) and Stone; Denham & Garnett (1998) and found that during the 1980s, awareness of the role of UK think tanks heightened, giving us a wave of publications in the 1990s. This increase is attributed to an interest in the role of non-state actors in society, and seen in relation to interest in the accountability and legitimacy of contemporary political structures. For Sherrington the fact that issues concerning the role of non-state actors and the development of 'epistemic communities' and policy networks are being explored illustrates progress. Yet this progress seems to have been bogged down in a preoccupation with definition: some think tanks are 'universities without students' others are 'research organisations or advocacy coalitions' (Sherrington, 2000: 263). Generally, loose typologies are employed to identify organisational, ideological and financial distinctions between the organisations under study. The language used to describe think tanks is diffuse: think tanks influence the *climate* of opinion; they create an intellectually sympathetic *environment*; they create a *cosy* setting; they create an *impression* of influence rather than proof of influence (Sherrington, 2000: 4-6). This vagueness has led McGann & Weaver (2000: 5) to define think tank as "a policy research organization that has significant autonomy from government and from societal interests such as firms, interest groups, and political parties." For Rich (2004: 10) think tanks are "independent, non-interest-based, nonprofit organizations that produce and principally rely on expertise and ideas to obtain support and to influence the policymaking process." I would challenge this emphasis on autonomy and independence.

In all these works there is no real investigation of the think tanks as propaganda projects in terms of public diplomacy or their tendency to act as a business lobby. However Stone (2007) was critical of a great deal of work on think tanks and challenged three core assumptions concerning them: (1) think tanks are bridges (2) think tanks serve the public interest and (3) think tanks think. These were also presented as three discourses that are broadcast by think tanks and as the grounds repeated by the various *interests* that fund think tanks to legitimate their funding decisions. Stone argued that think tanks engage in many activities that substantially diminish the validity of these discourses, yet the myths persist with think tanks being portrayed as a bridge between knowledge and power, as neutral publicly motivated intermediaries.

23. Domhoff's critique of Mills

One important question is how does research into think tanks relate to power structure research, which employs a range of empirical methods in an attempt to synthesize competing theoretical views. Domhoff (2006) offers a critique of Mills whereby think tanks are an enduring component of a corporate counterattack that aimed to reverse the gains made by organised labour. Domhoff argues that the deficiencies in Mills' work have, thanks to subsequent research, been informed by the knowledge that the political directorate learns about policy issues and rubs shoulders with academic experts through a corporate-financed network of foundations, think tanks, and policy-discussion groups. Domhoff argues that Mills knew of these organizations through business sources, but did not give them the attention they deserved in terms of formulating new policies that are carried to government through a variety of clearly defined avenues, including corporate-backed politicians and appointments to government. Domhoff (2006) states that Mills compounded the problem of individual powerlessness (whereby people lack an organizational base and a way to develop their own opinions and political trajectories) by overstating the role of the media in shaping public opinion. Here, Domhoff argues we can know in detail about the 1970s decision to turn right because the issues were debated in think tanks like the Brookings Institution and policy-discussion forums like the Committee for Economic Development and the Business Roundtable. This turn represents the move away from Keynesian monetary policies to ones that would cure inflation through unemployment, cutbacks in the welfare state, deregulation of key business sectors, vehicles to concentrate wealth and income distributions and attacks on unions. If Domhoff's assessment is correct, think tanks, specifically the large network of well-funded right-wing think tanks, could and possibly *have* acted as a conduit for the desires of economic, political and military sectors that are the potentially independent power bases of the power elite, to influence the direction of governments. They facilitate this submerged aim by the process of producing 'policy-knowledge' as policy entrepreneurs. The think tank sphere is both dependent on and subordinate to institutions of political and economic power, and acts against the inclusion of independent intellectuals, in an attempt to marginalise the role of academic social science: thus think tank's significance relates not only to what they produce, but also to what they preclude. This is an effect that is invisible if their role in promoting specific policies becomes the dominant focus.

So the observations here can conjure up an image of think tanks as phantom experts who are heavily dependent on myth but also heavily dependent on direction and funding. Many of the legislative initiatives and economic policies that comprised the 'Reagan Revolution' are *thought* to have been hatched by Conservative think tanks in the 1970s and 1980s; and in the UK a group of policy entrepreneurs with connections to the right were also *thought to have* had a similar influence on Thatcher. Analysis of this influence, in terms of policy-making presents a moving away from those who are democratically elected and accountable. This is under-explored even although its ramifications indicate the intervention of vested interests, and that some measurements indicate that think tank-like organisations are increasingly becoming political action committees designed (or used) to intervene.

I would advocate an analytical framework drawing on the work of Mills. To understand the more influential think tanks an accessible account of the influence of think tanks that develops a critical theory of power in organisations is needed. Clegg

(1989: 239) found that documentation, reportage, formal discussion, argumentation, strategic planning, hierarchy and relationship formations served as a means whereby meanings were inscribed in a network and, as such, represented the *truths* of that network. The literature suggests that our knowledge of a think tank network comes in part from the material artefacts it produces. There is an abundance of texts, programs and policies concerning think tanks—but they tend to become the very resources for the analysis—indeed their fairly recent proliferation could be said to have some relation to the rise in awareness (a rediscovery via Mosca) of an elite political class. The effort to persuade others to the views of the network—and on who's behalf—should also be accorded an important place in this view of politics and power relations.

Domhoff (2007) offers power structure research and a sophisticated methodological framework based on the idea that 'power' is, for research purposes, best understood as an underlying trait of a *collectivity*, the activities of an organization or a social class. This trait called 'power' has to be studied with a number of different but overlapping indicators that together can overcome the individual weaknesses each one has. Within this context, power structure research is based on a combination of network analysis—more specifically, *membership* network analysis, and Lasswellian content analysis, making use of four developed power indicators: what organisation or class receives the most of what people seek for and value; what organisation or class is over-represented in key decision-making positions; what organisation or class wins in the decisional arena; and who is thought to be powerful by knowledgeable observers and peers (Breiger, 1974: 181-190). This is essentially back to Mills and the classic tradition.

24. The Phantom Academy

The term 'Phantom Academy' was devised by the IEA's Ralph Harris to describe Hayek's use of propaganda techniques and his advocacy of a large-scale network of think tanks and experts. This aimed to combat the influence of 'socialist planning,' that for Hayek amounted to totalitarianism, and to advance the cause of free market economics. Initially this was conducted via the Mont Pelerin Society, but with the creation of a battery of think tanks Hayek's 'Phantom Academy' grew to converge with, or influence other propaganda projects such as: those that were established by Brian Crozier in the 1970s; the group of think tanks around the CPS; the blacklisting groups such as Aims of Industry; and wider US public diplomacy moves that fell under the rubric of anti-Communism such as the creation of the National Endowment of Democracy.

In 1945 Antony Fisher was advised by Hayek to resist collectivism by a strategy that would include developing and funding a network of think tanks. Together with Oliver Smedley and Arthur Seldon he founded the IEA in 1955 and began to orchestrate a growing band of British, European and American economists, political scientists and historians to propagandise the application of free markets to those areas long thought the preserve of state control (Harris, 2002). In Gerald Frost's (2002) biography of Fisher, this conjunction of Hayek's vision and Fisher's money is mythologized as the impetus for the visionary crusade Hayek had nurtured with the formation of the Mont Pelerin Society in 1947. Frost quoted a tribute from the Conservative MP, Oliver Letwin:

> Without Fisher, no IEA; without the IEA and its clones, no Thatcher and quite possibly no Reagan; without Reagan, no Star Wars; without Star Wars, no economic collapse of the Soviet Union. Quite a chain of consequences for a chicken farmer! (Frost, 2002: 3)

This chain of beliefs forms an illustration of the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* logical fallacy;but the point is that Frost *understands* Hayek in terms of a project to normalise free market and other socio-economic concepts via a constructed network of mutually reinforcing propaganda organisations. Here think tanks are part of propaganda techniques rather than legitimate impartial research institutes, an aspect generally ignored in the literature previously cited.

Fisher's arrival in the US in 1977 started a plan to create a battery of think tanks that would act in concert as a psychological operation to legitimise and promote neo-Liberalism in New York. Fisher planned the project with William Casey, who would later become Ronald Reagan's campaign manager and his Director of the CIA (Frost, 2002). Phillips-Fein (2009: 246) outlined Casey's relationship to (the Olin Foundation's) William Simon's Business Advisory Panel's (1978) manifesto that called for a "massive and unprecedented mobilization of the moral, intellectual and financial resources" of business to "aid the intellectuals and writers" who were fighting on the side of capitalism. The forward was written by Hayek and the work was disseminated via business associations; the Panel was led by William Casey and would provide key advisers to the Reagan administration, including Simon. Frost (2002) stated that Fisher and Casey asked the IEDSS' Edwin Feulner to run the 'Manhattan Institute,' as Casey and Fisher's venture would be called, but he chose the Heritage Foundation instead, becoming a trustee.

Fisher and Casey identified potential donors and in 1977 set up the Manhattan Institute, while Fisher also served conscientiously as a trustee of the Adam Smith Institute (ASI), and hosted parties at his London flat to which potential donors were invited, although Frost makes no mention of Madsen Pirie, Eamonn Butler's and his brother Stuart's connections to the Heritage Foundation and Edwin Feulner (Cockett, 1994:282). In 1980 the IEA funded Digby Anderson, to set up the Social Affairs Unit (SAU) to concentrate on critical evaluations of the welfare state, while Fisher set up the Atlas Economic Research Foundation to battery farm other free-market think tanks world wide (Frost, 2002: 31). As I previously observed the SAU was also funded by the Heritage Foundation, at the same time as the IEDSS (Gavshon, *et al*., 1987).

In the US William F. Buckley's *National Review* represented an extant nexus broadly sympathetic to these moves. It had already published members of the IEDSS network on a regular basis, including Brian Crozier. The Heritage Foundation's journal *Policy Review* included the IEDSS' John O'Sullivan and Robert Conquest in its first issue in 1977 and the magazine advertised the IEDSS when it started publishing in 1983. *Policy Review's* editorial board contained Feulner, Stephan Haseler and Brian Crozier's associate Robert Moss. In the 1970s, along with *Policy Review*, the *National Review* aided the Atlanticist dimension of the project inspired by Fisher and Casey. Buckley's group had connections with US public diplomacy; but it also had the purpose of developing a right-wing Conservatism via an uneasy fusion of Hayek's ideas with the other Catholic, libertarian, John Birch Society and anti-Communist strands the magazine represented encouraged by the Philadelphia Society (the US version of Mont Pelerin). The magazines and events (and Buckley's television programme) formed a receptive companion network to *embrace* the ideas that Fisher and Casey were institutionalising in think tanks and attest to their political worth, along with the similar work of the Heritage Foundation that itself reflected the work of the earlier CSIS and Hoover Institution networks largely based on anti-Communism. My view is that generally speaking the output of this network *became* propaganda in the sense of going beyond academic knowledge to opinion, providing distortions, denials and exaggerations for the purposes of influencing their readers towards particular ideological standpoints. The Phantom Academy would aim to influence the cultural apparatus to effect its social change: this apparatus is amenable because it is elite controlled; and, knowing this Hayek clearly stated he aimed to gain the support of an "elite" in a paper on 'The Intellectuals and Socialism' circulated to Mont Pelerin members after its first meeting, largely based on adapting the methods of the Fabian Society (Cockett, 1994: 104-105).

25. Second-hand dealers in ideas
When Director of the CPS, Frost was quoted as stating: "We're all really second-hand dealers in ideas" (*Independent*, 1994). Again the provenance of this term is Hayek's propaganda project. Ralph Harris' insightful (1997) *National Review* reflection on the fifty-year span of the Mont Pelerin Society described the intellectual crusade as starting with Churchill's election defeat in 1945 and as an attempt to reconstruct the essential framework of the free society that Hayek believed a tide of collectivism (emanating from the Soviet Union) had swept away across Europe after 1945:

So did the whole enterprise amount—as a cynic might scoff—to a self-contradictory project of formulating a plan to end planning? And if so, the second question asks itself: Has the plan worked? (Harris, 1997)

For Harris the planning which Mont Pelerin sought to dethrone referred to "ambitious projects devised by politicians, financed from 'public' money, and imposed by coercion on a defenseless public" (Harris, 1997). The political revolution was to be facilitated by Hayek's (1949) 'The Intellectuals and Socialism,' and a secret plan by Hayek's "fellow plotters." For inspiration Hayek, Harris argued, drew on a statement attributed to Keynes that it was "the ideas of economists and philosophers ("both when they are right and when they are wrong") that rule the world." Harris' understanding of the function of intellectual groups (in Hayekian terms) was that they should be manipulated to ensure that the cultural apparatus would be directed away from socialism. The "professional second-hand dealers in ideas" were judged to have been attracted to socialism more by the benevolence of its intentions and its sweeping Utopian aspirations than anything else (Harris, 1997). The second hand dealers were to be sold a new set of beliefs and Harris explained how the plan would be developed:

> Once the more active part of the intellectuals have been converted to a set of beliefs, the process by which these become generally accepted is almost automatic and irresistible. This was the plan Hayek proposed setting in motion with the establishment of the Mont Pelerin Society. It was to be a kind of dispersed worldwide academy of uncompromising liberal scholars and students. It was a mobile, almost phantom academy. It had no base or permanent staff. Instead, over the next half-century, a growing number of carefully vetted members would meet in private conclave every year or two, at agreeable venues around the world. (Harris, 1997)

Harris outlined that these conclaves would comprise of the presentation of papers, discussion on what was perceived as 'endemic disorders' of modern societies: inflation, monopoly, protectionism, trade-unionism, lobbying, and state 'welfare,' the cumulative growth of government, taxation, regulation, and "all the other mischiefs to which majoritarian democracy is prey." Here an ideological *weltenshauung* hoves into view that although 'freedom' is said to be the focal point the injunction serves to delimit possibility. The Society eschewed publicity and preferred the cat's-paw of second-hand dealers to spread its vision; the disdain is evident with statements such as "their recruitment and re-education would be undertaken spontaneously […] by individual members through their lectures and writings or through the burgeoning of 'think tanks'" (Harris, 1997). We are also urged to assess the influence of the project by the many Mont Pelerin members that surrounded Reagan, and in the UK, Thatcher's central reform of trade unions, state industries and monetary policy, were said to have been directly shaped by Mont Pelerin principles. Harris argued that the academics and journalists who engaged in the transformation of public opinion had played a decisive role. His "final proof of the Iron Lady's success" is given as the situation whereby New Labour won a landslide victory "only by explicitly renouncing socialism and boasting it could make the 'dynamic market economy' work better than the tired Conservatives could" (Harris, 1997). Such advocacy of a market economy did not extend to explaining that meeting the costs of the 'Phantom Academy' was reliant on the subvention of Richard Mellon Scaife and the other Foundations.

Harris' formulation of the Phantom Academy does not *openly* include organisations such as the CCF or the IRD. Nor does it explain how their covert anti-Communist work related to this network despite key players in both the CCF and IRD forming organisations such as the IEDSS, and the similarity of the project to the covert work of the intelligence services. The secrecy that surrounded Hayek's intentions also reflects a tendency to *reify* such institutional connections. For Simmel (1906: 145) such secrecy procures an extension of life for purposes that could never openly arrive at realization: it secures the possibility of a *second world* alongside the obvious world, with the latter affected by the former. One of Simmel's propositions was that the greater the tendency toward political oppression in the larger society, the greater the tendency toward the development of secret societies within society. The Phantom Academy was a semi-

covert base to both perceive and conceptualise 'totalitarianism' as a form of political oppression, in the form of a Soviet conspiracy that had an elective affinity with the positions of propaganda organisations such as the CSIS, IRD or CCF. As certain members of the IEDSS demonstrate, membership of the Mont Pelerin Society overlaps with these organisations.

Although not necessarily to the liking of mainstream Conservatism, for Harris and Frost the Reagan and Thatcher 'revolution' was perceived as being symbolically bound up around key nodes, such as Mont Pelerin, which I would typify as mostly debating and publishing groups and political action committees offering a blend of socio-economics and public policy which the IEDSS and other Atlanticist think tanks tried to reinforce. But I see no celebration of the IEDSS as doing for foreign policy what the IEA did for economics. Neither do I see it portrayed, with its high level members, as a dismal failure. Like the influence of the ISC it is simply not taken into account. Nevertheless, some research draws attention to the *strategic* activities and propaganda tactics that were *central* to the advance of broadly free-market ideas from the 1940s to the 1970s that conform to the idea of the Phantom Academy (Alkire & Ritchie, 2007). This could be categorised as:

> (1) The provision of moral narratives.
>
> (2) Targeting of the people who communicate ideas to a mass audience.
>
> (3) The building of an academic community.
>
> (4) Financial investment in talent—both junior and senior—to drive an agenda.
>
> (5) Strategic deployment and control of critical scrutiny.

This concurs with a basic Lasswellian approach to conducting propaganda and was greatly enhanced by first the Heritage Foundation's and then the Manhattan Institute's similarly clandestine approach. Hayek's use of professional second-hand dealers in ideas, argued, somewhat metaphysically, that once the more active part of the intellectuals had been *converted to a set of beliefs*, the process by which these would be generally accepted was almost *automatic and irresistible* (Hayek, 1949). This "dispersed worldwide academy of uncompromising liberal scholars and students," was to be the progeny of the Mont Pelerin Society established on a 'world-wide' scale, including the under-explored Philadelphia Society.

For Hayek, writing in 1949, a popular assumption was that the influence of the intellectuals on politics was negligible, but, drawing on Lippmann, he argued that the "power they wield [is] by shaping public opinion." Hayek's conspiratorial propagandist approach was a mimetic reaction to socialism. He believed that Socialism had never been a working-class movement, but was a construction of theorists requiring long efforts by the intellectuals before the working classes could be persuaded to adopt it as their program (Hayek, 1949: 372). He was perturbed by the possibility that the US could become swayed by the trend towards socialism, not just as a planned and directed economic system, but that socialism would exert a determining influence on politics, governing the thinking of the more active intellectuals. The Mont Pelerin project was thus justified in terms of *counter*-propaganda: the founding document, presumably addressing the Soviets, also complained of:

> …the spread of creeds which, claiming the privilege of tolerance when in the position of a minority, seek only to establish a position of power in which they can suppress and obliterate all views but their own. (Ebenstein, 2003: 145)

Arguably, in terms of propaganda, the work of some of the followers of Mont Pelerin, such as the IEDSS, assumed positions somewhat contrary to these stated aims. Their interpretation of Lippmann's subtle and nuanced critique of the paucity of influence on 'public opinion' (Lippmann's work on stereotypes forms the basis of Mills' concept of the cultural apparatus) was in the light of Hayek's above quoted advocacy of propaganda through second hand dealers. Apart from the influence of his 'An Inquiry into the Principles of the Good Society' (1937), written when Capitalism seemed on the brink of systemic failure, the exact nature of Walter Lippmann's personal involvement

brink of systemic failure, the exact nature of Walter Lippmann's personal involvement with Mont Pelerin appears a neglected feature in its literature (Mirowski & Plehwe, 2009: 47-49). Lippmann also seems remote from the Philadelphia Society, which, based in the US should have been more amenable to his involvement and a channel for the Mont Pelerin Society's ideas. But to my mind it was not.

26. Conclusion

The IEA is credited with the publication of Milton Friedman's (1970) 'The Counter-Revolution in Monetary Theory'—a twenty-page summary of his ideas on monetarism—and from a UK perspective the IEA brought together Friedman with leading politicians such as Thatcher. Ashford (1990: 3) argued that the CPS was created in the UK in 1975, with the primary focus of 'explaining' monetarism to the public. As mentioned above, in this respect we can see the IEDSS' Alberto Martino's role in the IEA and SAU. Ashford (a Heritage Foundation scholar) also mentions the creation of the ASI in the UK and the Cato Institute's establishment in the US, both in 1981. Ashford (1990: 4) outlined the necessity of the creation of these *boutique* institutions, and this might include the IEDSS, largely under the direction of the Heritage Foundation: these included the Institute for Research into the Economics of Taxation, formed in 1977 by Norman Ture and taken under the wing of the Heritage Foundation in 1981, with Ture contributing to 'Mandate for Leadership' on the case for supply-side tax cuts and then appointed Undersecretary for Tax and Economic Affairs at the US Treasury. Other institutional support for supply-side economics came from the Manhattan Institute, with George Gilder as the program director. Ashford states that the first conference on supply-side economics in the UK (which never gained ground) was organized in 1986 by the Manhattan Institute (Ashford, 1990: 4). Ashford highlighted the importance of the media reception in the UK and how the IEA played a crucial role in introducing Friedman's ideas to three key economic journalists in the UK, who he argues became convinced and *converted* by his ideas: Samuel Brittan of the *Financial Tunes*, Peter Jay, economics editor of the *Times* and Frances Caincross, economics editor of the *Guardian*. Ashford makes the observation that of the three, none supported the Conservative party and yet they played probably the major role in terms of media exposure to monetarist ideas.

The value of Mills' work is its criticisms of such joining of hands between intellectuals and 'crackpot' specialists under the cloak of expertise. Mills believed in the curative powers of truth and had a commitment to both the sociology of knowledge and knowledge of sociology. Mills' work, like that of the Mont Pelerin Society can be seen as a battle over the search for the 'public philosophy' that Lippmann desired to address and the problem of the 'higher immorality,' this was the abundance of knowledge but the absence of *critical* intellect (Horowitz, 1963: 19). Attaining this critical intelligence is part of the battle over the classic tradition (that includes Lippmann) and its relation to reason and enlightened tradition where mind is autonomous from power but morally related to social growth.

The IEDSS had eight members of the Mont Pelerin Society and was a part of this Phantom Academy. It conforms to the type of Weberian hybrid collegiate advisory bodies that were created to advance projections of US power. In the Cold War period these collegiate bodies were orientated around the promotion of an expanded anti-Communism, and interpenetrated with the many covert and semi-covert organisations and networks that had been created quasi-independently, and by government agencies within the burgeoning NATO bureaucracy and its 'strategic culture.' This went as far as the creation of a pseudo-environment in intellectual culture orientated largely to propagandistic ends. In this respect I have tried to demonstrate the connectedness of members of the IEDSS network to state and para-state groupings within, and acting upon, political parties and other institutions and organizations: these were the Phantom Academy's essential *components*, hence its inter-relationships.

In terms of how this milieu *differed* from other varieties of social order I discern its covert propagandistic elements, its subversive nature in an examination of the mechanics of the influence of the Heritage Foundation upon UK domestic politics. My argument is that it is reasonable to assume this was partly conducted via the IEDSS. What it and related groups tried to develop was an influence network via the creation of

What it and related groups tried to develop was an influence network via the creation of a network of think tanks that would influence the cultural apparatus. This stood at a vital juncture in history with the reactivation of the Cold War and contributed to the attendant domestic repression and social upheaval. I include more parapolitical components in my understanding of this facet of social history to unearth an underlying social domain usually closed off to critical enquiry. The exegesis of this re-examines 'received wisdom' in terms of the significance of the deep political characteristics of the mechanics of social change. These were inclined towards particular features such as: control techniques, censorship, surveillance, disinformation, the creation of interlocking political action committees, advocacy coalitions focusing on the arms industry, subversion and various other propaganda techniques established by social scientists and used for political purposes.

Waters (1989) states that Weber's own treatments of collegiality, status group formation and the development of legal systems have remained largely unintegrated and therefore neglected as a basis for the analysis of professional groups in contemporary society; and this would include the literature on think tanks. I would argue that the parapolitical dimensions are omitted in most of the literature on think tanks but were gradually identified and exposed to a wider audience in the 'underground' press in the 1960s and 1970s, largely influenced by 'defectors' from the secret state. By the late 1990s, once the Cold War had ended, and the official records partially revealed, this small field of study could become safe ground for arguably minor and compartmentalized academic enquiry, having hitherto been suppressed or regarded as some kind of conspiracy theory, largely because it questioned the role of academia. I believe that the literature on think tanks should be augmented and developed to include the type of parapolitical approach that was born out of and developed both Mills' and Thompson's work.

Section Five: US influence on the IEDSS
In this section I explore the influence of the American members of the IEDSS in terms of their involvement in a range of propaganda organisations including the CSIS, the NSIC, the NED and the Heritage Foundation. In the late 1970s, the CIA was "playing a watchdog and waiting game," in the UK monitoring the Labour Party and progressive organisations for signs of activities considered to have a potentially adverse effect on the international interests of the US. Trades unions, cultural societies and the media became prime targets for infiltration and manipulation (*Times*, 1976). In the declassified 1981 briefing given to the IEDSS' Richard V. Allen to prepare for Thatcher's visit to the US, the Labour party was described as "at odds with the US interest in a strong British contribution to Alliance security." Allen was to convey "that Labour party positions on security issues are causing misgivings here," with the US favouring a replacement "social democratic" party as the opposition (US Department of State, 1981: 47). A later memo for Allen, by the US Ambassador to the UK, John Louis emphasised that "Thatcher has lost her grip on the political rudder" and that the Labour party "could prove harmful to our security interests even if reduced to a splinter group," and that the US were *preparing* for a coalition government. Allen's task was to do something about this (Allen, 1981: 2). Rentschler (1981: 2-3) indicated that Allen's response was framed in terms of psychologically adjusting public opinion on a "disturbing trend of anti-Americanism" which Allen traced to anti-nuclear protest. Allen's influence helped orientate the early IEDSS' work along these lines.

A 1981 speech to the annual convention of the Conservative Political Action Committee

in Washington offers another indication of the direction in which Allen would point the IEDSS in the early 1980s. Allen attacked the UK Labour party for its decision to ban nuclear weapons, denounced unspecified European pacifists for using the 'better-red-than-dead' slogan, blamed the economic crisis on "uncontrollable social programmes," but spoke in favour of apartheid South Africa (Brogan, 1981). Allen's targeted outburst coincided with statements from his assistants: Richard Pipes (who would also write for the IEDSS) proclaimed that détente was dead and that "unless the Russians give up communism there will be a war between the Soviet Union and the United States;" while Maj. Gen. Robert L. Schweitzer, Allen's military aide, made such inflammatory statements that he was transfered from his position (Getler, 1981).

In some respect the bellicose remarks performed for a sympathetic audience distracted from more prosaic problems nearer to home. Allen's on-going battle with the press, combined with his poor performance and antagonism towards Alexander Haig, seems to have triggered his sidelining in the Reagan administration, which was further exacerbated by George Bush being brought in to cover for his deficiencies (Brogan, 1981a). In-fighting and internecine struggles contributed to the incoherence of the early Reagan government's protagonists and this confusion was compounded by the 1981 assassination attempt on Reagan, just two months into the Presidency. The response to this damaged Haig's reputation partly because Allen was secretly taping the power struggle after news of Reagan's incapacitation reached the Situation Room and Haig *assumed* control with Allen by his side (Smith, 1981). In Allen's account of the confusion in the White House he described a scramble to locate the lost 'football,' the briefcase containing the nuclear release-code sequences (Allen, 2001). Nevertheless, together with Haig and Casper Weinberger, Allen was one of three men who formulated US policy on Europe at a May (1981) Rome meeting of NATO foreign ministers, with a follow-up meeting with defence ministers in Brussels (Spanier, 1981).

27. The influence of the Center for Strategic and International Studies

Scott-Smith (2012: 203) placed Allen, Brian Crozier and William Casey as members of advisory board of the CIA funded International Documentation and Information Centre (Interdoc) in 1968. Located from 1962-1986 in the Netherlands, this was devoted to smashing the New Left and collected intelligence on leftist organisations as a transnational anti-Communist network. Interdoc was meant to develop a psychological response to the Soviet strategy of 'peaceful coexistence.' But one significant earlier organisation which several IEDSS members had ties to was the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). This was an attempt to reform and redirect the CIA with which it had close ties; a move to reorient the Secret Intelligence Service also seems a common concern of many IEDSS members. Allen was the first researcher at the CSIS, and from 1962-1966 the chairman of their study program on Communism. With David M. Abshire, its founder, he edited a series of works urging the escalation of the Cold War (Hoover Institution, 2009). These included:

- (1963) 'National Security: Political, Military, and Economic Strategies in the Decade Ahead.'
- (1964) 'Peaceful Coexistence: A Communist Blueprint for Victory,' for the American Bar Association.
- (1966) 'Peace or Peaceful Coexistence?'

Allen & Abshire (1962) was first presented at a conference sponsored by the CSIS to focus US foreign policy towards Europe, the Third World and the build up of nuclear arms (Salzman, 1990: 1112). This was within the framework of how US foreign policy could be linked to US military and economic policy and in one sense aimed at uniting the different circles of the power elite in a new combinatory field around a plastic conceptualization of 'National Security.' In gathering together such defence and economic experts the CSIS was reacting to a perception that the drift of military and strategic thinking was moving towards détente, and a lessening of the Cold War as a result of the resolution of the Cuban Missile Crisis, together with the re-evaluation of the efficacy of covert operations in the wake of the Bay of Pigs debacle. The wider drives behind this reaction are touched on in Rosenberg's (1993: 277) observation that the term 'National Security' and its meanings (symbolic systems set within historical

contexts) only emerged within the context of the Cold War. This was offset by Hans Morgenthau's *defensive* formulation whereby policymakers and scholars who identified with the realist tradition increasingly embraced a new formulation of national security institutionally embodied in the National Security Act of 1947. The National Security Council (NSC) which coordinated Cold War foreign policy, and the CIA, were both created by the act and "used the basic correlations of geopolitics to shape their operational definitions of national security" (Rosenberg, 1993: 280). Rosenberg follows this through to argue that the term became the discursive vehicle that accompanied the Cold War *restructuring* of the US' political economy and 'governance,' and that in the late 1970s, use of the term, like the Cold War itself, accelerated as it became a pre-eminent catchphrase. For Rosenberg, in the 1980s, National Security's meanings became even more diffuse as scholars and politicians extended the boundaries even further to emphasise geopolitical considerations that extended it "both above the nation-state, to something called international security, and below it, to individual security," and from there becoming prevalent within military, foreign policy, and domestic discussions and linked to an array of policy prescriptions to bolster the authority of the policymakers and academics who invoked it (Rosenberg, 1993: 280). The formation of the CSIS can be seen as an important node in following this trajectory.

The 1966 CSIS report reworked the Committee on Un-American Activities (1951) report on the Communist 'peace offensive,' largely an attack on the freedom of scientists, artists and writers. Between 1966-1968, Allen continued this hard-line approach as a senior staff member of the Hoover Institution: it was this background that helped him to become a senior foreign policy advisor and coordinator to the Nixon-Agnew campaign committee (Hoover Institution, 2009). Again Allen's focus was on NATO and Europe (McDonald, 1968). It is difficult to say precisely what Allen was doing in London in the 1980s with the IEDSS. I would explain it in terms of the public diplomacy campaign run by Abshire, who founded the CSIS and also locate aspects of his activities as a propagandist conducting psychological operations in the IEDSS' network, events and publications.

One key text in understanding the influence and direction of the CSIS is a (1963) book edited by Allen and Abshire, published by Praeger via the Hoover Institution. Themes included 'Managing the arms race,' and 'Strategic leverage from aid and trade' and it had an introduction by the CSIS' second founder, Admiral Arleigh Burke (the founder of the Polaris program and the Navy SEALS) who formed the CSIS largely in response to the failure of Cuba covert operations. He had played a military role in the aborted invasion, and had a commercial interest in Freeport Sulphur's Cuban mines (Rosenberg, 2005; Burke, 1967; Leith, 2003: 59). The CSIS third founding member was Ray S. Cline, who in 1962 had been appointed CIA Deputy Director, who wanted to recruit experts to establish a higher institute for strategic strategies, leading to the setting up of the CSIS on September 4, 1962 with the backing of the Relm-Earhart Foundation. The CSIS would launch its newsletter, *The Washington Review of Strategic and International Studies* in 1977, edited by Michael Ledeen and Joseph Godson, CSIS' European co-ordinator, while his son Roy Godson was also with CSIS and his brother Dean Godson with the IEDSS (*Times*, 1977).

In a more direct connection to the IEDSS and CSIS and the Atlanticist and intelligence connections concerning shaping a Social Democratic alternative to Labour, Easton (1996) stated that:

> Joseph Godson, in an active retirement, was also organising European initiatives for the [CSIS], the proselytising think-tank which funded the author of the SDP/Liberals joint policy statement in 1987. He combined that with running US government-funded educational visits for British trade unionists and editing 35 Years of NATO […] a transatlantic symposium on 'the changing political, economic and military setting,' funded by Rupert Murdoch's Times and introduced by its then editor Charles Douglas-Home and NATO secretary general Peter Carrington. (Easton, 1996)

Joseph Godson and the CSIS' reach in the 1970s and early 1980s can be assessed in the light that its Chair was Anne Armstrong, the US Ambassador to the UK (1976-1977). Armstrong was also chair of the influential Presidents Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board and worked closely with Godson (*Times*, 1978a). This took place when the CIA was advising the UK secret service on anti-subversion techniques (Heren, 1975). With the *Times* the CSIS also produced (1984) 'Challenges to the Western Alliance,' edited by Joseph Godson with an introduction by Charles Douglas-Home. This regular series gathered together 'special reports' by the CSIS that had been previously published in the *Times* focussing on the positioning of the missiles in Europe (Times Books, it publishers, also had a connection to Lord Chalfont discussed below). On the cover of IEDSS publicity for their commemoration of Douglas-Home, Ronald Reagan is photographed being presented with a copy of the book at the White House by Douglas-Home and Joseph Godson.

Godson also produced the (1984) '35 Years of NATO,' again funded by Rupert Murdoch's *Times* and again introduced by Douglas-Home and NATO secretary general Peter Carrington (Godson, 1984a). This also reproduced articles from the *Times* from the first half of 1984. Both works are similar to Godson's (1974) 'Transatlantic crisis: Europe & America in the 70s,' that also contained revised versions of articles published in the *International Herald Tribune*. Godson also wrote with the IEDSS' Leonard Schapiro and his foremost UK associate in this CSIS/NATO nexus was SDP founder member and IEDSS member Alan Lee Williams, who, as director of the English Speaking Union had chaired Godson's Labour and Trade Union Press Service and, with the renewed rise of CND in the late 1970s, had become a central figure in the government-funded Peace Through NATO: the group central to Michael Heseltine's campaign against CND in the mid-1980s (Schapiro & Godson, 1984; Easton, 1996). In the interplay between Murdoch and Thatcher the career path of the IEDSS' John O'Sullivan can also be seen; O'Sullivan also worked for the Heritage Foundation in the early 1980s before being appointed as editorial page editor of Murdoch's *New York Post*. He later became a leader writer for the *Times* and in 1987 he joined Thatcher's staff for the election campaign. The *Times* seems to have played a consistent role in supporting the NATO propaganda that can be seen in the IEDSS (McKnight, 2003: 352). By the 1980s the CSIS was a base from which Reagan recruited his main defence advisers, such as Allen as National Security Adviser, Abshire as Ambassador to NATO and Anne Armstrong as UK Ambassador. For Rosenberg (1993: 280) by this point in the 1980s, 'National Security's' meanings became even more diffuse as scholars and politicians extended the boundaries even further to emphasise geopolitical considerations that extended it "both above the nation-state, to something called international security, and below it, to individual security," and from there becoming prevalent within military, foreign policy, and domestic discussions and linked to an array of policy prescriptions to bolster the authority of the policymakers and academics who invoked it.

Abshire (1982) attributed the origins of CSIS to a response to Marshal Sokolovskii's (1962) 'Military Strategy,' which reflected the Soviet military's concern with the operational problems of warfare in the nuclear age. It was also influenced by Abshire's belief that for 40 years the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) had dominated foreign policy thinking in the US. The CSIS (viewed as outside this establishment) was determined to bring together Cold War theorists based at the Hoover Institution with economists from the American Enterprise Institute (AEI). For Abshire (1982: 85) the study of strategy and economics was to be as important as that of diplomacy and although the CSIS was an idea that he developed, it became a reality only through the essential support of William Baroody, the head of the AEI.

The first CSIS gathering in 1963 brought together of an array of individuals who mostly advocated a radical Conservative variant of US geopolitics: Richard Ware of the Relm-Earhart Foundation, who funded the conference; Henry Kissinger; James Schlesinger, briefly CIA director in 1973 and later Secretary of Defense; Robert Strausz-Hupé, the former Wall Street broker of the Smith Richardson Foundation funded, Foreign Policy Research Institute and *Orbis* magazine; Herman Kahn of the

Hoover Foundation; Murray Weidenbaum; Harvard University economist Otto Eckstein; Thomas Schelling, the author of (1960) 'The Strategy of Conflict,' and an exponent of 'Game Theory,' then with RAND; and Arnold Wolfers. Many of 30 participants would go on to have an association with the Heritage Foundation.

Abshire (1982: 88) emphasised this combination of military and economic enquiry as dictating the scope of the CSIS' strategic discussion: the devotion to political-military and economic issues was in terms of the role of economic strategy and the role of the market economy in supporting defence requirements and countering the costs of alternative military strategies, and domestic US defence cuts. It was also formed to counter the social forces that arose in reaction to the Vietnam War that inhibited the development of this new combinatory field's exploitation of the Warfare State and National Security. For Abshire (1982: 100) the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and other student radical insurgent groups "went on the rampage," the Center for International Studies was ransacked, and "certain scholars such as Thomas Schelling moved into new fields." He also notes that the disclosure of the CIA's support for some strategic and international studies organisations "reinforced the suspicion of such centers in the academic world." These fronts responded in different ways but, sustained by the Foundations in the interregnum, they were to emerge somewhat unscathed with Reagan's presidency.

Abshire detected something of a sea change with the IEDSS' Albert Wohlstetter's (1976) analysis of Soviet military spending as a refutation of the official predications of Robert McNamara, arguing that Wohlstetter found that, since the early 1960s, the US had "systematically underestimated Soviet increases in their offensive forces." This also represented Wohlstetter's challenge to the traditional notions of the very *existence* of an arms race: a position that argued that "the United States has not been running a quantitative strategic race." Wohlstetter's article was supported by Richard Pipes study of Soviet strategy in Europe (sponsored by the Stanford Research Institute) that was critical of détente as a one-sided phenomenon, making the observation that since it "dovetailed with the Soviet strategy of trying to detach Western Europe from the United States," it must be suspect (Abshire, 1982: 100).

The third individual cited as an influence in changing the ideas of the administration to one more in line with the CSIS' ideology is Ray Cline, with the CSIS' World Power Assessment, that stressed the factor of 'will' as the key to the strategic equation and again attacked détente for its role in eroding Western will. This was also reinforced by John Collins' Congressional Research Service's 'American and Soviet Military Trends,' that aimed to demonstrate a distinct advantage for Moscow in most areas of military capability using interviews with high-level Alliance military planners, politicians, nuclear strategists and others on the subject of the NATO decision to encourage the bolstering of the nuclear arsenal in Europe by deploying Pershing II and Cruise missiles in five countries (Barry, 1981a).

According to Abshire (1982: 100) the mid-1980s was a period when the think tanks and front groups, and I would include the IEDSS, were key players, not just in providing ideas but as institutional agents. Such gatherings could offset 'truthful indelicacy' as a problem for public officials and engage in "the job of reassessment and strategic reconstruction" along with "the policy journals and private strategic studies centers on both sides of the Atlantic "safe houses" where honest debate and controversial proposals on the alliance can still occur." As early as 1972, Edward Luttwak warned in a CSIS Paper 'The Strategic Balance,' that an asymmetry in US-Soviet strategic doctrine could well undermine US arms control efforts. Partly for holding similar views, James Schlesinger had resigned as Secretary of Defense after differing with President Carter over the defence budget. Out of government, Schlesinger emerged as a critic of détente and US preparedness levels, becoming both a fellow at CSIS and at Johns Hopkins' School of Advanced International Studies. The CSIS prospered with the Reagan Administration as the need for a high-profile intensive research group in Washington increased, gradually taking over from the Hoover Institution, where Allen had previously worked. The CSIS' promotion came at a price and trustees at Georgetown University voted to sever ties with the CSIS in 1986, denying it the use of their name, after a committee appointed by the university's

denying it the use of their name, after a committee appointed by the university's president concluded that the CSIS was not adequately committed to traditional academic scholarship (Rightweb, 2010).

By 1984, as this expansion grew pace, Allen was also part of the advisory board of the Jamestown Foundation which was set up to propagandize the US values against the Soviet Union's. This also involved the IEDSS' Leonard Schapiro, who was also with the CSIS. Allen was also a member of a secretive quasi-religious right-wing association the Council for National Policy (CNP), led by Richard Viguerie, Paul Weyrich, Henry Salvatori, Edwin Feulner and Oliver North, much the same group Dorril (1984) identified as coming to the UK to counter the peace movement and liaise with the IEDSS. CNP was formed in 1981 ostensibly as a counter-propaganda organisation to co-ordinate the efforts of the numerous 'New Right' organizations against the CFR and Trilateral Commission (*New York Times*, 1981; Rosenfeld, 1981). Secrecy was a high priority for the CNP, and by 1987 it had been drawn into the first conviction in the Iran-Contra affair that highlighted the CNP's frequent meetings with North (*Washington Post*, 1987). The CNP was considered as a key target of White House efforts led by North to build support for the Nicaraguan Contras and to influence the internal administration debate on the issue (UPI, 1986). For others it was a willing partner in the project (Central News Agency, 1986).

There is enough evidence to assert that Allen was part of the negotiations in an October 1980 deal to trade weapons with Iran *before* Reagan took office, in exchange for the Iranians delaying the release of their hostages until a Reagan victory in the US November election. Known as the 'October Surprise,' this mirrored Allen's role with Nixon and was the beginning of what became 'Iran-Contra' that would reveal the parapolitical *modus operandi* of the Reagan administration (Parry, 2009). Oliver North was assigned to the NSC staff in August 1981 when Allen was its head. When Allen resigned, North's and Project Democracy's role increased (Sklar, 1988: 232). Allen had hired North on the recommendation of Richard Lehman and William Casey (Persico, 1990: 396). Allen had also been part of designing NSDD-17 that gave the CIA the authority to create groups of paramilitary exiles to work with foreign governments that enabled the creation of the Countras (Kornbluh, 1987: 22). As North's operation intensified, so Allen appears in numerous organisations that made up the network; but it was Oliver North who discovered (the possibly-planted) $1,000 in Allen's safe that resulted in Allen's forced exit as NSC Adviser. North then inherited Allen's safe (*Time*, 1987).

Allen's first meeting with individuals who would facilitate the hostage release was in September 1980, again before the election (Trento, 2006: 207). According to Woodward (2005: 17) Allen was close to those members of the CIA transition team (which included Codevilla and Godson who both had strong mentoring ties to the IEDSS) who were pushing for "hysterical nonsense" attacking the recommendations of the Church Committee's investigation into the CIA (Kettle, 2000). It is through these contacts that Allen is said to have obtained intelligence on President Carter's dealings with the Iranians—much the same tactic seems to have taken place with Nixon's unsettling of Lyndon Johnson's Vietnam peace talks (Kettle, 2000).

All of these drives relate to what Herman and Chomsky (1988) argued was a process of the US creating a "needed body of experts," carried out on a deliberate basis and on a massive scale. They specifically mention Edwin Feulner and the CSIS as engaged in a process designed to buy the top academic reputations in the country to add credibility to corporate studies and give business a stronger voice on the campuses. Using the analogy of Procter & Gamble selling toothpaste, Feulner's idea was that via a sales effort, including the dissemination of the "correct ideas to thousands of newspapers," it was possible to keep debate "within its proper perspective" (Durham & Kellner, 2006: 274). This is the creation of a battery of similar voices where dissent seems marginalised or erratic where the 'funded experts' pre-empt independent opinion by occupying space in the mainstream media. In their analysis and tabulation of this the largest number of appearances was by the CSIS, which they describe as providing "a revolving door between the State Department and CIA and a nominally private

revolving door between the State Department and CIA and a nominally private organization." If I go back to Iran-Contra and a memo from Walter Raymond that outlined the process of constructing a front organisation that corresponds to the organisations under study, it stated:

> Later, in talking to Ollie [North] and Bob Kagan, we focussed on what is missing and that is a well-funded, independent outside group—remember the Committee for the Present Danger—that could mobilize people. Peter suggested 10 or 12 very prominent bipartisan Americans. Added to this would need to be a key action officer and a 501-c-3 tax-exempt structure. It is totally understanding [sic] that such a structure is needed and also totally understanding why, for discreet political reasons, it was not included in the memo to Bill Casey. (Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1988: 24)

Raymond also added that the problem was "to make it work it really has to be one step removed from our office" and, as a result "we have to rely on others to get the job done." In the early part of 1983, Raymond, head of International Communications at the NSC, set up an *inter-governmental* public diplomacy network involving private groups and individuals in a campaign to influence US and European public opinion on the intermediate nuclear force (INF) deployment in Europe in a more concerted manner. At the same time the network moved into Nicaragua and El Salvador (Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1988). I have already observed that in 1985, Oliver North enlisted the services of Roy Godson, then a consultant to the NSC and the Heritage Foundation in a money transfer to an offshore account. Precisely what Dean Godson's role in the IEDSS at this time is obscure, he is also described as a director of the NSIC that worked with the IEDSS. Using the Heritage Foundation as an intermediary, funding for these projects was obtained via Richard Mellon Scaife and Joseph Coors. No money went to where it was intended to go—it purchased weapons—and Richard V. Allen is mentioned as part of the process (Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1988: 28). 'Project Democracy' as it came to be known, clearly contained an element of subversion towards the UK and other European states, as it did in Nicaragua and Central America. The work of David Abshire as Special Counselor to President Reagan and the US Ambassador to NATO (1983-1987) was at the centre of US public diplomacy, itself seen as a tactic of warfare, associated with psychological warfare and information operations (IWS, 2011). In 1980, Abshire was asked by Reagan to head the National Security Group, which included the State and Defense Departments, the USIA, and the CIA—through these organisations he was instrumental in the propaganda directed against Europe in relation to the siting of various missile bases (Abshire, 2004).

28. The influence of the National Strategy Information Center

The NSIC was another key propaganda organisation that influenced the IEDSS. According to Garthoff (1994a: 595) early in 1976, after Jimmy Carter's election, the National Strategy Information Center (NSIC) opened a Washington office to resurrect the Committee on the Present Danger (CPD) that according to Richard Allen he founded, and which formed a network involving many of those involved with the IEDSS. At the same time as the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Fund were devoting significant time and money to seek ways of slowing the arms race to reduce the threat of nuclear war, the Scaife Foundation and the Olin Foundation were taking the opposite course. Olin funded the NSIC with $1m for publications that maintained that a "nuclear freeze now would leave the Soviet Union militarily superior" (Teltsch, 1984). Press reports linked the NSIC with the CIA observing that the reason William Casey founded it was to push for increased military spending (Conaway, 1983).

The NSIC's founding directors also included Joseph Coors, Frank Barnett and Prescott Bush Jr. Barnett was one of the most prominent members of the CPD and with Interdoc as a leading advocate of political warfare, psychological operations, and low-intensity conflict strategy in the 1980s. NSIC president, Roy Godson served as a consultant to the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board (FIAB) during the Reagan years, and as one of the main intermediaries between the Nicaraguan Contra support network and the NSC. At the time of the IEDSS, the NSIC was caught up in allegations, which it denied, that it was involved in what proved to be Reagan's Iran-Contra operations and that it supported the far-right in El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua (*New York*

Times, 1983). Godson was the director of the International Labor program at Georgetown University, where the NSIC's own Consortium for the Study of Intelligence was also housed (Clark, 2011a). The NSIC's main activities were described by Casey as the building of academic respectability for the practice of intelligence. It sponsored more than 200 professorial chairs and teaching posts in US universities. NSIC had also provided some of the funds Brian Crozier used to develop Forum World Features, as a CIA front, and for the Institute for the Study of Conflict (ISC). The NSIC also included the IEDSS' Stephen Haseler (Kelly, 1981) as a part of the Advisory Committee on European Democracy and Security, set up by NSIC (Heritage Foundation, 1992). More parapolitical writing such as Kelly (1981) described the NSIC as a pressure group for militant anti-communism at the centre of a vast network of front organisations. For Kelly one of the central characters in this process was Stephen Haseler who worked for the NSIC's 'left face', the Advisory Committee on European Democracy and Security on Eurocommunism as a Soviet ploy to detach Western Europe from the US without a war.

Alongside the CSIS' drives the NSIC's Barnett (1961) aimed to develop a new methodology of counter-subversion for the US military stating that: "Political warfare in short, is warfare—not public relations." One part persuasion and two parts deception, it was said to embrace coercion and violence, including fomenting strikes and riots, economic sanctions, subsidies for guerrilla or proxy warfare and the kidnapping or assassination of enemy elites. The aim of political warfare was to discredit and neutralize an opponent, to destroy a competing ideology and its adherents "to make one's own values prevail by working the levers of power, as well as by using persuasion" (Barnett, 1961). This pertains to domestic *and* foreign policy. In this context an interesting comparison to this is Barnett & Lord (1988: 212) that included work by Angelo Codevilla and Edward Luttwak, then with the CSIS. Barnett's contribution revealed that the CCF "financed hundreds of European scholars and journalists who articulated the case for NATO" much as Mills had outlined. Barnett advocated that 70% of the *official* psychological operations missions should be the responsibility of civilian agencies with the stated purpose in founding the NSIC, at the behest of William Casey, as encouraging a civil military partnership and this included the IEDSS.

According to Wilson (1980) the NSIC was tactically represented in the groups that were advising the new Reagan administration to massively increase the military build-up, each with their own supportive independent think tanks. Morgan (1981) identified the NSIC as part of an intellectual apparatus, a second culture, which had developed its own system of communication and engaged in the clever manipulation of public opinion. Those whom industrialists, such as John M. Olin, brought in to run the foundations such as William E. Simon were also in key places within the Reagan administration. The Foundations' agenda was taken on by the government with government somewhat taken over by the Foundations and their shell organizations which conforms to Mills outline of the power elite (Morgan, 1981).

29. The influence of Nixon and Watergate

Frank Shakespeare's power elite positions included the Vice Presidency of the vast Westinghouse Electric Company that served the commercial nuclear power industry, the Presidency of media giant CBS Television (1950-1969) and Vice Chair of RKO General (1975). According to Perlstein (2008: 234) his priority as a CBS executive had been to "destroy Liberals," and as the Director of Advertising in Richard Nixon's Presidential campaign to run his media strategy with "undeviating cynicism." Subsequently appointed by Nixon as the Director of the USIA, Shakespeare had been responsible for casting the image that sold Nixon to the US public in 1968 with William F. Buckley as adviser (Brunet, 1988; Wilentz, 2010). The press did not make a serious effort to penetrate the deception the adaptation of Madison Avenue advertising techniques to presidential politics entailed. Shakespeare had a role in Watergate in the team Nixon assembled to cover-up and fight back as did two other future IEDSS members whose involvement has went unrecognised. It was via Frank Shakespeare that Nixon initially put Richard V. Allen, then Henry Kissinger's foreign policy adviser, to work on the response to the leak of Daniel Ellsberg's 'Pentagon Papers.' According to

Hersh (1982) both Nixon and Kissinger had ignored while secretly escalating the war.

A 1971 White House tape archive has Nixon and Bob Haldeman discussing how to use Shakespeare to put a team together. But some confusion over Richard Allen's connection to the CIA emerges in the transcript. Other transcripts indicate that Tom Charles Huston, a former Army Intelligence officer, might conceivably be the 'CIA' member they refer to (Presidential Recording Program, 2011a). It is important to understand that what the CIA does is ordered by the President *and* the NSC: "The Agency neither makes decisions on policy nor acts on its own account. It is an instrument of the President" (Agee, 1975: 37). Nixon put together a *parallel* covert team that included individuals who had previous experience of propaganda and psychological operations. To fight Ellsberg's release of classified material Nixon wanted Huston and Allen to purge various government departments of potential leakers and simultaneously identify classified material *to be leaked* to the media as a distraction. Huston and Allen were selected to work together on the 'Declassification Project' that also entailed attacks on dissent by the mounting opposition to the war. As Nixon put it "leaking to or giving out to our friends the stories that they would like to have such as the Cuban confrontation. Get what I mean? Let's have a little fun […] I really need a son-of-a-bitch like Huston who will work his butt off and do it dishonorably" (Presidential Recording Program, 2011a).

Allen would head this in the short-term under Coulson. The other members of team, the so-called 'Plumbers', would also involve the USIA, headed by Shakespeare, in the dissemination of the material. Shakespeare's involvement can be seen in his participation in several meetings concerning surveillance, the leaks and managing Nixon's declining public image. Nixon also stated in the June 1 meeting that he also wanted to use Melvin Laird (then secretary of defence) in his plan and made a remarkable assertion:

> It may be here that we can use Laird. I'll tell you why. Laird has the biggest spy apparatus of anybody, you understand. That's bigger than the FBI on things like this. The FBI won't get into this sort of thing. They don't know how to handle it, Bob. They do not handle it. (Presidential Recording Program, 2011a)

That Laird—who was brought into the White House to organise Nixon's defence—was running something of this scale, at the height of J. Edgar Hoover's intelligence apparatus, is an extraordinary claim. Nixon also stated that (emphasis added): "Now, the main thing is whether *the Laird group* will get into it. Here's what I have in mind, and I've got to get [Tom Charles] Huston or somebody fast, but either Huston or somebody like Huston fast. That's why the—on the Dick Allen thing. I think you've got to take Dick Allen on the mountaintop and see if he wants to handle this" (Presidential Recording Program, 2011a). This Laird group could be a reference to the Continental United States Intelligence operation (CONUS-intel) but this intelligence apparatus was supposed to have been disbanded by this point. Why Nixon tied in "the Laird group" with Richard Allen and whether he was discussing a private network of operatives that might have involved Laird's protégés dating back to the formation of the CSIS is unclear: Edwin Feulner was a protégé of Laird as was Allen and Shakespeare. When Feulner was Laird's aide, Laird was responsible for the Defence Intelligence Agency and the National Security Agency (Van Atta, 2008: 324). In the early 1970s this role coincided with the exposure of a vast military domestic spying apparatus called CONUS and Laird exculpating himself by blaming the previous administration. CONUS had grown from the 'domestic war room' as the Army required intelligence to guide operations in its preparations to fight in 25 US cities simultaneously and break strikes in others. The surveillance apparatus created *agent provocateurs* and infiltrated the civil rights groups around Martin Luther King, the Democratic Convention in 1968, the anti-war movement, and also monitored numerous high profile politicians such as Adlai Stevenson (McDonald, 1971; Bloomsburgh, 1971: 91). The relevant files were classified to prevent public access to any information, but the whistle-blower on this, Christopher Pyle, who worked for CONUS, stated that the US "today possesses the intelligence apparatus of a police state… as a loose coalition of federal, state, municipal and military agencies" (*Times*, 1971).

Studies of the project note another parallel project CONARC (also separate from the FBI's 1968 COINTELPRO) that was designed to "expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize" the activities of the New Left. The details of the expansion are outlined in Conrad Gibbons (1998) and include the observation that the Army (which had 350 separate records centres across the US on civilian political activity, with something in the region of 100,000 subjects) in its own reports conceded that *no* anti-war group was controlled by an outside power. The Army's instructions were that nevertheless that:

> No individual, organization, or activity which expressed 'dissident views' was immune from such surveillance and, once identified, no information was too irrelevant to place on the Army computer […] no demonstration was too small or too peaceful to merit direct or indirect monitoring. No church meeting was too sacred and no political gathering too sensitive to be declared off limits. (Conrad Gibbons, 1998: 855-857)

The CIA had their own nationwide projects: MERRIMAC, RESISTANCE and CHAOS established in 1967 (Churchill & Vander Wall, 2002).

Described as a 'master evader,' Laird *and* while Feulner was his aide had been was brought back by Nixon in 1973 to help orchestrate the response to Watergate as the cover-up grew (Emery, 1973). Hersh's (1974) depiction of the Nixon administration describes a *modus operandi* somewhere between the Borgias and the Mafia, with everyone constantly setting up someone else as a 'fall guy' in the case of failure and with mutual blackmail a common form of sport. Hersh also argued, based on John Ehrlichman's subsequently confirmed notes, that Nixon viewed prosecution of Ellsberg not principally as a national security matter, but with a view towards gaining public relations and political advantage, and that Laird told Nixon ten days after the publication of the 'Pentagon Papers' that 98% of the documents could have been *declassified* (Hersh, 1974). As well as dealing with the 'Pentagon Papers,' and Watergate, Laird (and his aides) became part of the attacks on Ruth Sivard of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) which produced an annual publication 'World Military Expenditures' not to Laird's liking (Cross, 1978). Furthermore, a Senate committee confirmed in 1976 that the CIA *had* altered its Soviet threat estimates to conform to Administration policies. The CIA's Richard Helms deleted a paragraph in a Board of National Estimates draft on Soviet strategic forces after an *assistant to Laird* told him that it "contradicted the public position of the secretary." The deleted paragraph questioned whether the Soviets would, or could, attempt to attain a first-strike capability against the US (Brownlow, 1976). Laird was also accused of sabotaging arms reduction talks by William Fulbright (*Times*, 1972a).

Feulner's Washington career really began when Nixon nominated Laird to be his Secretary of Defense, and Feulner (already working for Laird) became Laird's confidential assistant and protégé in (1) defining US objectives, premises, doctrines, and defence programs (2) strategic forces and arms control (3) NATO forces; and (4) US security assistance programs under the Nixon Doctrine (Laird, 1985; House of Representatives, 2007). According to Van Atta (2008: 56) Feulner worked for Laird in overseeing appointments that Nixon could not veto, affording him considerable influence. A former Goldwater supporter, Laird was appointed in late 1968 (during enormous domestic and foreign turmoil in the US), taking over from Robert McNamara in running the world's largest defence establishment (*Times*, 1968). Laird, an advocate of the blockading of Cuba, had been covertly instrumental in bringing together David Abshire and Arleigh Burke to found the CSIS in the early 1960s (Van Atta, 2008: 56).

When Reagan was elected, reports of a Hoover Institution party quote Feulner as proclaiming some kind of joint victory for a hidden network:

> "We're all Mel Laird proteges," beamed Edwin Feulner, the Heritage Foundation's main man, as he pointed at David Abshire, of [CSIS], and William Baroody Jr., of the American Enterprise Institute. "Think of it," Fuelner said, "three of the big conservative think tanks!" (Battiata, 1981)

Heritage was founded in 1973 by Feulner and Paul Weyrich when Laird was then battling to save Nixon, much as Abshire would defend Reagan during the Iran-Contra affair. For Hess (1969: 28) Laird pushed the anti-Communist line for political reasons to enable *inter alia*: individual liberty to appear as a luxury for the Cold War; the strengthening of corporations to fight the Communists (not to rationalize the economy); the argument that sectional unrest was a plot, and dissenters were enemies with the blame to be put on an international conspiracy. For Hess, who worked closely with Laird, he was the "incarnation of an institutional evil: the inevitable, historically predicted, institutional evil of delegated, nonparticipatory politics."

30. The Huston Plan
Allen's team mate, Tom Charles Huston, was the author of the 'Huston Plan' that called for domestic burglary, illegal electronic surveillance and opening the mail of those deemed 'radicals' and the creation of camps in US where anti-war protesters would be detained on a nationwide scale (Shawcross, 1979: 150). This would influence the Heritage Foundation's 'Mandate for Leadership.' Nixon approved the plan and it was sent to the FBI, CIA and military intelligence for implementation, but revoked a week later. But the intelligence agencies paid no heed to the revocation: the plan was just an episode in "the lawlessness which preceded and followed its brief existence" (US Senate, 1975). The 1976 investigation into the Huston Plan found it was the product of the heads of the FBI, CIA, Defense Intelligence Agency and the NSA, working as an *ad hoc* Interagency Committee on Intelligence. The report argued that Nixon was unaware of what the other agencies were doing but this would seem contradicted by Nixon's acknowledgement of the CONUS project. Officially the Huston Plan was inspired by a hunt for "foreign Communist support of campus disorders," that was never found, but was consanguine with CONUS' purposes. Huston is said to have got the job because he "seemed to know more about New Left politics than anyone else on the White House staff" (US Department of State, 1976).

Nixon got Allen from Shakespeare because, as he put it "we have to develop now […] a program for leaking out information, for destroying these people [Daniel Ellsberg] in the papers," to provide a range of smears on Ellsberg based on taps on his phone (Presidential Recording Program, 2011a). According to Nixon the 'team' that was put together to break into Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office and that Allen would lead, the 'Plumbers' stopped such 'leaks' (Nixon, 1978: 154). Allen has subsequently claimed that he said to David Young and Gordon Liddy in the Plumbers office: "I have more than a paternal interest in this project. In fact, I have responsibility here" (Allen, 2002).

Allen alludes to his role in earlier back-channel activities surrounding campaign-funding contending "with the South Vietnamese and the interference of people like Anna Chennault into the campaign." He confirms the Hersh (1982a) account of Henry Kissinger leaking information to sabotage the Paris Peace talks *via* Allen. As a result of this Allen (2002) stated he was spied on by the CIA. Allen was a registered foreign lobbyist and Marshall, Scott & Hunter (1987: 81) argued that Allen was under CIA surveillance because of his lobbying links to Taiwan (and its mutual allies with Vietnam) and, as a result, was subsequently relegated by Nixon to a minor role. Marshall, Scott & Hunter (1987: 57) also argued that later, during Allen's period, Reagan's foreign policy formulation became almost exclusively in the hands of registered foreign lobbyists. Under Nixon, Allen was initially responsible for the US' secret military bases in Turkey and Libya. His version of events is that he briefly left Nixon for fear that their existence would be revealed (Allen, 2002).

Allen's work on the declassification project recommendation was that vast amounts of classified information on the misdeeds of previous administrations could be *declassified* and leaked to the press, and that a re-evaluation of every security clearance should be carried out to shut down the leaks: the reason the 'Plumbers,' were organised. According to Allen this entailed leaking information on various covert operations in: "Lebanon, and Guatemala, Arbenz in 1954, but that pales in significance to Yalta, division of Europe, how we got into the Korean War, Vietnam. JFK put troops into Vietnam, the Cuban Missile Crisis." The reference to Yalta and the division of Europe

by the US, UK and USA would of course put pay to much of the Cold War's rhetoric of Soviet aggression.

From my study of Nixon's 'Watergate' tactics I would infer that Feulner, Shakespeare and Allen would have continued to draw on this type of *modus operandi*. In relation to this I would also observe that those overseeing US public diplomacy—particularly with projects to counter the New Left's influence on the 'Successor Generation'—were trying to eradicate the memory of Watergate (and Vietnam) because they had been *a part of it* and were busy engaging in a similar project with Reagan's Iran-Contra project. Allen would later head a similar sensitive matter with the 'October Surprise Working Group,' run by William Casey, using a similar private intelligence network against the Carter government, touched on below (Sick, 1991).

Allen's exact role at the Nixon White House is difficult to ascertain: he was appointed Deputy Assistant to Nixon and Deputy Executive Director of the Council on International Economic Policy, in what comprised the US' economic warfare division (Homeland Security Policy Institute, 2011). His activities are a mystery because several officials who served under Nixon, including Allen, went to court to prevent the public disclosure of 1.5 million pages of sensitive political documents. The material, which had been put in a special file to hold the most sensitive papers, included all communications between Nixon and his top aides. The file was to have been made public by the National Archives in 1983 until the injunction (*New York Times*, 1983a).

While still working for Nixon, from 1972-1981 Allen ran Potomac International, his first consultancy, and was caught up in successive bribery scandals. These reflected confusion on the part of many Reagan appointees between making money and government service that dogged their political career. In 1976 a former official of the Gruman Corporation testified to the US Senate that Allen, asked for a $1m contribution to Nixon's 'CREEP' (Campaign to Re-Elect the President) fund in exchange for help with the sale of aircraft in Japan, aspects of which caused the resignation of the soon to be imprisoned Japanese president, Tanaka (Guidry, 1976). In the late 1970s, Allen with John Singlaub of the World Anti-Communist League and Roger W. Fontaine of the CSIS, were also involved in soliciting campaign donations for Reagan from the governments of Taiwan, Argentina and right-wing forces in Guatemala via the lobbyist Michael Deaver, who also ran Reagan's PR campaign using 'perception management' to control how the public perceived issues and events (Marshall, Scott & Hunter, 1987; Nairn, 1989). This was the beginning of Reagan's Central American policy that would eventually unravel with Iran-Contra's secret teams. Deaver was convicted in 1987 of perjured testimony in connection to his efforts to use the White House in his lobbying efforts, and sentenced to three years in prison (National Archives, 2011).

During the closing stages of the US election campaign in 1980, Allen was caught up in accusations that he had used his White House connections to obtain lucrative consulting contracts for himself and others, forcing him to withdraw from the Reagan campaign in its closing days. The allegations made the front page of the *Wall Street Journal* (WSJ) and entailed accusations of "numerous activities on behalf of foreign interests," which raised questions on his "ability to distinguish between the affairs of government and his own personal business interests" (*Wall Street Journal*, 1980). Although Allen resigned shortly after the *WSJ* stories appeared, as soon as the election results were in he was reinstated. The press did not continue with the story and even the *WSJ* endorsed Allen's appointment (English, 1982). The *WSJ* allegations stemmed from a *Mother Jones* article, and included the information that Allen was a consultant to Robert Vesco (who stole several million dollars from an investment company). Allen's (temporary) resignation even clashed with the 1980 Republican National Convention (Klein, McTigue & Strasser, 1980). Apart from drug trafficking, Vesco had made a secret, illegal $200,000 cash donation in April 1972 to Nixon's CREEP fund that part-financed the Watergate burglary in return for their help with a Securities and Exchange Commission investigation of Vesco's activities (Gillard, 2008). Almost nothing of the allegations concerning Robert Vesco surfaced in the UK: those that did implicated several Reagan advisors such as William Casey (Vogl, 1981).

31. The formation of the Special Planning Group

It is unlikely that a complete picture of the extent of the involvement of Shakespeare and Allen in Watergate will emerge. If I move forward in time, with the USIA, Shakespeare, Feulner and Allen's role in the manufacture of consent for US policies and practices abroad becomes more apparent. Roy Godson, while with the NSIC, was working under NSC official (and former CIA director of operations) Walter Raymond, and in May 1983 met with the same group with which Charles Z. Wick (then head of USIA) had met in March 1983 at the beginning of what would become 'Project Democracy,' the formation of the NED and projects that would address the problem of a European 'Successor Generation' not sufficiently supportive of the Atlantic Alliance. This group (including James Goldsmith, Rupert Murdoch, Jeane Kirkpatrick and the Scaife organisation) made a commitment to $400,000 to fund the NED's Freedom House and pro-missile groups in Holland, media programmes and money to subvert European unions. Godson also passed funds through the Heritage Foundation to aspects of North's operation (Sklar, 1998: 244-245). North's Central American and the European programmes are often looked at as quite separate: complementing all of them and gathering them together were organisations such as the Office of Public Diplomacy, an *interagency* office producing propaganda to be fed into the mainstream press. Further politicization of the USIA re-emerged during the Reagan administration. Under Wick (another Reagan appointee) the USIA budget doubled to nearly $1bn by the end of the decade. The administration threw out the policies on balanced news treatment, and the USIA became largely a propaganda organ for the Reagan government. As such the USIA became closely associated with the Special Planning Group (SPG), created in 1983: this association made USIA a policy participant and not just a mouthpiece for US policy goals (Schapiro, 1985).

The SPG was behind the creation of 'Project Democracy,' later restructured as the NED. The role of this 'Democracy Program' in the formation of the NED was as a cover for the CIA's 'shadow government' type of activities. The Democracy Program's Executive Board included: Richard V. Allen; F. Clifton White, who worked with CIA director William Casey on the Reagan Administration's pro-Contra propaganda network; Ben Wattenberg of the IEA and BIB; Lane Kirkland of the AFL-CIO and BIB; Allen Weinstein of the CSIS, who was a director of the NSIC; Charles T. Manatt who was on the board of the NED and the NED-funded International Foundation for Electoral Systems. The organisation changed into the Center for Democracy after the NED and its subsidiaries were formed.

The SPG, along with the State Department's Office of Public Diplomacy, became part of Reagan's shadow government during the Iran-Contra affair (*Journal of World-systems Research*, 2005: 145). Appendix E of the long NED document that outlined the 'Democracy Program' argued that the NED ought to be disingenuously crafted with a public image that disguised key issues and be:

> Wholly divorced from the Administration's "public diplomacy" campaign against the peace movement (of mostly democrats) in Europe. Entirely separated from the $65 million fund to be spent by government Agencies to arrange visits and training for leaders from (mostly less than) democratic third-world countries. Clearly distinguishable from the C.I.A. fronts that used to do this work, often well. The alternative in the modern world is a public foundation managed by public figures who stand at different points of the American spectrum. (Brock, 1983)

The task was to normalise these domains: the text was a (1982) *New York Times* editorial. It added: "Democrats can take their money without hidden conditions and embarrassment," most likely a reference the exposures of CIA funding of groups such as the CCF. The Cold War Liberals involved in the IEDSS had a practical function. In Allen's version of events: "By 1979 and early 1980, we were holding regular discussions and briefing sessions on both coasts with selected [Committee on the Present Danger] directors, laying the foundation for the bridge over which the neoconservative Democrats could come to the Reagan cause and, ultimately, the Reagan administration." For Allen this was an import historic coalition: "It assisted in the

process of Reagan's mastery of subjects such as arms control, military hardware, force structure, budgeting for national security, intelligence capabilities, and the like and assisted him in testing and honing his views on grand strategy" (Allen, 2000: 1). Since several IEDSS members were also part of the Committee on the Present Danger, including Gerald Frost, it is likely that the IEDSS, in its early period conformed, to some extent with these drives.

These groups came together in the UK government's plan 'Operation Alliance,' whereby young people were selected to be one of the main targets for "ideological processing by government propaganda," according to the Soviets. Naming 'The Price of Peace,' distributed in almost 4,000 schools and technical colleges, a TASS report stated that this represented Cold War propaganda designed to prove that the Soviet Union allegedly had plans to conquer the world "which can be frustrated only if the West has more powerful and better atom bombs" (BBC, 1982b). This is a reference to Crozier's (1980) 'The Price of Peace' published by the Foreign Affairs Publishing Company, and Heritage Foundation-funded. This was reinforced in Vladimir Bukovsky's (1982) 'The Peace Movement and the Soviet Union,' a similar venture published jointly by the Coalition for Peace Through Security and the Committee for a Free World and also run in *Commentary* in May 1982. These publications contradicted the fact that in the early 1980s the FBI had concluded that the Soviet Union did not "directly control or manipulate" the US nuclear freeze movement, and refuted the claim that the Soviets had "achieved a dominant role in the U.S. peace and nuclear freeze movements, or that they directly control or manipulate the movement." The report contradicted Reagan's statements that "foreign agents" had helped instigate the freeze movement and had been sent to "help instigate and help create" the mass demonstrations (Maitland, 1983).

32. Psychological operations using the Churches
The Cold War collusion between the Vatican and the US emerged at the same time as the formation of the NED. It is an under-explored area of covert alliances that study of the members of the IEDSS can help unravel to a certain extent. Nevertheless the papacy of John Paul II marked the resumption of a Cold War crusade (Kirby, 2003: 6). A 'historic meeting' was arranged between Reagan and John Paul II in the Vatican City for June 1982. For Richard V. Allen, then Reagan's national security adviser, this was a convergence of interests and not an alliance between the US and the Vatican (Bono, 2004). Although he described it as "the greatest secret alliance in history," he meant this "as a metaphor, not as a statement of fact," with no secret planning occurring. Nevertheless the arrangements here do not seem indicative of symbolism: Reagan used other prominent Catholics in his government including William Casey who would fly secretly to Rome in a windowless C-141 black jet and be taken undercover to the Vatican (Bono, 2004).

A Congressional report also investigated the role of the Office of Public Diplomacy that was acting under North's direction and stated that it was during William Clark's tenure (who replaced Allen) that North began to gain influence in the NSC. One of the first battlegrounds in this offensive was Poland. In May 1982 (before the June meeting with the Pope) Reagan had secretly signed NSDD 32, a directive to destabilise the Polish government. This was to be accomplished by keeping the Solidarity movement alive, clearly with help from the Catholic Church and the Pope. Money for the outlawed union came from secret Vatican bank accounts and Western trade unions (Knott, 1996). My contention is that IEDSS members were part of this.

Reagan had also moved to form a united front with the Pope against liberation theology in Latin American and there is evidence that sums of money were funnelled through the Catholic Church into Solidarity. As I have set out, the IEDSS was used as a staging post for funding and promoting such activity. For Garthoff (1994: 31) in the summer of 1982 Reagan's covert action project to support Solidarity and destabilize the government in Poland was in close coordination with the Vatican and Reagan and the Pope agreed *at the June meeting* to undertake clandestine collaboration involving the CIA, NED and AFL-CIO. Garthoff places the emphasis on the Heritage Foundation and the Committee on the Present Danger (CPD) as pushing for the hard-line military

and the Committee on the Present Danger (CPD) as pushing for the hard line military build-up and political and ideological confrontation that was officially established in NSDD-75. Garthoff located some 50 members of the CPD as being given positions within the Reagan administration including Allen and Shakespeare (and William Casey) in organisations such as the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board and the General Advisory Committee on Arms Control and Disarmament. Garthoff also identified the role of Heritage and the CSIS in shaping Reagan's policies towards terrorism, notably at a (1981) Senate Judiciary Committee attended by Michael Ledeen, Claire Sterling and Arnaud de Borchgrave. This was the group that produced Sterling's (1982) *The Terror Network*, promoted by the VOA, which according to Garthoff was based on material supplied by the CIA's Paul Henze; with Ledeen, Sterling and de Borchgrave repeatedly producing works on the matter. Ledeen claimed to have warned Alexander Haig in 1981 that the Soviets would make an attempt on the Pope's life (Garthoff, 1994: 24). Garthoff and Robinson (1996: 322) believe Sterling was used as a propaganda conduit that subsumed US public diplomacy, RFE, the Vatican operations and Project Democracy in that all entailed support for Solidarity such as paying fines and smuggling equipment. The IEDSS published Jillian Becker (1985) *The Soviet connection: State sponsorship of terrorism*, that also drew on Ledeen's themes.

Chardy (1987) identified such processes as a manifestation of Oliver North's network: described as a "virtual parallel government" comprised of a network of advisers conducting their activities through secret contacts throughout the government with persons who acted at their direction, but who did not officially report to them, with the activities of those contacts coordinated by the NSC. Others in the structure are said to have included some of Reagan's closest friends and advisers. The conclusions of a Congressional investigation found that the secret governing arrangement could trace its roots to the last weeks of Reagan's 1980 campaign with the plan originating with William Casey and the October Surprise Group led by Richard V. Allen (Chardy, 1987).

More generally, Conservative Roman Catholics came to play a major part in shaping the Reagan administration's foreign policy in the early 1980s: Alexander Haig, Richard V. Allen, William Clark, William Casey and Secretary of the Navy, John Lehman amongst others were schooled in the Cold War Catholicism of the 1940s and 1950s and out of step with the increasingly pacifist drift of their own bishops towards the Reagan administration's nuclear-arms program. According to Woodward & Whitmore (1982) the laymen who shaped that policy prepared to strike back. At issue was a draft of a pastoral letter on war and peace from the National Conference of Catholic Bishops which called key elements of Reagan's defence policy "immoral" and called on Catholics working in the nuclear-weapons industry to seek other employment, stating: "Today the destructive potential of the nuclear powers threatens the sovereignty of God over the world he has brought into being." Reagan's propagandists were already angered by the Church's championing of left-wing causes in Central America, and helped organise the American Catholic Committee (ACC), modelled on the American Jewish Committee, citing the Pope's (1982) speech at the UN in defence of nuclear deterrence. The ACC also drew on Frank Shakespeare's PR acumen to set up a counter gang and hold a conference of its own led by Richard V. Allen, Bishop O'Connor and other "orthodox" Catholics "at times reaching fervor [sic] rarely achieved since the late Cardinal Francis Spellman railed against Communism from the pulpit of St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York" (Woodward & Whitmore, 1982). Frank Shakespeare joined the group at the same time as the ACC campaign; while Vernon Walters, Reagan's ambassador-at-large, visited the Vatican to gain the Pope's intervention with the American Bishops. Frank Shakespeare's propaganda role was obscured to a certain extent in the bulk of news reports. He is labelled as a "Catholic and broadcasting executive," telling an ACC gathering:

> We as American Catholics have a responsibility to defend our people from becoming martyrs—whether literally to nuclear holocaust or living martyrs under domination of an atheistic power. (Anderson, 1982)

Other groups were created to influence the debate, for example while director of studies at the Heritage Foundation, Philip F. Lawler was president of the Catholic Center for

at the Heritage Foundation, Philip F. Lawler was president of the Catholic Center for Renewal. To offset the criticism of somewhat providential timing, Lawler maintained that the Center "was chartered earlier this year," but had "not been active until now," and that he hired a public relations firm that was "blitzing the media with opposition to the bishops' stand against nuclear war." The ACC mailed every Bishop a copy of a book containing speeches by Richard V. Allen and Frank Shakespeare (Hyer, 1982). Although James McFadden, who founded the ACC months earlier in January 1982 denied any direct connection between the newly created groups, indirect connections with the IEDSS' network can be seen in his obituary, which stated that McFadden was on the staff of the *National Review* for more than 25 years, 12 of them as associate publisher (*New York Times*, 1998a). Other reports state he was a former Labour Commissioner of New York City concerned about the leftward drift of Catholicism and formed the Committee after statements by the US Catholic Conference critical of US Military aid to El Salvador (*Spokesman Review*, 1982; Sklar, 1988).

That US church groups massed to oppose the military build-up, with activists in rising numbers, alarmed those promoting the concept of a new missile-gap with the Soviets such as the NSIC or CSIS. A peace movement demanding a first-step in a global nuclear freeze was picking up support across the US and gaining support in Congress. Although largely uncoordinated, it was estimated to include more than 75 groups with varying aims (Richardson, 1982). In response to this, in a work similar to that published by the IEDSS, the NSIC produced works such as Maurice Tugwell's (1982) 'No Substitute for Peace,' with the Canadian Centre for Conflict Studies (itself modelled on Crozier's ISC) with Tugwell (who had worked in intelligence in Northern Ireland) returning to the IEDSS' theme that "peace activism has led to a state of 'nuclear panic' that increased the danger of nuclear war" (Wilson, 1982).

33. The influence of the Heritage Foundation

Bonafede (1982) identified Feulner as advancing the ideas that *preceded* the political activity of the Reagan administration and cited the Heritage Foundation's public relations director, Herb B. Berkowitz's assertion that the ideas *behind* the Heritage Foundation's 'Mandate for Leadership' were conceived in late 1979 by Feulner and the then Heritage vice chairman, Frank Shakespeare, several months before Reagan received the Republican nomination. But for Bonafede (1982: 504) the nature and influence of this network was *outwith* the Heritage Foundation and stemmed from earlier groupings, including the CSIS and AEI: "Feulner came to the foundation's presidency as a member of a little known network of conservative activists" that led to his nomination by Reagan as chairman of the Commission on Public Diplomacy. This completed a circle for Feulner as an intimate *insider* of the Reagan Administration, and also as a valued *outsider*. Feulner was part of an arena that *fostered* Reagan's presidential ambition. Shortly after joining Heritage as its President (1974-1977) he was the founder and Executive Director of the Republican Study Committee (RSC) a group of Conservative congressmen *monitoring* the Republican leadership, not unlike the UK Conservative's Monday Club (Congressional Record, 2004: 9885). Medvetz (2006: 20-21) interviewed Paul Weyrich who told him that Nixon had "a briefing book, a blueprint […] of how the administration should proceed on practically every issue imaginable," and that a major Republican donor "gave us the money to put together a similar briefing book so that if Reagan got elected we would be able to present it to him."

David Abshire and Frank Shakespeare, also with Heritage at this time, were selected as part of Reagan's small 1980 transition team (on foreign policy, military policy and intelligence activities) with Richard V. Allen. But the high incidence of such *ideological* appointments from this network began to unravel. The only way Reagan could get things done was to subvert the process: Abshire came in (or rather was called back from European public diplomacy efforts) to ensure an "honest administration response to the Iran-Contra investigations," with Frank Carlucci, a former Deputy Secretary of Defense, becoming Reagan's fifth national security adviser after a succession of fruitless appointments to replace Allen. William Clark, who had been chief of staff to Reagan when he was governor of California, lasted less than a year, and the next two were military men who got the President *into* the Iran-Contra scandal.

the next *two* were military men who got the President *into* the Iran-Contra scandal (Robert McFarlane and John Poindexter) (*Guardian*, 1986).

34. National Security and organised insecurity

Some insight into how Allen, Feulner and Shakespeare advised and directed the IEDSS can be gained by an examination of the measures recommended in the 'National Security' and intelligence sections of the 'Mandate for Leadership.' Rivaling Soviet forms of domestic repression these returned to the 1954 Doolittle Report, Nixon-era paranoia, the Huston Plan and CONUS:

> …internal security files cannot be restricted to actual or imminent threats […] Clergymen, students, businessmen, entertainers, labor officials, journalists, and government workers may engage in subversive activities without being fully aware of the extent, purpose or control of their activities. (Sklar, 1998: 354)

The internal security program would also proceed on the understanding that many "conventional and legalistic distinctions are serious impediments when imported into intelligence and internal security work." To obviate legislative restrictions the Mandate recommended a contract with one or several of the "many private corporations that have specialized in providing and analyzing such information," because these could collect and disseminate relevant information "without legal complications and that can respond to a crisis without transgression of administrative jurisdictions" (Sklar, 1998: 354). For its writers the Mandate was an opportunity to reverse the setbacks for covert operations introduced as a result of Watergate and the Church Committee. It urged a justification of the CIA on the basis that it regain the authority to carry out 'surreptitious entries' and other surveillance activities by using the tactic of "presidential emphasis on the nature of the [Soviet] threat, repeated speeches on the escalation of Soviet bloc intelligence services, the nature of the terrorist threat and its international dimensions and the reality of subversion" (Marshall, Scott & Hunter, 1987: 211).

According to Busch (2001:195) a similar intellectual framework for Reagan's foreign policy was established with Allen in 1982 via three secret National Security Decision Directives (NSDD) and a secret five-year planning directive that remain heavily redacted. NSDD-32 set out US policy to "neutralize" Soviet control of Eastern Europe by supporting underground movements and psychological operations against the Communist regimes; NSDD-66 outlined a strategy of economic warfare against the Soviet's with NSDD-75 declaring a roll-back of Soviet influence around the world, and ultimately a change in the Soviet system itself, to be key policy objectives. One of the first battlegrounds in this offensive in which the IEDSS played a part was Poland. Reagan's NSDD-32, was to be accomplished by keeping the Solidarity movement alive with help from the Vatican. Some of this traffic passed through the IEDSS network, particularly via Crozier and Labedz. Bernstein (1992) maintained that part of the strategy was an increased use of RL/RFE and the Voice of America to transmit the US Administration's messages to the peoples of Eastern Europe and playing on nationalism and internecine strife. He named Allen (a Catholic) as a key player. Bernstein also noted that William Casey conducted the kind of old-style operation that he might have done in his days at the Office of Strategic Services and that: "It was through Casey's contacts, his associates say, that elements of the Socialist International were organized on behalf of Solidarity—just as the Social Democratic parties of Western Europe had been used as an instrument of American policy by the CIA in helping to create anticommunist governments after the war" (Bernstein, 1992).

35. The Heritage Foundation's strategy

Using the Heritage Foundation, Paul Weyrich its president and Edwin Feulner its co-founder occupied an influential role in developing the Conservative policy agenda in the mid-1970s. Heritage's influence in terms of the amount of money it could provide was impressive and it was the first right-wing think tank to be actively embraced by the group of wealthy Foundations (Bradley, Olin, Smith Richardson and Scaife). It included their representatives' active involvement on its board, for example: Joseph Coors and Richard Mellon Scaife. Ahmad (2008) describes Heritage as a 'marketing machine' and notes Feulner's MBA in marketing and it is his *selling* of ideas that suggests a merger of the roles of think tank 'policy entrepreneur,' and propagandist. In

the 1980s to the 1990s the Foundation's Board included Feulner and the IEDSS' Frank Shakespeare and Midge Decter, Richard M. Scaife and William E. Simon (Chamberlain, 2007).

Heritage operated a sophisticated funding strategy combining elements to improve its propaganda effectiveness; paraphrasing Covington (1998) these can be summarised as:

(1) Their grants are overtly political, stressing the importance of ideology and overarching frameworks.

(2) They build strong institutions by offering general operating support rather than project-specific funding.

(3) They emphasise marketing and persuasive communications techniques to flood the media and political marketplace, and to communicate with and mobilize their constituency base on behalf of these ideas.

(4) They emphasise a networking approach around a common reform agenda.

(5) They invest in the recruitment, cultivation, training, placement, and media visibility of Conservative public intellectuals and policy leadership and cultivating public intellectuals and policy leaders.

(6) They fund across the institutional spectrum: engaging in research and advocacy, lobbying, strategic litigation, leadership development and constituency mobilization.

(7) They make long-term concentrated funding commitments.

The general funding network also extended to: right-wing periodicals (such as the *American Spectator*, *National Interest*, *Public Interest* and the *New Criterion*); groups that attacked US public television and radio (such as the Committee for Media Integrity, the Media Research Center, and the Media Institute) and other ventures in the legal and educational fields that can also be seen in IEDSS member's work discussed below. Bellant (1988) problematized assumptions about political accountability and the decision-making process using the Foundation's money flow as an indicator, and established conjunctions of covert influences on political decision-making process that extended this network to include: the Free Congress Foundation, the Council for National Policy, the NSIC and the American Security Council Foundation, who he found to be largely the same propaganda network.

Feulner, a noted Anglophile, attended Georgetown University and the London School of Economics, obtaining a doctorate at the Edinburgh University in 1981. His talents as a marketing and public relations expert included targeting influential people and his influence grew as he gained key appointments as a propagandist (Yankee Institute, 2012). His early positions were with the CSIS and at the Hoover Institution, writing mostly interpretative work on the Soviet Union. As regards propaganda he was appointed by Reagan as Chairman of the US Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy (1982-1991) and in 1987 was a consultant for domestic policy to Reagan during the period in which the IEDSS was most active. This involvement with the Heritage-funded IEDSS *and* a position with US Public Diplomacy combined with David Abshire's efforts in US Cold War propaganda in the 1980s, mostly centred on the exigencies of the US basing Cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe in order to counter Soviet SS-20s (Abshire, 2004).

Feulner's range of affiliations form an index of right-wing propaganda organisations: one specific example connected to the IEDSS is High Frontier. According to Feulner (2003) it was underwritten by the Heritage Foundation to advocate 'Star Wars' in the early 1980s. For Thompson (1985: 93) the IEDSS was set up as a similar lobby for Star Wars, and for Lakoff & York (1989: 219) its sole purpose was "the aim of promoting European cooperation with SDI." High Frontier Europe lobbied for the

concept of a European Defense Initiative and included Kai-Uwe von Hassel, a former West German defence minister; Pierre Gallois, a French air force general; Robert Close, a retired Belgian general and Air Vice-Marshal Stewart Menaul of the ISC (National Security Record, 1986). Feulner's membership of numerous European propaganda and lobbying organisations represents high-level participation in at times quasi-secret UK-based groups with a European reach.

36. Heritage's development of Hayekian propaganda

While the Heritage Foundation advocated strong central planning for warfare, with its social policy it opposed central planning. I would locate this contradiction in Hayekian propaganda. Feulner wrote the introduction for the IEA publication of Hayek's attack on intellectuals and Socialism 'The Road to Serfdom' and here he argued that Hayek:

> …set out the danger posed to freedom by attempts to apply the principles of wartime economic and social planning to the problems of peacetime. Hayek argued that the rise of Nazism was not due to any character failure on the part of the German people, but was a consequence of the socialist ideas that had gained common currency in Germany in the decades preceding the outbreak of war. Such ideas, Hayek argued, were now becoming similarly accepted in Britain and the USA. (Hayek, 2005: 19)

This is untroubled by Hitler's commitment to end the Weimar system and eradicate Marxism (Baranowski, 2009). When Hayek's work was promoted in a condensed edition by the *Reader's Digest* he began to find a mass audience; Feulner claimed this "prevented the emergence of full-blown socialism in Western Europe" and that the US "planted seeds of freedom in the Soviet Union" and removed the term 'collectivism' from mainstream political and academic debate (Hayek, 2005: 19). If I return to examine the seven points outlining the Foundation's propaganda tactics, there is an anomalous underlying network *collectivity*, but with Heritage's *modus operandi* 'collectivism,' is replaced by 'network.' Similarly, the wealth that was exploited via privatization was *derived* from the public sector.

Sympathetic profiles of Feulner such as Medvetz (2006: 20-21) state that the Heritage Foundation was the 'crown jewel' of the Conservative movement and attributed this to Feulner's ability to successfully market policy into Reagan's administration via, Ed Meese, Reagan's chief of staff with whom Feulner had close connections and who would join the Heritage Foundation. Berkowitz's (2008) unofficial history of the Foundation, observed that it was envisioned by William Simon, president of the Olin Foundation, as an institution to break the back of the dominant liberal establishment and its "misguided concepts of equality" (Berkowitz, 2008). A form of emulation appears in the attack: Simon determined that the challenge needed a 'counter-intelligentsia' to provide a cultural apparatus, whereby funds generated by business would "rush by the multi-million to the aid of liberty," and "funnel desperately needed funds to scholars, social scientists, writers and journalists who understand the relationship between political and economic liberty" (Berkowitz, 2008).

Back in 1971 Feulner had also believed that Conservatives needed an independent research institute "designed to influence the policy debate as it was occurring in Congress—before decisions were made." He envisioned an *activist* think tank with the loophole that it was not *officially* connected to any political party. At the same time Patrick Buchanan, then working for Nixon's aide H. R. Haldeman, had developed a similar plan to mirror the Liberal apparatus "to make permanent the New Majority" with an institute that would serve as "the repository of its political beliefs," and would have three roles: a talent bank for Republicans in office, a tax-exempt refuge for them when out of office, and a communications centre for Republican thinkers across the nation (Edwards, 1997: 1). Initially the organisation was called the Analysis and Research Association; the title 'Heritage Foundation' developed after the establishment of connections with the Adolph Coors Company that invested some $250,000 in 1971-1972, and then the involvement of Richard M. Scaife. Coors wanted to go on the offensive against the "broad attack" on the free enterprise system, in a manner not unlike the many covert intelligence programs connected to the Nixon administration.

The IEDSS' Stephen Haseler, Robert Conquest and John O'Sullivan appeared in the first edition of Heritage's *Encounter*-like *Policy Review* in 1977. The journal initially established an unusual Anglo-American orientation, including turning its attention to Eamonn F. Butler and Stuart M. Butler's (1974) elite-centred parallel between the UK's National Health Service and US Medicare and Medicaid programs. The absurdities and incongruities of comparing UK and US societies and economies were largely passed over. Eamonn Butler is still the director of the Adam Smith Institute (ASI) that was also orientated around political activism. He helped found the ASI in 1976/77 and describes its origins as St. Andrews graduates who joined the 'brain drain' in the 1970s, but who returned with new ideas to bring to public policy debate in the UK, rooted in Heritage's approach (ASI, 2007). Butler and his brother Stuart (who later joined the board of Heritage) together with Madsen Pirie, President of the ASI, worked at the House of Representatives under the tutelage of Feulner having previously made contact at Edinburgh University (Kandiah & Seldon, 1996). When they returned to the UK they also gained the help of William Casey and Antony Fisher, who became an ASI trustee (Frost, 2002: 26). The closeness of the ASI to Feulner and Heritage is rarely observed, but it is a connection that places the organisation as part of a propaganda network.

37. The influence of the Business Round Tables

Mergier (1996) quoting the journalist, Gerard de Seylis, also alluded to the purposes of the European Round Table. According to Mergier in 1981 when Feulner delivered the 'Mandate for Leadership' to Reagan:

> This spelled out the use of American foreign aid to obligate developing nations to sell their corporations and public services. In 1983, 40 of the most powerful corporations in Europe created the European Round Table, which then developed a radical program for liberalization and privatization. In 1985, the Adam Smith Institute published its so-called Omega Report in Great Britain. This outlined the greater part of the legislative program put into effect by Margaret Thatcher's government during the next five years. (Mergier, 2005)

De Seylis' argument is that at the beginning of the 1980s, those in charge of the major multinationals, aware of the seriousness of the economic crisis and frightened by the prospect of economic war, started to get interested in exploiting the public sector. The IEDSS published a (1988) work by Ralph Kinney Bennett who in the mid-1970s, prior to the development De Seylis outlined, worked in the specific office of the *Reader's Digest* that was then working with the CIA. This ran a series of adverts in the form of 'articles' on the US economic system "paid for and controlled by big business […] and sponsored by Business Roundtable" (Dougherty, 1975). The Business Roundtable was a US lobbying organisation whose 158 corporate members were giant US corporations who were regularly briefed by the President (and which *inter alia* played a major role in killing antitrust bills and fighting the US unions) that through its work influenced the legislative process in the interests of the business elite (Shanahan, 1975).

In 1978 Feulner attended a London conference of "corporate democracy-managers from around the world," something of a precursor to the efforts of the European Round Table mentioned above, to celebrate that the US public policy area was inundated with in-depth academic studies of a New Right bent intended to shepherd debate (Beder, 2005: 1). Feulner visited Australia in late 1985 under the auspices of *Quadrant* magazine, itself funded by the Association for Cultural Freedom (an Australian version of the CCF) "to explain how to use think tanks to control the political agenda." To a certain extent both events follow Hayek's 'Phantom Academy' approach. Feulner's basic thesis was that while academics and intellectuals were necessary for the initial production of ideas "it takes an institution to help popularise and propagandise an idea —to market an idea," and this *propagandizing* of ideas was the role of the IEA, ASI, CPS and the Heritage Foundation (Carey, *et al*., 1997: 106-7).

Feulner's (1985) talk for the tour was titled 'Ideas, think tanks and governments: Away from the Power Elite, Back to the People' and explained his conception of the Power

Elite as "Congress, the media and the Washington lobbyists." It was much the same speech as the 1986 'Waging and Winning the War of Ideas' cited by Carey, *et al*. In both talks Feulner illustrated his concept of propaganda with the analogy of how Proctor and Gamble sell toothpaste by "keeping the product fresh in the consumer's mind" (Feulner 1985: 22). Feulner distinguishes between 'electoral politics': the campaigns to influence public opinion conducted at election time and 'policy politics': the *continuous* treetop and grassroots campaigns to influence public opinion, designed to set the political agenda that US corporations fund continuously between elections. The latter was defined as his speciality and, in his opinion, was the more important of the two (Carey, *et al*., 1997).

If I examine this further: in a (2004) interview Feulner described Heritage's propaganda 'mission' as shaping and changing the national policy agenda and conditioning democracy with the propaganda aimed at politicians:

> Our role is to run the flag up the flagpole and let the politicians salute. If they don't salute all the time, well then we ought to be teaching them why they should salute. Our role is not lowering the flag so that it's easier for them to see it and salute. (Goode, 2004: 1)

Feulner (1986) also stressed the ideological aspects of Heritage's role in this *selling* by the use of agenda setting, targeted at the public policy process, in combination with attempts to control the spectrum of available opinion by the disposition of Heritage's lines of attack:

> We man the ivory towers as well as the trenches in this war of ideas. We define the objectives, devise the strategies, and manufacture the ammunition. The war of ideas is a war of words—a war of intellect. It is a war of great importance because, as Richard Weaver said, 'ideas have consequences.' Lenin put it this way: 'Ideas are much more fatal things than guns.' (Feulner, 1986: 4)

An ex-socialist who became a libertarian Conservative, Richard M. Weaver was close to Eric Voegelin, William Buckley, Edward Shils and Russel Kirk, and an associate and contributor to the *National Review* (Young, 1995). For Frank S. Mayer, Weaver was the "*fons et origo* of the contemporary American conservative movement" (Weaver, 1948). Weaver had pre-empted and inspired Heritage's attack on the Liberal establishment, claiming in 1957 that: "So successful have the Liberals been in establishing [their] dogma through education, publishing, and politics that people today are literally unable to understand the language of the conservative point of view" (Weaver, 1957).

Feulner's (1986) 'Descent to Avernus' (the entrance to the underworld) also outlined the Heritage Foundation's major achievements, stating that in 1981 as the IEDSS developed Heritage was engaged in funding:

> …a major $100,000 research project on anti-missile technology. The results were published in 1982, and one year later, our vision of the future became President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative [...] the supply-side tax cuts of 1981 and 1986; the recent law to sell the government's rail freight system, Conrail, to the public through a stock offering; establishing "enterprise zones" in decayed urban areas. (Feulner, 1986: 4)

Public relations was described as "part of the action from the very beginning," having played a key role both in terms of "making institutional policy and in carrying out that policy." In relation to the many executive departments of government, and the White House itself we see a 'tax-farming' Weber would have recognised: "It is the task of our public relations team to get as big a piece of the pie for our research product as we can" (Feulner, 1986: 4). Here too Feulner outlined the process whereby Heritage takes on an idea, applies it to a public policy problem, and gradually changes the way policy makers operate—in this case, he offered the example of urban policy and the introduction of the concept of 'Enterprise Zones.' Feulner argued that the Heritage Public Relations team was involved in the effort—first focusing on the radical new idea itself and later

"keeping critical media and public attention on the issue as it moved through the policy process" so that if a 'solution' is sold as a 'solution' it becomes a 'solution.' Contrary evidence is then ignored or suppressed. In assessing its uptake in the US, Feulner alludes to an underlying benefit of the process:

> The bottom line is that Washington is now working from our agenda in this area. People are not talking about big government throwing more and more money at a problem that seemed to defy solution. Congress is now looking at additional market-oriented solutions to urban decay, such as Urban Homesteading—the privatization of public housing. (Feulner, 1986: 9)

Feulner also outlined privatization as a Heritage project, but again, with a UK focus and inspiration (also mentioning Butler). Again Feulner added: "We have written op-ed page articles, and Stuart Butler has produced another book," as the concept was insinuated into public policy debate. The UK seems to have been used as a guinea pig and here we can observe Feulner's influence on the ASI. In four years from 1980, Heritage was said to have published more than 20 papers on the theory of privatization and how it could be put into practice via a Hayekian Phantom Academy *modus operandi*.

Feulner (1986) also added that the Washington bureau of the *New York Times* employed an economics writer to cover privatization developments, not unlike the *Reader's Digest's* propaganda mentioned above, and that Heritage even fought to have the term included in popular dictionaries. Feulner made the manifestly false assertion that: "Privatization provides for greater choice of services at a reduced cost," and coupled this with the similarly erroneous "it leaves the services intact" (Feulner, 1986: 10). In her memoirs Thatcher wrote that privatisation was *ideologically* driven, and was used as one of the central means of reversing the "corrosive and corrupting effect of socialism" (Thatcher, 1993: 676).

Feulner categorised Heritage's influence on the public policy process as stemming from a very private and inter-related network, aligned to the corporate agenda and feeding off, and psychologically adjusting the popular perceptions of issues. He described Heritage Foundation's work as interpenetrating with a massive influx of 10,000 Washington lobbyists (which several of the US members of the IEDSS were) with 50% of business based on public policy manipulation backed by public affairs offices. Yet he is reluctant see Heritage's work *as* part of this process of lobbying (Feulner, 1986: 12). The (1978) Heritage Foundation annual report outlined some of the 'giant steps' taken in 1977 in their battle of ideas, including that Heritage introduced *Policy Review* and helped form a national clearinghouse of people, ideas and facts important to the policy community. The report stated: "It is obvious that no matter how many studies are written, no matter how well they are constructed, the effort is wasted if it fails to reach those who influence, decide and implement policy—opinion writers, lawmakers and regulators" (Heritage Foundation, 1978: 14). The process outlined involved placing individuals in certain positions to enable outside, possibly *undue* influence, without adequate attention to the consequences or accountability. Influencing opinion writers, lawmakers and regulators is the aim, but the Heritage Foundation's activity did not come under the same supervision as lobbyists, it obviated it under the many disguises lobbyists are prone to adopt. Hugh Newton, who made a presentation after Feulner at the same 1986 event advocated that those willing to engage in the process aspire to provide the content for the journalists and insinuate themselves into the decision-making process through personal contacts, providing background material and 'issues management' whereby public relations practitioners become part of the government policy team from the beginning (Feulner, 1986: 15). The news management techniques were outlined by the third speaker, Herb Berkowitz of the Center for Media and Public Policy, established by the Heritage Foundation. He subtly advocated a distortion of claims and a game of disguised *appearances* (Feulner, 1986: 17). His observations on how to "understand your role in the debate" outlined the terminology of working for a clientele that needed the lobbyist's dissimulation. The media are divided into two categories: those who cover the news and those who are actively involved in the public policy debate, the *opinion* media. The general rules holding true for both are: "They like

it when you can make their jobs easier for them. So do not send them a book, a long, complicated report, or a detailed press kit and expect very many to read it. Prepare a summary. Spell the story out in crisp, clear prose" (Feulner, 1986: 17). I would argue that this corresponds to the propaganda outline given by Hayek on the 'Phantom Academy' and I will conclude by setting out the type of propaganda Feulner adopted.

38. Critical perspectives

Blumenthal (1986: 59) describes this cadre of intellectuals as impressing their thoughts on public policy by staffing the new institutes, writing policy papers and newspaper editorials, and serving as political advisors. The 'Mandate' included the advocacy of 'trickle-down' economics, massive cutbacks in social programs and the SDI strategy—although its import is contested and the provenance of 'Star Wars' similarly confused: Reagan is supposed to have thought it up (Ahmad, 2008). For Laird (1985) virtually all of the strategic programs currently deployed in the 1980s had their origins in the Nixon and Ford years, including the MX missile, the B-1 bomber, the Trident submarine and Cruise missiles and even the technology that underscored Reagan's SDI. The 'Schlesinger doctrine' that Laird had already established alongside his Deputy, David Packard (one of the richest men in the US), called for changes in the nuclear targeting doctrine to enable a limited-employment option to bolster the credibility of extended deterrence in Europe.

Blumenthal (1986: 265) observed the elaborately *contrived* elements in this onslaught on Liberals to keep them on the ideological defensive with the example of a formula thought up by (the Liberal) Jeane Kirkpatrick as she joined the Reagan government to stop the advance of the idea of the "moral equivalence" between America and the Soviets. Despite Kirkpatrick's support of the Argentine invasion of the Falklands her thesis was published by the IEDSS in 1984. The debate sparked by Kirkpatrick's similar (1979) 'Dictatorships and Double Standards,' in *Commentary*, centred around how she distinguished 'authoritarian' societies from 'totalitarian' societies in that democratic societies were sometimes forced to ally, tactically and temporarily, with the former against the latter. In other words: moral indignation can be turned completely off and the power-calculus act alone. In 1983 Kirkpatrick argued that a "steady, prudent encouragement of pluralism, self-expression, self-determination: the infrastructure of democracy," would sway authoritarians devoted to crushing such freedoms. Thus democracies must make progress unsavoury step by unsavoury step. Throughout the US engagement in Central America she continued to fall back on the view that authoritarian governments were preferable to 'totalitarian' governments because they were less repressive internally and less hostile to the interests of Western capitalism. Oren (2003: 156) stated that Kirkpatrick's husband, Evron, had a role in the State Department's Intelligence Section that involved the orchestration of propaganda disguised as academic scholarship. This included recruiting refugee scholars including Nazi collaborators, and also observed that Jeane worked as his researcher. The problem of a perceived double standard possibly contributed to the shift towards 'democracy-promotion' in US foreign policy under the rubric of the NED that I will turn to below.

Blumenthal's critique of the Mandate extends to its "jumble of deficits and budgets," explained by Charles Murray; a new Conservative judiciary that would, precedent by precedent, incrementally change the law itself "reversing the interpretation that has prevailed for most of the twentieth century"; and a category that "transcends time," quoting Reagan's statement that: "To attain this state of grace we must ascend to the heavens to install a 'Star Wars' mechanism, dispel the doomsday anxiety, and usher in universal peace—the final Restoration" (Blumenthal, 1986: 266). Buckley's 'immanentization of the eschaton' had returned remodelled for the Conservative fold, rather than an attack on the utopian Liberals.

Weisberg (1998) quoted Feulner as stating that at Heritage: "We conduct warfare in the battle of ideas," and makes the criticism that its focus on marketing its views and a combat mentality, meant its ethical standards were as "lax as its intellectual ones." Heritage is a tax-exempt 501(c)(3) organization (meaning it cannot lobby Congress), and its work disclaims that: "Nothing written here is to be construed as an attempt to aid

or hinder the passage of any bill before Congress." For Weisberg this is an evident absurdity since Heritage *exists* to aid and hinder legislation before Congress and often boasts about doing so. Certainly the Heritage Foundation disseminated, marketed and lobbied for the concept of Star Wars. For Blumenthal (1985: 1) 'Star Wars' was a product of debates among the small circle of what he terms nuclear theologians: Edward Teller, Daniel O. Graham, a member of Team-B (the CIA shadow analysis that asserted a rising Soviet threat, members of whom I have identified writing for the IEDSS) and Lewis Lehrman. Teller and Graham's work was subsidized by Reagan's Kitchen Cabinet— Joseph Coors, Justin Dart, Karl Bendetsen, whose interest was so great that they personally participated in the planning of the study, again using the Heritage Foundation as a base (Blumenthal, 1986: 279). Blumenthal also identifies a close-knit group around the *Wall Street Journal* and Gregory Fossedal, who served as a writer for Graham, and promoted 'Star Wars' in *Journal* editorials and articles. Fossedal and his wife Lisa were placed in charge of a new propaganda group and admitted that: "They needed some excuse to keep writing about it. [Daniel] Graham was looking for someone to popularize the stuff […] So I met Graham and told him he needed a [Mikhail] Suslov, a propagandist" (Blumenthal, 1985: 1). The Marshall Foundation (funded by the Olin Foundation which Lisa Fossedal worked for) is said to have funded 'Star Wars' proponents who produced studies in its favour, such as Gregory Fossedal's for High Frontier, provided by Citizens for America, run by Lewis Lehrman. In 1982, the group at Heritage also produced a report called 'High Frontier,' that argued that Soviet power was so great that it "can no longer be counterbalanced" (Blumenthal, 1986: 279).

In 1982 High Frontier's founder, Daniel Graham published 'High Frontier: A New National Strategy,' with the purpose of the abandonment of the "suicidal and immoral strategy" of Mutual Assured Destruction for the concept of Assured Survival (High Frontier, 2011). As such in the 1980s High Frontier was part of US public diplomacy concerned with the positioning of missiles in Europe, dealing with any counter argument and engaging in an escalation of Cold War military expenditure. Ir was revivified in 1993 as the Ballistic Missile Defense Project. From 1973-1974 Graham had served as Deputy Director of the CIA, and from 1974-1976 as Director of its military counterpart the DIA. He was a military advisor to Reagan in both the 1976 and 1980 Presidential campaigns and in 1978 became Co-Chairman of the Coalition for Peace through Strength. The group also used the *National Review* to promote their views (Edwards, 1997).

I would question Blumenthal's assessment by asking whether the Liberal establishment's dominance was as problematic as the Heritage Foundation made out? Gouldner (1970) outlined how the Liberal ideologies shared by most US sociologists, prior to World War II, were a source of enlightening awareness, but in the context of the burgeoning Welfare-Warfare State they served instead to increase the centralized control of an ever-growing 'Administrative Class' for the master institutions on behalf of which they operated. Gouldner echoes Mills' concerns with 'Liberal practicality' in identifying how favoured Liberal sociologists had become the technical cadres of national governance. Liberalism and career interests merged in the production of information and theories that "serve to bind the poor and the working class both to the state apparatus and to the political machinery of the Democratic Party" (Gouldner, 1970: 500). These Liberal 'technologues' had become the market researchers of the Welfare State, and the agents of a new *managerial* society. This 'ombudsman sociology' simply offers criticism of the middle-level welfare authorities and establishments that in effect *strengthens* the centralized control of the higher authorities, providing new instruments of social control for the master institutions. Crucially, it involved saying nothing about the extent to which this accommodation to the State derived from the 'personal bounty' it provides the 'technologues.' Gouldner argued that the most fundamental control device of a stable social system was not the use of crude force or non-violent forms of punishment, but the State's continuing distribution of mundane rewards: "What elites prefer is not craven expedience, but pious opportunism" (Gouldner, 1970: 505). His critique was that Liberal practicality accommodated itself to an anomalous condition by splitting its image of the State apparatus into a benign and humane *Welfare State* as one part, and a malign, imperialistic *Warfare State* as the other

humane *Welfare* State as one part, and a malign, imperialistic *Warfare* State as the other. This enables the assumption that the Welfare State is *not* organically linked with the Warfare State in one Welfare-Warfare State.

39. Conclusion

I will conclude here observing that Allen had a long-term role in working in the parapolitical elements of US foreign policy, strongly connected to key propaganda figures such as Abshire and key institutions such as the CSIS, the Heritage Foundation and the NED. Allen can be viewed as part of secret teams consisting of security-cleared individuals, both in and out of government who were in receipt of secret and sensitive data gathered by the CIA and who reacted to this intelligence with paramilitary plans and parapolitical activities. The power of such groups derived from an intra-governmental undercover infrastructure, a direct relationship with private industries and foundation funding. It operated on a cultural apparatus that included: universities, the news media, publishing houses using think tanks and political action committee such as the CPD and the IEDSS. As an executive of the NSC and a White House adviser to the President on foreign policy affairs, Allen was part of an inner ring composed of Presidential officials, civilians, and Pentagon officials, and intelligence community professionals overseeing and coordinating numerous but relatively unexplored propaganda projects.

I would summarise the activities of the NSIC as working with the CPD as a lobbyist for a strong US military build-up and presence throughout the world using a network of front groups. In setting up the Washington office, Frank Barnett worked directly with Eugene V. Rostow of the CPD, who would later move onto the NSIC board with the NSIC Washington office run by Roy Godson (Sanders, 1983). Before they joined the IEDSS' Godson and Stephen Haseler wrote together in the run up to the British general election of 1979, arguing (entirely hypothetically) that the Labour Party was in fact a "branch of the Eurocommunist movement," and indeed was actually "to the left of Eurocommunism" (Haseler, & Godson, 1979; Haseler, 1978). These themes continued with their involvement with the IEDSS, with Godson promoting the related theme of the Soviet Union at the centre of a campaign to slow down the basing of the cruise and Pershing II missiles (Stanhope, 1984). With regard to figures such as Shakespeare, it is when this nexus of small front groups is seen in the context of the larger US government agencies such as USIA and the NED that we can begin to see the extent of US public diplomacy and its need for organizations such as the IEDSS. The IEDSS emerged with the reformation of the USIA and other organizations under the Reagan government as a move away from Carter's curtailment of the USIA's propaganda efforts and a return to activities previously deemed covert, manipulative, and propagandistic (Dizard, 2004).

For Thorstein Veblen, the great critic of such technocratic management and analyst of the effect of ideology on analysis: "Economic processes were to be investigated […] in terms of the cultural background from which they had emerged, and in terms of their wider present and prospective social consequences" (Veblen, 1906: 165). I cannot say that Feulner's prescriptions are sober insights into the predatory culture and *exploitation* of corporate capitalism. They represent an invidious aspect of the *political skill* needed for that exploitation that Veblen traced to a psychological need to fulfil and prove mastery. They represent what Veblen called an exigency of *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi* (suppress the truth and suggest the false), they are part of the 'Propaganda of the Faith:' *ipse dixit* (an unproven dogma) put over with perseverance and audacity. But like every salesman: promising much and delivering a minimum (Veblen, 1923). The Heritage Foundation both drew on and was comprised of representatives of the large Conservative foundations where, to my mind, Veblen's absentee owners pool and direct their surplus of wealth as a political weapon.

On this evidence, the Heritage Foundation's role is clearly as a psychological manipulator of Hayek's 'second-hand dealers,' with its attendant distractions of contrived quasi-moral and pseudo-religious issues imposed on issues of socio-economic justice. Ultimately what the Heritage Foundation wanted to produce was not free and insubordinate citizens but compliant *followers* led by appeals to sentiment

free and insubordinate citizens but compliant *followers* led by appeals to sentiment rather than logical, intellectual forces:

> The special gratification of power lies perversely in the chronic uncertainty of its relationship with others; it is the uncertainty of this social relationship of power that drives rulers' struggle to accumulate ever more signs of its inner possession, including control of the political and economic institutions of mastery. (Plotkin, 2007: 176)

An influence on Mills, Veblen's work disentangled the perverse psycho-political relationship between the motivations and mechanisms of power and the need (including inner superiority) this generates for an objective capacity to exploit others via the command of institutions and resources. Within the organised insecurity put forward under the rubric of the Cold War, Feulner's orientation as a propagandist is to my mind attuned to Bernays (1942) whereby war propaganda was viewed as a scientific approach to the marketing of national policies. Here Bernays drew on Lasswell's social psychology to establish that the propaganda task was to:

> (1) Fasten the war guilt on the enemy.
>
> (2) Claim unity and victory in the names of history and deity.
>
> (3) State war aims as: security, peace, a better social order, international laws, are given as war aims.
>
> (4) Strengthen the belief of the people that the enemy is responsible for the war, with examples of the enemy's depravity.
>
> (5) Make the public believe that unfavorable news are really enemy lies to prevent disunity and defeatism.
>
> (6) Follow this with horror stories that are made to sound authoritative. (Bernays, 1942: 236)

Bernays work was before Geobbels' propaganda methodology was adopted by the Hoover Institution (Doob, 1950). Bernays inverted George C. Bruntz's study of psychological techniques to apply foreign propaganda to the domestic situation via "public relations" and the "engineering of consent" that Bernays pioneered in 1923 as organized persuasion to *change* attitudes (Bernays, 1942: 241).

For Berle & Means (1934) even if a propagandist was known and accepted responsibility for their statements it was almost impossible for the public to get a complete picture of their connections. This was attributed to the complexity of the inter-locks of large organizations with others. To determine who controls a specific organisation, they urged us to chart interlocking relationships among directors, shareholders and managers in financial institutions, public relations firms, law firms, newspapers, radio stations, accounting firms, subsidiaries, holding companies, investment trusts and so forth. When Berle & Means studied this type of data "the web finally turned out to be so intricate that the facts could be handled only by treating the 250 largest firms of the United States and their controlling personnel as substantially a single giant enterprise" (Berle & Means, 1934: 34). The range and specific type of Feulner's institutional connections may be complex but on interpretation they identify him as a key individual in leading the IEDSS' propaganda work at the behest of the Heritage Foundation. I do not think that a perfectly clear picture of his activities using think tanks has been generally and fully understood, neither, in my opinion, have think tanks' parapolitical role as propaganda organisations been fully comprehended. The same could be said of Richard V. Allen or Frank Shakespeare's role.

Section Six: Protest and Perish

This chapter relates to issues on defence, intelligence, subversion, state secrecy and the concept of 'national security' and how these were treated by the IEDSS in its literature. I also examine these in relation to the Thatcher government's reaction and stance. This mainly concerns the efforts to counter CND using small propaganda groups and its

mainly concerns the efforts to counter CND using small propaganda groups and its main focus is on the institutional connections of the Director of the IEDSS, Gerald Frost and Peter Blaker a minister in the Thatcher government. I also focus on two advisers to Thatcher on foreign policy with anti-communist propaganda backgrounds, George Urban and Iain Elliot to a lesser extent, and relate their activities to other IEDSS members and advisers such as Brian Crozier. I contextualise Frost's connections to a network composed of mainly right-wing think tanks that centred around the Centre for Policy Studies (CPS) and this is highlighted as a forerunner of the IEDSS in its 'parapolitical' aspects. I also examine Frost and Elliot's (1982) 'Protest and Perish' in some detail to outline it as an anti-CND counter-propaganda response to E. P. Thompson's (1981) 'Protest and Survive.' I contrast and connect this with Baker's activities as a minister in the Thatcher government in Defence Secretariat 19 and less official anti-CND responses. I combine a range of sources, such as the CPS' archive with different types of analysis such as Ramsay & Dorril (1986) and Crozier (1993). These reveal the parapolitical dimensions and effects of think tanks in the 1980s in terms of how the state performs and conducts propaganda at arms-length. I further contrast the types of political activity that these networks adopted that was deliberately distanced from government drives using the example of the Committee on the Present Danger (CPD); and projects aimed at fostering an Atlanticist elite with The European Atlantic Movement (TEAM) and the British American Project for a Successor Generation. In conclusion I contrast Urban's experience advising Thatcher with an examination of the parapolitical elements of the groups around Thatcher that brought her to power. The IEDSS' members' involvement in a network of linked Atlanticist propaganda projects demonstrates the continuities of IEDSS members as co-ordinators of a range of projects distanced from the US and UK governments, but at times, as with Peter Blaker's role in 'DS19,' overlapping with official initiatives. Underlying this is the intention to relate the subject matter of each chapter to the basic question of whether the IEDSS was a propaganda organization and whether it had demonstrable links to propaganda organizations, with an additional analysis of the propaganda treatment of its opponents. I now turn to examine Frost's role in the Centre for Policy Studies that acted as a forerunner of the IEDSS.

40. The Centre for Policy Studies—parapolitics

As an author and journalist Gerald Frost has written tenaciously on political issues relating to the US and the UK, initially as a speechwriter for Keith Joseph from 1974 to 1979 when Joseph founded the Centre for Policy Studies (CPS) with Margaret Thatcher. Alfred Sherman, the Director of the CPS who had started his political life in the Communist Party, recruited Frost for the job of researcher, and then secretary of the CPS in 1974. In 1979 Frost became the founder-Director of the IEDSS where he remained until 1992 before rejoining the CPS as Director. Much like the IEDSS, in the 1970s the CPS had few full-time workers with only Sherman and Frost and a small secretarial support (Harris, 1996: 51-64). The CPS created a network that would later provide members and writers for the IEDSS and the key early figures of this network were John O'Sullivan, Edwin Feulner and Stephen Haseler who all had Heritage Foundation connections. The CPS also prepared the ground for the IEDSS in the sense that Frost consciously tried to apply certain principles that were based on the *modus operandi* of the CPS and the IEA's work on socio-economic issues to the creation of a foreign policy and defence think tank (Frost, 2009).

Frost joined the CPS on October 9, 1974 just as the Advisory Council was formed with initially funding from James Goldsmith, a ubiquitous backer of right-wing causes whose interests were represented by Brian Crozier (CPS, 1974; Crozier, 1995). The CPS' early tactics included "public education" with Jock Bruce-Gardyne assisting the Centre in "training of disputants /debaters" to "proceed with disputations in universities and other institutions of further education by enlisting help of hand-picked sympathisers who would identify protagonists for our cause" (CPS, 1974). Under the heading 'Monitoring,' later minutes state that the CPS had made connections with the groups of blacklisting organisations and that: "Liason should be established with Aims of Industry with the object of ensuring that CPS has an effective link with a comprehensive monitoring service" (CPS, 1974a: 4). This minute also stated that the CPS was funded by British United Industrialists (BUI) that funded propaganda

organisations such as Aims of Industry, the Coalition for Peace through Security, the Economic League and Truemid (Ramsay, 1988a). It operated largely as a Conservative Party funding conduit (Useem, 1986: 133). The minutes also reveal that T. E. Utley would coach and train 'protagonists' whose performance would be monitored. Later Norman & Utley (1983) tried to mount a Christian argument for nuclear weapons to challenge church support of CND asserting that: "It is not ever clear whether the pursuit of peace is actually a fundamental Christian principle." Both would go on to write similar material for the IEDSS and there are marked similarities with their propaganda operations and those against US church groups previously outlined.

However, a memo from Sherman expressed a wariness towards the spying and blacklisting organisations, stating that there "were many who warned us about being another Aims of Industry, whose reputation now minimises the impact of the many good publications they produce" (CPS, 1974: 3). Before joining the CPS Sherman had written for Aims of Industry (*Times*, 1970b). It was at this point that Sherman refered to the CPS' work as becoming 'parapolitical,' in the sense of an underground covert influence on politics, based on the tactics of the imagined Soviet conspiracy (Cockett, 1995: 285). The release of official documents has shown the closeness of the blacklisting organisations with MI5 and government in the early 1970s. Edward Heath secretly ordered MI5 to brief senior industrialists about subversive organisations trying to infiltrate their workplaces and to make connections with both the Economic League and MI5 as part of his drive towards anti-subversion (Lyons, 2004). BBC (2003) used declassified archival material to establish that Heath drew up contingency plans for a response to domestic civil unrest by subversive elements. There were five states of emergency in the four years of the Heath government and this situation also contributed to the setting up of Crozier's ISC (Dorril & Ramsay, 1991: 212).

The CPS claimed charitable status and political independence even although Sherman hired the BBC's George Gretton to coach Thatcher in media techniques, before she hired Gordon Reece (CPS, 1977; CPS, 1977a). Sherman also mentioned the IEDSS' Douglas Eden in connection with a Conservative plan to incorporate and parade disaffected ex-Labour members, such as Paul Johnson. The purpose of this was to taint Labour with the disaffected members giving the *appearance* that the Conservatives wanted to adopt a centralist position:

> Now that the Labour Party is increasingly reneguing [sic] on this heritage in favour of Marxist or Marxoid socialism, the burden of incorporating its best features into any synthesis suited to our times and circumstances falls on the Conservative party. (CPS, 1977b)

This type of approach is also in evidence in the IEDSS with the presence of (former Labour MPs) George Brown and Reg Prentice. Connections with disaffected Labour members were conducted through Ray Whitney (also with the CPS study group on union reform), and Prentice was also a speaker at the student conferences organized by Frost (Cockett, 1995: 264-271). In CPS (1977b) Sherman also stated he would initiate moves to promote this position using Eden who was then part of the Social Democratic Alliance (the forerunner of the Social Democratic Party set up by Eden and Haseler) and that he was working with Brian Crozier and the IEDSS' Stephen Haseler. I will examine the relevance of this in detail in the section on Haseler and Eden, but note here that this tactic is similar to the IEDSS' in its early phase, whereby it included Social Democrats in its Advisory Board to attack the left; a feature that also reflected the political ambit of the Congress for Cultural Freedom. It is possible to identify a direct prototype of the IEDSS in Sherman's allusion to initiating a European Intellectual Forum (with Raymond Aron as a patron) based on his visits to France, Spain and Italy to lay the groundwork for:

> …a loose association of non-socialist liberal intellectuals in Europe […] the organisation would provide intellectual underpinning for the non-socialist alliance needed in the European Parliament and institutions and would provide for valuable exchange of ideas and experiences in fields which matter, e.g. planning, Christian Democracy, migrant labour; extremism and terrorism of all kinds; trade unionism and Social Democracy in transition… (CPS, 1977b)

The IEDSS did contain representatives of the European parliament with the IEDSS' Brian Key becoming a Labour MEP from 1979-1984 within the socialist group. Key was ousted by a candidate proposed by the National Union of Mineworkers, who allegedly packed the reselection conference, calls for an enquiry were ignored and when Key lost his seat it was then contested by the IEDSS' Douglas Eden who had been a Labour councillor (*Times*, 1984a).

Frost's CPS responsibilities included co-ordinating Keith Joseph's staged speeches in the universities and what proved to be continually unsuccessful seminars. Other projects included an International University of the Open Society with Ralph Harris, Andrew Chalk, Peter Booth, John Blundell, David Robertson, Michael Ivens, Madsen Pirie and Michael Forsyth (CPS, 1977c; CPS, 1978). This group could be described as under the influence of the IEDSS' Edwin Feulner as the early Adam Smith Institute was formed in 1976. Feulner was also with the CPS at the time and who had worked for Ralph Harris at the IEA and Cockett (1995: 281) suggested that the Heritage Foundation and the CPS were set up at the same time largely with the same purpose of directing the Conservative and Republican Parties. One early mention of the Heritage Foundation by the CPS came from Keith Joseph in 1977, where he expressed that after his trip to the US he had become impressed by Heritage's policy of publishing "well-timed background papers on contemporary issues," and asked the CPS Board to consider whether "this idea could be transplanted here" (Joseph, 1977). But Sherman felt that producing Heritage-like 'Backgrounders' was "not practical for an organisation with close Conservative Party connections" (CPS, 1977). This tactic was taken up by the IEDSS and it produced a hundred publications and press releases and ran its own publishing operation.

Frost was the note-taker at the CPS meetings and thus privy to the more unorthodox publishing activities of the Centre. These were somewhat cryptically recorded, such as the starting up of 'The Liberty Bookshop' which was to be used as a front for the CPS, or the production of a National Association For Freedom (NAFF) pamphlet concerning Peter Smaill (secretly edited by Patricia Kirwan, described as a 'publishing consultant' by the CPS) about which Joseph is recorded as saying he was not "happy about the apparent conspiracy attached to the production of the paper." At the same meeting John O'Sullivan of the IEDSS is mentioned as an author who could produce a work on why Britain needed a "social market economy." This initial terminology was clearly described as intentionally disguising the CPS' neo-liberalism (CPS, 1978b).

Given that the CPS' Soviet Studies Group was at its peak from 1983-1984 and that it was composed of much the same individuals as the IEDSS—Iain Elliot, George Urban and Leonard Schapiro—the question arises as to why the IEDSS recycled this type of material, an observation that can be made of several CPS study groups. This echoing and mirroring within think tanks such as the IEA, CPS, the ASI and others is a propaganda tactic whereby the circulation of the same material is intended to create the illusion of credence, consensus and validity. There was a faction within the CPS's study groups familiar with propaganda that was reformulated as the IEDSS after Frost left including: John O'Sullivan, Caroline Cox, Douglas Eden and Brian Crozier (Cockett, 1995: 277).

Keegan (1984) touched on the intrigue surrounding the way the CPS was set up that portrays it as a propaganda organisation:

> It was a fraud. Keith Joseph went to Ted and asked his permission to set up a fund to see how private enterprise worked in other countries. Then he went round the City saying he had Heath's permission to raise the money. Then it became the Joseph/Thatcher power base for attacking everything Ted stood for. (Keegan, 1984: 47)

In this version of events the CPS quickly became the centre for the propagation of anti-Heath views as a challenge to his leadership by the nascent Thatcher faction. This was notoriously stage-managed at Joseph's Preston Town Hall Speech in 1974, which

advocated greater unemployment to tackle inflation—an area Frost stated he worked on. This key alliance between Thatcher and Joseph, urged on by Sherman, is traced by Keegan as the origin of Thatcher's interest in monetarist economic policy. The CPS became the base for publishing books and pamphlets that aimed to establish and propagate a new right-wing ideology, developed through the speeches of Thatcher, Joseph, Samuel Brittan and others:

> The CPS became the formal political manifestation of the ideology that had so far been propagated by the nominally independent Institute for Economic Affairs. Both were in the propaganda business […] Both poured out a stream of publications designed partly to reassure the faithful but first and foremost to proselytize. (Keegan, 1984: 60)

The CPS concentrated its propaganda on the universities, while the IEA tried to influence 'Fleet Street' and the City. According to Keegan the ideas propounded by the IEA and CPS, which were openly taken up by the Conservative government in 1982, were bound up with more denationalisation of industry, more anti-union legislation, attacks on the welfare state with an extension of private medicine and the introduction of education vouchers (Keegan, 1984: 60).

41. The second hand dealers' tactics

Frost worked, or had associations with, most of the right-wing think tanks, including the Social Affairs Unit (SAU) an 'educational charity' set up in 1980 to extend the IEA's free market analysis into politics and social policy also funded by the Heritage Foundation (Gavshon, *et al.*, 1987). I have already examined how these propaganda networks can also be understood via the concept of the Phantom Academy. Most of these fairly small organisations have collaborated and understandably have had over-lapping personnel. The members acting in concert can be seen in one of Frost's IEDSS pronouncements as Director: a 1987 December 9, *Wall Street Journal* Op-ed column in form of open letter to President Reagan (also written by the IEDSS' Jean-Marie Benoist). This held that agreement to eliminate intermediate-range missiles from Europe would seriously and adversely change the balance of military and political forces within Europe in favour of the Soviet Union. This matched a quarter-page advert in the 1987 November 17, *Washington Post* warning of the dangers of the up and coming nuclear weapons deal between the US and the Soviet Union. The signatories included Frost, Lord Chalfont, Baroness Cox, Lord Orr-Ewing, Ray Whitney, Norris McWhirter, David Regan, Roger Scruton and David Hart, who organised the controversial 'Committee for a Free Britain' adverts and who was quoted as insisting that the ad was placed by a 'group of friends' who got together and paid nearly £6000 from their own pockets (*Guardian*, 1987).

This kind of putative freelance activity has proved difficult for academic writing to categorise and easy to dismiss or ignore when trying to understand think tanks. My view is that many works that aim to understand these networks tend to paraphrase Cockett (1994) to the exclusion of other parapolitical approaches. It is important to trace the provenance of particular ideas that become absorbed into the mainstream by circuitous routes that are left as a mystery:

> The word "privatisation" may have seemed unlikely in 1970, when it first appeared in a footnote of a paper by David Howell […] As for student loans, 20 years ago that too was just a forlorn hope expressed in Free Nation, organ of the McWhirter brothers' National Association for Freedom, which looked at the revolting Marxists in the new sociology departments and reckoned that a student loan system would make higher education "more responsible to the needs of the country." (Wright, 1994)

The question is: does a process of dismissal as obsessive fringe groups aid the think tanks in influencing policy behind the scenes? In general it can be fairly safely assumed that awareness of the existence of think tanks, in the sense of public awareness, would have been very low in the 1980s, and arguably remains so today; particularly in relation to how they were used as front groups by the intelligence services. Detailed analytical knowledge of how think tanks function *parapolitically*, particularly when they

themselves might (for a variety of reasons) seek to minimise their covert or mercenary role, is not greatly evident; neither is any monitoring with a view to think tanks being held to account as lobbyists. What is in evidence is that when specific groups and individuals develop an awareness of the parapolitical role of think tanks and express this awareness in the form of critical enquiry: then they too are thought to be fringe groups and dismissed as the flip side of the coin.

To demonize 'Peace Studies' for the IEDSS, Cox (1984) traced most of the organizations she viewed as KGB agents and dangerous subversives as being based at CND's address or at 9 Poland Street (Gosling, 1984). This was located near the IEDSS' offices and was a base for mostly left-wing organisations funded by the Joseph Rowntree Trust including: Friends of the Earth, the Low Pay Unit, the Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom (CPBF), the Socialist Society, *State Research*, the Public Order Research Group, the Media Research Trust among many others including some Conservative groups. Poland Street's *State Research* and CPBF and others, were exposing SIS operations, including an exposure of a 'Press Plot Against CND,' involving systematic attempts to discredit disarmament groups by insinuating KGB links; detailing how the Social Democratic Party had tried to discredit the left by persuading the *Sunday Times* to smear Labour MPs; screening banned films such as the 'Zircon Project' or 'The Brutality of Wapping,' and also engaging in unravelling the parapolitical machinations of figures such as David Hart, and his role in the Miner's Strike (Bose & Schachhuber, 2000). To compound this tendency towards demonization, several members of these groups had been under arrest, legal action and surveillance: such as Crispin Aubrey and Duncan Campbell who, along with *State Research*, engaged in work that came into conflict with 'national security' dictates (Aubrey, 1981).

Arguably, some of the mystique of the right-wing think tanks was punctured by Cockett's work. But whether this mystique was simply imbued unintentionally by left-wing writers trying to scratch the surface may not be the whole story. One aspect of the mystique of the right-wing think tanks before the 1990s was their suspected connection to the shadow play of the US and UK intelligence services: how think tank's parapolitical dimension was linked to the methodology of counter-subversion and anti-democratic activities that the government were reluctant to engage in because of fear of exposure. Frost touched on this problematic role in a review of Brian Crozier's memoir called 'Fighting the good fight' that stated that Crozier described his own work in covert operations as making good for the failures of the Foreign Office and US State Department through personal initiative. According to Frost the authorities:

> …viewed the problems presented by Soviet disinformation, forgeries, agents of influence and the like with extreme distaste. It was not the kind of thing which their background or training equipped them to deal with. As a result, the official reaction was sometimes to play down the significance of these aspects of Soviet behaviour or simply to pretend that such things did not occur. The FO's information and research department set up by Christopher [the IRD] Mayhew, for which Crozier worked as a consultant, proved a triumphant exception to this rule. (Frost, 1993)

Numerous members of the IRD and its satellite organisations can now be identified not only in the IEDSS, but in many of the activities directed against CND and other forms of legitimate internal dissent far removed from the activities of the Soviets. Although disbanded former-IRD members constituted a parapolitical network that was partially revived in the new Cold War of the 1980s.

42. Protest and Survive
Three IEDSS members: Frost, Philip Towle and Iain Elliot wrote the (1982) 'Protest and Perish,' the IEDSS' response to E. P. Thompson's (1980) 'Protest and Survive.' Thompson's work had derived its title from the government leaflet (1980) 'Protect and Survive,' which offered advice on how to survive a nuclear attack. E. P. Thompson was prominent in CND and part of the 'New Left' who, in the mid-1980s, also wrote on opposition to the Reagan administration's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) that

connected the influence of the Heritage Foundation (Thompson, 1982b). Thompson had also made specific mention of members of the IEDSS in several works, warning of "dangerous people" such as Richard Allen and a "Washington-orchestrated propaganda campaign" (Thompson, 1982b: 114). He was also one of the first writers to question the role of the CCF (Thompson, 1960). The promotion of SDI was a main concern of the IEDSS and these combinations made Thompson a target for the IEDSS. Thompson (1982: 24) also quoted John Foster Dulles on the rationale of the Cold War: "In order to make the country bear the burden, we have to create an emotional atmosphere akin to war-time psychology. We must create the idea of a threat from without." Thompson's work had critically evaluated the activities of what he termed the 'Secret State' and drew on sources such as *State Research*. He developed Mills' socio-historical approach in the 'Power Elite' towards a British context to reveal the work of the intelligence and security services in stifling dissent. The existence of the intelligence and security services had not officially been acknowledged at this point and much the same official denial and obfuscation accompanied the activities of MI5 (Thompson, 1982a: 129).

'Protest and Survive' began with a detailed refutation of All Soul's College's Michael Howard's justification of the presence of cruise missiles; Thompson then illustrated the deceptions of the debate, including those related his sweeping assertion that:

> …the whole basis of our information is corrupt, and that every official statement, on both sides, is either an official lie or a statement with direct propagandist intent which conceals as much as it reveals. (Thompson, 1982: 24)

While the original government leaflet 'Protect and Survive' seems to have been reluctantly released, Thompson's work sold 50,000 copies in less than a year and a further 36,000 when reproduced as part of a collection (Palmer, 1994: 134). US editions had included an introduction 'A Call to Mutiny,' by Daniel Ellsberg, drawing parallels to his Pentagon study of government secrecy and decision-making in the Vietnam War. This outlined hidden evidence that (emphasis in the original):

> *Every* president from Truman to Reagan, with the possible exception of Ford, has felt compelled to consider or direct serious preparations for possible imminent U.S. initiation of tactical or strategic nuclear warfare, in the midst of an ongoing, intense, non-nuclear conflict or crisis. (Ellsberg, 1981: iv)

Ironically, Thompson was a critic of the Labour governments, the Soviet Union and aspects of the Trotskyist left so eagerly derided by the IEDSS. As with the 'Pentagon Papers,' Thompson's 'Protest and Survive' gathered the thoughts of 'establishment' figures excluded from the debate: other contributors included Alva Myrdal, Dan Smith and Ron Smith, David Holloway, Mary Kaldor, Ken Coates and Bruce Kent. The US version contained Thompson's 'A Letter to America,' and eleven other essays exploring the interconnections of the arms race, nuclear war, military bureaucracy and the prospects for peacemaking. Ultimately these argued that, by definition, the Cold War's intransigence went nowhere: it was not new thinking to solve a problem.

Thompson also worked with European Nuclear Disarmament (END) which both the CIA and the KGB accused each other of funding. But this served to reaffirm the critical importance of pressing for the adoption of a non-aligned position within the Western peace movement. This had an impact on END's politics and strategies, opening up trans-bloc dialogue between it and the independent peace initiatives and dissident groups in Eastern Europe (Soper, 1994). For Kaldor (1993) it was not that the peace movement was orchestrated by Moscow: it was Thompson's *argument* (that it was not necessary to match each side's arsenal since both sides could destroy the world several times over) and the influence of the peace movement's ideas on 'new thinking' that was *adopted* when Gorbachev came to power and initiated a military *build-down*.

The IEDSS' 'Protest and Perish' did not take on any of Thompson's arguments: it completely ignored them (a tactic Thompson was wont to point out in several of the works cited above). Apart from misquoting Thompson, 'Protest and Perish' recommended that CND supporters abandon their irrational and emotionally fraught hysteria, and came to the *ad hominem* conclusion that "Thompson personally might find

hysteria, and came to the *ad hominem* conclusion that "Thompson personally might find Soviet domination less repugnant than many other people" (Frost, *et al.*, 1982: 78). The publication does not seem tailored to a wide public: it is more targeted at reinforcing sectional prejudices and entrenched positions by those who have any impact on the formation of policy. The debate is framed around an elitist argument between "the professionals and the amateurs, the players and the gentlemen." Once categorized as such a certain concession is disingenuously made:

> The disarmers accuse the strategists of being part of an academic-military-industrial complex. The strategists accuse the disarmers of favouring the Soviet cause. Again both accusations contain an element of truth. (Frost, *et al.*, 1982: 9)

'Protest and Perish' even ridiculed criticism that the debate *was* one-sided or tainted, while, as I examine later, members of the IEDSS appear to have been deliberately trying to exclude CND or any other critic from entering any influential fora connected to disarmament. Frost (1984) offered a fourteen-page attack on Thompson in *Encounter* (with Thompson ridiculed on the cover) that likened him to a Hitler appeaser of the 1930s and described him as a slippery and evasive liar and further *ad hominem* observations. The article was accompanied by a similar attack on Bruce Kent.

The basis of the IEDSS' argument can be identified in Fleming (1959) who argued that the US had fallen prey to the belief that it could prevent a third world war by the means that might have avoided the second. But the Soviet Union was not a duplicate of Hitler's power-hungry determination to obtain European domination at all costs. The policy of containing and encircling the Soviets had generated the very military power that was so feared. Roosevelt's policy of peaceful co-operation with the Soviet Union was abruptly reversed. Fleming outlined the (even then) outmoded dogma that appears in exposition in 'Protest and Perish.' This can summarised thus:

> (a) World conquest: that the Soviet Union and China are out to conquer the world.

> (b) Domino theory: the slightest withdrawal anywhere means the loss of everything.

> (c) Appeasement: there must be no appeasement or negotiation.

> (d) Surprise attack: we must never suffer another surprise attack.

> (e) The absolute evil: we must be ever on guard against absolute evil.

Thompson (1982a) had made the similar observation that the stereotypical 'lesson' of World War II (appeasement and military weakness) had stuck in the public mind while the lessons of World War I (an arms race and inflexible structures of alliances) had been forgotten. The formulation rests on the assent of memory rather than upon analysis and evidence. All these tenets, together with a general focus on the adversary posture, can be said to have underpinned the IEDSS' Cold War position, itself under the influence of think tanks such as the Hoover Institution, the CSIS and the Heritage Foundation.

A wider campaign to silence and smear Thompson and CND is in evidence. Thompson was to present the BBC's Dimbleby Lecture in 1981, but the Director General, Sir Ian Trethowan blocked it (Palmer, 1994: 132). Trethowan was reputedly obsessed by 'reds' and 'commies' in the BBC and set up a special desk with MI5's F Branch to look at subversives and bias in the media and to recruit journalists as agents to spy on their colleagues (Hollingsworth & Norton-Taylor, 1988). The names were submitted to F Branch's 'domestic subversion' desks at MI5 then headed by Sir Antony Duff, who from 1985-87 was Director-General of MI5. The BBC vetting operation was run by C Branch that included Cathy Massiter, a junior officer at M15 in the mid-1970s, who resigned from MI5 because it had monitored trade union leaders and dissenting groups (including CND) and deliberately catagorised them as 'subversives.' In respect of CND Massiter testified that she was required to compile a report *based on* her MI5 files for DS19 and Peter Blaker, then a Minister of State at the Foreign Office and MoD, but

for DS19 and Peter Blaker, then a Minister of State at the Foreign Office and MoD, but also with involvement in several anti-CND groups (Spark, 1999: 197).

Before turning to Blaker's activities in DS19 in more depth, I would observe that 'The Defence of Britain,' Thompson's (1983) sequel to 'Protest and Survive' was brought out in the run up to the General Election when DS19's activities were at their height. Here Thompson returned to the theme of abandoning the 'deep structure of the Cold War,' by warning that the positioning of cruise missiles *enabled* a 'limited' war in a European theatre—that this was their rationale. Other similar works had mentioned Blaker's speech attacking the 'twelve fallacies' of CND in the context of John Nott's admission that the government had started a public relations campaign to wean "innocent, well-meaning people away from the superficially attractive ideas of CND—a campaign which was heavily influenced by a tiny number of left-wingers who were neither innocent nor well-meaning." This also noted the refusal of the BBC to broadcast an Open University lecture by Professor Michael Pentz (Clarke; Thompson, & Mowlam, 1982: 21).

Apart from the silencing and smearing of expert testimony, if the more general response to dissent directed towards Cold War dogma by the Thatcher government is examined, a closing off of legal redress combined with a clampdown on knowledge of or participation in debate beyond carefully controlled and circumscribed boundaries emerges: a process towards which members of the IEDSS contributed. Thomas (1991: 63) made the observation that the 'public' was taken to include the press "the ear of the public," in the legal definition of the power to exclude the public from court proceedings in official secrets cases. Thomas cites the Attorney-General's moves towards the *Leveller* and other independent magazines such as *Time Out* and the Labour party's *Tribune*. These were part of a small group of periodicals that attempted to unravel the role of think tanks and other political action groups in controlling the agenda of various debates. Thomas' observations provide an outline of the modulation of the law (its *politicisation*) to prohibit public awareness of the findings of this type of 'journalism of exposure,' that was somewhat overshadowed in the mainstream press but which in the 1970s had emanated from the popular but radical, independent and underground press (largely unconfined by the D-Notice system). The legal process was also retarded to encompass a challenge to the argument for a public interest defence, closely associated with 'whistle-blowing' and the attempts at alerting the public to official malpractice. This climate of persecution increased the suspicion that the government could use the Official Secrets Act to hide the abuse of power; but it also aimed to dissuade legitimate journalistic enquiry because of the public examples made. Such inquiry was also encumbered by the complex and ultimately *deniable* relationships that think tanks like the IEDSS and the individuals who gather round them had to the US and UK governments.

The Sarah Tisdall was another Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FO) clerical officer jailed for leaking government documents to the *Guardian* in 1983. The *Guardian* received two over-classified MoD minutes written by the then Defence Secretary, Michael Heseltine. One related to the delivery of cruise missiles to RAF Greenham Common, concerning Parliamentary and media statements and a second dealt with the security arrangements at Greenham. The Government did not request the return of the second document, and the newspaper supposedly destroyed it but tests led to the identification of Tisdall (Thomas, 1991: 63).

Tisdall leaked the information because Heseltine's decision meant he decided he was not going to be accountable to Parliament that particular day; that he planned to conduct a press conference at the base, before the Opposition had a chance to question him in detail about his statement (Pyper, 1985: 73). Such activity problematises the principled stance that many of the IEDSS members insisted they took, particularly Blaker who worked with Heseltine in DS19. Their work producing *disinformation* also meant silencing dissent. This was exculpated by a higher morality, an all-covering and ever-extending veil of secrecy based on 'national security,' yet this was an argument not dissimilar to that of the secret police of the Soviet Union.

43. DS19

Blaker's key propaganda involvement during his time with the IEDSS was with the short-lived and little-known Defence Secretariat 19 (DS19). Its former head was J. K. Ledlie from the MoD Procurement Executive, who was a PR adviser to Francis Pym and who went on to be chief of public relations in the MoD (Hennessy, 1983a). Hennessy (1983) stated that an FCO appointee, Herbert Tucker was "Disarmament Information Co-ordinator," the FCO equivalent of Ledlie. Tucker was second in command of the IRD and had organised its propaganda to influence the UK's entry into the then EEC. In a 1997 interview touching on the IRD and DS19's activities, Tucker indicated it was an assault on CND that drew on *outside* help: "There were no special funds, there was no real staff, it was a bit of an elastoplast job. Luckily the General Election came and the Tories were returned and somehow the real teeth were taken out of CND" (Hutson, 1996).

Hansard (1986) recorded that DS19 was formed to advise Michael Heseltine on how best to explain to the public the facts about the Government's policy on deterrence and multilateral disarmament and that it was set up in February 1983 and disbanded in September 1983. According to Timmins (1983) during the first six months of 1983, DS19 met every week with the meetings chaired by Heseltine, with the Secretary of State for Defence (Blaker) and the Home Office and Foreign ministers, senior officials, and Bernard Ingham (Thatcher's celebrated Press Officer). Ministers stopped attending after the general election in 1983. In terms of the Government using DS19 to mobilize publicity and propaganda against CND, little distinction was drawn between political propaganda and explaining Government policy: particularly in view of the fact that the Opposition were then opposed to nuclear arms. In a study of *Hansard* the general impression is that the work of DS19 was confined to departmental information work. The MoD had 20 such Defence Secretariats and also drew on the Central Office of Information for assistance. Although disbanded, one such, DS17, had been in existence for several years and also provided the Secretary of State with advice on nuclear policy, arms control and disarmament (*Hansard*, 1983). DS17 acted as a link with DS19 and was known as the 'Holocaust Desk' because it was responsible for nuclear policy and the MoD's press office (Hennessy, 1983a). Heseltine stated that its purpose was "to counteract the rising tide of unilateralism and to combat the growth of CND," and to do so it: prepared speeches and articles; dealt with the press on nuclear issues; handled "the publicity aspects of demonstrations mounted against […] Heseltine by CND"; collated the findings of opinion polls on Cruise and Trident and prepared pamphlets, leaflets and films (Hennessy, 1983a). One of these was the (1982) 'The Peace Game,' costing £70,000, launched by Blaker as a response to Peter Watkin's (1965) 'The War Game,' much like the IEDSS' response to E. P. Thompson's 'Protest and Survive' (Cowton, 1982). I view it as a propaganda operation that worked with the IEDSS and the other groups outlined.

Cathy Massiter's revelation that DS19 approached MI5 for information about CND's leading members included that she was instructed by MI5 to carry out phone-tapping operations by Tony Crasweller who also supervised MI5's F4 and F6 sections. These ran agents inside political parties and organisations (Meltzer, 1996). At the same time, CND member Stanley Bonnett, a former editor of the CND's magazine *Sanity* was possibly recruited as a covert informant by Special Branch on the instructions of MI5. Massiter gathered material on any left-wing affiliations of CND's leaders: a report was then passed to DS19's John Ledlie, who passed it to both Michael Heseltine and Blaker, who, in turn, passed the information on to Ray Whitney, former head of the IRD and also with Blaker in the IEDSS (Dedefensa, 2003). Pearce (1989) suggests that Whitney was ex-MI5. In the early 1980s Whitney, who was also in charge of the Government's Foreign Affairs committee, had been writing alarmist columns that gathered up a range of issues reflected in the IEDSS' publications, largely to encourage support for NATO and the Alliance. One report of Whitney's visit to Washington drew on unspecified opinion polls to blame CND for the looming threat of 'Finlandization' inherent in *any* accommodation with the Soviets. Whitney confusingly argued the UK was "on the edge and looking into the chasm, or ought to be if we are not blind" and advocated the build-up of conventional forces (the US' desire for its

European partners) in writing that seems recycled from the IEDSS' conference (Whitney, 1982). These were coupled with more direct and regular attacks on CND and Bruce Kent in the *Times* (1983d; 1983e; 1983f). Blaker also routinely smeared CND in the *Times*, claiming that it was "feeding the British public with false information" (*Times*, 1981b). In 1983 Blaker responded with: 'No' to questions as to whether *any* of Blaker's officials had at *any* time discussed the involvement of Bruce Kent or any other churchman in CND's activities; and, if so to what purpose (*Hansard*, 1983a). As I have previously outlined, MI5 was brought in to monitor Kent and others in CND.

44. The Overseas Information Department

In early 1981 Blaker ran the successor to the IRD, the Overseas Information Department (OID). But this was wary of being considered a continuation of IRD's covert operations (*Hansard*, 1981). With the IEDSS we see the IRD's Ray Whitney and OID's Blaker working together in a manner that made use of front groups and covert government secretariats. The IEDSS can be seen as part of a disguised network of projects, given its further association with those who worked for the CCF or other CIA-related projects that continued the work of the IRD. Crozier (1994: 188-189) described how, in 1980 when he was "still on sufferance, in Golden Square," (the ISC's headquarters and later the IEDSS') upon his urging, Thatcher attempted to revive the IRD "in the face of entrenched opposition from the Foreign Office mandarins." Blaker set up OID when he was Minister of State at the FO and Crozier stated that he informed Blaker of his view that the IRD was closed down by the Labour government because of Labour's ominous connections to the Soviets. The IRD was a FCO and MI6 propaganda and disinformation organization that represented *liaison* between MI6 and the CIA, but the 'Foreign Office mandarins' felt it was running its own foreign policy (Leigh, 1978). When the IRD was abolished in 1977 and replaced by the OID, it is reasonable to assume it maintained something of its *unofficial* channels of dissemination. The OID was also quickly absorbed into the FCO's Information Department in 1981 as the IEDSS came together (Bennett & Bennett, 2003). The IRD had used media, news agencies, publishing and academic outlets that included *Encounter*, Crozier's Forum World Features, the ISC's publishing, Ampersand Ltd. as a publishing house, the Background Books series and many others. Authors included Brian Crozier, Robert Moss, Charles Douglas-Home, Paul Wilkinson and Robert Conquest (Bennett & Bennett, 2003). Given the IEDSS' role as a Cold War 'Thatcherite' think tank, and much as the IRD and then OID's more propagandistic work were informally rolled into other 'private' organizations, aspects of these propaganda drives were taken up by the IEDSS when OID was itself closed down due to government cuts.

In 1981 Blaker's answer to parliamentary questions on what the OID did, stated that it "provided regular guidance and background briefing to Her Majesty's Missions abroad on matters of general concern affecting Government policies" (*Hansard*, 1981). This also stated that half of OID served in the IRD at some stage in their careers. When asked what other government departments distributed unattributable material to journalists and other opinion formers in the UK and overseas; and what material they distributed, Blaker stated:

> News department frequently gives unattributable briefing to journalists, for the main part orally, but occasionally written material is used to supplement the oral briefing. From time to time most other departments, including the information department, meet requests for informal briefing from other opinion formers on various aspects of international affairs. (*Hansard*, 1981a)

There was no acknowledgement of his own, Crozier's or Whitney's involvement in the IEDSS, but it is likely that such guidance also drew on, reused, or was supplemented by sanctioned material provided by putative independent organizations. The understanding of this distribution network must be broadened out to include proxies and informal networks. As previously stated, in Golden Square the IEDSS was placed within and then next door to the ISC which had been a key institution for the dissemination of the IRD's work with many old IRD and IEDSS 'Sovietologists' on board.

Blaker stated that OID supervised sponsored visits to the UK, worked in co-operation with the Central Office of Information and with the FO's Wiston House conference centre. In 1980 it produced 67 reports dominated by Cold War anti-communism, including: the 'Communist Peace Offensive,' (which takes us back to the themes of the McCarthy era); the 'Soviet Campaign against TNF Modernisation'; 'Afghanistan: Opposition Groups'; 'Poland: The Workers and the Party: A Chronology: 1970-1980,' and 'UNESCO and World Media Problems.' These were all themes the IEDSS would continue to focus on. The short OID briefings were sent to specific journalists much in the manner of IRD (*Hansard*, 1981). Blaker also stated that in £3.5 million was spent on public relations in the MoD in 1981 (*Hansard*, 1981b).

In the early 1980s Blaker was also answering questions in the House in relation to a setback for the government's promotion of nuclear weapons. The campaign clearly encountered difficulties with many local authorities making representations to the Government asking for their districts to be declared 'Nuclear-Free Zones.' *Hansard* (1982) stated that calls upon the Government to refrain from the manufacture or positioning of any nuclear weapons within their boundaries had been received from a list of local councils that represented the whole country from Norwich to Aberdeen (*Hansard*, 1982a). Crozier (1994: 250-251) tells us these Councils were regarded by Thatcher as a challenge to her government and to deal with them a "full counter-subversion programme" was mooted by Crozier that would use Soviet-style tactics "the enemy's own methods." This was cautiously arranged to be at a distance from Thatcher at a 1985 meeting with Crozier and several other unspecified trans-Atlantic financiers at the same time Heritage Foundation money was funding the IEDSS. Crozier had previously written to Thatcher in July 1981 and had persuaded the CIA, via the IEDSS's Richard Allen then a major influence on Reagan's foreign policy, to fight the "Soviet 'peace' campaign, conducted through the World Peace Council and its many subsidiaries, the CND, the Socialist International, and related bodies" (Crozier, 1994: 244). In his view the Soviets even had control of these organisations. Blaker's response to a question "as to which peace movements encouraged and financed by the Soviet Union are acknowledged by that country as being so supported?" demonstrated that he shared Crozier's belief in a global Communist conspiracy centering on its subvention of the World Peace Council (*Hansard*, 1982b). Blaker's work with OID is mentioned, and clearly Crozier is further encouraging Blaker to counter the 'peace campaign.' As I noted earlier, Crozier stated that shortly after this he was contacted by the CIA's William Casey who stated that the "private sector must be associated with these activities to demonstrate that support comes from the people as well as the governments." Crozier added that "Casey did find a way to get money to me," and this is related to encouraging the Heritage Foundation to fund the IEDSS and the other groups previously mentioned. There is no clear indication of why Heritage supported such a little known group other than the involvement of so many of its acolytes (Crozier, 1994: 244-245).

45. Conservative Coalitions For Peace

The 1980s witnessed the creation of a network of small political action committees geared towards capturing and controlling the debate around nuclear weapons and demonizing opponents. Central to this was the trans-Atlantic dimension provided mainly via the Heritage Foundation's institutional support and the involvement of leading figures in US propaganda largely using the tactics of psychological operations.

Blaker was the vice-Chairman of Peace Through NATO (PTN) that was formed as a tactical counter-gang to CND (Barnes, 2009: 1). *Tribune* (1988a) established that Blaker and Ray Whitney co-ordinated the anti-CND strategy with the USIA's Charles Z. Wick using PTN and the British Atlantic Committee. PTN was financed by the FCO and NATO and arranged free trips to NATO headquarters for opinion formers (Toynbee, 1988). The Soviets argued that as the date for the deployment of the missiles drew near, NATO pooled the efforts of *all* the propaganda services of the countries in the Alliance to counter CND and other groups. The CIA's task was to compromise the public movement against the deployment of the missiles (BBC, 1983a). PTN was also

instrumental in guiding the Social Democratic Party in their decision to support nuclear weapons (Bromley, 1989). The IEDSS' Alan Lee Williams, the Chair of PTN, and Ken Aldred, the Secretary General of PTN, appeared with David Owen at the 1989 SDP conference under the banner of PTN (Abdela, 1989). At this point the IEDSS' Ray Whitney was the chairman of the CSIS Euro Working Group, the director of the Atlantic Council, and with the FO's Advisory Committee on Disarmament and Arms Control (Debrett's, 2011). The groups that emerged to counter CND formed a complex network, but again it can be located in the network of individuals, small groups and think tanks previously described. According to Dorril (1984) the Coalition For Peace Through Security (CPTS) was formed in 1981, its main activists being Julian Lewis and Francis Holihan, alleged to be a spy and *agent provocateur* within CND (Kent, 1994: 179-181). The CPTS had close relations with Crozier and Schapiro's ISC and with the IEA and CPS with its most important link being to the Campaign For Defence and Multilateral Disarmament (CDMD) run and funded by Conservative Central Office. CDMD was an organised group of the Conservative Party hierarchy that included Blaker, then Minister of State for Defence; Ray Whitney; Cecil Parkinson, its chair; Winston Churchill, who chaired the (anti-CND group) Committee for Peace With Freedom (CPF); John Selwyn Gummer, Party Chairman, responsible for the anti-unilateralist campaign in the Churches; Michael Heseltine, then Secretary of State for Defence and head of DS19. Churchill was the co-ordinator of the Government's campaign against CND and the CPF meetings were held at Churchill's London flat, arranged by Blaker, to co-ordinate policy with the Prime Minister, civil servants and the Conservative politicians that made up the groups (Dorril, 1984).

Blaker specifically highlighted IEDSS propaganda material in questions in the House of Commons that maintained that the Soviet Union had a secret detachment of female Spetsnaz special forces in the area of UK's Greenham Common Air Base and had infiltrated the women's protest groups. According to the IEDSS' Hickey (1987) the information came from paid Soviet defectors. At times the exchanges in Parliament on CND were between Reg Prentice, Ray Whitney and Blaker, meaning three IEDSS members 'debated' propaganda they published as part of the Ministerial Group on Nuclear Weapons and Public Opinion, while also being part of semi-covert US-funded anti-CND propaganda groups (*Hansard*, 1982). Teacher (2008: 148) argued that the IEDSS allowed Blaker, Whitney and the MoD team to recycle their anti-unilateralist propaganda under the guise of academic respectability. The example given is Blaker and (the ISC's) Sir Clive Rose's (1985) IEDSS work based on a Gallup opinion poll on defence and disarmament.

Below I will also single out Blaker's involvement with the Council for Arms Control, set up in the 1980s to further control the debate, while the IEDSS and other Heritage Foundation-funded organisations attacked, smeared and aimed to subvert CND with assistance from MI5. With Lord Chalfont and Julian Lewis, Blaker also launched a campaign against 'Generals for Peace and Disarmament'.

46. The Council for Arms Control
Brian Crozier's 6I, set up just after he left the IEDSS, also created fake 'peace groups' to counter the work of CND, and he included the CPTS amongst them. Significantly, Crozier was involved in setting up the Council for Arms Control (CAC), raising £14,000 for it "through intermediaries." He viewed it in the context of the concerted attacks on CND, but with the CAC being a *passive* version of these, more orientated towards Social Democrats and producing reports (Harries, 1981). With such organisations I return to my previous observations in the section on Richard V. Allen, on how the drive towards propaganda and psychological operations extended to the capture of the institutions of arms control (Crozier, 1994: 243).

The CAC was founded in 1981 at the instigation of Ray Whitney and played some part in DS19's activities. It was run by John C. Edmonds, another former IRD official who was Head of the International Section that dealt with Communist front organizations. Edmonds argued that his IRD job was to counter the Soviet's use of "prominent people of one kind or another as 'opinion moulders,'" and that he countered their effect with "both white and grey propaganda" (McBain, 2009a). So in a sense it can be said that

both white and grey propaganda" (McBain, 2009a). So in a sense it can be said that the CAC mirrored the Security Service's view of the Soviet's use of the World Peace Council. Edmonds apportioned the background difficulties of any actual arms control to Thatcher and East-West relations, but added:

> But there is a more specific obstacle to achieving an end to nuclear testing. This is the attitude of the "military-industrial complex" about whose influence President Eisenhower warned in 1960. This particularly applies in the US, where vested interests, notably in the weapons laboratories, maintain that continued testing is essential to national security. This of course suited the hawks in London. (BDOHP, 2011a)

Edmonds found the hawks to be not so much among the military or the politicians, but among those 'experts' who would speak for the Power Elite. The CAC also involved Gen. Sir Hugh Beach, the former Warden of St George's House, where he chaired the MoD's Study Groups on Censorship (CSHR, 2005); Lieutenant-Col. Mike Lowry of the Atlantic Council of the UK, the European Movement and the EAG (*Daily Telegraph*, 2008) and Lord Gilbert, a Privy Counsellor in 1978 and the senior opposition (Labour) member of the Committee on Intelligence and Security from its creation in 1994, and a member of the elite Atlanticist network the Atlantic Partnership (AP, 2011).

Lord Gilbert was also a member of the Trade Union Committee for European and Transatlantic Understanding (TUCETU), chaired by the IEDSS' Alan Lee Williams. This was the successor to the Labour Committee for Transatlantic Understanding (LCTU) set up in 1976 by Joe Godson, a Labour Attaché at the US embassy in London. TUCETU incorporated Peace Through NATO and also worked with DS19's MoD campaign against CND: it received over £100,000 a year from the FCO (Ramsay, 1998a). Easton (1996) stated that the Anglo-American relationship and the future of NATO was critically depended upon the result of the 1987 British general election, with the Reagan administration wary that Thatcher might not be re-elected. This raised the value of the Social Democrats to the US. If there was a hung Parliament they could be relied upon to prevent Britain from being unilaterally disarmed. NATO's LCTU involved both William Rodgers and David Owen and Easton traces the SDP's position on nuclear weapons to US influence, citing the CSIS' Joseph Godson's foremost British associate in this CSIS/NATO work as SDP founder member Alan Lee Williams. The LCTU (which was unconnected to the Labour Party and was the labour section of the British Atlantic Committee) was also given £49,000 by the US NED network to lobby for NATO among European trade unionists (*Guardian*, 1985c).

CAC also included Col. John Speight; Peter Foster, former UK Ambassador to East Germany and Blaker. The CAC published several works in the 1980s by writers including Francis Pym and Philip Towle, who also wrote for the IEDSS on CND. The CAC was used as a platform to attack and exclude CND from discussions: a 'kangaroo court' assault on Bruce Kent by Sir Frank Cooper backed by Francis Pym literally drove Kent from one of the CAC's meetings (*Guardian*, 1984).

Soviet radio broadcasts noted the confluence of undercover interests including that Whitney was head of the IRD and argued that the main purpose of the CAC was to conduct black propaganda aimed at setting up favourable political attitudes (Gorshkov, 1983). Other Soviet reports offered a reasonable network analysis for the times. Substantively accurate as these open source types of revelations were, they would provide fuel to criticisms that *any* inquiry into covert operations was Soviet-directed. The Soviet reports appeared as early as November 1981 and directly linked the creation of the new anti-CND organizations with the adoption of the NATO decision to mount a "mass propaganda campaign" to convince the West European public of the need for the arms race and to smear the peace movement by accusing it of "not being competent." Here the CAC were said to have avoided questions about the sources of funding and its co-operation with RL/RFE in "frenzied anti-Sovietism" (BBC, 1981).

Many key directors of RL/RFE and US Public Diplomacy organisations were members of the IEDSS. I view the IEDSS as part of these propaganda drives. This is confirmed

of the IEDSS. I view the IEDSS as part of these propaganda drives." This is confirmed by Crozier's statements on the CIA Director William Casey providing him with £50,000 in 1981 to aid with the expansion of anti-Peace Movement activities into Europe. This funding and CAC funding was said to have come through intermediaries, and these included the Heritage Foundation. But in his 1981 correspondence with Casey, Crozier was careful to be critical of Peter Blaker's *lack* of action, and cited Julian Lewis' small group, the CPTS' activities as *parallel* to his own European efforts to draw in more funds. Crozier's Heritage Foundation-funded (1983) 'The Price of Peace' and Vladimir Bukovsky's (1982) 'The Peace Movement and the Soviet Union,' were published jointly by the CPTS and the Committee for a Free World and (introduced by Winston Churchill) also ran in *Commentary* in 1982 (Crozier, 1994: 244-245). But the attempts to try to establish a causal link between CND and the Soviet Union's intelligence service (or any other direct link) struggled to make their claims.

47. The Wilson Plots
In the early 1970s Blaker was with the MoD, mostly involved with Northern Ireland until the fall of the Heath administration, largely as a result of the miner's strike. He had been part of the then far-right 1922 Committee's executive which had a significant influence on selecting the Conservative party leadership, joining Airey Neave, Edward du Cann and Winston S. Churchill (Wood, 1974). It was within the 1922 Committee that Neave quietly organized the coup that would unseat Heath as party leader and elect Margaret Thatcher, after Keith Joseph had been considered (*Times*, 1979). By the mid-1970s most of the above members were also allied to the National Association for Freedom (NAFF) an 'anti-subversion' lobby with links to the Intelligence Services and Brian Crozier (Dorril & Ramsay: 287-288).

In the late 1970s Blaker spoke for the right wing of the security services and mounted an ongoing campaign against Harold Wilson, including an attempt to prosecute Wilson for breaching the Official Secrets Act and his oath as a Privy Councillor by criticising the security services in interviews (Barnes, 2009; Noyes, 1977). According to Dorril & Ramsay (1992: 320-322) Blaker was part of the 'Permanent Government' who effectively silenced Wilson and blocked an *open* enquiry into the Secret Services through a concerted campaign that included Blaker, Airey Neave, Ray Whitney, Cranley Onslow (ex-MI6) and Norman Tebbit. They had met the journalists Barrie Penrose and Roger Courtier who had played their secret recordings of Wilson's allegations. Blaker's campaign then intensified. In 1976 he led 40 Conservative MPs to sign an Early Day Motion trying to make Wilson withdraw statements alleging that a smear campaign was being waged against him. Blaker also mounted angry responses to Wilson's allegations of the bugging of 10 Downing Street (*Times*, 1976a; 1977a). In 1978 Blaker unsuccessfully tried to initiate an emergency debate to quash an independent enquiry into allegations of inefficiency and partiality in the Security Services (Clark, 1978). Dorril & Ramsay (1992: 321-322) have established that Wilson's charges were discreetly hidden away, with the 'Permanent Government' and the FO mandarins (including Blaker) asserting their control over the Intelligence Services. This included the IRD being disbanded along with the Resistance and Psychological Operations Committee and the Information Policy Unit in Northern Ireland (which both had access to IRD material) with the heads of MI5 and MI6 resigning in 1978. That the Information Policy Unit was disbanded along with these other organisations is an indication that possibly the effect of its propaganda was considered.

With Andrew (2009) the Security Services have circuitously conceded that, contrary to the statement made by Thatcher in 1987, a file *was* kept on Wilson (Thatcher, 1987). The allegations leaked to Chapman Pincher and Penrose and Courtier, together with the memoirs of Peter Wright and those of the former MI6 officer Anthony Cavendish, described incompetence in the Security Services and plotting against Wilson, although the allegations were virulently rejected. Throughout the 1970s there was a stream of black propaganda, not only about Wilson, but also about members of Government, being fed by the Intelligence Services to journalistic contacts, using the Information Policy Unit, IRD and ISC networks (Ramsay & Dorril, 1986). Apart from the connections Blaker and Whitney had with IRD and OID, Blaker's involvement with Crozier in the NAFF is another indication of a network, an *unofficial* side of the black

Crozier in the NAFF is another indication of a network, an *unofficial* side of the black propaganda network, that would confirm the view of the IEDSS as a way to replace the propaganda organisations that had been closed. The key thing to observe here is a complex flow or blowback of propaganda between these groups. In the mid-1970s Airey Neave had proposed to Colin Wallace that he *continue* the same black propaganda work he had been doing for Information Policy in Northern Ireland, but do it directly for Neave who would use it to assist Thatcher's attempts to gain the leadership of the party. Wallace prepared a background paper for Neave that dealt with the growing strength of the UK Left and its alleged links with the IRA and the Soviet Union (*Hansard*, 1989a; *Hansard*, 1978). Neave was also involved with Brian Crozier's Shield organisation that included other IEDSS members who perpetuated these conspiracy theories in their positions advising Thatcher on security, that I explore in the following section (Teacher, 2008:107).

As more facts became known a BBC (2006) report filmed Brian Crozier admitting to treasonable actions, and boasting of lobbying the army for support for a military takeover (as previously stated these stories were relayed in the *Times* by Charles Douglas-Home and Lord Chalfont). This and other testimony presented in the program suggested that many others, as yet unnamed, were also involved. Barrie Penrose was quoted as saying: "Our establishment, from the intelligence services down to parts of Fleet Street, were paranoid about the threat of communism […] that they were prepared to believe a prime minister of Britain was an active Soviet spy" (BBC, 2006). Ramsay (1998) stated that for propaganda purposes sections of the British secret state and its allies in the Conservative Party, business and the media had an elective affinity with the *belief* that British democracy, the state, and the capitalist system were under threat from a resurgent Left, spearheaded by the trade unions and manipulated by the British Communist Party under instruction from Moscow. That none of this manifested itself did not matter: a secret Communist conspiracy was by definition *secret*.

48. The Successor Generation
My focus here shifts to the British American Project for a Successor Generation (BAP) of which the IEDSS' Iain Elliot, Christopher Coker and Alan Lee Williams were influential members (Vander Weyer, 1998). Elliot was the associate director of Radio Liberty and a former editor of *Soviet Analyst*, a propaganda vehicle run by Robert Conquest, who also wrote for the CPS in the mid-1980s with George Urban discussed below. Elliot contributed to the IEDSS' anti-CND 'Protest and Perish' with Philip Towle and Gerald Frost previously discussed. I contrast BAP with The European Atlantic Movement (TEAM) that involved Alan Lee Williams, Gerald Frost and Stephen Haseler to establish them as similar projects to *subvent* opposition rather than subverting it comparable to the CCF. I present BAP as created as part of 'Project Democracy' and the creation of the NED with the purpose of contributing to remodelling democracy in the UK along the lines more favoured by the US and UK elites. First I will explore the intellectual background and formation of these semi-covert attempts to influence the proto-elite with the concept of the 'successor generation.'

One of the key works on the concept of a successor generation made no *specific* reference as to how it was used as an instrument of US foreign policy. It contained essays by USIA directors and was edited by a professor of National Security Affairs at the US National War College Stephen F. Szabo. It attended to fears expressed by Ronald Reagan that a "generational changing of the guard will weaken the basis of the Atlantic Alliance" (Szabo, 1983: 1). Influencing the successor generation via a propaganda project was set out in the Atlantic Council's (AC) earlier 1983 report that asked:

> Are those who were born into the turbulent and interdependent postwar world adequately educated with respect to the heritage, values, and basic principles of our Western civilization to play a fully responsible part in strengthening our heritage and way of life? (Pellegrino, 1983:7)

Essentially the AC report privileges values over facts, largely because the report's chair was Kenneth Rush, the president of Union Carbide and the US Deputy Secretary of

Defense under Melvin R. Laird in 1972. This places him amidst both Watergate and Vietnam—the two damaging factors that the project was designed to expunge from the minds of Europeans (Binder, 1994). Another more general influence on the concept of the successor generation in terms of *infiltration* and subvention was Broder (1980) on the generational turnover of national and state leadership in the US, written under the influence of Richard V. Allen and Zbigniew Brzezinski. Broder's book, which interviewed hundreds of individuals, predicted a rise in a new right-wing vanguard *within* a fragmented left (Broder, 1981; Klein, 1981).

These concerns were reactions to and *continuations* of the covert operations and cover-ups of the Vietnam War, Watergate and the civil war of the US' counter intelligence programmes and the growing turmoil of 'Iran-Contra.' This continuity in US foreign policy represents and revealed the nature of its covert operations—largely to subvert or bypass the democratic process. The underlying concern brought to the fore as the Cold War was revivified for political ends was that the European political elite would not be reproduced in the US' likeness. This was taken to be evident in the lack of support for US policies following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, martial law in Poland, the emergence of the Peace Movement and opposition to the citing of the missiles in Europe. Thus the minds of the young and the intelligentsia were found to be ideologically suspect, calling for a psychological adjustment.

Another influence on BAP related to the IEDSS was the work on 'Eurocommunism' emanating from the CSIS and the NSIC. Szabo (1983) also contained essays by Eusebio Mujal-Leon a contributor to Roy Godson and Stephen Haseler's (1979) 'Eurocommunism,' published by the NSIC. Research contributors included: Leonard Schapiro, Annie Kriegel, Giuseppe Are, Francois Bourricaud and Rui Machete. Eusebio Mujal-Leon was also a member of the Center for a Free Cuba Research Council which is closely allied to the CSIS (Godson & Haseler, 1979). *All* of Szabo's contributors with one exception cite, draw from and reinforce the AC report on the matter as if they were employed to do so. In regard to the make-up of the AC at the time I see a continuity with many of the groups I have been describing with the presence of: David Abshire, Anne Armstrong, William Casey, Jay Lovestone, Eugene Rostow *all* of whom were involved in US public diplomacy with connections to the CSIS or the CIA or other propaganda organisations and projects (Osgood, 1983).

Szabo's collection included Kenneth P. Adler's contribution that outlined the danger that elite-*challenging* as opposed to elite-*directed* activity would give the public a role in specific decision making—rather than a 'choice' between two sets of decision-makers schooled in a *continuity* of values. Adler stated it was written while he was working for the USIA's Office of Research, monitoring attitudes in Europe and that his work drew heavily on Annie Kriegel, who is credited as a research contributor for Haseler and Godson's 1979 work on Eurocommunism. Two other contributors to 'Eurocommunism,' Francois Bourricaud and Kriegel, had connections to the CCF and Raymond Aron. To my mind some of the underlying assumptions of the successor generation are also based on the anti-New Left paranoia-charged work of Jean-Francois Revel or Ronald Inglehart's revised versions of Rostow's modernization theory (Szabo, 1983).

The literature on the successor generation and the official version of events offered by BAP do not tend to view it as a subversive strategy directed against a particular group or undermining the democratic process. Its formation and purpose are detached from wider US political drives and National Security concerns: it is *distanced* as informally helping to maintain and enrich the long-standing relationship between the UK and the US for no real purpose (BAP, 2007). One of the relevant but relatively unexplored aspects of C. Wright Mills' conceptualisation of power elite was its 'unsurfaced' nature. Aspects of this are intimated in the statement by Kenneth Adler that defined the successor generation as "the segment of the general public that is most likely to succeed to positions of power and influence in the near future" (Beckett, 2004). The 'general public' here is disingenuous: we are talking of submerged but *determined* elite formation and reproduction at a specific level. My study of its early members indicates

that the successor generation strategy was aimed at an intervening layer of professional party politicians, military and media commentators *already* close to power.
 Membership of the group would be *determined* as to whether the individual could be predicted or encouraged to follow the broadly pro-US path of the 'Founder Generation' of the post-war Western European political elite, or take a more independent and potentially hostile stance (Beckett, 2004). Together with a raft of exchange projects and other forms of subvention, according to Easton (1997) this swayed a great deal of those who would become key controlling members of an Atlanticist 'New Labour.'

Questions related to debates over the extent to which societies *are* dominated by elites will remain and interpretation and comparative analysis of the data continues to be problematic. Kerbo & Fave (1979) suggested reasons for the modest volume of research: the reality under study is often simply *inaccessible*, and the question is so politically significant that theorists have been influenced by political values rather than by empirical research. No matter how elite status is measured—social class ties, interlocks, unity or influence—not only are persons of elite backgrounds found in key positions far out of proportion to their representation in the population, but, in some cases, for example cabinet posts, they comprise the majority of the incumbents. Clearly discernible patterns of inter-corporate interlock and influence centring around major financial institutions have also been discovered; so have widespread linkages between major corporations and several exclusive clubs, as well as patterns of disproportionate elite input that obtains the ear of government. Gabel & Scheve (2007) maintain that a central question in the study of democratic polities is the extent to which *elite* opinion about policy also shapes *public* opinion. Estimating the impact of elites on mass opinion is found to be difficult because of similar problems of *endogenous* (i.e. state security) reasons. They propose an identification strategy for estimating the causal effect of elite messages employing changes in political institutions as instrumental variables that seems identifiable in the effect of organisations such as BAP in shaping the *social* similarities and the *psychological* affinities of those who occupy the command posts.

I would locate the genesis of BAP with the genesis of the NED. Reagan took the first formal step to create a propaganda bureaucracy in January 1983, by signing NSDD 77, entitled "Management of Public Diplomacy Relative to National Security." One of the significant mentions of the active measures taken to deal with the successor generation came at a meeting motivated by the rising anti-US feeling represented in CND's campaign against the Cruise and Pershing missiles. Reagan, wary of the security of US military bases in Europe and of growing anti-Reagan attitudes, reactivated Cold War networks (Dorril, 1984). The US ambassador to Ireland, Peter H. Dailey who was busy with Iran-Contra, was recalled and tasked with developing a strategy to gain support for the missile deployments as the chairman of the European Public Diplomacy Committee. Lord (1998: 63) described this as "an effort of unprecedented intensity and degree of coordination throughout the U.S. government." The meeting on March 21, 1983 was intended to recruit private sector donors to help to put the subvention at a remove from government. Present at the meeting, according to declassified National Security Council papers, were Reagan, James Goldsmith (*inter alia* an employer of Brian Crozier), Rupert Murdoch and George Gallup as well as the USIA's Charles Z. Wick, who, in the context of the development of the NED, stated that this group was already engaged in something similar (emphasis added):

> [T]he first session with donors and Charlie [Wick] has focused this meeting specifically on our needs in Europe […] I do not know whether the group assembled on March 21 will serve as the core for a large funding effort which could support the "National Endowment for Democracy" or whether the group, by background and interest, will *remain* focused on Europe. The problems of European public opinion, however, are sufficiently great that this is enough of a task to take on at this time. (Easton, 1997: 10)

They intended to promote a pro-US orientation amongst key opinion formers in the UK. Reagan told the meeting that "a special concern will be the successor generations […] who will have to work together on defense and security issues" (Easton, 1997:

10). Two years later in 1985 the first meeting of BAP is said to have taken place and this involved the three members of the IEDSS, Elliot, Christopher Coker and Alan Lee Williams in co-ordinating roles because of their positions running the extant Atlanticist networks. The Project then brought together 24 individuals from the US and 24 from the UK, aged between 28 and 40 who "by virtue of their present accomplishments had given indication that, in the succeeding generation, they would be leaders in their country and perhaps internationally" (Easton, 1997: 10). BAP's Atlanticist successor generation would engage these future leaders of the left and right in a new special relationship in order to shape their thinking and sentiment towards the US.

Implicit in Easton (1997) is that these moves tapped into older establishment anti-left networks: for example, those who had previously worked under the rubric of the CIA's direction in the CCF or the MI6-directed IRD and the British Atlantic Committee or other hives of NATO intellectuals (Saunders, 2004). Easton's account of BAP fits into Oliver North's 'Project Democracy' in that Easton cited US Senate papers submitted to the report of the Congressional Committee investigating the Iran-Contra Affair. Key US personnel in Iran-Contra were involved in earlier work on Europe, and here there is a basic problem with the strategy: how could something as Byzantine as Iran-Contra and another covert propaganda project eradicate memories of Watergate, Vietnam or the Huston Plan? Nevertheless it is possible to argue that the two projects were part of a linked 'multi-pronged' US strategy. The NED played a role in the Iran-Contra affair by funding key components of North's projects that were largely privatized to distance the ruthless aspects of US foreign policy. In 1987 a White House spokesman stated that those at NED "run Project Democracy," with the NED as the public arm of Project Democracy, and North as its covert side (Blum, 2006; *Washington Post*, 1987a; *New York Times*, 1987a).

49. TEAM and the Committee on the Present Danger
Gerald Frost was also part of the European Atlantic Movement (TEAM) with Geoffrey Lee Williams and Alan Lee Williams. TEAM's (2006) events included ones with Stephen Haseler and Jim Donegan (the First Secretary, Political Section, US Embassy). TEAM was openly revealed to have been funded by NATO by Lord Carrington in 1980, with funding also provided to other anti-left groups working within the Labour Party including the 'news service' run by Alan Lee Williams. Lord Brockway was quoted as stating that he found it reprehensible that NATO should be funding a section within a political party that "had been campaigning against its national executive and the left wing" (Gibb, 1980).

The patrons of TEAM include others who can be identified as elements of the IEDSS Atlanticist network. TEAM's founder, John Sewell, was the author of (1981) 'Public affairs and the successor generation: a project report,' published by the European-Atlantic Movement, from which we can glean aspects of the process of political socialization engaged in by TEAM (Szabo, 1983). The term 'Successor Generation' is used to describe attitudes that developed in Western Europe that were not sufficiently committed to the Western Alliance; that encompassed doubt concerning a Soviet attack; reluctance to be defended by the nuclear weapons of others on their own soil, sceptical of appeals for increased defence expenditures, and expressed distrust of the peacefulness and good will of the US. To counter this, educational and public relations efforts were set up including TEAM (Waterman, 1988: 401). Discussions of a successor generation, influenced by Daniel Bell, was said to reflect the belief that members of new political groups have begun a "long march through the institutions," altering the composition of political elites (Dalton, 1987: 976-997). TEAM represents the liberal face of Atlanticism and includes: Stephen Haseler, Lord Healey, Air Vice Marshal Tony Mason, Juliet J. d'A Campbell Professor Harlan Cleveland, Richard Mayne, Lord Rupert Redesdale, Eugene V. Rostow, Lord Templeman and Lord Wallace of Saltaire.

50. Advising Thatcher: 'The Alf Garnett version of History'
To draw this section to a close I will focus on George R. Urban's background and experience as a foreign policy advisor to Margaret Thatcher. He had been

recommended to Thatcher by Charles Douglas-Home and was renowned for his radio interviews, which were transcribed for *Encounter* and often more jingoistic than the Cold Warriors he interviewed (Urban, 1996: 16; Urban, 1976). He also joined the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF) in Geneva, running seminars on the subject of European unity, of which he was an advocate. Urban was also a Heritage Foundation Fellow who felt the Cold War was a "spiritual contest" and that his work in RFE in "surrogate broadcasting" was the "psychological arm" of US foreign policy (Urban, 1991: 1). After the exposure of the CIA funding of the CCF in 1968 Urban moved to Los Angeles as a senior research associate at the University of Southern California (USC). From 1968-1970, with Roger Swearingen, he founded and ran the journal *Studies in Comparative Communism* (*Times*, 1997; Urban, 1986). Here Swearingen ran a propaganda organisation called the Citizens Committee for Peace with Freedom in Vietnam (CCPFV) set up as a front for the Nixon White House to support the war and mount attacks on dissenting academics (Gibbons, 1995: 342). A captain in military intelligence during World War II, in 1954 via USC's School of International Relations, Swearingen created the field of 'Soviet Policy and World Communism,' and in the 1960s he directed the USC's Research Institute on Communist Strategy and Propaganda as editor of *Communist Affairs*. This had been established with a $1 million grant from USC trustee Henry Salvatori: who was a founding stockholder of *National Review* magazine, the chair of the Goldwater's campaign, one of Reagan's early backers, part of the American Security Council's National Strategy Committee and a financial supporter of the Heritage Foundation (Doti, 1995). Swearingen also served as a consultant with the RAND Corporation for 14 years, and the US government and industry (USC, 1997).

Swearingen's (1964) 'The World of Communism,' was published by the American Bar Association's Committee on Education Against Communism. This was led by Morris I. Leibman with the NSIC's Frank R. Barnett (also with Swearingen's CCPFV) as Program Manager. The Committee held events that included: Swearingen, Richard V. Allen, Arleigh Burke, Sidney Hook, Allen Dulles and Gerhart Neimeyer. The same Committee also published Allen's bellicose (1964) 'Peaceful Coexistence: A Communist Blueprint for Victory,' when Allen was with the CSIS, as previously discussed (*American Bar Association Journal*, 1965). Leibman is credited with advising on the founding the CSIS and served on its board till his death in 1992. He was also a director of the NSIC and he assisted David Abshire in dealing with Iran-Contra for Reagan (Abshire, 2002: 2). From 1964 to 1979 Leibman worked as a civilian aide at large to the Secretary of the Army. Both Leibman and Barnett founded the American Bar Association's Standing Committee on Law and National Security with R. Daniel McMichael of the US Steel Corporation (and the Secretary of the Scaife Foundation). The Committee was a focus for a new body of law termed 'national security law' and advised on the government's role in intelligence activities in response to the Church Committee's report. It found new strategies to obviate the conflict between the courts, the legislative branch and the executive in foreign surveillance that fed into the creation of the NED (*Business Wire*, 1992; National Strategy Forum, 2010).

These institutional and organisational ties formed the basis of why during the Reagan-Thatcher era, Urban was part of the inner circle of foreign policy advisers, along with the IEDSS' Leonard Schapiro and John O'Sullivan, who wrote speeches and provided initiatives. Both Urban and the IEDSS' Iain Elliot were also on the board of the Centre for Research into Communist Economies (CRCE) who's propaganda work had much the same tenor as Labedz and Laqueur's *Soviet Survey* with its publication *Communist Economies*, containing similar articles by Soviet academics and dissidents (CRCE, 2011). The CRCE was another organisation set up by Ralph Harris and Antony Fisher.

51. Public Diplomacy: the privatisation of the Cold War
Scott-Smith (2006: 5) describes the US' public diplomacy approach as working with and through the contacts of private institutions to provide a 'neutral' apparatus ostensibly separate from foreign policy directives, to gain greater credibility and legitimacy and appear spontaneous. Such state-private cooperation was gradually

emphasised in the major Cold War legislation allowing for what George Urban referred to as the "privatisation of the Cold War." Such factors led to the creation of a "vast, dynamic network of state and private forces, both overt and covert, to promote the national interest." Coleman (1998) categorised Urban's career at RFE/RL as traversing four periods: in the 1960s he ran its 'intellectual bureau,' drawing on the work of Swearingen; in the 1970s he was a contributing consultant; and in the 1980s he was its director "one of the Reagan people." Finally, in retirement, he returned to consultancy; but throughout his RFE/RL work, Urban was heavily influenced by the policy of the CCF and its 'soldier philosophers.' Tudda (2005) explored RFE/RL in the context of its 'liberation' rhetoric, to find that as with James Burnham, Urban believed that the Cold War was really World War III, and was therefore justified by the exigencies of war, and that Urban's involvement was driven by principle rather than any prospect of a career-promoting international conflagration. For Urban, politicians and diplomats alike suffered from a familiar *deformation professionelle*: their insights into the 'communist mentality' were weak, and were combined with reluctance towards propaganda, because it had acquired pejorative connotations because of *communist and fascist* use of it (Tudda, 2005).

Urban contended that a second enemy other than the Soviets was less visible but more powerful. Influential members of the US and West European Left and "progressivist [sic] American opinion-makers," through "ceaseless sneering, jeering, and outright hostility," were to blame for the appeasement of "the modern world's most complete despotism." For Urban these attitudes also affected RFE/RL staff. After the revelation of CIA funding of RFE/RL and the CCF in 1967, he described "appeasers" moving within RFE/RL who "black-listed or blue-pencilled" broadcasts by Bernard Levin, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, and Lord Chalfont and proposed inviting Soviet bloc officials to the Munich studios to challenge RFE/RL whenever they thought the broadcasts were unfair (Urban, 1997: 1). A basic critique of US public diplomacy is that its message, via the radio networks, like official US policies, encountered complex and hostile receptions in areas *outside* Soviet influence. The tendency amongst those in charge was to believe that if policies are unacceptable to their targets it was because the US has not been sufficiently effective in *selling* the policies (Tuch, 1990: 113). Urban's perception was that *reforms* were instigated by communist 'sleeper' agents within RFE, drawing on his list of editors and researchers with left-wing backgrounds and leanings who he believed to be members of various Eastern intelligence networks (Urban, 1997: 74). Simpson (1988: 135) offered a different appraisal whereby RFE/RL functioned as a recruiting ground for the CIA and that at times material that had been directly created by the Nazis found its way into RFE/RL broadcasts including the use of forgeries on the Soviet's intentions, such as the 'Document on Terror.' For Simpson (1988: 247-248) many of RFE/RL volunteers were willing Nazi collaborators belonging to national committees left untouched by the German defeat and organised from the displaced persons camps. In 1954 the Soviets had exposed 13 such Nazis at RFE/RL.

Coleman (1998) observed Urban's devotion to the occult and esoteric doctrines of Stefan George and his attempts to bring about a "new Reich," and Urban's return to this milieu in retirement. There is an atavistic commonality in many US IEDSS members whereby they were influenced by, or became the amanuenses of certain Austrian, Royalist irrational mystics, drawing a prototype of anti-communist and 'free-market' far-right Conservatism from them. Here I would draw attention to Mills' (1954) prescient observations on the search for a 'Conservative Mood' and Mills (1942c) that discussed a Spengleresque tendency to see rivalry between nations and classes as a conflict between types of personality, with personality itself becoming super-historical and biologically determined.

52. Moral indignation

I will conclude on Urban with a focus on his 1996 account of his time advising Margaret Thatcher that carried on this theme of distrust and disillusionment and drew on diary records, not subject to the Official Secrets Act, because of the unofficial nature of his appointment. Urban stated he first met Thatcher in 1981 with a group of former intelligence officers: Sir Michael Howard (who had written for *Encounter*), Douglas Johnson, Sir Lawrence Martin, Leonard Schapiro, Dennis Mack Smith and Esmond

Johnson, Sir Lawrence Martin, Leonard Schapiro, Dennis Mack Smith and Esmond Wright. They were assembled to prepare Thatcher to meet Reagan and would become her foreign policy advisors, encouraged to write key foreign policy speeches and suggest diplomatic initiatives. At this point Schapiro joined Urban on the IEDSS. Urban complained that this group (and this could also be said of Brian Crozier and the IEDSS) were "conspicuous by their absence" in Thatcher's 1993 memoir (Urban, 1996: 16).

Urban identified elements of xenophobia in the vehemence of Thatcher's attitudes toward Europe and German unification. He found her "wrapped in ideological rectitude of a rather obsessional kind," an inversion of Reagan's famous 1987 Brandenburg Gate injunction to Gorbachev to "tear down this wall" (Urban, 1996: 2). Stone (1996) described Urban's advice to Thatcher as being anti-détente but that he had argued that the Soviet's long-term aim of the de-coupling of Western Europe from the US would be aided by any independent 'Gaullist' foreign policy position. Urban's (1986) assessment of Gorbachev was remarkable for its inaccuracy, predicting he would not undertake economic reforms or take political risks, would not alter foreign policy, withdraw troops from Afghanistan or change Soviet attitudes in arms control talks (Urban, 1986: 17).

The CPS-produced (1988) 'A Year in the Life of Glasnost,' included Urban, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Dominic Levein, Antony Polonsky and Iain Elliot, then an Associate director of Radio Liberty and a leader writer for the *Times*. Urban's contribution portrayed Gorbachev as both Stalinist and Leninist, whereby "Stalin's own perestroika of the 1930s [...] tried to eliminate Russian backwardness by show trials and the knout, Gorbachev is trying to do so by persuasion and a number of Western-style initiatives." UK Socialism (as a whole) is tarred with the same brush as the "Oblomovism and the Russian tradition of coercion." There is no evidence presented to back up the claims in these essays, it largely follows the Heritage Foundation's Aron (1988), Jay (1988) and Tsypkin (1987).

In opposition to his characterisation of socialism as part of a 'tradition of coercion,' Urban's memory of advising Thatcher describes her as a model of broadminded tolerance. Urban's struggle against the Soviets "was about moral values or it was about nothing" and Urban tried to reinforce Thatcher's identification with this and felt that from this position "followed all the practical policies Margaret Thatcher's administration put in train in the international domain between 1979 and 1990" (Urban, 1996: 3). Urban's role in this crusade was to manipulate Thatcher's talent for moral indignation to specific concepts others devised.

Another insight into Urban's use of politician's *deformation professionelle* occurred when the *Times* (1997) reflected that in 1983 under Charles Douglas-Home it had ran three extensive extracts from Urban's *Encounter* conversation with Jeane Kirkpatrick, with Urban more hawkish than Kirkpatrick "urging that America need not make concessions to the Soviet Union but could more openly support dissident movements" (*Times*, 1997). The debate sparked by Kirkpatrick's (1979) 'Dictatorships and Double Standards,' published in *Commentary*, centred around how Kirkpatrick distinguished 'authoritarian' societies from 'totalitarian' societies in her argument that democratic societies were sometimes forced to ally, tactically and temporarily, with the former against the latter. In other words moral indignation can be turned completely off and the power-calculus act alone. In 1983 Kirkpatrick argued that a "steady, prudent encouragement of pluralism, self-expression, self-determination: the infrastructure of democracy," would sway authoritarians devoted to crushing such freedoms. Thus morally exculpated, democracies as she put it, must sometimes make progress unsavoury step by unsavoury step (Kirkpatrick, 1983). Kirkpatrick's ideas were published by the IEDSS, although her support of the Argentine invasion of the Falklands disproved her thesis in the UK. Throughout the US engagement in Central America she continued to fall back on the view that authoritarian governments were preferable to 'totalitarian' governments because they were less repressive internally and less hostile to the interests of Western capitalism. The problem of a perceived double standard probably contributed to the shift towards 'democracy-promotion' in US

standard probably contributed to the shift towards 'democracy promotion' in US foreign policy under the rubric of the NED.

Brown (2008) explored aspects of how a change in the UK's Cold War stance was initiated in 1983, somewhat at odds with the demiurge of the IEDSS and the Heritage Foundation. Brown argued that Thatcher decided to move to greater engagement with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, but distrusted the Foreign Office as an institution, and asked for papers from other outside academic specialists "on whose analyses she placed considerable weight." Brown, a biographer of Gorbachev, and also a Thatcher adviser, added that the absolutist moral component was relative: Gorbachev was then invited to visit Britain in 1984, prior to his becoming Soviet leader. The initiative led to a political relationship that transformed a militantly anti-socialist prime minister into Gorbachev's strongest supporter. For English (2008) the origins of Thatcher's initiative remain mysterious, but she seems to have turned away from the IEDSS' influence to more orthodox advisers within the Chatham House network. So although Thatcher had several IEDSS influences while this decisive turning point took place, Brown's and others' input seemed to have held sway, contending with reluctance from the US. In this account Reagan also seems wary of the Heritage Foundation's indoctrination and also looked to other counsel. Brown (2008) stated that CIA director, William Casey and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger actively worked to block any improvement in US and Soviet relations: even in defiance of Reagan's orders.

53. Conclusion
To conclude I will note that Frost was also a member of the Committee on the Present Danger (CPD). Largely a Conservative organisation, devoted to stiffening American resolve Sanders (1983) documented the initial incarnations of the CPD as engaged in the 'merchandising of fear' in the US, and the organisation has been of service to several administrations since the advent of the Cold War. A mostly Republican blend of a corporate and technocratic elites the CPD dates back to 1940s and it involved key militarist Cold War figures such as Vannevar Bush and James Conant and aimed to form a "vast propaganda machine" under the direction of influential opinion leaders that would be *distanced* from government (Sanders, 1983: 70-73; Rozen, 2004). Sanders also explored the development of conflict between *elected* and *appointed* elites as the Republican's looked to exploit NSC-68 to regain the White House in the 1950s and late 1970s influenced by Eugene Rostow and Frank Barnett the founder of the NSIC in 1962.

Other NSIC founding directors and advisers included the IEDSS' Frank Shakespeare, then chair of the Heritage Foundation and former CIA director William Casey, whom I discussed earlier with Anthony Fisher's and the Mont Pelerin Society's efforts to create a Phantom Academy. Clearly some sort of confluence and common cause is evident here. This is also supported by the fact that Barnett also served as the director of research for the Smith Richardson Foundation (International Relations Center, 1998). The NSIC in turn backed the CPD and the Committee for the Free World, started by Midge Decter at an Israeli government-sponsored conference on terrorism in 1979 (Kelly, 1981). The use of state-sponsored propaganda campaigns was enhanced by the (1979) Jerusalem Conference on International Terrorism organized with the Jonathan Institute and chaired by Lord Chalfont, which I briefly examine in the next section. The Conference became a key node in the formulation of a defining theme that 'international terrorism' constituted an organized political movement whose ultimate origin was in the Soviet Union. This was used to justify the requirement of a worldwide anti-terrorism offensive, involving the Western military intelligence services and the incorporation of think-tank and academic accounts of Soviet involvement in orchestrating the 'international terrorist network.'

The Reagan administration also used militarization to combat a foreign enemy as an elite tactic to deal with social unrest and dissent (Herman & O'Sullivan, 1990: 213-220). To understand the wider network of the NSIC and the CPD, TEAM or BAP they can be viewed within these 'Atlanticist' networks that grew and operated from the late 1940s onwards. Key factors in the analysis highlight: the construction of anti-Communism (and other forms of threat generation such as 'terrorism'), networks of front

organizations, covert intelligence connections, the building of academic respectability for the practice of intelligence, funding and organization via think tanks and foundations, historical connections to organizations such as the CCF and connections to the US and other government-sponsorship.

With the danger of the mass destruction of nuclear war, at no point in history had sound analytical intelligence been more important—and perhaps nothing argues so heavily against its politicization. It drove the concept of the State as something to be preserved by alliance against an offensive ideology but, above all, it drove the construction of what Thompson (1978a; 1979) called the 'Secret State, which was secret not only against the enemy but in its Cold War strategy of defiance, secrecy and deterrence, against its own population because of the Communist 'enemy within.' I look further into the advice and direction offered by the IEDSS in the next section.

In conclusion I would echo Burnet & Thomas (1989: 211-212) in their location of the response by the Thatcher Government to the British Security Service's attempt to destabilize the Wilson Labour Government and other related issues, within a wider context of a "Century of Propaganda." Here the State is the manager of corporate truth with the role to ensure that only the *correct* version of events is disseminated. When the misdeeds of the security services were revealed, it precipitated a crisis concerning the Government's right to disseminate its version of reality, its monopoly on truth, its right to manipulate public opinion, the right to determine the public interest. This 'economy of truth' included outrage when its interpretation of events was rejected or uncovered as propaganda. The 'Secret State' was prompted by the surveillance and covert actions at home—including the operations of the CIA in Britain, Western Europe and the Third World, the increased size of British security services and their brief to keep political activists under surveillance. Cold War institutions like the IEDSS should be considered in terms of their formation and agendas; but not in isolation from the overall development of public diplomacy initiatives. The complex and difficult issue of US manipulation of European politics can be viewed within the socioeconomic intentions of the Marshall Plan and the wider context of strategic and ideological anti-Communism and the greater interests of American capitalism. Scott-Smith (1999) argued that coercive measures in the form of withholding crucial funds and the active collaboration and agreement of key sections of the European corporate and political elites with US intentions ensured that the correct path was followed. Organisations such as the CCF are viewed in the context of the growth of US interest in and application of covert operations towards Europe as part of an overall development of cultural foreign policy: in 1951 the Psychological Strategy Board aimed at coordinating the different branches of the US government bureaucracy behind the propaganda efforts (Lucas, 1996; Long, 2008). The United States Information Agency took over all overt government information programmes with the intention of persuading "foreign peoples that it lies in their own interest to take actions which are also consistent with the national objectives of the United States" (Scott-Smith, 1999: 17).

Section Seven: The Cold War Liberals
This section contributes to the larger study in its examination of the emergence of propaganda-orientated think tanks, publications and foundation-funded networks that influenced the IEDSS and were its direct antecedents. My focus is initially on another IEDSS foreign policy adviser to Thatcher, Leonard Schapiro, and his connections to the Secret Intelligence Services with the IRD in developing the field of 'Sovietology;' and his decades long association with Brian Crozier in setting up the IEDSS' forerunner the Institute for the Study of Conflict (ISC) (*Times*, 1965). Below I establish Hayek's influence on the propaganda orientation of Schapiro and other IEDSS member's 'Sovietology' and with Schapiro's relationship to key anti-Atlanticist Communist networks in the UK and US. I examine the similarity between the ISC and the IEDSS and also draw on the work of Richard Fletcher to compare the IEDSS' activities to those of the Information Research Department (IRD). I then explore the related propaganda activities of the IEDSS' Leopold Labedz with *Encounter* and the Solidarity union, Alun Chalfont with a range lobby groups targeting the left, Stephen Haseler and Douglas Eden in other organizations connected to Crozier's network, such as 'Shield'

or the NAFF that both had an early influence on Thatcher's outlook on subversion. This has a relevance to the thesis by outlining the extent of the propaganda activities and attacks on opponents, how this network was formed and how it was related to larger propaganda projects. The section concludes with recommendations on how think tanks can be studied to include covert elements.

54.' An awful Scandal'

In the UK propaganda networks were formed in response to the developing Cold War environment but they also contributed to *creating* that environment. With the creation of the IRD in 1948 the UK government's initiatives crystalized to engage in anti-communism attuned to the US government's reconstruction of Europe via the formation of the Marshall Plan, the Truman Doctrine and the Office of Policy Co-ordination (Wilford, 1998; Ramsay, 1996). Although instigated by the Atlee Labour government, the IRD's projects drew on right-wing networks that, certainly with Crozier, would elide the anti-Communist mission into an anti-socialist one (Leigh, 1978). One impact of this large-scale bureaucratic development in the UK was the proliferation of a nexus of experts on the newly constituted Soviet threat whose government connections were officially denied. To service the need for anti-Soviet propaganda quasi-autonomous groups grew (with US funding) over decades, largely around Brian Crozier. We can find similarities between the IRD and the IEDSS by noting that according to Smith (1980) the IRD: (1) was a rebuttal and counter-attack of Soviet allegations of UK colonialism (2) produced grey propaganda accenting the theme of dictatorship and 'totalitarianism' via its own publishing arm (3) prepared material to be inserted into the speeches of intelligence-connected ministers as 'pegs' on which to hang various anti-communist propaganda positions (4) had links with the Trades Unions (5) had long-standing links with the *Times* and the primary media operation of providing information to broadcasters and journalists (6) smuggled propaganda in Soviet-controlled areas and (7) had connections to USIA and the CIA. These elements are all discussed below. The comparison also finds echoes in Fletcher's (1982) description of the IRD as engaging in covert intervention in UK domestic politics from its inception together with his observation of the US and UK secret state's joint involvement, although nothing was designed to give the public impression of joint activity, with the US wishing to use native anti-communist propagandists.

In 1940 Schapiro was a supervisor at the BBC monitoring service at Evesham, making studies of Soviet news and information. In 1942 he was recruited into MI5, and moved to the general staff at the War Office in 1945-1946, serving in the intelligence division of the Allied Control Commission for Germany as acting Lieut. Col. These activities and contacts established the foundation of a future academic career as a professional critic of the Soviet regime at the LSE (Shukman, 2004). When Schapiro died RFE/RL announced that from the creation of their services he had exercised an influence on the intellectual formation of their attitudes that constituted a substantial backbone of their understanding of the Communist system's determinants (RAD/Kusin, 1983). As I have noted: at its creation RFE/RL was run by the CIA. Schapiro was also a council member of the Institute for Religion and Communism (known as the Keston Institute). Considered by the KGB to be one of the most dangerous anti-Soviet organisations, the Institute considered itself apolitical, although 'religious' institutions were instrumental in the Cold War (Keston Institute, 2010). Founded in 1969 by the Rev. Canon Dr. Michael Bourdeaux and Sir John Lawrence with the help of Schapiro and Peter Reddaway, Keston's archive is a collection of self-published samizdat literature from the Soviet Union. Michael Bourdeaux wrote for the ISC and Keston has indications of being a MI6-funded operation, receiving publicity in 1985 with the defection of the KGB officer Oleg Gordievsky in 1985, who's tasks included monitoring its activities (Ramsay, 1986; *Sunday Times*, 1985). Reddaway was associated with the Jamestown Foundation, as were several members of Keston which also ran a news service KNS. This ceased in 2003 and cost $300,000 a year according to an estimate in *Christianity Today*; staff then moved to edit *Chechnya Weekly*, published by the Jamestown Foundation: ostensibly a think tank that studies security issues Jamestown was organized by CIA Directors, William J. Casey, R. James Woolsey and the CSIS' Zbigniew Brzezinski and funded by the Smith Richardson Foundations and two of the

Richard Mellon Scaife foundations (Triggs, 2003; Rightweb, 2010a).

55. Sovietology and Hayekian propaganda

The work of Hayek is the provenance for Schapiro's propaganda use of 'totalitarianism' to conflate socialism with the term. The 1945 *Reader's Digest* version of Hayek's 'The Road to Serfdom' stated: "Totalitarianism is the new word that we have adopted to describe the unexpected but nevertheless inseparable manifestation of what in theory we call socialism" (Hayek, 1945: 35). The book asserts without proof that if someone begins as a socialist they will become a Nazi. Yet Hayek's influence is absent from Schapiro's (1972) 'Totalitarianism,' that was published by the IRD's outlet Pall Mall Press. Here Schapiro does note the influence of Carl J. Friedrich's (1954) 'The Unique Character in Totalitarian Society,' and that Friedrich also wrote influential work on totalitarianism developed by Zbigniew Brezezinski, who was Friedrich's student in the 1950s. During the 1945 UK election this type of rhetoric by Hayek was picked up by Churchill to taint the Atlee election campaign. In an election broadcast responding to Harold Laski, Churchill raised Hayek's idea that it would require the powers of a 'Gestapo' to put the ideas of social planning into practice. Attlee criticized Churchill as offering a *second-hand version* of Hayek (meaning spreading propaganda). After Atlee's victory and the first Mont Pelerin meeting in 1947, Hayek further developed the case against socialism by gathering a dozen of his essays into the (1948) 'Individualism and Economic Order,' putting forward the argument that socialism was "inseparably interwoven with Totalitarianism and the abject worship of the State" (Shearmur, 2006). The political use of 'The Road to Serfdom' as propaganda was also evident in the US pictorial version produced by General Motors and *Look* magazine during the war, largely to dissuade US workers from socialism and persuade them that wartime central planning was an anomaly.

Before Schapiro and writers such as Philip Moseley of Columbia and Merle Fainsod of Harvard, outside studies of the Soviet Union had been primarily historical and hampered by the closed nature of Soviet society. Schapiro and his disciples enhanced their political analysis of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and its aftermath by introducing value judgments about the Soviet dictatorship, developing 'totalitarianism,' as the defining concept of 'Sovietology.' This was countered by those who claimed the Soviet Union was on the road to becoming a participatory democracy and that Sovietology as such failed to predict the end of the Soviet empire: no Sovietologist is said to have made an accurate prediction, including the IEDSS' Robert Conquest (Beichman, 1992: 1). With the creation of an expert group of Sovietologists, the participants were highly politicized in their intent but incurious about the provenance of the information that they relayed about the Soviet Union. One common source was the 1941 Smolensk archive; Western scholars had little access to Soviet archives of the Stalin period (Fitzpatrick & Viola, 1990). Engerman (2009: 1) assessed that in 1946 the US had some 20 experts on the Soviet Union and by 1948 the CIA had 38 and quoted the head of the USSR analysis for wartime intelligence, Geroid Tanquary Robinson: "Never did so many know so little about so much;" and Secretary of State William P. Rogers who saw "no line between government and academic work." Engerman also acknowledged secret but well-known CIA subsidies, and that the Smolensk archive, along with a much larger set of official Nazi records, had passed through the US national security apparatus with the materials used by Army and Air Force intelligence, the CIA, and the RAND Corporation. Engerman noted too that Philip Mosely served on the secret White House exercise 'Operation Solarium,' that shaped Eisenhower's defence strategy; the so-called 'New Look' that favoured nuclear deterrence over larger and more expensive conventional forces (Engerman, 2009: 1).

It is important to contextualise Schapiro and the other Sovietologists not just within their own, somewhat disguised allegiances, but as a response within academic debates which they perceived, or feigned to perceive as lacking and slanted. For example, Caldwell (1999) argued that obscurantism permitted communism not just to survive, but to enjoy a certain prestige well into the 1980s. Kelly (1998: 2) argued that just as the Soviets distorted the Russian past, leading Western political historians like Robert Conquest and Richard Pipes were "blown off course" by the ideological winds of the Cold War. The

Sovietologists portrayed the Russian intelligentsia of the 19ᵗʰ century as "an ideologically and psychologically monolithic group [of] misfits fanatically convinced of their own moral rectitude and theoretical correctness" and directly responsible for the monstrosities of Soviet totalitarianism. For Kelly it was only Isaiah Berlin who opposed this reductionist view of Russian intellectual history, and who consistently championed the libertarian humanism characteristic of Russia's best thinkers, insisting on the pluralism of Russian thought.

56. The IRD and ISC

Influenced by Schapiro and the Hayekian totalitarian school, the ISC's charity prospectus stated its driving motivation was the "defence of free industrial societies against totalitarian encroachments" (Ramsay & Dorril, 1986: 9). Schapiro's involvement with the IRD, ISC and particularly the IEDSS is rarely included in biographical material, but with the acknowledgement of these connections Schapiro has a more *integral* role in these organisations' attempts to place anti-Communist propaganda in the media and academia at home and abroad and foster stories of Soviet atrocities and anti-UK plots. Crozier (1994: xvii) summed up his main concern as being the "secret war for people's minds, through "'agents of influence,' front organisations (on both sides of the Iron Curtain) and 'tricks' (some of them 'dirty,' others relatively benign, though deceptive." Even although this was inclusive of a process of exaggeration and falsehood, consideration of this role seems limited within academic research of the period, even although the Soviets had exposed the IRD system of using the press via Crozier's FWF in the 1960s. The IRD carried out its activities through private channels and aimed to ensure that none of its outlets *should* identify the Government as the source, it also maintained the fiction that the UK and USA, unlike the Soviet Union, did not engage in state propaganda (Tidmarsh, 1968).

While chairing the ISC Schapiro was also with the Research Council of the CSIS and produced the (1977) 'Soviet Information Networks,' which had a preface by David Abshire. The IRD's Pall Mall series 'Key Concepts in Political Science' was launched under Schapiro's inspiration and direction (Reddaway, 1984: 537). His early work for the IRD contained titles with themes such as 'Why Communism Must Fail,' and tend to be written with several other intelligence-connected writers 'Détente and Defense: A Reader,' was a concerted attack on détente that included: Melvin R. Laird, Robert Conquest, Brian Crozier, Joseph Godson, Leopold Labedz, Richard Pipes and Edward Shils. Others examples included works with Peter Reddaway, Joseph Godsonand with Roy Godson *and* Joseph Godson, both key figures in US propaganda and psychological operations in the UK. Schapiro contributed to four of the IRD's 'Background Books' and the covertly funded Ampersand's 'Bellman Books' series, wrote extensively for IRD and suggested several authors for potential publication. In the 1950s and 1960s the IRD had formed a centre for anti-Communist academics at the LSE that had an inner circle of professional Cold Warriors which included: Schapiro, Crozier, Conquest, Hugh Seton-Watson, Maurice Cranston, Leopold Labedz and Michael Godwin, all either members of the IEDSS or the ISC or both (Lashmar & Oliver, 1998). Cold War academics were nurtured by the IRD which provided them and favoured journalists with research; or it paid many academics to write articles and books with a directed anti-Communist line: "These chosen few were able to build reputations assisted by material fed to them on a plate" (Lashmar & Oliver, 1998: 120). Lashmar & Oliver (1998: 124) cite the IEDSS' Robert Conquest as an egregious example of this tendency; but Conquest later stated he merely provided "bridging passages" to material supplied by IRD.

However, one of Schapiro's claims illuminates both the function and effect of this cultural apparatus:

> The true object of propaganda is neither to convince nor even to persuade, but to produce a uniform pattern of public utterance in which the first trace of unorthodox thought reveals itself as a jarring dissonance. (O'Leary, 2002)

Thus formulated, in order to be carried out propaganda required the co-operation of writers, teachers and reporters who were not paid *as* propagandists, but *paid* as "free"

intellectuals who would police themselves with liberal practicality: Hayek's second-hand dealers. For those who *were* paid as propagandists, but denied their financial incentive, the cutbacks enforced on the IRD in the1960s encouraged the inner circle towards other sources: this led to the creation of the ISC. MI6 and the Foreign Office were initially approached by Crozier, as were the CIA who initially agreed and then declined. IRD became both a customer for and source of information to the ISC as it stepped into its shoes (Lashmar & Oliver, 1998: 164). A 'private' propaganda organization would have the advantages of apparent objectivity and disinterest in covering areas that state agencies were supposedly restrained from, or wary of being seen to be covering: such as *domestic subversion* and the activities of the UK far left and the Labour Party. This was a gap that the ISC was already in the process of filling.

For Lashmar & Oliver (1998) the effects of the Cold War backing of potential opinion formers to alter the political spectrum on academia was relatively unexplored—*by* academia. In a literature review of IRD material Hugh Wilford is quoted as being critical of Lashmar & Oliver terming their work a popular narrative history of the IRD, flawed by patchy and unreliable citing of sources with judgments lacking subtlety or nuance. Wilford wards off readers and avoids discussion of the ramifications of the IRD along Lashmar & Oliver's lines (Clark, 2007). Other writers hold that Robert Conquest and Schapiro may not have known their work's source (Lucas, 1995; Garton Ash, 2003). Schapiro and Max Beloff are remembered for the zeal with which they pushed the ISC on to academic colleagues: 'anti-communism' was a lucrative profession rather than *solely* some sort of moral crusade (Crozier, 1994: 88). I would argue that it is very difficult to sustain this argument in the light of Schapiro's consistent involvement with so many propaganda operations and figures.

Schapiro had enlisted for MI6 after the death of Stalin in 1953 and was employed to attack the Soviets (*Independent*, 2001). Teacher (2006) maintained that besides its extensive links to MI6, IRD and FWF the ISC also had on its Council senior figures from MI5 and the military intelligence community and that Schapiro was the link, having been a wartime member of MI5 and an adviser to MI6's G. K. Young between 1953 and 1956. Vice-Admiral Sir Louis Le Bailly, Director-General of Intelligence at the MoD (1972-1975) and a member of MI5's recruitment panel served on the ISC Council, as did Sir Edward Peck the former Chairman of the Joint Intelligence Committee (Teacher, 2002: 23). In the IEDSS I would identify a similarity of the top *names* in overseeing intelligence along with their US counterparts: including the Chief of Defence Intelligence in 1984, Air Chief Marshall Sir Michael Armitage who joined the IEDSS Advisory Council in 1990 (Teacher, 2008: 381). But where were the Thatcherite foreign policy think tanks in the late 1970s and 1980s? With Schapiro and Crozier present in the early IEDSS, and the physical proximity of the two organizations and several other continuities previously outlined, I would argue it is accurate to view the IEDSS as a continuation of the propaganda work of the ISC and IRD. After Thatcher's election in 1979, her working meeting at Chequers with MI6 chief 'Dickie' Franks and the '6I' team of Crozier and Nicholas Elliott, continued the UK counter-subversion lobby's smear campaign against the Labour Party through the 1980s. Crozier had been working with Charles Elwell, the former head of MI5's 'F' or Internal Subversion Branch, and with Peter Wright, one of the MI5 officers central to the anti-Labour campaigns of 1974-1976. Elwell had been a major factor in MI5's decision in the mid-1970s to shift operations away from counter-espionage towards counter-subversion, strengthening MI5's role as a political police force. It was Elwell, in his capacity as Assistant Director of MI5, who defined the National Council of Civil Liberties as a "subversive organization" allowing surveillance that generated the scandal after revelations made by Elwell's former subordinate Cathy Massiter in 1985 (Teacher, 2002: 155).

Schapiro's (1978) 'The Soviet Union and Eurocommunism,' or similar work published by the ISC, can be viewed as domestic counter-subversion with once again the Labour Party being portrayed as controlled by the KGB. The denials of knowledge of the orientation and connections of the organisations Schapiro and others participated in can be said to be a tactic of *distancing*. This had facilitated the creation of the ISC and

Schapiro was the first person Crozier approached to start the Institute. Both had been meeting previously to plan it and issued joint press statements from 1965 onwards (*Times*, 1965). But Crozier, *retrospectively*, does seem to regard the founding Council as some kind of a 'façade.' But he argued that Schapiro and the ISC were unaware of only *some* of his private machinations, such as the 6I; and from this perspective we are still left wondering as to what *Schapiro's* interests in working with Crozier were: particularly when, for instance, early on Crozier began to advance ideas which Max Beloff denounced as unacceptably far-right (Crozier, 1994: 88). When the *Times'* Middle-East correspondent, Edward Mortimer charged Crozier with using the ISC experts for propaganda purposes Schapiro came to Crozier's defence and joined in the denunciation of Mortimer as a Soviet fellow traveler (*Times*, 1974c; 1974d). Later Mortimer would also fall foul of the IEDSS' Melvin Lasky when Mortimer described Lasky's denunciation of Robert Fisk's coverage of the Lebanon war as "one of the most irresponsible acts of journalism in our time" (*Times*, 1983b).

There is of course an element of Diderot's *esprit de l'escalier* in Crozier's account. One reading of his version of events is that he was phased out of the ISC as a liability by Schapiro *because* Schapiro had long-standing and more *establishment* connections with MI6. Crozier believed MI6 were informing Schapiro of Crozier's activites. Crozier's account of what happened when the members of the ISC Council finally voiced concern about his activities in 1979 is surprisingly *blasé* that even Lou Le Bailly, a Director-General of Intelligence at the MoD, was unaware of what Crozier was doing (Crozier, 1994: 166-177). What Crozier took to be a 'Great Smear Campaign' orchestrated by the Soviets was more attributable to the disrepute into which the ISC had fallen as its activities were exposed via the revelations and leaks published in *Time Out* (1975). But the focus on Crozier masks the involvement of the government via MI6 with ISC. When Schapiro was made *aware* of Crozier's covert activities, Crozier's account is of Schapiro saying:

> It would be a terrible scandal if your other activities came into the open [...] Especially for our academic members. An awful scandal. Their careers might be ruined. (Crozier, 1994: 170)

This points to a more prosaic version of events whereby the ISC Council did not want to be caught out for what the above statement (from Crozier's memory) seems to acknowledge they were doing: Crozier would taint them with the recycling of propaganda for the money, similar to their previous IRD work. Crozier's portrayal of Schapiro as a 'mastermind' working at the behest of the FCO to bring the ISC under its wing also alleges that Schapiro was a KGB agent. In the event part of the ISC's function was instaurated as the IEDSS using Heritage Foundation money, with its other aspects hived off to the Research Institute for the Study of Terrorism under Paul Wilkinson: all three worked from the same offices in Golden Square (Powerbase, 2009a). The ISC's awkward position can be explained by persistent exposure of Crozier's activities and connections by the left, but also to caution over its intelligence connections by members of the academic and intelligence establishment as Crozier's direction strayed into more aggressive psychological operations.

Dorril (2001: 714) described Schapiro as "another Angleton devotee," meaning the CIA's James Jesus Angleton, who believed that Harold Wilson was a Soviet spy. Dorril observed that Schapiro acted as an adviser to Dick White the head of MI6 and MI5 (1956-1968) and enjoyed an unusual influence over White as a friend from their days in Germany. This does not help in the defence that Shapiro knew nothing about Crozier's connections. Ramsay (1987a) observed that in 1974, Schapiro as an ISC writer was mentioned in Colin Wallace's notes for the 'Clockwork Orange' psychological operation Wallace ran while working for Information Policy: from the context obviously Schapiro is there as some kind of ally in spreading disinformation. This reference in the notes was as a possible conduit for MI5 misinformation, or as a possible contributor to Clockwork Orange, or as a possible recipient of its output. The theme of the operation was MI5's claim that the Labour Party of 1974 was under the influence of the Soviet Union and to establish that: "Civil unrest, political violence and industrial disputes in Britain [were] engineered by the Soviet Union through Labour

Party activists and left-wing organizations" (Ramsay, 1987a). Wallace also named the IEDSS' Stephen Haseler as a suitable recipient for the propaganda material (Ramsay & Dorril, 1986: 20).

The early 1970s propagandists and privateers in the IRD, Information Policy and the ISC were offered something of a gold rush judging by a letter written by Principal Private Secretary, Robert Armstrong to the Home Office (emphasis added):

> The discrediting of the IRA will require the immediate injection of a considerable number of additional staff. The prime minister [Heath] would like to see the place flooded with them, taken from Whitehall, the Central Office of Information or *wherever available*; and above all we should get hold of those who are experienced in psychological warfare and *give them their head*. (Thomson, 2010)

Crozier's activism arose while working for the CCF and IRD in 1960s: he felt that existing institutes and research centres were either too academic, or too neutral to counter any Soviet strategy of takeover by *non-military* means, such as subversion and terrorism. Despite having a close association with two of its directors, Alistair Buchan and François Duchene, he also felt a dissatisfaction that the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) had also become too neutralist. Crozier's idea, with Schapiro, was to develop a research centre that would draw attention to his belief that the Soviet Union was behind a strategy of an "ever-widening range of groups and forces bringing violence, chaos and disruption into our societies," not unlike the Clockwork Orange project (Crozier, 1994: 86). To progress his cause he contacted his CIA contacts and offered to re-use FWF material, based on his press cuttings and library. He then consulted with his friend (US ambassador to the UK from 1956-1961) Jock Whitney, who had been present at a 1965 meeting concerning Crozier's development of his work for the CCF that led to the setting up of Forum World Features (FWF) (Crozier, 1994: 86-89). The ISC began in 1970 while Crozier was still in charge of FWF, it was: "Run with the knowledge and co-operation of British intelligence" according to a (1968) memo by CIA Director Richard Helms (Teacher, 2002: 69). Apart from funds from Shell and BP, the new ISC was supported by US corporations, the US National Strategy Information Centre (NSIC) and with leftover FWF money. The NSIC, which I previously discussed, was supported by the Mellon family, heirs of the Gulf Oil fortune, and continued this connection with the IEDSS. Richard Mellon Scaife took over ownership of FWF from John Hay Whitney, who was once titular controller of the CIA-run FWF; according to Church Committee sources, the ISC received three-fourths of its funds from the CIA. When the Heritage *Foundation* was set up it also funded the ISC (Weir & Bloch, 1979: 14).

Crozier (1994: 64) stated that Melvin Lasky had been present when FWF was first organised with the CIA. Here Crozier was informed that most of the propaganda material he would be running was to be supplied by Leopold Labedz who would also join the IEDSS. The elaborate process was to plant US propaganda in the foreign press that could then be used in the US media to circumvent the prohibition on domestic propaganda (Crozier, 1994: 71). The others present at this meeting were Jock Whitney's financial adviser, Samuel C. Park, R. Gene Gately, a full-time CIA official who served as corporate treasurer and vice president of FWF (Ramsay & Dorril, 1986) and Murray Mindlin, a company secretary of FWF who had been a shareholder of the original CCF-backed Forum Information Service, and became secretary of Pall Mall Publications (then owned by Frederick Praeger in the US with extensive publishing links to CIA). This was a front for a number of CIA books and publications (Ramsay & Dorril, 1986). Praeger also published most of the productions of the IEDSS. If, as I noted earlier, the Pall Mall series was launched under Schapiro's inspiration and direction, and given that Schapiro worked at the CIA-linked CSIS, the notion of innocence in matters concerning covert operations again begins to dissolve. Lucas (2005) asserts that this type of covert activity was continuous in Schapiro's career, that he published books and articles with the intelligence service's private publisher Ampersand, based on information passed to them by Government contacts.

Ramsay & Dorril (1986) describe the ISC, although nominally an independent semi-academic body with a governing council, as a UK intelligence operation under 'light cover.' Aside from the backgrounds of those involved, the links ISC quickly established with the South African state, the UK police establishment and the UK Army are also similar to the IEDSS' connections discussed below. Herman and O'Sullivan (1989) also maintained that the ISC provided a well-documented case of the use of a purportedly independent institute used as a front for propaganda operations of hidden intelligence agency and corporate sponsors. They argued that in 1968, and again in the mid-1970s, Crozier was revealed in the UK press to have been an agent of UK and US intelligence, and to have served secretly as a propaganda conduit for the South African intelligence, and to have colluded with UK firms and trade associations in a campaign to smear trade unions with the taint of subversion—based on the files of discredited right-wing organizations whose materials only took on respectability when laundered through ISC (Herman & O'Sullivan, 1989: 109). Yet this did not in any way discredit Crozier as a Western expert—similarly his involvement in the IEDSS went unobserved.

I will conclude by observing that for Lays (2006) academic study of the effects of this Cold War nexus tends to be conducted in a manner that precludes the more covert influence on policy making. Leys (2006: 14) states that Denham and Garnett, described as the "foremost academic experts on think tanks in Britain," made no effort to analyze the sources of think tank's funding and the effects of this on what they produce. In their examinations of think tanks, Stone; Denham & Garnett (1998) and McGann & Weaver (2000) contain no discussion of the IEDSS and a very limited appraisal of the impact of the Heritage Foundation's and other organizations, such as the CSIS' on the UK's think tanks in the 1980s; how this overlapped with US Public Diplomacy attempts to influence UK politics, or how this related to fostering an ideologically remodeled Successor Generation.

Analysis of think tanks could be developed by the inclusion of an understanding of the processes of how covert influences occur within state bureaucracies, inclusive of *covert* state bureaucracies such as IRD, with its attempts to control independent policy advice and mass persuasion. If, as Schapiro stated in O'Leary (2002), the object of propaganda was to produce a uniform pattern of public information to reify unorthodox thought into a jarring dissonance, then what is accepted as 'straightforward' must be investigated as ideologically *constructed*, particularly when the subject concerns the national security state. If this is not undertaken then a further level of untruth beyond lies, distortions or the tendentious selection of facts to suit an agenda effectively holds sway. A discourse about reality is produced: but the terms of debate are settled in advance with thought proceeding along officially designated channels. My contention is that we also witness a concomitant situation in academic bureaucracies that concerns the system of production of expertise composed of government agencies, think-tanks, private security firms, universities and the press, that produces specific forms of discourse about security largely for the benefit of the national security state and its ancillary institutions.

The concept of secrecy is itself sublimated within official bureaucracy: a fanaticism connoted by 'crackpot realism' as defined by C. Wright Mills under the influence of Veblen. Mills' approach to elite networks developed a deeper theoretical understanding of their controlling influences on policy which he and others—in a revival of the sociology of knowledge—extended to include academic research itself: how it was disseminated and what it permitted. Schapiro's development of the Hayekian concept of 'totalitarianism,' and his work with the IRD and ISC goes in the opposite direction to this.

A deeper analysis might return to three themes: (1) knowledge as intelligence-led but guiding the intelligence field (2) the *apparently* informal inter-mediation of various Cold War paradigms and elaborate dogmatism through quasi-covert advocacy coalitions (3) the roots of propagandization as a feature of neoliberal economics and various political imperatives or circumscribed 'crises' surrounding security and defence issues. My enquiry aims to add to the literature that includes the role of the secret state in the policy process, via its *use* of think tanks in the social construction of propaganda aimed at specific targets and the secret state's wider manipulation of academia and the media

at specific targets and the secret state's wider manipulation of academia and the media and public opinion. What can be identified are a subversion, vitiation and obviation of the concept of democratic participation that relates to the oversight of the contemporary security environment.

57. The Chorus and Cassandra

To develop a critique of the IEDSS it can be seen as an ideological outlet, and as part of a State-private network. Its historical, political and cultural context can be seen in relation to both British and trans-Atlantic spheres and to state and private domains and as has been shown, several figures demonstrate key propaganda roles which include membership of covertly funded organisations which engaged in support aimed at subversion of the Soviet Union and its areas of influence and alternatively, attacks on dissent in the UK. Leopold Labedz was an activist and propagandist with the Polish group Komitet Obrony Robotnicza (KOR) and the founder and editor of *Survey* that was published in co-operation with the IEDSS. His connections to the CCF were as part of an inner circle of the IRD's anti-Soviet propagandists opposing détente. Below I focus on these elements and on his work as editor of *Encounter*, specifically on his attacks on Noam Chomsky and his support for the Committee for the Free World.

Labedz headed the London office of KOR, the inspiration for the Solidarity union as the first major anti-Communist civic group in Poland. Emerging from a government crackdown in June 1976, KOR's purpose was to stimulate new centers of autonomous activity (Ekiert & Kubik, 2000). Another prominent KOR member who acted as a spokesman and representative was the philosopher Leszek Kolakowski, also with Labedz in the Committee for the Free World, discussed below. Because of its connections in the West, KOR competed successfully for resources and established clandestine cooperation with Western allies to prepare many Polish activists for the "democratic transition" (Ekiert & Kubik, 2000: 45). Donations took various forms, ranging from official grants, honoraria and royalties for texts published in Western journals or interviews granted to Western news organizations. After the de-legalisation of Solidarity in December 1981 Western assistance intensified. Both the White House and the CIA preferred to remain in the shadows, allowing other organizations to plan and execute the assistance programs, including the AFL-CIO, led by Lane Kirkland. The scope of this support is still not fully assessed. Ekiert & Kubik (2000) estimated that the CIA spent about $8m in 1982-1983 alone on assisting Solidarity, and that in 1989 the NED, through the International Rescue Committee in New York, allocated $1m. KOR raised money through sale of its underground publications, fund-raising groups in Paris and London, and grants from Western institutions (Lipski, 1985). In the literature review I traced some of this funding as stemming from the Heritage Foundation. It was from the London centre of KOR and Solidarity that Labedz and other IEDSS members organised support for anti-Soviet activities. Labedz & Lasky (1989: 1) had a forward by Brzezinski, who reiterated his thesis on 'totalitarianism,' based on Hayek's, and stated that Lebedz believed that German National Socialism and Soviet Communism were manifestations of the same totalitarianism: a thesis termed 'comparative totalitarianism' by Brzezinski. Much of the exegesis and opposition to totalitarianism was again predicated on its *irreversible* nature.

Gates (1997) revealed that in the mid-1970s, when he worked at the CIA's covert action staff three priorities were proposed: (1) enhanced clandestine distribution of Russian-language books and periodicals by dissident authors and of samizdat writings by authors in the USSR (2) a book publishing program with subsidies to East European-oriented journals to be distributed in East Europe (3) a minorities program to infiltrate written materials in diverse ethnic regions of the USSR, mostly the Ukraine. In 1976, after the Helsinki Human Rights conference, KOR was funded by the CIA largely to carry out these objectives. Here the Soviets made a historic miscalculation in signing an agreement that enabled the CIA to stimulate dissident activity in Eastern Europe and influence what the human rights monitoring groups reported. This had the cumulative effect of causing dissidence to spread and to be framed as a uniquely Soviet problem (Gates, 1997: 613-615).

58. *Survey* and the CCF

The founder of the periodical *Survey: A Journal of East and West Studies*, Walter Laqueur hired Labedz as his editorial assistant in 1955 and would later move to the CSIS while from 1962 to 1989 Labedz edited *Survey*. Initially a small four-page newsletter about cultural developments in the Soviet Union after the death of Stalin, it developed under the umbrella of the CCF (*New York Times*, 1993). In 1990, at the time of the IEDSS, Labedz was also one of the founders of the *Journal of Democracy*, a branch of the NED's International Forum for Democratic Studies (*Journal of Democracy*, 1993). The first issue featured Leszek Kolakowski and Vladimir Bukovsky and the magazine was funded, via the NED, by the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation (with initial funding from the John M. Olin Foundation specifically to promote the work of Seymour Martin Lipset). The funding was $100,000 each year from 1989-2004, and was overseen by the NED's Carl Gershman. Including conferences, the funding amounted to over $2m (Media Transparency, 2007b). The editors were the NED's Larry Diamond and Mark F. Plattner, also with the Hoover Institution and USAID (Lowe, 2008).

Labedz also wrote with George Urban, producing work based on radio discussions on RFE/RL, with Urban also acting as an editor of *Survey*. Labedz's (1989) 'The Use and Abuse of Sovietology,' somewhat similar to Urban's work, gathered essays that appeared in both *Encounter* and *Survey* (Campbell, 1989). The work was also noted for its outspoken criticisms that some have stated were lacking in balance and now appear more like propaganda positions (Suny, 2006). They had a general focus on the New Left and its attendant criticism of the Cold War, but also included remarks concerning figures such as Isaac Deutscher and E. H. Carr, whose dictum—"Before you study the history, study the historian. Before you study the historian, study his historical and social environment"—is apt in assessing Labedz's "posthumous all-out attacks on Carr's intellect and character, disguised as reviews" (Emmons, 2000: 3). Brumberg (1993: 1) defined the function of *Survey* as "flailing mercilessly anyone whom the editor considered to be taken in by the Soviet myth." Despite this pattern and network involvement, Brumberg failed to deduce that Labedz's activities provide evidence for his role in the intelligence-funded propaganda world. Instead Brumberg understated the effects of Labedz's influence, overstated the voracity of his sources and avoided mention of propaganda and disinformation.

According to Shils & Epstein (1997: 59-63) during World War II, Labedz worked in a hospital reserved for high-ranking Soviet officials who were occupying Poland, becoming friendly with a former speechwriter for Stalin who told Labedz about life inside of the Kremlin. Labedz had access to specific Soviet libraries (this is where he supposedly read Deutscher's apologia for Stalin). But the provenance of these stories of inside knowledge was Labedz, who was well known for such embroidery. At the LSE he was a regular attendant at the IEDSS' Leonard Schapiro's seminars on Soviet Studies (Shils & Epstein, 1997). Here, Labedz became part of the inner circle of IRD's anti-soviet propagandists (Lashmar & Oliver, 1998: 124). But according to Shils & Epstein (1997: 160) some mystery existed as to how Labedz earned money in the UK. In their opinion the FO and MoD did not *indicate* any interest in Labedz "or, if they did, he and they communicated so secretly that one never heard of it." Both Shils and Epstein knew that from the late 1950s onwards the CCF employed Labedz, although they add that he possessed a "transparent integrity," a coded reference to some form of subvention. The financial situation had been different in the US thanks to Labedz's friendship with Richard Perle, at that time an adviser to Senator Henry Jackson, who also had Labedz testify before the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee together with the IEDSS' Robert Conquest (Shils & Epstein, 1997: 162). Labedz also became a confidant of Gen. Edwin Rowny (a Polish-American and Reagan's chief strategic negotiator in the SALT talks) of Melvin Lasky (also with the IEDSS) the editor of *Encounter*, and Michael Josselson and Lionel Bloch, also key CCF figures.

Coleman (1999: 1) mentioned that Labedz was involved with the forerunner of the CCF, the International Association for Cultural Freedom (IACF), as part of a phalanx of editors, with *Survey* described as one of the splendors of the CCF. But in a 1970 IACF meeting, chaired by Alan Bullock, Labedz complained that the IACF would not

face the facts of its failures: there had been no 'end of ideology.' Instead, there had been a long march through the institutions "destroying the universities, cultural life, and appeasing the Soviet Union, and no answer to the barbarism of the New Left." For Coleman the CCF was a worldwide network publishing many of the most independent writers of the day. Another evaluation might draw attention to who and what these magazines *did not* publish and who they aimed to destroy. These were doubtless eminent writers, but the problem is their putative *independence* and intellectual freedom: their hidden dependence on state sanction, briefing and subsidy. Many of them fell prey to, or were used to bolster a propagandistic or confused and biased *political* orientation. These writers are by no means identical but in my opinion some, Daniel Bell and Shils for example, assumed an imperious inerrancy that simply avoided the realities of US and UK foreign and domestic policy. Some writers may have had an innocent lack of knowledge of the CCF's receipt of CIA funds; many willingly worked at the behest of the intelligence agencies: directly as they had done during the war or later through elements such as the CSIS; or they had an ideological sympathy or desire to participate in groupings as *agent provocateurs*; or a desire to silence a wider debate and an enmity towards former colleagues. Nevertheless a basic criticism is how confined and closed to outside opinion these groupings were, how self-reinforcing in so many respects.

In the chapter on Leonard Schapiro I established that most of the propaganda material for Crozier's CIA-backed propaganda news service FWF was supplied by Labedz (Crozier, 1994: 71). Shils & Epstein (1997: 162) described him as an assiduous collector of information, with "an insatiable drive to absorb the content of any printed surface," so as to turn this talent towards vituperative attacks on the left. According to Laqueur (1997: 244) Labedz had an amazing depth and breadth of knowledge yet he never wrote a book. He tended to edit collections with Laqueur published by Praeger. Saunders (1999: 244) challenges the view of the CCF's anti-Communists as objective, literary *artists* in stating that Frederick Preager was a *propagandist* for the US military government in West Germany who published numerous volumes in which the CIA had an interest, either in the writing, the publication itself, or the distribution. Labedz is named in this context and Praeger quoted that he was reimbursed for the expenses of publication, or guaranteed, usually through a Foundation, the purchase of enough copies to make the venture worthwhile. Mahl (2003: 162) alleges that Laqueur and Labedz's (1961) 'The Future of Communist Society,' again published by Praeger, was a reprint of a special issue of a CIA periodical also called *Survey*.

59. *Encounter*

Labedz & Lasky (1989) contained numerous attacks: one, previously printed in *Encounter* in 1980—similar to Frost's attack on E. P. Thompson—formed part of a concerted attack on Noam Chomsky that tried to make any defence against its accusations seem an aberration. Labedz unmasked Chomsky as a deluded propagandist attempting to deny that massacres occurred in Cambodia: thus showing his true nature as a supporter of tyranny (Barsky, 2007: 101). Chomsky is quoted as saying that Labedz's article was contemporary propaganda aimed at reconstructing the imperial ideology. Labedz's assertions are dependent on sources from other CCF-funded magazines including *Quadrant* and the former editor of *Ramparts*, David Horowitz, now devoted to 'anti-Chomskyism.' The CCF's Alan Bullock (1983) also continued the attacks in his 'Dictionary of Modern Thought,' insisting that Chomsky had forfeited authority as a political commentator by a series of ill-judged polemics minimizing the atrocities in Cambodia and the Jewish Holocaust. No other writer's profile was given a comparable critique. Hitchens (1985) traced the dictionary entry to Geoffrey Sampson:

> In a 1985 article in *The New Criterion*, Sampson made an equally false claim about threats of legal action against his person from Chomsky, succeeded in convincing only its editor, the too-credulous Hilton Kramer, and the undiscriminating Martin Peretz, of *The New Republic*, of his veracity, was made to apologize by Cockburn, and, as I said, disappeared like breath off a razor blade. (Hitchens, 1985)

Hitchens outlined this concerted effort to misrepresent Chomsky in the press as

involving: David Horowitz and Peter Collier in the *Washington Post*; Maurice Cranston, in the *Times Literary Supplement*; Fred Barnes, in the *New Republic*; Richard West in the *Spectator* and others. Hitchens attributed this to an "academy and the wealthy new batch of think tanks […] awash with people who collude, at least passively, in a process of imposed national unanimity, involving a well-cultivated awareness of enemies within [and a] strong draft of amnesia." Hitchens closed with a quote from C. Wright Mills. There is no citation given and Hitchens incongruously added that neither Mills, or Chomsky, anticipated the world of the Heritage Foundation and Kissinger Associates, of "numberless power-worshipping, power-seeking magazines and institutes interlocking across the dissemination of culture, priority, information, and opinion" (Hitchens, 1985: 1). Clearly Hitchens had not read Mills (1943a) or the essays on the Cultural Apparatus.

For Labedz in *Encounter,* Chomsky, like the Communists, had "sympathisers" who defended him despite the fact that his sanity, his "intellectual hygiene," was questionable. Labedz bluntly conflated Chomsky with apologists for Stalin, and excused his lack of evidence on the basis that it would simply take too long to "unravel his faults," something of an anomaly for someone of such prolixity. *En passant Encounter* is excused for completely ignoring contemporary events in East Timor and the IEDSS' Robert Conquest's opinions in the *Daily Telegraph* are offered as a substitute for Chomsky's, that are more attuned to the 'free World.' I turn now to close on Labedz's role in instigating political action committees.

60. The Committees for the Free World

Labedz appears on the Board of Directors of the Committee for the Free World (CFW), founded in 1981 by Midge Decter, that garnered funding from three of the large right-wing Foundations: Scaife, John M. Olin, and Smith Richardson, amongst others (Media Transparency, 2007c). Decter (2001) traced the origins of the group to Labedz. Her husband, Norman Podhoretz's (1980) 'The Present Danger,' was a call to expunge the dictum of the US being morally wrong in Vietnam; and warned of the 'Finlandization' of the US (including the Soviet seizure and control of oil fields). The phrase found an echo in a great deal of the IEDSS' output whereby a concern with the deterioration of US forces, was contrasted with a Soviet buildup: this was the *present danger* that influenced the Committee. I would argue the Committee was another aspect of the US government's reactivation of the Cold War under Charles Wick's 'Project Truth,' and represents the formation of a propaganda project made up of small supposedly independent groups. Other directors included: Lord Chalfont; Carl Gershman the president of the NED, also with the *Journal of Democracy*; James Goldsmith; Paul Johnson; Jeane Kirkpatrick; Leszek Kolakowski; Hilton Kramer from *The New Criterion*; Melvin Lasky from *Encounter*, Seymour Martin Lipset; Edward Shils; Tom Stoppard; Lord Thomas, then with the CPS and an IEDSS writerand George Urban (Vaïsse, 2010). These were mostly from the groups gathered around *Dissent*, *Commentary* and the CCF, together with IEDSS members. Although the activities of the CPD gained fairly wide attention, the extent of these small groups is still relatively obscure. Vaïsse (2010: 136) stated that the CPD's role has been underestimated, but made no mention of Labedz.

If I return to Gates' (1997: 613-615) assertions on the use of human rights by the CIA I would also observe publications such as the *Ukrainian Weekly* (1980), published in the US, that outlined a New York-based "governmental Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe," that entailed a week-long programme of the: "Ad Hoc Citizens Committee for the Madrid-Helsinki Review Meeting," co-ordinated by Allen Weinstein, to look for human rights violations in the Soviet Union. Speakers included Labedz, Norman Prodhoretz, Leonard R. Sussman, Kenneth Adelman, Carl Greshman, Lord Chalfont, Winston S. Churchill, Vladimir Bukovsky and Leszek Kolakowski; much the same CPD group as above. This was sponsored by the AFL-CIO, Freedom House, the League for Industrial Democracy, the Philip Randolph Institute, the CPD, the Committee for the Free World and other unspecified Foundations (*Ukrainian Weekly*, 1980). This is an early attempt at using 'democracy building' via a proto-NED like structure and the NED funding organizations like the League for Industrial Democracy

to replace long-standing CIA subvention (Rightweb, 2010b).

In 1985 the similar Committee for the Free World (CFW) attempted to maintain the network's intransigent stance with a two-day conference around the subject of the Reagan-Gorbachev summit meeting in Geneva. The argument put forward was that Reagan had failed to translate their anti-Communist rhetoric into a hard line strategy of 'roll back' together with criticism of any attempt to negotiate with the Soviets. Speakers at the conference advocated the SDI and included: Harvard Sovietologist Richard Pipes, Michael Ledeen, Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle, and Asst. Secretary of State Elliott Abrams, and Conservative critics Irving Kristol and Norman Podhoretz (Rightweb, 2010b). Elliott Abrams (related by marriage to Podhoretz and Decter) was head of the Reagan government's monitoring of 'Human rights,' until caught up in the Iran-Contra affair (Sklar & Berlet, 1991). In 1987 the CFW proclaimed that it would continue to turn a deaf ear to any cries for the end of the perpetual war and:

> [W]arned the nation that "never have we been more beset by tempters" such as the "shrewd and formidable" Mikhail Gorbachev. "But most pernicious of all," the Committee cautioned, "is our tendency to blame ourselves for whatever goes wrong in the world. There are people among us, journalists and politicians, professors and clergymen, who try to tell us that this tendency reflects a higher moral spirit. We must more than anything else learn not to listen to them." (Jumonville, 1990: 233)

The "hard-line affirmers" connected to the CFW launched the *National Interest* as a forum for their foreign policy views and the *New Criterion* to denounce anti-US radicalism and "insufficiently optimistic literary critics and novelists" (Jumonville, 1990: 233). Those endorsing the work of CFW included Roy Godson (then with NSIC), Edwin Feulner, Arnaud de Borchgrave, Ray Cline, Irving Kristol (then with Basic Books and managing editor of *Commentary* magazine), Richard V. Allen and Michael Ledeen. It is important to observe that these groups worked in an environment where, by 1982, the management of US foreign policy was still an unsettled matter. For the increasingly far-right, the Reagan revolution they envisioned was faltering, hence the Committee's 1982 conference on the 'Transatlantic crisis,' shifting the agenda away from internal power struggles to "European neutralism and anti-Americanism" (*Economist*, 1982).

In conclusion I will observe that the CFW's Kolakowski, who worked with Labedz in KOR, was the author of an impressive three-volume study on Marxism and the recipient of E. P. Thompson's open letter in the late 1970s, with the *debate* that followed comprising most of Thompson (1978). In contrast Labedz's work was the product of subsidized efforts to control and shut down the intellectual debate over Marx's work. Enquiry along the lines posed by Marx was warded off and stigmatized. If, like Mills and Thompson, we choose to retain Marx in the classic tradition in sociology, then understanding and debate of problems such as how we relate these propaganda networks to *capitalism* can be progressed further than how capitalism can be understood as a social system *without* the aid of Marx's influence on social science. Capitalism's elite's cultural apparatus and the sponsored intellectuals within it clearly avoided such a debate. For Mills (1954: 429) arguments, which in the discourse of one group or epoch were accepted as valid, will not be so received in others. That which was long meditated upon will one day be brushed aside as illogical: "Problems set by one logic are, with a change in interests, outgrown, not solved." For Mills this was part of a general Cold War liberal malaise. As a critique Mills (1953: 192-193) made numerous points; one in particular was that for the Cold War Liberals, tied in with their belief in the growth of the individual as the seat of substantive rationality, was the belief in the *explicitness* of authority: as individuals or as groups of individuals, we could learn to know who exercised power and so could debate or obey. But today, one of the crucial political problems "for experts," as for laymen, is to locate exactly who has the power.

61. Tightly-knit groups
Below I will focus on Lord Chalfont (Alun Gwynne Jones) and other IEDSS

member's, such as Baroness Cox's use of propaganda in attacking CND, attempts to control media representation with a Media Monitoring Unit, and the IEDSS network's role in directing public opinion by the use of front groups that formed a cultural apparatus that defended the 'crackpot realism' of the Cold War's nuclear policy. I also examine the significance of the Jerusalem Conference on International Terrorism in 1979 for the IEDSS. For Chalfont in 1971, military technology was out of control "the most unstable and dangerous situation one can imagine." Here, too, Chalfont countenanced unilateral nuclear disarmament, arguing that European-based nuclear forces were madness (Chalfont, 1966; *New Scientist*, 1971). These positions would be overturned by the time of his involvement with the IEDSS.

In the 1980s Chalfont's front groups included the Freedom in Sport Association campaign that urged tours of South Africa to counter the anti-apartheid movement and the Foreign Affairs Research Institute (FARI) that were both subsequently exposed as South African intelligence fronts. Chalfont was the president of the Committee for a Free Britain, which spent £ 210,000 on anti-Labour Party advertising during the 1987 election campaign (Fox, 1982; *Times*, 1982a; *Times*, 1982b; *Guardian*, 1993b). As the IEDSS started to develop the Committee on the Free World (CFW) was also set up in London in February 1981, by those who saw: "Western democracy and civilization as threatened by totalitarianism of the left" (*Times*, 1981c). The CFW was launched with a supportive leader column in the *Times* (1981c) titled 'In Defence of Western Values,' which cautioned it to "avoid being regarded as a right wing pressure group." The initial launch group saw Chalfont quoting James Goldsmith on bias in the media and included: Hugh Seton-Watson, Lord Blake, Tom Stoppard, Lord Bullock, Max Beloff, Huw Wheldon, Neville Sandelson, Mike Thomas of the Council for Social Democracy and Frank Chapple; Chalfont stated that he had wanted to approach Shirley Williams and Dennis Healey (Bradley, 1981).

Chalfont would organise a CFW London (1985) conference, 'Beyond 1984,' on the confrontation between Communism and Liberal democracy, said to be the idea of Republican lawyer, Murray Baron (Young, 1985). The *Guardian* (1985) observed that at the CFW's London conference the fight was led by Richard Perle, then the US Assistant Secretary of Defence, who branded Sir Geoffrey Howe's reservations on 'Star Wars' as "shallow and ignorant as well as wrong," with similarly intransigent back-up in the US by Norman Podhoretz, Richard Pipes, Irving Kristol and Elie Kedourie who was also mentoring the IEDSS as I have stated. The only reporting of the event focussed on Perle's *trahison des clercs* attack on Sir Geoffrey Howe's questioning of Reagan's SDI project, and Perle's declaration that he found it absurd that the US would ever return to détente. These utterances prompted a supportive *Times* leader when Charles Douglas-Home was editor that was subsequently censured for its bias towards SDI (*Times*, 1985f).

I would identify previous overlaps with the IEDSS' network in 1983, when the CFW group organised a $22,000 full-page newspaper advertisement with signatories including: Lord George Brown, Leopold Labedz, Luigi Barzini, Melvin Lasky and Tom Stoppard. This had the clear propaganda purpose of announcing that the US invasion of Grenada had heartened Europeans and voiced regret for the accidents and errors of diplomacy surrounding the invasion (*New York Times*, 1983b). The launch of the CFW in London was matched by one in New York, lead by Jeane Kirkpatrick, who announced she was suspending her *formal* association with it because of her new post in Reagan government (*Associated Press*, 1981). Similarly distanced initial financial support of $125,000 to the CFW came from the Scaife Foundation, the John M. Olin Foundation and the Smith Richardson Foundation (*New York Times*, 1981b).

According to the *Times* (1985) the CFW, led by Chalfont, was used to attack groups such as Oxfam, arguing it should have forfeited its charitable status because of its pamphlet 'The Arms Race Kills.' According to Chalfont, Oxfam was "not only political, but concerned to advance a particular attitude: one hostile to western armaments but congenial to Soviet expansion" (*Times*, 1985d). The CFW's conference included Brian Crozier and Baroness Cox and advanced a set of familiar proposals to

solve the perceived problem of a Soviet conspiracy:

> What is to be done then? The assembled academics failed to agree on a joint programme. Lord Weidenfeld wanted a 'new patriotism, transcending borders.' Lady Cox wanted Nato to set aside one per cent of the budget for 'psychological defence' against subversion in schools and colleges. Someone called for 'tightly-knit groups of politically motivated men' to combat subversive ideas, preferably financed by the USA. (*Guardian*, 1985)

The phrase 'tightly-knit groups etc.' was provided by MI5 for Harold Wilson to smear the organisers of a seamen's strike in the late 1960s. Then this betokened KGB subversion, here it is advocated as a strategy (Norton-Taylor, 2009). These attacks on dissent are coupled with a boost for the activities of propagandists. The levels of paranoia and hysteria that these groups aimed to engender was still evident when, even in 1990, at a conference in Prague, Baroness Cox outlined her concerns that Communists had destroyed the very fabric of UK society "the moral legitimacy of British society has been undermined by Marxists in key institutions, particularly educational establishments […] Universities, schools and training colleges have all suffered." The social sciences and history had been "particularly infected." The Church too, was ideologically suspect: "Many of our church leaders have been infected by liberation theology." The response to this totalitarian nightmare was surprisingly muted. The UK ambassador told Cox that many of the available Czechs on the cocktail circuit had deserted her to go to a party at the US Embassy where Shirley Temple was entertaining 15 Congressmen (*Guardian*, 1990). MI5 files from as far back as 1949 that were prepared for the IRD can be found propounding this perceived 'penetration' of the education system by the Soviet Union across the globe and particularly in the UK as part and parcel of "a struggle against the mastery of capitalism" (National Archives, 2011a).

62. Civil Defence: Subversive and Extremist Elements

Chalfont wrote a regular column in the *Times* defending the new US strategic thinking under Reagan that also promoted the work of the Committee on the Present Danger, and tipped Richard Allen, then in London, as the next NSC adviser (*Times*, 1980e). For Chalfont the Soviets were preparing for war therefore the UK should do the same. By the mid-1980s, when he was involved with the IEDSS, he was president of the Association of Civil Defence and Emergency Planning Officers (ACDEP), and chair of the all party Defence Study Group that invited outside speakers to the House of Lords and Commons and arranged visits to defence installations and firms (*Times*, 1985e; *Times*, 1980f). As Reagan's policies advocated a military build-up in Europe, Chalfont (1980) predicted that "pressure for nuclear disarmament would grow, with far-reaching political consequences, if people realised the country was being rearmed with new weaponry [...] without protection of the civilian population being regarded as part of the deterrent" (*Times*, 1980f). As a Labour minister Chalfont (1966: 4) had argued that the obligations of the subject should remain *only until* the State retained the power to protect the subject, and that with nuclear weapons the State, arguably, did not retain this power: a dogma of nationalism and patriotism was all that remained. Chalfont (1980) called for a propaganda campaign against any countervailing trend that exposed the effects of nuclear war. But the Government's plans on civil defence were not credible to many others beyond CND, including a range of local councils who had declared 'Nuclear Free Zones.' For many, the actions around the preparation of civil defence signalled a war posture and the government was forced to postpone the UK's biggest ever civil defence exercise in 1982 because of apathy and anti-war sentiment among many local authorities (Evans, 1980). At the ACDEP annual conference Thatcher stated that she was considering new legislation to compel local authorities to prepare themselves for war (Associated Press, 1982; Campbell, 1982: 48-86). For Chalfont to be credible in Soviet eyes the UK's nuclear striking force did not:

> require the range, accuracy, penetration and invariability necessary to destroy heavily protected targets with absolute certainty. It needs only to create a reasonable assumption in Russian minds that it could inflict intolerable damage on their centres of population. (*Times*, 1980g)

This stance ran into problems because of its rhetorical dismissal of the moral argument

This stance ran into problems because of its rhetorical dismissal of the moral argument of 'proportionality:' Chalfont's description of how the UK's deterrent actually worked was that it was a tactic to destroy millions of non-combatant lives in a posthumous act of punitive revenge. This was also accompanied by the common government rhetorical position that categorised *all* talk of disarmament as hysteria.

Mutual contradictions within the IEDSS' network emerge if Chalfont's version of the ends of Soviet strategy are contrasted to the version of the head of the ISC, Louis Le Bailly's (1980: 1) statements that: "The Soviet Union needs the great industries of Western Europe to build up her strength with our slave labour as a stepping stone to the economic destruction of the United States before a final move to world communism," and that therefore the Soviets would "go to great lengths, by subversion, by a military machine calculated to strike terror into the staunchest of hearts and, if necessary, by cutting Europe's supply lines, to take over our industrial power, undamaged." Here the Soviets are *protecting* Europe as a vital resource and a staging post, reliant on the cunning of subversion rather than a target for nuclear weapons.

In 1981, Chalfont debated with E. P. Thompson on BBC's *Panorama* on the subject 'Should Britain Abandon its Nuclear Weapons.' This also included Winston Churchill, who as I have shown, was the recipient of Heritage Foundation funding for his covert anti-CND organisation the Coalition for Peace through Security and the more overt Campaign for Defence and Multilateral Disarmament Committee. Heseltine and Peter Blaker deliberately declined to appear in discussions with CND, but in 1983 radio interviews Churchill can be heard using the open group to deflect enquiries into the activities of the covert group. Churchill and Peter Blaker can also be heard denouncing CND's Bruce Kent as orchestrating a smear campaign *against them* because Kent alleged that they were orchestrating a smear campaign *against him*. Chalfont was also a director of Shandwick, the PR firm headed by MP John Gummer's brother Peter that also played a role in the anti-CND campaigns (LBC/IRN, 1983).

63. Control of the coverage of terrorism

Chalfont chaired the Jerusalem Conference on International Terrorism, organised by Benjamin Netanyahu's Jonathan Institute in 1979, represented in the collection (1981) 'International Terrorism: Challenge and Response.' This was a key node in setting the right-wing agenda and had the aim of defining *all* terrorism as Soviet-directed (Netanyahu, 1981). In an effort to drive home the Jonathan Institute's line, Chalfont set up the Institute for the Study of Terrorism (IST) with the Freedom Association's Jillian Becker (who wrote for the IEDSS) and Caroline Cox. At the second Jonathan Institute conference Chalfont spoke together with the propagandist Claire Sterling, Michael Ledeen's associate, who had also attended the conference and accused the press and Western governments of a "conspiracy of silence" on the Soviet Union's reputed direction of international terrorism. Chalfont wondered: "Is it too much to ask that the press be on our side?" amid much applause (*New York Times*, 1984). This concept of a disloyal form of objectivity would inform Chalfont's venture to set up a Media Monitoring Unit with Julian Lewis, discussed below.

Chalfont's contributions to the media coverage of terrorism can be said to have enabled an exaggeration, polarisation and dramatization of the terrorist events while official censorship legally clamped down on other interpretations, and unofficial attempts were made on behalf of governments to filter what facts reached the media. When Chalfont was appointed to the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) he remarked on the "depressing fact [that] newspapers, radio, and television have probably done more than the terrorist organizations themselves…" The next step from this was control of the media on the justification "that such control is regarded as normal and acceptable in wartime" (Smelser, 2007: 111). This normalisation of wartime tactics was extended by the small group of think tanks and included the suppression of the ideas of those deemed 'representatives' or 'sympathisers' much in the manner of US anti-Communism. Ramsay & Dorril (1994: 281) described Chalfont's 1976 TV documentary as the anti-subversive lobby's "television psy-war" that purported to show that the Communist Manifesto was being implemented bit by bit in Britain using ex-Communists and included Brian Crozier, then with the ISC. A similar venture

Communists and included Brian Crozier, then with the ISC. A similar venture (Buckley, 1977) with the programme 'Disarmament and Jimmy Carter,' hosted by William F. Buckley, was filmed in London and also included interviews with Chalfont and Brian Crozier. This drew on Chalfont's work that attempted to expose left-wing bias in television news and current affairs programmes as a form of Communist subversion, itself influenced by Crozier and the ISC.

One of Crozier's 6I's campaigners, Paul Mercer's (1986) detailed denunciation of CND was used by Michael Heseltine in the *Times* as the basis for his public attacks on CND as a Soviet front organisation and as "a raucous mob claiming to act in the name of peace, replete with front organizations, created for the purpose of a peace war" (Heseltine, 1986). Its publishers, Policy Research Publications, had the same telephone number as the Coalition for Peace through Security (CPTS) and thanked the Freedom Association for its help (*London Review of Books*, 1987). It carried a forward by Chalfont, and the author, Mercer, a member of the CPTS and a friend of Julian Lewis, was later caught spying on peace campaigners for the arms firm BAE when the campaigners were planning a judicial review of the controversial decision to drop a police investigation into BAE's Saudi deals (Evans & Leigh, 2007).

In 1987 Rupert Murdoch's wholly owned publishing subsidiary, *Times* Books Ltd, agreed to fund the expansion of Sherwood Press, initially run by Brian Crozier. After his resignation it was passed on to Julian Lewis. In relation to this Lewis' Pricewhich Ltd, set up in 1984, changed its name to Policy Research Associates (PRA) to become a private political 'research consultancy' (*The Digger*, 1988). Lewis' fellow-directors at PRA were Mark Loveday, a fellow organiser of the CPTS and Thom Robinson, the Public Relations officer for the Economic League (Rusbridger, 1985). An alliance between the Economic League and the NAFF (now renamed the Freedom Association) was also reflected in the League's appointment of Robinson (the NAFF's head of research) to head its own Information and Research Department (Hughes, 1995). *Times* Books was based at 16 Golden Square, near the ISC's office, and what would become the IEDSS' offices (*Times*, 1980h). The display advertisement for Joseph Godson and Charles Douglas-Home's collection 'The Western Alliance' stated it was published by Times Books together with the CSIS (*Times*, 1984c). PRA was based at 35 Westminster Bridge Road, as was Policy Research Publications, set up by Lewis' associate, Paul Mercer, largely it would seem to publish Mercer's book (*The Digger*, 1988).

From 1979 this network was augmented by a host of radical right groups with more restricted purposes that sometimes acted as trailblazers for the more controversial Tory proposals such as PULSE (Public and Local Service Efficiency), the Campaign Against Council Corruption and Chalfont's Media Monitoring Unit.

64. The Media Monitoring Unit

Margaret Thatcher appointed Chalfont to several media overseeing positions. These included the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) in 1989 and then the Independent Television Commission, when Thatcher abolished the IBA as punishment for its defiance over the *Death on the Rock* documentary (Campbell, 2011:571). Chalfont set up the Media Monitoring Unit (MMU) in 1985, that was run by Julian Lewis ostensibly as an independent organization, to monitor leftwing bias and anti-US activity in the media (*Evening Standard*, 1995). According to the *Guardian* (1990a) the MMU was behind amendments to a Broadcasting Bill, tabled by Woodrow Wyatt, with two members of the Institute for the Study of Terrorism Lord Orr-Ewing and the IEDSS' Baroness Cox, to set out a definition of impartiality previously agreed with Thatcher in a meeting at Downing Street and subsequently thrown out by the Deputy Leader of the House of Lords (*Guardian*, 1990b).

Philo (1995) contextualised the MMU's activities stating that the reports issued by the MMU gave each programme a classification to denote possible 'bias' that ignored a wider frame of reference: for example documentaries that dealt with unemployment were classified as 'programmes attacking the Right and promoting the Left.' For Philo the conflict between the government and broadcasters in the 1980's came about not

because journalists had moved to the left, but because the Conservatives had moved to the right. Rawnsley (1986) reported that the MMU was set up by the Conservative Party to combat what was seen as the growing anti-Government 'bias' of radio and television, observing that Policy Research Associates had been fathered by the Coalition for Peace Through Security and led by Norman Tebbit. Simon Clark, one of the organisers of the MMU, was "associated with the Russian émigré group NTS," according to an obituary of the IEDSS' George Miller who was also a NTS member. The NTS was thought to be an intelligence front. Both men edited the *Soviet Labour Review*, publicising the Soviet trade union movement that was funded by the NED (Linacre, 2010; *Guardian*, 1992).

The MMU's first report emerged in 1986 after what was said to be a year's study. Perera (1986) noted that it had identified bias on reporting on the SDI but was unaware that the IEDSS was running US propaganda and lobbying on the matter, together with High Frontier-Europe. The report was funded by Peter Tennent and backed by Policy Research Associates (PRA) *inter alia* it accused programme makers of being pro 'civil rights' (Steen, 1990). Teacher (2008: 148) observed that together with Brian Crozier and Robert Moss, Tennant was a Pinay Circle member who would share the chairmanship of Circle meetings with Crozier, and that Julian Lewis ran the MMU for the Circle as a re-run of the ISC's 1970s actions against leftist infiltration of the media. Teacher (2008: 148) also states that Julian Lewis' PRA was also a Crozier-led campaign and that the MMU was indicative of a more aggressive approach in right-wing circles to getting across its message. Teacher argues that Tennant drew together a nucleus of sympathisers, mostly from the City, who "put up the £25,000-or-so to hire a director, buy a video recorder and publish the report." Crozier (2003: 243) confirms this account. Concerning 'bias' the MMU found: "BBC2's Secret Society series, presented by Duncan Campbell [...] to be the worst culprit," adding that the series was consistently "anti-Nato, anti-British intelligence, antipolice, anti-establishment. There were no redeeming features" (*Times*, 1987a). Julian Lewis was named in the *Secret Society* programme. The *Guardian* (1989) attacked the MMU's report's methodology as little more than Clark and two students watching the programmes.

The *Guardian* (1989a) also explored Chalfont's conflict of interest with programmes such as *Secret Society,* in that he was a consultant to two private detective agencies whose boards include several members of the company commissioned in 1983 to covertly investigate the political background of those who objected to the Sizewell Nuclear power station. The techniques used included using false names to get information from the inquiry, posing as journalists to interview objectors, and the setting up of peace front groups to infiltrate and discredit CND. The *Sunday Times* (1989) observed Chalfont's long history of involvement with right-wing pressure groups: such as the Committee for a Free Britain (with David Hart), which spent more than £200,000 on advertisements attacking Labour during the 1987 election; the Committee for a Free World (described as the US neo-conservative group) and the MMU, which it described as "a ludicrous pseudoscientific attempt to expose leftwing bias," rather than a propaganda organization within a network. Similarly, the *Economist* (1986: 45) ridiculed the MMU, stating: "How do you prove that television is biased? Easy: define "truth" as you see it, "bias" in the way that suits you and then reach whatever "objective" conclusions you like."

In conclusion I would observe that Levitas (1986) argued that cultural interventions of this type were a feature of the New Right, and that cultural struggle was central to its hegemonic project. This was a resurrection of 'Kulturkampf,' the battle to displace the dominant ideology that constructed post-war Liberal and Social Democratic consensus. The ideology worked through a discourse using discursive strategies to redefine and shift frames of reference together with the cultural and political history and struggles from which they derive (Zavala, 1988: 40). To close I will observe that there is a degree to which instituted authority, with its controls and sanctions, infiltrates the public. The problem here becomes the degree of genuine autonomy from instituted authority that the public has. If the Soviet Union and the US and the UK had the same reasons for controlling the public—that each other did so—then not only is that an insufficient

justification it is an equivalence. For Mills (1954b) the realization of public opinion in forms of action is controlled by authorities who provide and organise *sanctioned* institutions as channels.

65. Liberal obfuscation

With this chapter I focus on one of the founders of the IEDSS, Stephen Haseler and his associate Douglas Eden to examine the Social Democratic Alliance (SDA) that they set up to combat what they viewed as a Communist take-over of the Labour Party directed by Moscow. The SDA was also supported by Reg Prentice MP and led by former Labour foreign secretary, Lord George Brown, who would both join the early IEDSS (Symon, 1975). I outline the SDA's activities in smearing Labour MPs as Communist agents in an attempt to split the party, and portray it as infiltrated by extremists (Clark, 1975). Both Haseler and Eden were also part of Brian Crozier's 'Shield' organisation and I also explore its influence on Margaret Thatcher and examine other propaganda organisations that gathered IEDSS members, such as the National Association for Freedom (NAFF). This situates Haseler and Eden, Alan Lee Williams and Reg Prentice's activities within a complex parapolitical milieu that aimed to provide a social democratic party loyal to Atlanticism and NATO in accordance with US policies previously outlined.

Crozier (1993: 147) claimed that he had played a manipulative role with the SDA, and influenced its creation via the NAFF. Haseler was a founder member of NAFF, which was created in the mid-seventies to form a group that intentionally merged Crozier's ISC, the Society for Individual Freedom, Aims of Industry and the Tory right, all with a common concern about the relentless spread of subversion. In Parliament, before an interruption by Winston Churchill, NAFF was described as being funded by the CIA to engage in a form of 'entryism' into the Conservative party (*Times*, 1976d). Lord Chalfont (1977) offered the defensive comment that anyone exposing the CIA and MI5 connections of NAFF and the ISC was a KGB agent; although he felt that such CIA funding was a good thing. NAFF's first offices were in Richard Mellon Scaife's Kern House, the headquarters of Crozier's Forum World Features and its funding remains something of a mystery. With many figures from Thatcher's then Shadow Cabinet, NAFF also had a similarity with the CPS as a forerunner of the IEDSS. For Teacher (2008: 70-73) NAFF represented an alliance between Thatcher and her supporters and the operatives from the counter-subversion lobby who found in her a candidate that they could work to promote: a process that also involved taking part in psychological operations and 'political actions' against their opponents. Ramsay & Dorril (1986) also argued that, just after Thatcher became leader, NAFF pulled together all the elements of previous propaganda networks: senior military and intelligence figures, industrialists, representatives from the employers' organisations and bankers with a group of Tory MPs with connections at the top of the Conservative Party, and it is difficult not to view it as essentially formed around her like the CPS (she appeared as guest of honour at NAFF's inaugural subscription dinner in 1977). Ramsay & Dorril also made an observation whereby a common response to the delineation of such a network is to ask where is the actual transmission of power? Their response is that the network *is* the power: a network of people who are, elsewhere, powerful, *is per se* a powerful network.

Teacher (2003) identified an early influence on NAFF with the ISC Study Group on Communist subversion in higher education that included Edward Shils, who had contributed to the ISC Special Report 'The Attack on Higher Education,' in 1977. Other NAFF members included John Biggs-Davison, the former Chairman of the Monday Club and Deputy Shadow Minister for Northern Ireland under Airey Neave; the former MI6 officer Sir Stephen Hastings MP; Winston Churchill MP; Rhodes Boyson MP; David Mitchell MP; Nicholas Ridley MP (all in Thatcher's Shadow Cabinet); together with Field Marshal Sir Gerald Templer, in charge of the government's contingency planning for Military Assistance to the Civil Powers, who also played a part in the genesis of the 'private armies' affair by introducing G. K. Young to Gen. Sir Walter Walker (Teacher, 2008: 70-73).

This arena would seem slightly incongruous for Haseler, but he described himself as a "Cold War Liberal" who believed that the extent of Marxist infiltration of the Labour party was the first step in a Communist take-over of the UK (Butt, 1976). His writing reinforced the theme of a 'coming crisis' with the (1976) 'The Death of British Democracy,' a remarkably similar work to Robert Moss' (1975) 'The Collapse of Democracy.' Moss was also part of NAFF and a Thatcher speechwriter in the 1970s. Both Moss' and Haseler's works drew on the Labour Party 'defector' and IEDSS member Reg Prentice's bitter denouncements of Marxist control of the Labour Party, and used material from Crozier's ISC. Haseler presented the UK as the most left-wing country in Europe apart from the Soviet Union with the Unions as terrorists driving the country to a situation whereby the UK economy "will remove itself from the Western trading system by import controls, strict control of capital movements and eventually non-convertability of the currency." This state of affairs would also lead to "rationing, the direction of capital and labour and the final end of the free trade union movement" (*Times*, 1976e). Haseler was also named as a recipient of Colin Wallace's black propaganda that advanced these themes in the early 1970s (Dorrill & Ramsay, 1986: 20).

In the 1960s Haseler had been co-organiser of the Youth Section of the Campaign for Democratic Socialism (CDS), a pressure group that operated within the Labour Party in the early 1960s that included Dick Taverne, Bill Rodgers, George Jones, Lord Donoughue and Reg Prentice. The CDS contained the proto-Social Democratic Party and its origins have been traced back to the programmes that planned to inculcate US notions of free market economics, US union-management relations and positive attitudes towards the US aimed at the wider public and the Labour Party. These including the CCF, *Encounter*, *Socialist Commentary* and a Social Democratic network that orbited around Daniel Bell's 'the end of ideology' (Ramsay, 1996). Haseler can be described as a Gaitskellite who had a cryptic belief that Thatcherism was not the cause, but the effect of a deeper radical phenomenon beyond party politics that "would have developed anyway" (Haseler, 1989: viii). Haseler's contribution to the NAFF's (1978) collection 'Freedom and the trade unions' also smeared the unions as being part of a Soviet conspiracy. These were also the themes of Haseler's mid-1970s work for the Heritage Foundation. In essence Haseler expressed the *same* desire that can be identified as an underlying motive for the US Foundation's funding of a propaganda network: to bring socio-political culture into subordinate relation to the dominant institutions of the capitalist economy and nationalist state. The resultant propaganda apparatus that Crozier and Haseler played a part in had Atlanticist institutional and parapolitical connections with US organisations that I will now turn to examine.

66. "In the company of some real experts"
In 1977, after the formation of these groups, Haseler became the first visiting fellow at the Heritage Foundation and (described in the first issue as a 'trade unionist') an editorial board member of Heritage's journal *Policy Review*, writing on Eurocommunism with Roy Godson and Robert Moss (*Policy Review*, 1977: 2-4). This was a reaction to the electoral success of Communists in Italian and French parliaments that advocated that this should disqualify the countries from membership of NATO. While in the US, Haseler also became a fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), which was also a main proponent of the idea of Eurocommunism (Federal News Service, 1989). The CSIS worked to aid the failing CCF with Joseph Godson as European co-ordinator while the CSIS' work was promoted in the *Times* by the IEDSS' Iain Elliot (Godson, 1977c; Elliot, 1983). Then the *Times* began publishing with the CSIS after the NED was set up (*Times*, 1984f). Together with the Heritage Foundation, the CSIS was held up for the Conservatives as a model for spreading influence by Michael Pinto, who would go on to found the UK's version of the NED, the Westminster Foundation for Democracy (Pinto, 1987; Clark, 2007).

On the nature of his Atlanticist influences Haseler (2004: xi) stated he was "able to hone my analysis on both sides of the Atlantic in the company of some real experts," who he named as: Mark Falcoff, Elliot Abrams, Richard Perle, Herb Levine, Edwin J.

Feulner, Peter Rodman, Bill Schneider, Bruce Weinrod, Charles Horner, Ben Wattenberg, Sven Kraemer, Michael Ledeen, Robert Hunter, Richard V. Allen, John O' Sullivan and Kendall Myers.

Kendall Myers was a former US State Department official, who, with his wife was charged with spying for Communist Cuba for nearly 30 years: he was a senior official at the Bureau of Intelligence and Research and was given a life sentence in prison (Harnden, 2009). Putting that to one side, Haseler's list of individuals with connections to the CSIS, CIA, NED, USIA and the Hoover Institute, imply that he was being employed an US agent of influence: as a propagandist. The *Leveller* (1979: 11) magazine offered a complicated diagram to unravel Haseler's and Roy Godson's connections that it viewed as a return to the a CIA-backed promotion of Social Democracy via CCF and *Encounter's* networks. I view Haseler as a key founding member of the IEDSS in terms of bringing these Atlanticist connections with him.

The tangled web of Atlantic intrigue that leads to Social Democracy
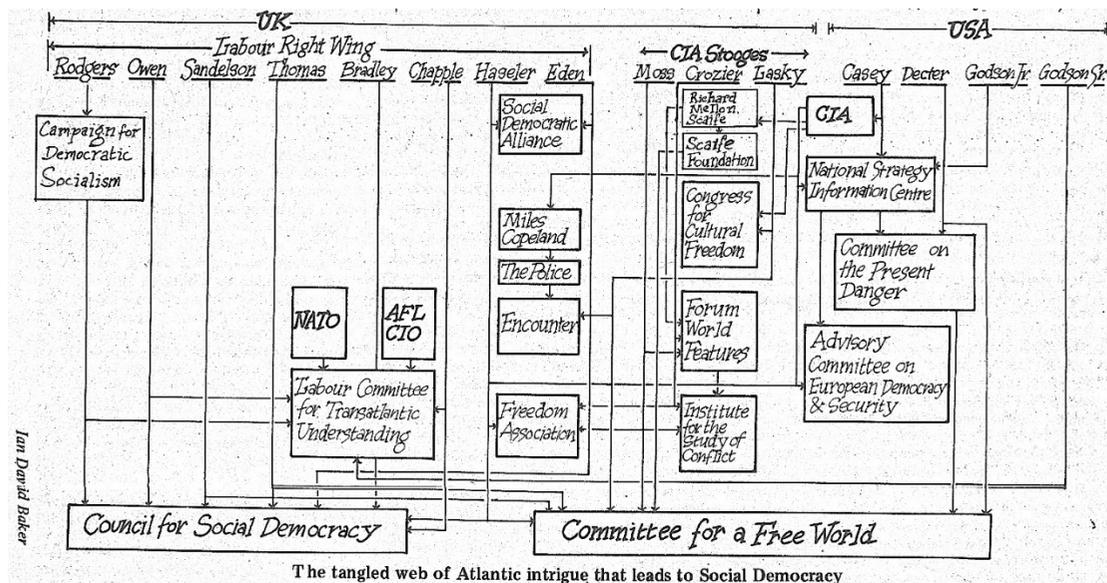
Roy Godson and Haseler's (1985) 'The varieties of anti-Americanism: reflex and response,' was published by the Ethics and Public Policy Center (EPPC), as was Haseler's writing for the IEDSS. Under first, Ernest Lefever and then Iran-Contra's Elliott Abrams, the EPPC was another of the US' main propaganda outlets (Allen, 2001). Haseler worked for the US National Strategy Information Center (NSIC), again as with the CSIS, founded in 1962 by William Casey, Reagan's CIA director. The EPPC and NSIC can be seen as part of network of propaganda organizations, partly involved in building academic respectability for the practice of intelligence and normalizing the 'crackpot realism' of the Cold War. I also previously noted that the NSIC aided Crozier to transform Forum World Features, a CIA front, into the ISC and it also aided the IEDSS. In the UK Haseler continued to work for Roy Godson, also with the NSIC (Kelly, 1981). Haseler's conceptualisation of 'Anti-Americanism,' published in the US by the EPPC, with a 386-word foreword by the arch propagandist, Midge Decter concluded that:

> …anti-Americanism is essentially a reaction, not to America nor even to bourgeois capitalism, but to the idea of democratic society itself. (Williamson, 1986)

The work conforms to wider propaganda projects that accentuated Hayek's emphatic rejection of social justice (the 'politics of envy'), impugned the motives of those promoting egalitarianism and engaged in *ad hominem* attacks on socialists (Dorey, 2011: 5-7). Haseler had begun by identifying what anti-Americanism was not, and added that most of these manifestations were 'bogus.' Thus *any* anti-US position is defined as *not* the basis of genuine policy disputes between the US and its allies; it is not an honest re-assessment by "foreign publics and elites;" other forces are manipulating our viewpoint. For Haseler, in its crudest form, anti-Americanism ("primitive anti-Americanism") is no more than resentment, based on envy and masquerading as moral indignation at "American imperialism." Even at this level Marxist-Leninist ideology is at work as a disguise and a pretext: no one, Haseler argues

believes any longer in either the moral or the technical supremacy of the Soviet Union in particular or Communism in general. Paradoxically, however, "As the ideology of Communism dies, anti-Americanism becomes simply destructive, critical, and bitter, and such negativism becomes an ideology in itself" (Williamson, 1986). Despite the syndrome being chimeric, for Haseler it remained the dominant intellectual framework of much of the Western intelligentsia. His advice is that Americans should no longer care about being liked. They should seek to be trusted and respected instead. There is no comparative analysis of 'pro-Americanism' as a formula connected to variables such as funding or institutional involvement offered in Haseler's study.

Previously Haseler had written the (1983) 'Advancing democratic principles: A European examines a neglected American asset,' again published by the EPPC. This type of 'literature-of-manipulation' again aimed to *define* anti-US attitudes: again Haseler tends towards a psycho-social dimension, similar to the argument used on CND protestors whereby the target is simplified as a hysterical outsider:

> Dependence, and particularly the consciousness of such dependence, can easily become a negative and corrosive experience, in which the dependent partner simply flails at the protector. (*Economist*, 2002)

O'Conner (2004: 1) found Haseler (1985) as a work lacking in balance that "counsels America to largely ignore the criticisms of foreigners (whom Haseler principally sees as being envious of America's global power)." This omits that the work was published by the EPPC and how this indicated an obviation of the desire *for* balance, more related to Haseler's NSIC work with Roy Godson in terms of its propaganda utility. When Haseler wrote for the EPPC it was run by Ernest Lefever, one of the founding members of the 1970s version of the Committee on the Present Danger with Richard V. Allen. The EPPC promoted the work of Soviet dissidents such as Solzhenitsyn and used the instrumentalist position on human rights, whereby it became a policy tool of the US government outlined previously. Guests at a 1980 EPPC event included Allen and two former CIA heads, Richard Helms and William Colby and former CIA operative James J. Angleton (Rosenfeld, 1980). In its early formation the EPPC was an arm of the CIA, prefiguring the approach of the NED. Roosa (1985) placed its work within a promotional counter-offensive by the CIA and the Foundations costing over $500,000 that started to appear in 1978, when Scaife president Richard Larry phoned Lefever to ask if the EPPC would supervise a study of media treatment of the CIA and the KGB. Lefever and Roy Godson's (1980) 'The CIA and the American Ethic,' published by EPPC, found that the CIA was being prevented by a 1974 law from engaging in clandestine operations out of fear congressmen may expose what it was up to: then every member of the US Congress had a *potential* veto over covert operations (Associated Press, 1980). Lefever wanted to remove *all* human rights conditions from US laws, including those of the State Department's Human Rights Office to which Reagan appointed him (*New York Times*, 1981c). Lefever & Godson (1980) reviewed reforms undertaken after disclosures of the early 1970s about CIA involvement in assassination plots, drug experiments and surveillance of US citizens, but it *did not* speculate about whether the CIA had concealed covert operations from Congress.

67. The Social Democratic Alliance
Haseler and Douglas Eden were influential figures and founding members of the SDA and then the Social Democratic Party (SDP). Haseler had a considerable Atlanticist role before and during the life of the SDP, itself largely formulated along a US model (Crozier, 1993: 147). As I stated Haseler formed the SDA in 1975 with the distanced help of Brian Crozier, with the intention of drawing away votes from the Labour Party up to the 1983 election. In a letter to the *Times*, Crozier alluded to his previous attempt at the creation of an anti-Labour party backed by covert operatives (emphasis added):

> Anthony Cavendish claims that the Democratic party, which he co-founded with the late Desmond Donnelly and others, was Britain's first alternative Opposition. I knew and admired Donnelly and we lunched occasionally at The Travellers. His suicide, and the young Jeffrey Archer's by-election win, left the job undone, *so we tried again*, many years later; and this further chance was lost. (Crozier, 1993a)

Cavendish was an MI6 agent who's memoir contained more explicit references to Colin Wallace than Peter Wright's 'Spycatcher.' He worked with George K. Young in the UNISON Committee for Action, a militia formed as one of the 'private armies' of the mid-1970s. These were largely psychological operations to bolster the public perception of a climate of disorganization and impending chaos along the lines indicated by Moss and Haseler's mid-1970s work on the collapse of democracy; and also tied in with the threat of an extremist dominated Labour Party: both largely inspired by the same sources within the Secret State which fed into Crozier's ISC and Wallace's propaganda (Cavendish, 1987: 166-171). Haseler had previously floated the idea of a new party in (1980) 'Towards a Centre Party?' in *Encounter* while press releases produced by the SDA listed details of 'extremist' Labour MPs activities to tie the need for a new centre party to allegations of Militant's 'infiltration' of the Labour Party. The concerted propaganda campaign against Militant was based around the IEDSS' Reg Prentice. Taaffe (1995) stated that the same voices defending Prentice were increasingly raised against Militant and others on the left, to demand their exclusion from the Labour Party. He traced the campaign to a major article on the front page of the *Observer* on August 31, the first of many press attacks on Militant. This was by Nora Beloff, sister of Max, a council member of Brian Crozier's ISC and also with the Committee for the Free World. During the war Nora Beloff had worked for Political Intelligence at the Foreign Office, and her attacks on the extreme left of the Labour Party had the backing of David Astor (Millinship, 1997). Crick (1984) drew on Beloff, Prentice, Julian Lewis and Haseler's accounts of the Prentice affair to penetratingly observe that Prentice blamed Militant for his troubles, but had started off his criticisms of Labour by saying they were not socialist *enough*. Crick (1984: 87-90) also pointed out that the Prentice affair's two-year media coverage helped give the *lasting impression* that the Labour Party had been taken over by extremists. For Crick, Labour's internal Underhill Report into the matter was a short nine-page un-sensational account, produced by the right-wing Gaitskell faction in 1975. On its delivery few National Executive Committee (NEC) sub-committee members turned up and at the urging of Eric Heffer it was decided that nothing be done. Shirley Williams tried to have this decision reversed and the matter was then sensationalised by Nora Beloff in the *Observer* with headlines such as: "Revolutionary Plot is Exposed," although no plot as described by Beloff existed. At this point the campaign around Prentice started using these themes. The person who reignited the story on the failure to publish the Report (that at this point was now twenty-nine pages) on the eve of the 1979 election was Neville Sandelson (Crick, 1984: 85 & 163). Crick does not mention it, but Sandelson was one of the founding members of the SDA (and Council for Social Democracy) and in 1988 Sandelson and Haseler co-founded the Radical Society, a cross-party forum for debate on political and other issues, funded by James Goldsmith (Crozier, 1993: 147).

The SDA preceded and influenced the formation of the SDP but a clear picture of the SDA/SDP's origins in 1981 is obscured within a Cold War parapolitical milieu. The chronology offered by Pack (2003) is that in 1980 the Labour NEC's ongoing refusal to publish the Underhill Report galvanized the SDA to announce plans to run up to 200 candidates against Labour left-wingers. By December 1980 the Labour party proscribed the SDA and a meeting was held in Shirley Williams' flat to consider possible support for a new party. By January 1981 a joint rally with the SDA and the Association of Democratic Groups, chaired by the IEDSS' George Brown was held. At the Anglo-German Konigswinter conference, Williams, William Rodgers and David Steel met and agreed on the outline of an alliance. The chronology continues with no further mention of the SDA. It stops at 1990 when the Monster Raving Loony Party's Lord Sutch out-polled the SDP candidate (Pack, 2003: 56-59).

Liegh (1979) expressed a sceptical account of the purpose of the SDA, the veracity of its claims, the honesty of its tactics and the "enormous amount of newspaper space […] devoted to" the group "who specialise in issuing very long lists of MPs and ministers they imply are virtually in the pay of the Kremlin. Wow, what a smear." Liegh's version of events was that the SDA consisted of two polytechnic lecturers, Haseler and Eden, who "send round quarterly newsletters to "registered supporters" in the Labour

Party, many of whose names, sadly, have to be kept confidential." Johnson (1981) stated that Alfred Sherman questioned Shirley Williams about how the 43 MPs named as Communist sympathisers by the SDA now appeared as members of the SDP, but no answer was forthcoming. The existence of the 43 was supposed to have been one of the main reasons for setting up the SDP.

If I go back a little further to the SDA's inception, the *Times* (1975) published a statement from the SDA wherein they accused the Labour party's NEC of supporting East European dictatorships, and as Communists who write for the *Morning Star* who were "undercover political agents for alien political creeds." The list included: Judith Hart, Michael Foot and Edward Short, who were the subjects of a smear campaign emanating from Colin Wallace and the ISC (*Times*, 1975a; Ramsay & Dorril, 1986: 260-263). The charges became the focus for considerable media interest and were re-invigorated by Nigel Lawson who had previously produced the (1972) 'Subversion in British Industry' for the ISC (*Times*, 1976h).

The first SDA newsletter was a call for the end of Trotskyist infiltration of the Labour party and support for Reg Prentice but despite its factionalism, it worked with the Association of Democratic Groups in sponsoring a 1981 conference intended to build support for the new SDP (*Times*, 1975i). As I noted the conference was chaired by Lord George Brown, then president of the SDA. By this time Eden and Haseler had been expelled from the Labour party and were "threatening to stand 200 candidates against it in the next general election, this despite the fact that some of its own prospective candidates were still Labour Party members." Although the SDA became a part of the newly formed SDP, it was kept on the sidelines. It remained in existence with the formation of the SDP and in 1981 ran a campaign, headed by Brown in the Greater London Council (GLC) elections even although this contradicted a decision taken by the SDP steering committee. To make matters worse, Haseler contested the first SDP presidential election, finishing behind Shirley Williams and William Rodgers (Barberis *et al*, 2003: 358).

68. 'A secret shield for the Lady'

Douglas Eden was the founder and head of the Centre for Study of International Affairs (CSIA) at Middlesex University and organizer of the annual Trent Park conferences on the future of the Atlantic Community. A Senior Fellow of the Atlantic Council of the UK, Eden has acted as an adviser to political figures, governments and media outlets in the US and UK. He remains a believer in such Cold War shibboleths such as the KGB running the Unions in the 1970s. He is what C. Wright Mills would have termed a NATO intellectual who also wrote for *Encounter*. Below I offer a specific focus on Brian Crozier's 'Shield' organisation, which included Eden and Haseler.

Set up in 1995 to encourage study of the trans-Atlantic relationship Eden's CSIA works with the Atlantic Council and NATO and has an Advisory Board that includes: Geoffrey Lee Williams, the IEDSS' Alan Lee Williams and William Schneider, Jr., Deputy Director (to Herman Kahn) of the Hudson Institute prior to 1981 and part of Team B. The 1999 conference gathered together former Ambassadors to the US, a former Chief of Defence Intelligence at the MoD, a Labour Defence Spokesman, advisors to British Aerospace and Edward Streator, the chairman of the IEDSS' New Atlantic Initiative, who also wrote for the Council for Arms Control, that I previously examined (NATO, 1999; Streator, 1989). The CSIA's 1999 conference, 'NATO's future and Atlantic friendships and rivalries' demonstrated gross insensitivity and a lack of knowledge and understanding of the situation in Yugoslavia/Kosovo. Eden had invited academics in Belgrade who were then under NATO attack. The parallel drawn was that the procedure of the organizers corresponded to the way NATO seemed to choose its bombing objectives "mechanically, indiscriminately and whith [sic] the help of lists where some addresses are not what they are thought to be" (Roos, 1999: 1).

Crozier (1993: 147) has related that he first met Eden at one of the early sessions of the NAFF, and that Eden would go on to work with Crozier's 'Shield.' After the closure of the IRD, Shield worked to provide briefings on the alleged Communist threat for the

leadership of the Tory Party. Crozier also stepped into the gap caused by the closure of IRD with a group that included ex-SIS officer Nicholas Elliot and US Gen. Vernon Walters that he described as a "Private Sector Operational Intelligence agency," called the 6I (the Sixth International but more commonly rendered as the 61). According to Ramsay (1996) this was funded by the Heritage Foundation. Ramsay (1993) reviewed Crozier (1993) and observed that in the 1970s *and* 1980s Crozier claims to have "ran" Eden as an agent, and that it was through the 6I that Crozier published the newsletters 'Transnational Security' and 'British Briefing,' his own version of the IRD's briefings on British subversion. The Social Affairs Unit (funded by the Heritage Foundation) also published 'British Briefing.'

After the death of Jack Jones, Eden (2009) reproduced Oleg Gordievsky's accusations on Jones (*Daily Telegraph*, 2009). Eden claimed that in the 1970s Josef Josten, head of the Free Czech Information Service had passed a list of KGB agents to him revealing a London-based Soviet spy circle. These came from Soviet defector Josef Frolik (Parkes, 2009). Teacher (2008: 58-59) observed that on February 1979, two weeks after Thatcher's election as Conservative leader, a House of Lords debate on "Subversive and Extremist Elements" aired the Frolik allegations initiated by Lord Chalfont. Josten was a member of the Council of NAFF and passed the allegations to Stephen Hastings MP (a former MI6 officer) also member of the NAFF council (Ramsay & Dorril, 1986). Dorril & Ramsay (1994: 321) noted that on December 14, 1977 Hastings used Parliamentary privilege to run the disinformation attributed to Frolik (a former Czech intelligence officer) that a group of British trade unions leaders were agents of Soviet intelligence. Frolik was being run by the CIA and Dorril & Ramsay viewed this process as evidence of how the conspiracy theories of the subversive-hunters of the British right, such as Brian Crozier had captured a significant section of the leadership of the Conservative Party which had actually tried to use them to damage the elected government of the day.

Crozier's (1993) 'A secret shield for the Lady,' for the *Times*, was billed as: "The inside account of an intelligence operation, rivalling MI5 and reporting direct to Mrs Thatcher," and offered his version of events that in 1976-1977 he was involved in two secret counter-subversion exercises: one of them national, the other international." The idea with Shield was to set up a secret advisory committee to brief Thatcher and her closest colleagues on security and intelligence. Crozier was described as both the scourge of left-wing militants *and* security chiefs who helped to form Thatcher's vision of a new Britain, via a "semi-official campaign against the hard Left" similar to the agenda of the IEDSS. Teacher (2008: 105-106) offered an understanding whereby with the 6I, Crozier wanted something bigger than Shield to take over the work promoting a wider international threat from the Soviet Union with its worldwide subversive conspiracy. Teacher (2008: 73) stated that this was directed by the Pinay Circle.

Crozier (1993) set out the formation of 'Shield' via a meeting with Thatcher in 1976, hosted by Viscount De L'Isle this included Norris McWhirter, John Gouriet (a right-wing activist and businessman connected to Aims of Industry) and Robert Moss: largely the founding members of the NAFF. Later meetings included ex-MI6 officer, Nicholas Elliott. According to Crozier the problem they wanted to tackle was subversion: the deliberate undermining of the State and society. Crozier's motivation drew on his own propaganda themes that the trades unions, the Labour Party, schools, universities, the media and the Churches had been taken over by the Soviets and added that: "Positive action was needed. The Shield Committee was necessarily small, secrecy being a paramount consideration" (Crozier, 1993b). Crozier stated they produced 20 papers on various aspects of subversion, with the researchers being Douglas Eden and Peter Shipley. Copies of notes supplied by Eden to Margaret Thatcher when she was a MP and PM in the Janus Archive include: those passed to Thatcher via Richard Ryder her Private Secretary, (December 1976 and May and June 1978) relating to trade unions; via Alfred Sherman (October 1977) relating to the leadership of the Labour Party and (July 1984) the Miners' Strike; and in 1982 on Eden's attempts to influence the SDP's resolution on CND and the SDP (Albert Sloman Library, 1999). While Eden joined the IEDSS, Shipley went on to spend two years in Thatcher's personal policy

joined the IEDSS, Shipley went on to spend two years in Thatcher's personal policy unit (a replacement for the old Cabinet Office Think Tank) as an expert on left-wing subversion offering politically sensitive advice. This demonstrates Shield's reach into the Thatcher circle despite the difficulties with Crozier (*Economist*, 1983).

While at the unit Shipley wrote on Militant and shortly after leaving, produced (1986) 'Patterns of protest in Western Europe,' for Crozier's ISC and the (1986) 'More than Militant: The future of the Labour left,' alleging that the Labour party had been successfully infiltrated by three Trotskyist organisations in addition to Militant. This returned to the Underhill Report and predicted that Labour would be taken over by the extreme left in a matter of years "with up to 60 revolutionary Marxists in their number" (Shipley, 1983). Shipley acknowledged that it was produced with help from a senior member of the Economic League (*Guardian*, 1987a). It was a reprint of Shipley (1977) also produced for the ISC which Shipley rejoined after he left Thatcher's policy unit in 1984.

In 1987 Shipley went on to work directly under Norman Tebbit, then party chairman "to discredit Labour parliamentary candidates during the election campaign," providing quotes to be used by Saatchi and Saatchi and targeting individuals (Hencke, 1987). While with the Conservative Research Department, he was head of the desk that was later used to discredit CND before the 1983 election. The *Guardian* (1987a) stated that among the sources for Shipley's 1983 attacks on CND members was MI5. Information was then passed on to the IEDSS' Peter Blaker "who ran the propaganda unit DS19." Judging from Shipley's writing at the time the policy unit had a direct input into the Thatcher government's inner core's response to the Miner's strike; riots in Bristol, Toxteth and elsewhere; and the protests at Greenham Common (Shipley, 1984).

Also with Thatcher's policy unit was the CPS's Christopher Monckton who, with the IEDSS' Caroline Cox was part of the Committee for a Free Britain (CFB) a right-wing political pressure-group involving David Hart. According to Norton-Taylor & Pallister (1992) the CFB placed "anonymously published savage advertisements against Labour," and the CFB is also stated to have paid the legal costs of groups taking on supposed left-wing councils, and to have invited Adolfo Calero, the Nicaraguan Contra leader, to visit the UK. The CFB also published the same 'British Briefing' that Crozier published on which Colin Wallace has commented that:

> Many of the smears in British Briefing are exactly the same sort of thing I was being asked by MI5 to spread in the 1970s. Some of the politicians … are the very same people I was being asked to smear. (Milne, 1984: 233)

Milne (1984) studied the use of MI5 and the anti-subversion lobby against the Miner's strike, and made an early mention of Charles Elwell's connection to the government's covert strategy alongside David Hart. I previously mentioned Elwell, the Assistant Director of MI5 and one of the key Wilson plotters, who worked with Crozier. Milne updated the work to state that Rupert Murdoch financed Hart's activities in 1992 and provided some information on Hart's connection to CIA director William Casey and the CIA's Herb Meyer who edited 'World Briefing' for Hart, who would take over producing 'British Briefing' from Brian Crozier.

According to Crozier (1993) the Shield papers were always made available immediately to Thatcher, Peter Carrington, William Whitelaw and Keith Joseph. The tactical and strategic objectives of 'Shield' concerned its attempts to influence:

> Britain's existing counter-subversion machinery, proposals for fundamental change, and contingency planning for a major crisis a widespread paralysis caused by political strikes and riots which Margaret Thatcher might well face when, as we trusted, the Conservative party won the next general election. (Crozier, 1993: 137)

As I have previously noted, Norton-Taylor (1985) stated that the IEDSS, initially shared premises in Golden Square with the ISC, then run by Crozier. Thatcher had sent her congratulations to Washington on Heritage's achievement and it is at this point that Heritage was "keen to establish a foothold in Britain." Norton-Taylor (1985) quoted

Heritage was "keen to establish a foothold in Britain." Norton-Taylor (1985) quoted the Heritage Foundation's *Policy Review* as stating that the move had the aim of supporting both the Conservatives and 'Social Democrats' in a situation whereby UK politics was to be remodelled so that both parties could function in a similar manner to the Republicans and Democrats in the US, thus pushing the 'socialist' Labour party to the outer fringes of politics. For Norton-Taylor (1985) the emphasis of the IEDSS was on influencing opinion-formers behind the scenes, with its then latest initiative of a conference to be addressed by Lord Carrington, then NATO secretary-general, and Lord Chalfont, tied to a Gallup opinion poll on public opinion and NATO that I have previously discussed. Norton-Taylor also noted that Eden had broken off *formal* links with the IEDSS by 1985, when it attracted criticism and that *Encounter* shared offices with the IEDSS' *Survey* and that the Committee for the Free World shared a Whitehall office block with Julian Lewis, of the anti-CND Coalition for Peace through Security. Eden (who is from the US) also appeared in the Committee for the Free World (also termed the Committee for a Free World) set up by the IEDSS' Leopold Labedz and Midge Decter. The Committee for the Free World distributed Eden's (1982) 'The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament' (Newell, 2000). The CFW also included Brian Crozier's close associate Robert Moss, described by Kelly (1981) as "the CIA's Man in the Media," and a fanatical anti-Communist columnist in the *Daily Telegraph* and Goldsmith's *Now!*

69. Conclusion
In conclusion I will note that Mullin (1980) asserted that Haseler threatened that the disruption organised by the SDA would occur if the Labour party endorsed unilateral nuclear disarmament. Easton (1996) provided the basis for an understanding the Social Democratic elements that are evident in the early formation of the IEDSS. This was a faction of the pro-nuclear, pro-NATO, pro-US wing of the Labour party associated with *Socialist Commentary* and *Encounter*. Easton questioned Crozier (1993c) but affirmed that Stephen Haseler had a considerable trans-Atlantic role before and during the life of the SDA/SDP. Easton also contextualised Joseph and Roy Godson's CSIS work with the unions in the UK, stating that their foremost British associate in this CSIS/NATO work was SDP founder member, the IEDSS' Alan Lee Williams. As director of the English Speaking Union, Williams chaired Godson's Labour and Trade Union Press Service operation. With the renewed rise of CND in the late 1970s, he became a central figure in the government-funded Peace Through NATO while the US viewed this crisis within Britain with great alarm: the Iran-Contra documents Easton cited (which also made mention of the formation of BAP) made clear that the first Reagan administration was seriously afraid that Thatcher, and even Kohl, might not be re-elected. The draft constitution of the new SDP was written in Massachusetts by two of the SDP's founders, Robert Maclennan and William Goodhart and Easton also identified a connection in the SDP with the CSIS (Easton, 1996). Eden was the main actor in denying CND any recognition in the SDP. With Alan Lee Williams he founded the Social Democrats for Defence and Disarmament, acting as chair and vice-chairman. They both drafted the SDP's defence and disarmament policy (Williams & Eden, 1996; Haviland, 1982).

To conclude I will note that recently released files by the Thatcher Foundation (2013) outline a July 1979 Chequers meeting with Crozier, Margaret Thatcher, Dennis Thatcher, Mark Thatcher, and former MI6 officers Stephen Hastings, Nicholas Elliott and Harry Sporborg (who made up the Shield group), which lasted six hours, with no minutes taken at Thatcher's request. Thatcher Foundation (2013a: 1) also establishes that Crozier was "bombarding" Thatcher with material from his *Transnational Security* publication that was gratefully received.

Section Eight: The IEDSS' publications
This final chapter examines the IEDSS' publications and some specific examples in depth to identify and to set out the connections of their authors to propaganda networks, the themes they wrote on and to explain their propaganda function. Generally speaking the period and range of activity covered by the IEDSS' publications could be said to follow certain themes: the Thatcher government's reaction to internal dissent; anti-Soviet propaganda during the revived Cold War, mainly but not exclusively drawing on

the Heritage Foundation; the use of nuclear weapons and the introduction of the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI); the 'collapse of Communism' (meaning the Soviet Union which was taken as indicative of a wider decline of collectivist ideas); issues relating to NATO expansion into Central and Eastern Europe and other related issues.

70. The publications and authors

The IEDSS' annual editions were mostly comprised of previously published papers and mostly involved its members, those who remained close associates, such as Brian Crozier, or other experts who's affiliations I set out where appropriate. I will begin the analysis with the details of the writers in their (1991) 'European Security Studies,' together with a short review of most of the works (I have excluded those previously mentioned or referred to in the text). I then set out an overview of the critical reception of the IEDSS' output that tended to focus on the Institute's difficulty in facing up to the end of the Cold War, which also signalled the collapse of funding for anti-Soviet propaganda.

I will pick out three authors from the (1991) collection: Anthony Hartley, James De Candole and Keith Payne. Hartley became acting editor of *Encounter* in 1988, and joined Robert Conquest and Peregrine Worsthorne in signing an open letter against the 'intellectual enemies' of US involvement in Vietnam largely to close down debate. Criticism of the US they argued "represents the impact of suspect information upon uncritical minds." On the *Spectator* Hartley replaced the CCF's Bernard Levin as deputy editor to Iain Hamilton who was a close associate of Brian Crozier's in setting up FWF as I have observed. 'The Irrelevance of Maastricht,' argued that a European unitary state would have to be abandoned so as to ensure that the US remained an ally during a period of "explosive peace in Eastern Europe" (*Telegraph*, 2000).

James De Candole worked as a speechwriter for Michael Heseltine in the 1980s. He is with the Prague-based lobbying firm Candole Partners, who chiefly focus on the energy sector, and is the head of the Thatcher Foundation in Prague (*Guardian*, 1993). De Candole is quoted in Schneider (2002) as saying: "An idiot's guide to lobbying in the Czech republic would consist of one word: corruption." He also worked in CEC Government Relations, with Marek Matraszek discussed below, one of the first Western-style lobbying company in Central Europe and was an affiliate of Burson-Marsteller (*Wall Street Journal*, 2006).

With Colin Gray, Payne left the Hudson Institute in 1981 to set up the National Institute for Public Policy (NIPP) which also included William E. Odom. Influenced by the IEDSS' Albert Wohlstetter, Gray and Payne helped shaped Reagan's early thinking about nuclear weapons strategy. In Gray & Payne (1980) 'Victory is Possible,' they argued that the US "must possess the ability to wage nuclear war rationally […] the West needs to devise ways in which it can employ strategic nuclear forces coercively, while minimizing the potentially paralyzing impact of self-deterrence […] forces that would enable a president to initiate strategic nuclear use for coercive, though politically defensive, purposes." NIPP was funded by the Carthage, Earhart, Olin, Bradley, Sarah Scaife and Smith Richardson foundations (Rightweb, 2010).

The other IEDSS collection (1991) 'Europe in Turmoil: The Struggle for Pluralism,' touched on similar themes and again I will select some of the authors not previously discussed: Gerhard Wettig, George Bailey, William E. Odom and Ken Robertson and then turn to examine the reception of the IEDSS' work. According to Wettig, the Soviets did not believe that deterrence should prevent a nuclear war: their strategy held that they could survive nuclear war. In contrast, writers like Mills and E. P. Thompson believed that the Soviets thought they could win a peaceful competition of cultures and economies, that they recognised the unique danger posed by nuclear weapons, and that there was no meaningful alternative to negotiation (German Historical Institute, 2009). In the 1980s Wettig was a research fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington and also worked for RFE/RL. Together with Jonathan Haslam he was part of the International Academic Advisory Group that classified Soviet Foreign Ministry archives (Kramer, 1993).

George Bailey was a director of Radio Liberty and a CIA officer who had worked for the anti-Soviet Russian-language magazine *Kontinent* and the right-wing Axel Springer Group Newspaper Trust. He was appointed at the same time as George R. Urban. Bailey's CIA task was to persuade Soviet citizens to betray their country and to recruit émigrés to be sent back to the Soviet Union on spying missions (Gennady & Vassily, 1985).

Lt. Gen. William E. Odom was the Director of the National Security Agency (NSA) (1985-1989) the US government's largest spying Agency. Previously he was the Army's assistant Chief of Staff for intelligence (Urban, 1997). Odom collaborated in the New Atlantic Initiative discussed above. He was a senior military and intelligence official and military assistant to Zbigniew Brzezinski under Reagan and worked at Brzezinski's Research Institute on Communist Affairs at Columbia, and later with the CSIS (*Washington Post*, 2008). Odom sent a memo to Carter recommending a decisive shift away from a "de facto policy of strategic retreat in the world to a policy of strategic and regional competition with Soviet power." This was said to have constituted the unsung groundwork for Reagan's more vociferous challenge to Communism. Odom also smuggled Alexander Solzhenitsyn's archive out of the USSR for propaganda purposes (*Telegraph*, 2008).

Written to coincide with the preparation of a Green Paper on UK policing, Ken Robertson argued that relaxation of the EU's internal frontiers could make London vulnerable to terrorist attacks by Basque or 'Action Directe' terrorists. Robertson was the author of several studies that promoted the work of the intelligence agencies and also the director of the University of Reading's Study Group on Intelligence (1982) and the Security and Intelligence Studies Group (1993). Robertson (1987) focussed on intelligence, terrorism and civil liberties, and was written for *Conflict Quarterly*, and took its views on intelligence from Roy Godson (whom Robertson published) and is an attack on Duncan Campbell and the National Council for Civil Liberties. Robertson argued that the intelligence services *are* accountable, even before public acknowledgement of the existence of MI6 by the government.

The reception of the IEDSS' 'Europe in Turmoil' was highly critical. Duffield (1994: 876) stated that no attempt had been made by it to address contemporary European security issues in a comprehensive manner. Nor did Duffield find "much editorial effort expended on weaving the disparate contributions into a somewhat cohesive whole," instead "the weaknesses of the volume clearly outweigh its strengths." Too many of the chapters were found to have only a tangential relationship, if any, to European defense and strategic studies. A second shortcoming was that the "distinctive and authoritative interpretation of events" promised in the introduction "is pursued at the expense of failing to provide any detailed record of the period in question." He also found that the IEDSS "seem more interested in winning old debates over such issues as Soviet intentions and the value of arms control than in sketching the outlines of post-Cold War Europe." Another contemporary review stated that the authors were "at a loss to explain the transition from communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe," and graphically highlighted a problem whereby "the generally bloodless, mostly nonviolent, astonishingly rapid collapse of state socialist regimes clashes with every belief about left totalitarianism conservatives have held since Lenin arrived at the Finland Station" (ECSA, 1995: 30). The purpose of Brian Crozier's "strange review" of the state of the Communist parties in Western Europe was said to be "to ring the alarm bell of domestic subversion. And yet, it is very difficult to see the miniscule and divided parties in Britain and Germany, or the withered party in France or the renamed party in Italy as anything besides dinosaurs or curiosities" (ECSA, 1995: 30). This is representative of critical writing that was unaware of Crozier's connections and propaganda work. Nevertheless the review noted that both Mark Almond and Crozier "go so far as to see the retreat of the Bolsheviks as a ruse to lull unsuspecting publics while the Reds lick their wounds and plan their returns." The reviewer added that that such Conservatives were left pining for the certainty of the "good old bad old days" and could not accept the messiness of the post-Communist era, in that although the Communist Parties no longer

had a monopoly of power "yet ex- or reformed, post- or renamed Communists are in or near positions of power throughout the former Warsaw Pact" (ECSA, 1995: 30).

If I expand this analysis to the full list of IEDSS publications (self published under a Hyperion Books or Alliance Publishers imprint) a greater overview of its themes and commonalities are apparent. The names of the authors and the title of the work are presented in order along with the title as an aid for the reader. Where the works have been previously or subsequently discussed I have made no comment.

- Douglas Eden & Frederick E. Short (eds.) (1981) 'Political Change in Europe: The Left and the Future of the Atlantic Alliance.'

Eden & Short (1980) focused on Eurocommunism carrying on from work done under the auspices of the Heritage Foundation (*Policy Review*, 1977). The concerns were that Communist victories in the French and Italian elections compromised NATO security: thus the legitimacy of these opposition parties was questioned. Salmon (1981) stated that the general argument of the book was unbalanced and reflected the roles that Haseler and Eden had played in the SDA and that it was a polemic, bemoaning the passing of an Atlanticist Labour and the Left's lessening commitment to NATO. On the contrary Stern (1981) in its entirety stated that:

> The alarming characteristics of the European Left, especially in the most vulnerable countries, i.e., Italy and Britain, are starkly analyzed in a series of essays that, inter alia, speak of "this new phase of brutalism" as something distinctly English, and warn, above all, against a rising tide of neutralism on the Left. A highly readable, perhaps excessively simple tract for our times.

If I continue with the first publications these begin in 1982.

- Philip Towle, Iain Elliot & Gerald Frost (1982) 'Protest And Perish: A critique of unilateralism.'
- Angelo M. Codevilla (1982) 'NATO Today: Curing self-inflicted wounds.'

An early mentor of the IEDSS Codevilla was a former US Foreign Service Officer, who helped formulate the Heritage Foundation's 'Mandate for Change' (*Washington Post*, 1981). An early proponent of SDI and the subsequent re-examination of the US/Soviet Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, Codevilla (1987) attacked Reagan for his record on SDI using classified material including NSC Directive 192 (*Aviation Week*, 1981; Anderson, 1987). Codevilla dealt with Western Europe and with matters affecting the US Intelligence Community and this included the oversight of the US Intelligence Services as a member of then President-Elect Reagan's Transition Teams (Claremont Institute, 2009). The IEDSS' Richard V. Allen was said to have used Codevilla in obtaining embargoed intelligence for the Reagan campaign on developments in Iran to try to head off an 'October surprise' by the Carter Administration (UPI, 1984a). Codevilla was also with the Hoover Institution and with Robert Conquest and Sidney Hook organised a support committee for Andrei Sakharov (*Business Wire*, 1986). In a review of Codevilla (1988) on the SDI, *Commentary* (1988) portrayed Codevilla's reputation as putting the CIA on a war footing with the Soviet Union who felt that Democratic Senators were more pro-SDI than the experts of the Republican party and: "The real brake is Reagan's and Weinberger's total deference to senior military officers." For *Commentary*, Codevilla was saying that the US armed services behaved in a 'venal and corrupt manner,' and the political leadership of the Republican Party betrayed intellectual and moral bankruptcy.

- David Carlton (1982) 'Great Britain and NATO: A parting of the ways?'

This was an analysis of Labour Party defence and foreign policy. Carlton was part of the SDA with the IEDSS' Stephen Haseler and Douglas Eden who ran Communist smears against the Labour National Executive in support of Reg Prentice in the mid-1970s (Clark, 1975). Carlton was a contributor to the *Times*, *Telegraph* and *Spectator*, who worked with the CSIS' Yonah Alexander and Paul Wilkinson on terrorism and

with Radio Free Europe (RFE/RL, 2005).

- Simon Webley (1982) 'The Law of the sea treaty: Some crucial questions for the United Kingdom.'
- Philip Towle (1983) 'Europe without America: Could we defend ourselves?'
- Edward Norman & Thomas Edwin Utley (1983) 'Ethics and nuclear arms: British Churches and the Peace Movement.'
- Gordon Crovitz (1983) 'Europe's Siberian Gas Pipeline: Economic lessons and strategic implications.'

L. Gordon Crovitz was the editor of the European edition of the *Wall Street Journal* (WSJ) where a debate on US disapproval of the Siberian pipeline was promoted. Crovitz wrote for the AEI and the Heritage Foundation (Crovitz, 1989) and his IEDSS work argued that the Europeans would be dependent on Soviet gas and the leverage it entailed had created a crisis in the Western Alliance (the US had enforced sanctions). The antipathy towards the pipeline was encouraged by the CIA led by William Casey as part of US attempt to interfere with the construction of the Siberia-to-Europe pipeline (Noren, 2001). The *Russian Review* stated that the IEDSS work was a propaganda tract with facts invented to serve a predetermined conclusion that the pamphlet was a disgrace that damaged the reputation of the Institute (Wilson, 1985: 211-212).

- Manfred R. Hamm (1983) 'Chemical Weapons: The growing threat to Europe.'

Hamm was a senior policy analyst, specializing in East-West security-issues at the Heritage Foundation. This was written when the Reagan administration decided to modernize the US' chemical weapons (Weikhardt, 1986).
- Patrick Macrory & Thomas Edwin Utley (1984) 'Britain's undefended frontier: A policy for Ulster; The Report of an Independent Study Group.'
- Caroline Cox & Roger Scruton (1984) 'Peace studies: a critical survey.'
- Jeane Kirkpatrick (1984) 'Idealism, realism and the myth of appeasement.'
- Jillian Becker (1985) 'The Soviet connection: State sponsorship of terrorism.'
- David Marsland (1985) 'Neglect and betrayal: war and violence in modern sociology.'

Marsland (1985) argued that sociology in the UK was "infected with bias against Nato and the defence of the free world." A key figure in the 1980/90s Radical Society and Libertarian Alliance, Marsland was a founding director of the Social Affairs Unit (Social Affairs Unit, 2010: 11). The International Freedom Foundation (IFF) discussed below, published Marsland saying that schools should be monitored for subversive influences (Wise, 1988). Marsland was also involved in Youth Call, a campaign aimed at reintroducing national service. In 1991 he was the recipient of the Aims of Industry-sponsored 'Thatcher Award' (Wintour, 1988).
- IEDSS press release (1985) 'Sociology courses infected with anti-NATO bias, says report.'
- Roger Scruton & Patricia Lança (1985) 'World studies: education or indoctrination?'
- IEDSS press release (1985) '"Curriculum activists" waging propaganda war in schools.'
- Alun Chalfont (1985) 'SDI: The case for the defence.'
- Patrick Cosgrave & George Richey (1985) 'NATO's Strategy: A case of outdated priorities?'

Cosgrave & Richey (1985) recommended the creation of a new NATO command with headquarters at Northwood. The author of (1992) 'The Strange Death of Socialist Britain,' Cosgrave was part of T. E. Utley's circle who joined the Conservative Research Department. He became a speechwriter and adviser to Thatcher in 1975 and as political editor of the *Spectator* waged a four-year assault on Edward Heath (*Telegraph*, 2001). With Lord Chalfont and Charles Douglas-Home, Cosgrave contributing to a rash of pre-election talk about 'coups' in the UK that appeared in the press culminating in August 1974 (*Spectator*, 1974; Ramsay, 1985). In this respect Cosgrave (1973)

stated "in my judgment, we have gone measurably down the road to such acceptance in the last decade, and we have travelled very quickly along it in the last year."

- Werner Kaltefleiter (1985) 'The Strategic Defence Initiative: Some implications for Europe.'

Founder of the Institute for Security Policy with Stephen Haseler, Kaltefleiter wrote (1981) 'NATO and Neutralism' for the Heritage Foundation, and was the subject of a celebration by William Van Cleave (a member of the 'Team B' Strategic Objectives Panel, and the CPD and an associate of Keith Payne above) and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff (Pfaltzgraff & Van Cleave, 2002). Pfaltzgraff and Kaltefleiter had edited (1985) 'The Peace movements in Europe & the United States,' at the same time as the IEDSS pamphlet. This was based on a conference that was co-sponsored by the Hanns Martin Schleyer Foundation (named after the Nazi SS officer murdered by the Red Army Faction) that asserted that the Soviet's supported the activities of the peace movements with various kinds of propaganda and disinformation campaigns (Pfaltzgraff & Kaltefleiter, 1985: 1). Kaltefleiter took part in 'Towards a grand strategy for global freedom,' a conference held in Kent by the Foreign Affairs Research Institute (FARI), in 1981. This was sponsored by Aims for Freedom and Enterprise (AIMS), FARI, and the CSIS.

- John C. Loulis (1985) 'Greece under Papandreou: NATO's ambivalent partner.'

Loulis was the Director of Studies of the Center for Political Research and Information in Athens, editor of the journal *Epikentra*. He worked with the Lehrman Institute in New York, which had connections to the AEI and the Heritage Foundation (Loulis, 1984). This attacked Papandreou as having "lashed out at the United States again" and claimed that the "Korean 007 airliner was in fact performing a CIA spy mission."

- Clive Rose & Peter Blaker (1985) 'Perception and reality: Opinion Poll on defence and Disarmament.'

Rose was Ambassador to NATO and chair of the Civil Contingencies Unit (the unaccountable body that could deal with civil emergencies by using police and troops as strike-breakers) during the 'Winter of Discontent' (BDOHP, 2011). Rose (1985) was based on ISC material prepared by Leonard Shapiro and Nigel Clive, a former MI6 officer and former head of the IRD that asserted that the Church-led peace movement was Soviet inspired (Pallister & Norton-Taylor, 1987). Rose was Chairman of the RUSI Council and a member of Control Risks and their Information Services with Peter Janke and Richard Clutterbuck of the ISC (*Times*, 1985) Rose was the author of two similar works that aimed to demonstrate the Soviet conspiracy theory.

- Stephen Haseler (1986) 'Anti-Americanism: Steps on a dangerous path.'
- Stephan Kux (1986) 'Europe's neutral states: Partners or profiteers in Western security?'

Kux (1986) focused on whether Austria, Ireland, Sweden and Switzerland were getting a "free ride" for their security on the back of the Western Alliance. Kux also wrote for the New York-based Institute for East-West Security Studies (now the EastWest Institute) founded in 1980 by John Edwin Mroz from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy (Mroz, 2011) and Michael Neiditch, Director of Education for B'nai B'rith International in Washington, thought to have been linked to the CIA and NED (Ignatius, 1991). Mroz was President Reagan and Alexander Haig's secret (most likely CIA) negotiator with the PLO in 1982, when Israel invaded Lebanon as the PLO were preparing to recognise Israel (UPI, 1984). Reagan denied knowledge of the meetings that amounted to 400 hours in 50 separate meetings between August 1981 and May 1982 (*Washington Post*, 1984).

- Christopher N. Donnelly (1986) 'Heirs of Clausewitz: Change and continuity in the Soviet war machine.'

the Soviet war machine.

This countered the Soviet argument that they would not be the first to use nuclear weapons by saying that if war broke out, the Soviet strategy would be to launch a large conventional offensive designed to overwhelm NATO's forces before nuclear weapons could come into play. Donnelly was the head of Soviet Studies at Sandhurst Royal Military Academy and was Soviet affairs adviser to NATO Sec. Gen. Manfred Woerner.

- Gerald Frost (ed.) (1986) 'No end of a lesson: Leading articles from the Times under the editorship of Charles Douglas-Home.'
- Jonathan Luxmoore (1986) 'The Helsinki agreement: Dialogue or delusion?'
- Michael Hickey (1986) 'The Spetsnaz threat: Can Britain be defended?'
- Michael Ruehle (1986) 'Preserving the Deterrent: A Missile Defense for Europe.'

The IEDSS distrusted Gorbachev's *glasnost* and *perestroika* initiatives and regarded them as a typically cunning conspiracy (Evans, 1989). Three new themes emerged in its publications and activities that acted as replacements: a continuation of the conflation of protest with subversion with the Green movement, an involvement in propaganda in Northern Ireland and an alignment to the National Endowment for Democracy's (NED) work in democracy promotion in Eastern Europe. Hickey (1987) was an IEDSS study that warned that at a time of tension, Soviet Spetsnaz troops could carry out selective assassinations and attack key strategic targets. Demonstrations and protests by the peace movements, coupled with well-organised industrial disruption, would be "an ideal cover for those with far more sinister intentions" (Hickey, 1987). For contemporary investigative journalists this was a classic example of the conflation of *all* left wing or other dissent with Communist subversion. Interest in the 'Spetsnaz threat' began in January 1986 when *Jane's Defence Weekly*'s cited sources indicating that Soviet activities around Greenham Common were a 'near perfect' example of Soviet preparations to deal with the Cruise Missile threat. A publicity campaign had began in 1983 with a group of retired UK military figures such as Lord Hill-Norton and Gen. Anthony Farrar-Hockley, to launch the idea of a "home army capable of defending Britain against the threat of Soviet raiding parties" (*Sunday Telegraph*, 1983). Hickey's work was an attempt to revive the idea in 1986.

Michael Ruehle is Head of the Policy Planning and Speechwriting Section in NATO's Political Affairs and Security Policy Division. He was a Research Fellow at the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Bonn, and a Visiting Fellow at the CSIS and with the World Security Network founded by Hubertus Hoffmann (Clark, 2011).

- Robert Miller (1986) 'Liability or asset? A Policy for the Falkland Islands.'
- Enzo Rossi (1986) 'Malta on the brink: From Western democracy to Libyan satellite.'
- Richard Pipes (1986) 'Legalized Lawlessness: Soviet revolutionary justice.'

Richard Pipes' work had an introduction from Lord Chalfont, and Pipes was in the US National Security Council and also a member of Team B, the hawk group of outside advisers to then-CIA director George Bush, and a member of the CPD. Their views were the basis of strategic culture-like arguments made by the Reagan administration about the nature of the Soviet threat (Johnston, 1995: 32).
- David E. Regan (1987) 'The new city republics: municipal intervention in defence.'

David Regan wrote Peace Through NATO's: 'It costs a bomb: the local government anti-nuclear campaign' and was a signatory of the £6,000 (1987) *Washington Post* advert warning of the dangers of the nuclear weapons deal between the US and the Soviet Union (discussed below). Regan was a member of the Oppressed Nations of Europe, Peace Through NATO, the Freedom Association, the CPS and the Bruges Group. Written for the CPS (Regan, 1987) argued that left-wing Labour control of town halls represented a challenge to national sovereignty (*Times*, 1987). Regan was a

town halls represented a challenge to national sovereignty (*Times*, 1987). Regan was a founder member (with Cox, Scruton and John Marks) of the Academic Council for Peace and Freedom, National Curriculum Council and the Educational Research Trust. He committed suicide "in a sacrificial protest against the way his university was being run under a "money-orientated" dictatorship" (*Independent*, 1994).

- William McGurn (1987) 'Terrorist or Freedom Fighter? The cost of confusion.'

McGurn concluded that the IRA and PLO were terrorist organisations, and that the Nicaraguan Contras and other groups supported by President Reagan were not. McGurn would become an executive at News Corporation and the speechwriter for Rupert Murdoch. Previously he was chief editorial writer for the *Wall Street Journal* and a member of its editorial board. McGurn eventually became a White House Speechwriting Assistant to President George W. Bush (Clark, 2010).

- Geoffrey Lee Williams (1987) 'The Neutralist tendency: Defence and the Left in Britain and Germany.'

Kirby (1987) in a review of Williams (1987) asserted that the work was grossly misleading and contained worryingly flimsy scholarship that flew in the face of all the evidence. The motivation for SDI was described as President Reagan's desire to replace 'assured survival,' but that was "precisely what he wants to move towards; it is assured destruction that he wishes to replace." Williams & Williams (1987) also appeared in several sites as (1985) 'The Neutralist Tendency: the SDP and the Labour Party.'

- Radek Sikorski (1987) 'Moscow's Afghan war: Soviet motives and Western interests.'
- Hugh Thomas (1987) 'Central America: Can Europe play a part?'

Thomas (1987) accused "thousands of Western visitors" of having been taken in by "Potemkin tours" and returning home "full of anti-American venom." Thomas argued that a hostile Communist base in Nicaragua would tie US hands, disrupt lines of communication and force the diversion of US resources away from Europe and also attacked the Sandinistas. Thomas called for a "Marshall Plan in reverse," a type of Central American Union brokered by Europe, which would use the threat of an extension of the "Contra war" to force Nicaragua to comply. Thomas had been briefly in the UK's Colonial Office in Ghana with the Foreign Office in the 1950s, then a lecturer at Sandhurst, joining the CPS in 1979-1990 with numerous clashes with Alfred Sherman (Harrison, 1994).

- Robin Brown (1987) 'Arms Control: Has the West lost its way?'

In a (2010) September 15 email, Robin Brown, who now works in public diplomacy, stated to me that the sole reason he got to know the IEDSS was that his then girlfriend, Harriet Sharrard, was their secretary, who "didn't take them too seriously." When Brown visited London to pick her up he would hang around the office: "I met Gerald [Frost] several times but the person who was normally there was Jonathan Luxmoore who edited the publications […] during the time Harriet was there (c.1985-1987) it was basically Frost and Luxmoore, three people in two and half rooms." As I noted earlier Sharrard went to work for Lord Bethel, something of an opponent of the IEDSS, and particularly Leopold Labedz (Bethel, 1994: 31).

- Robbin F. Laird & Susan Clark (1987) 'Britain's security policy: The modern Soviet view.'

Both Laird and Clark were researchers at the US government's Institute for Defense Analyses: this was based on the 1947 Weapons Systems Evaluation Group (Institute for Defense Analyses, 2009).

- David Gates (1987) 'Non-offensive defence: A Strategic contradiction?'

Gates was described as "an academic and occasional foreign policy adviser who has

links to NATO and the UK military" in Polman (1994). He was with the Centre for Defence & International Security Studies at Lancaster University and is now based at Royal Air Force College and has a fellowship with the Centre of International Security Studies and from 1985-1995. He was also a MoD Lecturer in Higher Defence Studies, and a member of the Chief of Air Staff's Advisory Panel on Air Power and a member of the IISS and RUSI.

- Philip Towle (1988) 'MPs and defence: A survey of Parliamentary knowledge and opinion.'
- Robbin F. Laird (1988) 'Bonn and Moscow: A partnership in progress?'
- Mark Almond (1988) 'Decline without fall: Romania under Ceausescu.'
- Juliana Geran Pilon & Ralph Kinney Bennett (1988) 'The UN: Assessing Soviet abuses.'

After years of CIA protection, Kurt Waldheim was thrown to the wolves (Ruffner, 1997). Pilon and Bennett (1988) alleged that during his 10-year period as Secretary-General of the UN, Waldheim was blackmailed to bow to Soviet pressure and aided in developing a spy network in the Russian Interpretation Section. Pilon was with the Hoover Institution and the Heritage Foundation, and wrote on Soviet 'active measures' and terrorism with Bennett, Roy Godson, James Goldsmith, John J. Dziak in Pilon (1987) for *Political Communication* when Yonah Alexander was Editor-in-Chief. Pilon was a protégé of Frank Shakespeare, Robert Conquest and Vladimir Bukovsky (Pilon, 1992) and was also with the International Foundation for Election Systems and the National Forum Foundation (NFF) both part of the NED (she also worked with RFE/RL and the Atlantic Council and B'nai B'rith).

The *New York Times* (1975) stated that *Reader's Digest* ran a series of adverts in the form of articles on the US economic system "processed editorially by *Reader's Digest* but paid for and controlled by big business […] written by Ralph Kinney Bennett, an associate editor, and sponsored by the Business Roundtable." This was part of a huge lobbying operation by 158 giant US Corporations to destroy an anti-trust bill in the form of the Roundtable (*New York Times*, 1975a). Bennett was an assistant managing editor of *Reader's Digest* at its Washington bureau and also worked for the AEI and the Heritage Foundation supporting the SDI (Kinney Bennett, 1988).

The *Reader's Digest*'s Washington bureau was a major outlet for Cold War propaganda and had significant connections to the US intelligence community (Heidenry, 1993). This conjunction with the American Business Roundtable and the CIA is indicative of a joint approach and Pilon's activities are indicative of her being an 'asset' at some level. She is now with Institute of World Politics who's faculty consists of the intelligence, national security, and diplomatic communities tied to right-wing networks (Institute of World Politics, 2010). The Heritage Foundation's 'Mandate for Leadership' tied US foreign aid to obligate developing nations to sell their corporations and public services similar to the European Round Table's involvement in privatisation.

- George Urban (1988) 'Gorbachev: Can the revolution be remade?'
- Christopher Coker (1988) 'Less important than opulence : the Conservatives and defence.'
- Angelo Codevilla (1988) 'The cure that may kill: unintended consequences of the INF treaty.'
- Robbin F. Laird (1988) 'Bonn and Moscow : a partnership in progress?'
- Geoffrey Lee Williams (ed.)(1989) 'Coming in from the Cold: The Evolution of French defence policy.'
- David Gates (1989) 'Light divisions in Europe: Forces of the future?'
- Michael Mates & Ray Whitney (1989) 'The Secret Services: Is there a case for greater openness?'

Michael Mates MP, then chairman of the Commons Select Committee on defence, called for a new IRD and found that there was no case for greater openness. Their work advocated targeted leaking by the security services "selected Soviet spy operations in

Britain should be exposed by the Government in order to increase popular sympathy for the security services" (Mates & Whitney, 1989).

- Christopher Coker (1989) 'CFE: The Soviet's hidden agenda.'
- Marko Milivojevic (1989) 'Descent into Chaos: Yugoslavia's worsening crisis.'
- K. G. Robertson (1989) '1992: Its security implications.'
- Boleslaw Adam Boczek (1989) 'Scandinavia: New focus of Soviet pressures.'
- George Bailey (1989) 'The perception mongers: Reflections on Soviet propaganda.'
- Brian Crozier (1990) 'Communism: Why prolong its death throes?'
- Mark Almond (1990) 'Retreat to Moscow: Gorbachev and the East European revolution.'
- William E. Odom (1990) 'Unreasonable Sufficiency? Assessing the new Soviet strategy.'
- Jan Arveds Trapans (1990) 'Impatient for Freedom? The Baltic struggle for independence.'

Jan Arveds Trapans worked with RFE and was the Defence Minister of Latvia and a liaison office to NATO and Ambassador at large for Security Affairs. He became a Senior Fellow at the Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces, and in the 1990s joined the Institute for International Policy Development in the UK (Trapans, 1997).

- Christopher Coker (1990) 'Who only England know: Conservatives and foreign policy.'
- Tadeusz Jarski (1990) 'A Troubled Transition: Poland's struggle for pluralism.'

Tadeusz Jarski-Jarzebowski, worked with RFE/RL and was the chairman of an organisation called Solidarity with Solidarity (SWS) created after the imposition of martial law in Poland in 1981, who termed the Rakowski cabinet "more totalitarian than Hitler's" at a meeting accompanying the Conservative Party Congress in Brighton in 1988 (Janiec, 1988). The *Times* (2007) stated that during the 1956 Hungarian uprising Jarski helped to organise a volunteer student battalion that wanted to fight against the Red Army. Thatcher's demands for Polish freedom and eventual visit were attributed to the constant pressure the SWS exerted via countless organised demonstrations. Furr (1982) was an early account of the *Wall Street Journal's* (see Gordon Crovitz above) irritation over claims that, through the AFL-CIO, the CIA was undertaking to manipulate Solidarity.

- Vallery Tchukov (1990) 'Still in the Queue: Bulgaria waits for democracy.'
- Lewis A. Dunn (1991) 'Containing nuclear proliferation.'

In the mid-1980s Lewis A. Dunn served as Assistant Director of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and was part of the delegation Reagan sent to Geneva to negotiate arms reduction with the Soviet Union (Johns Hopkins University, 2011). Dunn writes for the CSIS' *Washington Quarterly*, and previously had been with the Hudson Institute where he worked with Herman Khan (Dunn & Kahn, 1976). According to Potter (2008) "…the Dunn-Kahn model rejected the exclusive focus by realists on security drivers and sought to probe beneath the rhetoric to identify the possible presence of other pressures and constraints […] Their forecasts […] were almost without exception wildly off the mark. Why, one may inquire, were their pessimistic projections about nuclear weapons spread—and those of their past and subsequent counterparts in the intelligence community—so often divorced from reality?"

- John Gray (1991) 'The strange death of Perestroika: Causes and consequences of the Soviet coup.'
- Mark Almond (1991) 'National Pacifism: Germany's new temptation.'
- Philip Towle (1991) 'Pundits and Patriots: Lessons from the Gulf War.'
- Andrew McHallam (1991) 'The New Authoritarians: reflections on the Greens.'

With the end of the Cold War the IEDSS augmented its propaganda to include left-wing extremism within the environmental movement and other groups who opposed nuclear weapons. In 1993 Andrew McHallam would take over as IEDSS executive director from Frost and McHallam (1991) warned of the growing threat of "eco-terrorism" which had a fundamentally "anti-capitalist and anti-societal outlook." Jonathan Porritt dismissed the report as "dizzyingly unstructured, ill-informed and facile" (Rowell, 1996: 327). The *Guardian* and the *Independent* reported the authoritarian traits McHallam had found: such as the Green movement having grown "out of small groups of alienated left-wing radicals […] some of them violent and anarchic in character" (McHallam, 1991a). The *Independent* found the 'Greens a "threat to personal freedom," and quoted McHallam's views on "a rejection of Christian values in favour of paganism, with some extremists already to use eco-terrorism" (Schoon, 1991). Nicholas (1991) argued that the IEDSS preferred to smear the Greens to stifle debate "by enlisting Cold War anti-communist impulses in unquestioned support of the status quo" (Nicholas, 1991) while Frost (1991) rejected this.

- Christopher Coker (1991) 'A Farewell to Arms: The irrelevance of CFE.'
- James de Candole (1991) 'Czechoslovakia: Too velvet a revolution?'
- Gerald Frost (ed.) (1991) 'Europe in Turmoil: The Struggle for Pluralism.'
- Peter Stein & Ingemar Dörfer (1991) 'The death knell of social democracy: Sweden's dream turns sour.'
- Alun Chalfont (1992) 'Options Foreclosed: The cost of avoiding a Strategic Review.'
- Keith B. Payne (1992) 'Countering Proliferation: New criteria for European Security.'
- Anthony Hartley (1992) 'The Irrelevance Of Maastricht: Redefining the Atlantic community.'
- Geoffrey Lee Williams (1992) 'The logic of diversity: thoughts on the structure of European defence.'
- David Pryce-Jones (1992) 'At war with modernity: Islam's challenge to the West.'
- IEDSS Study Group (1992) 'After the Soviet collapse: New realities, old illusions.'
- Taras Kuzio (1992) 'Ukraine, the unfinished revolution.'

Kuzio is a Senior Transatlantic Fellow at the German Marshal Fund of the USA and the NATO Information and Documentation centre in Ukraine, who works for the Jamestown Foundation who worked for RFE/RL supporting the NED's 'democracy-promotion' (Kuzio, 2010; 2011). Kuzio has widespread connections to US and UK intelligence and performs consultancy work with the IFE on public opinion surveys in Ukraine, or Freedom House, the CSIS and the Heritage Foundation via agreements with the US government, Booz-Allen-Hamilton and with the UK government via Wilton Park. He runs Kuzio Associates, a government communications company based in Washington and Kyiv (Kuzio, 2011a).

- Marko Milivojevic (1992) 'Wounded eagle: Albania's fight for survival.'
- Mark Almond (1992) 'Still serving secretly: Soviet bloc spies under new masters.'
- David Gates (1993) 'The false alternative: Europe's security dilemma.'
- Max Beloff (1993) 'A tale of two Europes.'
- Svetoslav Bombik; Pavel Bratinka; Jerzy Marek Nowakowski; William E. Odom, & Tamas Waschler (1993) 'NATO: the case for enlargement.'

This was jointly published with the IEDSS' Windsor Group prior to a NATO summit on NATO expansion. Pavel Bratinka was deputy Foreign Minister, responsible for intelligence and the security service. He also runs his own Public Affairs company (Prague Society, 2011). He is a member of the Prague Society, a far-right business lobby organisation that included F. W. de Klerk, Caroline Cox, Dr. John Marks and Jessica Douglas-Home under the umbrella of the Global Panel that included Cox, John O'Sullivan together with Lord Robertson, Lord Holme and James Woolsey (Global Panel, 2011).

- Gareth Winrow (1993) 'Where East meets West: Turkey and the Balkans.'

- Jillian Becker (1993) 'Neo-Nazism: a threat to Europe?'
- Johnathan Sunley (1993) 'Hungary: the triumph of compromise.'

Sunley was the director of the Windsor Group (WG) set up under the auspices of the IEDSS and funded by the Heritage Foundation. The essay warned that the former Communists in Hungary could win a comeback victory in the 1994 elections: a key theme for Sunley in the *National Review* and the *National Interest*. He was a member of Helsinki Human Rights Group with Mark Almond and Christine Stone (see below) and involved in CEC Government Relations with Marek Matraszek and James de Candole previously mentioned. In 1998 the US Ambassador to the Slovak Republic stated that Sunley had "misrepresented the facts that have informed U.S. policy" (*National Review*, 1998). The WG's purpose was to work together for the consolidation of capitalist reforms and create a new right-wing party, mainly in Poland (probably an NED project). It emerged from a conference of Eastern European politicians held in the UK in Windsor, June 1992, hence the name. By 1997, both Sunley and Almond were attacking George Soros for "laundering" former Communist politicians (Morals, 1997).

- Christopher Coker & James Sherr (1994) 'Arms for oblivion: British defence policy in the 1990s.'
- David Pryce-Jones (1994) 'At war with modernity: Islam's challenge to the West.'

David Pryce-Jones, a former Army intelligence officer, was the senior editor of the *National Review*, having written for the small range of other right-wing magazines such as *Encounter*, *Commentary* and *New Criterion* and he was also with Benador Associates, as is the IEDSS' John O'Sullivan (Doon, 2003; Benador, 2003). He is also known for his support of the Israeli state and attacks on its critics such as Ilan Pappe or Robert Fisk (Pryce-Jones, 2003).

- Matthew D'Ancona *et al*. (1994) 'Ulster: After the ceasefire.'

The IEDSS was named in 1995 in connection with allegations surrounding a damaging leak that provided selective details of an Anglo-Irish framework document that proposed a joint North-South Irish authority in Northern Ireland. D'Ancona (1994) argued that the IRA ceasefire "may actually have destablilised Ulster," but denied accusations he set out to disrupt the peace talks (Ellingsen, 1995). The leak was termed "a cold attempt to sabotage" negotiations in which the report colluded (Greenslade, 1995).

- Marek Matraszek (1994) 'Poland, the politics of restoration.'

The organiser of the IEDSS' Windsor group who had been part of the pre-Solidarity anti-Communist underground, Matraszek was the Secretary of the Jagiellonian Trust run by the IEDSS' Caroline Cox to work with Conservatives and Republican parties in Poland and was the Margaret Thatcher Foundation's Warsaw director (Matraszek, 2010; *Evening Standard*, 1993). He is a director of CEC Government Relations, a lobbying group in Warsaw that worked on NATO related issues representing Lockheed Martin and Boeing, when the IEDSS' Radek Sikorski was former deputy defence minister (*New York Times*, 1998). In connection to the sale of F-16 aircrafts to the Polish government, in 2003 he was accused of working for MI6 by the head of the Internal Security Agency (*Polish News Bulletin*, 2006). He has numerous connections to members of Freedom House, NED, CSIS, the Atlantic Council and other Atlanticist groups (CUSUR, 2011). With James de Candole (above) he founded CEC in 1992, and represented Burson-Marsteller in the Czech Republic, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Poland (*Wall-Street*, 2006).

- Daniel Hannan (1994) 'Towards 1996: Britain in a multi-speed Europe.'

Hannan became an office bearer in the UK Independence Party and chairman of the Campaign for an Independent Britain. He was also a leader-writer for the *Daily*

Telegraph and adviser to Michael Howard and with the European Research Group (*Sunday Times*, 1999).

- Robert Halfon (1995) 'Retreat or reform? Russia's struggle for democracy.'

Halfon was part of a Freedom Association-led initiative to persuade the government to end compulsory membership of student unions that also involved the CPS (*Times*, 1990). He was formerly with lobbyists GPC Market Access and APCO (*PR Week UK*, 1998). He was the author of (1998) 'Corporate Irresponsibility,' for the Social Affairs Unit, which argued that companies were caving in to pressure groups such as Greenpeace and Amnesty. In 1999 he was a key member of Jeffrey Archer's London Mayoral campaign team (*Guardian*, 1999). Other affiliations include Bruce Jackson's Project on Transitional Democracy and he is the Political Director of the Conservative Friends of Israel (*PR Newswire US*, 2006).

- T. Kuzio (1995) 'Ukraine: Back from the brink.'
- Christine Stone (1995) 'A democratic deficit? post-Soviet elections observed.'

Christine Stone (wife of Norman Stone) ran the British Helsinki Human Rights Group (BHHRG) set up in 1994 to monitor the OSCE and act as a lobby group much in the manner of those previously outlined in supporting the *status quo ante* in the former Soviet Union (BHHRG, 2010). According to its 2005 and 2004 accounts, BHHRG is funded by Giles Conway-Gordon of US hedge fund and Cogo Wolf Global Strategies that invests in Eastern Europe. The *Economist* (2004) noted Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia, Alexander Lukashenka of Belarus, and Viktor Yanukovich as among BHHRG's clients. Jessica Douglas-Home (wife of Charles) was a BHHRG observer in the Ukrainian elections of 1994 (Douglas-Home, 1994).

- Norman Cigar (1995) 'The right to defence: thoughts on the Bosnian arms embargo.'

Cigar (1995) along with Zalmay Khalilzad and Eugene Rostow was part of a call for a return to the 'Reagan Doctrine' with a covert build up of the Bosnian government army (Associated Press, 1995). Cigar argued that the arms embargo prevented Bosnia from obtaining the weapons they were entitled to under international law and that Slobodan Milosevich knew that Serbia would be ruined by prolonged fighting, also reflected in Cigar's *Washington Times* (1994) leader.

- Mark Almond (1995) 'Russia's outer rim Integration or disintegration?'
- Stephen Haseler (1996) 'The politics of peace.'
- Andrew Hubback (1996) 'Prophets of doom: the security threat of religious cults.'

Hubback was the editor of war journal *Conflict International*, and research director of the International Freedom Foundation (along with George Gardiner, a Tory MP) who accused the Green Party of having "fallen into the terrorist camp through its 10-year alliance with the West German Greens Die Grunen" (Wood, 1989). According to Frank (2008) the IFF was founded in the 1980s by Jack Abramoff as a front for apartheid South Africa that diversified into promoting the Contras. The IFF had connections with the IEDSS' Lord Chalfont who was also a council member of the Foreign Affairs Research Institute that the *Guardian* showed in 1983 to be a South African government-funded front (Pallister & Norton-Taylor, 1989).

- Robert Thomas (1996) 'Serbia, still Europe's pariah?'
- Geoffrey Lee Williams & Alan Lee Williams (1996) 'Terrorism: the failed response.'

71. Conclusion

One initial observation about these publications is how few they were in contrast to the large sums of money the IEDSS was receiving from the Heritage Foundation. Up to 1990 this work has the look of recycled CPS and Heritage Foundation material. Work such as Crovitz (1983) on the Siberian Gas Pipeline were probably instigated by the CIA (Noren, 2001). The Margaret Thatcher Foundation (2011) established that Richard Allen and the CIA wanted to kill the project altogether. It is not that I am offering an

elaborate way of saying that the IEDSS was exclusively right wing. critical review of its publications reveals that it offered value-laden assumptions that met with a high degree of censure, yet it received the backing of state institutions. This would be indicative of a propaganda function. The affiliations and institutional ties of the IEDSS authors, even if the members of the IEDSS are *not* taken into consideration, reveal general patterns. The first order can be put as connections to the Heritage Foundation, RFE/RL, the Hudson Institute, AEI and the CSIS, and they offer an indication of what these organisations were doing in the 1980s and 1990s in relation to Europe. I also identified connections to the organisations that formed their Cold War outreach networks; that were funded by the Heritage Foundation (and the CIA) such as Peace Through NATO and the International Freedom Foundation to covertly effect political change in Europe. These were also designed to contain dissent within Europe under NATO command and promote it in areas under the Soviet Union's dominance.

As with my study of those involved in the New Atlantic Initiative (which extended the life of the IEDSS) in the post-Cold War environment I identified individuals with ties to those organizations set up as fronts, and who received funding through the conduit of the NED as it took over the work of the CIA. Organisations such as the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) was also involved in the South and Central American aspects of Oliver North's 'Project Democracy.' The Institute of North-South Issues (INSI) a primary money channel in Oliver North's Iran-Contra supply network, also involved Roy Godson, then with the Heritage Foundation (and NSIC), who with Edwin Feulner helped solicit funds from private donors at North's direction, under cover of contributions to the Catholic church in Nicaragua (Walsh, 1993; Hamilton & Inouye, 1995: 97). The latter also briefly touches on Godson's efforts to counter disinformation in Europe (Hamilton & Inouye, 1995: 514).

With the NED and 'Project Democracy' the plan was to aid counter-forces to weaken the Soviet Union and, after 1990, to aid the expansion of NATO and primarily US capital into the former Soviet Union. The organisations created (or developed) to do this merged with the forerunners of the work, the small lobbying companies and NED-related entities I outlined earlier. UPI (1987) outlined the denial that 'Project Democracy' included a covert section headed by Lt. Col. Oliver North and that the NED was set up simply to give financial assistance to democratic institutions worldwide.

It is a remarkable co-incidence that three members of CEC Government Relations: James de Candole, Marek Matraszek and Johnathan Sunley are IEDSS writers. The work of the IEDSS' Windsor Group in producing these networks is still relatively obscure, as is study of the precursor organisations such as the Jagiellonian Trust, the Prague Society and the Civic Institute. Within this network I also found direct involvement with NATO, official voices or collections of them and its intermediaries in the form of right-wing elements of the RUSI Council, the Atlantic Council, and at times noted their interpenetration with Permanent Secretaries such as Rose, allowed to be outspoken on key issues; and with privatized security organisations such as Control Risks, and particularly in its earlier work links to Crozier's ISC.

And I also set out the representation of those who were in positions of influence amongst US intelligence and in advisory positions in respect of its nuclear weapons strategy with the locus of organizations such as the Hudson Institute. Alongside this I also identified a range of anti-left groups such as the Social Democratic Alliance, also connected to Crozier, and the Foreign Affairs Research Institute. On the UK side I also identified: Thatcher speechwriters, members of the Social Affairs Unit, the Freedom Association, the CPS and the Bruges Group. I also identified associations with organizations that involved several members of the IEDSS such as the ideological forum of the *National Review* or promotional, and support organizations such as Benador Associates.

If the themes of the IEDSS' writing are examined the works fall into a small range of types that are generally interventionist in tone, and modeled on the strategy of the Heritage Foundation, and the concept of the 'Phantom Academy' that were both

Heritage Foundation, and the concept of the 'Phantom Academy' that were both discussed in the thesis. In short, these seem focused on anticipating and offsetting specific issues, such as political change in Northern Ireland, the Heritage Foundation-led campaign against UNESCO and so on. They tended to use rhetorical questions; again in relation to various policy positions, often in an alarmist manner with reformulations of very general areas, such as 'sociology,' into manageable specific propaganda targets, using a crude reductionism. These are also marked by a quasi-Christian ideological enforcement that circumscribes patterns of thought.

Section Nine: Conclusion

Was the IEDSS what it purported to be, or was it part of the trajectory Mills, E. P. Thompson and parapolitical researchers described ? I believe I have set out sufficient evidence to confirm that the IEDSS was part of an extensive propaganda network operating in the US, UK and Europe. In my attempt to analyse the IEDSS I have examined the range of relations among its members: how they were constructed in terms of specific interconnections. These were compared and linked to specific theories about the IEDSS using a methodological approach derived from the question sets based on Mills' approach that could be applied to other organisations. I engaged in a structural definition of the IEDSS through the identification of the inter-relations of its members that entailed a differentiation of the character and roles, largely by the means of comparative analysis. In the historical definitions the IEDSS employed and in what it advocated I also identified meaning in terms of continuance and change that followed the propaganda dictates of the Cold War. I also located the IEDSS' intellectual perspective in terms of the affects on (and the affects of) the human development of the members, and differentiated the ways of history making that marked the positions that emanated from, for example, the Heritage Foundation and the CSIS as nodes in a larger loosely organised propaganda network that included the IEDSS. But I have not dwelt on this to pursue opinion. By combining and linking together history and biography and the *para*-political material I have shone some light on the IEDSS' place in the submerged aspects of the deep political structure of society and its role in the mechanics of the type of society the Cold War and its aftermath constructed. Within this perspective and within the time frame of the study, I also identified the changes in human nature that the IEDSS aimed to bring about, define and delimit. I also presented the IEDSS in terms of the intellectual problems that it put forward, including how these related to the private interests of the individuals involved. The type of society the IEDSS propounded was one of mass surveillance, a world of either communists or capitalists with nothing in between.

72. Conclusion

The IEDSS was an attempt to fashion a Cold War 'Thatcherite' think tank that, to judge by the review of its literature alone, had no intention of adhering to a politically objective perspective. By studying it in depth what I identified included its place in US government-run 'public diplomacy' operations such as 'Project Democracy,' together with the *extent* of its attempts to manipulate the news media, academia and numerous fora as a form of exercising power via what Mills termed the cultural apparatus. But the IEDSS also had an ambiguity and a complex—and at times irascible—relationship with the intelligence services and the Thatcher and Reagan administrations and not just antipathy towards the Labour party. This also extended to a dissatisfaction and disillusionment within some of the IEDSS' membership towards the society produced by the free market policies they advocated.

I also examined its network's attempts to extinguish the voice of what Mannheim termed the 'free floating intelligentsia,' typified by Mills, Thompson and Ellsberg and found that the backgrounds of many of the IEDSS' members were in forms of psychological warfare. This became synonymous with the Cold War (Lippmann's phrase is itself a psychological *adjustment* to the post-war order) because psychological warfare generated the stereotypes that reinforced the beliefs of elites that the Cold War was an ideological, psychological and cultural competition for 'hearts and minds' that would be won or lost on what was viewed as the battlefield of public opinion. Guided by developments in social psychology, the practice of propaganda became inextricably linked to the other practices of psychological warfare and covert action, extending into:

trade, economic warfare, diplomacy, threats of force, cultural and educational exchange programs, subversion, assistance to underground resistance movements, smearing and attacking opponents, paramilitary operations, the sponsoring of revolutions or counterrevolutions. All of these facets were present in the IEDSS. But the wide range of clandestine warfare I have outlined only really scratched the surface.

The justification for official propaganda tended to be that it was necessary to combat enemy lies—to promote the *truth*. But here, to paraphrase Gouldner: people may and do reject information discrepant with the things they value: our highest values, no less than our basest impulses may make liars of us. The extent of this 'semi-organized irresponsibility,' to use Mills' phrase, was traced back to the formation of two key organisations: the CCF and the IRD, both organised and loosely co-ordinated by the CIA and MI6 respectively.

Following Weber, I identified an over-arching bureaucratic functional *rationalization*: the use of knowledge to achieve desired ends as part of the means of the coordination and control over socio-political processes. The trend towards increasing rationalization and bureaucratization that led to the creation of the National Security Council meant that power relations may exist throughout society but politics, which is the struggle for power, is here, mainly at the state level. For this 'secret state' power, legitimacy and domination were inevitably concentrated in an elite which regarded democracy and the idea of popular sovereignty as a sham—given our Cold Warriors tendency to discuss its overthrow at home and abroad. Substantive rationality, concerning consistent values or actions were diminished in favour of a practical rationality focussed on the pragmatic consideration of ends.

With the discussion of the CSIS, the majority of the US members of the IEDSS were seen to have combined a reliance on irrationality (in the form of various types of metaphysical pathos) with a direct use of mainly Catholic, Jesuit dogma interpreted with a highly politicised neo-Machiavellianism. These arcane and at times crypto-fascist overtones were related to a pining for a trans-historical aristocracy. If the clock is to be turned back to neo-liberalism bolstered by superstition then is there not all the more need for a return to the classic tradition in sociology to analyse this *again*? This formal rationality, the language of bureaucratic organisations that tends towards rules, laws and regulations, supported by quasi-religious and militaristic theoretical rationality, contained abstract concepts that that I would argue are largely reducible to, and conform to Mills' conception of 'crackpot realism' servicing the 'Conservative mood' with a Liberal practicality operating on the cultural apparatus to capture and control debate in a concerted and well-funded manner.

Generally speaking, throughout the study, I also traced other elements of the formative social, political and historical structures in which members of the IEDSS interacted. One such locus for the American members was the Watergate cover-up and the Iran-Contra affair and war profiteering-based lobbying work. The norms, values and belief systems that prevailed in these somewhat closed worlds were located as *vocabularies* of motive in several quotations and were specified in situations that required presenting a restricted view of reality as part of the formation of various propaganda narratives and psychological operations. These were framed as adjuncts to military interventions and included the psychological adjustment of the 'Successor Generation,' and its successful attempts to expunge the influence of the New Left on a potential future elite together with the memory of Watergate and the Vietnam War. These were the delimited societal situations for which such vocabularies were adduced to be appropriate. It is only situated thus, that the IEDSS and its motivational and highly directive language can be properly understood.

For the Foundation-funded think tanks the structural change at the end of the Cold War and the passing of the Reagan and Thatcher governments confused, changed but *continued* this vocabulary of motive, largely via a cognitive dissonance geared to a mythology that Thatcher and Reagan had brought about the end of the Soviet 'Evil Empire.' But if Thatcher had so momentously won the Cold War why was she

dispensed with during the victory? More to the point, although I observed a reluctant shift to abandon Cold War rhetoric, I also observed a more eager neo-Liberalism with the rise of the NED and NATO expansion, that was reflected in the creation of the IEDSS' Windsor Group and other Eastern European fronts, as advocated by the IEDSS' final venture the New Atlantic Initiative. This drew on the mid-1980s democracy promotion aspects of Reagan's 'Project Democracy' that became a well-funded replacement for the CIA's work. With the advent of Heritage Foundation funding, the amount and variety of structural changes within this parapolitical network increased and become interconnected, with the IEDSS modulating into semi-private lobbying groups and hosting small secretive elite enclaves. The NED's democracy promotion can still be seen at work in the present day projections of US power.

The IEDSS' view of the nation state was as the unit within which types of men and women were formed as in a factory. For all the rhetoric offered on freedom and liberty, a belief in conditioning and coercion by propaganda was not just a commonality of most of the individuals under study: it was their profession. Taken collectively in the IEDSS' *weltanschauung* the work towards creating a free democracy actually encouraged a one 'party' system accompanied by a supine surrogate opposition. They felt that the people should be induced to take a largely unquestioning place in the struggle between nations and between blocs of nations and this included conditioning a 'Successor Generation,' or advancing the 'non-Communist left' or creating political parties such as the SDA. These were part of general systematic attacks on a now defunct or neo-Liberal left whose subversive tendencies were deliberately blown out of proportion. They were accompanied by specific literary show trial-like attacks on *reasoners* such as E. P. Thompson when they called for representative democracy to be more than liberal rhetoric.

In its attacks on legitimate dissent the IEDSS *demonstrated* how, as Mills argued: the Cold War was also a struggle over the types of human beings that would eventually prevail. This also alludes to why culture and politics are now so intimately related. Mills and Gerth argued that in the small elite circles there occurs a social selection and training of leaders for larger tasks, a form of reproduction, a winnowing out. With the large US Foundations and associations such leaders tend to be self-appointed and the competitive performance of their roles as decision-making *leaders* together with the commercial success of their literature is somewhat imaginary. We are back to Weber's identification of a prototype of capitalism with 'voluntary' associations such as the religious sect: and its concept of the elect, the sanctified and also the demonized. Such associations, when secularized and diffused in various strata, form a pluralist field of units within and between which the individual, for his or her own self-esteem, must put themselves over. In the process of doing so, the individual is naturally stamped by the values and models carried by the associations; and I outlined *many* Foundation-funded associations of which the members of the IEDSS were part of or funded by. Collectively these amounted to the key militaristic propaganda institutions that blended and moulded economics, politics and foreign policy in forms of power that conformed to the three interlocking elements of the 'Power Elite.' The forms of power the IEDSS advocated, implicitly and explicitly, were coercion, physical force and manipulation, and it provided a raft of exaggerated crises that it argued justified the execution of extreme measures using such methods. This is largely the task of propaganda, and in this respect I set out that the IEDSS' membership held high-level positions within the bureaucratic structures that organised US and UK government propaganda. As the Burnhamesque managerial ethos unfolded in the CCF, Mills saw authority shifting towards *manipulation* to become dominant in dictating 'public opinion.' He also observed how the power of manipulation was founded upon methods of control provided by social science and technology. Christopher Simpson's work expands our knowledge of this organization of formal rationalization, including its political dimension and techniques of manipulation in the covert development of RFE/RL; but I feel his work has been somewhat ignored. Other writers, such as E. P. Thompson, who included the parapolitical dimension in their analysis, or the work of Robin Ramsay have suffered a similar fate or have been directly tainted by propagandists. Nevertheless this work is a valuable contribution to understanding the post-war society of the last fifty years that

puts a parapolitical element in place that has been confirmed by eventual official declassification.

My analysis confirmed Mills' belief that the shift towards the *centralization* of political power meant that authority needs, and has recourse to, manipulation in its desire for *legitimization* to secure loyalty and obedience. It is almost impossible to imagine contemporary politics without this as illusion and deception have become its hollow core. I would also argue that this study confirms that manipulation develops when centralized authority is *not* publicly justified and when those in power *do not* believe it can honestly be justified—if indeed honesty, in a pure form ever arises as a bureaucratic consideration. Is it then the case that power has dangerously shifted from the overt to the covert, from the accountable to the unaccountable, requiring more and more subtle forms of exploitation? Either way power involves specific psychological processes to manipulate consent. Furthermore a large part of this process involved the conflation of dissent with subversion; and with the intelligence agencies in the 1970s and 1980s this led to the institutionalised conflation of subversion with opposition to government. This drift was led and conducted by a small band of parapolitical entrepreneurs: supported by a market for, and encouragement of propaganda typified by the activities of the Heritage Foundation. What was effectively a hunt for and maintenance of a conspiracy theory required membership of a clique-like set of people to mount what they insisted was a *counter*-conspiracy, involving fighting fire with fire. Because such manipulation is hidden it deprives the oppressed or exploited from identifying the exploiter and effectively removes the check of reason and conscience of the ruler towards the ruled. We should know that the government is secretly our accuser and has manufactured the evidence or our consent.

My study confirms that the 'Power Elite' model is suitable for modern societies wherein concentrated wealth, those who command the resources of the vast bureaucratic organisations that have come to dominate industrial societies, are not in evidence: this is Veblen's absentee ownership on a more developed scale. With the covert world see absentee owners of *ideology*. If such an elite influence or occupy (at times by proxy) the key leadership positions within the bureaucracies in which the effective means of power is located: then their power is rooted in the symbolic attributes of the authority of these social organisations, possibly not of the qualities of the individuals themselves, and again we begin to see the need for deception. Aspects of this coordination stem from the interchange of personnel between the three elite hierarchies: Economy, Government and Military. But the relative ease and frequency with which individuals pass from one hierarchy to another should not obscure inter-elite rivalry. Are the high and mighty also an intellectual elite or do they simply require intelligent propagandists and a phalanx of eccentric second-hand dealers in ideas? The IEDSS contained *overseeing* individuals at the upper echelons of US and UK power, with extensive expertise in propaganda, and who directed large-scale projects aimed at Europe. As an institution the IEDSS was part of a 'phantom academy,' a constellation of groups, that aimed to act upon the ideological domain between the masses and the elite: the middle level of power composed of opinion leaders, special interest groups and sections of the mass media, who for the most part neither represent the masses nor have any real effect on the elite. My study, because of its focus on the 1980s, mostly reflected upon the ideological elements of this middle-level of power. But in its initial stages, within the IEDSS' composition, I also examined the propagandistic manufacture of a (somewhat abortive) 'consensus' with the Social Democrats, an example of a Liberal practicality that had the aim of trying to diminish any challenge to elite authority in the political arena, much as the CCF had attempted.

Where I delved deeper into the IEDSS' verificatory models and determinants of knowledge I found that they were marked by a generic character that derived its function, criteria and epistemological forms *entirely* from within a Cold War propaganda paradigm. *All* challenges were simply deemed irrational in what is a perfect example of Mannheim's writing on functional rationality. Indeed I also identified the same direction from absentee owners, the Foundations, fulfilling their politicizing role as set out by Veblen. A largely reactionary, mostly right wing, conspiratorial and

quasi-militaristic orientation, offered at exclusive clandestine events, comprised the social factors that directed and showcased the IEDSS' findings. They were corroborated by their place in a self-reinforcing network comprised of largely the same group of people: something of a conspiracy cartel. Very little evidence was presented by the IEDSS to validate their theory that a Soviet conspiracy had total domination of the UK society, as put forward by figures such as Brian Crozier or Caroline Cox. Even when the Cold War reached a critical juncture, the types of inquiry that entered as a determinant of knowledge remained the same. Aspects of the cognitive dissonance that I identified in the 1990s with the NAI business-funded lobby even led to a preference for the *status quo ante* of the former Soviet Union.

I viewed the properties of these small inter-related networks as important in terms of communication (in the range of ways I have defined it). Exposure of the nature and activities of the inter-related groups that the IEDSS was dependent upon and part of was sparse while it existed. A similar situation has persisted today, inclusive of the understanding of the role of think tanks, and the import of the wider propaganda and influence networks that they can serve to justify. I also outlined how such a think tank-based network aimed to provide the basis for economic exploitation as the IEDSS followed the path of the NED's organisations in trying to open up and exploit Eastern Europe after the fall of the Soviet Union. This had the expectation that all former dissidents would become capitalist entrepreneurs. Here the NED's network followed the camp, more than the banner of NATO expansion, having a concomitant role in arms sales, defence lobbying and promulgation of neo-Liberal values.

The end of the Cold War did not witness an extensive public re-assessment of whether the US and the UK had actually been overrun by Soviet agents to the extent Cold Warriors said they were: an extent comparable to mediaeval fears of Lucifer. The other related social effects of this monomania, included the state's accretion of a security apparatus devoted to various forms of media management and manipulation: the forms of control and deception required to foment and maintain a hostile posture within the populace, have been, sociologically speaking, left largely unexamined. In the post-Cold War period in the UK, the Cold War left, what was targeted as the Successor Generation, offered little to counter the imposition of the post-Cold War ideological (economic) correlation of privatization and marketization, and with due 'Liberal Practicality' much of it joined in the process of neo-Liberalisation. In the 1990s the public saw no gain from the end of state Cold War expenditure. The individuals previously described above, and the networks and organisations of which they were a part, were themselves part of the causal connections that controlled and influenced the changes and continuities that came under the rubric of the Cold War. They were its propagandists, subversives and psychological warriors—its parapolitical actors. Disinformation was the key component of their network and although anti-establishment in the Thatcherite sense, this network was elite driven and funded. Study of its activities is either poorly developed, hidden or ignored; or obfuscated in the hands of government-sponsored writers subsumed in metaphysical eschatological conceptions akin to the earlier 'end of ideology.' This lacuna provided a negative template for this study and I would argue that there is a lack of analysis of what individuals and organisations formed aspects of Thatcher's conception of foreign policy that has passed over think tanks and advisory bodies such as Crozier's 'Shield' and the IEDSS. Judged on the basis of the evidence presented above, in terms of security Shield, the ISC and the IEDSS advocated domestic repression particularly in relation to CND. But their strategic thinking, particularly with the pretexts supporting the propaganda and repression, as typified by Brian Crozier's view of Communism and subversion, went much further with their ambit harking back to the Houston Plan, and the McCarthy era.

As regards the network I identified: this focused on the development of strategic tie construction in the make-up of the IEDSS' Advisory Council and Executive, particularly with the Heritage Foundation, the US Public Diplomacy bureaucracy and the IRD, CCF and ISC, the precursors of the IEDSS, and this was corroborated to a large extent in my review of its literature. But I have consciously tried not to make too much of this. The analysis was more accented towards surveying the parapolitical

networks rather than a technical focus on the formation, retention and destruction of ties, and also orientated towards evincing several important, but more informal friendship networks (such as the Mont Pelerin Group). Activating ties and mobilizing ties, were seen to be especially important for countering social movements, particularly the Peace Movement: as was a pliant mainstream media (several of the IEDSS' members were leader writers). The presence of government ministers, such as Peter Blaker, was understood in the context of how they also played key roles in covert networks such as the IRD and CCF and other second phase Cold War organisations and networks including DS19. The study also made use of 'network language' in terms of language shibboleths and personality and control: how character relates to social structure in the processes of exclusion, demonization and tainting and this concluded that the IEDSS played an important part in targeting certain organisations such as CND.

I also set out a transition and modulation of the IEDSS' output; from that broadly consanguine with the ISC's and the CPS work (largely as propaganda) into one reflecting the Heritage Foundation's agenda in terms of authors, projects, topics and past and present political interventions. The IEDSS had initially followed the CCF's 'bi-partisan' mask of including the Social Democrats (I identified all the leading actors in the SDA) but these seem to have distanced themselves after the electoral consolidation of the Thatcher and Reagan governments, but as I outlined in their connection to Crozier's 'Shield' and the NAFF, there were continuities that took us back to the MI5 anti-left subversion operations in the 1970s as outlined by Colin Wallace and tenaciously investigated by *Lobster* magazine and Paul Foot. These too had shaped Thatcher's conception of security issues and as I stated, the Thatcher faction that had gained control of the party, when it gained control of government, had a fundamental problem with its past associations relating to where it had previously obtained the 'intelligence' that determined its foreign policy stance on security and strategic issues. These were not just the ideas of figures such as Airey Neave, they were also informed by Brian Crozier's views and the network around the ISC, CPS and IEDSS and other related Heritage or Atlas-funded groupings: this is why Thatcher sounded like these men in drag. Crozier's involvement, and those of his 'Shield' organisation who also made up the IEDSS (although this proved an embarrassment) combined with the ISC and IRD's influences particularly in re-defining 'subversion' that also fed into the view of the intelligence services that, as I have set out, they have taken upon themselves to destroy all record of. They were convenient conspiracy theories who's utility became a liability.

A Thatcherite foreign policy think tank would *sui generis* be consigned to a relentless continuum of intransient confrontation that involved the destruction of political opponents—the UK was to be ideologically cleansed of 'Socialism' in the form it took in the fervid imagination of former Communists like Alfred Sherman or Brian Crozier. Many of the members of the IEDSS might have been the voice of Thatcher, but yet there is evidence that they were oddly disillusioned and sidelined. Thatcherite foreign diplomacy still seems a contradiction in terms, just as with the predicament outlined by George Urban on the re-unification of Germany. Thatcher had no German *policy*, merely an anti-German disposition that was perversely content with Soviet control of East Germany.

The structure of the IEDSS as a whole, in terms of its essential components, i.e. including those who directed it, and how they related to one another, must be seen in terms of the Heritage Foundation (and probably the CIA) funding enhancing a network that grew out of elements of the CPS, IRD and CCF. These were known to Edwin Feulner and amenable to being used as a base for US operations in the UK and Europe as the Heritage Foundation's influence on Reagan grew through official appointments. It is unlikely that the IEDSS would have continued without the level of input and direction that the Foundations provided. This seemed to enhance its level of production to some extent and ultimately enabled it to operate as an adjunct and ancillary for various US and UK positions, mostly in terms of the militarization of Europe (and indeed outer space) who's attendant propaganda both government's outsourced, as it

were, to organizations such as the CSIS and NSIC and Albert Wohlstetter's Pan Heuristics.

Although the IEDSS was a small organization, those who comprised it represented a larger network that connected various parapolitical projects that intentionally tried to seem disparate. Viewed in this way, at the very least, in that it gathered some key actors, it offers us a way to study how these groups operate. The IEDSS differed from other similar types of organization in this somewhat closed and directed nature: this seems to be a predicament that most think tanks fall prey to, but why the academic silence over the IEDSS? Why has the presence of such elite figures counted as nothing by those who have studied think tanks? The answer is that this is a fairly typical response. Just as an ideologically driven Thatcherite foreign policy think tank run by the Heritage Foundation and Reagan's propaganda operatives was ignored, so too was the IEDSS' change into the NAI as a submerged economic continuation of the Cold War devoid of the elaborate ideological contrivance. Here, once more, its activities were subvented and subsumed by a wealthy US think tank: the AEI, a process similar to the IEDSS being subsumed by the Heritage Foundation in the mid-1980s. As a small society the IEDSS was a microcosm of where the right stood in the Cold War it revived. The mechanics by which the IEDSS changed and terminated represent a reluctance to give up a worldview whereby the attachment of simple labels such as 'Communist sympathizer' became a replacement for reasoned argument. A Communist conspiracy was an article of faith whereby a well-funded witch-hunt was made conveniently omni-present by those gifted enough to perceive it: a small network of ex-Communists, intelligence agents and professional propagandists analogous to those who prepared the Brothers Grimm's celebrated 'Emperor's new clothes.'

I also set out how the IEDSS disseminated viewpoints underscored by a metaphysical pathos towards any form of 'collectivism' and 'regulation' that, it was argued, would impede the unrestricted expansion of predominantly US capital. To my mind this had no clear idea of where such a politically motivated ideological economics would take us: bankruptcy in the case of financial institutions and conflict in the case of the expansion of NATO may well be the answer. That the antipathy towards socialism was motivated by Voegelin and Buckley's fear that they might 'immanentize the eschaton,' and offend God, indicates one other 'crackpot realist' commonality: this chiliastic religious component, evident in many member's psychological make-up. Again this maintained the Cold War but it also returned us to the past—a past which did not exist, run by gods largely described as partisan avenging angels. Thus its place within and its meaning for the development of humanity was this return to a pre-positivism. Most of the IEDSS' members were servants of a Weberian 'higher calling,' and had a locus of fealty to figures such as Goldwater, who would have denied the civil liberties that the generation of the 'New Left' engaged in civil disobedience to obtain—much as Soviet dissidents had.

As a particular feature of these moves I examined the IEDSS' effect largely in terms of providing propaganda and intellectual support, entirely conditioned by the view of the Cold War held to by figures such as Crozier and shamelessly exploited for personal gain by its 'Sovietologists.' This did not add to our intellectual awareness of the world: it deluded it. If we cut out all of the Cold War cant from what the IEDSS produced, the propaganda sub text, all that would remain would be *obiter dicta*. I also argued that the Soviets were not the only target. I can see a similar role for other collegiate groups of advisors from the beginning of the bureaucratic state and I can still see its *modus operandi*, its 'characteristic ways of history making' in the think tanks that still include some of the IEDSS' members. Much the same could be said of the Social Democratic think tanks with which they interpenetrate. IEDSS writers and members were *all* selected because of their membership or ideological elective affinity with either the nodes of the network that formed the cultural apparatus spawned by the CCF and IRD, or that which was set up by the NED and 'Project Democracy' with its obfuscatory blanket of 'democracy promotion,' or the organizations the Foundations set up. The IEDSS wanted to form our minds with a sense of who should be liberated and repressed that was utterly contingent upon political expediency: unions in the UK were a collective delusion controlled by the KGB, but in a Soviet satellite they were the

a collective delusion controlled by the KGB, but in a Soviet satellite they were the building blocks of emancipation; dissent in the UK was to be blunted and misrepresented but in the Soviet sphere of influence funded and encouraged towards violent revolution. The kind of 'human nature' revealed in the conduct and character I observed in this milieu, in this period, was largely a product of a reactionary response to the constrictions put upon society necessary for the power elite to maintain itself. What the meaning for 'human nature' is for this feature of our society points towards the utter necessity of propaganda and deception for the state to protect itself from its people.

In this respect Robert Merton and Mills' complaints that the sociology of knowledge failed to solve its central problem of specifying the nexus between social and cognitive structures seems important. The levelling of the sociology of knowledge means that *all* ideological positions, *all* forms of consciousness were alike in that they were the correlative of social positions. The tendency to suppress the theory of ideologies is also the reluctance to face the implications of the sociology of knowledge: it was intended to improve and to make sounder the methods of social science, to provide methodological techniques to obviate fallacies and vitiation of facts: the difference between fact and factitiousness. In this it would *counter* propaganda not produce counter-propaganda. If our libraries are beset with the products of propaganda and we do not know or care, then we are traveling in the opposite direction.

Propaganda analysis needs to be informed by writers like Mills (and many other authors) to penetrate the fog. We need at least one social scientist that *did not* write propaganda. Central to this is a rejection of Dewey's generalisation in the name of science that the procedural forms of physical science, its experiments are inquiry *qua* inquiry. The irony is that tracing where ideas come from is probably the most scientific of social science's offerings. But who in an elite-serving university would question the Cold War's assumptions, despite the fact that revolutionary manipulation calls for a belief in a *monistic* cause, and as Mills outlined, pluralism's causes are easily carried to a point at which no action is possible. The perspective called the 'sociological imagination' that Mills developed involved fostering awareness towards how history and biography are linked, how the way society is structured and how we think about this (our consciousness of it) is linked, and how 'knowledge' and how it is used in society and in cultural contexts is also linked. If we begin to think like this, our 'sociology of knowledge' will direct our studies towards the social sources and social consequences of knowledge. It can help us in understanding how social organization shapes both the content and structure of knowledge; and how various socio-cultural and political conditions are shielded from the public as part of how the powerful control society.

Examination of the IEDSS' membership demonstrated a clearly identifiable network funded by the small group of Foundations that several investigators did outline, but was largely ignored or regarded as a form of conspiracy theory. In some respects the future tendencies that were envisaged by Mills in his warning to the New Left have come to pass: arguably we do not see the liberation of free thought encouraged in universities, we see marketization and the repression of thinkers such as Mills. If, as members of the IEDSS believed (or feigned to believe), the universities had been taken over by left wing radicals we can say that they too have *en masse* internalized the socio-economic stand point of the free marketeers: what remains is a pretence and elaborate rhetoric that they have not. Today we see a partisan sensitization and desensitization towards reflexivity that wants to be devoid of reasoning for party political ambitions and the re-emergence of a more sublimated Liberal Practicality. The Liberal sociologists so feared by the paranoid right of the 1980s have arguably become the technical cadres of national governance as they aspire to be the market researchers of the Welfare State. Are they the pious opportunists and the agents of a new managerial society: the ombudsman sociology that Gouldner warned of? For Gouldner and others this accommodation to the state derives from the personal bounty it provides: the pretence of 'methodological dualism,' the fantasy of the sociologist's god-like invisibility, their 'objectivity' is a related pretence. What such liberal (and socialist) positions share with that of members of the IEDSS is that 'ideology' (when held by others) is stigmatized as an irrational form of cognition, a false consciousness producing bad sociology.

If we are to believe Mills' 'Power Elite,' then change in the US structure of power generally comes about via institutional shifts in the relative positions of the political, economic, and military orders. *Prima facie* the orchestration of the work of the IEDSS reflected this uneasy coincidence: a military ascendancy and build up, allied to an economic experiment in aggressive capitalist exploitation, fronted by respective political factions who had gained influence with the Republican and Conservative parties. But the IEDSS must be seen as also symptomatic of the decline of politics as a genuine form of public debate of decisions. That business and government became more intricately and deeply involved can clearly be seen with the executive agencies of the state handing over wealth in the form of privatization, or the increasing corporate direction of the economy and the war effort. These are all the creation of a privately incorporated economy: hence the interlocking correspondence of the institutional hierarchies I have outlined in some depth, together with the personal, informal and social basis of the power elite's 'unity,' somewhat akin to the parallax of a constellation. Warlords such as Arleigh Burke, via the CSIS, gained decisive political relevance with the permanent military threat incumbent in their military definitions of reality as the US encircled the globe. The military capitalism of private corporations was seen as channeled through the field of the infrastructure of the (protected) domain of the foreign intelligence apparatus. This aspect of the managerial elite also desires to police its culture by offering it little realization that opinion in action is largely controlled by the authorities; or that the mass has no autonomy from the official institutions of society, but is permeated by agents of these institutions. This is augmented by the Foundation funded apparatus: as personnel and providing a justifying ideology via 'second hand dealers in ideas' operating as a 'Phantom Academy,' together with the multiplicity of high-prestige clubs and committees, the pressure groups, the lobbying and liaison: the conjunction of institutional and psychological forces. I also set out this concern to recruit and to train successors for the future work of the co-ordination of economic and political and military decisions and convergence. These gained inflated prominence as the tasks of the period became entirely framed within the reactionary stance of anti-Communism. Now we have other enemies within.

If we look for a development of a Laswellian political sociology in C. Wright Mills—the Mills we would be studying would somehow have to represent a counter-tradition, beyond the major institutions mentioned above and beyond the Behavioral or Functionalist 'tradition.' I would argue that we might want (or need) to include a critical study of the major sociological approaches to politics and secrecy in politics: the study of the principles, procedures and structures of secret government and the analysis of secretive political ideas, institutions, behavior and practices—and even begin to question the assumption that government is an open agreement among people so that there can be order and security instead of chaos.

This is largely the direction Mills was moving which enhanced his isolation and estrangement from his colleagues who formed the 'NATO intellectuals' he had began to expose such as Shils and Bell. They were working for Generals with business and political interests typified by the founders of the CSIS. It was not so much that Mills regarded the power elite as hidden, as if it were some form of secret conspiracy, it is more that its workings and expansion was obfuscated by the lack of free enquiry and those who reinforced its sublimation by their incorporation. Just as the emergence of the mass media represents the emergence of a small elite controlling it, the Cold War as a term represented the emergence of a small elite who had the ability to engage in mass annihilation. Elite theory is often framed in that it contends that various elites are at some level held accountable and possibly there is evidence of this—it is not evident here: a permanent state of exoneration is. The social bases of political identities, forms of state and organization of interests, the sources and distribution of political power, political transformations are all made invisible and where they emerge into the light their very existence is denied.

We can distinguish between political sociology and the sociology of politics: the latter using social structures as explanatory variables and the former using political structures.

Mills' conception of a power elite joined these two approaches into an interdisciplinary hybrid attempting to combine social and political explanatory variables: but from what tradition? I would argue one that did not simply fit into the dominant paradigm it tried to analyse. If we return to Marx we can note that economic relations are of prime importance and the actions of the 'State' can take various forms (even the 'plausable denial' and 'covert operation' or double agent). Ideologically the factions which dominated the make-up of the IEDSS, and the other organisations of which it is an expression, act in a very 'Marxist' way as instruments or tools of the capitalist class to create a false consciousness; as arbiters in managing the struggle between states in a quasi-autonomous relation to the state, and as functionaries in creating the conditions for capital accumulation and US imperialism.

With the effects of the behavioural tradition, allied to functionalism and the repression of both elite theory and the sociology of knowledge, it can be seen how language can be a key mechanism whereby social reality is blurred. A 'cognitive elite' made up of: lawyers, academics, journalists, systems analysts, brokers, bankers and so on, with little substantive difference between Left and Right are increasingly melded in corporate, governmental and academic roles: what we might call 'symbolic analysts.' They will have no need of a work like this but with the IEDSS the reader can make up their own mind, now that we have such a history and biography.

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