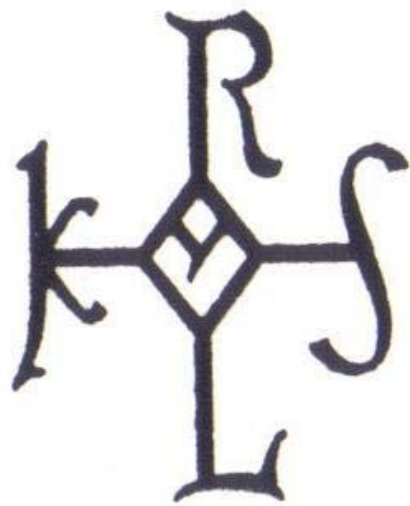


ROGUE AGENTS

Habsburg, Pinay and the
Private Cold War 1951 - 1991



by

David Teacher

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INTRODUCTION

(1993)

One of the paradoxes of modern political journalism is its inherent cultural isolation. Whilst no-one would deny that the major political developments in a given country may owe much to international forces, the investigation of political processes has remained overwhelmingly confined within national boundaries. This is partly due to the linguistic problems, specialist knowledge and additional burden involved in researching foreign politics; however, this cultural isolation is also compounded by a vague and usually unexpressed opinion that the connections of a foreign Conservative MP cannot be of great import to a better understanding of the murkier side of politics at home in one's own country. Yet it is clear that no country is an island. This is nowhere more true than in the field of parapolitics, the networks of unofficial power that, usually via serving or retired friends in the world's major intelligence and security services, exert greater influence than is generally realized on national political life. Both the private networks of influence and the intelligence services work internationally; more often than not, they work hand in hand in a shadow world that brings together top politicians and veterans of covert action, counter-subversion and media manipulation. An investigation to delineate such networks of covert transnational cooperation must, to succeed, tackle the complexities of the unseen political world in many countries.

This study is an attempt at a preliminary transnational investigation of the Paneuropean Right and particularly of the covert forum, the Cercle Pinay and its complex of groups. Amongst Cercle intelligence contacts are former operatives from the American CIA, DIA and INR, Britain's MI5, MI6 and IRD, France's SDECE, Germany's BND, BfV and MAD, Holland's BVD, Belgium's Sûreté de l'Etat, SDRA and PIO, apartheid South Africa's BOSS, and the Swiss and Saudi intelligence services. Politically, the Cercle complex has interlocked with the whole panoply of international right-wing groups: the Paneuropean Union, the European Movement, CEDI, the Bilderberg Group, WACL, Opus Dei, the Moonies, Western Goals and the Heritage Foundation. Amongst the prominent politicians associated with the Cercle Pinay were Antoine Pinay, Konrad Adenauer, Archduke Otto von Habsburg, Franz Josef Strauss, Giulio Andreotti, Paul Vanden Boeynants, John Vorster, General Antonio de Spínola, Manuel Fraga Iribarne, Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan.

Despite a wealth of covert operations centring on media campaigns to promote or denigrate election candidates, the international impact of the Cercle complex has not yet [1993] been the main focus for an investigation in any language. The information contained in this study was compiled from a sheaf of internal documents from the Cercle Pinay and its partners, the Belgian AESP, the British ISC and the Swiss ISP, as well as over one hundred books and numerous Press reports in English, French, German and Spanish (all translations by this author).

The insight afforded is only partial; as Brian Crozier wrote in his memoirs about this author's previous research on the Cercle complex: "There are pitfalls in writing about confidential matters from the outside, and drawing on similarly handicapped material" (1). However, the publication in 1993 of Crozier's memoirs, *Free Agent - The Unseen War 1941-1991*, served to confirm the main thrust of this investigation and filled in some but by no means all of the loopholes; in turn, this investigation has uncovered some of what Crozier preferred to conceal. Once the fragmented information is pieced together, the network that emerges cannot be overlooked: the Cercle complex can be seen to be an international coalition of right-wing intelligence veterans, working internationally to promote top conservative politicians who would shape the world in the 1970s and 1980s.

To take the British example, much of the destabilization of British democracy in the 1970s can only be fully understood by analysing the international support given to groups like the Anglo-American "deniable propaganda" outlet, the Institute for the Study of Conflict. The Cercle Pinay was a major source of support for the ISC virtually from its inception on; the Cercle Pinay and the ISC also tied in with another key British group, the Foreign Affairs Research Institute, heavily funded by BOSS, apartheid South Africa's secret service. BOSS's other incursions into domestic politics in Britain, notably their smear operations against leading Liberals such as Jeremy Thorpe and Peter Hain, were a significant factor in the hijacking of British democracy in the 1970s. Three Cercle members on the FARI Board assisted FARI's actions from 1976 through to the early 1980s. FARI in many ways was the British successor to a previous Cercle operation to support South Africa; the Cercle and the ISC had been active partners in setting up a Paris-based propaganda outlet in 1974 as part of South Africa's covert media campaign later exposed in the "Muldergate" scandal.

German intelligence reports on the Cercle Pinay written in late 1979 and early 1980 which were published in *Der Spiegel* in 1982 also shed new light on a "Thatcher faction" within MI6 in the lead-up to the Conservatives' 1979 election victory. Whilst receiving wide publicity in France and Germany, these reports have never been covered by the British Press. This serious omission is astounding in the light of the undeniable authenticity of the reports and the startling allegations they contain: one of the German intelligence reports dated November 1979 quotes a planning paper by Crozier about a Cercle complex operation "to affect a change of government in the United Kingdom (accomplished)". The report goes on to describe a working meeting held at Chequers, the Prime Minister's country residence, just after the Conservatives' election victory which brought together Prime Minister Thatcher, serving MI6 Chief Sir Arthur Franks, and two Cercle complex members - Brian Crozier and former MI6 Division Head Nicholas Elliott. Crozier's planning paper quoted by the German report also specifically mentioned international Cercle campaigns "aiming to discredit hostile personalities and/or events".

This is no isolated example; throughout the 1970s the Cercle Pinay complex was active in similar ways in France, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Italy and Belgium. In

the latter three countries, the Cercle complex also had close links to those waging a strategy of tension to support a right-wing coup, the latest example of which was the strategy of tension which killed 32 people in Belgium from 1982 to 1985. The Cercle complex's other covert campaigns to promote right-wing candidates concentrated in two key periods: the mid-1970s and 1979-80, both central to the electoral defeat of the Left throughout Europe generally.

The Cercle Pinay itself is an informal but confidential strategic talking-shop consisting of a core of "regulars" who invite occasional guests to Cercle meetings and who are assisted by a range of associates in many nationally-based groups. In order to make the complexities of the Right in several European countries understandable to readers, I have focused on the personnel links within and between the national groups forming part of the Cercle Pinay complex. As one of the tendencies of such groups is for their members to "play musical chairs", changing place frequently on the raft of names sponsoring an organisation, a personnel-based research approach can give rise to the danger of over-estimating the ties that link some characters or organisations. Sharing a Board membership with someone does not necessarily imply intimate knowledge of the other's various activities.

The fragmentary nature of the information available does not allow us to draw definite conclusions about to what extent a particular group or person was aware of Cercle operations, particularly of those run by several of the Cercle "regulars" with intelligence experience who would later form a private covert intelligence service, the 6I, within the Cercle complex. Crozier himself makes the point that many of the prominent politicians invited to sit in on Cercle strategic sessions had no knowledge of their hosts' more clandestine operational activities – if only because of the "need to know" principle. Nonetheless, a stalwart multi-functionary on the Boards of several groups linked to the Cercle can be presumed to have some deeper involvement beyond just lending his name to the cause. This study can only be a beginning; a closer look at some of those involved at national level could shed more light on the significance of the Cercle complex. The only point of certainty beyond the information given here is that the Cercle merits further investigation.

Finally, this book is dedicated to the small community of unpaid parapolitics researchers who have done much to uncover the truth that lies behind the history of the 20th century. Two in particular deserve thanks for the help and encouragement they have given me in compiling the information given here: Robin Ramsay of the *Lobster* and Jeffrey M. Bale of the University of Berkeley, California. Many journalists have already covered fragments of the Cercle Pinay complex: Péan, the *Spiegel*, Roth and Ender, Ramsay and Dorril of the *Lobster*, Dumont, Mungo, the Arbeitskreis Nicaragua who produced *IGfM*, the Young European Federalists, Herman and O'Sullivan, Gijssels, and Brewaeys and Delière were all important sources.

David Teacher

PREFACE

(2008)

The text which follows is the 100,000 word manuscript of a book originally intended for publication in 1993 as the culmination of several years of research on the Cercle Pinay complex of groups, some of which had previously appeared in the *Lobster* magazine in the UK in 1988-1989.

Back in those pre-Internet days, publication meant paper; as the text had soon swollen beyond the limits of a *Lobster* Special Issue, this meant commercial publishers. Ironically foreshadowed in the Introduction, the manuscript fell victim to its main claim to any merit – that it was the first multinational investigation of a paneuropean covert complex, the Cercle Pinay and its many national associates. Editors in several countries expressed great interest in publishing the manuscript ... providing that the "foreign bits" could be reduced and the book refocused on their respective countries.

With little chance of integral publication, the book project was shelved and, apart from one major revision in 1993 to integrate Brian Crozier's memoirs which confirmed the main thrust of this investigation, the manuscript gathered dust for the next fifteen years. The world moved on, and the events described below, hot news when the book was completed, became old history.

Things would have remained like that had I not recently come across the ISGP website run by Joel van der Reijden (www.isgp.eu) - as far as I can see, the only serious investigation of the Cercle Pinay since the original articles by Robin Ramsay and myself in the *Lobster* twenty years ago. In appreciation of Joel's efforts, I am happy to dust off the manuscript and add it to his impressive research in the hope that the information contained here will serve those who wish to continue the investigation.

In revisiting the manuscript in 2008, I have not integrated a few print sources published in the late 1990s whose content is already covered by the ISGP website; a list of unintegrated print sources can be found at the beginning of the bibliography. Apart from some biographical information on some individuals mentioned in the original manuscript, I have not integrated Joel van der Reijden's research which stands on its own; this investigation should therefore be read in conjunction with his and, of course, with Crozier's memoirs.

David Teacher

FOREWORD

(2011)

This third and final edition of *Rogue Agents* extends biographical information up to 2011, particularly of the American allies of the complex, and of the core complex members - January 2011 marked the death of both Huyn and Richardson, and Habsburg died in July 2011 aged 98, whilst Fraga and Crozier live on. Violet - well, no-one has ever known. Recent university research on Interdoc and Franco's Spain has been summarised and referenced; the section on CEDI has been much expanded; considerable information has been added on the Catholic groups CIOC and CIDCC which involved Pinay, Violet, Dubois and Franco's ministers in the 1950s and 1960s. This final edition has therefore swollen to nearly 150,000 words; the full version now includes a documentary annex of some 175 pages of internal documents as well as photographs of the main participants covered in this twenty-year investigation. This work has also expanded from text to video: the reader will find, in the footnotes, links to online footage of Crozier and his key American 6I allies such as Romerstein for the International Freedom Foundation, and Huyn for the Center for Intelligence Studies (search for 'c-spanarchives' to find all video links). As the documentary and picture annexes considerably increase the size of the PDF file, two versions of the book are now published: a full version, best viewed as a PDF (481 pages, 41 MB), and this shorter version ('text only', 290 pages, 1.4 MB), containing the complete text, footnotes, sources and NSIC and IFF annexes, but without the documentary and picture annexes, suitable for emailing or printing.

Due to the complexity of the subject, it would be too unwieldy to integrate all information into the main body of the text. Many details which are relevant but not central to this account of the Cercle complex are therefore relegated to footnotes marked with an asterisk thus (xxx)*; these should be consulted in parallel whilst reading the main text.

This is easily achieved by using the Search function (the binoculars icon) of Adobe Acrobat - users of the latest version of Adobe Acrobat Reader are advised to add the binoculars icon to the Adobe toolbar, by clicking 'Tools', 'Customize Toolbars' and selecting the binoculars icon, to facilitate footnote searches - the standard search tool now gives only the next reference, and is less user-friendly. By entering (xxx) into the binoculars search field, where xxx is the number of the footnote, the search function will offer two or more matches in the righthand column. Clicking on the second match takes the reader straight to the footnote; clicking on the first match returns the reader to the relevant point in the main text. Further matches are to footnotes in the NSIC and IFF annexes and can be ignored for now. To spare the reader unnecessary searches, footnotes which merely give source references are marked (xxx) without an asterisk and need not be consulted.

David Teacher

1945 - 1963

POSTWAR PANEUROPEANS

THE PANEUROPEAN REVIVAL: THE PEU, HABSBURG AND CEDI

In the immediate post-war period, several political figures jostled for position in setting up movements for European unity. The oldest movement was the **Pan-European Union** (PEU), a movement for European Union that had been founded in 1923 by **Comte Richard Coudenhove Kalergi**, the PEU's Life President. Coudenhove Kalergi had also set up the Interparliamentary Union, a debating forum for members of parliament from many countries, which still exists today.

Serving as Vice-President of the PEU under Coudenhove Kalergi was **Archduke Otto von Habsburg**, born in 1912 as eldest son of Karl, the last Austro-Hungarian Emperor, and heir to his throne as well as Opus Dei's candidate as monarch to rule over a united Catholic Europe (2)*. As well as his imperial pretensions, Habsburg was a prominent advocate of European Union and the regal mentor of the Bavarian **Christian Social Union** party (CSU), the future fief of Franz Josef Strauss (3)*.

In 1948, Habsburg founded the **Centre Européen de Documentation Internationale** (CEDI), an international grouping of conservatives which aimed to break the isolation of Franco's Spain in Europe by organizing frequent congresses in Madrid from 1952 onwards (4)*; CEDI would however only be formally incorporated in 1957 with headquarters in the Bavarian capital of Munich, a reflection of Habsburg's influence as CEDI Life President. CEDI would grow rapidly; by the early 1960s, it had sections in eleven European countries. As one might expect, Habsburg's political protégé Strauss was a regular participant at CEDI's annual conferences from at least 1963 on.

Co-founder of CEDI with Habsburg was future Spanish diplomat and Minister **Alfredo Sanchez Bella**, at the time of CEDI's foundation working as Director of the Instituto de Cultura Hispanica. In 1957, Sanchez Bella was appointed Spanish Ambassador to the Dominican Republic, then Colombia in 1959, and finally Italy from 1962 to 1969 before being recalled to serve in Franco's Cabinet. He also had influential contacts within Opus Dei: his brother, a leading member of Opus Dei, founded Opus Dei's University of Navarra in 1952 (5). Sanchez Bella would later become one of the key figures in the Cercle Pinay complex when serving as Franco's Minister for Information and Tourism from 1969 to 1973 (6)*.

THE EUROPEAN MOVEMENT, THE CCF AND THE BILDERBERG GROUP

One of the hidden architects of post-war European politics was Polish exile **Dr. Joseph Retinger**. Retinger's campaigning, always clouded in secrecy, would give rise to the creation of open political bodies such as the Strasbourg-based Council of Europe as well as CIA-funded rivals to the PEU - the **European Movement** and the European Youth Campaign - and more clandestine bodies like the powerbrokers' covert forum, the **Bilderberg Group**.

Retinger's European Movement was the main component in the CIA's campaign to infiltrate and control the wave of political sentiment favourable to European union in the immediate post-war period. The European Movement was financed from the outset by the CIA, receiving some £380,000 between 1949 and 1953. The CIA also supported another Retinger creation, the European Youth Campaign, which received £1,340,000 from the CIA between 1951 and 1959. The conduit for CIA funding of the EM and EYC was the American Committee on a United Europe, launched in 1949 specifically to support the creation of the EM.

ACUE's list of officers included four top figures from the American intelligence community. The post of ACUE Chairman was filled by Bill Donovan, former Director of the CIA's wartime predecessor, the OSS; another prominent ACUE post was held by General Walter Bedell Smith, CIA Director from 1950 to 1953. ACUE's Vice-Chairman was Allen Dulles, Bedell Smith's successor as Director of the CIA from 1953 to 1961; its Executive Director was Thomas Braden, head of the CIA's International Organizations Division, responsible for setting up CIA front groups throughout the world (7)*.

Despite early post-war collaboration between Coudenhove Kalergi and Retinger, represented by EM co-founder Duncan Sandys, conflicts soon emerged (8)*. Coudenhove Kalergi's authoritarian leadership style was only one of the bones of contention; it was also felt that he did not take a robust enough position in relation to the Cold War. Indeed, in his later book entitled *From War to Peace* written in 1959, Coudenhove Kalergi called for the public recognition of the division of Germany - anathema to conservatives and to many PEU members. In his book, Coudenhove Kalergi also criticized the position of Retinger's European Movement: "this new European Movement felt that its first task was not the strengthening of world peace but the defence of Europe against the imperialism of the Soviet Union and the liberation of the oppressed nations of Eastern Europe. It received considerable support from the United States via the Marshall Plan and therefore was an integral component of the anti-Bolchevik alliance set up by the Americans in both the East and the West" (9).

In the light of his conciliatory - or rather, inflammatory - position, the CIA preferred not to count on Coudenhove Kalergi's Paneuropean Union but rather to set up a new organisation for European unity over which it could have greater

control. Led by Retinger and Sandys, the cold warriors decided to go their own way, founding the European Movement as a rival to the PEU. The two complexes - Retinger's and Coudenhove Kalergi's - would co-exist in competition until Coudenhove Kalergi's death in 1972. Under his successor Habsburg, the PEU was relaunched both materially and ideologically; after some internal controversy, Habsburg brought the PEU over to a Cold War philosophy, opening up the possibility of collaboration between the PEU and the EM.

Besides the 1949 foundation of the European Movement, the CIA's International Organizations Division headed by Thomas Braden also created another front organisation, the **Congress for Cultural Freedom**, which aimed to bring together Western intellectuals in the cause of anti-Communism. The CCF would see the light of day in dramatic circumstances; on the day of the CCF's foundation at a West Berlin conference on 24-25th June 1950, North Korea invaded its southern neighbour.

The CCF would run several features services spanning the globe: Forum Information Services in English, Preuves-Informations in French and El Mundo en Espanol in Spanish. The CCF would also publish a range of literary magazines such as *Encounter* and *Survey* in London, *Quadrant* in Australia, *Cuadernos* in Buenos Aires and *Cadernos Brasileiros* in Rio de Janeiro. The CCF has been the subject of extensive research (10); at this stage, it is sufficient to note that the CCF would hire Brian Crozier in 1964 and would launch him as a media asset for the Western intelligence services by creating the CIA-funded news agency Forum World Features in 1965.

Alongside the European Movement and the Congress for Cultural Freedom which functioned as mass political and cultural fronts, Joseph Retinger and the CIA created a third forum which was to be far more secretive and more influential than the EM or the CCF – the **Bilderberg Group**. On the 25th September 1952, a small group of eminent statesmen and dignitaries met with the aim of creating the new forum; the distinguished - and discreet - guests included from the Netherlands Prince Bernhard, from France the new Prime Minister (11)* Antoine Pinay accompanied by politician Guy Mollet, from Belgium the Foreign Minister Paul Van Zeeland, from Italy Prime Minister Alcide de Gasperi and from the US General Walter Bedell Smith, CIA Director from 1950 to 1953 and member of the Board of the American Committee for a United Europe (ACUE), the funding conduit for the European Movement. Named after the venue for their first formal meeting in May 1954 in the De Bilderberg Hotel in Oosterbeek near the Dutch town of Arnhem, this international group of decision-makers still meets at least once a year for confidential discussions of world affairs (12)*.

PINAY, VIOLET AND STRAUSS

One of the most prominent members of the new Bilderberg Group was the

French politician **Antoine Pinay** who served as Minister of Public Works, Transport and Tourism from July 1950 to March 1952 before becoming President of the Council (Prime Minister) and Minister of Finance until January 1953. He would later serve as Minister for Foreign Affairs from February 1955 until February 1956, and Minister of Finance again from June 1958 to January 1960 when he introduced the new French franc (13). Apart from his distinguished career in public office, Antoine Pinay had other less obvious attributes. Convinced of the need for Franco-German reconciliation, Pinay would create a network of contacts that would finally take form as the Cercle Pinay; via the select club of Bilderbergers, Pinay had easy access to the top figures in international politics and finance.

Pinay's less overt political consultations owed much to his confidant, right-hand man and eventually successor at the helm of the Cercle Pinay, **Jean Violet**. It was in 1951 that Antoine Pinay first met Violet, a Parisian lawyer close to the CNPF, the French employers' federation. Pinay sought out Violet for legal advice about war reparations payments for a Geneva-based firm whose German factory had been seized during the war. Pinay was evidently satisfied with Violet's work as he recommended the lawyer to Pierre Boursicot, head of the French secret service, the **Service de Documentation Extérieure et Contre-Espionnage** (SDECE). Violet helped the SDECE where he could; as he has said: "Aware of the fact that I could be of some use to my country thanks to my professional situation on the international chessboard, I chose to fight for France within the ranks of the SDECE" (14).

After the arrival of General Grossin as head of the SDECE in 1957, Violet was taken on as an agent and given missions of increasing political importance. Violet would rise to become perhaps the SDECE's most valued 'Honourable Correspondent' with the title of Special Advocate to the service. One indication of Violet's significance as a veteran covert operator is the fact that throughout his fifteen years of service with the SDECE, his case officer was the head of the service - first Grossin from 1957 to 1962, then Jacquier from 1962 to 1966, and then finally Guibaud until 1970. Reporting directly to General Grossin, "Violet was masterminding a *Service Spécial* to promote the General's [de Gaulle's] objectives in defence and foreign policy" (15), a rather ironic fact bearing in mind that Brian Crozier, Violet's future associate in the Cercle, was monitoring de Gaulle's defence and foreign initiatives with some suspicion from the other side of the Channel.

An early associate of Violet's in his work for the SDECE was fellow SDECE agent **Rev. Father Yves-Marc Dubois**, foreign policy 'spokesman' for the Dominican order, unofficial member of the Pontifical Delegation to the UN, and believed by the SDECE to be the head of the Vatican secret service. The pair were active in the United Nations in the mid-1950s when Violet was attached to the French delegation headed by Antoine Pinay, at that time Minister of Foreign Affairs. Violet's task at the UN was to win over the twenty republics of Latin America so as to block UN condemnation of France's Algerian policy. Violet's lobbying in the UN would also pave the way for de Gaulle's tour of Latin America in 1964.

Another major focus for Violet and Dubois' activities for the SDECE was Eastern Europe: they received half a million francs a month from General Grossin to run the "Church of Silence", Catholic networks behind the Iron Curtain. These activities focused on the countries in what was sometimes referred to as the "Catholic Curtain": Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Romania (16)*.

Besides these operations for SDECE, Violet would act as the *homme de confiance* of Antoine Pinay in assisting the process of Franco-German reconciliation. Pinay had already played a considerable part in the conclusion of prior agreements on the construction of Europe, notably the Paris Treaty and Bonn Agreement of 1952 whose ratification in May 1955 allowed Germany to attain full sovereignty and created the Western European Union, the first postwar European defence pact. Following this, the signature in March 1957 of the Euratom and European Common Market Treaties would lead to the creation of the European Economic Community as of January 1st, 1958.

"Violet played an historically key rôle between 1957 and 1961 in bringing about this [Franco-German] rapprochement, which is the real core of the European Community. He had developed a close friendship with Antoine Pinay, who had served as French Premier in 1951 under the unstable Fourth Republic. At a lower level, a complementary rôle was played by his SDECE colleague Antoine Bonnemaison [described in the next chapter]. Violet was the go-between in secret meetings between Pinay and the West German Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, and his coalition partner, Franz Josef Strauss. These paved the way for Charles de Gaulle's own encounters with Adenauer, which culminated in the Franco-German Treaty of January 1963 ... The Pinay Cercle was a natural offshoot of Jean Violet's Franco-German activities" (17)*.

Franz Josef Strauss, the "Lion of Bavaria", would be a key figure in the Cercle complex from the founding of the post-war Federal Republic until his death in 1988. Born in 1915, Strauss was first elected to the German Parliament in 1949 as an MP for the Bavarian **Christian Social Union** (CSU) party, coalition partner of Adenauer's CDU; that year, he was also appointed CSU General Secretary. In 1953, four years after his entry into the Federal Parliament, Strauss gained ministerial rank as Minister without Portfolio; he would again serve in Adenauer's CDU/CSU Cabinet as Nuclear Power Minister from 1955 to 1956 and as Defence Minister from 1956 to 1962.

Meanwhile, on the regional level, the CSU Party Chairman **Hanns Seidel**, a former Bavarian Prime Minister, had died in 1961; Strauss replaced him as Party Chairman, a post he would hold until his death twenty-seven years later. Within a year of his elevation to Chairman, the CSU won a landslide victory in the 1962 regional elections, gaining an absolute majority in the Bavarian Parliament that it would not lose for another forty-six years until its electoral rout in September 2008 forced the CSU into coalition.

As the German constitution forbids regional premiers serving as federal ministers, and as Strauss was the rising CSU star in national government as former Defence Minister, he stayed on the federal level and served as Finance Minister during the Grand Coalition with the SPD in 1966-69. In 1978, he returned to regional politics, being elected Prime Minister of Bavaria as a springboard for a 1980 bid for the Federal Chancellorship. Despite substantial Cercle support, his bid would fail; Strauss would nonetheless remain Prime Minister of Bavaria for a decade until his death in 1988.

Besides his public career in German government office, Strauss had had other more private connections; he was an early ally of Pinay's in the mid 1950s when both Strauss and Pinay were at the height of their political careers, as Strauss described in his memoirs:

"Since 1953 [having first been appointed minister], I had had close ties to Antoine Pinay; these later changed into a kind of paternal friendship for me from a man who was 25 years my senior ... [in 1955] I met Pinay in the office of one of his confidants [Maître Violet?] on the avenue Foch. I was well acquainted with this circle of opponents of Pierre Mendès-France, ousted in early February; one could trust them; with a little imagination we could have considered ourselves to be co-conspirators" (18).

Strauss also met Pinay during the closeted discussions of the Bilderberg Group, a forum which Strauss had frequented since the September 1955 Bilderberg conference in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, close to Munich. Strauss and Pinay met, for example, at the Bilderberg conference in Cannes in May 1963 (19)*; the same year, Strauss also attended the CEDI Congress in Madrid with Habsburg (20). One early example of cooperation between Strauss, Pinay and Violet came in 1964, when Violet, acting for Pinay and recommended by former Defence Minister Strauss, presented enormous claims for reparations to the German Finance Ministry, allegedly for deliveries of metals to the Germans during the occupation of France. Strauss advised that the Ministry pay up in the interests of Franco-German friendship, but it transpired that the delivery notes were fake, and the swindle was exposed (21).

THE BONNEMAISON FORUM AND INTERDOC

In March 1955, the Bilderberg Group met in Barbizon near Paris to discuss "Communist influence in the West, European Communist parties and political, ideological and economic ripostes to the Red Menace" (22). This CIA-linked powerbrokers' forum was not the only group of covert decision-makers to debate the issue; the European intelligence services were also sponsoring attempts at Franco-German rapprochement with an aim to strengthen anti-communism. One key early figure was the French SDECE's **Colonel Antoine Bonnemaison**, who under the cover of a SDECE front group called the Centre de Recherches du Bien Politique, was responsible for coordinating all psy-ops work carried out by the Cinquième Bureau

(23). From 1955 on, Bonnemaïson began acting as organizing secretary for a series of informal meetings, held alternately in France and in Germany, which brought together top intelligence veterans from three countries: France, Germany and Holland. "The blend of 'delegates' [in 1959] was basically the same in all three [national] groups: intelligence, both civil and military; leading academics; non-academic political or economic specialists; one or two trusted politicians; leaders of industry; trade union leaders; and clerics of various denominations ... these meetings ... were very productive in terms of facts, background, analysis and intelligent discussion" (24).

The idea of a covert European alliance to fight communism was discussed in 1957, when a Franco-German group met in the South of France to discuss what steps could be taken to combat Communism. Their first decision was to reinforce their network; by the following year, the circle had widened to include representatives from Holland, Italy, Switzerland and Belgium. A further expansion to include the UK came in 1959 following Bonnemaïson's chance encounter the previous year with the then Editor of the *Economist Foreign Report*, a man who would later become undoubtedly the most prominent propagandist for several Western intelligence services and the key character in the UK counter-subversion complex - **Brian Crozier** (25).

Born in 1918, Brian Rossiter Crozier started his career in journalism in 1936. Having worked in aeronautical inspection in 1941, he was hired by the news agency Reuters, which had links to MI6, in 1943. After a spell at the *News Chronicle* in 1944 and the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1948, he returned to Reuters in 1951. From 1952 to 1954, Crozier toured the South-East Asian conflicts in Vietnam and Malaya for Reuters and the *New Straits Times*, which was used during the Malayan emergency as a channel for British disinformation prepared by the Foreign Office's **Information Research Department** (IRD). It was in Saigon that Crozier started his long partnership with MI6 by meeting "Ronald Lincoln", a friendship renewed back in London when both men had returned home in 1954. Crozier would then also meet a second MI6 officer "Ronald Franks" who would act as his link for several years. Thanks to the fruitful exchange of information with his MI6 contacts, "Lincoln" and "Franks", Crozier joined the staff of the *Economist* in September 1954 as Editor of their prestigious *Economist Foreign Report*, a post he filled until 1964 (26)*.

Having met Crozier in 1958, Antoine Bonnemaïson invited Crozier as the first ever British visitor to attend one of his *colloques*, held this time near Frankfurt. There were three delegations present from France, Germany and the Netherlands, and each included senior intelligence officers. The French delegation was led by General Jean Olié, de Gaulle's Chief of General Staff, seconded by SDECE's Colonel Bonnemaïson.

The German delegation was led by General Foertsch, "a senior deputy" to **General Reinhard Gehlen**, founder of Germany's post-war intelligence service, the **Bundesnachrichtendienst** (BND). The delegation also included two other members close to the BND, "Professor Lades and Kernig, both specialists on Communism in

general and East Germany in particular. There was a German equivalent of Bonnemaïson's Centre: the **Deutsche Vereinigung für Ost-West Beziehungen** (the German Association for East-West Relations). The Vereinigung was based in Munich, appropriately close to the headquarters of the BND at Pullach" (27)*. Although nothing else is known of this Vereinigung quoted by Crozier, **Professor Hans Lades** and **Dr. C. D. Kernig** also belonged to another mysterious body, the **Verein zur Erforschung sozial-politischer Verhältnisse im Ausland** (Association for the Study of Foreign Socio-political Relations), a registered charity also conveniently based in Munich. Amongst the Verein's members, Professor Lades and Dr. Kernig regularly attended Bonnemaïson's meetings whilst **Dr. Norman von Grote** would join them as the third German founding member of Interdoc in 1963. Von Grote had been an officer in Wehrmacht FHO (Fremde Heere Ost - Eastern Front intelligence) with special responsibility for liaison with Russian General Vlassov and his army of Nazi collaborators, the NTS (28)*. FHO was commanded from 1st April, 1942 onwards by General Gehlen; it was Gehlen himself who had adopted Vlassov and defended the idea of an anti-communist army under Vlassov against strong pressure from Himmler (29).

The Dutch delegation was represented by two top veterans from the **Binnenlandse Veiligheidsdienst** (BVD), the Dutch internal security service, **Louis Einthoven** and **C. C. 'Cees' Van den Heuvel**. Einthoven had been Chief Commissioner for Police in Rotterdam in the 1930s. After the war, he was appointed by General H. J. Kruls to head the Bureau Nationale Veiligheid, renamed the BVD in 1946; Einthoven would then serve as the BVD's first director, retiring only in 1961. He played a key role in the Dutch Gladio component, Operaties & Inlichtingen (O&I - Operations and Intelligence), also founded in 1946 by General Kruls. Einthoven commanded the Operations Division of O&I which was in charge of preparing for armed resistance but was also crucially tasked with "sensitizing people to the danger of communism during times of peace" (30)*. Van den Heuvel was the head of the Training Department of the BVD, in which capacity he liaised closely with O&I - having played "a heroic rôle in the Dutch Resistance during the Nazi occupation", Van den Heuvel was already well acquainted with the principles of stay-behind networks (31).

In February 1959, Van den Heuvel led a study group to America to visit the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology, a CIA front group founded in 1955 which changed name in 1961 to become the Human Ecology Fund, "human ecology" being at the time the catchphrase for psychological warfare and deprogramming. Both American organisations were funding conduits for the CIA's MK-ULTRA programme of research into mind control and brainwashing (32). After returning to Holland, Van den Heuvel wrote a planning paper in November 1959 entitled *Hoofdlijnen van een Internationaal Instituut ter Bestrijding van de Psychologische Oorlogvoering van het Communisme* [An Outline of an International Institute to Combat Communist Psychological Warfare], and in 1960 founded the **Stichting voor Onderzoek van Ecologische Vraagstukken** [SOEV, Foundation for the Investigation of Ecological Problems] with Van den Heuvel, still in the BVD, as the Director - he

would resign in 1962 to go full-time for SOEV, joining Einthoven who retired from the BVD in 1961. After obtaining funding from Dutch industry, thanks to contacts with Prince Bernhard, the SOEV was formally launched in February 1962 with the twin aims of briefing industry and political parties about Communist subversion and developing propaganda to counter Soviet influence. Later that year, the SOEV would be strengthened by the creation of the Stichting ter Voorlichting over de Oost-West Verhouding (Institute for Information on East-West Relations); the two would merge in 1965 as the **Oost-West Instituut** (East-West Institute] which would continue operations until 1978.

According to an Italian secret service (SIFAR) report dated October 1963, the BVD had funded a meeting in Barbizon near Paris on 5th - 8th October 1961 where "the participants decided to unite all efforts and initiatives of the struggle against Communism within a new organisation and place these on a serious and expert footing" (33). An international documentation centre to pool efforts against Communism became particularly necessary after Charles de Gaulle's decision in early 1963 to close down France's psychological warfare unit, the Cinquième Bureau, too full of ex-Algeria hands for de Gaulle's comfort.

The demise of the Cinquième Bureau also meant the withdrawal of SDECE's support for the Bonnemaïson group, and the breaking up of the Franco-German-Dutch triangle for the *colloques*. Bonnemaïson himself resigned from the SDECE in late 1962 and set up a private-sector structure, the Centre d'Observation du Mouvement des Idées, receiving funds from Péchiney and Air Liquide. This could provide for continuing the *colloques*, which became dominated by the French, but such a structure would clearly be insufficient to support the scale of operations planned for the documentation centre, and so the Dutch BVD took over where the SDECE had left off.

The new organisation was formally incorporated in the Hague in February 1963 under the name **Interdoc** - the International Documentation and Information Centre - with Van den Heuvel as its Director. Alongside Einthoven and Van den Heuvel, two other Dutch founding members of Interdoc, both from the SOEV, were **Herman Jan Rijks**, a senior executive at Royal Dutch Shell, and **Dr. J. M. Hornix**, a sociology lecturer for the Dutch airforce and longstanding student of psychological warfare. The news was announced at the Bonnemaïson forum's meeting in Bad Godesberg near Bonn in late March 1963 (34)*.

According to the registration papers deposited in the Hague, Interdoc's task was "documentation in the field of Western values and world communism and the informing of the public on these matters. This aim is to be pursued through the establishment of an international documentation centre, which will cooperate with national centres in different countries". An internal Interdoc report indicates that swift progress was made in setting up "an index system, a library, a collection of newspapers and a collection of special reports, documents, etc" which were made available "to official departments responsible for the East-West question,

international companies and employers' organisations" (35).

Initial funds for Interdoc were provided by Royal Dutch Shell, who would later be a benefactor to the ISC and to other MI6 front groups like the Ariel Foundation (36). The most eminent administrator of Royal Dutch Shell was Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands, President of the Bilderberg Group from its formal creation in 1954 until his resignation in 1976 as a result of the Lockheed bribes scandal (37)*. In the early days of Interdoc, Einthoven was active as a fundraiser; in his 1974 autobiography published in Holland (38), Einthoven states that he was lobbying for support for Interdoc from France, Holland, Italy, Switzerland, Israel and Indonesia, and the Interdoc files show that Einthoven visited Munich, Zurich, Bern and Geneva in January 1962 on Interdoc business. During the 1960s, Interdoc also seems to have received funding from the US, Germany and Britain. Crozier reports that Interdoc "depended largely on West German subsidies" (39).

The British intelligence community also offered considerable high-level support for Interdoc even before its creation. Crozier reports that he "was involved from the start" with Interdoc; amongst the other founding members in 1963 were two senior British intelligence officials: **Charles H. "Dick" Ellis** of MI6 and later of the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation ASIO, and "an ex-MI5 man" whom Crozier declines to identify. As for Ellis, he had first encountered Interdoc at one of the last of Bonnemaïson's *colloques* held in Mont Saint Michel in March 1962 (40). The following year, when Interdoc was founded, Ellis wrote to Sir William Stevenson, Ellis's former boss within the wartime US/UK liaison group in New York, the British Security Coordination, to tell him that he had been recommended to a new organisation by Sir Stuart Menzies, the MI6 Chief who had founded several of the European Gladio components:

"I am kept busy with this Interdoc organisation. And, together with other chaps, I have formed a working committee which is organizing an international conference at Oxford in September [Ellis was at this time attached to St. Antony's College, Oxford, close to MI6]. We have raised money from [deleted] and some professional groups, much to the astonishment of the Foreign Office who said that it couldn't be done. They are now wondering if it was a good thing to kick me out [of MI6] ... as several of us are now doing privately what they have never succeeded in doing - getting an "action group" going. We are keeping it "private and confidential", as publicity could kill it" (41).

Interdoc's other link to British Intelligence, the "ex-MI5 man" not named by Crozier, was **Walter Bell**. During the war, Bell like Ellis had served under Stevenson at BSC in New York before moving to London in 1942 to act as liaison officer between MI6 and the OSS. Bell then joined MI5 in 1949 and worked as an adviser to various Commonwealth governments and as personal assistant to MI5 chief Roger Hollis. After his retirement from MI5 in 1967, Bell worked on obtaining funding for Interdoc from British sources (42). British help for Interdoc came from, amongst others, the

anti-union outfits **Common Cause** and the **Economic League**; by 1969, **Neil Elles** of Common Cause and **John Dettmer** of the Economic League would sit with Crozier, then Director of Forum World Features, on the Consultative Council of Interdoc (43).

Interdoc's Italian founding member in 1963 also had intelligence connections. **Professor Luigi Gedda** was a well-known figure of the Catholic Right in Italy and one of the CIA's main agents in their massive intervention in the 1948 elections which banished the spectre of a Communist victory and installed the Christian Democrats in power. Part of Gedda's rôle was to set up a national network of 20,000 anti-communist groups, the Comitati Civici. Funded by the CIA and supported by the Vatican, the Comitati each had their own intelligence department and a radio transmitter, and played a key part in ensuring a Christian Democrat victory: "according to the American Embassy and the CIA representative in Rome, they undertook 'psychological warfare' and were considered by the Embassy to be the most important anti-communist group, which the Embassy felt justified a subsidy of \$500,000 from the State Department to the CIA" (44).

After 1948, as head of Azione Cattolica, Gedda had powerful political connections within the ruling Christian Democratic Party. His leadership of Azione Cattolica and his intimate friendship with Pope Pius XII, to whom he was medical adviser, gave him high-level access to the Vatican, access which he used to help Joseph Retinger of the CIA-funded European Movement and the Bilderberg Group. In May 1950, Gedda arranged an audience with Pope Pius XII for Retinger, who hoped to win Vatican support for the cause of European Union. The meeting was also attended by the Vatican's Substitute Secretary of State, **Monsignor Montini**, the future **Pope Paul VI**. Despite a very positive meeting, objections from the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Fisher, caused the plan to fail. Nonetheless, Gedda later gave Retinger "a good deal of help in Italy" (45).

ALBERTINI, GRAU AND SAGER

A number of front groups referring to East-West relations would be set up by the European intelligence services in the late 1950s. Of these, the German BND front group the Deutsche Vereinigung für Ost-West Beziehungen and the Dutch BVD front group the Oost-West Instituut were certainly involved in the Bonnemaïson forum and its reincarnation as Interdoc in 1963. However, three propagandists active in the late fifties and early sixties in France, Germany and Switzerland also need some mention at this stage. Whilst their links with Interdoc remain unclear, all would later be involved in the counter-subversion operations organized by the Cercle complex in the mid-1970s.

Georges Albertini, one of the mainstays of post-war French anti-communism, had had a controversial war-time past: a former right-hand man of the pro-Nazi collaborator Marcel Déat during the Occupation, Albertini had been a member of the

Vichy administration working in the Secretariat of the Vichy Prime Minister Pierre Laval. After being jailed for two years for collaboration, Albertini became an ardent Gaullist, helped by his schooltime days with Georges Pompidou. Through his contacts in politics and his work as a political adviser to the Worms banking and business consortium, Albertini set up "a huge network of informants and helpers", and acted as an 'Honourable Correspondent' of the SDECE, as well as an unofficial adviser to Pompidou and later to Jacques Chirac. Albertini was a longstanding associate of Antoine Pinay: both men had attended a series of conferences on Soviet political warfare organized in 1960-61 by Suzanne Labin of WACL's French section (46). Besides his network of contacts, Albertini also produced the fortnightly magazine **Est-Ouest**, "the most authoritative publication in the French language on the problems of Communism" in Crozier's view, a publication which may well have been part of the Interdoc network (47). As well as serving as one of the major channels for anti-Socialist propaganda in the mid-1970s, Albertini would also become closely involved in the Cercle complex, publishing the ISC's output in French, attending Cercle meetings and playing a significant part in Crozier's private intelligence service, the 6I.

Karl-Friedrich Grau, the Federal Secretary of the German PEU section Europa-Union Deutschland until 1975, was one of the shadier figures within the CDU, acting as a bag-man for illegal election fund contributions from various foundations for both the CDU and for its Bavarian sister party, Strauss's CSU. Grau – the aptly named Mr Grey – acquired a considerable reputation for the ruthless tactics he used to support the conservative cause; he ran several smear and disinformation campaigns for the CDU/CSU through a network of anti-communist propaganda groups which he controlled. The first group in this network was the **Studiengesellschaft für staatspolitische Öffentlichkeitsarbeit** (Study Group on Political Communication), founded in Frankfurt in 1958 by Grau and CDU member **Dr. Walter Hoeres**. The Study Group's stated goal was to give "reliable and effective information and revelations about powers and their plans to destroy the fundamentals of our Christian, free, democratic social organisation" and to "strengthen and reinforce the free, democratic State and social form, and to coordinate all efforts and measures to defend it against all kinds of totalitarianism". Another early political front group co-founded by Grau is the Hamburg-based **Staats- und Wirtschaftspolitische Gesellschaft** (Political and Economic Society, SWG), created in Cologne on 9th April 1962, which still exists today and is notorious for its far-Right sympathies. Many of the SWG's speakers belonged to CEDI and later groups in the Cercle complex, notably Grau's Swiss ISP, on which see below. As "the largest and most influential of the political front groups within the Federal Republic", the Frankfurt Study Group and Grau's other groups would be major German disinformation outlets throughout the 1970s and would act as German relays for the Cercle complex's counter-subversion operations (48)*.

Dr. Peter Sager was a well-known Swiss "*éminence grise* of anti-communist propaganda" and later member of the Swiss Parliament. Born in 1925, Sager had been educated in Switzerland, the Soviet Union (as part of Harvard University's study

programme) and the UK. In 1948, Sager created the Schweizerische Osteuropa-Bibliothek (Swiss Library on Eastern Europe, now part of the University of Bern). In 1959, one year after Swiss representatives had joined the debate on Communism in Europe, Sager founded the **Schweizer Ost-Institut** (SOI, Swiss Institute for the East) in Bern. SOI's publications would be widely circulated throughout the German-speaking world, as well as being distributed in the UK. Major support for the SOI was provided from its inception by Karl-Friedrich Grau. In 1961 Grau and Sager founded a Frankfurt-based SOI support group with the name **Schweizerisch-Deutsche Gesellschaft für Ostforschung** (Swiss-German Society for Research on the East). Sager was President and Grau Secretary-General, whilst the Board of the new group included Sager's partner **Heinz Luginbühl**. Grau also ensured the distribution of the SOI magazine in Germany throughout the 1960s.

1964 - 1970

MOBILISATION

THE BIRTH OF THE STRATEGY OF TENSION

The Paneuropeans and Europe's private spies were not the only people to mobilize; in the mid-1960s, the forces of renascent fascism in Europe would regroup, most notably in Italy and in Portugal. In order to give an all-too-brief account of the main facts of interest to this history of the Cercle complex, we must first look at the Italian **General Giovanni De Lorenzo**.

Appointed head of the Italian secret service SIFAR in 1956, De Lorenzo would combine this post with that of Commandant of the Carabinieri from 1962 onwards. Following the 1963 elections, in which the Communists gained 25% of the vote, De Lorenzo used his unprecedented powers to launch a vast anti-communist operation which started with the training of the 'gladiators' the same year. Simultaneously, with some twenty top Carabinieri commanders, De Lorenzo finalized **Plan Solo**, a coup d'état scheduled for the summer of 1964 which included the assassination of Prime Minister Aldo Moro and his replacement by a right-wing Christian Democrat. Opposition to the coup would be minimized by a wave of preventive arrests based on the files that De Lorenzo had built up on 157,000 people since 1959. The coup was cancelled at the last moment as the result of a pact between the Socialists and the Christian Democrats, but De Lorenzo continued planning for a later coup.

Also in 1964, under De Lorenzo's leadership, SIFAR (renamed SID in 1966) funded the creation of the Alberto Pollio Institute which would organize a year later the now infamous conference which marked the ideological birth of the strategy of tension. Held in the **Parco dei Principi** hotel from 3rd - 5th May 1965, the conference was attended by the elite of the Italian military and the extreme Right, including Europe's most notorious fascist terrorist, **Stefano delle Chiaie**, a key actor

in the *stragi* which rocked Italy throughout the 1970s.

Delle Chiaie's group Avanguardia Nazionale (AN) was founded in 1959 with funding from prominent industrialist and banker Carlo Pesenti, a future backer of the Cercle complex and the sniffer plane project, detailed below. AN had been preparing for a strategy of tension since the spring of 1964 when the Italian neo-fascist militants had followed courses in terrorism and psychological warfare. As well as the AN militants Franco Freda and Giovanni Ventura, another close associate of delle Chiaie's during this period was **Guido Giannettini**, a journalist on military affairs, expert in revolutionary warfare and SIFAR informant. A veteran in fascist circles, Giannettini also had high-level transatlantic connections: in 1961, he had been invited to give a presentation at the US Naval Academy in Annapolis on "The techniques and possibilities of a coup d'état in Europe", a lecture attended by Pentagon officials and CIA officers (49). Giannettini did not confine himself to theory, giving shelter to former OAS members who had fled to Italy after their abortive coup attempt in 1962 (50). Whilst visiting Spain in 1962, Giannettini was awarded the honour of 'Captain of the Crusade' by the OAS for his services (51). Through his contacts with SIFAR/SID, Giannettini could also ensure a certain degree of protection for delle Chiaie's militants. Giannettini and delle Chiaie both attended the Parco dei Principi conference; Giannettini himself gave a presentation on "The variety of techniques for the conduct of revolutionary warfare", a subject he tackled in greater depth in his book published the same year, *The techniques of revolutionary warfare*.

The year after the Parco dei Principi conference, the paramilitary far Right and the OAS joined forces in 1966 to set up the now-notorious revolutionary fascist group **Aginter Press**. Sheltered in Lisbon under the protective wing of dictator Salazar, Aginter Press was run by former OAS activist **Yves Guérin-Sérac**, with delle Chiaie one of the pioneers of the strategy of tension. Aginter Press worked under the cover of a press agency, but in reality was a coordination centre for destabilization. In close cooperation with the Policia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado (PIDE), Salazar's secret service, one section of Aginter Press ran a parallel intelligence service with links to the CIA, the German BND, the Spanish DGS, the South African BOSS and the Greek KYP. Another section of Aginter Press organized the recruitment of terrorists for bomb attacks and assassinations - an important contact here was delle Chiaie. A third group dealt with psychological operations, and Aginter Press's fourth section, called Ordre et Tradition, was an international fascist contact network with a clandestine paramilitary wing, the Organisation Armée contre le Communisme International.

Aginter Press's Italian contacts included delle Chiaie and Giannettini, one of the most active Aginter Press members, responsible for liaising between Aginter's Lisbon offices, delle Chiaie's AN and the Italian secret services. Aginter Press started up in Lisbon in September 1966, and the Italian strategy of tension would be launched in April 1969 with AN's bomb in Milan. After the failure of Plan Solo in 1964, another coup attempt would be launched on the night of 7th December 1970.

In Operation Tora Tora, now known as the Borghese coup after its fascist leader **Prince Borghese**, the putschists who included delle Chiaie and other AN and Fronte Nazionale militants seized the Ministry of the Interior but then withdrew, abandoning the operation on "orders from above". News of the coup attempt was suppressed by SIFAR, and none of the participants was prosecuted. Amongst those implicated in the Borghese coup were several of the members of the **Istituto di Studi Strategici e per la Difesa** (ISSED) in Rome, an Italian body that would cooperate closely with Brian Crozier's Institute for the Study of Conflict in the 1970s, described in the next chapter.

ISSED's founder, General Diulio Fanali, a former Chief of General Staff of the Airforce, was one of the people accused with delle Chiaie and Giannettini of involvement in the Borghese coup. Fanali's name would also crop up in the judicial inquiry into the Rosa dei Venti covert network, detailed below. The Director of ISSED's magazine *Politica e Strategia* was Filippo de Iorio, a close friend of Giulio Andreotti with links to the Italian secret service. A future member of the P2 lodge run by Licio Gelli, de Iorio was forced to flee Italy after being implicated in the Borghese coup with Fanali, Giannettini and delle Chiaie. The Co-Director of the ISSED magazine was Eggardo Beltrametti, who with Giannettini was one of the speakers at the 1965 Parco dei Principi conference. Beltrametti would also be mentioned alongside Giannettini during the judicial inquiry into the Milan bombings which launched the strategy of tension in 1969 (52).

IRD, FORUM WORLD FEATURES AND THE ISC.

Amongst the Allied partners in the immediate postwar period, it was the British who had first recognized the need for media manipulation to check the threat of communism throughout the colonies and at home. Unlike the CIA's anti-communist programme which concentrated on the creation of mass movements like the European Movement and the Congress for Cultural Freedom, the British Foreign Office had decided in 1947-48 to counter the ideological offensive launched by Stalin by setting up a covert propaganda and disinformation unit called the **Information Research Department** (IRD) (53). The IRD would grow to become the biggest department in the Foreign Office with some 400 staff. The IRD network of 'press agencies' which distributed both attributable research papers and unattributable briefings would serve as the model for one of the CIA's most important clandestine media manipulation operations.

In 1965, the International Organizations Division of the CIA decided to use its intellectual front, the Congress for Cultural Freedom, to create a new propaganda outlet, a press agency called **Forum World Features**. This CIA features service, which, at its peak, supplied over 150 newspapers worldwide, would be run from its launch in 1966 until its exposure in 1974 by Brian Crozier. Whilst still Editor of the *Economist Foreign Report*, Crozier had already provided articles for the CCF journal *Encounter* as well as working on commission for the IRD for whom he "transformed a

thick folder of IRD documents into a short book" later published under the title *Neo-Colonialism* as part of a series called Background Books. After his departure from the *Economist* in February 1964, Crozier accepted a part-time consultancy for IRD, advising departments and writing research papers. A few weeks later, Crozier was contacted by the CCF who offered him the job of taking over the CCF's features service and commercialising its output. Tied up with the IRD consultancy and other contracts, Crozier refused but accepted a second more limited commission: to tour South America and report on how the CCF could improve the distribution of the Spanish-language version of their magazine, *Encounter*. Concerned by Crozier's involvement with a CIA front, his MI6 contacts invited Crozier to MI6 headquarters upon his return in November 1964 and commissioned him to write an extensive background report on Sino-Soviet subversion in the Third World; a sanitised version of the report would be published in 1966 as part of the Background Books series under the title *The Struggle for the Third World* (54).

In May 1965, Crozier finally accepted the post of Director of the CCF features service, Forum World Features, and Crozier started at FWF that July. Initial control of FWF ran via two CIA officers, CCF President Michael Josselson, and FWF auditor "Charles Johnson". The legal and financial infrastructure for FWF was provided by one of the CIA's "quiet channels", millionaire **John Hay Whitney**, a wartime member of the OSS (55), former US ambassador to Britain during Crozier's time at the *Economist* and future publisher of the *International Herald Tribune*. Whitney obligingly registered FWF under his own name as a Delaware corporation with offices in London (56); CIA funding for FWF was channelled through **Kern House Enterprises**, a publishing firm run by Whitney. For a while, wrangles between Crozier and the CCF continued about FWF's independence from the CCF; Crozier eventually ensured complete separation of FWF from the CCF and direct control via a CIA case officer he calls "Ray Walters". Walters brought in an office manager, Cecil Eprile, and FWF opened its doors on January 1st 1966.

Crozier was however absent for much of 1966, researching a biography of Franco in Spain. An interview with the Caudillo won Crozier high level access within the Falangist government and particularly with **Manuel Fraga Iribarne**, Franco's Minister for Information and Tourism from 1962 to 1969 when he handed over the post to Alfredo Sanchez Bella, co-founder of CEDI with Otto von Habsburg. Fraga would later become a key Spanish partner in the Cercle complex and a leading conservative politician in the post-Franco era (57)*.

It was also in Madrid that Crozier met one of the future main backers of the UK counter-subversion lobby: **Frank Rockwell Barnett** who ran the New York-based **National Strategy Information Center** (NSIC) with the assistance of his Director of Studies, Henry Trager. Barnett had had long experience in propaganda and the CIA, having served in the late fifties and early sixties as Program Director of the Institute for American Strategy, a Cold War propaganda group founded in 1958. Barnett's colleagues in the IAS were IAS Administrative Director and future Major General Edward Lansdale, an architect of CIA covert operations in Vietnam, and William

Kintner, a CIA planning officer for 11 years. The IAS had been founded as the response of the Military-Industrial Conference of 1958 to a National Security Council Directive the same year recommending that "the military be used to reinforce the Cold War effort". The IAS became the vehicle for the National Security Council's propaganda campaign and ran into controversy in 1961 for its political indoctrination of the military and its use of active-service military personnel for its foreign policy propaganda in civilian forums. After the IAS, Barnett would go on to found the NSIC in 1962 together with wartime OSS veteran **William Casey**, Reagan's future campaign manager and his first Director of the CIA (58)*. During their 1966 meeting in Madrid, Barnett invited Crozier to come over to the United States once his Franco research was over. The visit would not occur until 1968 but would ensure substantial backing for a future Crozier venture (59).

Soon after Crozier returned from Spain, his previous insistence on a complete separation of FWF from the CCF in early 1966 was vindicated. In March 1967, the American magazine *Ramparts* exposed covert CIA funding of a series of organisations. This revelation was compounded by an article by Thomas Braden, head of the CCF's parent body, the International Organisations Division of the CIA, which linked the CCF to the CIA. Despite the attention devoted to the CCF as a result of this exposure, FWF prospered and by the 1970s had added a Spanish service followed by French and Chinese, becoming one of the CIA's main covert propaganda outlets which would run for eight years before its exposure in 1974. In reflection of FWF's importance, Crozier recalls flying to Washington and Langley three or four times a year in the early seventies for briefings with Cord Meyer and the Covert Action department (60).

Crozier's operation with FWF would considerably expand with the advent of 1968 which brought student revolt and a major change in intelligence and security service tasking: subversion from the New Left. IRD asked Crozier to prepare a briefing paper on the New Left which was circulated in 1969 under the title *The New Apostles of Violence*; a condensed version was marketed by FWF and placed with the *Washington Post* and the *London Times*. For IRD, Crozier then expanded his paper "on the basis of a vast supply of classified documents" into a book entitled *The Future of Communist Power* which "incorporated, with slight amendments, the paper on political violence I had prepared for IRD" (61).

As Crozier noted: "In this increasingly threatening situation, I saw a serious gap. Existing institutes or research centres (or 'think tanks' as the Americans called them), however worthy, were either too academic, or too neutral, or too heavily concentrated on hardware strategy ... they failed to take account of the more dangerous Soviet strategy of takeovers by 'non-military' means, such as subversion and terrorism ... The need, as I saw it, was for a research centre which would produce studies on the ever-widening range of groups and forces bringing violence, chaos and disruption into our societies, but always in the context of Soviet strategy" (62). Crozier therefore set up a low-key features service within FWF called the Current Affairs Research Services Centre in 1968. CARSC started publication of a series of monthly monographs on conflict, the first one appearing in December 1969.

Crozier records that "the Agency had permitted me to produce the first five Conflict Studies under CARSC as a commercial imprint" using the FWF address; the sixth would go out in January 1970 under the name of Crozier's new venture, the **Institute for the Study of Conflict** (63).

Kern House provided the start-up capital for the ISC, and Crozier functioned as Director of both FWF and the ISC. Several of FWF's research staff and the FWF library were absorbed into the ISC; FWF then paid the ISC the sum of £2,000 for use of the library it had once owned. Oil companies put up seed capital: first was Shell, who put up £5,000 a year for three years, and British Petroleum £4,000 for two years (64)*. Then the real money came in, thanks to the Agency and via an old American friend: Frank Barnett of the NSIC (65)*. Having met Barnett in Madrid in 1966, Crozier visited him in New York in 1968. When the ISC was then set up in 1969-70, the NSIC provided substantial assistance. Apart from a guaranteed regular purchase of each issue of the Conflict Studies, Barnett's NSIC also provided the salary for one of the ISC's researchers and footed the printing and publicity bill for the ISC's annual publication, the *Annual of Power and Conflict* (66).

Above all, beyond NSIC funding, Barnett could provide contacts, arranging a meeting with Dan McMichael, who would remain a true friend to Barnett's NSIC for more than fifteen years, serving on the Advisory Council at least until 1984. McMichael was administrator of the trust funds of the Scaife family, major shareholders in Gulf Oil. Barnett persuaded **Richard Mellon Scaife** ("Dick Scaife as he liked to be called – a tall, fair-haired man with film-star good looks", as Crozier puts it) to provide \$100,000 a year for the ISC as well as taking over the FWF subsidies from Jock Whitney. According to Crozier: "From that moment on, the ISC took off" (67). Between 1973 and 1981, Dick Scaife would donate a total of \$6 million to the NSIC and their London friends at the ISC.

The Foreign Office's covert propaganda arm IRD also contributed to the setting-up of the new Institute; indeed, "IRD became the midwife of the ISC" (68)*. When seeking initial funding to set up the ISC in January 1970, Crozier wrote to a powerful friend, **Sir Peter Wilkinson**, a senior SOE veteran and former head of IRD later to become Coordinator for Security and Intelligence in the Cabinet Office. Wilkinson arranged for a retired Major-General, Fergus A. H. Ling, to act as a fundraiser for the ISC in military circles; Ling would serve as the ISC's Financial Director before becoming its Defence Services Consultant. This early assistance for the ISC by a former head of IRD was only the beginning; almost all the key ISC staff were former MI6, IRD, CCF or FWF personnel:

- **Brian Crozier** was Director of both FWF and the ISC, and a consultant to IRD.
- **Iain Hamilton**, a former Editor of the *Spectator*, replaced Crozier as Managing Editor of FWF before moving to the ISC as its Editorial Director. Both Crozier and Hamilton were fully aware of the CIA's role in supporting FWF and the ISC.

- **Michael Goodwin**, the ISC's Administrative Director, had been involved with the CCF since January 1951 when he was a founding member and Honorary Secretary of the British Society for Cultural Freedom, subsidized by the CCF to the tune of £700 a month deposited in Goodwin's account. As the editor of the journal *The Twentieth Century* and a contract employee of the IRD, Goodwin was considered by the CCF's Paris office to be "a vital contact", and as such the CCF bailed out Goodwin's indebted journal in 1951 with a lump sum payment of some £3,000 and a monthly subsidy of £150. As for the British Society, it had gotten off to a shaky start and was soon riven by dissensions centred on Goodwin; he resigned in January 1952, and worked for the IRD from 1952 to 1956 as editor of the Bellman Books series for Ampersand, the IRD's publishing outlet. Goodwin's post as Secretary of the British Society was then filled by the IRD's John Clews (69)*.

- **Nigel Clive**, a former MI6 officer, was head of IRD from 1966 to 1969 before writing for ISC and acting as ISC's editorial consultant.

- **Kenneth Benton** retired in 1968 after a 30 year career in MI6; he then joined the ISC whilst their Conflict Studies were still published by the Current Affairs Research Services Centre of FWF.

- **David Lynn Price**, a regular author of ISC Conflict Studies, first worked for IRD before moving to FWF in 1969 and the ISC in 1970.

- **Peter Janke**, the ISC's senior research officer, had also worked for IRD.

- **Patrick 'Paddy' Honey**, a Vietnam expert and former colleague of Brian Crozier on the *Economist Foreign Report*, wrote for both IRD and ISC.

- **Tom Little**, another *Economist* journalist, was a central figure in an IRD front, the Arab News Agency, before writing Conflict Studies for the ISC (70).

Another important staff member of the ISC who would become Crozier's inseparable partner throughout the 1970s and 1980s was Australian-born **Robert Moss**. Moss, educated at the University of Canberra and the London School of Economics, first met Crozier in 1969 when Moss came to see him with an introduction from his father-in-law Geoffrey Fairbairn, a founding member of the ISC Council (71). A central figure in the ISC and many later Crozier ventures, Moss would follow Crozier's precedent in becoming Editor of the *Economist Foreign Report* in the mid-1970s and would rise to become one of the CIA's main disinformation assets, particularly in the campaign to destabilize Chile's Salvador Allende in 1973.

Besides its staff's extensive links to MI6, IRD and FWF, the ISC also had on its Council senior figures from MI5 and the military intelligence community: **Leonard Schapiro**, ISC Chairman from 1970 on, had been a war-time member of MI5 and an adviser to MI6's G. K. Young some time between 1953 and 1956, when Young as Director of Requirements was reorganizing MI6's chaotic information collation and

analysis methods (72). In the 1970s, Schapiro held the Chair of Soviet Studies at the London School of Economics; he would later be a foreign policy adviser to Thatcher. A top military intelligence officer was **Vice-Admiral Sir Louis Le Bailly**, Director-General of Intelligence at the MoD from 1972 to 1975 and a member of MI5's recruitment panel, who would later serve on the ISC Council, as would **Sir Edward Peck**, former Chairman of the Joint Intelligence Committee.

Two leading counter-insurgency experts would also join the ISC Council, the first being **Sir Robert Thompson**, a key figure in the British Army's campaign during the Malayan Emergency of the late 1950s. As Deputy Secretary of Defence for Malaya in 1957 and Permanent Secretary for Defence from 1959 to 1961, Thompson had drafted the Briggs Plan, introducing the "strategic hamlet" concept, a plan implemented by Sir Gerald Templer. From 1961 to 1965, the year in which he received his knighthood, Thompson would be the main architect of early American counter-insurgency strategy in Vietnam as Head of the British Advisory Mission (73)*. Thompson's books on his experiences of counter-insurgency in Malaya and in Vietnam were published by Forum World Features. The second leading counter-insurgency expert was another old Malaya hand, **Major-General Sir Richard Clutterbuck**, who was Senior Army Instructor at the Royal College of Defence Studies when he joined the ISC Council (74)*. The early ISC Council also included Brigadier W. F. K. Thompson, the military correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* from 1959 to 1976. Another senior military figure who would later join the ISC Council was **General Sir Harry Tuzo**, General Officer Commanding Northern Ireland from 1971 to 1973 and Deputy Supreme Allied Commander, Europe from 1976 to 1978.

Through these extensive contacts with the British security establishment, the ISC gained a unique rôle as an unofficial (deniable) but powerful propaganda tool, which could put over the intelligence community's views to the Press under the guise of a 'neutral' academic research body. It could also take over some of the networking with private bodies that IRD had recently abandoned. As Crozier reports, by the end of the 1960s, IRD had "decided to sever all relations with two major continental networks with which I had been associated. One was the Hague-based Interdoc group. The other was admittedly more controversial. This was a private but highly effective French group controlled by a friend of mine, the late Georges Albertini. ... In return for all information and the contacts he gave me, I made sure that he received the IRD output, of which he made good use. ... There was no question of restoring these official contacts, however, once they had been broken. In any case, Interdoc's value had decreased sharply after the advent of Willy Brandt as Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany in September 1969. As for Albertini, whom I met frequently in Paris or London, I made sure both that he received IRD material likely to be useful to him, and that I made good use of his own information and influence" (75). Albertini's influence would indeed be of use to Crozier, particularly after the presidential election of June 1969 when Albertini's old schoolmate and Bilderberg member Georges Pompidou replaced Général de Gaulle.

The ISC also developed excellent relations with four private anti-union

blacklisting groups: the Economic League, Common Cause, **Aims for Industry** and the **Industrial Research and Information Service** (IRIS). In 1970, whilst the ISC was being established, Crozier had edited the anti-communist anthology *We Will Bury You*, published by Common Cause. Alongside Neil Elles of Common Cause and John Dettmer of the Economic League, the authors included Charles Ellis of Interdoc and two founding members of the ISC, Crozier and Brigadier W. F. K. Thompson. This early joint venture was the first in a series of collaborative efforts throughout the 1970s and 1980s; Aims for Industry and IRIS, in particular, would work with the ISC during their counter-subversion campaigns.

THE MONDAY CLUB AND SIF

Besides its intelligence and industrial allies, the ISC also gained considerable political support, particularly in the favourable political climate following the election victory of the Conservatives under Edward Heath in June 1970. The main political group echoing the ISC's concerns on Communist subversion was the **Monday Club**, a ginger group within the Conservative Party which included many Members of Parliament, several of whom were intelligence veterans.

The Monday Club had been set up within the Conservative party in 1961 to bring together defendants of South Africa and White Rhodesia who opposed the new decolonisation policy announced by Conservative Prime Minister Harold Macmillan in his "winds of change" speech. One of the earliest members of the Monday Club, joining in 1962, was **Sir John Biggs-Davison**, a Conservative MP from 1955 until his death in 1988. From at least 1965 on, Biggs-Davison served on the PEU Central Council with Vice-President Otto von Habsburg and the PEU International Events Secretary and future Belgian coordinator of the Cercle complex, **Florimond Damman**, described in the next chapter (76). A stalwart in the Monday Club, Biggs-Davison would serve as its President from 1974 to 1976.

Another Monday Club member with links to the Cercle complex – indeed a future Chairman of the Cercle Pinay itself - was **Julian (Lord) Amery**. Amery was a prominent MP on the Conservative Right with a long history of extensive intelligence contacts. Having served in the Balkans with MI6's Section D and the **Special Operations Executive** (SOE) during the war, he was one of the major figures who pushed MI6 in the immediate post-war period to adopt its disastrous plan "to liberate the countries within the Soviet orbit by any means short of war", notably the catastrophic attempts to "set the Soviet Union ablaze" by landing armed bands of émigrés in Albania, Latvia, the Caucasus and the Ukraine.

In June 1950, Amery attended the founding conference in Berlin of the CIA-funded CCF and served on its International Steering Committee (77)*; at the time, Amery was also one of the leading members of the Central and Eastern Europe Commission of Retinger's CIA-funded European Movement; he would also sit in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe from 1950 to 1957. In 1950, Amery

was elected to Parliament and also married Harold Macmillan's daughter. He went on to hold several government posts under Macmillan, firstly as Under-Secretary of State at the War Office in 1957 and the Colonial Office in 1958, before being promoted to the post of Secretary of State for Air from 1960 to 1962; he would then serve in the Cabinet as Minister for Air until the Conservatives' electoral defeat by Labour's Harold Wilson in 1964. Amery had joined the Monday Club soon after its creation in 1961; he was the guest of honour at the Club's annual dinner in 1963.

In 1966, he would lose his parliamentary seat but regain it in 1969, remaining MP until 1992, when he was created a life peer. By the time of the ISC's creation in 1970, the political pendulum had just swung back to the Right. New Conservative Prime Minister Edward Heath appointed Amery Housing Minister, where he served until 1972 when he became Minister for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs (the cover department for MI6), holding the post until Heath's defeat by Wilson in 1974 (78)*.

Another Monday Club associate was Amery's Private Secretary as Housing Minister, **Winston Churchill**. Churchill's father Randolph had been one of the founding members of the SAS and a life-long intimate of SAS co-founder **David Stirling**, who would contribute to the counter-subversion campaign of the mid-1970s by founding the citizens' militia GB75 in 1974.

One of Amery's oldest political allies in the Monday Club was Rhodesian-born **Sir Stephen Hastings**. During the war, Hastings had served with Stirling in North Africa as one of the founding members of the SAS before moving to SOE and then MI6; he would be stationed in Cyprus at the same time as **Peter Wright** of MI5. Hastings was a close friend of Christopher Phillpotts of MI6 - the two had served together in Paris. As Head of MI6 Counter-Espionage, Phillpotts would work extensively with MI5's Peter Wright in the molehunts of the late 1960s. Having left MI6, Hastings became a Conservative MP in 1960; his first appearance in the House of Commons was sponsored by Amery, then Aviation Minister. Hastings would then join Amery in the Monday Club as one of the Club's eleven MPs in 1963. In 1965, Amery and Hastings would campaign with newly elected Conservative MP Cranley Onslow against the cancellation of the TSR2 aircraft. Onslow shared Hastings' and Amery's intelligence connections, having served in MI6 until 1960; he would work briefly for the IRD before being elected to Parliament in 1964, remaining MP until 1997.

Another early member of the Monday Club from 1964 on was **Geoffrey Stewart-Smith**, later a Conservative MP from 1970 to 1974. In 1962, Stewart-Smith had founded the **Foreign Affairs Circle**, the British section of WACL until 1974, which produced the hardline anti-Soviet journal **East-West Digest**, a fortnightly publication sent free of charge to all MPs. Stewart-Smith's journal *East-West Digest* would appear to be one of the last outlets created around Interdoc following the foundation in the late fifties of the Deutsche Vereinigung für Ost-West Beziehungen in Germany, the Oost-West Instituut in Holland, the Schweizer Ost-Institut in

Switzerland and Albertini's *Est-Ouest* magazine in France. Stewart-Smith would later create the **Foreign Affairs Publishing Company** (FAPC), which continued the *East-West Digest* and published many works by Crozier and other figures on the British Right. The FAPC also distributed the publications of the British anti-union groups (Aims for Industry, Common Cause, the Economic League and IRIS) and acted as agent for the SOI's press in Switzerland, SOI-Verlag, and for Interdoc in Holland (79)*.

Last and very definitely not least amongst the Monday Club members was **George Kennedy Young**, a veteran MI6 coup-master closely involved with MI6's Albanian landings in the immediate post war period, strongly supported by Amery. Unfortunately for all concerned, the top MI6 officer in charge of liaison with the CIA for the operation was Kim Philby, who promptly blew it to the KGB. Young was also notably involved with Project Ajax, the coup against Mossadeq in Iran in 1953, the year that Young would be promoted to Deputy Chief of MI6. Young retired early in 1961 and joined **Kleinwort Benson**, the merchant bankers.

Young was brought into the Monday Club by Biggs-Davison in 1967, and was largely responsible for the Monday Club's rapid lurch to the extreme Right, particularly on the issues of immigration and subversion. In 1969, the Monday Club published Young's *Who Goes Home*, an anti-immigration pamphlet that stirred up controversy due to its call for mandatory repatriation of black people. Besides running the Halt Immigration Now Campaign from within the Monday Club, Young chaired the Monday Club Action Fund, which he used to pay for his supporters to work in Monday Club regional offices. In short, as a trained intelligence officer, Young planted his cadres throughout the Monday Club's national and regional groups; an ally of Young's, Bee Carthew, controlled the administrative structure of the Monday Club as Meetings Secretary (80).

The Monday Club Subversion Committee was chaired by another associate of Young's, **Ian Greig**, one of the four founding members of the Monday Club in January 1961 and a close partner of the ISC and Crozier throughout the 1970s. In January 1970, Greig's Committee organized a Monday Club seminar on subversion, at which the panel included Greig, Young, Charles Lyons of the FBI and the ISC's Sir Robert Thompson. Young and Greig's preoccupation with subversion was certainly shared by the main speaker at the Monday Club's seminar: General Giovanni De Lorenzo, former head of SIFAR and of the Carabinieri and main actor in the aborted 1964 coup attempt, Plan Solo. De Lorenzo, now an MSI MP, had been invited by Young, who was an expert on Italian fascist policing methods, having dismantled the German intelligence service's networks in Italy for MI6 after the war. De Lorenzo's speech to the Monday Club came midway between the beginning of the strategy of tension in April 1969 and the Borghese coup in December 1970; at the time of his visit, De Lorenzo was also a key figure in an anti-communist resistance network within the Carabinieri and the secret services codenamed **Rosa dei Venti** (Compass Rose), which had been set up after the failure of Plan Solo. The Rosa dei Venti group, a major component in the Italian Gladio network, would later be implicated in a

further coup planned for the spring of 1973 (81).

As the same time as he was taking over the Monday Club, G. K. Young was tightening his grip on another right-wing group, the **Society for Individual Freedom**, formed by the fusion of two other groups in 1942. By 1970, Young had succeeded in becoming Chairman of SIF; the remaining posts on the National Executive were filled by Young's allies, such as Biggs-Davison and **Gerald Howarth**, a Conservative MP and member of Young's Monday Club Immigration Committee. Other associates of Young's on the SIF National Executive included **Michael Ivens**, Director of the anti-union outfit Aims for Industry from 1970 on, and **Ross McWhirter**; Ross and his brother Norris were veteran figures on the British ultra-right and publishers of the *Guinness Book of Records*. Another member of the SIF National Executive was **Sir John Rodgers**, Conservative MP from 1950 to 1979 who became SIF President in the summer of 1970; we shall meet Rodgers again later as a member of CEDI and the AESP (82).

A final SIF National Executive member was the Conservative MP **Sir Frederic Bennett**, who acted as Chairman of the SIF Parliamentary Committee. Bennett was Senior Director of the Kleinwort Benson bank alongside G. K. Young, and also a Director at Commercial Union Assurance, where he worked with another retired MI6 officer with long experience in the Middle East, Ellis Morgan. Bennett would later assist Young in creating the 'private army' Unison in 1976. Besides being a close ally of Young's, Bennett was also a stalwart member of the Bilderberg Group and attended the April 1974 Bilderberg conference in Megève together with the President of Kleinwort Benson, Gerald Thompson (83)*. Bennett's importance within the Bilderberg group can be judged by the fact that Bennett was chosen as host for their 1977 conference, crucial for the restoration of the Bilderbergers' tarnished reputation after the Lockheed bribe scandal which led to the cancellation of their 1976 conference and the resignation of the Bilderberg President, Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands. The conference, organized in the UK to commemorate the Jubilee, was held in Bennett's constituency of Torquay in April (84)*.

In 1970-71, SIF was active in opposing demonstrations led by Young Liberal Peter Hain protesting against sporting tours in the UK by South African teams: one photograph illustrating a SIF action shows Young, Howarth, Biggs-Davison and McWhirter carrying an urn of "ashes of English liberty". In 1971, SIF set up the Hain Prosecution Fund which raised £20,000; its Chairman was Ross McWhirter, its Treasurer Howarth. A valuable partner of SIF's in support of their actions against anti-apartheid demonstrators was the South African **Bureau of State Security** (BOSS). **Gordon Winter**, one of BOSS's key agents in London working under journalistic cover (including seven years for FWF), had regular meetings with Howarth to coordinate BOSS/SIF collaboration. Winter was cautious about SIF however, as his BOSS handler had informed him that SIF was a British intelligence front run by two senior British intelligence operatives - Young and McWhirter. On Young, the information was certainly right.

As a journalist, Winter had attended all of the matches during the Springboks' tour with the task of photographing the demonstrators for BOSS files. Winter then offered Howarth over one thousand mug-shots of the demonstrators as well as his 60-page report for BOSS on the tour and Hain's anti-apartheid campaign. Winter also offered to stand as the main witness in SIF's private prosecution of Hain, but withdrew at the last moment on orders from BOSS, who wanted him to maintain his cover for a much more important task - the ultimately successful attempt to smear Liberal leader Jeremy Thorpe (85). BOSS did not give up on Hain however, using a double in an attempt to frame him for a bank robbery in Putney in October 1975. A month before Hain's trial, he escaped a letter-bomb posted from Vienna, and the case against him was ultimately dismissed (86)*.

FLORIMOND DAMMAN AND THE AESP

At the same time as the IRD and FWF were organising their new Institute under Brian Crozier, Jean Violet was working to provide a new logistical basis for the Cercle Pinay and for the political alliance of Pinay, Strauss, Habsburg and Sanchez Bella. The man chosen for this crucial support rôle was a longstanding Belgian contact of Habsburg's - **Florimond Damman**. Damman was a key Belgian linkman; together with a few close friends, Damman represented the Belgian end of almost all the international right-wing networks such as the PEU, CEDI and WACL. Damman had been a close associate of Habsburg's since at least 1962, when Damman served as Secretary of the Belgian PEU section, Action pour l'Europe Nouvelle et l'Expansion Atlantique (AENA), before rising to become Chairman of the International Events Committee on the Central Council of the PEU in 1966 alongside PEU Vice-Presidents Habsburg and Biggs-Davison, and Brussels-based PEU International Secretary **Vittorio Pons** - a former Counsellor at the EEC - and Pons' deputy and Damman's close associate, Belgian **Baron Bernard de Marcken de Merken**.

Damman's chairmanship of the PEU International Events Committee reflected his ceaseless energy in organizing and networking amongst the European Right. One particular form this took was the organisation of banquets, **Grand Charlemagne Dinners** as Damman called them, to bring together representatives and personalities from the fragmented paneuropean movements. Starting in the early 1960s, these dinners were organized in Brussels or Aachen by Damman and the Belgian PEU section; the renamed Conseil Belge pour l'Union Paneuropéenne would hold the IXth Grand Charlemagne Dinner in Brussels in January 1966 in the presence of "His Imperial and Royal Highness Archduke Otto von Habsburg". By 1969, the Belgian PEU group would again change name to become the **Mouvement d'Action pour l'Union Européenne** (MAUE), but would still be run by Damman who also liaised with the Habsburg-Sanchez Bella group CEDI, being close personal friends with Sanchez Bella (87)*.

The Belgian section of CEDI was run by Damman's close associate **Paul Vankerkhoven**, who served on CEDI's International Council and also acted as

Damman's Vice-President within the PEU section MAUE. 1969 would be a watershed year for the two men who would set up a series of right-wing groups that year, amongst them the Belgian section of WACL, the **Ligue Internationale de la Liberté** (LIL), founded by Vankerkhoven. The same year, Vankerkhoven also set up a select right-wing club, the **Cercle des Nations**, which became a frequent meeting place for members of the PEU, CEDI and WACL (88). In April 1970, for example, Damman and Vankerkhoven would organize a Cercle des Nations reception in honour of the Greek colonels; another collaborative venture for Damman and Vankerkhoven was the joint organisation of the 1970 Brussels Congress of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations (ABN), an anti-communist group of mainly Ukrainian exiles financed by the CIA and the BND. The ABN was also strongly supported by Strauss's CSU; its headquarters were in Munich (89)*.

Of greatest interest though for the Cercle complex was another club, set up by Florimond Damman in January 1969, the **Académie Européenne des Sciences Politiques** (AESP). Damman was Secretary-for-life of the AESP; Paul Vankerkhoven served as a member of the AESP organizing core, the Permanent Delegation. The AESP would continue the tradition of organizing the Grand Charlemagne Dinners and act as a right-wing clearing house, as Damman described in his note 229:

"Everywhere in Europe, there are people who share our ideology and who are unable to contribute to it because they are, and above all, they feel, isolated. The same applies to the small, restricted and regional groups which are jealous of their independence and their individuality, and we have to allow them that. We should not impose a line of conduct on them, we should suggest certain initiatives to them, but also find a way of bringing together their leaders on a individual basis, setting up permanent liaison between them without giving them the impression that they are linked, consult them for certain missions and make them believe that they have taken the initiative in giving us their approval" (90).

Besides bringing together the fragmented forces of national right-wing groups, another intention behind the fledgling Academy was to absorb the other transnational European right-wing movements, particularly CEDI and the PEU. Whilst these two organisations would continue to exist, the AESP would act as a forum for a meeting of minds between fractions within both international groups. This goal of integrating the movements working for European union was in part due to a latent power struggle between political positions and personalities in European federalism.

Within the PEU-AESP complex, the struggle was one which opposed PEU founder and 'dove' Comte Coudenhove Kalergi with CEDI founder and 'hawk' Archduke Otto von Habsburg. The 1969 creation of the AESP may well have been initially intended as a means of stripping the PEU of its more influential members and sidelining Coudenhove Kalergi, a move rendered unnecessary by Coudenhove Kalergi's death on 27th July, 1972, which cleared the way for Habsburg to become

President of all three organisations - the PEU, CEDI and the AESP. In 1969, however, it seems that Coudenhove Kalergi could not be ousted immediately - his prestige could do much to gain acceptance for the new Academy, and so it was decided to at least start up the AESP with Coudenhove Kalergi as honorary President.

Before the latent power struggle between Coudenhove Kalergi and Otto von Habsburg within both the PEU and the AESP had been resolved, Damman had considered setting up another group to replace the AESP if Coudenhove Kalergi would not give way to Habsburg. Damman had already started the groundwork for a new group, **CREC**, to be run by Damman and a new ally, **Yves Guérin-Sérac**, leader of **Aginter Press**, the revolutionary fascist group founded in 1966.

It is possible that Guérin-Sérac saw the new group CREC as an opportunity to provide Aginter Press's international fascist contact network, *Ordre et Tradition*, with links to top conservative politicians, a bridge between the revolutionary fascist underground and 'respectable' public figures, whilst at the same time pursuing the strategy of tension that Aginter Press had developed. After an initial contact in late 1968, Guérin-Sérac came to Brussels in January 1969 as Damman's guest to develop contacts amongst the elite conservative circles Damman frequented. Damman started by inviting Guérin-Sérac to the AESP's XIIth Grand Charlemagne Dinner on 27th January, 1969, just four months before the Milan bomb blast that launched the Italian strategy of tension. Amongst the illustrious guests were Habsburg and Belgian Prime Minister **Gaston Eyskens**; one of Guérin-Sérac's dinner companions at table G was the Belgian neo-fascist **Emile Lecerf**, later to become notorious in connection with rumours of a planned coup in 1973 and a strategy of tension in Belgium in the 1980s.

Guérin-Sérac soon became involved in the internal power struggle within the AESP between Count Richard Coudenhove Kalergi and Archduke Otto von Habsburg. In a letter to Damman on *Ordre et Tradition* headed paper dated 26th March 1969, Yves Guérin-Sérac gave the following description of the power struggle between Coudenhove Kalergi and Habsburg three months after the AESP's creation:

"Dear Mr. Damman,

Thank you for your kind letters of the 19th and 20th March which bring me here at the extreme tip of the continent [Portugal] the reviving spirit of European aspirations from the very heart of Europe!

If I may give my opinion, I also feel that the maximum effort should be given to the Academy and the College [of Young European Leaders, an AESP youth offshoot], because it is from here that the most active and dynamic elements will come. However, and you are right on this as well, so as to create the necessary climate, we must contact a wider and more diversified elite. Removing the Count and replacing him with the Archduke is a solution, but if it turns out to be impossible, I feel it is logical to think of setting up another

organisation"(91).

By the summer of 1969, Guérin-Sérac and Damman had concluded an "agreement in principle" to found the new group, **CREC**, which would try and reconcile two conflicting positions: the traditional Right, anti-communist but not anti-parliamentarian, and the revolutionary extreme Right represented by Aginter Press. Guérin-Sérac and Damman then met at least twice more, as detailed in a progress report written by Guérin-Sérac on 19th May, 1969 and sent out by Aginter Press to their correspondents:

"We should take stock of the progress made in our effort to set up CREC. I must admit that little progress has been made since the beginning of the year, i.e. since the agreement in principle on the two syntheses ... the major reasons for this delay are:

- the difficulties suffered by the group of our Italian friends as a result of the chaotic and revolutionary situation in their country;
- the centrifugal tendencies of the French group, whose reconversion has not yet been completed.

... We should not however give up. In a Franco-Belgian preparatory meeting held in Brussels in March, we agreed on the following work programme:

- A - Definition of basic political positions with regard to European union.
- B - Definition of goals and strategy.
- C - Organisation of a structure for CREC: bases and statutes.
- D - Preparation of a political plan and a psychological plan to be implemented by CREC.
- E - Organisation of a financial committee.

In the meeting in Vienna at the beginning of this month, it was suggested we drew up a questionnaire so as to facilitate the definition, classification and alignment of the political ideas held by the various groups active on the subject of European union. Please find annexed a questionnaire covering paragraphs A and B of the above plan.

I would suggest you send me your answers and any points you would like to add. I will then prepare a summary and if necessary highlight the conflicts or major disagreements and try to find an acceptable compromise with those concerned before finally submitting the conclusions to you" (92).

In his report, Guérin-Sérac refers to the "chaotic and revolutionary situation" in Italy, a climate stoked by the Italian correspondents of Aginter Press, centred around the Avanguardia Nazionale group under the leadership of Stefano delle Chiaie. Almost exactly one month after Guérin-Sérac wrote to Damman about CREC in March 1969, the Italian neo-fascists working with Aginter Press carried out the bomb attack that announced the beginning of the strategy of tension in Italy. The bomb that exploded in the Fiat Pavilion at the Milan Fair on the 25th April 1969 wounded twenty people; by the end of this first year of terror tactics, 149 bomb attacks would occur, as compared to fifty in the four years from 1964 to 1968.

Whether Damman knew of Guérin-Sérac's terrorist connections or not is uncertain, but it is clear that Aginter Press's neo-fascist terrorists were in contact with conservatives throughout Europe, as Guérin-Sérac explained:

"Our troop consists of two types of men:

i) officers who joined us after the fighting in Indo-China or Algeria, and even some who signed on with us after the battle for Korea;

ii) intellectuals who, during the same period, turned their attention to the study of the techniques of Marxist subversion ... having created study groups, they shared their experience to try and expose the techniques of Marxist subversion and develop a counter-strategy. Throughout this period, we had systematically forged close ties with like-minded groups that were being set up in Italy, Belgium, Germany, Spain or in Portugal with the aim of forming the nucleus of a truly European league to resist Marxism" (93).

In an 1974 interview, Aginter Press' key Italian representative, Guido Giannettini, alluded to the contacts between Ordre et Tradition and groups like the AESP and specifically mentioned one of the main contacts for the Academy and for Aginter Press, Franz Josef Strauss's CSU party (94)*:

"I passed my information on to some friends in certain milieux of the international Right. They passed me theirs ... the practical form for this exchange was private bulletins which circulated amongst certain European groups of the Centre-Right ... such as, for example, the Bavarian CSU party, the French 'geopolitical groups' [e.g. the Cercle Pinay], and other groups in Belgium [e.g. the AESP], Switzerland, and almost every country in Europe" (95).

Despite Guérin-Sérac's interest in the new group, CREC never got beyond the planning stage. Nonetheless, journalist Serge Dumont who infiltrated the AESP at the time states that contacts between Damman and Guérin-Sérac continued until May 1974 when the Lisbon offices of Aginter Press were occupied by left-wing soldiers during the Portuguese revolution, blowing the operation's press agency cover (96). There was however one person who would not forget Guérin-Sérac's insurrectionary

message - his table companion at Damman's Grand Charlemagne Dinner in January 1969, Belgian neo-fascist Emile Lecerf. In 1973, the names of Lecerf and several eminent members of Damman's Academy would be included in a Gendarmerie report on plans for a coup d'état in Belgium, detailed in a later chapter.

Despite the failure of the CREC project, Damman would soon overcome the internal struggle within the AESP and expand its activities. At a symposium organized by Habsburg in Vienna in May 1969, Damman met Jean Violet (97)*. By October, Violet was looking for a group that could provide an operational framework for the Cercle Pinay, and thought of Damman and his AESP. On 21st October 1969, Violet wrote to Damman saying that he would like to meet him, having been "mandated by President Pinay to carry out a study of European perspectives after the German elections" i.e. Willy Brandt's September election victory.

The meeting took place one week later on 28th October in Brussels, where Violet was accompanied by two of his contacts, the first of whom was **Marcel Collet**, who had just retired as director of Euratom. Violet's second companion was certain to ensure a favourable reception from Damman - none other than the International Secretary-General of the Paneuropean Union **Vittorio Pons**. Over lunch, Violet, Damman, Collet and Pons agreed on a new rôle for the AESP to act as a forum linking the PEU and CEDI under Habsburg and Sanchez Bella to the Bilderberg Group and Cercle Pinay, represented by Pinay and Violet. The revamped Academy would be run by Damman directed from behind the scenes by Violet and his trio of associates Collet, Father Dubois and **François Vallet**, an industrialist in pharmaceuticals. Violet announced that he would go to Pöcking, Habsburg's seat just outside Munich, to confer with the Archduke and Strauss about the financing of the AESP.

Within eight months of the Academy's relaunch, the process of interlinking was already well under way, as a membership list dated 21st June 1970 testifies (98). The honorary figurehead of the AESP was PEU founder Coudenhove Kalergi, but the position was only symbolic: as on all future AESP documents, Archduke Otto von Habsburg's name is first on the list of names, whereas Coudenhove Kalergi's name appears only in third place under the letter C. The PEU/CEDI axis was represented by Habsburg, Sanchez Bella and Pons, the Cercle Pinay by Pinay, Violet, Father Dubois, Pesenti and Collet.

The operational core of the AESP, the Permanent Delegation, brought together the Belgian sections of the PEU, CEDI and WACL - the duo of Damman and de Marcken represented the PEU Central Council and the Belgian PEU section MAUE, whereas Vankerhoven ran the Belgian WACL section LIL and the Belgian section of CEDI. CEDI's Belgian section was also represented within the AESP by the **Chevalier Marcel de Roover**, a veteran anti-communist who had played a major part in the early post-war creation of two private anti-communist intelligence services linked to the Belgian Gladio network, Milpol and the Delcourt network. It was de Roover who had founded the Belgian section of CEDI in 1961 and still served as its President

when the AESP was created; he was also Belgium's representative within WACL from the late 1950s on. Following de Roover's death in 1971, his WACL post was taken over by Paul Vankerkhoven, who was also appointed Secretary-General of CEDI, moving CEDI's offices into his Cercle des Nations (99)*.

The most prominent Belgian members of the AESP however were the Belgian Prime Minister, Gaston Eyskens, and the future Belgian Prime Minister and Defence Minister throughout most of the 1970s, **Paul Vanden Boeynants**. VdB, as he is known, would become a national institution in Belgian political life, the Belgian Andreotti. VdB first entered politics at the age of 29 in the ranks of Retinger's European Movement. Before being elected to Parliament, he served as one of the five Belgian representatives at the second conference of the Union of European Federalists, the most powerful group within the European Movement. The UEF's second conference was held in Rome in November 1948 shortly after massive intervention by the CIA to ward off an electoral victory by the Socialist-Communist Popular Democratic Front in the April 1948 elections. As we will see below, one key Italian politician in this anti-communist propaganda effort would also figure amongst the AESP's members in 1970.

Through the UEF, Vanden Boeynants made a valuable contact in the person of the UEF Treasurer, the Belgian Pierre Bonvoisin, who in 1952 would be one of the founding members of the Bilderberg Group with Antoine Pinay. When VdB was Belgian Defence Minister in the mid-1970s, he would show his gratitude to Pierre Bonvoisin by appointing Bonvoisin's son, Benoît, as his political adviser. **Baron Benoît de Bonvoisin** was at the time the most notorious patron of Belgian fascism and a key international linkman for the far Right.

Alongside the international leadership of the PEU and CEDI and their Belgian affiliates, the newly founded Academy also included three top members of Europa-Union Deutschland, the German PEU section and most influential of the PEU national delegations. The first of this trio of German AESP members was a man we have already met, the conservative bag-man and German PEU Federal Secretary until 1975 **Karl-Friedrich Grau**, longstanding coordinator of the Frankfurt Study Group and German partner of Sager's Swiss SOI. Grau would be one of Damman's major partners in the early 1970s; Damman's private diary reveals at least 25 meetings with Grau from 1969 to 1973, as well as joint plans to set up a certain 'Collège de Coordination' in Cologne with Grau as President (100).

Throughout the 1970s, Grau's Frankfurt Study Group would be a key source of German anti-communist propaganda via its private newsletter entitled **intern-informationen**. Although the Study Group produced the bulletin, the legal publication address was that of a Swiss affiliate - putting Grau and the bulletin's contributors out of the reach of German law, and for good reason: the bulletin, which included contributions from BND officers, regularly published defamatory articles about Centre-Left politicians (101). As one of the founding members put it in an interview with Swiss television, "the Swiss branch was set up to ensure that the left-

wing German government [under Willy Brandt] can't touch us". Grau gave a similar explanation during a meeting with militants of the neo-fascist NPD party in December 1973: "We have compiled lists of Socialists, Reds and trades unionists. To be certain that only authorized people can get at them, we have deposited them in a vault in Switzerland" (102).

Grau's Swiss affiliate, the **Internationale Studiengesellschaft für Politik** (International Study Group for Politics, ISP) was founded in Interlaken in 1971 and was funded by a grant of 10% of the Frankfurt Study Group's income. Throughout the 1970s, the ISP would act as a major German-language outlet for Cold War propaganda, in many ways similar to the British Institute for the Study of Conflict. With participants and speakers coming from the military, the police and the intelligence and security services of Switzerland and other European countries, the ISP held conferences on Soviet subversion of Western society: typical titles of speeches included "Is the Bolchevisation of Europe inevitable?" and "The threat of German reunification - under the hammer and sickle!".

Considerable support for the ISP was given by Dr. Peter Sager and his SOI. For many years, Grau's smear sheet *intern-informationen* was produced by a printing company that belonged to Sager. Sager himself spoke frequently at ISP conferences in the 1970s, and the Secretary-General of the ISP from 1973 on was Sager's partner Heinz Luginbühl. Support for the ISP was also given by Habsburg and the AESP: the Austrian Archduke gave speeches and contributed articles to the Frankfurt Study Group from 1965 onwards, and several other German or Swiss members of the AESP would work as speakers for the ISP in the mid-1970s.

Alongside Grau, another German who joined the AESP in 1970 was **Hans-Joachim von Merkatz**, a senior CDU politician first elected to the German Parliament in 1949 as a member of the small Deutsche Partei (German Party). Von Merkatz served in the Cabinet (alongside Strauss) as Minister for Senate Affairs from 1955 to 1962, and simultaneously as Justice Minister from 1956 to 1957; during his ministerial office, he would also represent Germany in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe from 1951 to 1957. He would switch party allegiance to the CDU in 1960 and served a second simultaneous mandate from 1960 to 1961 as Minister for Expellees, Refugees and War Victims – the former German populations expelled from the Eastern European countries behind the Iron Curtain were a notable factor in post-war German politics. Leaving national politics in 1962, von Merkatz served as German representative on the Executive Council of UNESCO from 1964 to 1968 and again in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe from 1964 to 1969.

More significant than von Merkatz's political career was his rôle in paneuropean politics. In 1967, he had replaced Coudenhove Kalergi as President of the German PEU section, serving on the PEU Central Council as Vice-President. This succession was the first victory for the Habsburg fraction of the PEU to which von Merkatz belonged; he had been a member of Habsburg's CEDI since at least 1959,

serving later as its Vice-President and a member of the Europäisches Institut für politische, wirtschaftliche und soziale Fragen (European Institute for political, economic and social issues) which shared CEDI's Munich headquarters and served as its informal German section. As we will see later on, von Merkatz would serve on the Boards of several other organisations within the Cercle Pinay complex.

The third German member of the AESP in 1970 was Brussels-based **Rudolf Dumont du Voitel**, a Board member of the German PEU section. Dumont du Voitel would be involved in the running of the AESP as a member of the core group, the Permanent Delegation; he would also give the AESP access to the European Community and the media thanks to his position as Head of the Audiovisual Division of the EEC.

Franco's government in Spain was also well represented in the AESP in 1970. CEDI co-founder Alfredo Sanchez Bella was, of course, one of the AESP founding members; at this time, he had just taken over as Franco's Minister for Information and Tourism, a post he would fill until 1973. Also on the 1970 membership list of the AESP was his immediate predecessor as Minister of Information and Tourism between 1962 and 1969, Manuel Fraga Iribarne, whom we have already met as a contact of Brian Crozier's from 1965 on and a friend of Damman's since 1963 (103).

If the Spanish members of the AESP are of interest, one French member is no less so: in the 1970 AESP membership list, **André Voisin** is credited as an adviser in the French Prime Minister's Private Office. Voisin however had other connections not mentioned by the AESP: he was one of the earliest collaborators of Dr Joseph Retinger, founder of the European Movement and the Bilderberg Group. Voisin was Vice-President of the European Movement, and therefore provided the AESP with a channel for contacts between the PEU and the EM. Voisin was also one of the founding members of the Bilderberg Group alongside Antoine Pinay and Pierre Bonvoisin, having attended the meeting in September 1952 which decided to create the powerbrokers' forum.

On top of the Academy's early contacts in Belgium, Germany and France, an Italian member of the Academy in 1970 is of note: **Ivan Matteo Lombardo**. Lombardo, a textile industrialist and director of several American companies in Italy, had been one of the most prominent politicians in the immediate post-war period, serving as the Italian Ambassador Extraordinary who negotiated post-war reparations with the American government in 1947. The same year, Lombardo as Secretary-General of the Socialist Party worked with future Italian President Giuseppe Saragat to oppose a Socialist-Communist electoral alliance, leaving the Socialist Party to form the right-wing PSLI (later PSDI); he subsequently served as Minister for Industry, Commerce and Foreign Trade in de Gasperi's coalition government elected in April 1948 after massive intervention by the CIA (104). At least one of Lombardo's electoral campaigns was financed by the American State Department; he would later cross the Atlantic as Italian Ambassador to Washington.

Lombardo was a frequent participant at conferences on the defence of Europe against Soviet subversion: in December 1960, he served with Pinay and Albertini on the Sponsors' Committee of the "International Conference on Soviet Political Warfare" organized by the French section of WACL (105)*. Lombardo was also closely connected to WACL via his rôle as President of the Comitato per la Liberta d'Europa, the Italian section of the European Freedom Council. The EFC shared its offices in Zeppelinstrasse 67 in Munich with the ABN which had intimate links with WACL (106)*; in 1971, Lombardo would contribute the foreword to a book by the ABN condemning Russian colonialism.

Within Italy, Lombardo defended American interests as President of the Comitato Italiano Atlantico and Vice-President of the Atlantic Treaty Association which in 1965 called for the carabinieri and Italian police to be given powers to intervene in Italian domestic politics to protect the NATO Alliance. The same year, Lombardo would be one of the speakers at the Parco dei Principi conference that gave birth to the strategy of tension. In his contribution, "The Communist War against the West", he called for "universal counter-guerrilla warfare". At this stage, he evidently had considerable international outreach - the closing speaker at the Parco dei Principi meeting, Colonel Adriano Magi-Braschi, mentioned that he had "had pleasure in meeting Mr. Lombardo in the most diverse parts of the world". As part of this ambassadorial rôle for counter-guerrilla warfare, Lombardo also attended a later conference on "Unconventional Warfare and Defence" held in June 1971. In 1974, according to the Italian Press, he would be implicated in the Sogno coup (107).

To sum up this overview of the Academy afforded by the June 1970 membership list, we can see that only eight months after its relaunch, the Academy had succeeded in bringing together the leadership of the PEU, CEDI, European Movement and the expanded Cercle Pinay, including all the key personalities involved in conservative campaigns for European Union. Internationally, it could call on friends in high places who belonged to the Bilderberg group. On a European political level, the Academy's members included former or serving Ministers from Belgium, France, Germany, Italy and Spain; at the same time, behind the scenes, the AESP shared common ground with Aginter Press and its terrorist army.

THE SNIFFER PLANE PROJECT

At the same time as Damman and Violet were busy setting a new foundation for the AESP, they were also working on the trials and marketing of "an incredible technological breakthrough" - the ability to detect underground liquid deposits from the air. The procedure had been developed by the Italian Aldo Bonassoli working with the Belgian **Alain Comte de Villegas**. De Villegas was no stranger to Damman; his elder brother Diego de Villegas was married to Damman's sister, and Alain de Villegas himself was a member of the AESP Permanent Delegation, the inner circle that dealt with AESP business. At the end of 1969, the three AESP core members Damman, de Marcken and de Villegas met Violet at the Westbury hotel in Brussels to discuss how

to proceed with the sniffer plane project. De Marcken attended the meeting as he had been involved in an earlier project of de Villegas and Bonassoli's, a water desalination plant which had been tested on a holiday campsite on Ibiza that belonged to de Marcken.

The crucial question was to get an impressive first contract for field trials to help secure funding. After an abortive attempt to obtain financing for the project from an American industrialist, Crosby Kelly, de Villegas visited the Spanish Embassy on 6th April 1970 to lunch with Ambassador La Orden, a member of Opus Dei and fellow founding member of the AESP; La Orden had been Sanchez Bella's top civil servant as Director-General of Information and Tourism. Sanchez Bella's rôle as Minister for Tourism allowed him to promote de Villegas' scheme: de Villegas flew out to the Canaries in December 1970 with a contract to discover underground sources of drinking water on a site belonging to Entursa, the Spanish Tourism Agency.

The financing was also provided thanks to a longstanding client of Violet's whom we have already met as delle Chiaie's backer - **Carlo Pesenti**, "that most Catholic of financiers" who ran one of Italy's largest industrial conglomerates, Italcementi, inherited from his uncle whose close contacts with Mussolini had given the firm privileged access to contracts for concrete in Italian-occupied Ethiopia. After the war, Pesenti would expand his business empire via his financial holding company Italmobiliare, active in banking, insurance and newspapers (108)*. Pesenti was the most senior of a trio of Vatican financial backers, the other two being P2 members Michele Sindona and Roberto Calvi (109). Pesenti had a long history as a patron of far-Right groups; in the early 1960s, Pesenti gave a regular gift of 3.5 million lire to delle Chiaie's group Avanguardia Nazionale, which had begun training its militants in revolutionary warfare in the spring of 1964 (110). Pesenti would be a major source of funds for the Cercle Pinay and for Damman's Academy throughout the early 1970s until Sindona's attempted takeover of his business empire would force Pesenti to cut their funding.

Whilst Pesenti provided the initial financial backing for the sniffer planes, Sanchez Bella used his contacts as adviser to the Union des Banques Suisses to arrange for UBS Director **Philippe de Weck** to come and witness the trials. De Weck was the main financier later implicated in the sniffer plane scandal; he would serve as Chairman of de Villegas' sniffer plane company, Fisalma (111). The invention would turn out to be a massive fraud; although de Weck would succeed in retrieving some £50 million of the funds provided by Elf, the French state oil company which had invested heavily in the project, another £50 million would never be recovered, spent, according to de Weck, on "religious charities and other good causes" (112).

Other developments simultaneous with the genesis of the sniffer plane project might well explain the exact nature of some of these 'good causes'. Whilst the launch of the AESP was progressing so well, the nascent Cercle network suffered three serious setbacks in 1969-70. The first was, as mentioned above, the decision by the British IRD to cut off contacts with Interdoc and the Albertini network; the second

was the advent in September 1969 of a "hostile" government in Germany under Willy Brandt. The third setback seemed at first sight to be promising – the election victory in June 1969 of Georges Pompidou, which considerably strengthened the network run by his old schoolfriend, Georges Albertini.

For Jean Violet however, Pompidou's victory would soon turn into disaster; his fifteen year relationship with the SDECE would be abruptly severed. In October 1970, Pompidou appointed a new head of the SDECE, **Alexandre Comte de Marenches**. De Marenches carried out a major purge within the SDECE, and together with many other staff, Violet found himself evicted from the cosy niche the SDECE had offered him since 1957. The SDECE under de Marenches was no longer prepared to pay the exorbitant cost of Violet's operations. In the secret intelligence reports he wrote on the Cercle Pinay in 1979-80, **Hans Langemann**, the top Bavarian civil servant in charge of security matters, reported that General Jacquier, head of SDECE from 1962 to 1966, had been giving Violet DM 72,000 a year and that Violet had been getting the same sum from the BND's General Gehlen.

In his testimony to the French parliamentary inquiry into the sniffer plane scandal, de Marenches stressed the financial burden of Violet's operations:

"One figure [in agents' budgets] attracted my attention because it was followed by a lot of zeros. I asked who was this champion of intelligence. It was intimated that 'he was top of the range, an extraordinary person, he is an agent of the Vatican' ... with considerable difficulty, after two or three days, I obtained his reports: a normally gifted person could have compiled them by reading *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro*, and three or four other magazines and adding a few personal touches. That was his entire production. I therefore decided to dispense with his services" (113).

It is also possible that Violet, the *éminence grise par excellence*, had accumulated too much power for comfort, as de Marenches hinted in his 1986 memoirs:

"Before my arrival, the service included a picturesque personality (I won't say 'charming' because I have never met him myself) who was one of these more or less imaginary sources of intelligence for the service for many years. He became well-known later on in connection with the planes whose smelling powers were front-page news for a while. I dispensed with his services several weeks after I had taken over. On the basis of the reports I had been shown, I noticed that his services were very expensive. The results of the funds that had been given him in the past were not those one was entitled to expect from a good 'honourable correspondent' [intelligence source]. For a press review that anybody could have compiled, he had been paid the highest fees in the service. I was told he ran a pay-off system within the SDECE itself. I put an end to his exploits and had him dismissed within half an hour ... some [of the SDECE staff dismissed] were quickly hired by a private parallel network that had

nothing to do with the official services of the State [Elf's PSA, see below]. The sniffer plane affair is a skillful fraud whose outcome is unknown ... in the maze I had discovered in 1970, there were a certain number of parasites who were not serving the State or France but were involved in lobbies, organisations whose foreign ramifications at times gave rise to serious problems" (114).

One such lobby was the newly expanded Cercle Pinay network, and thanks to funding from Pesenti, Violet was able to overcome the withdrawal of SDECE support and extend the Academy's international outreach in those countries where Cercle contacts were weakest, notably Britain. The natural partner for this veteran French covert operator was Brian Crozier and his Institute for the Study of Conflict, thus forging a Franco-German-British axis for the Cercle complex.

1971 - 1975

OUTREACH AND OPERATIONS

THE CERCLE, THE ACADEMY AND THE INSTITUTE

It was in mid-1971 that Violet contacted Crozier, following the publication in *US News and World Report* of a long interview with Crozier on the subject of terrorism and Communist intentions (115). Violet suggested that the ISC should organize a study group on the problems inherent in the détente process; Violet's group would put up the funds thanks to Pesenti. Violet brought along the report of an initial study group he had chaired, which was circulated to all members of the ISC and which provoked objections from one unidentified Board member for its "extreme right-wing views". Once those objections had been overcome, an ISC study group was set up including Crozier, Moss and two experts of interest: Sovietologist Robert Conquest, and Leo Labeledz, editor of the CCF magazine *Survey* and one of the most important sources of material throughout the FWF operation (116). The study group met between July and November 1971 with, as a backdrop, Edward Heath's expulsion of 105 Soviet diplomats and officials on charges of spying. These concerns were integrated into the ISC's deliberations; as Crozier records, "a Whitehall friend of mine had brought me a detailed analysis of Soviet spying activities and techniques which I fed into our discussions" (117). The Study Group's findings were published in January 1972 as an ISC Special Report entitled *European Security and the Soviet Problem*. The Cercle Pinay were delighted with the result, as an internal ISC memo dated 21st January, 1972 shows:

"Report on European Security and the Soviet Problem; Visit of Maître Jean Violet.

The Chairman said that from what he'd heard, the report had been a remarkable success. He was impressed with the way in which M. Pinay had accepted the views of the ISC on how the Institute thought it should be handled, and it was gratifying that the Pinay Committee had been so delighted with the finished result.

Mr. Crozier said that M. Violet, who had commissioned the report on behalf of the Pinay Committee, had come to London with M. Pinay during that week and that he, with Mr. Goodwin, had met them over lunch. Pinay had given Mr. Crozier documents relating to their next project. M. Pinay had presented a copy of *European Security and the Soviet Problem* to President Nixon and Dr. Kissinger in America. Earlier that week he had had a three hour session with President Pompidou, during which time he had presented him with a copy of the publication in French. Maître Violet had also presented copies to a number of German politicians, mainly Christian Democrats, who are having the report translated into German. And he had shown a copy to the Spanish Minister [probably Sanchez Bella, Minister for Information] and to the Pope. NSIC in New York had bought 500 of the ISC's initial print order [providing the ISC with an immediate income of £2,000], and another 500 had been bought by the American Bar Association. In effect, we were out of print on the day of publication. Numerous orders were in hand for the reprint. A leader in the *Daily Telegraph* of 14 January spoke highly of the publication" (118).

To give wide promotion to the Cercle/ISC study, Violet used the AESP network; in a letter dated 28th January, 1972, Violet asked Damman to send out four pages from the ISC report to all addresses on the Academy's mailing list. On 11th February, Violet told Damman to make use of the Institute's services and to keep in touch with Crozier. An AESP\MAUE activity report for the first quarter of 1973 gives a picture of the intensity of Damman's operation; a note indicates that the total number of mailings sent out by the Academy in 1973 would exceed 50,000.

As the ISC Council minutes record, the Cercle Pinay was delighted with the results of their collaboration with the ISC, and the Cercle and its backer Pesenti were to become a major source of funding for the ISC. ISC Council minutes of 11th July 1972 report that "Mr Crozier said that he had recently spoken about the future of the ISC with members of the Pinay Committee in Paris. He was hopeful of this committee putting up some £20,000 in 1973." This grant represented a major part of the ISC's annual budget of some £30,000 and replaced the CIA funding channelled via Kern House Enterprises:

"The Kern House subsidy continued until at least the middle of 1972, by which time other sources of finance had materialized. Together with 2,000 odd subscriptions to ISC publications, they make up ISC's budget of, as of 1976, over £30,000" (119).

The significance of the Cercle Pinay grant can be judged by comparison to

other gifts to the ISC by multinational companies: the Ford Foundation donated £20,000 over three years, and, in 1971, Shell had contributed a lump sum of £30,000 (120).

The success of the collaboration between the Cercle and the ISC led to a second joint venture in 1972-73, the production of another ISC Special Report to "analyse the crisis in Western societies in the light of Soviet subversion" (121). In September 1972, a study group was convened including Irish expert Iain Hamilton, former managing editor of FWF and Director of Studies of the ISC. "This time the Whitehall input was even more substantial than with the previous study group. It included comprehensive details of the Soviet KGB and GRU presence throughout Western Europe. The only country missing was Britain itself, partly no doubt for reasons of national security, but mainly because of the still recent expulsion of the 105 Soviet spies. Without revealing the name of my informant, or his department, I made it clear to the participants that the material provided came from an official source. ... Our report, *The Peacetime Strategy of the Soviet Union*, was published in March 1973. It provided individual country studies of Soviet subversion covering the United Kingdom, France, West Germany, Italy and the United States, with shorter entries for smaller countries. It was probably the most comprehensive compilation of facts and analysis to have been presented in public. ... the former Prime Minister Antoine Pinay, then over eighty but still wonderfully energetic, was so fired with enthusiasm on reading the report that he came to London to present it in person to Prime Minister Edward Heath" (122).

Jean Violet recognized that the ISC and their publications were the most appropriate source for a Western propaganda counter-offensive against Soviet subversion, but the ISC's Conflict Studies were only published in English. From 1973 onwards, one of the major concerns for the Cercle Pinay complex was therefore to ensure European distribution, and particularly French-language publication, of the ISC's output. The Cercle's existing French-language outlets were not adapted to running an international campaign of this scope; the AESP's monthly bulletin, *Europe Information*, was an amateurish production with a print run of only 2,000 copies. Violet felt that the Academy's bulletin was not prestigious enough to be the vehicle of Cercle\ISC material, and so in 1973 an existing journal, the ***Bulletin de Paris***, was taken over, and a second, ***Le Monde Moderne***, was founded with funding from Pesenti (123)*. Over the next few years, these two publications were to be major French-language outlets for ISC reports.

The *Bulletin de Paris*, close to the conservative white-collar union CGC, would concentrate in 1974-75 on similar themes to the ISC: the chaotic situation in Portugal, communist designs on Southern Africa and threats to the Cape route for the West's supply of commodities, the deception of détente and the war of subversion waged by the Soviet Union. Amongst its correspondents were Franz Josef Strauss and **General Jean Callet**, a veteran of Indochina in 1950 and Algeria in 1956 who directed the Institut des Hautes Etudes de Défense Nationale from 1972 to 1974.

Le Monde Moderne, a quarterly foreign affairs magazine, reached a more prestige audience and was edited by a close associate of Violet's, **Jean Vigneau**, together with former SDECE officer and Foreign Ministry advisor **Jacques Leguèbe**, and Bernard Lejeune, editor of the *Courier austral*. *Le Monde Moderne* was a regular French-language vehicle for the ISC's publications - the first issue in 1973 consisted mainly of a translation of the 1972 ISC Special Report commissioned by the Cercle Pinay, *European Security and the Soviet Problem*. In an issue later that year, *Le Monde Moderne* published the ISC's Cercle-sponsored Special Report from March 1973, *The Peacetime Strategy of the Soviet Union*, followed in 1975 by the ISC's March 1974 Conflict Study *Marxism and the Church of Rome*. Other contributors to *Le Monde Moderne* included Strauss, Sanchez Bella, Moss and General Callet (124).

THE AESP IN 1972 AND PEACE WITHOUT FRONTIERS

In January 1972, at the same time as the ISC published their first Special Report commissioned by the Cercle Pinay, the AESP held its XVth Charlemagne Grand Dinner in Brussels. The attendance list of the Grand Dinner, held on the 15th January 1972 at the Cercle des Nations, reveals other early contacts that the Academy enjoyed. The top members of the Academy and the PEU were in attendance: Habsburg and Coudenhove Kalergi presided over the dinner. Reduced to a figurehead in Habsburg's Academy, Coudenhove Kalergi's death in July 1972 would clear the way for Habsburg to take over full control of all three organisations, the PEU, CEDI and the AESP.

At the January 1972 dinner, Habsburg and Coudenhove Kalergi were seconded by the Brussels organizing group of Damman, Vankerkhoven, de Villegas and **Jacques Jonet**, a former political secretary of Otto von Habsburg's and a Vice-President of MAUE, the Belgian PEU section run by Damman. Germany was represented by the Federal Secretary of PEU Germany, Karl-Friedrich Grau, the coordinator of the Swiss ISP set up the year before, and also by Rudolf Dumont de Voitel, the EEC official who was a member of the AESP's Permanent Delegation and Board member of PEU Germany.

From Paris came the French coordinators of the AESP, Jean Violet and Marcel Collet, accompanied by **René-Louis Picard**, President of the International Society of Wilton Park, who regularly attended AESP events from at least 1971 onwards. Picard is an interesting contact for the AESP, as Wilton Park was a forum for propaganda activities by the British Foreign Office. In his 1966 study of "anti-communist political warfare", future Conservative MP and partner of Crozier Geoffrey Stewart-Smith lists Wilton Park with the IRD:

"It is generally felt that the Research Department and its sister organisation, the Information Research Department ... have a staff which is woefully inadequate in view of the growing importance of its work, and that its personnel are underpaid. Now if any British taxpayer's money is being spent

on strategic political warfare, it is spent in the work of these two departments... Wilton Park at Steyning, Sussex, controlled by the Information Executive Department, 'is an institution sponsored by Her Majesty's Government. But, while the Government finds about seven-eighths of the money required to run it, the Warden has a free hand and is responsible for the planning of conferences... Wilton Park conferences of which there are usually ten a year, are a British contribution to the creation in Europe of an informed public opinion' (H. Koeppler, The Aims of Wilton Park, Central Office of Information, 1960, pg 8)" (125).

In other words, whilst the IRD and its 'private' offshoot the ISC ensured the surfacing of black propaganda in the international media, Wilton Park offered an official but confidential forum for discussions with foreign dignitaries. An international network of "Friends of Wilton Park" was set up from 1968 onwards with branches in France, Belgium, Spain, Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Italy. By 1978, the Cercle would succeed in dominating this Wilton Park network by creating a European Liaison Committee whose nine founding members included four from the AESP: Picard as President, Violet, Sanchez Bella and Jonet (126).

Two Spanish diplomats at the AESP's January 1972 Grand Dinner also had influential contacts. The first was **Roberto Jacobo**, whose title of Counsellor at the Spanish Embassy in Brussels concealed his activities as a member of Franco's intelligence service. Jacobo would remain in touch with Damman throughout the 1970s; Damman's diaries published by his deputy Aldo Mungo reveal contacts between Jacobo and Damman in February 1977, by which time Jacobo had risen to become the Brussels head of station. The second influential Spaniard was **Alberto Ullastres**, Franco's Minister of Trade and a CEDI member in 1961; by 1972 he was Head of the Spanish Mission to the EEC, a Life Member of the AESP and, more privately, a high-ranking member of Opus Dei (127).

Another of the Academy's guests at the XVth Grand Dinner was **Dr Erno (Ernest) Töttösy**, European President of the World Organisation of Free Hungarian Lawyers and leader of the Hungarian section of WACL. Sentenced to twelve years imprisonment for "participation in a US-inspired coup plot", Töttösy escaped during the 1956 revolution and fled to Belgium, obtaining Belgian citizenship in 1964. Töttösy had been in contact with Damman since at least 1961; on 3rd October of that year, Töttösy spoke on "The Modern Inquisition in Hungary" at a conference organized by the Partisans de L'Europe Nouvelle, one of several short-lived Academy precursors founded by Damman. After the foundation of the AESP in 1969, Töttösy would be a regular attendant at Academy events; in the late 1970s and again in the 1990s, Töttösy would found associations for European-Hungarian co-operation with Habsburg and other Cercle friends.

The attendance list for the XVth Grand Dinner included a certain Mr. Valori, credited as Secretary-General of the Institute for International Relations in Rome. **Giancarlo Elia Valori** was far more than that - at the time of the Grand Dinner, he

was one of the most powerful men within P2 and right-hand man to P2 Grand Master **Licio Gelli**. As an international financial adviser for important sectors of Italian industry (128)*, Valori had excellent overseas connections, particularly to Latin America, connections which he used to assist Gelli. Only one year previous to the 1972 dinner, Valori had personally introduced Gelli to the Argentinian strongman Peron, then in exile in Spain (129)*. At the time of the meeting with Peron in early 1971, Gelli had just been named organizing secretary of the P2 lodge, but by July of the same year, his infiltration of Masonic circles and his plans for a coup had gone far enough to provoke Grand Master Salvini into warning a meeting of the Governing Council of the Grand Orient of Gelli's intentions.

When Peron returned to Argentina temporarily in November 1972 - ten months after this AESP Grand Dinner - Valori and Gelli accompanied him. After Peron's permanent return to Argentina in June 1973 and his investiture on 12th October as Argentinian President, a ceremony observed by Valori, Gelli and Giulio Andreotti, Peron appointed Gelli his Honorary Consul in Florence, a post that gave Gelli Argentinian nationality and diplomatic immunity. Gelli's contact with Peron via Valori also gave the P2 Grand Master an essential powerbase in Argentina, where Gelli set up a sister lodge to P2, just as well-connected to government as was the Italian lodge; the Argentinian P2 included Admiral Emilio Massera, head of the three-member ruling Junta of the 1970s and 1980s.

Gelli's relationship with Peron was more than intimate; Andreotti was amazed to note that Peron treated Gelli with remarkable deference and respect. Having won over Peron, Gelli then tried to cut Valori's contacts to Peron. The two became bitter rivals for economic and political influence, and Gelli finally expelled Valori from P2 in 1974. Valori would go on to provide some very significant testimony about Gelli's activities in Argentina and Uruguay to the Italian parliamentary commission investigating P2 in 1983. A likely cause for the rivalry was the extremely lucrative nature of Gelli's Argentinian business activities. Together with Gelli's confidant and fellow P2 member Umberto Ortolani, Valori and Gelli had founded a company called Ase (Agenzia per lo sviluppo economico or Agency for Economic Development), with the capital being divided into 50% for Gelli, 25% for Valori and 25% for Ortolani. "Gelli brokered three-way oil and arms deals among Libya, Italy and Argentina through the quaintly named Agency for Economic Development, which he and Umberto Ortolani owned. In 1976 Italy sold Argentina \$239 million worth of arms; by 1978 the total had hit \$1.27 billion" (130).

This impressive list of AESP contacts would be the platform for another joint operation between Crozier, Violet and Damman - the launching of an international appeal for human rights and freedom of movement and persons. "The three of us - Damman, Violet and I - drafted an appeal for 'Peace without Frontiers', in which we defined "our" concept of a true détente. ... The appeal, dispatched to distinguished people in Western Europe from the Académie in Brussels, collected many hundreds of signatures in favour of 'Peace without Frontiers'. It is no exaggeration to claim that this initiative led to the Western insistence on 'Basket III' in the Helsinki discussions.

Basket III was the third of the packages of themes for discussion at the proposed European Security Conference. It dealt with human rights, freedom of information, and cultural exchanges. It was the most fundamental and therefore the most important of the 'baskets' " (131).

An AESP/MAUE activity report for the first quarter of 1973 gives a glimpse of the work carried out by the Academy on this operation:

- 24.1.73: Contact dinner at the Cercle des Nations - Minister von Merkatz, Archduke Otto.
- 25.1.73: Meeting of the Permanent Delegation of the AESP. XVIIth Charlemagne Grand Dinner - more than 200 attended - wide press coverage of Archduke Otto's speech.
- 26.1.73: Assembly of the Academy and lunch at the Cercle des Nations - over one hundred participants - wide-ranging and lively debate on Mr. Violet's speech about the Helsinki Appeal.
- 27.1.73: Contact meeting at the Westbury - Mr. Violet, Mr. Vallet, Comte de Villegas and Mr. Damman.
- Contact meetings with Mr. Vandoros from Athens, Schwarzer from Bonn, Greig from London, Trainar from Limoges.
- 5.2.73: Mailing of 2,000 copies of *Europe Information*.
- 15.2.73: Start of dissemination of the 10,000 Helsinki Appeals: printing. Printing of 7,000 accompanying letters and 7,000 reply coupons. This operation will continue throughout March, April, May and June, 1973.
- 17.2.73: A MAUE delegation attended the Assembly of the Beweging voor de Verenigde Staten van Europe (Movement for the United States of Europe) in Antwerp. Further meetings with Mr. André Voisin and Mr. Max Richard. Contact with Mr. Thomson (Labour Party), British member of the Commission of the EEC, Mr. Molenaar, President of the Dutch European Movement, Mr. Koppe of Europa Union Deutschland, etc.
- 5.3.73: *Damocles*, the monthly journal of the Ligue Internationale de la Liberté, distributed 1,000 Helsinki Appeals.
- 10.3.73 Distribution of 2,000 copies of *Europe Information*.
- 20.3.73 Participation of Mr. Damman at the Board Meeting of the Association Atlantique Belge. Preparation of the General Assembly of the ATA

Atlantic Treaty Association to be held in Brussels in September 1973.

22/23.3.73 Meeting of the Permanent Delegation of the AESP in Hotel Tulpenfeld in Bonn. Organisation of the Helsinki Appeal Action in Germany.

Working meeting with Messrs von Wersebe, Dirnacker and Mertes MP. Debate in the evening with some forty VIPs including the Secretary to former Chancellor Ehrhard.

30.3.73-

1.4.73: Participated in the Wilton Park meeting in Madrid. "The economic future of Europe and inflation". Belgian delegation: Mr. and Mrs. de Limelette, General Vivario, Mr. Damman, Mr. Jonet, Miss Verlaine, Mrs. Bauduin.

Academy contact meeting: Messrs. Violet, Vallet, Jonet and Damman.

Contact with Don Manuel Fraga Iribarne, former Information Minister, who is completely won over to our cause" (132).

At the January 1973 Charlemagne Grand Dinner in Aachen mentioned in the report, Damman, de Villegas and Habsburg had the honour of welcoming a distinguished guest - Giulio Andreotti, seven times Italian Prime Minister, implicated in many of the scandals that shook Italy during his terms of office and a longstanding friend of Pesenti and Violet who had been in contact with the AESP since at least 1972 (133)*.

Another important guest at the January 1973 Grand Dinner - indeed, with Violet and Crozier, a future member of the ruling triumvirate of the Cercle Pinay in the 1980s - was the German diplomat and Count **Hans Graf Huyn**, born in Warsaw where his father had been the German Embassy's Press Attaché. Huyn would serve as a diplomat from 1955 to 1965; in 1956, he was the Secretary to the German delegation at the EEC negotiations. From 1957 to 1959, he worked on Western European Affairs at the Foreign Ministry in Bonn. After diplomatic postings abroad, Huyn returned to the Foreign Ministry in 1964, working in the Political Division charged with "European political integration, Council of Europe, European NGOs and Western European Union (non-military affairs)", a major focus being the implementation of the 1963 Elysée Treaty, concluded after the secret negotiations between Pinay, Adenauer and Strauss that had been facilitated by Violet. Huyn would request dismissal from the Foreign Service in 1965 after being accused of trying to undermine Foreign Minister Gerhard Schröder, whose emphasis on strengthening Anglo-German ties was perceived by Huhn as threatening the burgeoning cooperation between France and Germany. He would then work for the German Finance Ministry from 1969 to 1972 when he left government service to become the foreign policy spokesman for Strauss' CSU fraction in the German Parliament.

Huyn was another of the CEDI recruits to the Academy; a 1972 CEDI publication lists Huyn as a member of the International Council of CEDI alongside AESP members Habsburg, Sanchez Bella, von Merkatz and Vankerkhoven. As we have seen, at the time of the 1973 Grand Dinner, Huyn was the CSU foreign policy spokesman in the German Parliament, a post he would fill until elected himself as a CSU MP in 1976. Huyn would go on to serve in the German Parliament until 1990, acting as the key foreign and defence policy spokesman for the CSU; his CDU counterpart, Dr Werner Marx, had served with him on the CEDI International Council since at least 1972. Besides representing Strauss within the Cercle Pinay, Huyn would also become a central linkman for the Cercle in Germany, serving on the Boards of numerous propaganda outfits of the German Right, described in later chapters (134)*.

Damman's mention in the activity report of a meeting in January 1973 with "Mr. Greig from London" almost certainly refers to Ian Greig, at the time Chairman of the Subversion Committee of the Monday Club and a close associate of the ISC since its creation in 1970. The ISC would also assist the Academy's outreach to other ISC friends. A letter from Damman to Violet dated 12th September, 1973 stated that "a contact meeting was held with one of the staff of Brian Crozier, founder and director of the Institute for the Study of Conflict" (135). During that meeting, the ISC representative must have given a favourable report about the longstanding collaboration between the ISC and Interdoc, for the AESP decided to contact Interdoc to discuss future cooperation, starting a relationship between the two groups that would be formalized in 1978 by the Director of Interdoc becoming an AESP member (136).

THE AESP, CEPIC AND THE 1973 COUP

In 1972, whilst Violet and Damman were cooperating closely with Crozier's ISC and Grau's German and Swiss groups, several leading AESP\MAUE members set up a right-wing ginger group within the major Belgian conservative party, the Parti Social Chrétien (PSC). The group, **CEPIC**, the Centre Politique des Indépendants et des Cadres Chrétiens, would later become an official section of the PSC. In September 1973, a Gendarmerie report by Major de Cock implicated several prominent AESP\CEPIC members in funding an extreme right-wing group, the **NEM Clubs**. A 1976 Gendarmerie report by Chief Adjutant Roger Tratsaert further alleged that the NEM Clubs had been major participants in plans for a coup d'état by elements of the Gendarmerie in the early 1970s (137).

The most prominent founding member of CEPIC to belong to Damman's Academy was former Prime Minister **Paul Vanden Boeynants**, commonly known as VdB. An AESP Member of Honour since at least June 1970, he would rise to become President of CEPIC from 1977 onwards and leader of the PSC. VdB was implicated by the de Cock report in funding groups planning a coup d'état; at the time, he was

Belgian Defence Minister, the minister responsible for overseeing the Gendarmerie.

Another figure common to CEPIC and the AESP was **Baron Bernard de Marcken de Merken**. A member of the PEU Central Council with Habsburg, Pons, Damman and Biggs-Davison, and also a Board Member of MAUE, de Marcken had been a member of the AESP core group, the Permanent Delegation, since the Academy's inception in 1969. As we have seen, de Marcken had been present at the 1969 meeting with Violet, Damman and de Villegas which launched the sniffer plane scheme. De Marcken was also named in the de Cock report.

A third central figure in CEPIC named in the de Cock report was the CEPIC treasurer, **Baron Benoît de Bonvoisin**, Vanden Boeynant's political adviser whilst VdB was Defence Minister (138). De Bonvoisin is one of the most notorious characters in European fascism with particularly close links to the Italian MSI and Stefano delle Chiaie; in 1975, de Bonvoisin would host a gathering of European fascists at his castle at Maizeret, attended by the heads of Ordine Nuovo, the MSI, the National Front, Fuerza Nueva and the French Forces Nouvelles, amongst others. The Belgian representatives at the 1975 fascist summit were AESP contact Emile Lecerf, editor of the NEM, and Francis Dossogne of the Front de la Jeunesse, the two organisations that the CEPIC members were accused of financing in the de Cock report.

De Bonvoisin's close relationship with AESP leaders would not be confirmed by formal membership of the Academy until the late 1970s, but as VdB's factotum, he would be a regular participant at AESP administration meetings. He was also an intimate of Archduke Otto von Habsburg, and was in close contact with Jean Violet, as indicated by a diagram of connections between various persons drawn up by leading Belgian fascist **Paul Latinus**, in which Violet's name figures directly under de Bonvoisin's. Significantly Violet is not linked by Latinus to any other person on the list – possibly a gateway into a different network. **Aldo Mungo**, Damman's former deputy as AESP Delegate-General and MAUE Secretary-General, offers an interesting and no doubt well-informed claim in his pseudonymous exposé *Enquêtes et Reportages*:

"What links are there between this man [de Bonvoisin] and lawyer Violet? Apparently none, except for the declarations made by de Bonvoisin who, amongst friends, claimed to have the warmest relations with the mysterious lawyer ... Before the sniffer plane affair got juicy, de Bonvoisin and Damman were on good terms ... once Violet's funds began flowing to Damman, relations between the two took a turn for the worse, each clearly seeking to be the sole beneficiary of such manna. If we are now certain that Damman and his friends benefited royally from Violet's 'subsidies', it is more difficult to prove the same for de Bonvoisin. One point is certain: the hostilities between the two camps ended with the end of the sniffer plane affair. It is not proof, but it does allow us a hypothesis: what if Violet, like the Red Brigades, had set up two 'columns' in Belgium, applying the old principle of not putting all one's eggs in

the same basket?" (139).

Beyond his contacts with Violet, de Bonvoisin also enjoyed a privileged relationship with Antoine Pinay; de Bonvoisin's father Pierre had been one of the founding members of the Bilderberg Group with Pinay in 1952. When de Bonvoisin was attacked in the Press in a 1981 revival of the charges of funding the Front de la Jeunesse and NEM, the NEM Club magazine retaliated by printing a picture of de Bonvoisin in Washington in the company of two Bilderberg members: David Rockefeller and Antoine Pinay (140)*.

The NEM Clubs themselves were formed of readers of the fascist magazine, ***Nouvel Europe Magazine***, edited by Emile Lecerf. The history of the *Nouvel Europe Magazine* is interesting: it was founded on 14th December 1944 as *Grande-Bretagne* by British intelligence agent Cecil H. de Sausmarez. De Sausmarez had been Press Attaché at the British Embassy in Brussels in 1939; evacuated to Britain in 1940, he took over control of the Belgian and Dutch resistance networks run by the Political Warfare Executive, and as such forged links with a branch of the Flemish New Order, the Verdinaso movement. De Sausmarez also coordinated psychological warfare in the form of radio broadcasts to the two countries. In 1945, he returned to the British Embassy in Brussels where he worked until 1948. The editor of the magazine de Sausmarez founded was a personal friend, the Verdinaso militant Pierre Blanc; the editorial writer of the journal, working under the pseudonym Ossian Mathieu, was Emile Lecerf, the magazine's future editor and protégé of de Bonvoisin. The magazine would soon be retitled *Europe-Amerique* before becoming *Europe-Magazine* and then *Nouvel Europe Magazine* (141). The magazine had a long history of being involved in underground paramilitary groups; one of *Europe-Amerique's* correspondents was **André Moyen**, a key figure in the Belgian Gladio network (142). *Europe-Amerique* was also the launching ground for a young Belgian journalist and close friend of de Bonvoisin's who would later become a leading American disinformation asset, **Arnaud de Borchgrave**.

Emile Lecerf was a longstanding acquaintance within AESP circles: he ran the Belgian WACL section LIL with AESP\MAUE member Paul Vankerkhoven in the early 1970s. As we've seen, Lecerf was a guest at the January 1969 Charlemagne Grand Dinner organized by Damman, where he shared a table with Guérin-Sérac of Aginter Press, just four months before the Milan bomb that launched the strategy of tension in Italy. This contact between Lecerf and Aginter Press, masters of destabilization, would soon bear fruit: in April 1971, one month after Lecerf became editor-in-chief of *NEM* and two years to the dot after AN's Milan bomb, the magazine made the first of several references to a coup d'état in a long article entitled *The technique of an ideal coup d'état* (143). Such incitation to revolt evidently did not alienate Lecerf's backers: the next month, the *NEM* moved to new premises, owned by de Bonvoisin.

The same allegations of funding for the NEM Clubs and the Front de la Jeunesse provided by VdB and de Bonvoisin would again surface in connection with

coup plots in the 1980s, covered in a later chapter. Despite the contact between Guérin-Sérac and Lecerf in 1969 and the links between Lecerf and the AESP\MAUE from the early seventies through to the eighties, the official enquiries into destabilization in Belgium have paid scant attention to Aginter Press, the AESP and their contacts with Emile Lecerf.

CONSULTANTS IN COUNTER-INSURGENCY

In 1972-73, whilst producing the two Special Reports commissioned by the Cercle Pinay and working on the Academy's Helsinki Appeal, the ISC was also active on the British domestic scene. Although it was an 'unattributable' asset, the ISC developed unprecedented links with the State by lecturing on subversion not only to industry but also to the British Army (including the SAS) and at the National Police College.

In 1972, John Alderson, Commandant of the Bramshill Police College wrote to Peter Janke of the ISC requesting their assistance in developing a course on terrorism and counter-subversion. As Janke wrote in a report of his visit to Bramshill in July 1972, "the Commandant assured me that he would like to keep in touch more frequently with the Institute and would bear very much in mind our capacity to be of service to Bramshill" (144).

Following this collaboration between the ISC and Bramshill, "as a sign of renewed mutual confidence", IRD commissioned the ISC to produce a *Manual of Counter-Insurgency*, consisting of a series of seven separate *Counter-Insurgency Studies*. "This enabled IRD to distribute the studies selectively, according to the character of the government at the receiving end", Crozier notes (145); despite the stamp "for official use only", the Foreign Office might indeed not have wanted to distribute studies such as *Psychological and Information Measures* and *The Rehabilitation of Detainees* too widely.

The *Manual of Counter-Insurgency* might have "contributed significantly to the international reputation of the ISC" but it was also stepping on someone else's bureaucratic turf, as Crozier noted: "IRD had always had its enemies within the Foreign Office, however. With some logic, many high officials objected to its involvement in domestic affairs ... Logically, a counter-subversion organisation should have been run by the Home Office" (146). This concern within the Foreign Office led in 1973 to what Crozier calls "the IRD massacre", when IRD's budget was removed from the secret vote, unattributable briefings were ended and a quarter of IRD's four hundred staff were transferred elsewhere in the Foreign Office. Although depriving the ISC of a powerful patron, the reduction in IRD activities made the ISC even more important as a propaganda outlet.

The ISC's rôle as consultants in counter-insurgency would also lead it to study the war in Northern Ireland. The ISC Council minutes from January 1972 mention

an ISC conference on Ireland that was held at **Ditchley Park** under conditions of extreme secrecy. Ditchley Park is a conference centre at Enstone in Oxfordshire used for private VIP meetings which are guarded by Special Branch and MI5. Ditchley Park was closely linked to the Bilderberg Group, fourteen of whose members sat on the centre's Board of Governors at one time or another (147). One of the results of the ISC's Ditchley Park conference on Ireland would seem to be the creation in November 1972 of the **British-Irish Association**, founded by Iain Hamilton, Managing Director of Forum World Features and later Editorial Director of the ISC. **Professor, the Lord Vaizey**, a Governor of the Ditchley Foundation from 1973 on, would serve as Honorary Treasurer of the BIA; other BIA founding members included Moss and Crozier, the latter asking specifically for his name not to be included in the list of BIA sponsors. The BIA organized its first conference in Cambridge in March 1973 and a second in July 1974.

Another major domestic campaign run by the ISC in 1972-73 - without the support of the secret services, Crozier claims - was to support counter-subversion operations run by industry, a campaign which in February 1974 would give the ISC the greatest media coup it ever had. In January 1972, the Deputy Director-General of the Confederation of British Industry John Whitehorn - "one of our converts" as Crozier puts it - had sent out a long memorandum to all CBI subscribers in which he expressed "the concern of industry at the rise of subversive influences in British industry" and appealed for contributions to five "anti-subversive organisations" (148). Four of these groups were already well-known for their reports on industrial subversion and the blacklists of militant trades unionists that they supplied to employers: the Economic League, Aims for Industry, Common Cause and IRIS. The fifth anti-subversive organisation destined for industry's contributions was the ISC. As we have seen, Crozier had already been working since at least 1969 with both the Economic League and Aims for Industry within the Consultative Council of Interdoc.

As Crozier records, "by the spring of 1972, I had decided that a special study on subversion in industry had become necessary; the stark fact was that the trades unions virtually *owned* the Labour Party" (149). As industry was being slow to support the ISC's campaign, Crozier asked **Nigel Lawson**, whom Crozier had known at the *Spectator*, to produce a brief report entitled *Subversion in British Industry*. In November 1972, thirty copies of the Lawson report were printed and distributed to the captains of industry, thanks to the help of John Dettmer, Chairman of the Economic League, and Michael Ivens, Director of Aims for Industry. The Lawson report succeeded in raising the funds to convene a study group on subversion in industry which began working in the autumn of 1973. The backdrop at the time was the confrontation between the National Union of Mineworkers and the Heath government over Heath's Industrial Relations Act, culminating in Heath calling an election for February 1974 under the slogan "Who governs Britain?" As Crozier records: "Just before polling day, the Institute's report, *Sources of Conflict in British Industry*, had been published with unprecedented publicity" (150). This media coup would be a major contribution by the ISC to a concerted campaign against the Labour candidate Harold Wilson, a campaign described further below.

Besides its British and European operations in 1972-73, the ISC was also an active partner in the CIA's media campaign against Allende when its material would also be surfaced by a Chilean CIA front group, the Institute for General Studies. The most prolific author in this campaign was Crozier's partner Robert Moss, a central member of the ISC who had visited Chile in early 1972 as a correspondent for the *Economist*. In February and March of 1973, the ISC published two Conflict Studies on Chile written by Moss, *The Santiago Model: Revolution within Democracy* and *The Santiago Model: the Polarisation of Politics*. The ISC would also focus on alleged KGB support for Allende in the Caribbean region at this time, producing a Conflict Study by Crozier entitled *Soviet Pressures in the Caribbean* in June 1973 and a Special Report by Moss, *The Stability of the Caribbean*, in November 1973, the latter being republished in book form by the Georgetown Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) (151)*. Forum World Features itself would publish the most notorious contribution to the anti-Allende campaign, Robert Moss' *Chile's Marxist Experiment*. The book would arrive too late to contribute to the campaign - Allende had already been killed in the military coup - but the book still had its uses: the Chilean Junta bought nearly 10,000 copies for distribution by the Chilean Embassy in Washington. Moss would add his conclusions on the coup in March 1974 in an article entitled *Chile's Coup and After* published by *Encounter*, the journal of the FWF parent body, the CCF. Moss would also come back to Allende and the coup in his 1975 book *The Collapse of Democracy* (152).

THE WAR AGAINST COMMUNIST SUBVERSION

By the mid-1970s, the Cercle complex had succeeded in creating an international contact network of groups working on anti-Soviet and counter-subversion propaganda. In Belgium, the Cercle worked hand in hand with the AESP and could count on the help of the Defence Minister and his aides. In France, the prestige of a former Prime Minister and intelligence contacts from SDECE days ensured the Cercle's influence. In Britain, the complex found parliamentary friends in the Monday Club and amongst the discreet gentlemen from the world of black propaganda, public and private. In the Netherlands, they could turn to the archivists of Interdoc, well connected to the BVD. In Germany, former BND agents, clandestine fundraisers and Bavarian conservative MPs consolidated the power of the "Lion of Bavaria", and in Switzerland an untouchable disinformation outlet could spread the complex's message.

But despite such wide-ranging contacts, the various components of the Cercle's network, brought together to defend the conservative cause, felt their vision of the world to be threatened as never before. Between 1974 and 1976, a paranoid feeling of apocalypse, of imminent Armageddon spread through the private clubs, the lobby rooms and the secret services throughout Europe: the Left was coming! In Britain, humiliated by the National Union of Mineworkers, the Conservative

government fell and Labour won the two elections of 1974. In France and in Belgium, the Left seemed well-placed to break the electoral monopoly of the conservatives. In the Iberian peninsula, the longstanding geopolitical stability was soon overturned: in Portugal, the dictatorship of Salazar crumbled before the left-wing soldiers of the Armed Forces Movement, and in Spain, the Caudillo died and democratic elections were called. Everywhere, the trades unions, the socialist parties and the peace movements, nests of Soviet subversion, gained ground. The Right were convinced that they were witnessing the total collapse of Western society as they knew it; this was the second emotional peak of the Cold War, a renaissance of the atmosphere of the 1950s. But they would not take defeat lying down, and the Cercle and their friends organized to confront this wave of subversion. In his note no. 167, written at the beginning of April 1975, Florimond Damman sets the tone of the age:

"The Soviet Union gains no advantage in provoking a war, because under the cloak of détente, it continues to wage a war of subversion, and is winning everywhere. The West puts up no opposition to this war of subversion, and encourages it through its weakness due to both splits in the domestic policy field and clashes on foreign policy between European countries and also within the Atlantic Alliance.

I propose a meeting of an urgent brain-trust which should establish:

1. the effects of the war of subversion in each of the countries of the Atlantic Alliance, in Europe as well as in the United States;
2. the effects of the war of subversion throughout the world: Korea, Vietnam, Middle East, Portugal, trade routes of raw materials;
3. the means that the Western block can use to initiate its own effective subversive action both within the Warsaw Pact countries and in the other contaminated countries around the world;
4. how to encourage countries within the Atlantic Alliance to take immediate steps to define effective tactics for an ideological offensive, which is the only way to win this war of subversion. The free movement of persons and ideas is one offensive tactic; we must find others.
5. consider setting up an action centre for offensive tactics in the US or Canada. Free movement of persons and ideas" (153)*.

In response to this challenge, the Cercle Pinay would intensify its actions and create new outlets. In Britain, between 1974 and 1976, the ISC and its allies would unleash a propaganda offensive against the Labour government and its union supporters. With the help of the counter-subversion lobby, Edward Heath would be replaced as leader of the Conservative Party by the hard-right candidate Margaret

Thatcher; by sustaining their media war, the complex helped to ensure that she became Prime Minister in 1979.

In France in 1974, the friends of the Cercle Pinay would assist a massive smear campaign against the Socialist candidate for the Presidency, François Mitterrand. In Germany and in Switzerland, the two groups run by Karl-Friedrich Grau would organize an intensive programme of conferences and seminars on Soviet subversion attended by Swiss and German government, police and intelligence officials. In Belgium, members of the AESP would set up a semi-public semi-private counter-subversion unit under the aegis of the military intelligence service, a unit which had close links to the putschist extreme Right.

On the Iberian peninsula, the complex would do what it could to limit the damage caused by the fall of the two dictatorships. In Portugal, it supported the putschist aspirations of General Spínola and his underground army, the ELP, who in 1975 waged a strategy of tension with the expert help of the unmasked Aginter Press group. In Spain, the complex would channel clandestine funds to its friends amongst Franco's former ministers who were standing as candidates in the first democratic elections in 1976.

Internationally, with funding from the South African intelligence service BOSS, the Cercle complex would establish a pro-apartheid propaganda bureau in Paris, and then a second in London. The complex would also extend their operations to the US by setting up the Washington Institute for the Study of Conflict as a transatlantic relay for the complex's concerns.

Finally the 'Peace without Frontiers' Helsinki Appeal launched by Crozier, Violet and Damman would bear fruit in July 1975 when the Helsinki Final Accord was signed within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

A VERY BRITISH COUP

The complex's UK connections lead us into the heart of a major manipulation of British domestic politics, concentrating in the period from Wilson's two election victories in 1974 to Margaret Thatcher's selection as Conservative Leader in February 1975 and culminating with her election as Prime Minister in May 1979 (154). A substantial body of information confirms the existence of a conspiracy to undermine the Labour Government of Harold Wilson, to discredit Liberal leader Jeremy Thorpe and to have Conservative leader Edward Heath replaced. **Colin Wallace** - a former psy-ops officer within the IRD-founded **Information Policy Unit** in Northern Ireland and a key witness on MI5 intervention in domestic British politics in the 1970s - writes:

"Various key members of the Intelligence community - past and present -

assisted by influential figures in the public service, politics and commerce produced a series of political and psychological warfare projects which were designed to:

- a) prevent the election and re-election of a Labour Government;
- b) prevent any coalition between the Labour and Liberal parties;
- c) discredit key figures in both parties;
- d) collate and disseminate 'black' information which could be used to discredit or 'control' various politicians who were deemed to hold power behind the scenes in all three major political parties;
- e) have Mr Edward Heath removed as leader of the Conservative party and replaced by someone of a more resolute approach to the political and industrial unrest" (155)*.

It is possible to divide the conspirators roughly into two groups, the first of which centred on Peter Wright and a group of other serving MI5 officers who had transferred from MI5's K Branch (counter-espionage) to F Branch (counter-subversion) when MI5 strengthened its rôle as a political police in the early 1970s. The second group was a private-sector coalition of retired MI6 officers, IRD disinformation assets and prominent members of the Tory Right, several of whom would later serve as Ministers under Thatcher. Whilst the Fleet Street Press concentrated on Peter Wright and the MI5 faction in their reports of the Wilson destabilization, the ex-MI6/IRD/Tory MP coalition and their partners in the industry-funded anti-union outfits were major actors in the psychological warfare campaign being waged, a contribution that has generally been underestimated. It is this coalition - the "counter-subversion lobby" - that was closely connected with the Cercle Pinay complex, not only through the ISC but also through two future groups, NAFF and FARI.

Following his resounding defeat by the miners after power cuts, massive strikes and the introduction of a three day working week, Conservative Prime Minister Edward Heath called a General Election on the issue of "Who governs Britain?" The campaigning for the February 1974 election was held with the backdrop of widespread MI5 smear campaigns about a "Communist cell in the Labour Party"; Wilson himself was placed under blanket surveillance by MI5 during the election campaign. For the first time, troops and tanks were deployed at Heathrow airport, and joint Army/police patrols started.

On 18th January, the *Times* reported that the CIA and NSA were also stepping up counter-subversion operations in Britain; in the article, former senior CIA officer Miles Copeland declared that MI5 had their hands tied and were too timid to expose subversion. The following week, on the 25th, the *Times* published largely unfounded allegations by Josef Frolik, a Czech intelligence defector to the CIA, who claimed that

several Labour MPs were spying for the Soviet Union. Frolik was a key witness for the counter-subversion lobby and the ultras within MI5, "confirming" their fears that the Labour Party was indeed a nest of Soviet spies; it is perhaps not coincidental that the MI5 officers in contact with Frolik were **Peter Wright**, "head" of the ultra faction, and **Charles Elwell**, later Head of Counter-Subversion and a notorious right-winger who we will meet again in the 1980s as a partner of Brian Crozier's in anti-Labour smear operations. On the 28th January, the *Daily Telegraph* carried a full-page article entitled *Communists Aim to Dictate Labour Policy* which described "the grip of Communist trades unionists on the Labour government". The anti-union outfits' contribution to cranking up the tension was considerable: Aims for Industry, run by SIF's Michael Ivens, launched an appeal for £500,000 to prevent the election of a Labour government. The considerable sums raised from Aims's 4,000 member companies paid for a massive media scare campaign which ran newspaper adverts depicting Stalin hiding behind a grinning mask (156).

Another important contributor to the media barrage was the veteran MI6 coupmaster, G. K. Young. Having stood unsuccessfully as Conservative candidate for Brent East in 1972, Young brought the ideological struggle in the Monday Club to a head in 1973 when he stood for Chairman. Young lost by 455 votes to 625, and left the Monday Club. He then developed another tack, working with Ross McWhirter and two former MI6 officers, Anthony Cavendish and Colonel Ronald Wareing, to set up the Unison Committee for Action, a citizens' militia to keep essential services running, perhaps the most significant of the three private armies formed in the mid-1970s. Unlike the militias formed in Belgium in the early 1970s and early 1980s, the private armies in Britain would seem to have been not primarily a military but a psychological operation. Unison may have only been intended to be a "paper tiger", whose aim of strengthening the public feeling of a climate of disorganisation and impending chaos was achieved simply by the news of its creation. That news came on 1st February 1974, when Young first announced to MI5 friend Chapman Pincher the formation of Unison.

Two days later, the ISC followed with a major media coup when over a page of the *Observer* was given over to a summary of the ISC's Special Report *Sources of Conflict in British Industry* under the banner headline *The Communist Connection*. Using information from the ISC's right-wing anti-union partners Aims for Industry, the Economic League, IRIS and Common Cause, the report claimed that the unions were rampant with "red wreckers" plotting to bring British industry to its knees. On the 20th February, eight days before the election, the *London Evening News* carried a claim by G. K. Young that there were "40 or 50 Labour MPs for whom the Labour ticket is a cover for more sinister activities". Another element in the anti-union campaign was death threats against union leaders; the police took the threats seriously enough to arrange for police protection for several TUC officials (157).

Despite this barrage of propaganda, the election on the 28th February 1974 did not give any party a clear majority. After the Liberals refused a coalition with the Conservatives, Edward Heath was forced to resign. The counter-subversion lobby's

fears had become reality; having won the largest number of seats, Labour formed the new government. However, the new Prime Minister Harold Wilson had an unworkably small majority, and so he called fresh elections for October. In between the two elections, the MI5 and counter-subversion lobby conspirators went all out to ensure a Labour defeat.

One major focus for their campaign was Northern Ireland. Whilst MI5 tacitly encouraged the Ulster Workers' Strike of May 1974 in which the Loyalists rejected and eventually brought down Labour's policy of power-sharing, the Army stood by and did nothing to break the Loyalists' grip. At the same time, at the IRD's Information Policy Unit in the Army Press Office in Northern Ireland, Colin Wallace received floods of MI5 smears on several dozen Westminster MPs from the Centre-Left of the Tory Party, the Liberal Party and the Labour Party, including the Prime Minister and most of the Ministers in the Cabinet. Using the MI5 files, Wallace was tasked to create disinformation documents as a part of a comprehensive smear operation called Clockwork Orange 2 (158).

In June 1974, the three major private armies - Young's Unison, Sir Walter Walker's Civil Assistance (which appears to have grown out of Unison) and David Stirling's GB75 were exposed in the Press - as was probably their original intention. In June, July and September, troops and tanks again made their appearance at Heathrow Airport whilst the Army continued joint patrols with the police. In August, Geoffrey Stewart-Smith joined in the anti-Left campaign by publishing a brochure called *The Hidden Face of the Labour Party*, which claimed that "over 10% of all trades union officials in the major industrial unions are Communists or far left-wing revolutionary Marxists". However, again, the smear campaigns and "reds under the beds" scare tactics were not quite enough to ensure a Conservative victory; in the October election, Labour scraped through with a majority of three seats.

Despite Labour's election victory, the propaganda barrage went on; the allegations made by the Czech defector Frolik were revived through the intermediary of Czech exile **Joseph Josten**, the Director of the Free Czech Information News Agency, close to MI6. Josten had served with SHAEF Psychological Warfare during World War II and immediately after the war had won the Czech Defence Ministry's prize for his study *Propaganda and Peace during the War* before leaving Czechoslovakia in 1948. In 1974-75, Josten was in close contact with the counter-subversion lobby; he would join the ISC, SIF and Monday Club members in NAFF the following year, and would later write an ISC Conflict Study. Through Josten, Frolik accused Labour Minister John Stonehouse of being a Czech agent; Wilson angrily denied this in Parliament on 17th December 1974. On 19th December, Stewart-Smith wrote to Josten offering him and Frolik money to prove that Wilson was lying (159).

The 11th February 1975 brought the highpoint of a long campaign when Edward Heath was finally deposed as Leader of the Conservative Party and replaced by a relatively unknown outsider, his former Education Secretary, Margaret

Thatcher. Thatcher's leadership campaign, which culminated in her victory over her rival William Whitelaw by 146 votes to 79, had been run by her private secretary, Tory MP and former MI6 officer **Airey Neave**, who has been accused of playing a central rôle in the Thatcher conspiracy together with Peter Wright, G.K. Young and the Crozier complex. During the war Neave had served in MI9, the escape network of MI6, after having been imprisoned in Colditz Castle along with two other key figures in the counter-subversion lobby: David Stirling, founder of the SAS and creator of the private army GB75, and Charles Elwell of MI5 who, with Peter Wright, would handle Frolik.

After the war, Neave studied law with Margaret Thatcher before becoming a Conservative MP in 1953. With the reputation of a war hero and with his MI6 contacts, Neave rose quickly in politics and in 1974 threw his influence on the Tory backbenches behind Thatcher as candidate for the Conservative leadership. After her victory, Thatcher showed her recognition for the crucial part he had played in her leadership campaign by appointing him to the key position of Shadow Minister for Northern Ireland; his deputy as Shadow Minister was John Biggs-Davison. Once in power, Thatcher also planned to nominate him to head a new government department to oversee the security and intelligence services. Neave would never take the post; he would be killed by an Irish National Liberation Army bomb blast in the House of Commons car park on 30th March 1979, five weeks before Thatcher was elected Prime Minister.

With a new hard right leader at the helm of the Conservative Party, the counter-subversion lobby's campaign continued. On 26th February, two weeks after Thatcher's election as Conservative leader, a House of Lords debate on "Subversive and Extremist Elements" which again aired the Frolik allegations was initiated by **Lord Chalfont** (Alun Gwynne-Jones), a former military intelligence officer and *Times* defence correspondent. A Labour Party member ennobled by Harold Wilson in 1964 and appointed Minister for Disarmament, Chalfont would leave the Labour Party ten years later and rapidly veer rightwards to become a significant player in the anti-Wilson counter-subversion lobby. Allegedly "the CIA's man in the House of Lords", Chalfont certainly had been a member of the Executive Committee of the CIA-funded European Movement.

MITTERRAND MENACE

In France, 1974 saw the first challenge by Mitterrand to unbroken Republican rule in France since 1945. The Cercle Pinay's sympathies were clearly with Giscard d'Estaing, who had received his first ministerial post from Antoine Pinay; several Members of Parliament from Giscard's party were members of the AESP. Propaganda operations against the Left intensified after June 1972, when Mitterrand's Socialist Party concluded an electoral alliance with the Communist Party on the basis of a Common Programme. In the run-up to the Parliamentary elections in March 1973, the **CNPF** – the French employers' confederation that was Violet's stamping ground -

and the **Union des Industries et des Métiers de la Métallurgie** (UIMM) ran extensive propaganda campaigns highlighting the national disaster that would result from the election of France's first post-war Socialist government. In the six months from October 1972 to March 1973, the UIMM alone published nearly 9 million anti-Mitterrand brochures:

Revelations, an eight page newspaper: 3.5 million copies

Monsieur Dupont sees red, 16 page photo-novel: 4 million copies

Open letter to left-wing intellectuals, 8 pages: 600,000 copies

The nightmare or the application of the Common Programme, 40 pages: 210,000 copies

France deserves better than Chile, 8 pages: 300,000 copies

Letter to doctors, *Letter to hairdressers*: 40,000 copies each (160)*.

Crozier's close associate Georges Albertini also ran several groups which organized discrete *coups* for the CNPF, denouncing communism and syndicalism, and assisting 'independent' trade unions such as the CFT. One of Albertini's groups was to play a major part in propaganda support for Giscard in the 1974 Presidential elections; at the height of campaigning, Albertini's **Association pour la Liberté économique et le Progrès social** (ALEPS) produced 750,000 letters to executives, 170,000 brochures to teachers and 8 million copies of a fake daily newspaper called *France-Matin*, all of which described the catastrophic results if Mitterrand were to win the elections. *France-Matin*, however, never quite had the impact it could have: print workers seized and destroyed many of the copies before they could be distributed.

News of Giscard's victory was welcomed by the complex, as Damman described in a letter to Habsburg on 8th May, 1974:

"So Giscard has got into power but with a very narrow margin, we have simply won a little time which we must put to good use so as to organize our movements into active forces. The meeting of the 8th May has been an excellent springboard for setting up the regional teams of MAUE which we are building up mainly in Belgium and in France, and this strategy for action has proved to be very fruitful.

Maitre Violet will be arriving in Brussels tomorrow (Tuesday) and will stay until Thursday. Now that we are concentrating on the provisional fate of France, we can draw up a plan for action. The key point is to ensure that the majority wins the next parliamentary elections which should normally be held in three years time, and, once again, it will be a close-run fight. It's clear now that each important domestic event in each of our countries will have a major impact on a European scale, and we must strengthen our influence in those

countries where we have very few structures: the Netherlands, Denmark and Great Britain" (161).

The extent of the Academy's influence becomes clear from a letter dated 7th August, 1974, from de Villegas, in Pretoria to test his sniffer planes, to Damman:

"The meeting planned for Washington seems to me to be a major chance for the Academy. It will be an opportunity for us to make new contacts and to be given a budget which is a kind of consecration [for the Academy]. You chose well and showed good judgment in naming Mr. Destremau a permanent member of the Academy. Your choice was a wise one, as President Giscard d'Estaing has appointed him Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. All this promises much for the future ...As far as the European relaunch is concerned, here too you have a good card in your hand, particularly as it is President Giscard d'Estaing who will himself take the initiative for this relaunch" (162).

The mention of a meeting in Washington in the late summer of 1974 is interesting as, at this time, the British end of the Cercle complex was working on the creation of a transatlantic bridgehead - the Washington Institute for the Study of Conflict (WISC). Four months later, in November 1974, the Cercle core of Violet, Vallet, Crozier and Huyn would host a future WISC Committee member, Admiral John S. McCain Jnr, former Commander in Chief of Pacific Forces during the early Vietnam War, at the Paris launch of the Centre du Monde Moderne. In March 1975, the WISC would be formally founded as the American counterpart to the London and Paris outlets.

As Damman's letter to Habsburg in May 1974 shows, the complex was concentrating "on the provisional fate of France". The ISC would also support this campaign by publishing in January-February 1975 a Conflict Study entitled *Social Conflict in France*, written by none other than Crozier's old SDECE friend from the 1950s, Antoine Bonnemaïson.

Another old French friend of Crozier's would be active in this campaign: Georges Albertini. In May 1975, Albertini launched another magazine, *La Lettre de l'Homme Libre*, together with **Colonel Maurice Robert** who had resigned as SDECE Deputy Director of Research in 1973. Robert had started his career in the French military, training counter-gangs in Vietnam in the early 1950s before joining SDECE in 1953 and directing their Africa Service from 1960 on. Albertini and Robert's magazine concentrated on Communist subversion in France and would continue publication until at least 1979. During this time, Robert was a Director of Elf, having been previously mandated by Elf President Pierre Guillaumat (himself a former French war-time intelligence agent) to set up and supervise a private intelligence network for Elf, to be run by **Colonel Jean Tropel**, another former SDECE officer.

Tropel had spent his career in the SDECE Counter-Espionage Division where he was responsible for security within Section 7, the SDECE's team of 'plumbers'.

Dismissed after the Ben Barka affair in 1966, Tropel then joined Elf and from 1969 onwards set up Elf's intelligence network, called PSA (Protection, Security, Administration) which would be very active, particularly in Africa. Its members included many of the SDECE agents fired along with Violet by de Marenches in 1970 as well as former officers of the French security service DST and mercenaries such as Bob Denard (163)*.

As we have seen in previous chapters, having developed the sniffer planes project and ensured preliminary trials in Spain and a prospection campaign in South Africa, Violet and the two inventors Bonassoli and de Villegas had still not found a commercial outlet for their discovery. Violet however hoped to get Elf to accept the project, and his Trojan Horse for working his way into Elf was its intelligence network. Violet knew Tropel well - they had been active together in Catholic organisations in the early 1970s - and Tropel had previously hired Violet's services as a lawyer for Elf in 1972. However, Violet did not approach Tropel directly, but first went to see Colonel Franck who functioned as Violet's SDECE case officer whenever Violet's usual contact - the Head of the SDECE himself - was not available. Franck knew Tropel very well; during the war, when Franck had commanded the Andalousie resistance network around Bordeaux, Tropel had been his adjutant.

Informed by Violet of this "incredible technological breakthrough", Franck wasted no time in contacting his former adjutant, now head of security at Elf. Tropel was to remain intimately involved in the sniffer plane project after its acceptance by Elf; Tropel would be responsible for security during the numerous trips taken by Violet and the team of inventors. Tropel would also take care of some of the financial arrangements: in 1976 some of the initial payments by Elf to Fisalma, de Villegas' sniffer plane company, would be channelled through Unindus, a Swiss subsidiary of Elf's run by Tropel. When the sniffer plane project expanded in 1978, the Unindus staff would be reinforced by the addition of **Paul Violet** and **Alain Tropel**, the sons of the two former SDECE agents (164).

WHITE RULE, BLACK PROPAGANDA

Besides carrying out its own domestic and international operations, the Cercle complex was soon to become a partner in one of the largest covert propaganda campaigns since the Second World War: the media war waged by the South African Department of Information (DoI) in the mid-1970s, later exposed by the "**Muldergate**" scandal (165). The South African government's Erasmus Commission which investigated the scandal reported that between 1974 and 1977 the DoI channelled at least \$73 million into a five-year clandestine operation to "finance secret propaganda and influence-buying projects abroad".

Under Information Minister **Connie Mulder** and his deputy **Dr Eschel Rhoodie**, some 160 projects were launched, several of which aimed to buy out newspapers both in South Africa and abroad. One of the projects within South Africa

consisted of a failed bid to buy a majority shareholding in South African Associated Newspapers so as to control the *Rand Daily Mail*, the liberal opposition newspaper that was part of the SAAN stable. Abroad, the projects included channeling \$11 million to US conservative publisher John McGoff to buy the *Washington Star*. When this second attempt to buy a newspaper failed, McGoff used the money to purchase the Californian daily, the *Sacramento Union*. In 1986, McGoff would be charged for having failed to register as a foreign agent of the South African government; the charges were later dropped because the Justice Department had exceeded the five year statute of limitations in bringing the case. A later project of the DoI's in the US was the funding in 1978 of an Iowa Republican Senate nominee, Roger Epsen, who defeated a key opponent of apartheid, Senator Dick Clark.

The Cercle complex also benefited from funds from the DoI. Between 1974 and 1976, Cercle members worked in close collaboration with the DoI and the South African intelligence service BOSS in a propaganda campaign that aimed to highlight the Soviet menace and Kremlin aspirations in Southern Africa. *Le Monde Moderne* was a major outlet for this common campaign; besides republishing the 1972 ISC Special Report, the first issue of *Le Monde Moderne* also contained an article by Jacques Leguèbe calling for the defence of South Africa. The same theme dominated the second issue, which included a piece by Dr. Eschel Rhoodie. But the most important step was taken on 6th November, 1973, when *Le Monde Moderne* organized a three-day restricted "brain-trust" meeting on South Africa, attended by Crozier, Violet, Vallet, Damman and Mr. Burger, South African Ambassador to France. The Ambassador presented a two-page report drawn up personally by Prime Minister Vorster, Information Minister Connie Mulder, his deputy Dr. Eschel Rhoodie and General Hendrik van der Bergh, head of BOSS. Then a discussion was held as to how the ISC, the Academy and *Le Monde Moderne* could assist the campaign that the South African government was conducting through such Pretoria-funded publications as *To The Point*, a newspaper with which *Le Monde Moderne* worked (166)*. The meeting decided to launch several campaigns to put over South Africa's point of view to influential figures in Europe. One targeted Members of Parliament:

"A Franco-South African Friendship Association was set up a while ago. Now we have to breathe life into it. Increase its numbers and quality. We must organize manipulation of the Members of Parliament - but with subtlety" (167).

This campaign was successful; from 1974 on, the number of French MPs visiting South Africa increased considerably. Another campaign targeted industrialists, a third the French and Belgian Press, particularly by inviting over South African journalists. The significance of the French group's campaigns were confirmed in a debate on Information held in the South African Parliament in April 1975, when the Deputy Minister for Information told the Assembly "that an estimated 11 million French people had read favourable reports about South Africa as a result of his Department's careful planning concerning the type of guest invited from France" (168)*. The brain-trust had also taken the decision to set up a second group to promote South Africa: the group would be created in 1978 as the Amis Français

des Communautés Africaines (AFCA, French Friends of the African Communities), chaired by Pinay and including Leguèbe (169).

However, the November 1973 "brain-trust" meeting also decided that the greatest need was to create a prestigious French equivalent of the ISC, a 'neutral' geopolitical institute that could back up the more personal influence of VIP visits for Pretoria friends with 'academic' data on strategic considerations. According to the US Justice Department's charges against John McGoff, his attempt to buy the *Washington Star* for Pretoria aimed to ensure that "positive material relating to the strategic and economic importance of South Africa to the US and the West would be published and disseminated to policy and opinion makers within the US capital". The ISC/*Le Monde Moderne* team would be a powerful European source or relay for such propaganda. A key theme was to be oil: the oil crisis of October 1973 had focused the attention of Conservatives on the need to protect the West's vital fallback for oil supplies - the Cape route. The DoI's campaign aimed to ensure that the West's need for a strategic outpost on the Cape overrode any objections about apartheid; the propaganda line to be used was, predictably, Soviet designs on world energy resources, as Violet described to Damman, Crozier and Ambassador Burger at the seminar:

"Oil is the vital weapon of the Cold War. The Soviet Union controls its sources and seeks to dominate the main oil trade routes - South Africa and the African territories owned by Portugal" (170).

The first result of the campaign came in March 1974 when the ISC brought out two Special Reports, both of which stressed the importance of South Africa for Western oil supplies: *The Security of the Cape Oil Route* and *Soviet Objectives in the Middle East*. The security of oil supply was also of interest to the South Africans themselves: after personal contacts between Pinay and Vorster, de Villegas travelled to South Africa in the summer of 1974 to run a series of tests of the sniffer planes for South Africa's state oil company.

By the end of 1974, the plan to establish a South African-backed propaganda institute in collaboration with *Le Monde Moderne* and the ISC had been completed. With funding to the tune of one million francs provided by BOSS via Rhodie (171), the Centre d'Etudes du Monde Moderne was launched in November. Amongst its members were activists from the extreme Right and senior officers from the French armed forces such as General Jean Callet (also of the *Bulletin de Paris*), General Pin and Rear-Admiral Peltier (172). On 6th November, 1974, a year to the day after the initial brain-trust meeting, the Centre d'Etudes du Monde Moderne held an inaugural conference on the theme of the defence of Africa against the threat of communist subversion. The French core group at the launch were Violet and Vallet, and the *Monde Moderne* team of Leguèbe and Lejeune.

Attending for the ISC were Crozier and Peter Janke, author of ISC Conflict

Study No. 52, *Southern Africa: End of Empire*, which had just been published the month before. Much of the study's information on 'terrorism' in Mozambique came from P.J. De Wit, a senior BOSS operative. Janke, formerly of IRD, was the ISC's Senior Researcher and South Africa expert. In 1973, Janke had played host to Michael Morris, a South African 'journalist' working in London. Morris was soon exposed as a sergeant in the South African Security Police (173) who had 'resigned' earlier that year from their Special Branch to write a book *South African Terrorism*. In 1974, Janke was able to renew his friendship with Morris whilst visiting Capetown to collect information for Conflict Study No. 52 from De Wit at BOSS headquarters. Morris later became head of a BOSS propaganda front, the South African Terrorism Research Centre, "a direct copy of the British Institute for the Study of Conflict, but not half as good", according to BOSS's one-time London agent, Gordon Winter (174)*.

Also attending the launch of the Centre d'Etudes du Monde Moderne was CEDI member Count Hans Huyn, Strauss's foreign policy adviser. The new centre's launch in 1974 is the earliest recorded meeting of all three men who would form the triumvirate coordinating the Cercle complex in the late 1970s: Violet, Crozier and Huyn. It is unlikely however that this was the three men's actual first meeting: Huyn had served since at least 1972 on the International Council of CEDI with Habsburg, Sanchez Bella, von Merkatz and Vankerkhoven – all AESP members. At the time of the 1974 launch, the AESP and the Cercle had already been working closely with the ISC for some time. Huyn had also attended the January 1973 AESP Charlemagne Grand Dinner in the company of Habsburg, Damman and Giulio Andreotti.

Alongside Violet, the *Monde Moderne* team, the ISC and Huyn, two representatives of major American propaganda institutes with links to the ISC also attended the Centre's launch: **James L. Winokur**, a Board Member of the NSIC which had already supported the first Cercle/ISC joint venture by buying 500 copies of the Cercle-sponsored 1972 ISC Special Report, and **Admiral John S. McCain Jnr**, former Commander in Chief of US Pacific Forces (CINCPAC) from 1968 to 1972 and Board Member of the **American Security Council**, the ASC (175)*. At this time, McCain was working closely with the ISC on final preparations to create a Washington ISC offshoot, founded four months later in March 1975.

The launch of the Centre d'Etudes du Monde Moderne also hosted a sizable military contingent. Attending for the South African Defence Force was Major-General Robbertze, Director of Strategic Studies (176)*. The French armed forces sent Generals Callet and Pin, Colonel J.M. Bonnier, former Africa specialist at the General Secretariat for National Defence, and General François Maurin, an observer from the Chief of General Staff of the Army. The Spanish armed forces were represented by Colonel J.M. Sancho Sofranis, aide to the former Chief of General Staff of the Navy (177).

The Centre d'Etudes du Monde Moderne soon started work; the following year, 1975, it would publish the book *Africa and the Defence of the West* by Jean Vigneau of the *Monde Moderne* staff (178). In parallel to their considerable input to the Centre

d'Etudes du Monde Moderne, the ISC also helped South Africa by passing on the ISC's 1974 Special Report *Sources of Conflict in British Industry*, "which would be useful for indicating how South African unions might be attacked as recalcitrant or strike-prone, not on account of any real grievances, but only because of left-wing militants and outside agitators" (179).

THE WASHINGTON ISC

At the same time as the Cercle complex was intensifying pressure on left-wing candidates in France and Britain and supporting BOSS in their international propaganda campaign, the ISC had been working in 1974 on plans to set up an American satellite. By early 1975, the final preparations had been made, and the **US Committee of the ISC** (USCISC) was formally launched on 3rd March 1975, two weeks after Thatcher became leader of the Conservative Party (180). The USCISC would be the parent body for the **Washington Institute for the Study of Conflict** which was designed to be materially independent of the London ISC and therefore had its own facilities for research and publication. The Washington ISC would however closely mirror the political agenda of its London predecessor; in its Statement of Purpose, the WISC declared: "the United States, the pre-eminent power in the Free World, is experiencing its own problems with subversion. The US Institute for the Study of Conflict has thus been established to address this complex problem which has not been fully recognized in this country" (181). Much of the WISC's funding was provided by Dick Scaife whose Scaife Foundation had been a longstanding source of support for the the NSIC and the ISC.

The WISC was able to call on the same kind of high-power coalition of senior politicians and intelligence veterans that the Cercle Pinay enjoyed in Europe. The USCISC or WISC Committee was chaired by former Under-Secretary of State **George Ball**, one of the founding members of the Bilderberg group with Pinay, Voisin and Bonvoisin; Ball had in fact been one of the rapporteurs at their inaugural meeting at the Hotel Bilderberg in 1954. One month after the launch of the USCISC, Ball would attend the April 1975 Bilderberg conference, held in Cesme, Turkey, along with Strauss, Thatcher and Sir Frederic Bennett of SIF (182).

Another Bilderberger and crucial political figure on the WISC Committee was **Zbigniew Brzezinski**, who had proposed to the 1972 Bilderberg conference in Knokke, Belgium, to create a similar forum to bring together the three economic world powers, the US, Europe and Japan. The new body, the Trilateral Commission, was founded in late 1972; its first Director from 1973 to 1976 was Brzezinski. Brzezinski would also attend the 1975 Bilderberg conference with Ball, Strauss, Thatcher and Bennett. At the time the USCISC was founded, Brzezinski was working for the Research Institute on Communist Affairs and was Democrat candidate Jimmy Carter's top foreign policy adviser; Brzezinski and Ball were considered to be the main Democrat frontrunners for the post of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a measure of the WISC's political influence.

The WISC Committee also included former senior CIA officers, the most famous of whom was **Kermit Roosevelt**, a veteran CIA coupmaster who had worked closely with G. K. Young of MI6 on Project Ajax, the 1953 coup against Mossadegh in Iran. Young's action plan had been adopted by the CIA; infiltrated into Iran, Roosevelt reported to Young, based in Cyprus. Another former senior CIA officer on the WISC Committee was **Robert W. Komer** who had worked as an intelligence analyst in the Directorate of Intelligence and the Office of National Estimates from 1947 to 1960. He then served on the National Security Council until 1965 when he was appointed Special Assistant to the President. In February 1967, he was posted to Saigon with ambassadorial rank to take over responsibility for all civil and military pacification programmes in Vietnam, previously run by Sir Robert Thompson, Head of the British Advisory Mission to Vietnam from 1961 to 1965. Together with his deputy (and, in November 1968, his successor) William Colby, a former covert operations chief in the CIA's East Asia Division, Komer would be the main architect of the notorious Phoenix programme (183).

In 1968, Komer was appointed Ambassador to Turkey but had to resign from the post before Senate confirmation of the appointment following growing controversy about allegations of war crimes committed under the Phoenix programme. Komer then left public service and joined the Rand Corporation, writing a study of the Malayan Emergency for them in 1972 which was "a celebration of Thompson's counter-revolutionary expertise". He would continue to be consulted by high political circles, particularly during the Carter Administration whose national security policy was coordinated by fellow WISC Committee member Brzezinski. Komer also found favour with Carter's Secretary of Defence Harold Brown; Komer accompanied Brown on his groundbreaking trip to China between 4th-13th January 1980 when Brown solicited Chinese aid for the covert war against the Soviet troops occupying Afghanistan. The negotiations were successful; on 24th January, the United States granted Most Favoured Nation trading status to China, whilst China reciprocated over the following six months by supplying weapons to the Afghan mujaheddin and granting unprecedented permission for the CIA and NSA to set up two electronic listening posts at Qitai and Korla in Xinjiang (184).

Komer was not the only expert in counter-revolutionary warfare to figure on the WISC Committee; another WISC Committee member was Dr. **George Kilpatrick Tanham**, an expert on South Asia for the Rand Corporation since 1955. Tanham served as Associate Director for Counter-Insurgency at the US Agency for International Development in South Vietnam from 1964 to 1965, then as Special Assistant for Counter-Insurgency to the American Ambassador to Thailand from 1968 to 1970 before returning to America to work as Vice-President of the Rand Corporation's Washington office from 1970 to 1982. Tanham would take over as President of the WISC late in 1975 when the first President, James Theberge who is presented below, was appointed Ambassador to Nicaragua; WISC would then move into the Rand Corporation's Washington office (185).

Another WISC Committee member with CIA connections was NSIC President Frank Barnett; the NSIC was also represented on the WISC Committee by **Admiral William C. Mott**, a former Commander-in-Chief of Pacific Forces. The NSIC was not the only geopolitical study group which had a representative on the WISC Committee; as mentioned above, American Security Council Board member Admiral John S. McCain Jnr, another former Commander-in-Chief of Pacific Forces, was one of the USCISC's founding members.

The WISC Committee also included four academics with links to the CIA, the first being **James Theberge**, who acted as the WISC's first President. Having first spent a year from 1969 to 1970 as a Research Associate at St Antony's College Oxford, close to MI6, Theberge then became Director of Latin American studies at the Georgetown Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), the ivory tower for CIA retirees. There, Theberge would write two books for publication by CSIS, *Soviet Naval Power in the Caribbean* and *Russia in the Caribbean*, in which Theberge launched the propaganda myths of a camp run by Koreans for training Chilean guerrillas, and a KGB plan for a Chilean submarine base. The CIA would make use of Theberge's books as part of their destabilisation campaign against Allende by ensuring that the two books were quoted at length in the Chilean Press, notably in the CIA-funded *El Mercurio*, just before the March elections (186). In late 1975, Theberge was appointed US Ambassador to Nicaragua, a post he filled until 1977; Tanham replaced him as President of the WISC.

The second university professor to serve on the WISC Committee was **Professor Edward Shils**, a Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, Professor of Sociology at Chicago University and Chairman of the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania. Shils would take over publication of the magazine *Encounter* after the Congress for Cultural Freedom was exposed as a CIA front in 1967. From 1975 to 1977, Shils would serve on the ISC Study Group on Higher Education which produced a Special Report on "communist subversion in the education system" (187).

Another academic on the WISC Committee in 1975 was the Sovietologist **Professor Richard Pipes**. Pipes had been working with the ISC since at least late 1973 when he served on an ISC Middle East Study Group whose findings would be published in March 1974 as the Special Report *Soviet Objectives in the Middle East*. In 1976, a year after the foundation of the WISC, CIA Director George Bush would ask Pipes to work on the staff of a new CIA thinktank called Team B with **General Daniel O. Graham**, previously Deputy Director of the CIA under William Colby from 1973-1974 and Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency DIA in 1975-76. Team B was tasked to 'beef up' the CIA's assessment of the Soviet threat, which was considered to be too soft on Communism, so as to highlight an alleged "missile gap". Pipes would later be an adviser on Soviet Affairs to the National Security Council and a Professor at Harvard University (188)*.

The fourth university professor on the WISC Committee was also a Sovietologist who had worked for the CIA, **Professor Robert F. Byrnes**. Byrnes had

served in the CIA's Office of National Estimates between 1951 and 1954; from 1979 onwards, Byrnes would be a member of the Board of Directors of Radio Free Europe, the radio station long financed by the CIA.

A final member of note of the WISC Committee was **Adolph W. Schmidt**, former American Ambassador to Canada. Schmidt also had contacts in the intelligence community, having served in the OSS, the precursor of the CIA, from 1942 to 1946. In 1957, he would be part of the American delegation to NATO before moving on in 1959 to the Atlantic Congress in London, returning to NATO in 1962. In 1967, he was an adviser to the US Commission for Europe before serving as Ambassador to Canada between 1969 and 1974. A year after the foundation of the WISC, Schmidt would meet the core members of the Cercle complex at a CEDI Congress; he would go on to serve on the Advisory Board of Frank Barnett's NSIC at least until 1984 (189)*.

As can be judged from this list of Board members, the Cercle could count on friends on the highest levels of the intelligence and political hierarchy in the United States. Pinay himself had a privileged relationship with Nixon and Kissinger, personally handing the two men the Cercle-sponsored ISC Special Report *European Security and the Soviet Problem* in 1972; he would visit them again later in 1975 to lobby for the ISC. The foundation of the WISC would ensure that, despite Nixon's fall from power, the Cercle would continue to enjoy unparalleled access to the American national security apparatus under both Presidents Ford and Carter. Within a year of the WISC's creation, Pipes would be working on the CIA's re-assessment of the Soviet threat and later act as adviser to the National Security Council. Brzezinski would serve on the NSC throughout the Carter Presidency and fill the top job of National Security Adviser to the President from 1977 to 1981.

One opportunity in the US came only months later in May 1975, when the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, run by Robert A. Fearey, convened for hearings on international terrorism. One major witness was Brian Crozier who records: "My rôle, although it was not spelt out, was to define various types of terrorism and above all to produce the evidence (which the State Department was anxious to conceal) of the key rôle of the Soviet Union and its satellites in the recruiting, training and financing of terrorist gangs. The tactic worked. Not only were my speech and answers to questions written into the record, but so were extensive extracts of my Institute's publications" (190). Fearey provided Crozier with a second opportunity ten months later; in March 1976, Fearey chaired a major international conference on terrorism in Washington, whose keynote speaker was Crozier, accompanied on the podium by Robert Moss and two other ISC authors whom we will meet later, Hans Josef Horchem and Professor Paul Wilkinson.

1975 - 1976

CRISES AND CONTINUATION

EXPOSURE AND RELAUNCH

Turning back to the spring of 1974, the Cercle complex's domestic and international operations were reaching new heights; indeed at this time, Crozier resigned as Chairman of FWF to turn his attention fully to the ISC and its international contacts via the Cercle. Iain Hamilton, "fully conscious and in touch with the CIA officers in London" took over as Chairman (191). Unbeknownst to Crozier and the Cercle, the first of two major leaks was about to expose the CIA sponsorship of Forum World Features. The seeds of disaster were sown in the spring of 1974 by the publication of the groundbreaking book *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* by CIA veteran Victor Marchetti and former State Department Intelligence official John D. Marks. Although the CIA temporarily staved off the crisis by forcing the suppression of 168 passages from the book, several of which referred to FWF as a CIA operation and one of which named Crozier specifically, it could only be a matter of time before FWF's cover was definitively blown.

The blow would come a year later. Ironically the leak that would expose FWF and then the ISC came not from a CIA dissident like Marchetti but from the heart of the CIA itself. Due to the CIA's sloppy security procedures, a British *World in Action* television crew filming at CIA Headquarters in Langley in April 1975 caught sight of a very explosive CIA memorandum. Dated May 1968, the memorandum was from then-IOD head Cord Meyer (192)* to CIA Director Richard Helms and described CIA funding of Forum World Features, stating: "In its first two years, FWF has provided the United States with a significant means to counter Communist propaganda, and has become a respected feature service well on the way to a position of prestige in the journalism world". A handwritten note on the document also indicated that FWF was "run with the knowledge and cooperation of British Intelligence". At the same time, the CIA discovered that Marchetti and Marks were planning to release the suppressed material in London. The CIA took the decision to close down FWF in May 1975, just ahead of the publication in June of an article *The CIA Makes the News* in the alternative London weekly *Time Out* which quoted Cord Meyer's 1968 memorandum (193).

The closure of FWF after the exposure of its CIA links was only the first setback; no doubt due to the Press revelations about FWF, the offices of the ISC were burgled in June 1975, and some 1,500 documents were taken. Many of the documents found their way to *Time Out* which published further long articles in August and September detailing the ISC's links to the British, American and South African intelligence communities (194).

The revelations however largely overlooked the ISC's international collaboration with the Cercle, even though the haul from the Institute's offices had

included the January 1972 Council minutes describing Cercle sponsorship of the ISC Special Report and their £20,000 grant to the ISC for 1973. Another revealing document stolen from the ISC's offices was a very recent internal ISC memo dated 2nd June 1975, detailing a meeting between the ISC and the Cercle held at Ditchley Park:

"Mr. Crozier told the meeting that after the conference at Ditchley Park, the Pinay group should organize similar sessions in Madrid, Rome, Milan, Brussels and Bonn in the autumn with the object of raising money for the Institute and enhancing its reputation" (195)*.

Crozier records that the conference was a study group which yielded a further ISC Special Report, *New Dimensions of Security in Europe*. Amongst the notable participants were Pinay himself, Carlo Pesenti and another Italian business leader, Cefis of Marconi. A helicopter had to be sent to pick up "the aged President Pinay", but whilst certainly elderly, Pinay was still spry: as well as attending the Ditchley Park conference, Pinay made an extensive European tour of prominent Cercle friends throughout 1975 to muster support for Crozier's Institute. Amongst those he visited were Richard Nixon, Henry Kissinger, Pope Paul VI, Manuel Fraga Iribarne (then Spanish Ambassador in London), Franz Josef Strauss, Giulio Andreotti and Prince Bernhard of Holland, President of the Bilderberg Group (196). With such a powerful coalition of political and intelligence contacts to call on, the ISC overcame its temporary crisis (197)* and intensified its activities, notably through a new alliance of the British Right, the National Association for Freedom (NAFF).

NAFF AND SHIELD

One month after the Cercle launched its international campaign to raise the profile of the ISC, a new organisation was formed to bring together the various groups that were "concerned about the relentless spread of subversion" (198). The new group, the **National Association For Freedom** (NAFF), was formed in July 1975, although not formally founded until December. NAFF's first action in August 1975 was to organize a seminar on subversion where veteran espionage journalist and MI5 friend Chapman Pincher served as guest speaker. By mid-1977, NAFF boasted 30,000 members (199). The list of members of the Executive and National Council of the NAFF shows that the new alliance was a merger of the SIF, the ISC and the Tory Right, including many of the figures involved in the anti-Labour operations of the past few years.

The Director of NAFF and first editor of its bulletin *The Free Nation* was Robert Moss. Moss enjoyed close links to the Conservative leadership and would soon become one of Thatcher's favourite speechwriters - it was Moss who would coin the term "Iron Lady" for her, first used by Thatcher in a speech in January 1976, only six weeks after NAFF's foundation. Alongside Moss on the NAFF Executive, we find

Norris McWhirter, a member of the SIF National Executive, and author with his brother Ross of the NAFF Charter. Ross McWhirter would be assassinated by the IRA just before NAFF's official launch in December 1975 (200)*.

With Moss and McWhirter on the NAFF Executive was Michael Ivens, the Director of the anti-union outfit Aims for Industry. Aims for Industry had bankrolled many of the anti-Labour operations in the early 1970s; it also provided the start-up capital for NAFF. Like McWhirter, Ivens had also served on the SIF National Executive. Aims for Industry was further represented on the National Council of NAFF by **William E. Luke**, a Board member of Aims since 1958. A former MI5 officer during the war, Luke later served as Chairman of the London Committee of the South Africa Foundation and in 1965 was the founding Chairman of the UK-South Africa Trade Association, active in the pro-Pretoria campaign (201).

The NAFF National Council also included the indefatigable Crozier, who provided NAFF with their first offices - in Kern House, headquarters of Forum World Features. Several other ISC friends would serve on the NAFF National Council, amongst them the Czech exile Josef Josten, who ran the Free Czech Information News Agency, close to MI6. Josten would be the channel for dissemination of the allegations made by Czech defector Josef Frolik. Another ISC friend on the NAFF National Council was **Dr Kenneth Watkins**, an author of pamphlets published by Aims. A month before NAFF's foundation, Watkins had joined an ISC Study Group on Communist subversion in higher education that included Lord Vaizey of the Ditchley Foundation and Professor Edward Shils of the WISC Committee. The Study Group's findings would be published as an ISC Special Report, *The Attack on Higher Education*, in September 1977.

Alongside Crozier on the National Council of NAFF was another of the key actors in the counter-subversion lobby, ex-Deputy Director of MI6, G. K. Young, founder of the Unison Committee for Action. As Chairman of SIF, Young brought with him into NAFF almost all of SIF's leaders; besides McWhirter and Ivens who served with Moss as NAFF's "inner core" on the Executive, SIF recruits to NAFF also included Bilderberger Sir Frederic Bennett, Chairman of the SIF Parliamentary Group, and John Biggs-Davison, former Chairman of the Monday Club, member of the SIF National Executive and Deputy Shadow Minister for Northern Ireland under Airey Neave.

Biggs-Davison would be joined in NAFF by other top Tory MPs from the Monday Club, notably the former MI6 officer Sir Stephen Hastings and Winston Churchill, both of whom were members of Thatcher's Shadow Cabinet. Also on the NAFF National Council were three other members of Thatcher's Shadow Cabinet who would later hold ministerial office in Thatcher's government: **Rhodes Boyson**, **David Mitchell** and **Nicholas Ridley**.

The NAFF National Council also included three senior military figures, two of whom would serve on the ISC Council. The first was Vice-Admiral Sir Louis Le Bailly,

who had just retired as Director-General of Intelligence at the Ministry of Defence (202). The second ISC Council member on the NAFF Council was Sir Robert Thompson, a leading counter-insurgency expert with experience in Malaya. The third military figure was **Field Marshal Sir Gerald Templer**, a former Chief of Staff of the Army who had implemented Thompson's counter-insurgency strategy during the Malayan campaign. At the time he joined NAFF, Templer occupied a key post for those fighting subversion: as Lord-Lieutenant of London, he was in charge of all contingency planning for Military Assistance to the Civil Power. Templer had also played a part in the genesis of the private armies by introducing G. K. Young to **Major General Sir Walter Walker**, the former Commander-in-Chief of NATO forces in Northern Europe. Walker of the Gurkhas was a former Malayan colleague of Templer and Thompson's, having founded the Jungle Warfare School during the Malayan Emergency and served as head of Britain's counter-insurgency campaign in Borneo in 1962-64. Walker worked alongside Young within Unison before splitting off to form **Civil Assistance**. Throughout 1976, Civil Assistance held long negotiations with NAFF about a possible merger of the two groups; the talks were abandoned in October 1976 when Civil Assistance shut down due to lack of active support.

The NAFF National Council also included an impressive array of the leaders of industry - **Lord de L'Isle** of Phoenix Assurance who functioned as NAFF's President, Sir Frank Taylor of Taylor Woodrow, ex-CBI chief Sir Paul Chambers and Sir Raymond Brookes, Chairman of GKN Engineering, a member of the CBI Council and a member of William Luke's UK-South Africa Trade Association.

As to the day-to-day running of NAFF, Crozier records: "To avoid the delays implicit in formal Council meetings, a small group of us decided to function as an informal action committee, without reporting to the Council. Bill De L'Isle presided, and the other members were Winston Churchill MP, **John Gouriet**, a former Guards officer and merchant banker, Robert Moss and myself" (203).

By bringing together the ISC, SIF, leading industrialists and top Tories from Thatcher's Shadow Cabinet, NAFF acted as an unprecedented alliance between the operators from the counter-subversion lobby and the candidate they worked to promote. On the links between Thatcher and NAFF, I can do no better than to quote Robin Ramsay and Stephen Dorril:

"NAFF pulled together all the elements of the previous networks: the spooks, the propagandists, the anti-union outfits, and - this is the difference between NAFF and its predecessors - it brought in a group of Tory MPs with connections all the way to the top of the post-Thatcher Tory Party ... NAFF was formed just after Mrs Thatcher became leader of the Tory Party. It is difficult not to view it as essentially formed around her ... Mrs Thatcher duly gave her public blessing to this group, appearing as guest of honour at NAFF's inaugural subscription dinner in January 1977" (204).

"In its first eighteen months, NAFF initiated what an intelligence officer would

have called 'political actions': legal actions against strikes, propaganda about 'scroungers', and 'Marxists' in the Labour Party - and, most spectacularly, its strike-breaking intervention in the strike at the Grunwick factory. These brilliantly successful psychological operations gained them oceans of favourable coverage in the Tory Press, anticipating (and to some extent, setting) the agenda for the Conservative Government of 1979 ... the first Thatcher administration was the National Association For Freedom Government" (205).

Besides these NAFF actions, the counter-subversion lobby kept up the pressure on the Labour Party in the foreign Press: the smears against Labour politicians and Heath and Thorpe were channelled across the Atlantic, reaching American newspapers in September and October, 1975. The message was repeated for a domestic British audience in January 1976, when Lord Chalfont provided a platform for Brian Crozier's warnings of the Red Menace in a television programme on subversion called *It Mustn't Happen Here* (206)*.

An indication of this close relationship between NAFF and the new Leader of the Conservative Party came on the 19th January 1976 when Margaret Thatcher gave her historic "Iron Lady" speech - which had been written for her by Robert Moss. However, the close cooperation between NAFF and Thatcher went far beyond speechwriting and public political support: as Crozier revealed in his memoirs, several members of NAFF would set up a secret advisory committee on security and intelligence matters to brief the Conservative leader. The initiative for the committee, called **Shield**, came from the ex-MI6 officer and NAFF National Council member **Sir Stephen Hastings** who would be active in 1977 in giving a Parliamentary platform to NAFF's psy-ops campaigns. On 9th March 1976 at a dinner hosted by Lord de l'Isle, and attended by Margaret Thatcher and NAFF founding members Crozier, Moss, Gouriet and McWhirter, the creation of the Shield committee was given the go-ahead (207). The timing for Shield's creation could not have been more critical; within days, the Labour Prime Minister Harold Wilson resigned, worn down by the psy war waged by his enemies within the British counter-subversion lobby, MI5, MI6, the CIA and BOSS. In the vacuum created by Wilson's mid-term resignation, NAFF and their friends in MI5 and MI6 feared that Michael Foot, the left-wing candidate, might be Wilson's successor. NAFF caused a storm in April 1976 by publishing an editorial in the *Free Nation* urging the Queen to dissolve Parliament and call fresh elections if a Labour government under Foot were to succeed Wilson. Another article alongside Crozier's was written by "a recently retired counter-subversion chief of MI5". This was almost certainly **Dirk Hampden**, who had been MI5 Head of Counter-Subversion in June 1975 at the time of the exposure of Forum World Features (208).

THE CERCLE'S ALPINE ALLIES

Whilst the counter-subversion lobby mounted their campaign in Britain against "Communist infiltration" of the government and the unions, Karl-Friedrich Grau and his Frankfurt Study Group had also been spreading much the same

message from the ISP's safe refuge over the Swiss border. At the same time, Grau was the lynchpin of the German PEU section, acting as its Federal Secretary through until 1975. Whilst cooperation between the Belgian, French, British and German components of the Cercle went well in the period 1974-76, Grau himself ran into controversy, first in Germany, then in Switzerland.

Grau's far-right views became an embarrassment for the CDU party hierarchy when it was revealed in early 1974 that he had held meetings with militants of the neo-fascist NPD party with a view to concluding an alliance for the Hesse regional elections. The controversy led to the resignation in May of five CDU MPs from Grau's Frankfurt group, the Studiengesellschaft für staatspolitische Öffentlichkeitsarbeit (Study Group for Political Communication) and Grau's formal exclusion from the CDU in June. In the interim, the co-founder of the Study Group, the CDU's Dr. Walter Hoeres, took over as President. The storm did not last long however, and in a Study Group circular in November, Grau could boast that the loss of the five CDU members had been offset by applications for membership from CSU MPs. In any case, Grau's services as clandestine fundraiser for the CDU/CSU were too valuable to lose, and the CDU quietly readmitted him in May 1976 in time for the national elections (209)*.

Grau would score a coup for his Swiss group, the ISP, in early 1976 when he got the agreement of Swiss Air Force **General Ernst Wetter** to act as President of the ISP; at the time, Wetter was Head of Personnel in the Département Militaire Fédéral (DMF), the Swiss Ministry of Defence. However, Grau's coup rebounded on him and became an own goal; a few months later, Wetter was forced to resign from the ISP Presidency by the DMF which did not take kindly to Swiss military personnel using their rank in their private lives. The incident led to an investigation of the ISP and trouble for Grau. To obtain Wetter's agreement, Grau had claimed that the three International Vice-Presidents of the ISP were the CDU foreign and defence policy spokesman Dr Werner Marx, Jean Violet, and a Viennese lawyer called **Wolfram Bitschnau**. Grau had the habit of using people's names without taking the trouble of asking them, and, on checking, all three men denied any knowledge of being an International Vice-President of the ISP.

The denials ring hollow: although they may never have actually held office within the ISP, all three men had links with Grau. Marx had been a longstanding speaker for Grau's Frankfurt Study Group, even if he had been one of the five CDU MPs to "leave" the Study Group after the 1974 scandal about Grau's contacts with the NPD. Together with Huyn, Marx had also represented Germany on the International Council of CEDI since at least 1972. As for Violet, Grau was one of the earliest and closest allies of Violet's AESP, and several AESP members including Habsburg and Huyn spoke regularly at ISP seminars. Bitschnau also had connections to Grau via the AESP; the following year, 1977, Academy documents would list Bitschnau as an AESP member in his capacity of President of the Institut für Internationale Zukunftstudien (Institute for International Studies of the Future) (210). The official investigation into the ISP drew attention to the murky nature of

Grau's political activities, and he was issued with a formal warning by the Swiss government in May 1976. Following a parliamentary question, the Swiss government declared "Mr. Grau has received a warning for interference in Swiss internal affairs and for undesirable political activities and has been threatened with expulsion under Article 70 of the Federal Constitution" (211). Whilst Grau had to tone down his operations for a while, the Swiss government would never follow up on its threat to expel him.

What then were these "undesirable political activities" of Grau's that interfered with Swiss internal affairs? An examination of some of the ISP's conferences in 1975 and 1976 shows that Grau was doing in Switzerland exactly what the ISC had started doing in Britain in 1972: giving seminars on Communist subversion to government and police officials. One of the ISP's subversion seminars was held between 29th September and 3rd October 1975 in the Tenigerbad Hotel in Rabiuss; with heavy irony, a poster in the hotel lobby announced an "Agricultural Seminar on Pest Control". Inside, the keynote speaker on "farming" was General Reinhard Gehlen, former head of the BND. One third of the audience were officers from the Swiss political police; apart from Grau's Swiss partner Dr Peter Sager of the SOI, all the other speakers were Germans.

The conference timetables for two further ISP seminars on industrial subversion and counter-espionage in March 1976 give us a fuller picture of the ISP's "undesirable activities". At their height, the seminars were held at the rate of two a month; each lasted five days and included some fifteen presentations by government or police officials from Germany, Switzerland and several other countries.

The first of the two March 1976 seminars opened with a presentation by Ernst Wetter, at that time still President of the ISP. Then Grau gave a lengthy introduction to the ISP before handing over to the keynote speaker, Dr Peter Sager of the SOI who spoke on "the global political situation in the politico-revolutionary war: an analysis of psychological warfare". In the afternoon, a certain Mr. I Reinartz closed the first day of the seminar with a speech on "the importance of industry for Communist strategy and tactics - the company as the battlefield of Communism". Reinartz also gave the morning lecture on the second day on the subject of "the destabilization of companies by radical left-wing forces - from agitation to action"; the afternoon included two presentations on "protection of data from internal or external access" and "the Communist intelligence services - mission, organisation, function". The seminar would follow the same vein for the five days, giving details of technical and human resources for industrial espionage and counter-tactics against Communist subversion of industry. Inspector W. Dibbern from the Criminal Police, for example, spoke on "the protection of the State today - modern forms of defence" and "when, where and how an infiltration is mounted - how the agent works".

Another five-day ISP subversion seminar was held at the end of March 1976, and covered much the same topics. This time however, the keynote speaker was not Dr Sager but **Lt-Colonel Ernst Cincera**, the most notorious figure in Swiss

parapolitics whose long history of collecting files on "subversives" is described below. At the seminar, Cincera spoke on "the clandestine struggle on all levels", a theme that was picked up by the following speaker **Dr Kurt Klein**, Director of the German Army's Psychological Warfare School in Euskirchen, who gave two presentations on industrial subversion. Chief Commissioner Georg Pohl of the German Criminal Police spoke on "terrorism and anarchism in the Federal Republic - a threat to trade and industry", and retired Colonel Rudolf Mischler closed the seminar with three lectures on "action in case of attack by explosive or incendiary bombs (with practical examples)", "what to do in case of attack and hostage-taking?" and "preparations for sabotage and counter-measures".

No wonder the Swiss, touchy about their neutrality, found Grau's seminars undesirable. An ISP speakers' list for 1975 gives us more information about who was working with Grau in the ISP. Grau himself was of course the most frequent speaker, speaking fourteen times in 1975. Grau's speeches concentrated on the Red Menace with titles such as "Is the Bolchevisation of Europe inevitable?" and "The strategy of Communism's clandestine forces". Military psy-ops expert Dr Kurt Klein would be a regular fixture, contributing no less than thirteen speeches such as "Soviet espionage in Germany" and "Areas of activity for Communist clandestine forces in Germany". Dr Walter Hoeres, at this time standing in for Grau as President of the Frankfurt-based parent group, would speak eight times throughout the year. Dr Peter Sager would speak at three seminars in 1975 on predictable themes such as "The changing face of Communism - a narcotic to dupe the West" and "Why the Communists in the non-communist world do not want peace". At this time, the SOI was expanding its activities, adding a second monthly review *SOI-Bilanz* to its bi-monthly journal *Zeitbild* (212).

Certainly the most controversial Swiss guest of the ISP, speaking at at least eight seminars in 1975-76, was **Lt-Colonel Ernst Cincera** who would soon become the subject of a national scandal in November 1976. "Colonel Ernst Cincera, member of the Radical Party, is well-known for his long and stormy activity as a 'snooper'. Carried out as a private citizen, his activities benefited from close cooperation with the Federal Military Department (DMF) ... Cincera's information was included on the DMF microfilm files and Cincera worked in extremely close coordination with René Schmid's bureau, the DMF's specialist 'counter-subversion' unit" (213)*.

For many years, Cincera had been running a private counter-subversion service called **Informationsgruppe Schweiz** (Information Group Switzerland) which from 1974 on published its denunciations in the private bulletin *WasWerWieWannWo - Information über Agitation und Subversion des politischen Extremismus in der Schweiz* (WhatWhoHowWhenWhere - information on agitation and subversion by political extremists in Switzerland). Cincera and his agents worked closely with the **Schmid bureau**, a secret counter-subversion unit set up within the DMF's Health Department under the leadership of Colonel René Schmid, Chief Medical Officer of the Swiss Army (214)*. The exchange of information between Cincera's group and the Schmid bureau was direct: in 1975, one of Cincera's young agents, Andreas Kühnis, supplied

the Schmid bureau directly with a list of participants at a seminar organized by the Salecina Foundation. On the orders of Colonel Schmid, his bureau then sent back to Cincera's group a request for further information and included for each "suspect" an identity photo and a specimen signature drawn from the DMF's personnel records (215)*. In exchange for its services, Cincera's group regularly received DMF files from the Schmid bureau, a case of illegal access which would be exposed - with the help of Andreas Kühnis - by members of the Democratic Manifesto in November 1976. The national scandal that ensued would be repeated the following year when the members of the Democratic Manifesto revealed that over 1,700 pages of material from Cincera were stocked on one single computer cassette amongst the thousands held by the Army in its MIDONAS database, the Military Document Reference System, which included all articles written about the Swiss Army and military service.

Cincera's material included personal and political data on each "suspect", one of whom was journalist Jürg Frischknecht of the *Tages-Anzeiger*, one of the authors of *Unheimliche Patrioten*. Frischknecht's case shows the kind of cooperation between Cincera's network and Grau's ISP. At the second ISP seminar in March 1976, described above, Grau had accepted to answer written questions from Frischknecht, but in fact never did so. In 1977, when the members of the Democratic Manifesto obtained the MIDONAS cassette, they found in Cincera's file on Frischknecht the list of questions that he had submitted to Grau the previous year. The DMF kept an embarrassed silence about its cooperation with Cincera, but the newspaper close to Cincera, *Abendland*, confirmed the facts: "One of the people responsible for setting up the DMF's new computer system stayed in contact with Mr. Cincera for several months to clarify to what extent his archives could be linked to this information system" (216).

Despite his notoriety, Cincera would be a frequent speaker at ISP seminars, speaking no less than seven times in 1975 as well as his contribution to the March 1976 seminar mentioned above. His subjects included "agitation and subversion as a means of Communist strategy" and "agitation against the Army - agitation within the Army" (217)*. Amongst the other ISP speakers, we find a rare British guest – **Reginald Steed**, foreign policy lead writer for the *Daily Telegraph* in the 1960s and 1970s, who would speak four times for the ISP in 1975; he would also speak for Grau's Hamburg-based group, the SWG. Another friend from the SWG, speaking four times for the ISP in 1975-76, was **Hugo Wellems**, editor from 1967 until his death in 1995 of both the SWG's *Deutschland Journal* and the *Ostpreussenblatt*, the largest selling German expellee newspaper which regularly advertised SWG and PEU publications and conferences. As for the main figures of the Cercle's German network, Habsburg himself would speak at four ISP seminars in 1975; he had been contributing articles to Grau's Frankfurt Study Group since at least 1965. The CSU foreign policy spokesman Count Hans Huyn would be one of the most frequent speakers for the ISP, giving eight lectures at ISP seminars in 1975. His presentations at the ISP were mostly on his specialist theme of Ostpolitik, Germany's relationship with Eastern Europe.

Besides the Swiss ISP and Belgian AESP, Huyn would also work with Grau within another group, the **Deutschland-Stiftung** (Germany Foundation), a political trust founded by Grau and others in Munich in 1966 which brought together many German right-wing politicians. The Foundation published the journal *Deutschland-Magazin* and awarded the Adenauer Prize, an event given Oscar-like coverage by the German conservative Press. The founding President of the Deutschland-Stiftung was **Professor Georg Stadtmüller**, an expert on Eastern Europe for Hitler. A trio of early German members of the AESP would serve within the Deutschland-Stiftung - Grau was its Vice-President, von Merkatz sat on its Honorary Presidium, and Huyn served on its Board. Another member of the Foundation's Board from 1968 on was the aristocrat, former Nazi party member and wartime officer in Gehlen's FHO **Professor Freiherr Bolko von Richthofen**; he would be excluded from the Deutschland-Stiftung in 1972 for his overt support for the neo-nazi NPD party. Richthofen also acted as Board member of SOI's German support group, founded by Grau and Sager in 1961. Several other members of the Deutschland-Stiftung were also friends of Grau's ISP, amongst them Dr. Walter Hoeres, co-founder of the ISP's Frankfurt parent body and a frequent speaker at the ISP's seminars on subversion, and **Brigadier-General Heinz Karst** who would speak at six of the ISP's seminars in 1975.

The close links between the Deutschland-Stiftung and Grau's ISP would be illustrated by one incident when the *Deutschland-Magazin* quoted Grau's smear bulletin *intern-informationen* in accusing German Minister Horst Ehmke of contacts with the Czech secret service. After losing a libel suit, the *Deutschland-Magazin* was forced to retract its allegations - Grau however could continue to publish them with impunity from *intern-informationen*'s address in Switzerland (218). The *Deutschland-Magazin* would also work closely with the magazine *Zeitbild* published by Sager's SOI; as we have seen, it was Grau, Vice-President of the Deutschland-Stiftung, who distributed SOI's publications in Germany (219). When SOI celebrated its jubilee in 1984, it was attended by the President of the Deutschland-Stiftung from 1977 to 1994, **Gerhard Löwenthal**.

Gerhard Löwenthal was, with Grau and Huyn, perhaps the most important right-wing multifunctionary in Germany throughout the 1970s and 1980s (220)*. Born in Berlin in 1922 as the son of a Jewish businessman, Löwenthal survived internment in Sachsenhausen concentration camp. However, the Communist takeover in East Berlin radicalised him, and he joined the PEU in 1947. Having started a career in broadcasting in 1945 with the American Occupation Forces station RIAS (Radio in the American Sector), Löwenthal was appointed RIAS Deputy Director in 1951, later moving over to the Berlin radio station Sender Freies Berlin after its creation in 1954. After a spell working at the OECD in Paris from 1959 to 1963, Löwenthal returned to broadcasting, joining the second German television channel ZDF as its European Correspondent and head of the Brussels bureau. He would however soon rise to become one of Germany's most prominent television anchormen as presenter of the fortnightly current affairs programme, **ZDF Magazin**, which he

would present from January 1969 right through until December 1987. This programme gave Löwenthal the media power and public recognition of a Robin Day or a Jeremy Paxman, television access which he used to focus heavily on Soviet repression in Eastern Europe and particularly in East Germany. He was a close political ally of Franz Josef Strauss who was a frequent guest on Löwenthal's programme; Brian Crozier would also later benefit from television airtime thanks to Löwenthal. Löwenthal also had excellent contacts with the BND and particularly with **Gerhard Wessel**, Gehlen's deputy during and after the war and his successor as BND President from 1968 to 1980; Löwenthal was a frequent personal guest of Wessel's at BND headquarters (221).

An early example of cooperation between Löwenthal and the Cercle complex's German contacts was the creation in 1973 of the **Freie Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Freundschaft mit den Völkern der Tschechoslovakei** (Free Society for the Promotion of Friendship with the Peoples of Czechoslovakia). Alongside Löwenthal as founding members of the Free Society we find three future speakers at Grau's ISP subversion seminars: Count Hans Huyn, Ludek Pachmann and Walter Becher. **Ludek Pachmann** was a Czech exile and former Chess Grand Master who would give five presentations on Czechoslovakia at ISP seminars in 1975. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Pachmann would be an inseparable sidekick of Löwenthal's, a German Crozier-Moss act. **Walter Becher** was from the Sudetenland, the German-speaking part of the Czech Republic. In 1931, Becher joined the Sudetendeutsche Partei (Sudeten German Party) led by Konrad Henlein, who would be appointed Reichskommissar of the Sudetenland when it was annexed by Hitler in October 1938; Becher then joined Hitler's NSDAP (Nazi Party). He would play a prominent part after the war in exile politics, sitting in the Bavarian Parliament for a small exiles' party between 1950 and 1962. In 1965, he was elected to the German Federal Parliament; after joining the CSU in 1967, he would continue in the Federal Parliament as a CSU MP until 1980. Besides his parliamentary rôle where he was one of the most outspoken opponents of Brandt's Ostpolitik, Becher would also speak at an ISP seminar on subversion in 1975; the ISP's speakers' list gave Becher's address as Pullach bei München, the location of the BND's headquarters, where he still lived when he died in 2005.

Two further founding members of the Free Society were **Jaroslav Pechacek**, Head of the Czech Division of Radio Free Europe, the CIA-funded radio station, and **Rainer Gepperth**, Director of the International Department of the **Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung**, the CSU's political foundation, examined in later chapters. The final founding member of the Free Society in 1973 was a person with close links to two early anti-communist propaganda groups, one in Britain and one in Germany: Cornelia Gerstenmaier.

Cornelia Gerstenmaier was the daughter of Eugen Gerstenmaier, from 1954 to 1969 the longest serving President of the German Parliament, prominent member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe from 1950 to 1957 and an early CEDI member. In 1970, she would be one of the founding members of the

British-based **Centre for the Study of Religion and Communism**, run by the Reverend and later Canon **Michael Bourdeaux**. The CSRC would later change names to **Keston College** and more recently to **Keston Research**, but would remain focused on the same theme: the repression of the freedom of worship in the Communist bloc. It has been alleged that the CSRC was an IRD/MI6 front similar to the ISC which was created around the same time. The attribution of the CSRC to IRD is given credence by the revelation in Crozier's memoirs that shortly before the CSRC's foundation, the IRD had officially curtailed publication of its own Christian anti-communist output, the *Religious Digest* (222).

The young CSRC certainly had close ties to other intelligence-linked propaganda outlets such as the ISC: Bourdeaux was one of the contributors to Crozier's 1970 anthology for Common Cause, *We Will Bury You*, and the CSRC's publications were distributed by the same outfit used by the counter-subversion lobby, SOI and Interdoc: Stewart-Smith's FAPC. The KGB was always interested in Keston: one of the special tasks for former KGB London Resident Oleg Gordievsky was to monitor Keston's activities, and former KGB Major-General Oleg Kalugin later confirmed that the KGB's Counter-Espionage department kept a close eye on Keston (223)*.

However, Cornelia Gerstenmaier's real significance lay in her rôle in running an organisation which acquired a certain notoriety in the 1980s, the **Internationale Gesellschaft für Menschenrechte** (IGfM) or International Society for Human Rights (ISHR) (224)*. The IGfM was first founded in Frankfurt in 1972 as a purely German organisation, the Gesellschaft für Menschenrechte (GfM, Society for Human Rights), which would be chaired from 1973 to 1978 by Gerstenmaier. It is interesting to note that the GfM was founded around the same time as the trio of ISC, Cercle and AESP launched their Helsinki Appeal on human rights; the foundation of the GfM may represent a German pillar to the complex's campaign.

The GfM's future political orientation was illustrated by its founding members, who stemmed from the NTS, a group of former Russian Nazi collaborators funded by the CIA and intimately linked to WACL. The founding members of the GfM included Ivan Agrusov, President of the NTS, and Leonid Müller, the NTS Treasurer. The IGfM also had close connections to the German Right; on the Board of the GfM or IGfM at one time or another were Habsburg, von Merkatz, Pachmann and Sager. The GfM became international in 1981, and by 1988 it had 16 foreign sections; its campaigns in the 1980s are described in a later chapter.

Another early organisation of note created by Löwenthal was the **Konzentration Demokratischer Kräfte** (KDK, Concentration of Democratic Forces, also known as Korrigiert den Kurs - Correct the Course), a right-wing ginger group that campaigned for the CSU. Löwenthal's partner for the 1974 creation of KDK was **Dr Lothar Bossle**, whom we will meet again in the late 1970s as a partner in the Cercle's German operations.

No presentation of the Cercle's German friends in the mid-1970s would be complete without mentioning **Hans Josef 'Jupp' Horchem**, from 1969 until 1981 Director of the Hamburg regional branch of the German security service **Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz** (BfV) or Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution. Having joined the BfV in 1957, Horchem rose to become one of its top analysts on left-wing extremism before moving over in later years to concentrate on right-wing extremism. Horchem's first known appearance in Cercle matters came in March 1973 when he wrote a Conflict Study for the ISC, *West Germany: "The Long March through the Institutions"*; this would soon be followed by two further Conflict Studies, *West Germany's Red Army Anarchists* published in April 1974 and *Right-wing Extremism in Western Germany* published in November 1975. In March 1976, Horchem joined the ISC trio of Crozier, Moss and Professor Paul Wilkinson as speakers at a major international conference on terrorism in Washington chaired by Robert Fearey (225). In 1978, he served as a special consultant to the Spanish government in anti-terrorist measures, and from 1980 on would also advise the Basque regional government. In the early 1980s, Horchem would also work closely with Löwenthal within the right-wing ginger group *Konservative Aktion*, as well as acting as a prime German channel for Crozier's private secret service, the 6I (226).

THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

In the mid 1970s, right-wing fears about the rise of the Left were reinforced by the fall of the Iberian dictatorships following the Portuguese revolution of April 1974 and the death in November 1975 of the Spanish Caudillo. Coming after Wilson's victory in the February 1974 elections and Mitterrand's favourable position in the run-up to elections in France, the Portuguese revolution provided further confirmation to the Right of a left-wing landslide throughout Europe. The ISC's 1974-1975 annual review, the *Annual of Power and Conflict*, focused specifically on Portugal: "An introductory article by Brian Crozier, the editor, on *Subversion and the USSR* makes special reference to the Soviet Union's activities in Portugal" (227), and in his article for the *Annual*, *Western Europe's Year of Confusion*, Kenneth Mackenzie summarized the situation in saying: "By early 1975 Portugal looked in distinct danger of becoming the first country in the Alliance to fall under Communist control" (228).

Apart from the weakening of NATO's southern flank, the Portuguese revolution also had strategic implications outside of Europe, due notably to the new Portuguese regime's decision to withdraw from its African colonies of Angola and Mozambique, riven by war between Cuban-backed pro-Soviet forces and pro-Western forces supported by the CIA and the Rhodesian Central Intelligence Office. The Portuguese withdrawal from Africa coincided with the death in Spain of a bastion of Western values, Caudillo Franco. Following the American doctrine of the "domino theory", the Right feared that Spain would also be contaminated by the "Portuguese disease" and that the left-wing upheaval in Portugal could drag Spain down with it. The worrying situation of the Iberian peninsula would be one of the major focuses for the ISC's publications between 1974 and 1976, which included two Special Reports and two

Conflict Studies: *Revolutionary Challenges in Spain* (a Special Report by Robert Moss, June 1974), *Southern Europe: NATO's Crumbling Flank* (June 1975), *Portugal - Revolution and Backlash* (September 1975) and *Portugal and Spain: Transition Politics* (May 1976), a Special Report which was the product of an international seminar held in London in mid-1975 and sponsored by the ISC, Georgetown University's CSIS and the Institute for International Studies of the University of South Carolina.

Whilst the geostrategic experts at the ISC alerted their readership to the danger of a Communist take-over in the Iberian peninsula, the ISC's allies in the Cercle complex channelled aid to right-wing leaders in Portugal and Spain through Franz Josef Strauss and Otto von Habsburg. In Portugal, the main beneficiaries of Cercle support were two putschist Generals who would be central figures in the political developments in Portugal from 1973 to 1976: **General Kaulza de Arriaga**, a former Commander of Portuguese Forces in Mozambique and leader of a group of extreme right-wing Army officers, and **General Antonio de Spínola**, the future President of the post-revolutionary Junta of National Salvation. Strauss would give generous clandestine funding to both Arriaga and Spínola until at least 1979, and both men would be in contact with the top members of the Cercle Pinay. Within a year of an attempted coup in March 1975, Arriaga would attend CEDI's 1976 annual Congress in Spain with top Cercle members; according to the reports on the Cercle Pinay written by Hans Langemann, head of Bavarian State Security, Spínola would be a guest at meetings of the Cercle itself (229).

Cercle contacts Arriaga and Spínola would be key actors in the history of the Portuguese revolution and its aftermath. After the death in 1970 of dictator Salazar and his replacement by his deputy since 1968, Marcello Caetano, the extreme right-wing sympathizers in the military became impatient for a return to the good old days. In December 1973, Arriaga and a group of extreme right-wing officers and politicians approached Spínola to canvass his support for a coup against the Caetano government. Spínola however refused to become involved and revealed the plot to Caetano who imprisoned Arriaga and rewarded Spínola by appointing him Deputy Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces. This promotion would however be short-lived; following the furore caused by Spínola's book *Portugal and the Future*, which indicated that the wars in Portugal's African colonies could not be ended by military means alone but also required reform at home, both Spínola and his superior Costa Gomes were dismissed in March 1974.

After the Armed Forces Movement's bloodless coup which overthrew Caetano on the 25th April, Spínola was appointed President of the seven-man Junta of National Salvation on 15th May. However, after rumours of his involvement in a planned simultaneous counter-coup in Lisbon and Luanda scheduled for the 28th September, Spínola and other conservatives were dismissed on 30th September, and Kaulza de Arriaga and three former Caetano ministers were detained. Spínola's supporters then went underground; Spínolist Army officers with experience of counter-insurgency with the FNLA in Angola joined with former agents of Salazar's dismantled intelligence and security service PIDE to form a clandestine army, the

ELP or Army for the Liberation of Portugal. With its cover blown and its offices and archives seized by the Armed Forces Movement, Aginter Press also took up the fight within the ELP: Guérin-Sérac and his lieutenant Jay Salby were prominent ELP commanders. Other partners of Aginter Press included members of Movimento Independente para a Reconstrução Nacional (MIRN), a group set up by Arriaga after his release from prison. Spínola and the ELP made a second coup attempt on 11th March, 1975, which also failed, and Spínola was forced to flee Portugal.

In exile in Switzerland, Spínola founded the MDLP (Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Portugal), a coalition of former Caetano officials and members of the ELP. Throughout 1975, whilst the ELP carried out several hundred bomb attacks in Portugal to destabilize the government of the left-wing Armed Forces Movement, Spínola travelled around Europe, seeking support for a putsch, should the Left win the Parliamentary elections to be held on 25th April, 1976, the second anniversary of the 1974 revolution. After meeting the CIA's Frank Carlucci in the US base at Torrejon in Spain at the beginning of August, Spínola travelled to Bonn where he met a key contact: Franz Josef Strauss, who also arranged for Spínola to meet a friend with international influence in the field of finance, **Hermann Josef Abs**. Abs, described by David Rockefeller as "the leading banker of the world", was a former head of the Deutsche Bank who also served as a close adviser to Chancellor Adenauer.

Abs had been head of the Deutsche Bank from 1940 to 1945. The Deutsche Bank was the Nazis' bank throughout the war; Abs was in effect Hitler's paymaster. Abs was also on the Board of chemicals conglomerate I. G. Farben and participated at company Board meetings when members discussed the use of slave labour at a Farben rubber factory located in the Auschwitz concentration camp (230). The Deutsche Bank's collaboration with the Nazi regime did not lead to a purge of its staff; after the war, Abs continued on the Board of the bank, serving as spokesman for the Board from 1957 to 1967 before being appointed Honorary Chairman of the Board in 1976.

Besides his banking activities, Abs was also one of the key German partners of Dr Joseph Retinger in his efforts to set up the CIA-funded European Movement and the Bilderberg group. Abs was one of the two leaders of the German section of the Independent League for Economic Cooperation, one of the five organisations that made up the European Movement (231). Abs was also one of the founding members of the Bilderberg group, having served on the 1952 organisation committee with Pinay, Voisin, Ball and Bonvoisin. The friendship between Abs and Strauss dated back to at least the mid-1950s when the two men met at meetings of the Bilderberg group; Strauss, then Nuclear Power Minister, had attended the Bilderberg conference in Garmisch-Partenkirchen in September 1955. One year before the 1975 meeting between Abs, Strauss and Spínola, Abs and Strauss had both attended the 1974 Bilderberg conference held in April in Megèze, France (232)*. Abs was also a longstanding member of CEDI; together with Strauss, Abs attended the XIth CEDI Congress in 1963 (233)*. Together with AESP and CEDI member von Merkatz, Abs

was a member of CEDI's informal German section, the Europäisches Institut für politische, wirtschaftliche und soziale Fragen (European Institute for political, economic and social issues).

After his meeting with Abs, Spínola moved on to Paris, where he met a representative of the arms company Merex, founded in 1966 by former SS Colonel Gerhard Mertens, a colleague of Otto Skorzeny, the Nazi commando in exile in Spain who was a major rallying point for European fascism. Besides its links to the extreme Right, Merex also had a close working relationship with the BND (234). In Paris, Spínola also had the opportunity of soliciting the support of Western intelligence agencies for his planned coup, meeting the CIA Head of Station Eugen Burgstaller and attending as guest of honour a meeting organized at the Paris Sheraton by Colonel Lageneste, in charge of SDECE foreign relations (235). The Sheraton meeting was in fact a major conference bringing together all the anti-communist forces in Portugal; amongst those present were Spínola, CDS party leader **Freitas do Amaral**, Manuel Allegre of the Portuguese Socialist Party and Jorge Jardim, leader of the Portuguese colonists in Mozambique, who would later also meet top Cercle members at the 1976 CEDI Congress. Amaral also had close links to the Cercle, as a letter from Habsburg to Damman of 29th August, 1975 shows:

"I sent replies to your previous letters via Pöcking [the Archduke's Bavarian residence] because of my trip to Portugal during which - for good reasons - I didn't dare to write or even take notes. I had very interesting contacts, particularly with the leadership of the CDS, who deserve our support. I am planning to bring their leaders - this is highly confidential - Amaro da Costa and Freitas do Amaral to Bavaria in the second half of September. In the meanwhile, I have suggested to Mr. Strauss that we should set up Portugal Support Committees, whose aim would be to give moral and financial support to the freedom forces in Portugal. We should act as the Communists did in relation to Vietnam in organizing public demonstrations, collections, appeals and support groups formed by intellectuals, etc. I hope that Strauss will accept the idea. I don't see why the Communists should be the only ones to support their friends or why we should practice non-intervention" (236)*.

By the end of September, Spínola was in Lausanne where he met John McCone, a former director of the CIA who then worked for ITT; ITT promised \$300,000 for Spínola's putsch. Despite the support of several foreign intelligence services and pledges of several hundred thousand dollars from ITT and other multinationals, Spínola's plans were wrecked just before the April, 1976 elections by investigative journalist Günter Walraff who, posing as a right-wing militant, had tape-recorded Spínola's conversations about his plans for a putsch (237).

In Spain, the death of Caudillo Franco in November 1975 set a challenge for the Cercle: could the "Portuguese disease" be prevented? From 1975 to 1977, Strauss channelled clandestine funds to a trio of former Franco Ministers who led parties within the Alianza Popular (AP) coalition, founded in October 1976. We have already

met the most important of the three, AP's founder and President from 1976 until 1986: **Manuel Fraga Iribarne**, Franco's Information Minister from 1962 to 1969, Crozier's contact since 1965, and AESP member from 1970 on. From 1973 until Franco's death, Fraga Iribarne would serve as Spanish Ambassador in London; he would receive a personal visit there from President Pinay as part of Pinay's 1975 European tour to promote the ISC. After Franco's death, Fraga Iribarne returned to Spain in December 1975 to serve in the first post-Franco government as Vice-President of the Government and Interior Minister, and to join the eight-man committee that drafted the 1978 Constitution.

The second Strauss beneficiary was **Federico Silva Muñoz**, Public Works Minister from 1965 to 1970, prominent member of Opus Dei, leader of Accion Democratica Espanola and first President of Fraga's AP coalition. The third recipient of CSU funds was **Cruz Martinez Esteruelas**, President of the Union Democratica del Pueblo Espanol, who had served in Franco's last two cabinets as Planning and Development Minister in 1973 and Education and Science Minister in 1974. All three were given generous covert funding by Strauss: in 1977, Fraga Iribarne received at least DM 135,000, and Silva Muñoz and Martinez Esteruelas DM 100,000 each. Fraga Iribarne had had an opportunity that year to discuss funding with Strauss; the two men met in April 1977 at the Bilderberg conference organized in Torquay by Sir Frederic Bennett.

Strauss's support for Fraga Iribarne would continue well into the 1980s via their respective party foundations:

"In 1986, like its sister foundation the [CDU's] Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, the [CSU's] Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung would choose the same path for backdoor funding of its activities in favour of the Contras. On the 6-7th October 1986, a seminar on Latin America with representatives from the Contras was held in Geneva, organized by the Institut Economique de Paris which has close links with the Heritage Foundation. The conference was sponsored amongst others by the Fundacion Canovas [del] Castillo, politically close to the right-wing conservative Alianza Popular. The former President of Alianza Popular - Manuel Fraga Iribarne - is not only an old friend of Strauss and his CSU, but also a well-known right-wing radical in Spain. The Fundacion Canovas [del] Castillo is supported by the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung, which benefits the Alianza Popular. In 1985 the German Federal Ministry for Cooperation [which gives funds to party foundations like the HSS] approved a grant of 5 million DM to the HSS for the Madrid foundation" (238)*.

THE AESP, VDB AND PIO

Whilst Strauss was funding Franco friends in Spain, and AESP associates Crozier and Grau were organizing seminars on subversion in Britain and in Switzerland, the Belgian members of the AESP were active on the domestic front: Defence Minister and AESP member Paul Vanden Boeynants (VdB) and his adviser

de Bonvoisin set up a military counter-subversion and propaganda service, the **Public Information Office** or PIO. PIO was headed by a longstanding associate of VdB and de Bonvoisin, **Major Jean-Marie Bougerol**. Bougerol would be a central figure in Belgian parapolitics implicated in previous coup plots: the 1976 Gendarmerie report by Roger Tratsaert stated that one of the plans for a coup d'état in 1973 was jointly organized by the NEM Clubs (funded by VdB and de Bonvoisin) and a group of gendarmes and Army officers centred around Bougerol.

PIO's genesis - and that of the coup plots in Belgium and elsewhere - lay in the political upheaval in America and Europe at the end of the 1960s. By 1970, the Army had become seriously concerned by the "internal threat" posed by the anti-Vietnam movement and the students' movement after 1968. Moves to create the Army's own counter-subversion agency bore fruit in April 1970, when Chief of General Staff **Lt-General Georges Vivario** (by 1973, part of an AESP delegation) together with **Colonel Paul Detrembleur** established the Division des Services Spéciaux (DSD) as an independent unit reporting directly to the Minister of Defence. The unit, headed by a general, brought together members of the Minister's office and representatives from the General Staff of the Army and the Gendarmerie. Composed of five sections, the DSD's specific task was to counter "protest and subversive propaganda". Part of its task was to set up a "Speakers Bureau", a pool of military personnel trained as media representatives for public debates, television appearances, etc - this bureau would later give birth to PIO. Despite press uproar and the resignation of the Deputy Chief to the General Staff in protest, the creation of the DSD went ahead.

New impetus was given to the DSD's work in 1972-73 when the new Defence Minister, VdB, introduced reforms of the Army including a plan for the "military defence of the territory" (DMT) designed to counter leftist/pacifist influence by a dramatic reinforcement of the Gendarmerie and greater involvement for the Army and reserve officers in counter-subversion work. Faced with massive student protests in early 1973 against the DMT plan and a tightening of military service rules, the Army hardened its stance; in a "study on objectivity and the media" dated 13th September, 1973, Lt-Col. Weber, head of Counter-Information in the Belgian military intelligence service **SDRA** (239)*, wrote in apocalyptic terms of the threat to freedom and democracy posed by professional agitators within the media and the peace movement, and urged the creation of a permanent group within the SDRA to combat subversion. Weber's study came at a critical moment: in mid-August, the Press had reported the existence of a planned coup. Three days before Weber wrote his study, the Gendarmerie General Staff received Major de Cock's report alleging links between VdB, de Bonvoisin and the NEM Clubs (240). Weber's report and similar concerns within the Army General Staff led to a decision in 1974 to strengthen the Army's counter-subversion and propaganda rôles by creating the Public Information Office PIO, headed by Major Bougerol, as an autonomous group within the Army General Staff.

Despite its independent status, PIO had considerable links to the SDRA: Bougerol claims he was given the use of an office within the Counter-Information

section of SDRA in 1974-75 whilst he was setting up PIO, and one of his closest collaborators was **Commissioner Fagnart** of the Military Security section of SDRA. PIO's official mission was twofold: firstly, to expose Soviet disinformation in the media, largely through the publication of a press review called *Inforep*. PIO's second task was to act as a clearing-house for information on subversion, distributing information to the Army, the Gendarmerie, the **Sûreté de l'Etat** - Belgium's internal security agency, and the Foreign Ministry Security Division. Unofficially, Bougerol used PIO to mount the same kind of aggressive counter-intelligence programmes that the FBI had been conducting against the Left, the peace movement and the American Indian movement in America from 1969 until at least 1976 (241). It is probably no coincidence that PIO's title - unusual for being in English in the original - copied FBI jargon:

"PIO (Public Information Officer): the FBI classification for the agent whose speciality is providing intentionally inaccurate "facts" (disinformation) to the media; the FBI counterpart to the military psychological operations (psy-ops) specialist" (242).

Amongst PIO's operations were organized sabotage of left-wing conferences, promotion of groups favourable to the Army, and seminars on Soviet subversion. Through such operations, Bougerol set up a network of unofficial correspondents baptised the **Miller network**, a pseudonym he used when writing for Belgian newspapers. The 445 known correspondents were a gathering of officers from the Sûreté, the SDRA, the Gendarmerie and police, members of the EEC's security department, militants from the NEM Clubs and other fascist groups, private "security operatives" and innocent or not so innocent journalists (243)*.

To gain experience of counter-intelligence and propaganda operations, Bougerol went on a European tour in 1976, visiting Northern Ireland, Spain, Portugal, Italy, France and Holland. In several of these countries, Bougerol was hosted by AESP contacts. It is likely that during his visit to the UK, Bougerol had the opportunity of meeting Brian Crozier and the AESP's partners at the ISC - as we will see in the next chapter, Bougerol, de Bonvoisin and Crozier had already met in February 1976 at the AESP's IXth Chapter Assembly and would meet again in December that year at the CEDI Congress. Bearing in mind that SDRA Commissioner Fagnart's 1978 letter, quoted in full below, warned Bougerol "we could imagine another danger ... if there was a leak about the Saud affair or the affairs concerning Formosa, Spain or the UK", it would be interesting to know what Bougerol was up to in the UK. The AESP also provided Bougerol with a host for his visit to Italy the same year: Ivan Matteo Lombardo (244), present at the Parco dei Principi birth of the strategy of tension in 1965, a member of the AESP since 1970 and implicated in the 1974 Sogno coup only two years earlier.

The mention of Formosa in SDRA Commissioner Fagnart's 1978 letter refers to another 1976 trip, this time to Taiwan for training in psychological warfare and counter-information. In this context, it is interesting to note that the Political Warfare

Cadres Academy in Peitou (Taiwan), which trained counter-subversion forces for many of the Latin American death-squad states, had extremely close links to WACL who both prospected for business for the Academy and recruited WACL members from the ranks of Academy graduates (245). The Academy has in fact had the closest links with both WACL and the CIA since its foundation: the Academy co-founders were Chiang Kai Shek's son and **Ray S. Cline**, CIA Chief of Station in Taipei from 1958 to 1962. During this period, Cline was also a channel for financial and logistical support for the founding meeting of WACL in 1958. Cline would rise to become CIA Deputy Director of Intelligence from 1962 to 1966, and, after resigning from the CIA in 1969, would serve as Director of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR) at the State Department, where he contributed considerably to the anti-Allende operations of 1973, the year which saw his official retirement from intelligence work. The interconnections between the Peitou Academy, WACL, the CIA, Cline and Bougerol seem all the more significant in the light of a reference by Cline in a 1992 BBC interview about Gladio to "the counter-insurgency training given to the Belgian Major Jean-Marie Bougerol and his men in the US" in the early 1970s (246).

Whatever Cline's possible links to Bougerol and PIO in the early 1970s, the CIA veteran and the PIO chief would later share a common friend who did much to help PIO - the American disinformationist of Belgian descent, **Arnaud de Borchgrave**. Arnaud, Comte de Borchgrave d'Altena, sixteenth in line to the Belgian throne, started his "journalistic" career after the war as a correspondent of *Europe-Amerique*, forerunner of the *Nouvel Europe Magazine* subsidized by Bougerol's political master Benoît de Bonvoisin. By 1960, de Borchgrave was a Senior Editor at *Newsweek*, staying with the magazine for twenty years. During this period, de Borchgrave played a key rôle in the genesis of PIO; as Bougerol recalled in an interview (247), it was de Borchgrave who, in the early 1970s, introduced Bougerol to PIO's future patron, Benoît de Bonvoisin. According to a May 1981 Sûreté report on de Bonvoisin's contacts in Paris, de Borchgrave also allegedly acted as an intermediary between de Bonvoisin and the CIA (248).

In the late 1970s, de Borchgrave was one of PIO's prized foreign press contacts; when PIO chartered a plane to fly journalists to the Zairean province of Shaba in 1978, the plane had to wait on the tarmac for one late VIP - de Borchgrave. De Borchgrave subsequently filed reports for *Newsweek* alleging Cuban involvement in the Katangese invasion of Shaba; Moss drew attention to de Borchgrave's *Newsweek* articles in a piece he wrote for the Washington-based *Policy Review* in its Summer 1978 issue (249). De Borchgrave and Moss were already longstanding friends; they had met in 1972 when de Borchgrave, in hiding in London after writing an article on Black September for *Newsweek*, asked to meet a specialist on subversion (250). The meeting would herald the beginning of a long partnership between the two men which would reach its peak in the 1980s.

De Borchgrave would also benefit from close contacts with SDECE chief Alexandre de Marenches, who, when asked where would be an interesting place to spend the Christmas of 1979, advised de Borchgrave to go to Afghanistan. De

Borchgrave was one of the few Western journalists on the spot during the Soviet invasion (251). De Borchgrave would be fired as *Newsweek* Paris bureau chief in 1980 after he was discovered to have been building files on his colleagues for several years. At the time, he was working with Robert Moss on the first of two notorious disinformation novels, *The Spike* and *Monimbo*, filled with plots of Soviet subversion launched with the assistance of the Sandinista government in Nicaragua and the complicity of left-wing journalists in Europe.

In 1985, de Borchgrave would become editor-in-chief of the Moonies' newspaper, the *Washington Times*. The Moonies would be a forum for cooperation between de Borchgrave and Cline: Cline was on the Editorial Board of *The World and I*, the Moonies' monthly edited by de Borchgrave. De Borchgrave was a former Board member of the Moonies' US Global Strategy Council, chaired by Cline in the late 1980s. Cline and de Borchgrave also shared a platform with William Casey as speakers at a special conference series on intelligence held at the Ashbrook Center, Ohio in 1986, one of Casey's last public appearances before his death in May 1987. At this time, de Borchgrave was working with Moss and John Rees of the John Birch Society in a "risk analysis" company, Mid-Atlantic Research Associates (MARA); the three also edited a monthly private intelligence report called *Early Warning* (252)*.

To return to PIO, from the outset, Bougerol used his earlier contacts with the extreme Right for PIO operations. As part of his counter-subversion work, Bougerol gave lectures to reserve officers, many of whom were recruited as PIO agents. One of the reserve officers' clubs at which Bougerol lectured was the Brabant Reserve Officers' Club (BROC), which in 1975 was given the task of bolstering the patriotism of other reserve officers' clubs. BROC's members included not only AESP member Baron Bernard de Marcken de Merken and Colonel Paul Detrembleur, who helped set up the DSD and would later head the SDRA from 1981 to 1984 at the height of the strategy of tension in Belgium, but also **Paul Latinus**, the Belgian *delle Chiaie*, protégé of de Bonvoisin. A former leader of the Front de la Jeunesse financed by de Bonvoisin, Latinus would later emerge as commander of the fascist parallel intelligence service **Westland New Post** (WNP), a key component in Belgian parapolitics in the 1980s covered in detail in a later chapter. According to Sûreté sources, Latinus was recruited into PIO by Bougerol in 1977; in his testimony to the Belgian Parliament's Gladio Inquiry, Bougerol at least admitted having met Latinus (253).

Bougerol's contacts with the extreme Right also extended to de Bonvoisin's other protégé, veteran fascist putschist Emile Lecerf, editor of the *Nouvel Europe Magazine*, and to future WNP militant Michel Libert, who was introduced to Bougerol by Lecerf. Bougerol and Lecerf were not only personal friends; Bougerol also gave lectures on subversion to the NEM Clubs. These close links between de Bonvoisin's protégés Latinus and Lecerf and Bougerol's PIO are not surprising in the light of the considerable support given to Bougerol by de Bonvoisin, political adviser to Defence Minister VdB under whose jurisdiction PIO fell. De Bonvoisin had already provided PIO with much of its logistic structure and would play an ever-increasing part in the

running of PIO in the late 1970s. PIO's offices were located in the same building which housed CEPIC, the political ginger group run by VdB and de Bonvoisin; de Bonvoisin's company **PDG** was also housed at the same address and ensured the printing of the PIO press review *Inforep*. From 1976 onwards, PDG contributed more than a million Belgian francs a year to PIO, which received total external funding of some 600,000 Belgian francs a month. De Bonvoisin exerted increasing influence on PIO; by early 1980 the editorial team producing PIO's *Inforep* consisted of Emile Lecerf and Jacques Van den Bemden, drawn from the other PDG beneficiary, the neo-nazi magazine *Nouvel Europe Magazine*. The PIO/PDG operation was finally blown in May 1981 when the CEPIC/MAUE/PDG/PIO building was raided as a result of a Sûreté note about de Bonvoisin's patronage of fascist groups. It quickly became apparent that PIO's files had been transferred wholesale to PDG.

Apart from this funding of PIO by de Bonvoisin and the links that Bougerol had with Detrembleur and AESP member de Marcken within the reserve officers club BROCC, Bougerol also had frequent direct contacts with the leadership of the AESP and the Cercle. The first trace we find of direct links between the AESP and Bougerol dates from February 1976 when Bougerol attended the IXth Chapter Assembly of the AESP together with many of the Cercle's international contacts.

THE ACADEMY IN 1976

On the 6th February, 1976, the AESP held its XIXth Grand Dîner Charlemagne in the Hotel Métropole in Brussels, before meeting the next day in the more private setting of the Cercle des Nations club for the IXth Chapter Assembly of the AESP, devoted to the subject "After Helsinki" - the Helsinki Final Accord had been signed in July 1975. The attendance lists of these two events give us an overview of the Academy's contacts and of their preoccupations. Besides continuing its work on the theme of free movement of persons and ideas linked to the Helsinki Conference on Security and cooperation in Europe, the Academy was a vocal advocate of the Doomsday message that the Third World War had already begun and was being lost by the West, passively submitting to a war of Soviet subversion corrupting the very pillars of Western civilization. Under the title "Are we at war?", Damman's editorial on the front page of the January 1976 issue of the AESP/MAUE journal *Europe Information* which announced the Charlemagne Grand Dinner and the AESP Chapter Assembly opened with the words:

"One would have to be blind not to notice that the Third World War is in full swing with a new weapon of extraordinary power, acting upon the spirit, the intellect and morale: subversion, slowly contaminating all sectors of society and all regions of the world, is gaining the upper hand because we refuse to confront it head on. All of our political parties including the Communist Party are infiltrated by the agents of Soviet imperialism which has never renounced its goal of world hegemony. The West is still unaware of the power of the subversive forces infiltrating every organisation under the most varied

disguises, both in Europe and America and in the countries of the Third World. The Atlantic Alliance ignores this tactical weapon following an extraordinary reasoning which has led it since the end of the last World War to surrender on all fronts to Soviet imperialism ... Soviet imperialism has in the Western camp a gigantic and ever-active organisation, skilfully structured to maintain anarchy and confusion where they are needed, studied in exact detail to confuse the mind and stoke antagonism. We have become puppets, and it is our enemies who pull the strings".

This apocalyptic vision of the West slowly being strangled by the invisible forces of Soviet subversion fits entirely with the philosophy of intelligence-backed counter-subversion and disinformation operations such as the ISC, the *Monde Moderne* and PIO, all three of which were represented at the 1976 XIXth Charlemagne Grand Dinner and the subsequent IXth Chapter Assembly of the AESP: the list of participants includes Crozier from the ISC, Vigneau and Leguèbe from the *Monde Moderne*, and Benoît de Bonvoisin and "Major de Bougerolle" from PIO (254)*. This would be the first of at least two occasions for the Cercle's counter-subversion propagandists to meet in 1976; as we will see in a subsequent chapter, the same people would meet again at the 25th CEDI Congress in December.

At the February AESP gathering, the Belgian Academy team were fully represented by Damman, de Merken, Jonet, Vankerkhoven and de Villegas. Also attending were two longstanding AESP members whom we have not yet met, **Vincent Van den Bosch** and **Bernard Mercier**. Van den Bosch was another key partner of Damman's, serving not only as International Secretary-General of CEDI but also as a member of the AESP Permanent Delegation, and Secretary-General of Damman's MAUE. Mercier, an Academy member, served on the Board of the Conservative ginger group CEPIC alongside Benoît de Bonvoisin and AESP members Vanden Boeynants and Vankerkhoven.

Although Jean Violet was not present, most of his closest associates from France were in attendance: Collet, Vallet, Father Dubois and Picard of Wilton Park. The Academy's German members, Dumont de Voitel and von Merkat, were there, bringing along the CDU Vice-President of the German Parliament, **Kai-Uwe von Hassel**, who had served as the CDU's Deputy Chairman from 1956 to 1969 and had been Regional Prime Minister for Schleswig-Holstein from 1954 to 1963. Following the 1962 *Spiegel* Affair, von Hassel replaced the disgraced Strauss as Defence Minister in 1963, a post he held until 1966 when he was appointed Minister for Expellees, Refugees and War Victims in the Grand Coalition Cabinet in which Strauss was Finance Minister. In 1969, von Hassel replaced Eugen Gerstenmaier as President of the German Parliament, serving until the SPD's victory in 1972 when he became CDU Vice-President of the Parliament, a post he filled until 1976. He would remain a CDU MP until 1980. Von Hassel would also represent Germany in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe from 1977 to 1981. The roll-call of core Academy members was brought to a close by Pons of the PEU and Sanchez Bella of CEDI.

However, it is the Italian connections of the AESP that are the most fascinating. The former high-ranking P2 member **Giancarlo Elia Valori** attended both the Charlemagne Grand Dinner and the AESP Chapter Assembly; he would become a member of the AESP's organising core, the Permanent Delegation, the following year. His presence is particularly interesting in the light of the allegations concerning P7 - two of the Academy members allegedly involved in P7, Pons and Töttösy, were also at these meetings with Valori. Valori's attendance at Academy events from 1972 on also points to possible connections between the sniffer plane scandal and P2. Most of the key members in the sniffer plane negotiations were present at the 1976 Grand Diner and Chapter Assembly with Valori: de Villegas, Father Dubois and Vallet. Vallet and de Villegas would join Valori on the AESP Permanent Delegation by 1977. At the time of these February 1976 AESP events, final agreements were being reached with Elf; the contract between de Villegas' Fisalma and Elf would be signed at the end of May, saving the Cercle Pinay complex from financial ruin, as described in the next chapter.

Valori and Lombardo already provided the AESP with high-calibre contacts to P2 and the group involved in the 1974 Sogno coup. A new face at the February gathering strengthened the Academy's links to Italian politics and to the Sogno coup: former Minister **Giovanni Malagodi**, a participant at the Bilderbergers' inaugural conference in May 1954 (255). Sogno had fought Communism during the war as a contact of the British secret service; in 1953, he was one of the founders of the Italian section of Peace and Freedom, a ferociously anti-communist propaganda group whose Belgian section was run by the Chevalier de Roover (256). President of the Liberal International, Malagodi was the President of the Italian Liberal Party PLI and an influential member of the PLI's Sogno faction in 1974 when Sogno, a future member of P2, was insisting that a coup of "liberal" inspiration was necessary to save Italy from Communism. The "liberal coup" that Sogno proposed was scheduled for August 1974 and included the capture of the Presidential Palace, the dissolution of Parliament and the nomination of a government of technocrats, but the plan was aborted shortly beforehand.

Despite the failure of their plan, the Sogno fraction continued to insist that the rise of Communism threatened the very basis of the Italian State. One month after the planned Sogno coup, in September 1974, Malagodi participated in the 7th Study Conference of the PLI's youth group along with **Manlio Brosio**, a former Secretary-General of NATO and former Italian Defence Minister, who had been responsible for the post-war organisation of the Italian intelligence community and the establishment of SIFAR (257)*. At the September conference, Brosio declared that only communism - and not fascism - presented an immediate danger to stability in Italy. The judicial inquiry into the Sogno coup was blocked in November 1974 by the death of the main witness, secret service Colonel Giuseppe Condo. Condo, aged 42, died of a "heart attack" a week before magistrates were due to question him. Sogno and one of his co-conspirators were arrested on charges of attempting a coup d'état in 1976, but this second inquiry failed to get to the bottom of the coup plans because of the State secrecy imposed on documents showing foreign support for Sogno's plans (258)*.

CASH CRISIS AND THE SNIFFER PLANES

In the midst of such international networking, the Cercle Pinay went through a severe financial crisis. The main source of funding for the Cercle had been Carlo Pesenti, who had also financed the launch of de Villegas' sniffer plane project. However, threatened by takeovers from P2 financier Michele Sindona, Pesenti was forced to make drastic cuts in his funding of Violet. Pesenti was able to beat back Sindona's offensive with the help of Philippe de Weck, Director of UBS Zürich and administrator of de Villegas' sniffer plane company Fisalma. The Bank of Italy investigated Pesenti after de Weck helped him to stave off Sindona: "the inspectors went through the books of the banks of Pesenti, exposing the dubious means by which he had extricated himself from Sindona's grip" (259).

This was not the first time Pesenti had been raided by Sindona; Sindona's 1968 attempt to take over Pesenti's empire permanently weakened Pesenti's finances. Obligated to borrow money from his own three banks to buy Sindona out, Pesenti was later forced to sell off those banks one by one to settle his debts. Pesenti also shored up his indebted Italmobiliare group by substantial borrowings from Banco Ambrosiano and its various Italian offshoots, secured by large blocks of shares in companies controlled by Pesenti. Another of Pesenti's suspect dealings later to be investigated was "a curious 50 billion lire loan granted to Pesenti in 1972 - apparently by the IOR - and indexed to the Swiss franc. The latter's appreciation meant that the sum eventually reimbursed was 185 billion lire. A decade after that loan was signed, magistrates in Milan were still unsure whether the Vatican Bank had excogitated a brilliant deal, or whether it had acted as a 'fiduciary' once more, this time for an irregular capital export by Pesenti" (260). Pesenti used the loan capital to buy shares from Roberto Calvi, head of the Banco Ambrosiano, but kept the loan off Italmobiliare's books until 1979 when it fell due. This led some Italmobiliare shareholders to challenge the very existence of the loan, believing that Pesenti was under pressure to pay the vast sum to IOR for other unspecified reasons. The case wound up in court but was not resolved before Pesenti's death in 1984 (261)*.

Following Sindona's attack on Pesenti's financial empire and Pesenti's reduction of funds to the Cercle, the Cercle went through a disastrous cash crisis, above all in the light of the ambitious scope of its operations. Violet's cassette message to Damman of 31st March, 1976 was so serious that, despite specific instructions to the contrary, Damman transcribed it in full:

"Considerable financial difficulties mainly due to the storm on the lira. The situation that has arisen has led to people cancelling their contributions, having to submit to a *fait accompli*.

Closure of the Centre du Monde Moderne and probably of the *Bulletin de Paris*.

With these limited means, the keystone to any action is money. I will devote myself to setting up structures of financial groups so as to essentially develop the Academy and all that revolves around it, as well as the London group [the ISC], and set up Edicercle on a serious basis, and launch the Bible-prisoners operation on that basis ... we will ensure the vital minimum for the Academy which is a priority" (262)*.

On the 16th April, Damman received another cassette from Violet, which this time he only partially transcribed: "Search for backers in progress. Meeting in Paris end of May/beginning of June" (263). The timing and the mention of backers allows us to make an almost certain connection to the negotiations taking place between Elf, the French state oil company, and Fisalma, the sniffer plane company set up by de Villegas, represented by de Weck of UBS and assisted by Violet. Elf had been testing the sniffer planes for some time and was now interested in acquiring exclusive rights over the invention. At the meetings with Elf, de Villegas was accompanied by the "inner circle" of Pinay members: not only Violet, but also Pinay himself and Father Dubois frequently participated. The contract between Elf and Fisalma was signed on 29th May, 1976, and the meeting between Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, Elf President Pierre Guillaumat, and Pinay, representing Violet, was held on 2nd June.

For exclusive rights over the invention for a period of one year, Elf undertook to make four quarterly payments of 50 million Swiss francs to Fisalma, the first scheduled for the 15th June, the second for 15th October. The Cercle's financial situation dramatically improved after the key discussion between Pinay and the French President. On 8th October, Violet sent another cassette to Damman, this time much more optimistic about funding for the AESP: "Good perspectives for 1977. The President [Antoine Pinay] and a group of friends. Essential resources. Modifications to means". Damman replied to the good news from Violet on 13th October: "I was very happy to receive your cassette message guaranteeing funding for the Academy for 1977 ... my warmest thanks for the essential minimum you have provided us with, we will do the rest" (264).

THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Shortly after attending the Academy's Grand Dinner and Chapter Assembly in Brussels in February 1976, Brian Crozier would launch a new regrouping of British Cercle friends, the **Foreign Affairs Research Institute** (265)*. The new geopolitical institute brought together under one roof the disinformation assets of the ISC and top Conservative politicians in the Thatcherite NAFF and SIF who had worked with BOSS to oppose demonstrations against sporting links with South Africa. FARI appears to have been the British-based counterpart to the Centre d'Etudes du Monde Moderne, the Cercle's Parisian pro-Pretoria outfit. As had been the case with the Centre du Monde Moderne, it was the South Africans who footed the bill for FARI, providing £85,000 a year for several years; South Africa continued to finance FARI until at least

1981 (266). Funding for FARI was reportedly also forthcoming from the Lockheed and General Dynamics corporations.

In terms of personalities, FARI represented a coming together of Stewart-Smith's groups (the Foreign Affairs Circle and the Foreign Affairs Publishing Company, publisher and distributor for the UK counter-subversion lobby and SOI) with Crozier's NAFF and ISC. The President of FARI was Bilderberger Sir Frederic Bennett, a member of SIF and NAFF; the FARI Director was Geoffrey Stewart-Smith; the Deputy Director was Ian Greig, the Chairman of the Monday Club Subversion Committee and probable contact of Damman's since 1973. On the Council of FARI we find the inseparable duo of Crozier and Moss of the ISC, NAFF and Shield, who also brought along Air Vice-Marshal Stuart Menaul, an ISC Council member. Michael Ivens of Aims, SIF and NAFF also joined the FARI Council.

The political support FARI enjoyed is illustrated by the Council membership of four top Conservatives whom we have met before – Thatcher's leadership campaign manager and Shadow Minister for Northern Ireland Airey Neave and his deputy John Biggs-Davison of SIF and NAFF who at this time was Chairman of the Monday Club. Also on the FARI Council were Julian Amery, Lord Chalfont and **Colonel Ronald Wareing**, a former MI6 agent in Portugal and an associate of G. K. Young's within Unison (267)*.

FARI continued publication of Stewart-Smith's previous fortnightly bulletin *East-West Digest*, distributed free to all British MPs, and cooperated with the ISC and FAPC's foreign associates, notably Interdoc and Dr Peter Sager's Swiss SOI (268). Working in partnership with FARI, the ISC continued their campaign in favour of South Africa with a total ISC budget for 1976 of over £30,000. In June 1976, Peter Janke visited Swaziland to speak at a conference organized by a South African Department of Information front group, the Foreign Affairs Association; at the conference, "Janke of the Institute of the Study of Conflict in London stressed the importance of South Africa's minerals to the West and dangers of the Soviet threat" (269). The same theme was echoed by Grau's Frankfurt Study Group, which published a brochure called *Südafrikas strategische Bedeutung für die Rohstoffversorgung des Westens* (South Africa's Strategic Significance for the West's Supply of Commodities), stating: "The cutting-off of contacts between South Africa and the industrialized countries of the West as the result of a Soviet Navy blockade or as a result of the fall of the current South African government and its replacement by a Communist or Communist-influenced government would leave the West entirely defenceless" (270). July 1976 saw the publication of a Conflict Study by Janke, *Southern Africa: New Horizons*. At the same time, FARI prepared an edited version of the Swaziland conference speeches for distribution to "persons of influence". The ISC followed this in November with another Conflict Study, *Soviet Strategic Penetration of Africa* by David Rees. A further project to support South Africa in 1976 was *The Angolan File*, a South African television "documentary" which attacked the Americans for pulling out of Angola. The programme, broadcast on South African television, had been produced by the South African Directorate of Military Intelligence (DMI), who had

commissioned Crozier of ISC/FARI to write the script (271).

Besides its defence of apartheid, FARI was also active in domestic politics in the UK, one of the major propaganda themes being the laxity of the Labour government in dealing with a "Soviet-dominated" IRA. On three occasions between August and September 1976, the two Conservative spokesmen for Northern Ireland, Neave and Biggs-Davison, both FARI Council members, used IRD disinformation to attack the "failure" of the Labour government to combat the "Czech and Cuban agents stoking revolution in Northern Ireland". The source of this disinformation was Colin Wallace of the Information Policy Unit in Northern Ireland. In 1974-75, Infpol was being pressured by MI5, rival to MI6 for control of the province, to go beyond black propaganda against the IRA and to turn its disinformation capability to the themes of KGB penetration of the Labour Party and Soviet manipulation of the IRA.

As mentioned above, in 1974 Wallace was tasked by MI5 to produce defamatory documents for press release on the basis of smears and analyses of political, sexual and financial vulnerabilities of several dozen Westminster MPs. When Wallace refused to participate in this operation codenamed Clockwork Orange 2 without guarantees of ministerial approval, MI5 arranged for his removal from the province and his dismissal from the Civil Service, a fate that befell other actors in the secret war who would not toe the MI5 line. With a broken career behind him, Wallace did not refuse when in 1976 Neave, Shadow Minister for Northern Ireland, proposed that Wallace work for him as a consultant. Part of Wallace's work consisted in providing the Neave-Biggs-Davison team with the information that Wallace had collated on Soviet subversion in Northern Ireland. Wallace has given the Press a letter addressed to him from Neave, written in August 1976, in which Neave asked specifically for a report that Wallace had prepared for Infpol, *Ulster - a State of Subversion*. This document of Wallace's was based on an unattributable IRD Press briefing called *Soviets Increase Control Over British Communists*. Neave then recycled the report's main allegations of Soviet subversion in Northern Ireland and KGB penetration of the Parliamentary Labour Party in a speech given in August. A few days later, FARI published a brochure written by Neave's deputy Biggs-Davison entitled *The strategic implications for the West of the international links of the IRA in Ireland*. The brochure was also based on the unattributable IRD briefing and made the same references to the alleged laxity of the Labour government in dealing with Soviet subversion in Northern Ireland. Neave would repeat the allegations in a second speech on 11th September, and the same theme of Soviet manipulation of the IRA would be featured in a Conservative Party Position Paper on Northern Ireland published later the same month (272).

THE MADRID MEETING

Three months later, in December 1976, CEDI held its 25th International Congress in Madrid, a second international gathering of Cercle contacts after the February Chapter Assembly of the AESP described above. The Madrid meeting

brought together most of the major characters we have met so far. Presiding over the Congress was Archduke Otto von Habsburg, assisted by two familiar faces: Alfredo Sanchez Bella and Hans-Joachim von Merkatz. The conference participants came from all over the world, showing the kind of international outreach CEDI and the Cercle enjoyed; besides more than one hundred Spanish delegates, some 120 foreign guests from Europe, America and South Africa gathered in Madrid. Of the national campaigns listed above, the CEDI Congress brought together the Cercle, the AESP/MAUE and PIO from Belgium, *Le Monde Moderne* from France, the ISC, Shield and FARI from Britain, the WISC from the US, one of the Portuguese financial backers of Spínola and the Aginter Press, election candidates from Spain and Portugal supported by the Cercle, and senior South African diplomats - a true reunion of the international Right and their friends with intelligence links.

From Belgium came CEDI's Secretary-General Vincent van den Bosch and his colleagues within the core of AESP/MAUE organizers: Florimond Damman, Aldo Mungo - the later whistle-blower, Paul Vankerhoven and Jacques Jonet. One new face from Belgium was Jean-Paul R. Preumont, Chairman of the Belgian Board of the European Movement, who would join the MAUE Board by 1979, completing the Belgian merger of the EM and the PEU.

Another significant figure attending a CEDI Congress for the first time - according to the documents at our disposal - was **Baron Benoît de Bonvoisin**, who, as at the February AESP Chapter Assembly, was accompanied by Major Bougerol, described in the participants' list as Head of the Public Information Office of the Army General Staff. At this time of course, PIO was in full swing; Bougerol had just completed his European tour, visiting AESP contacts and gathering experience in counter-subversion for use in PIO's Belgian operations. Bougerol's visit to Madrid was sensitive - in his 1978 letter to Bougerol warning him of the growing hostility in official circles to PIO's wide-ranging missions, Commissioner Fagnart of the Belgian military security service specifically mentioned the dangers of a leak concerning four dubious operations: the "Saud affair" and Bougerol's visits to Formosa, the UK and Spain. Bougerol came to the Madrid Congress in the company of CEPIC Senator Angèle Verdin and CEPIC Board member Bernard Mercier; the latter had also attended the February Chapter Assembly. Along with fellow CEPIC members de Bonvoisin and Vankerhoven, Mercier would also be implicated in the funding of the fascist NEM Clubs and the Front de la Jeunesse in the 1980s. Before arriving in Madrid, Bougerol, Mercier and Verdin had stopped off to pay their respects at the grave of the recently-deceased Caudillo Franco; Mercier wore a black shirt for the occasion.

A final important member of the Belgian delegation was Ernest Töttösy, the Hungarian WACL leader who, as we will see later, would be accused of being a member of P7, a covert CIA funding channel for Gelli's P2 lodge. Also present at the CEDI Congress was another alleged member of P7, the PEU International Secretary-General, Vittorio Pons from Lausanne. Pons was already increasing contact with the ISC at this stage: in September 1977, the ISC would publish a Conflict Study written

by Pons, *The Long-term Strategy of Italy's Communists*.

Ten Britons attended the CEDI Congress, four of whom were members of the Cercle Pinay itself. The first three were the key FARI Board members Crozier, Moss and Amery, who was accompanied by his former colleague in SOE's Albanian operations, Lord St Oswald (273)*. FARI had cause for celebration: the counter-subversion lobby's campaign against Harold Wilson had finally borne fruit in mid-March that year, when Wilson tendered his resignation and was succeeded by James Callaghan. The CEDI Congress also offered Crozier and Moss a second opportunity that year to meet the PIO team of Bougerol and de Bonvoisin. Bougerol had visited the UK earlier in the year and may well have also met Crozier and Moss then; if so, Commissioner Fagnart's 1978 warning to Bougerol about "the affair concerning the UK" is intriguing. Whatever the truth about possible FARI/PIO collaboration, Moss could reminisce with de Bonvoisin and Bougerol about a common friend, Arnaud de Borchgrave, who by 1976 was a prized PIO contact on the staff of *Newsweek*. Bougerol was no doubt keen to add Moss to his PIO Press list; as editor of the *Economist Foreign Report*, Moss would be a powerful relay for PIO's output.

Apart from Crozier, Moss and Amery, the fourth British Cercle member to attend the CEDI Congress was banker **Sir Peter Tennant** who, as Crozier records, would share the chairmanship of Cercle meetings with himself, Amery and Pesenti (274). Tennant was one of the earliest members of SOE, recruited in 1940 by Sir Charles Hambro, a later head of SOE in 1942-43. Tennant would work for SOE under the cover of Press Attaché at the British Embassy in Stockholm during the war before being sent as an Information Counsellor to the British Embassy in Paris from 1945 to 1950, where he may have had contacts with Antoine Pinay, soon to become French Premier. Tennant would then serve as Deputy Commandant of the British sector of Berlin from 1950 to 1952 before occupying various senior posts in the Federation and later Confederation of British Industry, acting as Director-General of the British National Export Council from 1965 to 1971. At the time of the CEDI Congress, Tennant was President of the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry and a longstanding adviser to Barclays' bank (275)*.

Besides Amery, two other Conservative MPs from the Monday Club attended the CEDI Congress. The first was **Sir Peter Agnew**, MP between 1931-1950 and again between 1955-1966. Agnew had sat on CEDI's Steering Committee since at least 1972; this CEDI Congress would be his last as CEDI International President, a post he had filled since 1974. The second Monday Clubber was **Sir John Rodgers**, CEDI International President from 1965 to 1967 and by 1976 CEDI Vice-President. Rodgers, MP for Sevenoaks from 1950 to 1979, had served with Biggs-Davison and Young on the SIF National Executive in 1970. Both Agnew and Rodgers would join Biggs-Davison as AESP Life Members by 1977.

From France came the Cercle core: Antoine Pinay himself, accompanied by Violet, Vallet and Father Dubois. Also attending was René-Louis Picard, whom we have met as President of the International Society of Wilton Park. A Swiss section of

Wilton Park had been set up earlier in 1976 and an Italian branch would be founded the following year. In 1978, Picard would join with three of the other 1976 CEDI Congress participants - Violet, Sanchez Bella and Jacques Jonet - to set up CLEW, the European Liaison Committee of Associations and Friends of Wilton Park.

The editorial team of the *Monde Moderne*, Jean Vigneau and Jacques Leguèbe, were also present at the 1976 CEDI Congress, giving the South African-backed propaganda outfit another opportunity that year to confer with their British sister organisation FARI, represented by the three FARI Board members Crozier, Moss and Amery. As we have seen, the *Monde Moderne* team had already met Crozier earlier at the beginning of 1976 at the AESP's Charlemagne Grand Dinner and Chapter Assembly when the PIO duo of de Bonvoisin and Bougerol were also in attendance.

At the December Congress, not only could the *Monde Moderne* team and the FARI group compare notes, they could also talk directly to their South African paymasters: the most prominent diplomatic representatives at the CEDI Congress were none other than the South African Secretary of Foreign Affairs Brand Fourie, and South African Ambassador to France Mr. Hating, who had taken over Cercle - Pretoria coordination after the departure of Mr. Burger, his predecessor.

The Cercle's representation would, of course, not have been complete without some members from Germany. We have already noted the presence of Otto von Habsburg and Hans-Joachim von Merkatz as Chairmen of the Congress; also attending was Strauss's right-hand man in the Cercle, Count Hans Huyn. The 1976 Congress therefore again brought together the Cercle's 1980s triumvirate - Violet, Crozier and Huyn.

Another future "leading German member of the Cercle" at the 1976 CEDI Congress was **Franz Josef Bach**. A qualified engineer, Bach later studied political science at the University of Virginia in 1949 before attending the German Diplomatic Service school in 1950-51, being posted to Sydney from 1951 to 1954 and to Washington from 1954 to 1957. After returning to Germany, he would fill the posts of Head of Foreign Office Affairs in the Chancellor's Office in 1957 and ministerial adviser in 1958 before running Adenauer's private office from 1959 to 1961. Returning to foreign duty, Bach would serve as General Consul in Hong Kong until 1964 when he was posted to Teheran as German Ambassador until 1968. Between 1969 and 1972, Bach then represented Aachen - Charlemagne's city - as a CDU MP in the German Parliament. In 1975, Bach would be interviewed by Senator Church's committee investigating bribes paid by aviation manufacturer Northrop. By the late 1970s, Bach would work closely with Crozier in taking over the practical organisation of Cercle meetings from Jean Violet (276)*.

Three other Germans of note attended the 1976 CEDI Congress. The most prominent was **Dr. Richard Jaeger**, a CSU MP from 1949 to 1980 who served as Vice-President of the German Parliament continuously from 1953 to 1976 apart from a brief post as Justice Minister from 1965 to 1966 - he also provided access to the

Council of Europe, sitting in its Parliamentary Assembly from 1958 to 1966. Within CEDI, Jaeger had been a member since at least 1959, was co-founder of the revamped CEDI German section CEDI Deutschland in 1972 and served as CEDI President from 1972 to 1974. In 1977, he would be President of the German Atlantic Association. Another top CSU politician at the CEDI Congress was **Dr. Fritz Pirkl**, Chairman of the CSU's Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung from its creation in 1967 until his death in 1993. The third German was **Major-General Heinz Hückelheim** from Cologne who had an interesting early connection with the Belgian Gladio network; as a colonel of the German military security service, the **Militärischer Abschirmdienst** MAD, in the 1950s, Hückelheim had been the German partner of André Moyon in his clandestine campaigns against Communism (277).

The Italian participants at the CEDI Congress were characterized by their links to the world of Catholic high finance. One Italian Congress participant we've already met before was Carlo Pesenti of Italcementi and Italmobiliare, financier of the Cercle, the AESP and the sniffer plane project. Along with Pesenti at the CEDI Congress was another Catholic financier, **Orazio Bagnasco**. Both Pesenti and Bagnasco would later be central figures in the Banco Ambrosiano just before its collapse in 1982.

Amongst the hundred or so participants from Spain were three Cercle contacts. CEDI founder Alfredo Sanchez-Bella was one of the co-chairs for the Congress; also attending was one of the Cercle's candidates in the Spanish elections, Cruz Martinez Esteruelas, President of the Union Democratica del Pueblo Espanol within Fraga Iribarne's Alianza Popular. The CEDI Congress was an opportunity for Martinez Esteruelas to meet Franz Josef Strauss's foreign policy representative, Hans Huyn; over the next twelve months, Strauss would channel some DM 100,000 to Martinez Esteruelas for his election campaigns. Besides this German-Spanish axis, the French *Monde Moderne* team of Vigneau and Leguèbe also met an old friend, Colonel Juan Manuel Sancho Sofranis, a Spanish military representative at the 1974 Paris launch of the Centre d'Etudes du Monde Moderne.

Another Cercle election candidate - this time Portuguese - attending the CEDI Congress was Kaulza de Arriaga, former Commander-in-Chief of Portuguese Forces in Mozambique, who had been arrested eighteen months earlier for his involvement in the coup planned for March 1975. Arriaga would also benefit from considerable largesse channelled through Strauss over the coming years. During his spell in Mozambique, Arriaga had liaised closely with millionaire **Jorge Jardim**, another Portuguese participant at this 1976 CEDI Congress.

Jardim, "former king of the Portuguese colonists", was the secret backer and leader of the Uniao Nacional Africana de Rombezia (UNAR), a splinter group from FRELIMO whose goal was to set up a buffer state between Tanzania and Zambese to block FRELIMO's advance - Jardim would be closely linked to the murder of FRELIMO leader Walter Mondlane. Jardim had set up "counter-gangs" in Mozambique; together with leading counter-insurgency expert Captain Alpoim

Calvao, later one of the commanders of the Aginter Press/Spinola underground army ELP, Jardim had created the Flechas, black mercenaries under white leadership who operated from Jardim's estates on the Mozambique/Malawi border. Besides his Aginter Press/ELP contacts, Jardim was also active on an international level to support Spinola's plans for a coup, attending the SDECE's Sheraton Hotel conference for the putschists in September 1975. After Machel's victory in Mozambique, Jardim fled to Gabon and became a major source of finance for RENAMO, the Mozambiquan counter-revolutionary guerrilla force set up by the Rhodesian Central Intelligence Organisation (278).

The Cercle's transatlantic contacts were also represented at the CEDI Congress. Eighteen months earlier, the ISC had set up their American offshoot, the Washington ISC; Adolph W. Schmidt, a member of the US Committee of the ISC, would attend the 1976 CEDI Congress. Schmidt would go on to serve on the Advisory Council of the NSIC until at least 1984. A second American participant of note was Crosby Kelly, the American industrialist originally intended as a source of seed capital for the sniffer plane project. A third American participant was **Charles T. Mayer** of the **Foreign Policy Discussion Group**, a group about which little is known. The FPDG must however have continued contact with the Cercle complex, as Mayer would later be invited to attend a 1989 Cercle meeting with Pinay, Huyn, Crozier and Amery, all present at the 1976 CEDI Congress.

A final participant of note at the CEDI Congress was **Alfons Dalma**, Director of News and Information for Austrian radio and television, who had attended CEDI Congresses since at least 1959 and represented Austria on CEDI's International Council since at least 1972. Dalma may have discussed the Washington ISC with Schmidt at the CEDI Congress. Dalma had met two WISC Committee members one month after WISC's foundation in March 1975, when he attended the April 1975 Bilderberg conference in Cesme, Turkey, with George Ball and Zbigniew Brzezinski of WISC, Sir Frederic Bennett of NAFF and future President of FARI, and two Cercle beneficiaries, Franz Josef Strauss and Margaret Thatcher.

This CEDI Congress allows us to draw certain conclusions about the Cercle's operations. In 1976, there would be two opportunities for the main Cercle propagandists to meet; the ISC/FARI team, the *Monde Moderne* staff and the PIO duo of de Bonvoisin and Bougerol would all meet at both the AESP Chapter Assembly in February and the CEDI Congress in December at a critical time for their respective operations. Without being able to deduce any indication of mutual assistance, these meetings do indicate the close communication between the national groups that made up the Cercle complex. The few internal documents from the ISC, the AESP, the ISP and CEDI that are available can only afford a glimpse of their international networking. Despite the lack of documents from other years, there can be no doubt that this coalition of top right-wing politicians and covert operators held meetings several times a year throughout the 1970s. This glimpse in 1976 and another in 1979-80 may be fragmentary, but they certainly show only the tip of the iceberg.

1977 -1980

ELECTION FEVER

A SHIELD FOR THE IRON LADY

The late 1970s would be a period of intense activity for the London end of the Cercle complex. During this period, Crozier and his associates concentrated on two main projects: setting up **Shield**, the advisory group on subversion which personally counselled Margaret Thatcher, and the creation of an international private intelligence service which came to be known as the **Sixth International** or **6I** (six-eye).

As we have seen, Shield was created in March 1976 by the inner core of NAFF members: Crozier, Moss, McWhirter, Gouriet and Lord De L'Isle, all present at the March 1976 dinner with Margaret Thatcher. Crozier records: "Thereafter we had many meetings, either at the Thatchers' London home .. or in her room in the House [of Commons]. Later they continued, usually at Chequers, but sometimes at Downing Street. Mostly we met alone. In the early days, however, I was often accompanied by a well-known (some would say notorious) ex-senior man in Britain's Secret Intelligence Service [MI6], **Nicholas Elliott**" (279). In MI6 Counter-Intelligence with postings to Bern, Istanbul, London and Beirut, it was Elliott who had confronted Philby in Beirut in 1963, precipitating his flight to the Soviet Union (280)*. As described in later chapters, Elliott would go on to play a key rôle not only in Shield, but also in the Cercle's international private intelligence service, the 6I, that Crozier would create in 1977.

As for Shield's structure, Crozier records that Shield's providers were made up of Crozier, former MI6 officers Elliott and Hastings, and Harry Sporborg, a Norwegian-born former Deputy Head of the wartime Special Operations Executive then working for Hambro's Bank, the third SOE veteran within the Cercle together with Tennant and Amery. "With the resources of the Institute for the Study of Conflict at our disposal, we produced some twenty papers on various aspects of subversion. The researchers were Peter Shipley and Douglas Eden. The papers were made available immediately to Margaret Thatcher and, on request, to other members of the committee on the 'receiving' side. Apart from Mrs Thatcher, there were three of them, all members of her shadow cabinet: Lord Carrington, William (later Lord) Whitelaw, and Sir Keith Joseph [responsible for foreign, domestic and economic affairs]" (281)*. Thatcher's Shadow Minister for Northern Ireland – and intended intelligence supremo - Airey Neave and his deputy John Biggs-Davison were of course other shadow cabinet members intimately linked to Shield.

"The work of the Shield committee fell into two broad categories. One was strategic: it concerned the state of 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 ... The other category was tactical: to provide short, factual and accurate research papers on the Communist connections of Labour MPs and trades unionists in the increasingly critical industrial scene, especially in late 1978 and early 1979" (282).

As regards the latter category for Shield actions, the initiator of Shield, former MI6 officer and Tory MP Stephen Hastings also gave a parliamentary platform for the counter-subversion lobby's charges concerning Labour MPs' Communist connections. In 1977, Hastings relaunched the Frolik allegations that Labour MPs had spied for the Czech intelligence service. In 1976, veteran espionage journalist and MI5 friend Chapman Pincher had sent Hastings tape recordings of interviews with Frolik who reiterated his charges. This contact between Pincher and Hastings was not surprising; Pincher had been the guest speaker at a NAFF seminar on subversion organized in August 1975 before NAFF's formal creation. In December 1977, under Parliamentary privilege, Hastings named the Labour MPs whom Frolik accused of having worked for the Czech intelligence service; in January 1978, Hastings stepped up the pressure by sending to Prime Minister Callaghan a copy of a letter from Frolik to Josef Josten (a member of NAFF like Hastings), in which Frolik said he was afraid to visit Britain because the Czech intelligence service had British friends in high places (283)*.

As for the first category for Shield actions, "Shield's first move was to commission an extensive report on the current state of subversion and on the existing official agencies that were supposed to handle the problem. The report, which ran to about 100 pages, was drafted by a former senior member of the Secret Intelligence Service: an old and trusted friend of Stephen Hastings and myself. After revisions by Stephen, Nicholas and me, the final draft was ready in May 1977" (284). The most likely candidate for this anonymous author is NAFF National Council member G. K. Young, former Deputy Director of MI6. Having failed to take over the Monday Club in 1973, Young had launched the private army Unison in 1974 with Ross McWhirter and two former MI6 colleagues, Anthony Cavendish and Colonel Ronald Wareing, the latter joining the FARI Council with Crozier, Moss et al in 1976.

The direct line to Mrs Thatcher that Shield provided allowed disgruntled former MI5 or MI6 officers to condemn what they saw as the previous fatal weakening of Britain's counter-subversion effort. IRD had been cut back in the late 1960s; the ISC would step into the breach following its creation in 1969-70. The completion in May 1977 of this first Shield report on the need for a reorganisation and reinforcement of the official counter-subversion effort coincided with the decision of Labour Foreign Secretary David Owen finally to close down IRD. According to Crozier, this was at least in part motivated by the close links between IRD and the ISC which had hit the headlines a year previously. In the eyes of the counter-subversion lobby, the decision smacked of treachery: "Thus, the Labour Government had destroyed the only active instrument of counter-subversion in the United Kingdom ... as a sop to the Left. The KGB had won, possibly when it least expected victory" (285).

The radical tone of Shield's report can be judged from Crozier's analysis of the

challenge Shield sought to combat: "The problem was subversion: the deliberate undermining of the State and society. Subversion is an insidious man-made disease, a creeping paralysis in which the State's defensive organs are invaded and neutralized, until they cease to function: the political equivalent to AIDS. In Britain, as in other affected countries, the ultimate aim was to turn the country into a 'people's democracy' on the East European model. ... In Britain in particular the problem had become more threatening. The main reason was simply that the trades unions and the Labour Party had been largely taken over by the subversive Left. Many other areas of life were affected: the schools and universities, the media, the Churches" (286)*. Crozier further states that Shield's actions were "a question of survival in a nation in which the dominant rôle, increasingly, was played by extreme Left Labour MPs and constituency managers and by trades unions whose long-term goal ... was to transform Britain into another East Germany or Czechoslovakia" (287). The Shield report concluded that MI6 was "basically in good shape" but that MI5 was not, due to its charter restricting surveillance (officially) to threats of "the overthrow of the government by unlawful means". "In that initial paper, therefore, we had proposed an urgent redefinition of the terms of reference of MI5, along with fresh directives to both the Services enabling them not merely to report on subversion, but to go over to the counter-offensive. For MI6, too, the counter-offensive angle was emphasized" (288).

Whilst work progressed on the review of Britain's counter-subversion effort, Shield also turned its attention to reporting on current subversive threats. "Between May 1977 and July 1979, Shield produced no fewer than fifteen strategic papers, recommending counter-action to meet the subversive challenge and defeat it" (289). "One, dated April 1978, gave details of joint Labour-Communist activity ... in November of that year, we identified forty-eight Labour Party prospective parliamentary candidates with extreme Left views and connections ... on 15 January [1979], a Shield paper traced the origin of the [lorry drivers'] strike to Alex Kitson, General Secretary of the Scottish Commercial Motormen's Union ... well known for his pro-Soviet sympathies ... on 17 January, a further paper analysed the potential consequences, which included the possible use of troops for essential services ... In a further paper, on 29 January, Shield dwelt on the extremist influences within the National Union of Public Employees ... In a longer paper dated 12 February 1979, Shield looked at the strike policy of the Communist Party ... In another paper, dated 26 February 1979, we gave details of various Labour groups which had been campaigning for the overthrow of the Shah of Iran" (290).

Crozier also felt that Thatcher's confidence needed strengthening so as to "cultivate and consolidate a public image of clear-headedness and resolution. To this end, at one of our private Flood Street meetings, I handed her a programme of 'Psychological Action' ... a practical technique originally formalized by my close French friend, Maître Jean Violet ... What I had done was to borrow Violet's tried and tested principles, and adapt them to current British needs". This programme of 'Psychological Action' focused on identifying people's needs and fears, and on that basis developing questions to be inserted into political speeches. Crozier notes that "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" (291).

As the industrial action of the "winter of discontent" under Wilson's successor James Callaghan intensified, Shield revised their initial paper on the British counter-subversion effort and in a "Mechanism Paper" dated May 1978 proposed the creation of a "Counter-Subversion Executive" "not only to counter anti-British subversive activity both in the United Kingdom and in other parts of the world, by clandestine means both offensive and defensive, but also actively to conduct a clandestine offensive against Soviet power" (292). Several weeks later, Crozier, Elliott, Hastings and Sporborg met with Thatcher, Whitelaw, Joseph and Carrington to discuss the Counter-Subversion Executive. Difficulties arose as to the administrative accountability of the proposed CSE; Lord Carrington objected to Crozier's suggestion of housing it within the Foreign Office and to Thatcher's suggestion of accommodating it within the Cabinet Office or in Downing Street. Sporborg then wrote to Hastings, Crozier and Elliott to suggest that the CSE should be a secret appendage of MI6, thus ensuring the necessary confidentiality for the proposed new body.

Shield's view of the necessity for such a body was reiterated in a Shield strategic paper written in June 1979 "by a senior officer of MI5 who had just retired". The former MI5 man described MI5 as "an intellectually weakened organisation no longer prepared to take Marxist-Leninist influences seriously. Too much time and resources were devoted to the trailing of foreign spies ... and too little to domestic subversion" (293)*. The perspectives for the creation of the proposed CSE as a remedy to such perceived failings of MI5 had been given a boost by Thatcher's election victory in May 1979, but ultimately Lord Carrington's hostility to the counter-subversion lobby could not be overcome, and in a July 1979 meeting at Chequers with the new Prime Minister, the Shield team was informed that Shield's efforts were no longer necessary and that the CSE would not be created. Although the rejection of the CSE was a blow to the Shield group, it was not fatal: since early 1977, Crozier had been running a private international secret service called the Sixth International or 6I; as Crozier records, "the London end of the 6I simply took over Shield's work."

SIX EYE – PRIVATE SPY

The initiative for formalizing Cercle contacts into a private secret service came in early 1977, a year or so into Shield's operations. As Crozier records: "Something bigger than Shield was needed to deal with the wider threat from the Soviet Union and its worldwide subversive network" (294). At the time, the Western counter-subversion effort was in disarray: the IRD would be formally closed down in April-May 1977, and the American intelligence community was still reeling from the exposure of the Watergate scandal and the four hundred posts shed by the CIA after the appointment of Admiral Stansfield Turner. Crozier voiced the counter-subversion lobby's point of view in saying: "This catastrophic decision completed the self-emasculation of American intelligence" (295).

"The question was whether something could be done in the private sector - not only in Britain, but in the United States and other countries of the Western Alliance. A few of us had been exchanging views, and decided that action was indeed possible. I took the initiative by convening a very small and very secret meeting in London. We met in the luxurious executive suite of a leading City of London bank on the morning of Sunday 13 February 1977. Our host, a leading figure in the bank, took the chair. Three of us were British, four were American, with one German. Ill health prevented a French associate from joining us; Jean Violet was with us in spirit" (296).

Crozier does not identify the host of the first 6I meeting, although one likely candidate is SOE veteran Sir Peter Tennant of Barclays', the co-Chairman of the Cercle who, only two months before this first 6I meeting, had attended the December 1976 CEDI Congress in Madrid alongside Crozier, Moss and Amery from Britain, Pinay, Violet and Vallet from France, Damman and Vankerkhoven of the AESP, de Bonvoisin and Bougerol of PIO, Vigneau and Leguèbe from *Le Monde Moderne* and Adolph W. Schmidt from the US Committee for the ISC. Other possible hosts for the 6I could be either Harry Sporborg of Hambro's Bank or G. K. Young of investment bankers Kleinwort Benson. Crozier goes on to identify the third Briton as Nicholas Elliott, but conceals the German's identity with the following words: "The German was a very active member of the Bundestag, whose career had started in diplomacy. He had a very wide understanding of Soviet strategy, on which he wrote several first-rate books" - all of which is a perfect fit for Count Hans Huyn, who had also attended the 1976 CEDI Congress.

As for the Americans, the most notable participant at the 6I meeting was **General Vernon 'Dick' Walters**, who served as Deputy Director of Central Intelligence (under William Colby, himself a Cercle guest) from 1972 to 1976, retiring shortly before this first 6I meeting. Fluent in six European languages as a result of his childhood in the UK and France, Walters would become a veteran coupmaster involved in most of the CIA's dirtiest operations – Iran, Italy, Vietnam, Chile, Angola, Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador and Fiji, often working with other Cercle contacts. As American Military Attaché in Teheran, Walters had worked with Kermit Roosevelt and G. K. Young in the 1953 Operation Ajax to overthrow Iranian Prime Minister Mossadegh. From 1967 to 1972, when the Cercle and AESP were being set up, Walters was Military Attaché in Paris responsible for the Benelux region.

The three remaining American participants at the 1977 founding meeting of the 6I were "two able and diligent Congressional staffers, and the Viennese born representative of a big Belgian company". Although no definite identification of this trio has yet been possible, two probable contenders for the 6I's anonymous Congressional members emerge from Crozier's later contacts in the Reagan Administration. Both men had Congressional positions around the time of the 6I's creation and would work alongside Crozier in the early 1990s within the **International Freedom Foundation** (IFF), a South African front group which included Huyn, Horchem and other 6I members, described in detail below.

Herbert Romerstein served as a Professional Staff Member for the United States House of Representatives from 1965 to 1983. Among his congressional staff posts, Romerstein served as an Investigator for the House Committee on Un-American Activities (1965-1971), Minority Chief Investigator for the House Committee on Internal Security (1971-1975), and Professional Staff Member for the House Intelligence Committee (1978-1983). In his 1993 memoirs, Crozier recalls that Romerstein was "one of the leading American official specialists on the Soviet intelligence system, whom I have known for many years".

Crozier's second later contact and IFF companion was **Sven Kraemer** who had worked in the Office of the Secretary of Defense from 1963 to 1967 before serving as an arms control expert on the National Security Council from 1967 to 1976 under Presidents Johnson, Nixon and Ford. After nearly fifteen years in the executive branch, Kraemer then became "Senior Staff Member for Defense and Foreign Policy, U.S. Senate (1978-1981)", holding "senior staff positions in the Congressional branch of government, working with Senator John Tower (R-Tex) and the Republican Policy Committee of the US Senate (1979-80)" (297)*.

At the inaugural 6I meeting, Crozier proposed to Elliott, Huyn, Walters and the other participants to create "a Private Sector Operational Intelligence agency, beholden to no government, but at the disposal of allied or friendly governments for certain tasks which, for one reason or another, they were no longer able to tackle. I must make it clear that 'these tasks did not include any acts of armed force or physical coercion' " (298).

The tasks of the 6I would rather be in the field of intelligence-gathering, psychological warfare and covert funding; Crozier summarizes the tasks of the 6I as follows: "to provide reliable intelligence in areas which governments were barred from investigating, either through recent legislation (as in the US) or because political circumstances made such inquiries difficult or potentially embarrassing; to conduct secret counter-subversion operations in any country in which such actions were deemed feasible" (299). The future rôle of the 6I in circumventing domestic restrictions on intelligence operations and in coordinating private sector counter-subversion efforts is stressed by Crozier: "We planned both to initiate secret operations in our various countries, and to coordinate the existing overt actions of the many private groups involved in the resistance to Soviet propaganda and Active measures ... Unlike existing agencies, we would not be hampered by prohibitions on functioning in our own or Allied countries" (300).

The name of the Sixth International or "six-eye" (following the five Communist or Trotskyist internationals) was suggested some months later by "a distinguished Argentine associate of ours, a former Justice Minister (and anti-Peronist) named Jacques Perriaux" (301)*. Elliott and Crozier undertook to find the funding necessary for the 6I's operations from industrial sponsors; an initial estimate of \$5 million a year was suggested, although as Crozier notes: "our initial estimate of financial needs was too high: not for the requirements, but for the realistic limits of generosity on the part

of the necessarily small number of sources we approached" (302). "At the height of the 6I's activities in the mid-1980s, we were spending around \$1 million a year" (303).

As for the 6I's members, Crozier records that its network of agents and informants grew swiftly. "The main requirement for recruitment was "access". We needed well-placed men and women, with access to leaders, to intelligence and security services, to selected politicians, to editors of potentially useful publications. All that was needed was for those selected from the contacts each had built up before and after the birth of the 6I, to be conscious of our existence and our goals. ... In addition to our own network, we gained access to a number of existing networks, both private and official. In Germany, we had three prime sources. One was the ex-diplomat turned politician, Count Hans Huyn, a close friend of the Bavarian leader Franz Josef Strauss ... Another was the ebullient, ever-cheerful Hans Josef 'Jupp' Horchem ... The third source was one of the senior intelligence officials who had resigned in disgust when Chancellor Brandt emasculated the former Gehlen office (304)*. I shall call him **Hans von Machtenberg**. With him, into early retirement, he took a substantial network of agents, whose identities he had refused to disclose to his new political masters. Hans lived near Pullach, in Bavaria, headquarters of the BND. There, with the approval and backing of Strauss, he secured financial backing to continue his work, in the private sector ... I invited him to join our directing committee (which we called our 'Politburo'). Thereafter, he received our bulletin and a selection of our secret reports. In return, I received his regular intelligence reports in German, with full discretion to use them, unattributably" (305).

Hans Christoph Schenk Freiherr von Stauffenberg had been an Intelligence Analyst with the BND before leaving to set up a private intelligence service within Strauss's CSU party. Von Stauffenberg's network liaised closely with former BND special operative **Hans Langemann**, head of the State Protection Department within Strauss's Bavarian Interior Ministry, and as such the top link man for the security and intelligence services. The technical adviser for von Stauffenberg's secret service was Langemann's former boss in the Strategic Service of the BND, retired Brigadier-General Wolfgang Langkau, who had resigned in 1968 when Wessel abolished the Strategic Service due to Langkau's overt right-wing sympathies. Much of von Stauffenberg's information came from Langemann, who received over DM 300,000 from von Stauffenberg between 1977 and 1982. Langemann in turn used an intelligence slush fund, "Positive Protection of the Constitution", to finance a registered charity, the **Arbeitskreis für das Studium internationaler Fragen** (Working Group for the Study of International Issues) which supported von Stauffenberg's group. 100 copies of each von Stauffenberg report were printed: recipients included Strauss and Gerold Tandler, Bavarian Interior Minister - Langemann's political bosses (306)*.

The CSU not only had its private intelligence-gathering agency run by Hans von Stauffenberg, but also used the CSU's political foundation, the **Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung**, as its external covert action arm. The Chairman of the Board of Directors since 1975 and Director of the International Department was Archduke Otto. HSS operations were truly international: active in pro-Contra fundraising and propaganda,

exporting intelligence equipment to Idi Amin, supporting Mobutu in Africa, diverting state development aid from Germany into right-wing party coffers in Ecuador. HSS activities notably accelerated after 1977 when the foundation obtained a massive increase in funding from the State: its grant from tax-payers' money went from DM 1.9 million in 1977 to DM 13 million in 1980 (307)*. The scale of HSS parapolitical operations can be judged by a report, circulated amongst the CSU leadership and believed by them to stem from the BND, on the CIA's operative interest in the HSS:

"23rd March, 1979.

Personal and confidential: recipient's eyes only.

CIA operative interest in the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung.

1. Initially unconnected indications of CIA focuses for intelligence-gathering on the Federal Republic of Germany have confirmed that the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung [CDU foundation] and above all the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung are of operative interest to the American agency. Up until now the Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung [FDP foundation] and the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung [SPD foundation] have not been mentioned.

2. The interest in the HSS is due to indications that have led the CIA management to believe that the HSS is active directly on behalf of the Bavarian Prime Minister both for foreign intelligence-gathering as well as for the execution of quasi-diplomatic or clandestine measures (covert action*) [*in English in the original].

It appears that the CIA believes that some of the HSS representatives abroad are "private intelligence gatherers for the CSU" who "can only be distinguished from the BND residents by their lower level of typical intelligence tradecraft". The CIA attributes these "para-intelligence service" and "covert action" activities (political and financial exertion of influence, "business mediation useful for the party including arms trading") to the HSS in the following countries: first Namibia, Zaire and Nigeria, then Morocco, Togo, Greece, Portugal, Turkey, Manila, Hong Kong/Peking, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, finally the United States itself and "South America". For the business mediation, alleged HSS links to Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohn, Krauss-Maffei, Airbus Industries and companies in the foodstuffs and pharmaceutical sectors are supposed.

3. According to all appearances, the CIA reckons on systematic intelligence tasking by the MfS [East German intelligence] and the KGB against HSS representatives (and their offices) abroad, and [the CIA] sees here a potentially rich source for tips for their own counter-intelligence service working against the Eastern Bloc agencies" (308)*.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND RELIGION

A major activity for the Cercle complex from 1975 onwards was a relaunch of the Cercle/AESP's 1973 'Peace without Frontiers' appeal to collect prominent signatures on the theme of free movement of persons and ideas. Damman details the uses for the thousand signatories to the Academy's appeal in his Note 229:

"This group of a thousand people can constitute a force if we manage to use it wisely. The organisation and the use of this force should be studied by a brain-trust like the one organized at Mr. Vallet's house which dealt with the problems facing South Africa ... Europe must convince America that beyond the nuclear strike-force, the ideological weapon is more powerful if we have the means to use it ... The funding for an ideological campaign represents one tenth of a percent of the enormous budget allocated to nuclear and conventional weapons ... A spiritual alliance between Europe and America must find means more powerful than those available for the Soviet strategy of propaganda. We must make ourselves masters of the media in the free world" (309).

The negotiations in Helsinki which included Basket III, the human rights chapter, had culminated in July 1975 with the signature of the Final Act. Nonetheless, the Cercle complex was sceptical about the Soviet Union's willingness to respect its commitments. Crozier records that a senior KGB officer felt that the Helsinki Agreements were "one of the Soviet Union's greatest triumphs since World War II" (310). The complex therefore pursued the issue of human rights in the mid to late 1970s. In a cassette message to Damman dated 16th October, 1975, Violet referred to the campaign as part of the Academy's programme for the coming year:

"The Soviet Union had tried to hurl a spear at the heart of Western Europe, but, whilst it was in the air, the West succeeded in changing the spear into a boomerang ... if, by 1977, the Soviet Union does not want to liberalize its regime, it will have to confront a growing pile of dossiers on human rights violations. And all of this is due to the active campaign for free movement ... we must talk of the release of political prisoners ... that is an outline of the programme for the Academy for the beginning of 1976" (311).

In 1977-78, the Cercle intensified its campaign against the Soviet Union on the theme of human rights violations, coordinating its actions as in the past between the four main pillars of the Cercle's European network - Belgium, Britain, France and Germany; indeed, the coordinated campaign may well have been one of the first operations of Crozier's newly founded 6I. The first indication of this relaunch of the AESP 1973 Appeal is given in a notation in Damman's diary dated 6th January, 1977 which reads:

"7.19 am: Quartier Leopold station, departure for Zürich. Arrival 1.59 pm -

Hôtel Baur au Lac. 5 pm: meeting with Jean Violet and Alain de Villegas. Dolder Dinner - plan prepared for Operation H2 [Helsinki 2]" (312)*.

This meeting came just before the conference in Belgrade that was to study the implementation of human rights under the Helsinki II treaty. Habsburg addressed the Belgian members of MAUE on the subject on 1st March, 1977, and then the Academy launched a mailshot campaign attacking the Soviet Union for human rights abuses: on 3rd April, 1977, Damman noted in his diary: "Start of Operation H2, the first letters have been sent". Damman's diary also records that part of the campaign involved the AESP buying full-page advertising space in *Le Figaro* for its appeal. In May 1977, the ISC relayed the AESP campaign with the publication of a Conflict Study entitled *Human Rights - Soviet Theory and Practice* (313)*.

Another angle to the complex's human rights attack on the Soviet Union was to mobilize right-wing Christian groups on the issue of the repression of religious worship in the Soviet Union. This was of course familiar territory for Violet and Dubois who had worked with Catholic networks behind the Iron Curtain in the 1960s for the SDECE. The complex's activity was both intense and influential: Damman's diary for 1st October, 1977 records that AESP representative Jacques Jonet was received by the Pope, no doubt in connection with the complex's campaigns. Besides the Helsinki II operation, the Cercle also ran a specific religious campaign called the "Bible-prisoners" action, referred to in Violet's note of 31st March, 1976 about the Cercle's cash crisis, quoted above. Further details of this campaign emerge from another entry in Damman's diary dated 31st October, 1977:

"Vincent van den Bosch has announced a demonstration for Saturday, 10th December at 2pm, to be held in front of the Soviet Embassy. Free circulation of the Bible, freedom of religion and thought, re-opening of churches, release of prisoners - organized by Solidarité Chrétienne Internationale (international committee for freedom of conscience and religion)" (314)*.

Besides running SCI, Vincent van den Bosch, Secretary-General of CEDI, was a central figure in Damman's complex of groups, serving as a member of the AESP Permanent Delegation and as Secretary-General of MAUE - and also having met Crozier twice in 1976 at the February AESP Chapter Assembly and again at the December CEDI Congress. The campaign for religious freedom in the Soviet Union, like the general human rights campaign, was coordinated between three of the main pillars of the complex: Belgium, Britain and Germany. To support the demonstrations and mailing actions undertaken by the AESP in late 1977, the ISC brought out a Conflict Study on the Prague-based Christian Peace Conference in January 1978, *The CPC - Human Rights and Religion in the USSR*.

The AESP and the ISC were not the only Cercle associates to support these campaigns; the Cercle's German friends also contributed. As we have seen, the German pillars of the Cercle throughout the 1970s had been Strauss's CSU,

represented by Cercle/6I member Count Hans Huyn, and the Swiss group ISP, run by AESP partner Karl-Friedrich Grau. In late 1977, the Cercle's German friends set up a specialized group to support the campaigns on religious freedom being run by the ISC and the AESP – a German equivalent to the earlier British-based CSRC/Keston College.

This new group was the **Brüsewitz Centre**, a "Christian" group whose aim was to "publicize human rights violations and particularly the violations of the freedom of worship in the so-called German Democratic Republic". Founded in October 1977, the Brüsewitz Centre was named after Oskar Brüsewitz, an East German priest who burned himself alive in August 1976; the priest's widow tried in vain to prevent the group using his name. The founding body for the Brüsewitz Centre was the Christlich-Paneuropäische Studienwerk (Christian Paneuropean Study Group), itself founded in July 1977 and chaired by Otto von Habsburg's teenage daughter, **Walburga von Habsburg** (315)*. The Brüsewitz Centre's Board included several well-known faces: Habsburg, Huyn and von Merkat, all three early associates of the AESP. On the Board of the Brüsewitz Centre, we also find the Czech exile Ludek Pachmann, whom we have already met as a speaker for Grau's ISP in 1975-76 along with Habsburg and Huyn. Habsburg, von Merkat and Pachmann of the Brüsewitz Board would all also serve on the Board of Amnesty International's right-wing rival, the IGfM.

The Brüsewitz Centre's Board would also include five other Germans who will crop up in later Cercle operations in the 1980s. The first of these was **Hans Filbinger**, member of the PEU Council and CDU Regional Prime Minister of Baden-Württemberg from 1966 to 1978, when he was forced to resign following a scandal about his past as a military judge in Hitler's Navy; he died in 2007. In July 1977, four months before the creation of the Brüsewitz Centre, Filbinger had been one of the founding members of the **Ludwig-Frank-Stiftung**, a far-right pressure group of German politicians and businessmen that organized conferences together with fascist parties such as the German NPD and Italian MSI. Based in Munich, the LFS set as its aim "to resist the dangers of a Popular Front and Eurocommunism". LFS activities concentrated on right-wing trades unions, and it had close links to the far Right including the Comitato Tricolore degli Italiani nel Mondo, a PEU affiliate close to the Italian MSI. The LFS journal was another channel for anti-Socialist disinformation, e.g. "There are people in Bonn who are financed by the East. One of them is Mr. Brandt". Many German associates of the Cercle complex would be Board members of the LFS, amongst them Habsburg. The LFS's inaugural international conference in February 1978 was attended by representatives of several groups close to the Cercle complex: the Paneuropean Union, the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung, the Brüsewitz Centre, the IGfM and the IfD (described below).

The second of the five new faces on the Brüsewitz Board was also a co-founder of the LFS, the Bavarian **Heinrich Aigner**. A CSU MP in the German Parliament from 1957 to 1980, Aigner would represent the CSU in the European Parliament throughout the 1980s; he died in 1988. A Chairman of the Bavarian PEU section,

Aigner also served as Board member and later Vice-President of the German PEU section. In 1982 Aigner would visit Paraguay with Filbinger as part of an LFS delegation paid for by the German Foreign Office. In 1983, Heinrich Aigner's son Heinz, a CSU member and intimate of Strauss, founded the Institute for German-Paraguayan Relations for the Promotion of Trade and Culture, a pro-Stroessner propaganda group, which organized a planned visit by Stroessner to Germany in 1985. With Löwenthal, Heinz Aigner attended the 1981 joint WACL/CAUSA congress in Asuncion, hosted by Stroessner and Pinochet.

The third Brüsewitz Board member of note was **Dr Lothar Bossle**, a member of the Central Committee of German Catholics and one of the most vocal opponents of liberation theology. Having been a socialist student activist in his youth, Bossle would switch to the CDU in 1959; from 1960 to 1963, he worked at the German Army School in Koblenz before being assisted by Filbinger in becoming Professor at the Pedagogical High School in Lörrach. In 1972, Bossle was active within the Aktion der Mitte group which used industry millions to publish election propaganda against the socialist-liberal coalition ("One dose of socialism – from 1933 to 1945 – was quite enough!"); in 1974, he was a co-founder of the pro-CSU campaign group KDK. In 1975, he courted controversy in calling Allende a "socialist Hitler" and then applying the same treatment to Willy Brandt and Olof Palme. Bossle would become one of Pinochet's most fervent supporters in Germany ("Chile is on the path to true democracy") and a key contact person for the German group in Chile, Colonia Dignidad, linked to the Chilean secret service DINA, which Bossle visited at least four times (316)*.

Bossle's big break would come in 1977 when Strauss intervened with Culture Minister Hans Maier to override the Julius Maximilian University of Würzburg's Academic Senate, Nomination Committee and Faculty Council and have Bossle appointed as Professor of Sociology. His inauguration would be marred by massive faculty protests, and Bossle's Sociology Department would later become notorious as a 'degree mill', handing out doctorates to those who had the money and who shared Bossle's world-view. In 1977, the year of his university appointment, Bossle joined Filbinger and Aigner within the Ludwig-Frank-Stiftung and the Brüsewitz Centre. Like fellow Brüsewitz Board members Habsburg, von Merkatz and Pachmann, Bossle would serve in the IGfM, sitting on its Honorary Presidium. The Sociology Professor would also sit on the Scientific Council of the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung and frequently attend seminars organized by the International Conference for the Unification of the Sciences, the Moonies' scientific front group (317)*.

More significantly, whilst at Würzburg, Bossle would act as Director and later President of the **Institut für Demokratieforschung** (IfD, Institute for Democracy Research), one of whose Board Members was Cercle member Count Hans Huyn. In 1977, the IfD published Huyn's contribution to the Cercle's post-Helsinki human rights campaign, *Menschenrechte und Selbstbestimmung* (Human rights and self-determination); in 1974, Huyn had been a co-founder of the Swiss-based **Europäische Konferenz für Menschenrechte und Selbstbestimmung** (EKMS, European

Conference for Human Rights and Self-Determination), another forum for the Cercle complex which would work closely with Sager's SOI throughout the 1980s. In 1977, the IfD would also support the fledgling Brüsewitz Centre, publishing the report *Oskar Brüsewitz: Sein Protest – sein Tod – seine Mahnung* (Oskar Brüsewitz: his protest – his death – his warning). The IfD would later publish a German version of Crozier's Conflict Study *Surrogate Forces of the Soviet Union* which had originally appeared in February 1978, and Bossle would organize a 1979 conference by Crozier at the Sociological Institute of Würzburg University (318)*.

Bossle's IfD had extensive intelligence contacts - the IfD's scientific director was prominent CDU MP and later Brüsewitz Board member **Heinrich Lummer**, whose numerous Libyan trips were financed by the BND; the deputy scientific director was former **Major-General Gerd Helmut Komossa**, from 1977 to 1980 head of Germany's military security service, the MAD.

A close associate of Bossle's on the Board of the IfD was **Prof. Dieter Blumenwitz**, Professor of International and Constitutional Law at Würzburg University from 1976 on, who shared Bossle's close links with Chile and would reportedly visit Colonia Dignidad with Bossle. In 1979, Blumenwitz was one of the co-authors with Crozier of Pinochet's Chilean Constitution; in 1980, Blumenwitz intervened on behalf of Colonia Dignidad in legal proceedings seeking to block Amnesty International's German section from publishing allegations that the colony had served as a secret DINA torture centre (319)*. Like many of the Cercle's German friends, Blumenwitz was also a Board Member of the IGfM and an adviser to and author for the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung.

Another partner of Bossle's was **Dr. Günter Rohrmoser**, a frequent speaker for both the LFS and the IfD, and one of the most active Board members of IGfM. An Honorary Professor of Philosophy at Cologne University in the 1960s, Rohrmoser like Bossle would be assisted in his academic career by Filbinger, who secured his appointment as Professor of Social Philosophy at Hohenheim University in 1976 where he would serve for twenty years until becoming Professor Emeritus in 1996. With connections like these, it is not surprising that the IfD attracted notoriety; Bavarian SPD MP Dr. Heinz Kaiser tried unsuccessfully to raise questions about the IfD in the Bavarian Parliament, speculating that it might be a covert BND training centre.

To return to the Brüsewitz Centre, the fourth new face on the Board was CSU MP **Hans Hugo Klein**, a former Development Minister (therefore in charge of government grants to the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung), and a member with Grau and Huyn of the Deutschland-Stiftung. In 1977, the same year the Brüsewitz Centre was founded, Klein led a parliamentary delegation from the CDU/CSU on a trip to South Africa; their conclusions, reported in *Deutschland-Magazin*, were that "South Africa must not fall". Klein was also a member of the Bilderberg Group, later attending their 1986 conference in Gleneagles. He would later serve as Vice-President of the German Parliament from 1990 to 1994 and died in 1996.

The final new face on the Brüsewitz Board that we will meet again in the 1980s was **Professor Nikolaus Lobkowitz**, a Czech aristocrat and exile who acquired American nationality in 1967. From 1967 on, Lobkowitz taught as Professor then Dean of Faculty at the Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich, rising to become *rector magnificus* from 1971-76 and then University President until 1982. From 1984 to 1996, he served as President of the Catholic University of Eichstätt bei München; since 1994, he has been the Director of the University's Central Institute for Central and Eastern European Studies. From 1978 on, he was a member of the Western European Advisory Committee of Munich-based Radio Free Europe; he would become its Chairman in 1994, serving until 2001. Together with Rohrmoser, Lobkowitz was one of the most active Board Members of IGfM where he was responsible for links with the "freedom fighters" group Resistance International, of which he was a Member of Honour (320)*; he also served as a member of the prize jury of the CSU's Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung.

Amongst the speakers for the Brüsewitz Centre, we find the television presenter Gerhard Löwenthal, inseparable team-mate of Ludek Pachmann. In 1977, the year the Brüsewitz Centre was founded, Löwenthal became President of the Deutschland-Stiftung. That year, the Deutschland-Stiftung's Adenauer prize was awarded to Otto von Habsburg; the guest speaker was Franz Josef Strauss. In 1980, Crozier, Löwenthal, Pachmann and Huyn would work together in one of the Cercle's most ambitious operations: the attempt to ensure "Victory for Strauss" in the 1980 Chancellorship elections. Another speaker for the Brüsewitz Centre was Brigadier-General Heinz Karst, a speaker for the Swiss ISP in 1975-76 together with Habsburg, Huyn and Pachmann of the Brüsewitz Board. Karst was also a member of the Deutschland-Stiftung with Löwenthal, Grau, Huyn and Klein.

THE AESP IN 1977-78

As we have seen, the danger that the AESP would be forced to close its doors as a result of the 1976 cash crisis was soon averted thanks to the provision of minimum financing by Violet. By 1977, the Academy's finances were again healthy: Damman's diaries from 1977 to 1979 make frequent mention of large cash transfers from de Villegas to Damman. At this time, Elf was paying the bulk of the enormous sums that would change hands for the sniffer plane project. As with the last-minute rescue of the Academy, it is not possible to prove that the considerable funds passing through Damman's hands from Violet and de Villegas came from the sniffer plane project. The only evidence we have is Damman's diary; it is however eloquent (321). On 7th January 1977, Damman's diary records the payment from de Villegas of "one million plus two hundred thousand"; the next day, Damman received FS 4,000 from Jonet and 100,000 from Violet. The payments from de Villegas to Damman would continue: in November, 200,000, in December, 50,000, in January 1978 75,000 (4/1/78) and in March 20,000. Aldo Mungo, Damman's deputy and later author of an exposé on the AESP, claims that the unspecified currency is in fact Swiss francs. In July and August 1978, de Villegas' contribution would be enormous: 315,000.

De Villegas' generosity in July and August 1978 may well have been connected with the signature of a second contract between Elf and de Villegas' sniffer plane company Fisalma on the 24th June 1978. The new contract stipulated that Elf would pay Fisalma a further 500 million Swiss francs, half of which was due upon signature. The contract gave Elf the right to inspect the internal workings of the sniffer plane technology which would allow them finally to detect the fraud in May 1979 after warnings from Alexandre de Marenches that the sniffer plane deal had been set up by an "international swindler". However, before the house of cards came crashing down, de Villegas provided the total funding for a new central secretariat for the AESP and all of its satellite groups. The **Cercle Charlemagne**, as the new offices were called, was equipped with its own printing press and a central file of the 10,000 AESP contacts. However, the Cercle Charlemagne would not last; inaugurated in April 1978 by Habsburg in the presence of Damman, de Villegas, de Bonvoisin and many leading lights of the European Right, the centre burnt down only five months later.

Despite this setback, the AESP would continue to expand throughout 1978. On the 12th May that year, the AESP's earlier contacts with the International Society of Wilton Park via its President, René-Louis Picard, were formalized by the creation in Rome of CLEW, the European Liaison Committee of Associations of Friends of Wilton Park. According to CLEW's statutes, four of the nine founding members were members of the AESP: Violet, Sanchez Bella, Jonet and Picard, the latter being appointed President of CLEW for a three year term (322)*.

Two internal AESP documents give us a clear picture of the Academy's international outreach in 1977-78: a typed, undated AESP membership list from sometime in 1977 and a second AESP membership list from the month of June, headed "Strictly confidential document for the exclusive use of H.E. the Ambassador of H.M. the King of Morocco" (323)*. The interconnection between the sniffer plane project and the AESP are clearly demonstrated by this mention. On 29th May, 1978, the King of Morocco was informed by Elf that "a new detection procedure" had located two oil fields near Fez and Taza. On 21st June, 1978, Damman's diary records that a dossier had been prepared for the Moroccan Ambassador; the membership list undoubtedly stems from this dossier. From 19th to 30th August, 1978, de Villegas' sniffer planes carried out a comprehensive oil prospection programme in Morocco.

The membership lists shows that by 1977-78 the AESP had become a major nexus point for the Cercle complex. The Academy's aim of absorbing the members of CEDI and PEU had been achieved, as most of the international and national leaderships of both organisations figured on the AESP list. Another recurring theme was the Atlantic Alliance - the AESP now included the Presidents of the Atlantic Committees in Italy, France, Germany and Belgium, and spokesmen from NATO and Radio Free Europe. Former Allied combatants were represented by their international and European associations, alongside **Lt-Colonel Dr Jean-Victor Marique**, the President of the Brussels Reserve Officers organisation and President of the AESP

Military Committee since at least November 1974 - interesting in the light of Bougerol's work with reserve officers in the Brussels region from 1974 on.

The AESP's executive body, the Permanent Delegation, had also grown to now include Huyn, Vallet, Valori and Van den Heuvel, an indication of the closer international ties the AESP now possessed. At this time, Van den Heuvel was busy transferring the activities of the Oost-West Instituut (East-West Institute) to another group he had created, the Centrum voor Europese Veiligheid en Samenwerken [Centre for European Security and Cooperation]; the AESP could no doubt be of assistance. Besides this broadening of organisational contacts, the AESP's Life Members also expanded to include several prominent politicians, a reflection of the political influence the AESP wielded by 1978. Joining the previous core of Life Members composed of Habsburg, Pinay, Violet, Father Dubois, Sanchez Bella, Fraga Iribarne, Andreotti, Pesenti, Lombardo, von Merkatz and Vanden Boeynants were politicians such as Jacques Soustelle of OAS fame, longstanding PEU Central Council member Sir John Biggs-Davison, also of the Monday Club and SIF, and two former International Presidents of CEDI, Sir Peter Agnew and Sir John Rodgers, the latter a former President of SIF.

The German presence in the AESP in 1977-78 would illustrate a future major focus for the German Paneuropeans – the **European Parliament**, for which the first direct elections were held in June 1979. Having controversially acquired dual German nationality in 1978, Habsburg himself would be elected as a CSU MEP in 1979 and would serve twenty years in the EP, sitting on the Political Affairs Committee from 1979 to 1992, chairing or co-chairing the Delegation on Relations with Hungary from 1989 to 1999 and sitting on the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Security and Defence Policy from 1992 to 1999. From 1979 on, Habsburg would be assisted by CSU MEP Heinrich Aigner, who held the powerful post of Chairman of the EP Committee on Budgetary Control continuously until his death in 1988.

Two new German Life Members of the AESP in 1977-78 would later join Habsburg and Aigner in the EP. The first was CSU MP and former Bavarian Minister **Dr Fritz Pirkel**, Chairman of the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung from its creation in 1967 until his death in 1993; two years before joining the AESP, Pirkel had attended the 1976 CEDI Congress. The second new AESP Life Member and future MEP was the German Count **Franz Ludwig Schenk Graf von Stauffenberg**, a CSU MP from 1976 to 1987 and a Vice President of the German PEU section (324)*. Both Pirkel and von Stauffenberg would sit in the European Parliament from 1984 to 1992 and serve with Habsburg on the Bureau of the European People's Party group within the EP. Von Stauffenberg would sit on the key EP Committee on Legal Affairs and Citizens' Rights from 1984 to 1987 before becoming its Chairman from 1989 to 1992. Pirkel would function as Chairman or Deputy Chairman of the Delegation for Relations with Austria from 1985 to 1993; Austria applied for membership of the EU in July 1989 and would formally accede to the EU on 1st January 1995.

A third significant German Life Member of the AESP in 1977-78 was **Dr**

Heinrich Böx, former ambassador and head of the CDU's Bureau for Foreign Relations, who died in 2004. In 1949, Böx had been appointed by Adenauer to a short-lived post as Secretary of State in the Chancellor's Office. By 1961, he worked as German trade representative in Finland, before serving as German Ambassador in Norway from 1964 to 1966 and in Poland from 1966 to 1970. Böx had been in contact with Damman and the AESP since at least 1972. In 1976, whilst working as Head of the CDU's Bureau for Foreign Relations, Böx was suspected of espionage activities for a foreign power. Böx was presumably cleared by the investigation, as the 1978 AESP membership list still referred to him as Head of the CDU's Bureau for Foreign Relations. Böx would complete the Cercle complex's networking of German conservative foreign policy spokesmen - the CDU's Dr. Marx and the CSU's Count Huyn had served within Habsburg's CEDI since 1972, and both men had been close allies of Grau's Frankfurt and Swiss groups throughout the 1970s.

The AESP Study Groups also encompassed new members: Grau, a longstanding member of the Study Groups, brought in Swiss **Colonel Fernard Thiebaud Schneider**, a speaker for Grau's ISP from 1975 onwards, bringing the total of ISP speakers within the AESP to four: Grau himself, Habsburg, Huyn and Schneider. A new Italian member of the AESP's study groups with parapolitical links was **Professor Leo Magnino**, an official in the Ministry of Public Education and listed by the AESP as President of the University of the Mediterranean. The University started life as the International Academy of the Mediterranean, founded in Palermo in 1951; Magnino was its Chancellor from 1971 to 1974. The President of the Academy was Gianfranco Alliata di Montereale, a major figure in Italian parapolitics. A right-wing monarchist prince and mason, Alliata was a member of P2 and close associate of Gelli's with links to American intelligence dating back to the Second World War. At Alliata's initiative, an American Academy of the Mediterranean was founded in Mexico City in 1958, the same year that would see the creation of the Tecos, the Mexican branch of WACL, which perhaps more than any other branch, was responsible for WACL's opening-up to fascism. Other sponsors of the American Academy were Salazar and Andreotti. In a meeting held on 26th October, 1968 at Palazzo Barbarini, plans were drawn up to establish the International University of the Mediterranean, no doubt the organisation headed by Magnino in 1978. In the 1968 meeting, it was decided that the pro-rector was to be Monsignor Antonio de Angelis, previously pro-rector of the University for Social Studies Pro Deo, Pro Deo being the right-wing Catholic organisation subsidized by U.S. intelligence and run by the Belgian priest Felix Morlion.

On the domestic (Belgian) front, the AESP had been continuing close cooperation with the PIO counter-subversion group. Contacts between Bougerol, Damman and PIO's political master Benoît de Bonvoisin intensified in the late 1970s. Having visited the AESP Chapter Assembly in February 1976 and the CEDI Congress in the following December, both times accompanied by de Bonvoisin and both times meeting Brian Crozier, Major Bougerol remained in touch with the AESP throughout 1977. In the September/October 1977 issue of the MAUE/AESP journal *Europe Information* which also circulated the Cercle's post-Helsinki "Appeal for Freedom",

Florimond Damman announced: "December 1977, date yet to be fixed: a lecture by Major Bougerol at the Université Libre de Bruxelles on the theme "Subversion, the ultimate weapon?" with slideshow on the events of May 1968". Entries in Damman's diary confirm that Bougerol gave his lecture for MAUE members on 13th December, 1977, and a further entry in Damman's diary dated 30th December 1977 makes reference to a meeting with Bougerol to discuss *Inforep*.

The close cooperation between the AESP and de Bonvoisin was formalized by the latter's inclusion on the 1977 AESP membership list as a member of the AESP's Study Groups. A MAUE circular produced for the European elections in June 1979 shows that by then de Bonvoisin had also been taken up as a Advisory Board member of MAUE. In 1978, de Bonvoisin was at the height of his official power, serving as adviser to Defence Minister Vanden Boeynants as well as providing considerable financial and logistical backing for PIO. Indeed, since 1976, de Bonvoisin's company **PDG** had been subsidizing PIO to the tune of over one million Belgian francs a year. As would later become apparent, de Bonvoisin and VdB had also continued funding for the NEM Clubs implicated with Bougerol in the rumours of a coup d'etat in 1973. By 1978, the fascists funded by these two CEPIC/AESP members were setting up a network of cells within the Gendarmerie who would later be the main suspects in the wave of destabilization in Belgium in the early 1980s.

However, de Bonvoisin's support for PIO and Bougerol's ambitious expansion of PIO activities was not without risk. In a 1978 letter, Bougerol's partner Commissioner Fagnart of the SDRA military security service warned him of growing concern within the Belgian military and intelligence community about his apparently limitless horizons for PIO:

"I don't want to give details of the defects of your ship, as you know them as well as I do, if not better. However, offhand, I quote:

- a) the discretion of your "network" is insufficient (whether this be your fault or not);
- b) the infiltration of this network must be considered not as possible but as probable, if not certain;
- c) you are invading other people's turf - don't yell! You want examples:
 - how would you, or can you, justify your rôle in the occasional missions of people going to Zaire or elsewhere?
 - are you sure that all you ask of your correspondents is justified within the strict framework of your activities?
- d) what do your correspondents in the official services - Gendarmerie, Sûreté, etc - think of you, and what rôle do they think you are playing?

But .. I don't think I have to convince you!

We could imagine another danger:

- a) if a "plumber" [burglar] visited the avenue d'Auderghem [PIO military branch] or perhaps the rue Belliard [PIO civilian offices in a building shared with CEPIC, PDG and later MAUE];
- b) if messages or telephone calls were intercepted;
- c) if what you said at the "secret" meetings were to be divulged;
- d) if there was a leak about the Saud affair or the affairs concerning Formosa, Spain or the UK, incidents which you should consider as "to be foreseen".

It's impossible for you to fit these into the framework of your official duties (for PIO or others).

- of course, I know as well as you do that without taking risks, you would remain inefficient. But I want to convince you to reduce these risks to what is strictly necessary. (Sorry if I am being tough, but our friendship allows me to be, and forces me to be so.)
- what to do?
 - a) start again on the basic principle of absolute need-to-know, above all for those matters that go beyond your official mission;
 - b) create an unassailable and solid justification with reference to the official mission in each of your actions;
 - c) for this, re-define this official mission and always advance this cover to everyone.
- Last argument which isn't scientific at all: I feel that the danger is imminent" (325)*.

The danger was indeed imminent; the "semi-private, semi-public" PIO was removed from the Army hierarchy in December 1978 after the death of Bougerol's protector, Lt-Gen Roman, Chief of the Army General Staff. Despite this, PIO continued to function until at least 1980 as a private group financially supported by de Bonvoisin (326).

THE AESP, P2 AND P7

We have already noted the presence of former top P2 member Giancarlo Elia Valori in AESP circles from 1972 onwards; Valori figures on the 1977 and 1978 AESP lists as a member of the Academy's executive body, the Permanent Delegation. According to allegations made in 1988 by Richard Brenneke, three other leading AESP members were involved in a CIA funding channel for P2 called **P7**. Before detailing Brenneke's claims about P7, it is necessary to learn more about the man as a source. Brenneke's reliability has frequently been called into question, not least of all because his statements revived media investigation into alleged negotiations between future CIA chief William Casey and senior Iranian officials in October 1980. The negotiations by Reagan-Bush campaign manager Casey aimed to ensure that the 52 US hostages captured in the Teheran embassy would not be released before the November 4th presidential election to ensure that no "October surprise" would allow President Carter to gain another term in office (327)*.

Whilst there clearly was a campaign to discredit his "October surprise" claims, Brenneke made matters worse by embroidering his evidence to inflate his personal involvement in the "October surprise" and P2/P7 stories. His claimed rôle in actually going to Paris for the October 1980 negotiations was proved to be false when investigation of his credit card records showed him to be at home in Oregon at the time. Nonetheless, his account of the Paris meetings was corroborated by multiple witnesses from America, Iran, France and Germany; a court challenge on charges of perjury in May 1989 ended with Brenneke being acquitted unanimously on all counts. With all its resources, the US government was unable to prove that the main participants named by Brenneke (Bush, Casey and Donald Gregg) were where they said they were on the weekend of the meetings - and this two weeks before the presidential election. On Brenneke's reliability, Sick comments:

"The bottom line on Brenneke was that he had access on occasion to information that was extremely sensitive and known to only a few individuals. When he spoke publicly about any of these issues, however, he exaggerated his own rôle and tried to place himself at the centre of the action. The basic information was often true, but the flourishes and claims of firsthand knowledge were often false" (328).

Having seen the strengths and weaknesses of Brenneke's testimony, we can consider his allegations about P2/P7. Brenneke claimed to have been personally involved in CIA funding of the P2 lodge via P7 from 1969 through to the 1980s. On the strength of his past record, one can doubt the degree of his personal involvement, but the details he gives of P7 as a funding channel for P2 are persuasive. Brenneke provided a 30-strong list of members of P7, amongst whom we find three of the longest-serving AESP members: **Ivan Matteo Lombardo** (joined AESP in 1970; by 1978, a Life Member), **Vittorio Pons** (AESP founding member, by 1978 on the

Permanent Delegation) and **Ernest Töttösy** (in contact with Damman since 1961; by 1978 a member of an AESP Study Group). In 1972, Valori, Pons and Töttösy attended the Academy's XVth Grand Dîner Charlemagne; in 1976, all three attended the XIXth Grand Dîner Charlemagne. Pons and Töttösy met a second time in 1976 at the 25th CEDI Congress. The same year, Töttösy and Francis Dessart published a book *Comité Hongrie 1956-76* to commemorate the revolution; in 1977, the two men set up an eponymous committee whose address was the familiar building at 39, rue Belliard, home to CEPIC, PDG, PIO and later MAUE. The list of its Board members is revealing: alongside Töttösy and Dessart, the Board included Damman, Lecerf, Victor de Stankovich, Bernard Mercier and Jacques Borsu.

The late **Victor de Stankovich** was another Hungarian exile who also figured on the P7 list - of the five Belgians on the P7 list, three were linked to Damman: Pons, Töttösy and de Stankovich. De Stankovich was a fervent Atlanticist and a former contributor to Radio Free Europe, Voice of America and *Report and Dispatch from NATO*. **Bernard Mercier** was a Board member of CEPIC, named with de Bonvoisin and Vankerhoven in the 1981 Sûreté report as financial backers of the Front de la Jeunesse and the NEM Clubs. An intimate of Bougerol's, Mercier accompanied Bougerol and CEPIC Senator Angèle Verdin to Spain after Franco's death to visit his grave; all three then went on to attend the 25th CEDI Congress where they met Töttösy and Pons. A 1983 Sûreté report repeated allegations by WNP members that Mercier was a regional representative/inspector of the WNP. **Francis Dessart** was closely linked to the Moonies, WACL and the ABN; he was also one of Aginter Press's contacts in Belgium along with two other Board members of the Comité Hongrie 1956-76, Damman and Lecerf. **Jacques Borsu** was a former comrade-in-arms of French mercenary Bob Denard and leader of the neo-nazi Parti Européen. Having organized paramilitary training camps for the Flemish fascist Vlaamse Militanten Orde (VMO), he was one of the co-defendants in a 1981 trial of VMO leaders (329)*.

Whilst Brenneke's testimony frequently exaggerated his own involvement and falsified the truth in the process, the fact that Damman's AESP connected key P2 member Valori and alleged P7 members Lombardo, Pons, Töttösy and de Stankovich seems to give some credence to Brenneke's allegations.

FARI AND FREEDOM BLUE CROSS

Jean Vigneau, editor of Violet's ISC outlet, *Le Monde Moderne*, was also listed as a member of the AESP's study groups in 1978. Although the *Bulletin de Paris* and the Centre du Monde Moderne had had to close as a result of the 1976 funding shortage, *Le Monde Moderne* magazine continued publication, and carried an article on Angola by Robert Moss in 1977. In 1978 however, whilst continuing to work with *Le Monde Moderne*, Crozier launched a new vehicle for ISC reports. Together with Cercle and 6I member Georges Albertini, Crozier founded **Le Monde des Conflits**, a magazine devoted exclusively to circulating ISC studies in the French-speaking world.

Seven issues had appeared by September 1979, but the publication was not yet financially viable (330)*.

Despite the collapse of the Centre du Monde Moderne, the Cercle's propaganda effort on behalf of Pretoria was not weakened; with funds from the South Africans, Cercle members Crozier, Moss and Amery had set up a new outfit, FARI, in 1976. Throughout 1977, FARI supported the Cercle's campaign in favour of South Africa by stressing Pretoria's strategic importance for the West: *An American View on the growing Soviet Influence in Africa* (FARI no. 5, 1977), *The Need to safeguard NATO's Strategic Raw Materials from Africa* (FARI no. 13, 1977), and two publications by FARI Deputy Director Ian Greig, *Barbarism and Communist Intervention in the Horn of Africa* (FARI no. 15, 1977) and *Some Recent Developments affecting the Defence of the Cape Route* (FARI no. 17, 1977), an update of the ISC's Special Report of March 1974 (331)*.

Greig followed these in December 1977 with his book, *The Communist Challenge to Africa*, which included a preface by Lord Chalfont. The book was published in the UK by Stewart-Smith's FAPC and in South Africa by the South Africa Freedom Foundation (SAFF), a Department of Information front which also paid for trips to Pretoria for Robert Moss and Major-General Sir Walter Walker (332). The FAPC would follow this publication by that in 1978 of *The Bear at the Backdoor - the Soviet threat to the West's lifeline in Africa*, written by Walker with an introduction by Amery. The book, whose cover illustration showed a Soviet bear cutting a petrol line running from the Gulf around the Cape to Europe, accused the US intelligence community of harbouring pro-ANC sympathies. Also in 1978, Janke of the ISC would help Jan du Plessis of the Foreign Affairs Association, another South African DoI front, to compile the *1978 Freedom Annual* (333)*.

Much of the FARI output would be recycled by Count Hans Huyn in his October 1978 book, *Der Angriff - Der Vorstoss Moskaus zur Weltherrschaft* (The Attack - Moscow's Thrust for World Domination). Huyn's book, a German-language vehicle for the UK counter-subversion lobby, illustrated the degree of mutual recycling of Cercle propaganda, listing no less than sixteen ISC Conflict Studies, eleven FARI reports and four issues of the *East-West Digest* and quoting prolifically from Crozier, Moss, Greig and Amery, all FARI members. Huyn also recycled the anti-Labour propaganda produced before the 1974 British elections, particularly *Not to be trusted - Extremist Influence on the Labour Party Conference* by Geoffrey Stewart-Smith, future director of FARI. Besides these British Cercle friends, Huyn also drew on several of the Cercle's international contacts for his book: Vigneau of *Le Monde Moderne* and AESP, Barnett of NSIC/WISC, Gerstenmaier and Rohrmoser of the IGfM, and Sager of SOI, five of whose publications were quoted.

In 1978, the British and American ends of the Cercle complex would also seek funding from multinational companies for Crozier's recently founded private intelligence service, the 6I. In June 1978, the NSIC, FARI, the ISC and Aims held a joint conference in Brighton on "NATO and the global threat" which aimed to raise

private-sector funds to supplement the activities of the official agencies, "crippled" after the earlier US Congressional Committees and the official "closure" of Britain's IRD in the spring of 1977. The "Brighton Declaration" adopted by the conference stated that "the destruction of the CIA and other assaults on Western intelligence sources make it imperative that the US and its allies should again take the initiative on intelligence, information and counter-intelligence". The conference called for the establishment of a "new" industry-funded group, **Freedom Blue Cross**, to carry out these private propaganda activities and also to act as a further relay for the South African Department of Information's campaign. In all likelihood, Freedom Blue Cross was intended to be merely a funding front for Crozier's 6I.

For the Cercle complex, the Brighton conference was attended by Crozier, Greig, Chalfont, Tanham of the WISC Committee, and NSIC/ISC benefactor Dick Scaife. The South African delegation included the former head of the South African Navy Admiral James Johnson, Cas de Villiers and Jan du Plessis of the DoI front group, the Foreign Affairs Association, and Gideon Roos of the South African Institute of International Affairs.

Besides other ex-military personnel and academics from Britain, Europe, South Africa and Japan, the conference also brought together representatives of many of the British-based multinationals which had also been funding the four British anti-union groups: Taylor Woodrow, Tate & Lyle, Barclays (Tennant?) and National Westminster banks, Vickers, British American Tobacco and the British subsidiary of ITT, Standard Telephone Cables (STC).

Despite the impressive roll-call of companies, big business' interest was lukewarm (National Westminster and STC formally disassociated themselves from the Declaration; the other companies did not), and nothing apparently came of Freedom Blue Cross. However, the following year, Crozier would continue trying to raise funds from British and German industry for his "transnational security organisation" by circulating a planning paper entitled *The Multinationals and International Security*, as detailed in secret German intelligence reports by Hans Langemann, described below (334)*.

AESP, ISC AND 6I IN 1979

1979 would bring two major organisational upheavals in the Cercle complex. In Belgium, Florimond Damman died in July, and the AESP would be riven by internal rivalries for his succession, a struggle eventually to lead to its closure. In Britain, some of Crozier's colleagues in the ISC had become concerned at Crozier's other activities. "Partly for security reasons, partly because I did not want to involve the ISC Council in my extra-curricular activities, I had not taken any member of it into my confidence about the creation of the 6I. I can only assume some indiscretion within Whitehall, presumably from one of the few officers of SIS [MI6] who were aware of it: Lou [Le Bailly] and Leonard [Schapiro] both had intelligence contacts"

(335). Things came to a head when Le Bailly offered a letter of resignation from his post on the ISC Council, stating that Crozier's high profile and other activities were undermining the objectivity and efficiency of the ISC. The conflict escalated to end as a straight choice: Crozier's resignation as Director of the ISC or the resignation of several if not most of the ISC Council members. As Crozier felt that "my 'other' work was more important than running the ISC" (336), Crozier resigned his position in September 1979, to be replaced as ISC Director by Michael Goodwin with Ian Greig becoming Senior Executive (337)*. "Within weeks of my departure, the entire research staff of the ISC had been sacked. Not long after, the research library I had built up over many years was disposed of ...". Despite this upheaval, the ISC would continue under a different guise, as will be described in a later chapter.

Crozier's resignation from the ISC did however allow him to concentrate his efforts on the 6I which left ISC premises to set up in offices on Trafalgar Square. With a reserve of \$30,000, Crozier expanded the staff of the 6I and began publication of a monthly restricted newsletter, *Transnational Security*. "The recipients of *Transnational Security* ... fell into three categories. The top layer, which included the President [Reagan] and Mrs Thatcher, consisted of the Western and friendly Third World leaders, selected politicians, and friendly secret services. In the second layer, as of right, were contributors to our funds. The third layer consisted of our own people: agents and associates in various countries" (338). The bulletin would later change title to become *Notes and Analysis*.

One early task for the 6I was to recreate the ISC's liquidated research library by compiling "a reference archive of quotations from the already published words of hundreds of extremist politicians and trades unionists, as raw material for analytical reports in the Shield manner. In charge was a former MI5 man who had brought me disquieting information about the paralysis of the Security Service in the late 1970s" (339).

Crozier records that two early operations for the 6I were in Latin America and in Iran prior to the 1979 revolution. In Argentina, Uruguay and Chile, the 6I advised the armed forces and the security services in "the use of some of the non-violent, psychological techniques with which we had been experimenting in Europe" (340). Crozier also spent several days closeted with General Pinochet, drafting fourteen articles of the new Chilean Constitution.

Apart from supporting Pinochet and other Latin American regimes, the 6I was also increasingly concerned by the instability of the Shah's regime in Iran in the months preceding the Islamic revolution. Here again, the 6I's experience in psychological warfare techniques was needed; the brutal repression by the Shah's secret service SAVAK and the armed forces served only to feed the rising tide of Islamic fervour. Jean Violet in particular urged Crozier to travel to Iran to talk with the Shah. **General Douglas Brown** who managed the Dulverton Trust, one of the ISC's financial backers (341)*, found an intermediary for the Cercle in the person of **General Alan Fraser**, South Africa's Consul-General in Iran. The only non-Afrikaner

to hold the post of Chief of Staff of the South African Defence Force, Fraser was a personal friend of the Shah. In the spring of 1978, Crozier flew to Teheran where he met Fraser; the two men were then received by the Shah, who seemed reluctant to heed Crozier's warning that the CIA would not act to save the Shah and that psychological operations by the 6I were necessary to counter the climate of revolutionary unrest.

Shortly after this first visit to Teheran, Crozier met **Prince Turki ben Faisal**, brother of the Saudi Foreign Minister, who six months earlier had replaced his uncle, Turkish-born Kamal Adham, as head of the Saudi intelligence service. As such, Turki ben Faisal would become a key link in the covert war waged against Soviet forces occupying Afghanistan by the coalition of the CIA, the ISI - the Pakistani military intelligence service which created the Taliban - and the Afghani mujaheddin, including one of Turki's personal contacts, Osman bin Laden. In recognition of his services, Turki would be one of the Taliban's guests of honour at the proclamation of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan in Kabul on 28th April 1992.

Turki would become one of the world's longest-serving intelligence chiefs, his reign lasting from September 1977 until August 2001 just prior to the WTC attack when, as an all-too-visible personification of US-Saudi links, he was removed as head of the Saudi intelligence service to assuage growing anti-American feeling in Saudi Arabia. However, he was too valuable a man to lose and after a "decent interval", he would re-emerge in 2003 as Saudi Ambassador in London where he played a prominent rôle in the media drive for war with Iraq (342)*.

This first contact between Crozier and Turki ben Faisal was arranged via Dan McMichael, administrator of the Scaife family's trust funds, a major source of funding for the NSIC and ISC. Crozier briefed the Saudi prince about the 6I and its initial contact with the Shah. A proposed second meeting with Prince Turki ben Faisal in the summer of 1978 would not come off, but Crozier and the Cercle would finally meet the Saudi intelligence chief again at a Cercle meeting in Bavaria in the spring of 1979 when Turki ben Faisal would accept to act as the main backer for a planned 6I radio propaganda operation in the Middle East, detailed in the next chapter.

In the meanwhile, the Shah was reconsidering Crozier's offer of 6I help for psy-ops campaigns and contacted Turki ben Faisal, who put in a good word for the 6I. Turki ben Faisal's recommendation of the 6I carried a lot of weight for the Iranians; Turki ben Faisal was the Saudi representative on the **Safari Club**, a network for covert cooperation between the French, Saudi, Iranian, Moroccan and Egyptian intelligence services, founded by Alexandre de Marenches on 1st September 1976 with headquarters in Cairo (343). Besides Turki ben Faisal's recommendation, General Fraser had also been advising the Shah to accept the 6I's help: "he had raised with the Shah the question of financial assistance for our group, in return for our advice and expertise in combating the wave of subversion that threatened to sweep him off his throne" (344). Fraser advised Crozier to involve ISC Council member Sir Robert Thompson whose counter-insurgency experience during the

Malayan campaign and the early stages of the Vietnam War could be useful in the Iranian context.

In August 1978, the Shah reversed his previous decision and invited the Cercle to Teheran; although Violet was prevented from travelling due to ill-health, Crozier, Elliott, Thompson, and a team of advisers flew to Teheran on 3rd September. The Cercle team stopped off in France to pick up Antoine Pinay, whose long acquaintance with the Shah would add authority to the Cercle's proposals. The Cercle team met the Shah for two and a half hours, but were struck by his apathy. They then went on to discuss the situation with two top SAVAK officials, General Motazed and the head of the research department, Kaveh. The Cercle and SAVAK officials discussed a plan to distribute leaflets to split the tacit alliance between the Shiite fundamentalists and the Communist Tudeh party.

The time was past however for such subtleties; the commander of the Teheran garrison General Oveissi, who had planned to meet the Cercle team, was unable to attend due to the unrest in the Iranian capital. The Cercle's visit came at a crucial time: the caretaker Prime Minister resigned the day after the Cercle's meetings, and martial law was declared four days later, just after the Cercle team's return to London. In early November, the Shah finally decided to give the go-ahead for the Cercle to intervene, and the top civilian in SAVAK flew to London to spend a full week closeted with Robert Moss transforming a pile of SAVAK reports on Communist influence in the revolution into an ISC Conflict Study, *The Campaign to Destabilise Iran*. Following publication of the Conflict Study in November 1978, the Shah authorized a first annual payment of £1 million to the 6I for a psychological action operation, but the decision to involve the 6I further would come too late as the Shah would be overthrown in January 1979 before the payment could be made.

The exiled Shah's death in July 1980 would not however end the 6I's interest in Iran; Crozier "felt that there remained at least a fighting chance of a coup to overthrow Ayatollah Khomeini's fledgling regime. The outbreak of the Iraq-Iran War encouraged this view" (345). Crozier therefore flew three times to Cairo between July and November 1980 to meet the Shah's widow and President Sadat, but nothing would come of these meetings apart from a 6I report circulated to Mrs Thatcher and President Reagan.

THE LANGEMANN PAPERS

Whilst the 6I launched truly global operations in Latin America and in Iran in late 1979, they were not neglecting the European scene. Once Margaret Thatcher had won the general election in Britain in May 1979, the next priority was the 1980 election for West German Chancellor, where longstanding Cercle friend Franz Josef Strauss was standing as a candidate.

An unprecedented insight into Cercle/6I operations at this time was given by

the 1982 revelations of **Hans Langemann**, the head of Bavarian State Security. We have already met Langemann as a close collaborator of key German 6I member, Hans Freiherr von Stauffenberg and his private CSU intelligence service. Langemann had served in the BND from 1957 to 1970, where he rose to become Gehlen's deputy for "Special Operations" working closely with **Brigadier-General Wolfgang Langkau**, head of the BND's Strategic Service and future technical adviser to the von Stauffenberg network (346). In 1972, Langemann was appointed security chief for the Munich Olympics before being purged by the SPD government for being too close to Strauss's CSU party. Langemann then left federal employ to join the Bavarian Interior Ministry as head of the "State Protection" Department, in which capacity he acted as top link man between the Bavarian government, Strauss's CSU party, the Bavarian regional office of the BfV security service and the BND based in Pullach, a suburb of the Bavarian capital Munich.

Unbeknownst to Crozier and the 6I, Langemann had been receiving full reports on the Cercle from von Stauffenberg (347)*, information which Langemann then repeated in a series of secret intelligence reports, addressed to either Gerold Tandler, Bavarian Interior Minister, or to Tandler's Private Secretary, Dr. Georg Waltner, who also received the private intelligence reports from the von Stauffenberg network. Langemann's reports to Tandler and Waltner quoted a planning paper of Crozier's describing the efforts being made to provide a solid operational basis for the 6I by canvassing leaders of industry for financial support. The reports also detailed the high-level support Crozier could count on - amongst those named in the Langemann papers were two serving intelligence chiefs: **Sir Arthur "Dickie" Franks**, Chief of MI6 from 1978 to 1982, and the **Comte Alexandre de Marenches**, Director of the SDECE from 1970 to 1981. Langemann's reports also revealed that one of the major goals for the 6I was to shape the future decade by supporting three key right-wing election candidates in 1979-1980: Margaret Thatcher in Britain, Franz Josef Strauss in Germany, and Ronald Reagan in America.

"PROTECTED SOURCE

Contributions to State Protection

Minister's Eyes Only

Brian Crozier, London

- The Multinationals and International Security (348)*.

- Project Victory for Strauss

1. The militant conservative London publicist, Brian CROZIER, until September 1979, Director of the famous Institute for the Study of Conflict, has been working with his wide circle of friends in international politics to set up an anonymous action group ("transnational security organisation") and to widen its field of operations. His intention is to approach multinational companies about this group, which was the reason for drawing up this planning paper. Not least of all, so as to obtain the necessary funding: \$750,000 to start with and up to \$3 million. CROZIER has already approached German industrialists and shown them this paper, despite it being stamped "Secret". A new publication *Transnational Security* is being prepared so as to promote this project. For the reasons mentioned under item 2, it should be pointed out that CROZIER has worked with the CIA for many years. One has to assume, therefore, that they are fully aware of his activities.

He has extensive contacts with members (or more accurately, former members) of the most important (Western) security and intelligence agencies, such as the Comte de MERONGES [sic], ex-Director of the French SDECE (349)*. Furthermore, it is known that he has a good relationship with Mr. "Dickie" FRANKS, Chief of the British Secret Intelligence Service (so-called MI6) (350)*; his closest assistant, Mr. N. ELLIOTT was a Division Head in MI6.

CROZIER, ELLIOTT and FRANKS were recently invited to Chequers by Mrs. THATCHER for a working meeting. It must therefore be concluded that MI6 as well is fully aware of, if not indeed one of the main sponsors of, the anonymous security organisation.

Also very closely connected to Mrs. THATCHER is the prominent journalist Robert MOSS, who is involved in the promotion of the group's media actions together with Fred LUCHSINGER (351)*, Dr. KUX (352)* of the Swiss Intelligence Service (Colonel BOTTA), and Richard LÖWENTHAL (353)*.

Amongst other points in the planning paper are:

- V, i

Specific aims within this general framework are:

To affect a change of government in (a) the United Kingdom (accomplished) and (b) in West Germany, to defend freedom of trade and movement and to oppose all forms of subversion including terrorism ...

-VI A

What the group can do:

Get certain well-known journalists in Britain, the USA and other countries to

produce contributions. Access to television.

Guarantee a lobby in influential circles, whether directly or through middlemen, witting or unwitting.

Organize public demonstrations in particular areas on themes to be selected.

Involve (exploit) the main security and intelligence services both to obtain information and to pass on (feed) information to these agencies.

Covert financial transactions for political purposes.

- VI B

What the group can do if funding is available:

Conduct international campaigns aiming to discredit hostile personalities and/or events.

Create our own intelligence service specializing in particular themes.

Set up offices under suitable cover, each run by a full-time coordinator. Current plans include London, Washington, Paris, Munich (!), Madrid ...

2. As far as can be judged by an outsider, CROZIER has, together with his group, launched the project "Victory for Strauss" using the media or covert tactics applied in Great Britain (major themes, amongst others: communist-extremist subversion of the ruling party and trade unions, KGB direction of terrorism, crippling of internal security). He will support and direct the future development of the project on an international level.

However, for the present time, consideration must be given to the fact that the personal connections of the CROZIER group, in particular his affinity to personalities from the secret services, and the tactical and conspiratorial aims and proposed methods for the "Victory for Strauss" project described in the planning paper, can in fact be completely identified, even if this was not their intention. It also appears almost certain that on the basis of his project, CROZIER must provoke sharp defensive reactions from those security and intelligence services whose supervisory heads do not follow his political line, such as the BND and BfV. As CROZIER mentions both his basic plan and the Victory project to those he talks to, the problem this causes is obvious.

The possible, but avoidable, consequence may be definitely undesirable negative publicity.

Munich, 8th November 1979

Dr. Langemann, Department I F" (354).

The mention by Langemann of a working meeting at Chequers between Thatcher, Franks and the 6I team of Crozier and Elliott shortly after Thatcher's election victory is highly significant. Franks' presence with Crozier and Elliott at the Chequers 6I meeting raises the question whether the support given to Thatcher by the retired MI6 officers and IRD assets in the counter-subversion lobby was not echoed by serving MI6 officers such as Franks - MI6 Chief from 1978 to 1982. Franks was renowned as a hard right-winger who had sat uncomfortably as deputy to Maurice Oldfield, a man of liberal views. A few months after the Langemann report was written, Franks would play a key rôle in circulating the manuscript of the Chapman Pincher\Peter Wright book *Their Trade is Treachery* around Whitehall; his letter dated 15th December, 1980 was produced as evidence in the Australian *Spycatcher* trial as proof that the British Government, MI5 and MI6 had known long in advance that Wright was passing on his allegations of Soviet subversion within MI5 and the Wilson government to Chapman Pincher.

Referring to this author's previous research on the Cercle published in *Lobster* magazine in 1988-89, Crozier writes: "Much has been written about the Cercle, from the outside, and much of it has been false or misleading. For example, it has been alleged that it was a forum for bringing together 'international linkmen of the Right', such as myself and Robert Moss, with secret service chiefs like Alexandre de Marenches, long-time head of the French SDECE, and Sir Arthur ('Dickie') Franks, sometime head of MI6. There are pitfalls in writing about confidential matters from the outside, and drawing on similarly handicapped material. In fact, neither [de] Marenches nor Dickie Franks ever attended a Pinay Cercle meeting during the years I was involved with it: between 1971 and 1985. There was a very good reason why [de] Marenches would never have been invited. The inspirer and long-serving organizer of the Pinay Cercle was Jean Violet, who for many years had been retained by the SDECE as Special Advocate ... Inevitably he had made enemies. One of them was a close friend of the Comte de Marenches who, on being appointed Director-General of the SDECE in 1970, closed down Violet's office without notice. The two men - [de] Marenches and Violet - never met. As for Dickie Franks, he never attended Cercle meetings, for the reason that Directors of SIS do not involve themselves in such private groups. So he was never invited" (355).

This denial of links between the Cercle and Franks and de Marenches is certainly disingenuous, seeking to use the lack of formal involvement in the Cercle to discount any cooperation with it. Whilst serving Directors of SIS or the SDECE might not like to be seen at Cercle meetings, Langemann repeats information from Cercle insider von Stauffenberg that Franks did accompany the 6I core of Crozier and Elliott to a working meeting with Thatcher shortly after her election victory. As for de Marenches, despite any animosity with Violet, the French Count had been an intimate adviser to key Cercle member Franz Josef Strauss for many years.

The "undesirable negative publicity" feared by Langemann did indeed arise:

the *Spiegel* got wind of Strauss's international links and published a two-part series in February and March 1980. Besides documenting Strauss's contacts with Spinola and Arriaga and his covert funding of Fraga Iribarne, Silva Muñoz and Martinez Esteruelas, the *Spiegel* articles revealed Strauss's close friendship with the Comte de Marenches, reporting that Strauss frequently met de Marenches, either at the *Piscine* (SDECE headquarters) or at Strauss's Paris hotel. The *Spiegel* also reproduced a letter from Huyn to Strauss dated 13th February, 1979, which mentioned the Cercle Pinay for the first time:

"Furthermore, I would like to inform you that I have just received news from Riyadh confirming that Prince Turki ben Faisal, head of the Saudi intelligence service and brother of the Foreign Minister, will be attending the Cercle meeting in Wildbad-Kreuth [since 1975, the international conference centre of the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung]. I think his participation will be of particular interest in view of the Middle East situation [i.e. the overthrow of the Shah one month previously]" (356).

Following the initial contact between Crozier and Prince Turki ben Faisal in the spring of 1978 and the subsequent Cercle meeting in early 1979 referred to above, the 6I and the Saudi intelligence chief would work together on a propaganda project detailed in another report by Langemann written on 7th March, 1980. At the same time as Voice of America was rushing to expand its broadcasts to the Islamic border populations of the Soviet Union (357), the Cercle/6I was preparing for its radio debut. Together with the Saudi intelligence service, the Cercle/6I planned to set up a powerful transmitter in Saudi Arabia for propaganda broadcasts to the same target audience as VoA: the Soviet Islamic world radicalized by the Iranian revolution in January 1979 and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979. Huyn had already proposed similar action in his October 1978 book *Der Angriff - Der Vorstoss Moskaus zur Weltherrschaft* (The Attack - Moscow's Thrust for World Domination), where, as a conclusion, Huyn gave a list of twenty proposals for action to be undertaken if the West was to "survive in freedom". The ninth proposed action on the list explains the background to the joint Cercle/6I-Saudi project: "The people in the Soviet zone of domination must be given more intensive exposure to objective news from the free world ...In the hermetically sealed system of non-freedom of the Soviet bloc, the people can only be reached very partially by a few shortwave broadcasts. These options must be considerably strengthened and expanded; all the developments of modern technology - including satellite television broadcasting - should be used" (358).

Langemann's March 1980 report also gave general background information on the Cercle and specifically dealt with the damaging revelations that had just appeared in the *Spiegel*:

"Contributions to State Protection

Confidential note for Dr. Waltner, as agreed in conversation.

CERCLE

(*Spiegel*, 10/80, pg 23)

1. As far as my previous BND knowledge and my current information go, this Circle, obviously named with the aim of defaming it, consists of a loose gathering of various conservative and anti-communist politicians, publicists, bankers and VIPs from other professions that meets about twice a year in various parts of the world. Its origins lie with the former French Prime Minister, Antoine PINAY. The Circle, which also invites guests, still exists today.

The last meeting of the PINAY CIRCLE was held over the weekend of 1st December 1979 in the Madison Hotel in Washington. Amongst the participants were former Minister NARJES (Germany), former Air Minister Julian AMERY (UK), former CIA Director William COLBY, Federal Bank Director VOLKERS and Heritage Trust Foundation President FEULNER (USA) (359), as well as [former] Finance Minister PANDOLFI (Italy) (360)* and General FRAZER [sic] (South Africa) (361)*.

2. Acting as a kind of coordinator from the original French side is the Parisian lawyer Jean VIOLET who took over the operational side of the Circle as PINAY himself got older (362)*.

VIOLET has connections to several Western intelligence services; certainly to the CIA, to the French SDECE, to the British SIS and to the Swiss Military Intelligence Service, particularly to its Head of Procurement, Colonel BOTTA.

3. GEHLEN, who was always interested in the undertaking, its personalities and its results, recruited VIOLET as a "Special Contact" and for many years provided him with DM 6,000 a month. GEHLEN claimed that this sum had been agreed with the head of the SDECE, at that time General JACQUIER [1962-1966], because VIOLET was receiving the same amount from the SDECE.

As I was the main operative for GEHLEN's "Special Operations", I met with VIOLET on many occasions in his Paris flat, together with my fellow operative, the late Marchese de MISTURA.

Certainly, VIOLET and I never discussed the PINAY CIRCLE in any detail. However, I did once give him DM 30,000 from GEHLEN "for this purpose". The reporting to this complex, which also included the French statesman POHER, was essentially channelled through Special Contacts Dr. Johannes SCHAUFF and the late Klaus DOHRN. Later, the Parliamentary Secretary of State in the

Chancellor's Office, Baron GUTTENBERG, personally gave me the task of keeping "the dubious Mr. VIOLET" (cover name: Veilchen - Little Violet) under observation for counter-espionage purposes. Nothing came of this for reasons I don't need to go into here.

One should stress however that VIOLET himself has never boasted of possible contact with the Prime Minister [Strauss], although GEHLEN and GUTTENBERG always insisted on this. As politically coloured gossiping and rumour-mongering are basically "not professional" in counter-espionage, I never attempted to ask VIOLET about this, whether directly or by hinting at it. GEHLEN accepted this, and in particular, my direct superior at the time, General LANGKAU (Strategic Service), specifically approved it.

4. Recently, we have noted the establishment of a "command staff" or Inner Circle which develops suitable lines of action for current political questions. The activities of Brian CROZIER (Transnational Security) have already been the subject of previous reports.

On the 5th and 6th January, 1980, a group from within the Circle met in Zürich to discuss executive measures. VIOLET led the meeting; amongst others present were Count HUYN MP, Brian CROZIER (previously a longtime CIA agent), Nicholas ELLIOTT (former Division Head in the British SIS), former General STILWELL (ex-US Defence Intelligence Agency), and Mr. JAMESON (ex-CIA).

The main themes for discussion included:

- a) international promotion of the Prime Minister [Strauss].
- b) influencing the situation in Rhodesia and South Africa from a European Conservative viewpoint.
- c) the establishment of a powerful directional radio station in Saudi Arabia aiming at the Islamic region and including the corresponding border populations of the Soviet Union.

Note:

These commendable goals have not been tackled with sufficient attention paid to protecting secrecy in my view. Therefore, negative publicity cannot be ruled out. There is simply too much "loose talk". There is an urgent need for professionally restricted consultation on foreign intelligence service influences both here and abroad.

Munich, 7th March, 1980

Dr Langemann, Department I F" (363).

Langemann's comment about the emergence of a "command staff or Inner Circle" illustrates the difficulty in separating the functions of the Cercle as a confidential discussion forum and the 6I as a covert intelligence agency. Crozier himself comments on this in referring to this author's previous articles on the Cercle: "To describe it [the Cercle] as a forum is strictly accurate. There were no members in a formal sense. It was an informal group of broadly like-minded people, who met twice a year, once in America, once in Europe. Usually, some distinguished figure was invited to speak. Amongst the guest speakers at times when I was present were Strauss, Henry Kissinger (for whom I interpreted), Zbigniew Brzezinski, David Rockefeller, and Giulio Andreotti. Within the wider Cercle, a smaller gathering called the Pinay Group met on occasion to discuss possible action. ... Some outsiders have jumped to the wrong conclusion that the Pinay Cercle was the same as my 'secret' organisation. ... There was in fact some minor overlapping, but the functions of the 6I, which I have been describing, were quite different. Some members of the 6I's 'Politburo' also attended the Cercle meetings; others did not. Most members of the Cercle were unaware of the existence of the 6I. Many on the 6I's networks had no connection with the Cercle" (364). Certainly, Langemann's "Inner Circle" is virtually identical to the 'Politburo' of the 6I: Violet, Crozier, Elliott, Huyn, Stilwell and Jameson, the latter two being described below. Only a few of the 6I 'Politburo' members were not in attendance at this "command staff" meeting, amongst them Walters, von Stauffenberg, Albertini and Horchem.

Langemann also mentions for the first time two further intelligence veterans who served on the 6I's 'Politburo', the first of whom was four-star Army **General Richard Giles 'Dick' Stilwell**. Stilwell's post-war career would start in 1947 with a two-year posting to Rome as Special Military Advisor to the American Ambassador. From 1949 to 1952, he served as Chief of the Far East Division of the CIA (not the DIA as Langemann asserts). After a tour of duty in Korea in 1952-53, Stilwell worked as Chief of Strategic Planning at SHAPE from 1956 to 1958 before being appointed in 1959 to the President's Committee for the study of Foreign Assistance Programs which developed US counter-insurgency policy, notably "one of the most influential documents of the past quarter-century" (365), the 1959 report *Training under the Mutual Security Program* which coined the term "pacification" (366). Stilwell's policies laid the groundwork for the American pacification program for Vietnam which would be implemented successively by three Cercle contacts - Thompson, Komer and Colby (367)*.

Between 1963 and 1969, Stilwell would again serve in the Asian theatre, firstly in 1963 in Vietnam, when he worked as Chief of Staff to General Westmoreland, then in Thailand as Commander of the U.S. Military Assistance Command from 1965 to 1967 before returning to Vietnam from 1968 to 1969. After Vietnam, he would fill political posts, first as Deputy Chief of Staff for US Military Operations at the United Nations from 1969 to 1972, and then as Commander-in-Chief of the UN and American Forces in South Korea from 1973 to 1976, the year of his retirement from

active service. Less than a year after Langemann's 1980 report, Stilwell would be appointed Reagan's Undersecretary of Defense in charge of Policy, a post he would fill from 1981 to 1985; he joined the ASC Board and the 'Politburo' of the 6I soon after his appointment (368)*.

The second 6I 'Politburo' member mentioned by Langemann was **Donald 'Jamie' Jameson**, a twenty-year veteran of the CIA's Directorate of Operations who headed the branch in charge of Soviet Bloc covert action and defectors from 1962 to 1969. Jameson's branch encouraged dissidents behind the Iron Curtain, debriefed defectors and helped smuggle banned books to and from the Soviet Union and its satellite countries. Jameson had first debriefed Golitsin, the defector who "confirmed" the fears of the ultras within the CIA, MI6 and MI5 about Soviet penetration of Western governments and intelligence services, ensnaring the CIA, MI5 and MI6 in fruitless and highly destructive molehunts. Sceptical of Golitsin's claims and wary of the high-level attention the Soviet defector was being paid, Jameson recommended caution; he was however overridden by Angleton, who removed Jameson as Golitsin's debriefer (369). After retiring from the CIA in 1973, Jameson set up the "private" defector reception group, the Jameson Institute. Besides this, Jameson was also Vice-President of the Washington-based "risk assessment consultancy", Research Associates International, Ltd, and worked with General Graham and Cline as an adviser to the Nathan Hale Institute, founded by Raymond Wannall, former Assistant Director of the FBI's Intelligence Division (370)*.

VICTORY FOR STRAUSS

The outlines of the operation to promote Strauss as candidate for the German Chancellorship in the 1980 elections are quite clear: within a month of the January Cercle meeting, Crozier in Britain and Löwenthal in Germany had launched a coordinated pro-Strauss campaign. The task was not easy: Strauss's previous run for the Chancellorship in the early 1960s had been dashed by his murky reputation, already tarnished in the 1962 "*Spiegel* Affair" which revealed that he had orchestrated the illegal extradition from Spain of the magazine's chief editor, Conrad Ahlers. In June 1963, the *Spiegel* alleged that Strauss had been involved in a fraud whilst serving as German Defence Minister; he was later exonerated but the scandal scotched his chances of rising from Defence Minister to the Chancellorship. In the mid-1970s, Strauss would be implicated in the Lockheed bribes scandal and the disastrous German purchase of the Starfighter or "Widowmaker" aircraft (371)*. This time around, the Cercle was determined to discredit the *Spiegel's* relentless revelations of Strauss's parapolitical links. The tactic used was the old ploy of accusing awkward journalists of being in the pay of the Kremlin. Within a month of the January 1980 Cercle meeting, Löwenthal had founded a Strauss support group, the **Bürgeraktion Demokraten für Strauss**. The group's posters alleged the existence of a systematic anti-Strauss campaign steered from Moscow:

"Germans! Do you know who is behind the anti-Strauss campaigns?"

Journalists financed by East Germany, cheque fraudsters, dope smokers, terrorist sympathizers, Communists and unfortunately also Social Democrats. Stop this left-wing Popular Front!" (372)*.

The same theme was played on by Crozier who from February on planted pro-Strauss articles in **Sir James Goldsmith's** magazine **NOW!**, for which Crozier edited an entire section during the magazine's short lifespan from 1979 to 1981. One article by Crozier, published on 15th February 1980, dealt in depth with the allegations made by the *Spiegel* in 1963. Goldsmith himself later joined in the campaign; on 21st January 1981, he addressed the Conservative Media Committee in the House of Commons on "The Communist Propaganda Apparatus and Other Threats in the Media". In his speech, he quoted the Czech defector Major-General Jan Sejna who "admitted that the campaign by the German news magazine *Der Spiegel* to discredit Franz Josef Strauss was orchestrated by the KGB". The *Spiegel* naturally sued. Goldsmith then employed 20 researchers for three years to back up his case, claiming to have interviewed every major defector from the Eastern bloc in the last three and a half years (373).

By 1984, however, Goldsmith was seeking to retreat from his previous claims: in a speech to the Defence Strategy Forum of the NSIC in Washington on 24th May, 1984, whilst repeating that the KGB was behind the campaign against Strauss, he added: "this does not mean that the publications or journalists in question were knowingly involved or that they were aware that their views were being manipulated and used by the Soviets for their own purposes" (374). Goldsmith's case collapsed when one of his star witnesses, the temporary Soviet defector, Oleg Bitov, returned to the Soviet Union. Bitov later wrote of the episode in the *Moscow Literary Gazette* (375), in which he alleged that Crozier was coordinating the research from his Regent Street office. Goldsmith tried to postpone the case but eventually an out-of-court settlement was reached between the *Spiegel* and Goldsmith, with Goldsmith paying his costs. Despite this legal retreat, Goldsmith took out full-page adverts in the British and German Press, declaring the *Spiegel* to be "a victim of the propaganda techniques of the KGB" (376)*. Much of Goldsmith's research was later recycled by Chapman Pincher who devoted three chapters to this second "*Spiegel* Affair" in his 1985 book, *The Secret Offensive*.

THE REAGAN CAMPAIGN

The final Cercle document from this period came not from Langemann but from German investigative journalist Jürgen Roth, who published the minutes of the next Cercle meeting, held in Zürich on 28th and 29th June, 1980. The "Victory for Strauss" campaign was in full swing, but despite Crozier and Löwenthal's efforts, it was not going well, particularly because of the revelations in the *Spiegel* in February and March. Besides following progress on the Strauss project and the radio station in

Saudi Arabia, the Cercle turned their attention to the looming American Presidential elections:

"A further meeting of the Circle was held under the chairmanship of Violet and attended by those present at the previous meeting, including Colonel Botta of the Swiss Intelligence Service and Fred Luchsinger, head of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*.

1. The prospects for positive influence on the election campaign in favour of Strauss cannot be judged to be very favourable. While the many promotional influences in US, UK and Swiss newspapers were welcomed by their readers, their impact in the Federal Republic lagged far behind. Furthermore, it seems doubtful that Strauss will be able to match the dynamic foreign policy initiatives that Federal Chancellor Schmidt has been able to make. In contrast to the situation in the US, where President Carter is confronted with the shattered remains of his foreign policy - difficult to present favourably for the election campaign, even in part - Schmidt has understood how to make clear and prominent political steps which represent an achievable goal for the population's desire for peace. Luchsinger said that he was prepared to produce a series of three leading articles highlighting the tendency of current government policy in Bonn to weaken NATO. Crozier felt that similar steps could be tried again through Moss in London and the *Baltimore Sun* in the US (377)*.

2. Count Huyn reported on his meeting with the head of the Saudi security service about the establishment of a short-wave radio transmitting towards the Soviet Union. The Saudis were interested, he said, and had guaranteed finance on the condition that a situation such as that created in Moscow by Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty must be avoided at all costs.

3. A discussion was held about a series of appropriate measures to promote the electoral campaign of Presidential candidate Reagan against Carter. Elliott reported that in this context, positive contact had been made with George [H. W.] Bush as well (378)*.

4. Colonel Botta stated that in his opinion, support must be given to the Israeli intelligence service. It was noted that, as far as Europe was concerned, the efficiency of the service had diminished considerably" (379)*.

The presence of several former CIA or DIA officers during the Cercle's discussions on the promotion of Ronald Reagan is indicative: participants at the Cercle's earlier "command staff" meeting in January 1980 had included not only Violet, Crozier, Elliott and Huyn, but also Jameson and Stilwell, the latter an ASC Board member. At the time of the Cercle meeting, the ASC Foundation was launching an intense media campaign against Carter for "disarming America to death" through

the SALT 2 Treaty. The ASCF produced a film called *The SALT 2 Syndrome* that was notably used in South Dakota to oust Senator George McGovern. The film was shown eleven times on the three major state television channels and as a film or videotape it was screened to over 1,000 audiences. ASC official John Fisher stated:

"In the last three months of the campaign ... ASCF increased its average TV showings from 30 a month to 180 bookings per month for a total of 1,956 showings during this election year" (380)*.

Within ten days of the Cercle meeting of 28th-29th June, Crozier flew out to Los Angeles to brief Reagan personally on the 6I and offer its services. Crozier was not the only one to contact Reagan or his campaign team; also in early July, the Comte de Marenches met William Casey, Reagan's campaign manager, in Paris. De Marenches, who wrote in his memoirs that "under Carter, the Americans committed voluntary suicide", shared with Casey not only a total disdain for Carter but also a past in the Resistance during the Second World War and an arch-conservative approach to both politics and intelligence work. De Marenches was well placed to advise Casey on the Iranian hostage crisis; he had been the driving force behind the Safari Club, founded in 1976 to coordinate covert cooperation between the French, Iranian, Saudi, Moroccan and Egyptian intelligence services.

One month after the de Marenches-Casey meeting, Casey would fly to Madrid for a series of meetings with senior Iranian officials to negotiate the framework for a deal to delay the release of the Teheran Embassy hostages. The key meetings to finalize the "October surprise" deal were held in October in Paris under the benevolent eye of de Marenches's SDECE; in September, Alain de Marolles, SDECE Director of Operations and principal deputy to de Marenches, had given the go-ahead for French arms dealers to supply Iran with military equipment in direct violation of Carter's embargo (381). After Reagan's election victory, de Marenches was invited to meet the President-elect and flew to California on 21st November, 1980 to advise him on selection of Administration personnel and policy. Above all, de Marenches warned Reagan not to trust the CIA, particularly because of its lack of purposefulness:

"Reagan repeated [de] Marenches's warning - "Don't trust the CIA" - to George Bush, who had been CIA chief in 1976-77. Bush thought it was hogwash, but all the same it obviously left a deep impression on Reagan. Bush had already told one of his CIA friends that, given Reagan's detached management style and his unfamiliarity with intelligence matters, it was important the President have a CIA Director he felt close to, someone he trusted fully, particularly on the issue of purposefulness. Now, after the [de] Marenches warning, that was even more important" (382)*.

The man to whom Reagan offered the job - within days of his meeting with de Marenches - was someone the French spymaster approved of entirely: William Casey.

The advent of the Reagan Administration would of course ensure that the

Cercle and Crozier's unbroken access to the highest levels of US policymaking would continue after the departure in January 1981 of Carter's National Security Adviser and WISC Committee member Zbigniew Brzezinski. Reagan initially appointed an old Californian friend, William A. Wilson, as his special contact for the Cercle and the 6I; following Wilson's appointment as US Ambassador to the Vatican in 1982, the Cercle and the 6I liaised directly with Reagan's first three National Security Advisers, Dick Allen, Bud McFarlane and Admiral Poindexter.

Now in charge of the CIA, NSIC founder and longstanding ISC friend William Casey would help to provide initial funding for the 6I's operations. Members of the 6I's 'Politburo' were also soon appointed to high office: General Stilwell became Reagan's Assistant Secretary of Defence in charge of Administration, whilst General Walters would serve as Reagan's roving Ambassador from 1981 on before representing the US at the UN from 1985 to 1989. The Cercle and the 6I could also count on several other highly-placed friends within the American national security apparatus throughout the Reagan Presidency. One of Crozier's frequent contacts throughout the 1980s was **Ken deGraffenreid**, a former Senior Fellow on Intelligence at the NSIC who served as senior professional staff member of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence from 1977 to 1981 before becoming Senior Director of Intelligence Programs at the NSC from 1981 to 1987. Another regular Crozier partner, indeed a possible 6I founding member, was sometime NSIC Program Director **Sven Kraemer** who had worked during the Carter Presidency as Senior Staff Member for Defense and Foreign Policy for the Senate. After Reagan's election, Kraemer returned to his previous speciality and served as Director of Arms Control at the NSC from 1981 to 1987; he would then act as Senior Staff Member for Defense and Foreign Policy for the House of Representatives until 1989. Other Crozier allies within the NSC were Sovietologist and NSC Adviser Richard Pipes, a WISC Committee member, and last but not least Colonel Oliver North of Iran-Contra fame.

To turn to Germany, although the campaign to promote Strauss for Chancellor failed and the Bürgeraktion Demokraten für Strauss disbanded, it was revived in June 1981 as a political pressure group called **Konservative Aktion**. The KA President was Ludek Pachmann; Löwenthal was Chairman of the Board, which also included Dr Lothar Bossle. KA also had excellent contacts with the German security and intelligence services: the adviser for KA's Internal Security Working Group was Crozier's old ISC friend Horchem, who had just retired as head of the Hamburg BfV. KA's speaker on German and East European policy was **Prof. Hans-Werner Bracht**, from 1961 to 1972 a senior lecturer at the German Army Psychological Warfare School in Euskirchen, with a spell from 1969 to 1970 in the Political Division at NATO headquarters in Brussels. In this context, it is interesting to note that the Army Psychological Warfare School had previously provided Grau's ISP with one of its most frequent speakers in the mid-1970s, the School's Director Dr Kurt Klein. One further KA member was Brigadier-General Heinz Karst, also an ISP speaker, and a member of Löwenthal's Deutschland-Stiftung and of the Brüsewitz Centre. Whilst marginal, KA would draw headlines due to its uncompromising hard-right slant and the frequent violence shown by younger militants at KA anti-immigration

demonstrations and during attempts to storm squatted houses. In 1983, KA would pierce a hole in the Berlin Wall; it would also circulate letters in Turkish urging Turkish immigrants to return home. In 1986, a KA demonstration for the release of Rudolf Hess and a KA circular insulting Willy Brandt would lead to dissension amongst KA's leading members; several prominent conservatives including Karst resigned, and the Board was purged by Pachmann and Löwenthal. KA would file for bankruptcy in September 1986 and be finally dissolved in 1989 (383).

1981 - 1991

FORWARD TO VICTORY

THE BELGIAN STRATEGY OF TENSION

As we have already seen in the early 1970s, the Belgian members of the Cercle complex often had more robust plans than election rigging in mind. A 1981 report by the Sûreté de l'Etat makes it clear that the Belgian AESP\MAUE members implicated in the rumours of a planned coup d'état in 1973 were again involved in the mid-1980s in funding fascists planning a coup together with a group of extreme right-wing sympathizers in the Gendarmerie (384).

The Sûreté report dated 11th May, 1981 was submitted by Justice Minister Philippe Moureaux to the Wijninckx Committee, a Senate committee investigating the extreme Right and their private armies (385)*. The report revealed that leading members of CEPIC, including Paul Vankerhoven, Bernard Mercier and Benoît de Bonvoisin (now running MAUE after Damman's death in 1979), had been funding two extreme right-wing groups also implicated in the 1973 coup plans: the **Front de la Jeunesse**, a major Belgian fascist group run by **Francis Dossogne** and **Paul Latinus**, and the *Nouvel Europe Magazine*, edited by **Emile Lecerf**. Lecerf and Dossogne had represented Belgium at the 1975 gathering of European fascists at de Bonvoisin's castle. The Sûreté report further revealed de Bonvoisin's continued financial support for Bougerol and the PIO publication *Inforep*, Bougerol's rôle as a speaker at NEM Club events and his close links with Bernard Mercier of the CEPIC Board.

The NEM Clubs, composed of readers of Lecerf's *Nouvel Europe Magazine*, had been implicated with Major Bougerol in the 1973 coup plans by the de Cock and Tratsaert reports; the de Cock report had already alluded to the financing of the *NEM* by VdB and de Bonvoisin in the early 1970s. By the 1980s, the NEM Clubs were also the recruiting pool for the most notorious of the fascist private armies, **Westland New Post**, headed by former Front chief Paul Latinus. The WNP was far more than a group of rowdies: it appeared to run a full-blown parallel intelligence service with links to the Sûreté; Latinus himself was a major Sûreté informant. The links between

the WNP, the Front de la Jeunesse and CEPIC were multiple: besides the funding of the Front and the NEM Clubs disclosed in the 1981 Sûreté report, 1976 CEPIC election candidate Joseph Franz had joined CEPIC straight from the Front. Former CEPIC President Jean-Pierre Grafé appealed directly to the Front for help with his election campaign. Front billstickers ensured CEPIC's election poster coverage - when they couldn't cope, the WNP's poster team filled the gap. Lecerf published appeals to vote for CEPIC in his *Nouvel Europe Magazine*. A 1983 Sûreté report repeated allegations by WNP members that Mercier of the CEPIC Board was also a regional representative/inspector of the WNP.

The WNP had been infiltrated by **Commissioner Christian Smets** of the Sûreté, after Smets's superior, **Chief Commissioner Victor Massart**, had recruited WNP leader Latinus as a Sûreté informant (386)*. Massart appointed Smets as Latinus's case officer, and Latinus duly introduced Smets into the group as "the Duck", a sympathizer from the Sûreté. To prove his good faith, after checking with headquarters, Smets gave the WNP lessons in surveillance and counter-surveillance. In February 1982, in the middle of Smets's training course, WNP militants used their newly-gained knowledge to stalk and then kill two people. The arrest of the WNP militants and the confession of the killer, Latinus's lieutenant Marcel Barbier, brought Smets's "membership" of the WNP to light by 1983, whereupon the establishment and left-wing Press had a field day. It was clear that a serving Sûreté officer had been caught red-handed training a fascist private army guilty of a double murder. The uproar was enormous, leaving the Sûreté compromised and Smets accused of being a fascist sympathizer colluding with the WNP through political conviction. Fired on by the Press and by de Bonvoisin, Smets could only weakly claim to have been following orders from his Sûreté superior Massart who was in the front ranks of his attackers, proclaiming Smets had acted totally without authority. Smets was condemned on all sides; even the *NEM* and other fascist publications vociferously joined in, covering Brussels with posters reading "Sûreté assassin!".

With hindsight and later information, the situation looks radically different: it now appears that the WNP scandal was the successful culmination of an operation to sabotage Sûreté investigations into de Bonvoisin's patronage of fascist groups. The operation was as effective as it was ingenious: Smets, whose investigations posed a real threat to de Bonvoisin, Bougerol and the extreme Right, was tarred with the fascist brush and publicly vilified. With Smets disgraced and his team closed down as a result of the WNP scandal, the investigations into the links between de Bonvoisin, Bougerol and the fascist militias came to an end. If collusion there was between the Sûreté and the WNP, it was between Massart and Latinus with the aim of compromising Smets. Later investigations into Gladio and PIO revealed that Massart, Smets's superior, had been the principal contact in the Sûreté for VdB/de Bonvoisin's intelligence chief, Bougerol. Massart gave open access to Sûreté files for Bougerol and his team. Smets's enquiries were a threat not only to CEPIC and the NEM Clubs, but also to Massart. Bougerol's visits were no secret at the Square de Meeûs (Sûreté headquarters); after it could no longer be overlooked that PIO had officially been closed down, Massart's cooperation with Bougerol continued via

Bougerol's secretary, Mirèze Legon, who regularly visited Massart to view Sûreté files. To deflect criticism, Massart had informed his colleagues that Legon no longer worked with Bougerol; Smets, though, working on the de Bonvoisin/Bougerol/NEM triangle, had Legon followed from Massart's office to ... the PIO military branch office. With the discovery of Massart's ongoing illegal cooperation with PIO, Smets was simply getting too close for comfort.

It will come as no surprise to learn that the WNP leader Paul Latinus "committed suicide" in April 1984 as the WNP scandal gathered pace. Opinions remain divided about whether the suicide was arranged or not. Latinus could have been a key witness not just in the WNP case but also in a vice scandal that hit the headlines at the same time as the May, 1981 Sûreté report on CEPIC's links to the NEM. Shortly before dying, Latinus had referred to a file that was his "insurance policy" - a dossier compromising top politicians in a vice ring: **the Pinon file**. Dr. Pinon's wife ran a child vice ring in which VdB and other right-wing notables were allegedly compromised. In early 1981, details of the ring reached Lecerf who wrote an article; perhaps not surprisingly in view of his connections, Lecerf never published the piece. Lecerf may have been the source for Latinus's file. In mid-June, 1981, Dr. Pinon gave details of the ring to the left-wing magazine *Pour*, which had originally exposed de Bonvoisin's fascist connections. *Pour's* editor, Jean-Claude Garot, was preparing to go into print when he received a phone call from a lawyer attempting to prevent publication: Garot refused. Ten days later, the premises of *Pour* were burnt to the ground by a joint commando group from the Front de la Jeunesse/WNP and the Flemish fascist group VMO. Garot never identified the lawyer who phoned him by name, but did reveal that it was "a lawyer from the extreme Right, a member of MAUE". A subsequent detailed study of the *Pour* case stated that the lawyer was Vincent van den Bosch, a close associate of the late Florimond Damman's and longstanding member of the Permanent Delegation of the AESP who served with de Bonvoisin as a Board member of MAUE (387). Van den Bosch would later figure in the WNP trials as counsel for WNP killer Michel Barbier.

THE BRABANT WALLON KILLERS

The involvement of AESP\CEPIC members with the extreme Right may tie into the most notorious of Belgian parapolitical affairs - the "**Brabant Wallon killers**", a gang of alleged "bandits" who specialized in holding up supermarkets with maximum violence and minimum loot, killing 28 people between 1982 and 1985. The theory that the killers were motivated by criminal gain - an idea pushed hard by the Belgian Justice Ministry - was demolished by the wanton killing of unarmed and unresisting shoppers, the highly professional and military approach taken to the attacks, and the provocative tactics employed: on one occasion, having needlessly gunned down several people and seized takings of only several thousand Euros, the killers sat in the supermarket car-park to calmly await the arrival of the police before making good

their getaway. Such provocation, together with the concentration of their attacks in one limited area (the Brabant Wallon), even to the extent of driving directly from one attack to hit another supermarket only ten miles away, all pointed to a strategy of tension with political motivations rather than to organized crime.

The multiple investigations into the Brabant Wallon killings have thrown up considerable evidence that points to the authors of the attacks being extreme right-wing sympathizers within the ranks of the Gendarmerie. One of the actions of the killers was to break into a warehouse and steal prototype bulletproof vests, whose existence was only known to the Gendarmerie and a handful of ballistic experts. It also became clear that those carrying out the supermarket attacks must have had intimate knowledge of the tactics called "Practical Shooting", a preserve shared by the Diane group, the Gendarmerie's anti-terrorist unit, and a series of private "Practical Shooting Clubs" dominated by the extreme Right. Some of the weapons used in connected attacks had been "stolen" from the barracks of the Diane group on New Year's Eve, 1981-82.

In 1989, sensational allegations about Gendarmerie involvement in the killings were made by **Martial Lekeu**, a former member of the Diane Group and also of the Gendarmerie's political intelligence section, the BSR. Lekeu alleged that in the mid-1970s he was recruited into a secret neo-nazi organisation within the Gendarmerie, **Group G**. The Gendarmerie officer who recruited him was Didier Mievis, a BSR member and recruiter for the Front de la Jeunesse within the Gendarmerie (388)*. Lekeu claimed that the two external controllers of Group G were Francis Dossogne and Paul Latinus, heads of the Front. Lekeu's first contact with Group G was during a Front meeting held in Latinus's house; Latinus was Lekeu's next-door neighbour. From 1975 onwards, the Front and Group G, together with a corresponding group in the Army, Group M, planned a coup d'état to bring CEPIC to power. At this time, Vanden Boeynants was President of CEPIC and Belgian Defence Minister, the supervisory authority for the Gendarmerie. The 1981 Sûreté report reveals that during this period VdB and de Bonvoisin were giving substantial funding to Dossogne and Latinus for the Front. Lekeu alleged:

"When I joined the Gendarmerie, I was a convinced fascist. I got to know people in the Diane group who shared my opinions. We used to exchange the Nazi salute. Every time we smacked our heels together in the canteen or in the corridors of the BSR headquarters, we heard others doing the same. It was a sign of brotherhood ... during the Front meetings, a plan was developed to destabilize Belgium and prepare for an authoritarian regime. This plan was divided into two stages: a phase of political terrorism and a phase of gangsterism. I worked on the second phase. I was one of the specialists who would train the young people in extreme Right ideology; we had to turn them into a group of individuals that were ready for anything. Then, I should break off all contact with them so that they would become a completely autonomous group who would commit armed raids without being aware that they were part of a perfectly planned plot".

The Intelligence section of the BSR were well aware of Group G's activities: according to a BSR report drawn up by Chief Adjutant Tratsaert in October 1976, the BSR had several of Group G's documents, and had infiltrated some of their meetings, photographing the group's members. The 1976 report confirms Lekeu's claim that Dossogne was a member of the group. Lekeu stated that he left Group G when they started committing the Brabant killings; a 1985 BSR report by Agent Bihay declared that Group G included at least one other gendarme closely linked to the killings: **Madani Bouhouche**, who was also a member of the WNP. Lekeu further claimed that Group G was behind the 1981 theft of Group Diane's weapons: certainly, Bouhouche was seen in the Diane barracks on the day of the robbery and used one of the Gendarmerie's vans taken later that night by the thieves.

According to Lekeu, Group G was not only responsible for carrying out the Brabant killings, but also for launching earlier attempted assassinations which targeted Gendarmerie colleagues whose investigations into fraud scandals linked to VdB were getting too close to the truth. Lekeu specifically mentioned the 1981 attack on Gendarmerie **Major Herman Vernailen** as a Group G operation. Vernailen had certainly been treading on toes: besides investigating VdB's links to financial and drug scandals, Vernailen had been following up indications of VdB's involvement in coup plots. In May 1989, Vernailen declared that in 1980 the Brussels banker and CEPIC member, **Leo Finné**, had informed him of a planned coup d'état in the 1980s which involved several senior figures in Opus Dei and a former Minister. Finné was in a position to know: it has subsequently emerged that he was involved with VdB in one of the planned coups in 1973. In a confidential report, Vernailen gave further details and named participants in the 1980s plot as CEPIC President VdB, former Deputy Prime Minister and CEPIC member José Desmarets (in 1986-87, President of WACL, whose Belgian section LIL had worked closely with Damman), State Prosecutor Raymond Charles, former Gendarmerie General Fernand Beurir, ex-Chief of General Staff **Lieutenant-General Georges Vivario** (389)* and CEPIC member Jean Militis, a paratroop colonel implicated in the rumours of a planned coup in 1973. Vernailen's allegations were corroborated in November 1989 by the testimony before the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry from another Gendarmerie officer, Chief Adjutant Dussart, who confirmed the names of the participants in the 1980s plot and stated that several of the 1980s plotters had also been involved in the 1973 plans for a coup: the de Cock and Tratsaert reports had detailed the NEM Clubs' involvement in the 1973 plans and named CEPIC members VdB and de Bonvoisin.

Whilst some figures in CEPIC appear to have been the beneficiaries of the strategy of tension, others were definitely its victims. As Hugo Gijssels points out, closer examination of some of the people murdered by the Brabant killers during their attacks throws up a remarkable series of coincidences. Several people were coldly executed with bullets to the head, in contrast to the shooting in the supermarkets that claimed most victims. Amongst those executed in September-October 1983 were three CEPIC members: Elise Dewit and Jacques Fourez, a

business contact of VdB's, and Jacques van Camp, innkeeper of the "Auberge des Trois Canards", a favourite haunt for VdB, General Beaurir, Dewit and Fourez. In October 1985, the killers claimed an even more significant victim amongst the ranks of CEPIC: banker Leo Finné, Vernailen's informant, the first person killed in the raid on the Delhaize supermarket in Overijse.

This is a very brief summary of an extremely complex series of events, and although much remains unknown, it is clear that those who gravitated in the AESP\Cercle Pinay environment were closely linked both to the rumoured plans for a coup in 1973 and to the Belgian strategy of tension in the 1980s. Certain parallels can be drawn to two previous cases of a strategy of tension: Italy from 1969 onwards and Portugal in 1975-76. In all three countries, the beneficiary of the strategy of tension was a Cercle Pinay contact - Andreotti, Spinola and Vanden Boeynants. In all three cases, the operational experience in running a strategy of tension came from Aginter Press, Stefano delle Chiaie and fascist militants in the ranks of the local police and Army. The most promising avenue for investigation to understand the coup plots and strategy of tension in Belgium in the 1970s and 1980s lies no doubt in exploring contacts between Aginter Press and the AESP. It is significant that Damman, Lecerf and Guérin-Sérac met only two years before Lecerf's *NEM* made its first appeal for a coup d'état - at the beginning of its long and close relationship with de Bonvoisin and VdB. Belgian justice has been notably timid in its investigations, and a full exposure of those behind these events will probably never come, but as one of the top police investigators working on the Brabant killings said about the sniffer plane scandal:

"If you're looking for the motives behind the killings in the Brabant, start by understanding the motives behind that gigantic swindle" (390).

THE CERCLE PINAY AND BANCO AMBROSIANO

The close links connecting the Cercle Pinay and the sniffer plane scandal of the late 1970s have already been documented above; in the early 1980s, it emerged that several Cercle Pinay contacts, including key players in the sniffer plane scandal such as Carlo Pesenti, were connected to the 1982 crash of the "P2 bank", Banco Ambrosiano. Under a permanent threat of take-over by Michele Sindona, Pesenti had shored up his indebted Italmobiliare group by substantial borrowings from Banco Ambrosiano and its various Italian subsidiaries, secured by large blocks of shares in companies controlled by Pesenti. The relationship between Banco Ambrosiano, Pesenti and the Cercle complex became more explicit in the final months before the bank's collapse in June/July 1982. In late 1981, the Vatican, concerned about the growing scandal surrounding Roberto Calvi, had canvassed support for a successor. Their favoured candidate was another prominent Catholic banker, Orazio Bagnasco, active in property-based mutual funds and by 1980 the owner of the CIGA group of hotels. Bagnasco was known to be very close to Giulio Andreotti; what is less known is that both Andreotti and Bagnasco had links to the AESP and the Cercle Pinay

complex. Andreotti was a Life Member of the AESP from at least 1977 on; Bagnasco was a participant at the 1976 CEDI Congress along with the main Cercle members involved in the sniffer plane scandal - Pesenti, Pinay, Violet, Damman and Sanchez Bella. As we've also seen, two of the other CEDI participants were Dr Ernest Töttösy and Vittorio Pons, accused by Richard Brenneke in 1990 of being members of P7, a covert group of lawyers and bankers used by the CIA as a funding channel for P2. Despite Calvi's objections, Bagnasco was appointed Deputy Director of Banco Ambrosiano on 26th January, 1982.

Shortly afterwards, the bank secretly underwrote a loan of 100 billion lire to Pesenti to allow him to buy into Banco Ambrosiano. On 10th March 1982, Pesenti's Italmobiliare became the largest declared shareholder in Banco Ambrosiano, and Pesenti was appointed an Ambrosiano director. When the bank finally collapsed in June/July, Pesenti lost 100 billion lire on his Ambrosiano shareholding alone, and was forced to sell off another of his banks six weeks after Calvi died. Already in poor health, Pesenti did not long survive the Ambrosiano fiasco; he died in September 1984. Following the Banco Ambrosiano crash, the Vatican appointed a four-man commission of inquiry to "investigate" the scandal; of the four commissioners, two were Cercle Pinay contacts. One was Hermann Josef Abs, the German Bilderberger, European Movement and CEDI member who had met Spinola at Strauss's behest during the General's 1975 tour to raise funding for a coup d'état. The other was none other than Philippe de Weck who, with Pesenti, was the main financier implicated in the sniffer plane scandal. There are further links between the sniffer plane scandal and Banco Ambrosiano quite apart from the repeated presence of the two major players, Pesenti and de Weck: the company used as a conduit for Elf's initial sniffer plane payments to de Villegas' Fisalma, Ultrafin, was owned by Calvi and linked to Ambrosiano Holding Luxembourg. One of the Ultrafin shareholders was Ernst Keller, a member of de Weck's Zürich UBS staff responsible for overseeing transfers of sniffer plane money to Fisalma. De Weck's UBS bank had been one of the major channels used by Calvi for milking Banco Ambrosiano; UBS was also one of the principal Swiss banks used by P2. Amongst UBS accounts was one of \$55 million for Gelli and another of \$30 million for Calvi and his partner Flavio Carboni (391)*.

PEACE PROPAGANDA

A major factor in 1980s politics was the intensified nuclear confrontation in the European theatre following Soviet deployment of SS-20 missiles from 1977 on. Besides continuing to run the post-Helsinki human rights campaign in the late 1970s, the Cercle complex also acted to highlight the Soviet nuclear build-up. After a glowing recommendation by Violet, Crozier's ISC commissioned French nuclear strategy expert **General Pierre M. Gallois**, formerly of SHAPE, to produce a Conflict Study on the SS-20 threat, published in June 1978 under the title *Soviet Military Doctrine and European Defence*. Gallois was an old friend of the Cercle complex; he had attended the 1965 Bilderberg conference in Villa d'Este in Italy along with Pinay,

Pompidou and Voisin, and since at least 1972 had also sat on CEDI's International Council alongside Habsburg, Sanchez Bella, von Merkatz, Vankerkhoven, Huyn and Agnew – by 1978, all AESP members. Gallois would go on to attend Cercle Pinay meetings (392).

After considerable internal debate, NATO decided in December 1979 to station new medium-range nuclear weapons - Cruise and Pershing II missiles - in Britain, Germany, Italy, Belgium and Holland, a deployment which provoked a wave of protest from the peace movement unseen since the Vietnam demonstrations of the early 1970s. The European Right and the intelligence services reacted in the early eighties much as they had done a decade earlier: by a wave of aggressive counter-intelligence, agents provocateurs and smear campaigns to discredit peace activists as potentially violent KGB dupes or stooges.

The Cercle and particularly Crozier's London-based 6I would play a key part in these anti-disarmament campaigns throughout the 1980s; indeed, Crozier's chapter on this period starts with the words: "The best thing the 6I ever did was to penetrate and defeat the Soviet 'peace' fronts and the Western campaign groups ... in the absence of government reaction in any of the affected countries [sic, see below], it was left to private groups to counter the Soviet campaigns. At the 6I, we took a decision to create new peace counter-groups wherever necessary, and to assist such groups where they already existed, both financially and with ideas. It was a considerable international coordinating effort which paid off in the end" (393).

The most intense of these anti-disarmament propaganda campaigns targeted the British peace movement. Between 1980 and 1987, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) was subjected to an unprecedented propaganda and harassment campaign run essentially by three complexes: firstly, the private-sector groups, several of which had links to the Cercle Pinay; secondly, official but covert propaganda units within the Ministry of Defence; and last but certainly not least, MI5's F Branch (Internal Subversion) (394). As we will see below, these State and private initiatives interlocked on several levels. One notable link was **Charles Elwell**, head of F Branch, who had taken the decision to put CND under blanket surveillance. After retirement from MI5 in 1982, Elwell would work throughout the 1980s with Brian Crozier to produce a smear bulletin targeting the Labour Party, progressive charities and church groups, described in a later chapter.

FARI fired one of the first shots in the UK anti-unilateralist campaign in the form of a 1980 brochure by Crozier entitled *The Price of Peace - a Plain Man's Guide to Current Defence Issues*; the cover of the FARI brochure illustrated the launch of an SS-20. Published by Stewart-Smith's FAPC and distributed also by the Monday Club, the brochure's tables of the East-West nuclear balance in the brochure were produced by the ISC, and the defence expenditure table came from *NATO Review*. Having conceded that many peace campaigners were sincere, Crozier then went on to ask: "But how many realize that the campaign against nuclear arms modernisation, in which they are involved, is manipulated by Moscow?" Crozier later revealed in his

memoirs that the basic research had been done by "a Dutch friend" and that an updated and enlarged version of the brochure would be published in the US three years later by the Heritage Foundation, on which more below (395).

In 1981, with continued if reduced South African funding (396)*, FARI organized the first Annual World Balance of Power conference which brought together many of the Cercle's American contacts: Feulner of the Heritage Foundation, General Graham of the ASC, Barnett of the NSIC and also of the Committee on the Present Danger (397), and Cline of CSIS. The conference, which aimed "to consider the need of the entire non-communist world to respond to the Soviet global political and military threat" started with a message of goodwill from President Reagan.

Beyond FARI's efforts, the Cercle also created several new British groups specializing in anti-disarmament propaganda, thanks to American funding. In his memoirs, Crozier records that, after initial hesitation, Reagan's Director of Central Intelligence Bill Casey provided £50,000 in 1981 and \$100,000 in 1982 for the Cercle's anti-disarmament campaigns. Major funding would also be provided by the **Heritage Foundation**, whose President **Edwin Feulner** had attended the December 1979 Cercle meeting. The Heritage Foundation, whose rôle is concealed in Crozier's memoirs, provided the infrastructure and funding for three Cercle-linked groups active in anti-peace movement propaganda in Britain (398). The main beneficiary of Heritage Foundation funds - receiving an estimated half a million dollars from 1982 to 1985 - was the **Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies** (IEDSS). Founded in 1979, the IEDSS set as its goal "to assess the impact of political change in Europe and North America on defence and strategic issues, in particular, to study the domestic political situation in NATO countries and how this affects the NATO posture". The IEDSS Chairman was Heritage President Feulner; the IEDSS Council included Heritage Fellow Richard V. Allen, later appointed as Reagan's first but short-lived National Security Adviser, in which post he would be a recipient of the 6I's confidential briefing papers, *Transnational Security* (399). Serving on the Council with him was an old ISC stalwart: Leonard Schapiro.

The IEDSS was closely linked to the ISC from its inception on; the IEDSS initially shared the ISC's Golden Square address before moving to new premises - two doors away. Several ISC associates also wrote reports for the IEDSS - Brian Crozier (*Communism - why prolong its death throes?*), the ISC's Turkey expert Kenneth Mackenzie, Richard Pipes of the WISC Committee and Lord Chalfont, the latter serving as a Council member of IEDSS and as a Board member of FARI with Crozier, Moss and Amery. Heritage Foundation control over the IEDSS was eloquently illustrated by US Internal Revenue Service figures for the year 1985: Heritage contributed \$151,273 of a total IEDSS budget of \$185,611. According to IRS figures, the Heritage Foundation donated \$427,809 to the IEDSS for the three years 1982, 1983 and 1985 (400).

Besides its Heritage Foundation/ISC links to the "private sector" for anti-disarmament propaganda, the IEDSS was also directly tied in to the British State's

anti-CND campaign through two IEDSS Council members: Conservative MP **Ray Whitney** and senior Tory **Sir Peter Blaker** - an old friend of Crozier's from Cambodian days (401). Sir Peter Blaker served as a junior Minister in the Ministry of Defence from 1979 to 1983 when Defence Minister Michael Heseltine appointed him to head a secret Ministerial Group on Nuclear Weapons and Public Opinion. This Ministerial Group led to the creation of Defence Secretariat **DS19**, an MoD group which generated films and literature attacking the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. This official but clandestine campaign by Heseltine and Blaker was assisted by Conservative MP Ray Whitney, who served with Blaker on the IEDSS Board from 1979 to 1984.

Whitney had previously had considerable experience in black propaganda. Prior to being elected to Parliament and becoming a junior Minister under Mrs Thatcher, Whitney was the last head of IRD before it was officially "closed down" in April 1977; like many other IRD staff, he would then transfer to the IRD's "purged" successor, the Overseas Information Department. After releasing a letter purporting to prove communist domination of CND and the Labour Party, Heseltine commented: "Our colleague Ray Whitney has added a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the political motivations of CND". The IEDSS allowed Blaker, Whitney and the MoD team to recycle their anti-unilateralist propaganda under the guise of "academic respectability"; one such IEDSS publication was *Perception and Reality - An Opinion Poll on Defence and Disarmament*, published in 1985 and written by Blaker together with **Sir Clive Rose**, former Deputy Secretary in the Cabinet Office from 1976 to 1979 - another old ISC friend.

As well as supporting the British governmental and private-sector campaigns against CND, the IEDSS would also work closely with the US Information Agency to combat pacifist sentiment. "On September 9, 1982, President Ronald Reagan designated the United States Information Agency to lead an inter-departmental effort to counter Soviet propaganda and disinformation. For an advisory body, the Administration created the Active Measures Working Group in 1981 to bring together the information the various agencies held to counter Soviet disinformation and forgery. It served as a clearing-house to expose such information and it had permission to use classified documents and any other resources that were required to meet this goal. The Working Group was chaired by the State Department with representatives from State, Central Intelligence Agency, Defense Intelligence Agency, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, United States Information Agency, and the Defense and Justice Departments. The Working Group ended in 1991, two years after the collapse of the Soviet Union".

One of the first actions of the USIA was to create a special unit to lead this campaign, the Office to Counter Soviet Active Measures and Disinformation; its Director from 1983 to his retirement in 1989 was Crozier's longstanding contact and probable founding member of the 6I, **Herb Romerstein**. Within months of his appointment, Romerstein would ensure USIA funding for anti-disarmament propaganda by another old Crozier friend, WISC Committee member Ernest W.

Lefever. As Director of the Ethics and Public Policy Program at Georgetown University, "Ernest Lefever used the \$200,000 given by USIA to help "highly placed and influential leaders in Western Europe to gain a solid understanding of US defence and arms control policies, with special reference to their religious and moral implications." One conference was organised in Britain in May [1983] with church leaders in attendance. It was sponsored by the British Atlantic Committee (BAC) and the Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies." The conference organized by Lefever was also attended by another regular Crozier contact and probable 6I founding member, Sven Kraemer, then Program Director of Barnett's NSIC and Director of Arms Control at the NSC (402)*.

The IEDSS's anti-CND campaign was supported on an altogether more vicious level by another Heritage beneficiary, the **Coalition for Peace through Security**. The CPS was founded in the autumn of 1981; the Heritage Foundation's tax returns show a 1982 donation of \$10,000 to the CPS, and a letter from the CPS to the Foundation thanks it for a further contribution of \$50,000 in October of the same year. The general coordinator appointed by Thatcher for the Government's attack on CND was **Winston Churchill** MP, a FARI member alongside Chalfont and the Cercle trio of Crozier, Moss and Amery; the CPS shared offices with FARI. The CPS enjoyed close links to the Conservative Party Central Office - the three directors of the CPS (Tony Kerpel, Julian Lewis and Edward Leigh) were all prospective Conservative parliamentary candidates. Immediately after its foundation in 1981, the CPS obtained the list of Conservative Party agents around the country and was given free access to the Party's mainframe computer. One of its earliest actions was to set about infiltrating CND so as to gain access to its 1982 annual conference; this was the beginning of a savage smear campaign, running slogans such as "CND = KGB" and "Communist Neutralist Defeatist". In one typical action in August 1986, CPS activists disrupted a two minute silence commemorating Hiroshima by playing the national anthem full-blast over a loudspeaker system.

The main CPS activist was "a gifted young man named **Julian Lewis**. Introduced to me by Norris McWhirter, Dr Lewis became the 6I's leading activist in Britain, notably as the scourge of [CND leader] Monsignor Bruce Kent and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament ... in Britain, the energetic Julian Lewis and his young assistants wrote letters to the press, hired light aircraft trailing anti-CND slogans, organised counter-demonstrations, and challenged Bruce Kent and other speakers at CND rallies. Books, pamphlets, folders, posters were produced, all of them pithy and telling" (403).

Lewis would go on to run other anti-Left operations for the Cercle complex throughout the 1980s, one of which would be the **Media Monitoring Unit**, founded by the Conservative Central Office in 1985, a re-run of the ISC's 1970s actions against leftist infiltration of the media. To raise funds for the MMU, Lewis would call on Cercle member Sir Peter Tennant: "The Media Monitoring Unit was conceived and created last year by a small group of self-described Right-of-centre political activists. The driving force is Julian Lewis ... He runs a political pressure group called Policy

Research Associates which pops up now and again in debates on such matters as council corruption, trade union law and CND [all Crozier campaigns]. Lord Chalfont is a patron as is Norris McWhirter, who founded the Freedom Association, and Edward Leigh, MP ... The increasing activity of the PRA and the decision to form the monitoring unit is indicative of a more aggressive approach in Right-of-centre circles to getting across its message... To get the unit off the ground he approached Sir Peter Tennant, 75, a senior City businessman and adviser to the CBI. Tennant in turn 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 recounts: "We produced several occasional issues of the *Monitoring Report*, an impressively researched survey of the political attitudes in the media, which showed, in my view beyond doubt, that there was a predominantly left-wing bias, especially in television. The first yearly report, at the end of 1986, attracted much press attention, most of it favourable" (404)*.

The Heritage Foundation also provided funds for another group, the **International Freedom Fund Establishment**, which acted as a clearing-house and conduit for Heritage Foundation funding of other groups. The IFFE was run by Brian Crozier, who thus became the Heritage Foundation's bag-man in Britain. IRS tax returns for the Heritage Foundation show that it donated a total of \$140,000 to the IFFE for the three years 1982, 1983 and 1985. In an interview, Heritage Vice-President Herb Berkowitz described the IFFE as "a networking operation .. we support them and he [Crozier] does the work" and admitted to a further Heritage donation to Crozier of \$50,000 in 1986 (405). Crozier himself said that the IFFE received a total of £200,000 from the Heritage Foundation between 1982 and 1986, whilst declining to identify the ultimate beneficiaries of such largesse (406).

Many of these groups produced anti-CND publications; in 1982, the post-Crozier ISC brought out a Conflict Study entitled *Political Violence and Civil Disobedience in Western Europe*, whilst Crozier himself put together a 1984 anthology, *This War Called Peace*, published by his Sherwood Press. The major anti-CND publication by the Cercle/6I complex would however be "*Peace*" of the Dead by Paul Mercer, "one of the best of our activists" according to Crozier. The massive 400-page book, "an exhaustive and authoritative analysis of the CND and its affiliates", was published in 1986 by Lewis's Policy Research Publications. The book's tone was set by the cover illustration of the CND symbol cut through the middle by a hammer and sickle; joining Mercer in his exhaustive efforts to prove Moscow's domination of CND were the Coalition for Peace through Security, the Freedom Association, Brian Crozier, Lord Chalfont (who contributed the foreword), John Rees and Peter Shipley, whose Conflict Study, *Patterns of Protest in Western Europe*, would also be published in 1986.

Whilst Crozier and the London groups kept up the propaganda barrage against CND, they would also be active in giving practical assistance to pro-Cruise groups in Holland. When the operation was launched in 1983, Holland was a key country, being the only NATO member government holding out against the

deployment of Cruise; it was only in 1985 that the Dutch government reluctantly accepted the principle of Cruise, and deployment itself did not start until 1987. A number of groups were set up in Holland to support deployment, using the same tactic as in the UK of accusing the largely Church-based Dutch peace movement of being Soviet-controlled. Crozier states that the Dutch group "that was proving the most useful in countering the Soviet-led campaign was the **Stichting Vrijheid, Vrede en Verdediging** (Freedom, Peace and Defence Foundation)" (407).

According to a *Guardian* report in 1987, the ISC acted as a channel for covert American funding to certain Dutch pro-Cruise groups. **Frank Brenchley**, ex-GCHQ and a former Chairman of the ISC Council (408)*, told the *Guardian* that the ISC produced a private, unpublished report on the Dutch peace movement. Sir Clive Rose acknowledged using ISC information on Holland when writing his book, *Campaign against Western Defence*. The research was carried out, he said, by two ISC members, Professor Leonard Schapiro and Nigel Clive, the latter a former head of the IRD. Michael Goodwin, ISC Director since Crozier's departure in 1979 and also a former IRD member, confirmed that Holland was of particular interest to the ISC in 1983 (409). The Dutch peace movement was evidently a focus for the CIA as well; besides the ISC propaganda operation to counter the Dutch peace movement in 1983, the BVD and CIA infiltrated an agent provocateur amongst Dutch and Belgian peace-campers in early 1984 in an attempt to compromise them in the theft of live ammunition from the Belgian Cruise base at Florennes; the ammunition was later recovered near the peace-camp at the Dutch Cruise base of Woensdrecht (410)*.

Although the British-based campaign may have been the most intensive, the Cercle complex also set up several European institutes specializing in anti-disarmament propaganda. In his memoirs, Crozier records Cercle cooperation with two existing groups, the German Bonner Friedensforum (Bonn Peace Forum) and the French Comité Français contre le Neutralisme, as well as the creation of a Belgian Cercle front group, the **Rassemblement pour la Paix dans la Liberté** (Rally for Peace in Freedom), whose "influence spread not only through the Belgian Parliament, but into the schools, with the distribution of officially approved booklets on defence" (411)*.

However, Crozier's account omits any mention of several other European anti-disarmament groups with links to the Cercle. One was the **Europäisches Institut für Sicherheitsfragen** (European Institute for Security Issues), founded in 1981 by Belgian **General Robert Close**, who had resigned from military service a year previously in protest at the Belgian government's reluctance to accept Cruise deployment (412)*. Founding members of the EIS were:

General Robert Close

Vice-President of MAUE from 1980 on; Belgian Senator for the PRL conservative party from 1981 to 1987; World President of WACL in 1983-84; West European Union Vice-President from 1986 on; President of

Western Goals Belgium; frequent Resistance International signatory.

Archduke Otto von Habsburg

Martin Bangemann

Chairman of German Liberal FDP Party, Finance Minister, later Vice-President of the EEC Commission.

Gerhard Reddemann

CDU MP.

Hans Filbinger

CDU former Regional Prime Minister of Baden-Württemberg; PEU Council; SWG; Brüsewitz Centre; Ludwig-Frank-Stiftung.

former Maj-Gen Jochen Löser

Western Goals.

former Gen Wolfgang Schall

CDU MEP from 1979 to 1984; SWG; leader of German WACL delegation from 1981 on.

former Gen Kielmannsegg

Former NATO Commander of Central Europe; Board of the magazine *Beiträge zur Konfliktforschung – Psychopolitische Aspekte* (Contributions to the Study of Conflict – Psychopolitical Aspects, founded in 1971 and funded by the Federal Defence Ministry. Took free trips to South Africa in 1971 and 1975.

former Col Josef Goblirsch

Lt-Col Gerhard Hubatscheck

speaker for Grau's SWG.

Kai-Uwe von Hassel

CDU former Regional Prime Minister of Schleswig-Holstein; former Defence Minister; former President and Vice-President of the German Parliament until 1976. Attended AESP Grand Diner Charlemagne in January 1976. Vice-President of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly in 1977. President of the WEU Assembly from 1977 to 1979. CDU MEP from 1979 to 1984. Resistance International signatory, visited US to lobby Congress to support Contras as part of RI delegation. Participant with Huyn at secret

meeting on 8-10/6/87 on "The Future of German-American Relations", organized by International Security Council, a group within the Moonies' political arm, CAUSA. Died in 1997.

Leo Tindermanns

former Belgian Prime Minister, Foreign Minister in 1985.

former Gen Pierre Cremer

Belgium.

Pierre Pflimlin

Bilderberg Group, President of the European Parliament in 1985, longstanding supporter of PEU.

The first conference of the EIS, held in the Belgian Foreign Ministry's palace, concentrated on how to promote NATO against peace movement opposition. In March 1982, the EIS Board expanded to include a number of new members, several of whom would attend the second EIS conference in Luxembourg in April 1982:

Franz Josef Strauss

Gerhard Löwenthal

ZDF; President of the Deutschland-Stiftung from 1977 to 1994; Brüsewitz Centre; Bürgeraktion Demokraten für Strauss; Konservative Aktion; SWG; Resistance International; WACL; CAUSA.

Dr. Heinrich Aigner

CSU MEP from 1979 to 1988; Vice-President of the German PEU section; Brüsewitz Centre; Ludwig-Frank-Stiftung.

former Brig-Gen Heinz Karst

ISP; SWG, Deutschland-Stiftung; Brüsewitz Centre; Konservative Aktion.

Alfons Goppel

former Regional Prime Minister of Bavaria, CSU MEP from 1979 to 1984, Board member of PEU.

former General Rall

Chief of the German Air Force until August 1974, then German representative to the Military Council of NATO. In October 1974, took a free trip to South Africa, sponsored by the South Africa Foundation, touring the Pelindaba nuclear research site. Exposure of the visit in September 1975 led to great

public controversy. A stalwart defender of South African interests in Germany.

Dr Ludwig Bölkow

Bilderberg Group, Managing Director of Messerschmitt Bölkow Blohn, the major armaments company (Strauss sat on the MBB Board), prominent CSU member and linked to Starfighter scandal with Strauss, named President of NATO arms standardization committee in 1976.

Nicolas Estgens

Luxembourg, MEP, former Vice-President of European Parliament, member of Bureau of the European Parliament conservative fraction EPP with Archduke Otto, served on PEU International Council from 1984 on.

In 1983, the EIS split because of policy differences, and Close left to found the Brussels-based **Institut Européen pour la Paix et la Sécurité** (IEPS), perhaps a remoulding of the earlier Cercle group in Belgium, the Rassemblement pour la Paix dans la Liberté. The IEPS would also be well-connected to the Cercle complex: besides Close's rôle as MAUE Vice-President, other IEPS members included another MAUE Vice-President, Jacques Jonet, as well as Crozier and Huyn. Within the IEPS, the Heritage Foundation and the ASC were represented by Generals Robert C. Richardson and Daniel O. Graham, both members of the Political Action Committee of the ASC involved in the anti-Carter campaign of 1980. In 1981, following Reagan's election victory, Generals Graham and Richardson had also been Founder and Founding Vice-President respectively of High Frontier, a group which lobbied for space-based missile defence, a project adopted by Reagan in 1983 as the Strategic Defense Initiative, commonly known as Stars Wars.

One IEPS Vice-President was **Wolfgang Reinecke** from Germany, a speaker for Grau's Swiss ISP in 1975 and member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London. The IEPS administrator was Belgian **Colonel Henri Bernard**, former history lecturer at the Belgian Military School. Bernard had been one of Damman's earliest partners, serving as a speaker for the Belgian PEU section in the early 1960s when it was still called AENA; Bernard was also a longstanding CEDI member. Other IEPS luminaries included IEPS Vice-President Belgian Count Yves du Monceau de Bergendal, a PSC senator and supporter of Opus Dei, the former Belgian Justice Minister during the strategy of tension **Jean Gol**, EEC Commissioner Willy Declercq and prominent figures from the Belgian French-speaking Liberal Party, the PRL (413).

The Cercle Pinay also had a presence in several other anti-disarmament propaganda institutes. Key Cercle and 6I member Huyn was a Board member of the **American European Strategy Research Institute** (AESRI), an offshoot of the

German section of **Western Goals**. The founding meeting of the Munich-based **Western Goals Europe** was held on 17th May 1981, attended by Huyn, Hans Klein of the Brüsewitz Centre and the Deutschland-Stiftung, former Admiral Poser (former head of NATO Security and Intelligence), EIS member former Major-General Jochen Löser, Carl-Gustav Ströhm, the Eastern European correspondent for the newspaper *Die Welt* and speaker for Grau's SWG, Larry McDonald of the John Birch Society, and former Generals George Patton and Lewis Walt. Larry McDonald put up \$131,982 starting capital. AESRI was then founded in Munich on 8th July 1981 by Huyn, Klein, McDonald, Patton, CDU MP and Program Director for Western Goals Europe Helmut Sauer, BND agent Stefan Marinoff and American industrialist Robert Stoodard. AESRI had branches in Heidelberg, Bonn and Munich (414)*.

In May 1982, AESRI member Huyn aroused a media storm with a publication entitled *Für Frieden in Freiheit* (For Peace in Freedom), which accused a prominent German Christian peace group of communist sympathies and returned to an old theme, Soviet subversion in the Churches via the Christian Peace Conference. Huyn's conclusions would also be reported in the Dutch daily, *De Telegraaf* as well as other European and American newspapers. Another frequent writer for AESRI and Western Goals Europe was Professor Hans-Werner Bracht, the former senior lecturer at the Army School for Psychological Warfare who had worked with Löwenthal in the Deutschland-Stiftung, the Brüsewitz Centre and Konservative Aktion; Bracht would take over as President of Western Goals Europe in March 1983. AESRI would again court controversy in 1985 by publishing allegations of communist agitation at Bielefeld University, having infiltrated it (415).

One main transatlantic relay in the propaganda chorus was of course the NSIC; another significant US strategy group with links to the Cercle was the ASC and its main operational arm, the **Coalition for Peace through Strength**, one of the most vocal anti-disarmament groups in the 1980s. The ASC had links to the Cercle complex through five ASC Board Members:

Gen. Richard G. Stilwell attended the January 1980 Cercle/6I meeting, senior 6I member;

Gen. Daniel O. Graham ASC/Heritage representative on IEPS Board in 1983;

Gen. Robert Richardson ASC/Heritage representative on IEPS Board in 1983;

Gen. Lewis Walt founding member of Western Goals Germany in 1981;

Adm. John S. McCain 1974 launch of Centre du Monde Moderne; Board member of US Committee for the ISC (416)*.

Generals Stilwell and Graham also ensured Cercle access to the Moonies' CAUSA and their American geostrategic propaganda outlet, the **US Global Strategy Council** (USGSC), the two Generals serving on the Board with Pipes under the

Chairmanship of Ray Cline in the late 1980s (417).

SMEAR!

As we have seen, the Cercle complex could use its international links to intelligence-backed private disinformation outlets to intervene in each country's domestic politics by promoting their favoured political candidate, and by accusing politicians or movements of the Left or Centre of being Soviet dupes or stooges. Crozier's 1979 Transnational Security planning paper bluntly stated that one of the functions of the group was to "conduct international campaigns aiming to discredit hostile personalities and\or events". In the late 1980s, it emerged that quite apart from the energetic 6I staff, Crozier could count on other friends to smear the Left.

After Thatcher's election victory in 1979 and her subsequent working meeting at Chequers with MI6 chief Franks and the 6I team of Crozier and Elliott, the UK counter-subversion lobby's smear campaign against the Labour Party continued right through the 1980s with scarcely an interruption. In 1988, it emerged that Brian Crozier had been working with **Charles Elwell**, former head of MI5's F or Internal Subversion Branch, together with Peter Wright one of the MI5 officers most closely connected with the Frolik allegations central to the anti-Labour campaigns of 1974-76 (418). Elwell had later been a major factor in MI5's decision in the mid- to late 1970s to shift operations away from counter-espionage towards counter-subversion, strengthening MI5's rôle as a political police. It was Elwell, for instance, in his capacity as Assistant Director of MI5, who defined the National Council of Civil Liberties as a "subversive organisation", allowing blanket surveillance that blew up into a national scandal after revelations made by Elwell's former subordinate, Cathy Massiter, in 1985.

In the late 1970s, Elwell set up a special unit within MI5 to produce a report on "subversion and left-wing bias in the media". The unit investigated journalists judged to hold anti-establishment views as well as those appointed to what MI5 considered politically sensitive or influential posts – at this time, MI5 was vetting all BBC News and Drama staff from an office in the BBC's Broadcasting House, stamping suspect journalists' personnel files with a Christmas tree symbol. Although Elwell's MI5 media monitoring unit was disbanded a few years later, MI5 held on to its files – or maybe not too tightly, bearing in mind the ISC Study Group on subversion in the media which met from May 1977 to April 1978 and which published its findings as an ISC Special Report, *Television and Conflict*, in November 1978.

Soon after his retirement from MI5 in 1982, Elwell started producing a secret smear bulletin called **Background Briefing on Subversion**, revealed by the *Guardian* in late 1989. Elwell's newsletter targeted many of the same politicians and reproduced many of the same smears as MI5's previous "Clockwork Orange 2"

operation (419). Despite parliamentary questions, it was not until late 1990 that further details of the smear bulletin were published in the *Observer* (420), which reported that the bulletin, later called ***British Briefing***, was assisted for much of its existence by Brian Crozier.

Available only to a select few, and containing strict warnings not to reveal its existence, the bulletin accused many prominent Labour politicians of Communist or Stalinist affiliations. Amongst the targets were Neil Kinnock, shadow health secretary Robin Cook, social services spokesman Michael Meacher, and Labour MPs Harriet Harman (a previous MI5 target during her spell at the NCCL), Harry Cohen, Chris Mullin, Harry Barnes and David Blunkett. Several progressive organisations were also tarred with the Communist brush, notably the housing charity Shelter, the Institute for Race Relations and the World Council of Churches. All were smeared by association using quotations from left-wing newspapers such as the *Morning Star* – exactly the tactic that the ISC and 6I used, thanks to their research libraries.

The bulletin, usually 35 pages long, brought out two special General Election supplements in March and April, 1987: the March supplement, 29 pages long, contained smears on nearly 50 candidates. The tone of *British Briefing* can be judged by the following declaration in the February, 1987 issue:

"The march of communism through the trades unions, the Labour Party, local government, religion, education, charity, the media under the leadership of communists who may or may not be members of the Communist Party, is what BB is all about. BB seeks to provide those who have the means to expose the communist threat with clear evidence of its existence."

Funding for the smear operation came through a registered charity, the Industrial Trust, financed by many of the UK's leading companies (421)*. Publishing was carried out at the address of IRIS, Industrial Research and Information Services, one of the right-wing blacklisting services which published its own newsletter, *IRIS News*, aimed at a trade-union audience. The Industrial Trust's accounts showed that since 1985 the Industrial Trust also had given more than half a million pounds to IRIS, as well as £5,000 a year to Common Cause (422). The Trust would later be investigated by the Charities Commission for possible breaches of the ban on political activity by charities. Further funding for *British Briefing* came from media magnate **Rupert Murdoch**, who provided some £40,000 a year for Elwell's smear sheet. An old friend of Crozier's, Murdoch also bailed out Crozier's publishing company, Sherwood Press, which by 1987 had accumulated a deficit of £65,000. Murdoch's News International took a half-stake in the company and agreed to meet losses then totalling over £90,000. Crozier also had legal costs to pay after losing a libel case brought by Richard Barnet, director of the Institute for Policy Studies (423).

Perhaps because of this considerable financial strain, publication of *British Briefing* was taken over in 1988 by **David Hart**, a close aide to Mrs Thatcher. From 1977 to 1981, Hart had been research assistant to Archie Hamilton, the man who, as

Minister of State for the Armed Forces, had to bear the fall-out from the Colin Wallace case. In 1979, Hart worked as campaign organizer for the Corby and Kettering election campaigns of Rupert Allason, later elected Tory MP for Torbay - alias Nigel West, the spooks' favoured historian. In 1984, during the strike by the National Union of Mineworkers, Hart made media fame by setting up the Working Miners' Committee from a suite in Claridges. Hart also set up the **Committee for a Free Britain**, which ran newspaper adverts during the 1987 election. In 1986, Hart applied to Tory Central Office to become a candidate for the 1987 general election; despite having powerful sponsors (Malcolm Rifkind, Transport Secretary, Lord Young, later Tory Party chairman, and Ian Gow, Thatcher's private secretary for her first four years in office), he was turned down. Besides his intelligence links in Britain, Hart had contacts in the US: CIA director Bill Casey used Hart to run a UK campaign in favour of Star Wars, and Hart was also an associate of Fred Ikle, former No 2 at the Pentagon (424). Hart would also finance anti-CND propaganda by Lady Olga Maitland to counter a demonstration against the first Iraq War on February 2nd, 1991.

THE "TERRORIST THREAT"

By the late 1980s, the focus for scare tactics by the disinformation institutes had shifted from Moscow manipulation of the peace movement to Soviet backing for international terrorism. The Cercle's London partner, the ISC, had carried out much of the early propaganda work on terrorism, providing consultancy services in training for the police and armed services. One of the right-wing academics who lectured at police colleges in the early 1970s at the suggestion of the ISC was Professor Paul Wilkinson, who went on to cut his propaganda teeth with ISC Conflict Study No. 67, *Terrorism versus Liberal Democracy: The Problem of Response*, published in January 1976. Two months later, in March 1976, with Crozier, Moss and Horchem, Wilkinson would be one of four ISC speakers at a major international conference on terrorism in Washington, chaired by Robert Fearey. In 1979, the same ISC team attended two Israeli conferences on terrorism, the first organised by the Israeli Jaffee Centre for Strategic Studies, where Wilkinson was accompanied by Moss and Horchem (425). The second Israeli conference was in July in Jerusalem at the founding conference of the probable Mossad front, the **Jonathan Institute**, a major gathering of Cercle assets. At the Jonathan Institute's launch, speakers included not only the ISC team of Crozier, Moss, Wilkinson and Horchem, but also ex-CIA chief George H. W. Bush, Ray Cline, Lord Chalfont, Jacques Soustelle and Gerhard Löwenthal (426)*.

Wilkinson, later professor at Aberdeen and St. Andrew's universities, rose to become a prominent adviser on terrorism to Margaret Thatcher; this is not surprising when one looks at the Board members of Wilkinson's **Research Foundation for the Study of Terrorism** (427). The RFST, which operated from the address of Aims for Industry, included on its Board many figures from SIF, NAFF, FARI, the ISC and the Cercle complex:

- Michael Ivens** Director of Aims, SIF National Executive with G. K. Young, FARI Council, NAFF National Executive and inner core with Moss, Vice-President of the Freedom Association.
- Norris McWhirter** SIF, NAFF National Executive and inner core with Moss and Ivens, Chairman of the Freedom Association.
- Ian Greig** Founding Monday Club member, Deputy Director of FARI, Senior Executive of the ISC, probable early AESP contact.
- John Biggs-Davison** SIF National Executive with G. K. Young, FARI Council, Monday Club President, longstanding PEU Council member, AESP Life Member.
- Nicholas Elliott** MI6, 6I/Cercle with Crozier.

In 1989, the RFST merged with the rump of the post-Crozier ISC under the title of the **Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism** (RISCT). Alongside Wilkinson as RISCT Director was RISCT's Chairman Frank Brenchley, former Chairman of the ISC Council, and RISCT Executive and Editorial Director **Professor William Gutteridge**, an ISC author from 1971 onwards. RISCT offered for sale the whole series of Conflict Studies from 1970 onwards, and proclaimed itself successor to the ISC in its publication list:

"The Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism was established in 1989, primarily to undertake research and publishing activities. It continues to produce the well-established monthly series, *Conflict Studies*, begun in 1970 by its predecessor, the Institute for the Study of Conflict".

Besides Wilkinson and his RFST and RISCT, the Cercle and 6I also had links to several other 'terrorism research' outfits in the 1980s and 1990s, of which perhaps the most prominent was **Control Risks Information Services**. After leaving the ISC, the Institute's Senior Researcher and South Africa expert Peter Janke became chief researcher at Control Risks, which also included Major-General Richard Clutterbuck, a former Council member of the ISC, and Richard Sims, who had been the ISC's librarian. Control Risks would continue the ISC's previous assistance to South Africa: in 1986, it set up a syndicate for British companies trading with South Africa. For a price of £1,500 per place, Control Risks informed the syndicate's members of "the activities of anti-apartheid groups in Europe, their relationship to terrorist groups and their intentions" (428).

FARI would also provide the Cercle and 6I with connections to another terrorism disinformation outlet - besides serving on the Governing Council of FARI with Crozier, Moss and Amery, Lord Chalfont also chaired the London **Institute for the Study of Terrorism** run by Jillian Becker. Both Chalfont and Becker were

authors for the IEDSS - Becker's contribution was typically entitled *The Soviet Connection - State Sponsorship of Terrorism*. Moss himself then went on to run **Mid-Atlantic Research Associates**, a "risk analysis firm" together with Arnaud de Borchgrave and John Rees of the John Birch Society.

A German terrorism propaganda outlet intimately linked with the Cercle complex and the 6I was the Bonn-based **Institut für Terrorismusforschung** (Institute for Terrorism Research), created in 1986 by Hans Josef 'Jupp' Horchem, former Director of the Hamburg BfV. In the mid-1970s, Horchem had been a prolific author for the ISC, joining Crozier's 6I soon after its creation in 1977. Together with Moss and Wilkinson, Horchem attended the two 1979 Israeli conferences on terrorism organised by the Israeli Jaffee Centre for Strategic Studies and the Jonathan Institute. After taking early retirement in January 1981, Horchem became a Research Fellow of the Centre for Strategic Studies in Tel Aviv and of the Institute for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University. He would also sign up with the Axel Springer Verlag, the newspaper group which publishes both *Die Welt* and *Bild*, the newspaper with the largest circulation in Europe. Besides railing against communists and peace campaigners in *Die Welt*, Horchem also served as adviser to the "Internal Security Working Group" of Konservative Aktion, whose Vice-Chair was Löwenthal, another participant at the Jonathan Institute's launch in 1979.

In the mid 1980s, Horchem produced his fourth ISC Conflict Study, *Terrorism in Germany*, and also contributed sections on terrorism in Germany to publications by Wilkinson and Ariel Merari (429). Horchem's views were evidently in favour with his previous employers: Horchem, Horchem's deputy in the Bonn institute Rolf Tophoven and Dr Kurt Klein would all contribute to the German Interior Ministry publication *Der Terrorismus- eine akute Bedrohung der Menschenrechte* [Terrorism – an acute threat for human rights] published in 1985, and a thousand copies each of two of Horchem's books were bought by the BfV in 1987 for purposes of "positive protection of the constitution by information work", i.e. propaganda (430). In July 1988, Horchem was one of the former intelligence officers interviewed as part of the BBC Radio programmes on the intelligence services, *My Country, Right or Wrong?*, broadcast after the government's temporary injunction banning the programme was lifted. The programmes also featured two ex-CIA officers, fellow 6I member Jamie Jameson and Cercle guest William Colby.

A transatlantic outlet for Cercle output on terrorism would be provided by the Canadian **Centre for Conflict Studies** (CCS), founded in 1979 by **Brigadier Maurice Tugwell**, former head of the Northern Ireland black propaganda unit, Information Policy, and a participant in ISC Study Groups. Although CCS was attached to the University of New Brunswick, it gave no academic courses and its activities consisted largely of contract work for the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Canadian Police College, Canadian Department of National Defence, US Department of Defence, and NATO. The CCS would work with both the ISC and its successor RISCT; the editorial advisory board for the CCS quarterly journal, *Conflict Quarterly*, included Professor Paul Wilkinson. It would also collaborate with the American NSIC, contributing a

paper entitled *Special Operations and the Threat to United States Interests in the 1980s* to a 1984 study entitled *Special Operations in US Strategy* compiled by the NSIC for the US National Defense University.

In 1988, the publication of *Combatting the Terrorists* was announced, a book sponsored by the ISC in London and the Washington office of the CCS. The book brought together old friends: the editor, H.H. Tucker, was a former Deputy Head of IRD, and the book included a chapter by the ISC's Peter Janke. Tugwell combined his anti-Soviet disinformation activities with pro-South African propaganda: he served as a director of the Canada-South Africa Society, a pro-apartheid support group funded by South African "businessmen". Tugwell would later found the **Mackenzie Institute for the Study of Terrorism, Revolution and Propaganda** in the mid-1980s (431).

CHANGES IN THE CERCLE AND THE 6I

Whilst the Cercle and 6I could count on this panoply of friends to promote its message throughout the 1980s, time had been taking its toll. By the mid-1980s, many of the people and the groups making up the Cercle complex in France, Belgium and Germany had disappeared. The Cercle's extensive operations had also not gone unnoticed by journalists; after the publication of the Langemann papers in 1982, the mid-1980s would see further damaging revelations of some Cercle activities.

To turn first to the original French node of the Cercle Pinay complex, Violet's withdrawal from the Cercle in the early 1980s (leaving it to Crozier and Bach) and Albertini's death in 1983 had seriously weakened the operational French end of the Cercle/6I. This would be compounded four days before Christmas 1983 by the revelation of the sniffer plane scandal by distinguished French journalist **Pierre Péan** in an article in *Le Canard Enchaîné*, followed in 1984 by his book *V* (V for Violet, Villegas, Vatican, Vorster and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing), a comprehensive exposure of Violet, whose activities were highlighted by a French parliamentary inquiry into the sniffer plane scandal.

The AESP itself did not fare much better, riven by personality clashes after Damman's death in 1979. The Cercle's attempts to revive their Belgian axis failed; in 1983, the Cercle/6I's European anti-disarmament group EIS under General Close split, and its successor, the IEPS founded by Close, Crozier, Huyn and Jonet, would soon become moribund. In 1984 came a further double blow: the death of core AESP members Carlo Pesenti, under investigation by the Italian financial authorities, and Karl-Friedrich Grau, who died in circumstances that matched his conspiratorial nature. After being arrested in Luxembourg following a fraud investigation into movements of millions of marks deposited with Luxembourg banks, Grau faked a medical emergency and was transferred under police guard to a hospital; he broke his neck whilst jumping out of a window trying to escape (432). The same year, the publication of Péan's book on Violet and the AESP would not be the only exposure of the Cercle's activities; Crozier also records being confronted with the Langemann

papers in French translation during a visit to a Belgian Atlantic Association meeting in October 1984 (433).

Whilst the French-speaking axis of the Cercle was lamed by exposure and official investigations in three countries, the German and Swiss components of the Cercle complex also suffered setbacks. Grau's death seriously handicapped the network of groups he had established in Germany and Switzerland. The complex's other German associates, Löwenthal and Pachmann, also ran into difficulties; following a split within Konservative Aktion, KA filed for bankruptcy in September 1986. The following year, Löwenthal's unrivaled media access as moderator of ZDF Magazin also came to an end; long uncomfortable with the controversy generated by his programme, the ZDF management took the opportunity of Löwenthal's 65th birthday to force him into retirement and to discontinue ZDF Magazin in December 1987. The Cercle's political frontman Franz Josef Strauss then died in October 1988. The Cercle, and particularly the 6I, would increasingly rely on Huyn and Horchem for their German outreach.

The British axis of the Cercle complex also underwent changes in the 1980s. As the French and Belgian connections declined, the Cercle and the 6I parted ways. With funding in the early 1980s, first from Casey's CIA and then from the Heritage Foundation, Crozier could rejuvenate the 6I network by hiring several young activists (notably Julian Lewis and Edward Leigh) to run the 6I's anti-CND and anti-Labour campaigns in the UK. This was, Crozier says, the 6I's peak period of operations; due to the intense activity, Crozier withdrew from the Cercle in 1985, leaving it to continue as a bi-annual talking-shop under the Chairmanship of Julian Amery. Two other British bodies associated with the Cercle complex would soon shut down: both FARI and the FAPC would be wound down in 1986. According to Crozier, the 6I was then going through a funding crisis; although new sources of funds would be found, Crozier, now seventy, decided that "it was time to pull back and hand over". Having "paid off all the 6I's agents, mainly in Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, Holland, Spain, Portugal and the United States", Crozier records shutting down the 6I in the late summer of 1987 (434). However, Crozier's claims to have left the Cercle in 1985 and to have shut down the 6I in 1987 need to be treated with scepticism, as we will see below.

GUNNING FOR GORBACHEV

By mid-1988, Crozier was concentrating on a new campaign against Mikhail Gorbachev "as a necessary corrective to the wave of adulation about the Soviet leader at that time sweeping the West. My prime discovery was that Gorbachev's first concern was not ... the 'restructuring' of the Soviet economy and Party organisation, but of the entire apparatus of disinformation and other Active Measures. My aim was to present, in factual detail, the Soviet involvement – since Gorbachev's advent to

supreme power – in 'peace' disinformation, including forgeries, in international terrorism and drugs-running, in penetration of the Western Churches, and in deliberate cheating in arms control negotiations" (435). The same anti-Gorbachev message was being echoed across the Atlantic by one of Crozier's longstanding contacts, Herbert Romerstein. As Director of the US Information Agency's Office to Counter Soviet Active Measures and Disinformation from 1983 to 1989, Romerstein played a considerable part in a USIA official report entitled *Soviet Active Measures in the Era of Glasnost* that was submitted to Congress in 1988.

Crozier's claims to have withdrawn from the Cercle in 1985 and to have shut down the 6I in late 1987 are belied by the minutes of a Cercle meeting held on 21st February 1989 and continued in Washington on 10th April. The February meeting was attended by Pinay, Crozier, Cercle Chairman Amery, Huyn, Barnett of the NSIC/WISC, Charlie Mayer of the Foreign Policy Discussion Group, **P.K. van Byl**, a former senior BOSS agent, and a certain **Professor Theodor Bach**. The main theme on the agenda for the British, German, American and South African veteran operators was "What can be done to contain the pro-Gorbachev mood in the Federal Republic?" The minutes of the meeting reveal that one item discussed was a campaign to discredit German Foreign Minister **Hans-Dietrich Genscher** from the Liberal FDP party.

"The problem:

Genscher's power is unbroken. He determines Bonn's foreign policy, even though he has been responsible for it for 14 years and makes the Chancellor dependent on the FDP.

- the weakness of Kohl, the great appeaser,
- the popularity of Gorbachev in public opinion in the Federal Republic,
- the media.

Possible methods:

- in the Federal Parliament? Support from Alfred Dregger [Leader of the CDU\CSU group]? Support from Otto Lambsdorff?
- Can Genscher be discredited? Certainly there is enough 'dirt' available.
- Have we got any allies in the media? Horchem? *Die Welt*?
- Is all of West German television contaminated?
- Outside of Parliament (extra-parliamentary action). Can we use the Bonn Peace Forum? (436)* Possible themes or slogans for demonstrations: Stop Re-

armament in the USSR; don't pay Gorbachev's bills,

- Diplomatic pressure, particularly through the new US ambassador, Dick Walters (437)*,

- A comment: the modernization of weapons (Lance) is relatively insignificant. The most important problem is the general atmosphere of a policy of reconciliation" (438)*.

But even as the 6I was preparing to intensify its anti-Gorbachev campaign, it would be overtaken by events on the ground; 1989 would bring the long-awaited collapse of the Iron Curtain. The fall of the Berlin Wall on the 9th-10th November 1989 was however only the final act in a process in which Habsburg and the PEU played a prominent part, working on bilateral contacts with Eastern European countries, notably through the European Parliament where Habsburg and Pirkl held powerful posts on the Delegations for Relations with both Austria and Hungary. The process had started in July 1988 when Habsburg secretly visited Hungary, returning for his first official postwar visit to the country as part of a European Parliament delegation on the 28th February 1989, a week after the Cercle/6I meeting mentioned above. The decisive step came on 2nd May 1989, when Hungarian border guards began dismantling the watch-towers on the Austro-Hungarian border, an act officialised on 27th June when the Foreign Ministers of Austria and Hungary, Alois Mock and Gyula Horn respectively, personally cut the border fence near the Hungarian town of Sopron.

The PEU then obtained 'official permission' to hold a "Paneuropean Picnic" on the same spot on August 19th under the combined patronage of Hungarian minister Imre Pozsgay and Otto von Habsburg of the PEU, to open – for three hours - the border gate sealing the old Pressburg (Bratislava) highway between Sankt Margarethen in Austria and Sopronkőhida in Hungary. The PEU ensured advance publicity for this 'peace demonstration' as far as Poland, particularly targetting the annual crowd of East German holiday-makers. On the day, Habsburg's daughter Walburga symbolically cut the barbed wire fence, the gate was opened, and 661 East Germans crossed into the West whilst the Hungarian border guards observed without intervening. Despite an immediate crackdown on border security by the Hungarian government, the writing was on the wall; the Austro-Hungarian border would be fully opened for East Germans on September 11th, followed by the Czechoslovak-German border in the first few days of November. Faced with massive numbers of East Germans preparing to use these breaches, the East German government was powerless to prevent the fall of the Berlin Wall. The PEU would celebrate the momentous event at its 1990 International General Assembly, held for the first time in an Eastern bloc capital, Prague.

The Cercle/6I group, however, continued to gun for the Soviet leader, trying to dampen the West's enthusiasm for glasnost and perestroika. Despite Crozier's

claim to have closed down the 6I in late 1987, the network still existed "with old and new outlets in New York, Washington, Paris, Madrid and other places" (439). Although not all of these outlets can yet be identified, the mention of Paris referred to a relaunch of the Cercle/6I's outreach in the French-speaking world.

The new forum was the **Institut d'Etudes de la Désinformation** (IED) with headquarters on the Champs Elysées, founded in January 1987 by Radio France journalist and IED President **Daniel Trinquet** and award-winning Russian novelist **Vladimir Volkoff**, whose book *La Désinformation, arme de guerre* (Disinformation – weapon of war) was published in 1986. The IED was reportedly at least partially funded by the UIMM, the employers' federation of the metalworking industry, whose enormous cash slush fund totalling 600 million Euros had been used for interventions in French domestic politics since the early 1970s (440)*.

The IED held its "First International Assizes on Disinformation" in Nice from the 13th to 16th November 1989 – barely four days after the fall of the Wall. According to the programme, the seminar was devoted to:

Day One - The new methods of seduction of the Communist countries: Gorbachevism, analysed from inside by true dissidents, a presentation of countries generally targeted by Soviet disinformation, a study of all those who contribute, voluntarily or otherwise, to this disinformation by acting as its channels in the West;

Day Two - The rôle of the State: the omnipotent State which exerts an ideological domination over its essential bodies such as the Army, the police or the judiciary .. analysis of disinformation which presents capitalism, and not socialism, as a corrupting force and which wants social progress to be linked to Statism and a government of the Left;

Day Three - Daily Disinformation: an analysis of the major fears which reject the very idea of progress and cultural disinformation which ... contributes to the corruption of our society leading to the collapse of the pillars of the State;

Day Four - An insider's view of the French Press: having analysed different examples of disinformation from the most varied fields, understanding the mechanisms which make such a phenomenon possible so as to act more efficiently at a later stage" (441)*.

Attended by numerous French academics and journalists, the seminar was introduced by the IED top brass - IED President Daniel Trinquet and then the host as Mayor of Nice, former French minister and editorial writer for the IED's weekly bulletin *Désinformation Hebdo*, **Jacques Médecin** - an AESP member since 1977. Alongside them as speakers sat the 6I trio of Crozier, an "expert on international relations" who spoke on "The myth of Gorbachevism: the difference between promises and reality. Does the West want to be disinformed?", Huyn ("Soviet methods of destabilization of Europe") and Horchem, "Director of the Bonn Institute for the Study of Terrorism".

Of the three 6I speakers at these IED Assizes, Horchem had just produced the first contribution to the 6I's anti-Gorbachev campaign, his 1989 book *Pro pace - der zweite Weg sowjetischer Aussenpolitik. Der Kampf des Kremls um Herzen und Hirne* (Pro pace - the second path of Soviet foreign policy. The Kremlin's struggle for hearts and minds). Alongside Horchem as co-authors were Dr. Iain Elliott of the IEDSS Board and Roy Godson of the NSIC's Washington office. The same year would see the publication of Herbert Romerstein's *Soviet Active Measures and Propaganda: Influence Activities in the Gorbachev Era* and Huyn's *Die Doppelfalle Glasnost für Perestrojka ; das Risiko Gorbatschow* [Double Trap Glasnost for Perestroika – the Gorbachev Risk]; these books were then followed in 1990 by Huyn's *Gorbachev's Operation: A Common European House - Soviet Strategic Deception* and Crozier's *The Gorbachev Phenomenon: Peace and Secret War*. The same year, Canon Michael Bourdeaux, director of Keston Research, Oxford, would weigh in with *Gorbachev, Glasnost and The Gospel*; Bourdeaux had been refused a visa by the Soviet authorities in October 1989 (442).

At the IED conference, the 6I brought along two friends as fellow speakers, one American and one English. The American guest was USAF Brigadier-General Robert C. Richardson III of the ASC, Heritage Foundation and the pro-Star wars group High Frontier, who had served on the IEPS Board with Crozier and Huyn. The British speaker was David Hart, "leader writer at the *Times*" who the previous year had taken over from Crozier as backer of Elwell's smear-sheet *British Briefing* and who had recently run a pro-Star Wars campaign in Britain on behalf of CIA Director Bill Casey. Three French speakers rounded off the IED list: Suzanne Labin, veteran leader of the French section of WACL, Prefect Jean Rochet, from 1967 to 1972 head of the French DST internal security service, and Joel-François Dumont, a senior journalist specializing in security and intelligence issues at the French FR3 regional television network.

Joel-François Dumont de Vries, to give him his full name, "has, over the last twenty-four years [i.e. since 1967], gained considerable experience of international affairs: first as Brussels-based EC and NATO correspondent, and more recently in his present capacity as a political and diplomatic analyst in Paris. Mr. Dumont is a former Auditor [*auditeur*, free pupil] of France's National Institute for Advanced Defence Studies [IHEDN, whose Director from 1972 to 1974 was Cercle associate General Callet] and a graduate of the Institute of Security Studies at Kiel University, Germany. He is also currently Director of the **Centre for Intelligence Studies (Europe)**. He has published and contributed to a number of studies, among which: *The Peace Movements in Europe and America* (London, 1985); *Für ein Deutschland in der Zukunft* [For a Germany in the Future] (Berlin, 1985); and *La Désinformation Stratégique et les Mesures Actives Soviétiques* [Strategic Disinformation and Soviet Active Measures] (Paris, 1987)" (443).

THE 6I'S AMERICAN OUTREACH

Dumont's involvement in the otherwise unknown European branch of the

Center for Intelligence Studies leads us to a complex of American-based groups which also involved longstanding 6I ally General Richardson of the ASC and which may well have served amongst the 6I's "new outlets in New York, Washington" in the late 1980s and 1990s. The complex of groups had originally been formed around the legendary Deputy Director of CIA Counter-Intelligence **James Jesus Angleton**, who is thought to have played a major part in the CIA's illegal domestic intelligence-gathering programme CHAOS.

Having announced his resignation on Christmas Eve 1975, Angleton launched a campaign in 1977 to defend two senior FBI officers indicted for illegal acts committed as part of the FBI's Cointelpro programme. The two FBI agents charged in 1978 and convicted in November 1980 of supervising illegal break-ins at the homes of Weather Underground sympathizers in 1972-73 were W. Mark Felt (of Deepthroat fame), then the Acting Associate Director of the FBI, and Edward S. Miller, the Assistant Director of the Domestic Intelligence Division. Their convictions would however not stand for long, unconditional presidential pardons being granted five months later by Ronald Reagan in March 1981 (444).

To quote from the official but mostly still classified eleven-volume official CIA report by Cleveland Cram into Angleton's previous activities: "In the summer of 1977, Angleton developed a new forum for his ideas. He and like-minded associates organized the **Security and Intelligence Fund** [ASIF] to defend US security and intelligence organizations and to raise money for the defense of two FBI officers then under indictment by the Carter administration. Here, Angleton was on surer ground. He had the support of a large number of FBI retirees as well as many former CIA officers. This was the period when the Pike and Church Congressional committees were in full cry investigating and exposing CIA operations, and numerous ex-intelligence people believed they had gone too far. ASIF raised more than \$600,000 and within six months was reported to have more than 17,000 members. Angleton was chairman, and his friends held senior positions" (445)*.

ASIF was registered as the Security and Intelligence Fund, Inc. in Washington D.C. in April 1977, and was chaired by Angleton; General Richardson would serve as its Director and Secretary-Treasurer (446). Following the presidential pardon of the two FBI men in 1981, "the purpose for which ASIF was created more or less evaporated. Angleton then converted it into a forum for spreading information about Soviet deception. The Fund remained in effect into the 1980s until, after Angleton's death and the coming of glasnost, it withered away" (447).

This account of ASIF by the author of the CIA's definitive report on Angleton's record is not entirely accurate. In February 1985, ASIF was re-registered under the name of the Security and Intelligence Foundation, Inc. (SIFI) (448); after Angleton's death in May 1987, the SIFI, which published the journal *Nightwatch*, would be chaired by W. Raymond Wannall, former Assistant Director of the FBI in charge of the FBI's worldwide counter-intelligence and counter-terrorism programme and later founder of the Nathan Hale Institute (449). By March 1988, far from withering away,

the SIFI would spawn a sister organization, the above-named **Center for Intelligence Studies** (CIS) which would share many of the SIFI's personnel - General Richardson sat on its Board, and Dumont was a Senior Fellow until at least 2005 when the CIS stopped listing its Fellows on its new website (450)*.

With offices on Washington's K Street, "the Center for Intelligence Studies and its diverse activities are dedicated to the memory of James J. Angleton, my friend, mentor, and guide" wrote CIS Chairman **Charles S. Viar**. Viar's web biography records that as "a top expert in the fields of intelligence and counterintelligence, Charles Viar first became involved in intelligence during his service in the United States Marine Corps Reserve (1971-1973). He has been continuously involved in intelligence or intelligence-related matters ever since ... After working at the American Security Council and the Heritage Foundation, Mr. Viar became Executive Director and later President of the Security and Intelligence Foundation [SIFI]. Between 1985 and 1987, he had the unique privilege of studying under the late James J. Angleton, the legendary former chief of CIA Counterintelligence. Since 1989, he has been Chairman and CEO of the Center for Intelligence Studies in Washington, DC" (451).

Both ASIF/SIFI and the CIS had strong links to the ASC; Viar's autobiography *From Whence the Darkness* records that Viar's job in the SIFI was offered to him by General Richardson and that the SIFI's office space was arranged by General Graham, both generals being ASC Board members. There was also considerable overlap in the personnel of the CIS and the SIFI; a close colleague of Viar's and Richardson's in both organisations was **Francis John McNamara** who saw service in World War II in Asia before working in China after the war for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. "Returning to the US in 1948, McNamara went to work as a researcher for American Business Consultants, Inc., in New York City, a security firm and publisher of the anticommunist newsletter *Counterattack*. In January of 1950 he became editor of *Counterattack* where he remained until May of 1954. He then moved to Washington, D.C., to head the National Security Program of the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW). In 1958 he left the VFW to serve as a research analyst and consultant to the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC). In 1961 he became director of research at HUAC, and in 1962, its staff director. In 1970 he went to work for the Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB) where he served as executive secretary. In 1981 he became executive director of the Nathan Hale Foundation. He served as Vice-Chairman of the Security and Intelligence Foundation [SIFI] from 1987-90 and is a Senior Fellow at the Center for Intelligence Studies in Arlington, Virginia" (452). Another person who held positions in both organisations was **Dr Scott S. Powell**, a Senior Fellow at the CIS and also a Senior Fellow at the SIFI from 1990 to 2005 (453).

Besides the axis formed by the refoundation of ASIF as the SIFI in 1985 and the creation of the CIS in 1988, three other American-based groups involving the 6I's US allies would be set up in the late 1980s - the **International Freedom Foundation** (1986), the **Center for Security Policy** (1988) and the **Institute of World Politics** (1990).

To turn first to the **International Freedom Foundation**, according to a 1995 *Newsday* article (454), the IFF was founded in 1986 and fronted by notorious American lobbyist Jack Abramoff, later to be jailed for his corrupt relationship with several congressional legislators. With a staff of twenty under Chairman Duncan Sellars and Executive Director Jeff Pandin, the IFF operated from prestigious offices in Washington, lobbying Congress, organising high-profile conferences and award ceremonies and publishing an extensive range of journals, reports and briefing papers. With branches in London, Rome, Hamburg, Brussels and Johannesburg, the IFF's stated aims were that it "works to foster individual freedom throughout the world" and "encourages and mobilizes support of indigenous democratic movements".

In reality, the IFF's purpose was the exact opposite – to counteract pressure in the US for sanctions on South Africa by denigrating Nelson Mandela and the ANC as Soviet stooges (455)*. Over half the IFF's funding was provided by the South African DMI – the Directorate of Military Intelligence - which gave at least \$1.5 million a year from 1986 on. Interestingly, the IFF's creation in 1986 coincided with the closure after ten years of the London-based FARI, previous beneficiary of DoI/DMI funds. In 1992, President de Klerk would end DMI funding of the IFF as part of a withdrawal from 'Third Force' operations negotiated with Mandela; the IFF would close down in 1993. Prior to its closure, however, the IFF would afford the 6I its last appearance covered by this investigation in a series of conferences in the US and in Germany in the autumn of 1991.

Before detailing this swansong by the 6I, it is useful to pursue the career and other affiliations of one particular IFF officeholder - **Jay Michael Waller**, listed by the US Information Agency as Director of the IFF's International Security Affairs section (456). Waller had been "a member of the staff of the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate, served on the White House Task Force on Central America, and has served as a consultant to the US Information Agency, the US Agency for International Development and the Office of the Secretary of Defense in support of operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. In 2006, he received a citation from the Director of the FBI for "exceptional service in the public interest"... He is a frequent lecturer and instructor in psychological and information operations for the US military and the intelligence community" (457).

In 1993, Waller would be a founding co-editor of the magazine *Demokratizatsiya – the Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*; an 2003 article celebrating the magazine's tenth anniversary stated: "The policy approach of the journal was also covered by the International Freedom Foundation and later by the **American Foreign Policy Council**, both of which assumed critical roles in editing and financing the journal" (458).

Waller would also serve as Vice-President for Information Operations at the **Center for Security Policy**, founded in Washington in 1988, which involved several of Crozier's American contacts - the CSP "National Security Advisory Council"

included deGraffenreid and Kraemer, as well as Midge Decter, Douglas J. Feith, Edwin Feulner, Richard Perle and former CIA Director James Woolsey (459)*.

Waller and the trio of 6I friends Romerstein, deGraffenreid and Kraemer would also provide overlap with another American group, the **Institute of World Politics**, a "Graduate School of National Security and International Affairs" founded in Washington in 1990. All four have served on the IWP Faculty, and IWP Guest Lecturers have included three former CIA Directors – Schlesinger, Woolsey and Tenet – as well as Caspar Weinberger and Douglas J. Feith (460)*.

To return to the IFF, before its closure in 1993 following the ending of South African 'Third Force' operations, the IFF provided a platform for the 6I's American and European members in the autumn of 1991. Three IFF conferences on intelligence were held, the first two in Washington and the last in Germany; the proceedings would be published the following year by the IFF's German branch under the title *Intelligence and the New World Order*. The speakers at the first two Washington seminars, *Assessing U.S. Intelligence Needs for the 1990s: Congressional Oversight of the Intelligence Community – Finding the Proper Balance*, included Romerstein, Kraemer and Holliday as well as CIA veterans George Carver and Theodore Shackley (461)*. Of greatest interest though was the third IFF intelligence conference, held in November 1991 in Potsdam under the title *National Intelligence Agencies in the period of European Partnership*.

Hard by the Berlin Wall breached almost exactly two years earlier, the IFF's German venue symbolized the changes since the fall of the Iron Curtain and German reunification, "closing the circle of the superpower era, at a conference in Schloss Cecilienhof, Potsdam, where Stalin initiated the Cold War", as the IFF book put it. The two keynote speakers in Potsdam also reflected the meeting of East and West: General Oleg Kalugin, former head of KGB Counter-Intelligence, and William Colby, ex-Director of the CIA and a Cercle guest.

Alongside them on the podium as speakers were the 6I core of Crozier (462)*, Huyn (463)* and Horchem (464)* together with their companion from the 1989 IED seminar, French security journalist Joel-François Dumont (465)*. Finally, amongst the participants at the IFF conference was another familiar face, Cercle/6I member Jamie Jameson. In new times, there's nothing like old friends (466)*.

A CIRCLE OF FRIENDS

In contrast to the public conception of "conspiracy theory", the links uncovered by parapolitical research are rarely lines of command. Parapolitical activity is not pyramidal like a government hierarchy; it is connective, a network of nodes like a circle of friends. The links between the nodes are lines of support arising not from a command structure, but from a community of interest, shared objectives and interlocking memberships.

Individual groups do not so much set the agenda or run the show as act within their own sphere of influence or speciality, occasionally supporting actions taken by others. Many are isolated and have little impact outside their own country, and here the Cercle came into its own as a group with a world-wide agenda, connecting and, to some extent, coordinating the activities of groups in many different countries. The Cercle complex stands almost alone as an active international network linking intelligence veterans and their media manipulators to top right-wing politicians. As to its significance, I can do no better than to quote Ramsay and Dorril:

"One of the conclusions to be drawn from this essay is about networks. One common response to the delineation of a network is to say, 'Yes, all that is interesting, but where is the actual transmission of power?' To which we would argue - and this is the only claim we make which might be called theoretical - that the network is the power. A network of people who are, elsewhere, powerful, is per se a powerful network."

Through its network of private-sector spies and their disinformation outlets, the Cercle complex could promote or denigrate public figures not only in their own country, but throughout Europe and America. Its activities during the Cold War - covert funding, black propaganda, smear campaigns and, at least, connections to planned coups d'état - were those of any intelligence agency, and, in many ways, that is what the Cercle complex has been: the rogue agents of the international Right.

FOOTNOTES

(1) Crozier, pg 191.

(2) Habsburg died on 4th July 2011. The major source on Habsburg and the Paneuropean Union is the Young European Federalists. Quite apart from Habsburg's political credentials, he was, as heir to the throne of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the last in the line from Charlemagne, ruler of the first Holy Roman Empire, whose seal would be the symbol of the AESP. The first Holy Roman Empire, founded in 800 AD, covered more or less the same territory as the original EEC, created in 1957. Charlemagne's Holy Roman Empire was, of course the First Reich, Kaiser Wilhelm's the Second, and Hitler's the Third. Banned from Austria since 1919, Habsburg had to renounce his claim to the Imperial and Royal Throne (KuK) in 1961 to be allowed back into Austria. Nonetheless, as nominal heir to Austro-Hungary, Habsburg was Opus Dei's candidate for the European Catholic throne; some Spanish friends from CEDI (Sanchez Bella, Martin Artajo - see below) dreamed of placing the conservative Habsburg rather than the young and less pious Juan Carlos de Borbon on the Spanish throne, but Habsburg flatly refused and did not respond when Franco raised the subject of Spanish succession. Pinay, Violet and many European members of the Cercle complex were staunch supporters of Opus Dei - this investigation cannot attempt to cover the vast field of the Catholic Right, Opus Dei and the Vatican in any detail, and the paucity of references here to those networks is certainly no indication of a lack of Cercle-Opus Dei connections. However, as early Catholic contacts by Pinay, Violet and Dubois with Franco's Spain are little documented, a summary is provided in footnote 16. For a revealing account of Opus Dei's later contacts in Belgium and with the AESP, see Van Bosbeke.

(3) With his seat in Pöcking just south of Munich, Habsburg acted throughout post-war German history as the elder statesman of the Christian Social Union (CSU), the conservative party in the independence-minded Free State of Bavaria, an essential German Federal coalition partner of the CDU. Despite hosting the post-war negotiations to create the Federal Republic of Germany, Bavaria would never sign its founding act, agreeing only to abide by it. Already a citizen of Austria, Hungary and Croatia, Habsburg would controversially receive dual [sic] German nationality in 1978, just in time for him to be elected to the European Parliament in June 1979 - at that time, Austria and Hungary were not EU members. For the next twenty years, Habsburg would sit in the European Parliament, notably chairing or co-chairing the Delegation on Relations with Hungary from 1989 to 1999, by which time Hungary's accession to the EU was assured. He would later play a significant part in creating the first breach in the Iron Curtain ... between Austria and Hungary - see below on the Paneuropean Picnic.

(4) An account of CEDI and biographic details on Habsburg can be found in *IGfM*, pgs 59-60 and 75-76 - an outstanding piece of research on the international Right; for a fuller biography, see Young European Federalists. CEDI was a little-known but significant forum for a meeting of minds on European integration between Franco's government, French Gaullists, German Christian Democrats and British Conservative members of the March and Monday Clubs; the early presence of Geoffrey Rippon, leader of the UK delegation negotiating British membership of the EEC, is indicative of the contribution CEDI made to smoothing the path for British membership in 1973. CEDI's main aim of bringing Spain into the European fold would not be achieved before Franco's death in 1975, but Spain and Portugal would apply for EEC membership in 1977 and finally be accepted in 1986. CEDI reportedly closed down in 1990, just after the fall of the Iron Curtain that would pave the way for the Eastern European states to eventually join the EU in 2004.

Besides Habsburg and Sanchez Bella, another key CEDI founding member

was **Alberto Martin Artajo**, a monarchist and National President of Accion Catolica in 1945 when Franco appointed him as first postwar Foreign Minister; he would serve twelve years until 1957, and would chair the Spanish CEDI section until handing over to Sanchez Bella in 1970. For an insider account of early CEDI congresses, see Franco's official foreign policy review, the *Revista de Política Internacional* produced by the **Instituto de Estudios Políticos** (IEP), numbers 22 (*En torno al problema de la coexistencia (crónica de una reunión)*), 32 and 37 at http://www.cepc.es/es/Publicaciones/Revistas/acceso_fondo_hist/fondo_politica_internacional.aspx. The IEP review would provide early publication for Habsburg (number 27, July-September 1956) and for French nuclear expert General Pierre Gallois whom we will meet below (number 56, July-August 1961); both would return to its pages in the 1970s (numbers 150, March-April 1977, and 135, September-October 1974, respectively). The journal would also cover Crozier's work from the beginning of his career on, starting in 1956 with a review of his IRD article on Indochina and including his books *Neo-Colonialism* in 1964 and *The Struggle for the Third World* in 1965 before he went on to work on his biography of Franco. In the autumn of 1975, the review would give full publication to a 1974 study on détente produced by an ISC group bringing together Crozier, Schapiro, Shils, Labeledz, Pipes, Godson and Conquest; the study had previously appeared in the CCF journal *Survey* published by Labeledz and in Albertini's Paris-based *Est-Ouest* – see the *Revista de Política Internacional* number 141, International Documentation section; the same issue also featured Sanchez-Bella's speech on détente to the 1975 CEDI Congress. CEDI was extensively covered by the Barcelona newspaper *La Vanguardia Española*; see the Sources annex for dates and the web address. On the IEP which worked closely with CEDI throughout the years, see footnotes 6 and 16, and the useful 2005 article by Nicolas Sesma Landrin of the Instituto Universitario Europeo in Florence at http://www.historiacontemporanea.ehu.es/s0021-con/es/contenidos/boletin_revista/00021_revista_hc30/es_revista/adjuntos/30_08.pdf. The list of participants at the 1974 Congress, a commentary on that Congress and the programme of the 1976 Congress can be found at http://www.fondazioneDragan.org/media/19740705_jcd_programma.pdf, http://www.fondazioneDragan.org/media/08_09_1974_be_fr_agosto_settembre.pdf and http://www.fondazioneDragan.org/media/19761125_jcd_programma.pdf respectively; other CEDI documents not previously published on the web, such as a 1972 retrospective booklet and the list of participants at the 1976 Congress, can be found in the documentary annex below.

(5) Walsh, pg 66.

(6) The Instituto de Cultura Hispanica was the main body used by Franco for outreach to the Latin American countries whose votes would help ensure Spain's entry into the UN in 1955, the second breach in Spain's international isolation after the Vatican Concordat and the US-Spain Pact of Madrid, both of 1953. Sanchez Bella died in 1999. His predecessor as Minister for Information and Tourism from 1962 to 1969, Manuel Fraga Iribarne, would also be an early and important CEDI member and Cercle contact – see footnotes 16 and 103. Fraga had previously been appointed Deputy Director of the Instituto de Estudios Políticos in 1956 and served as Director from 1958 to 1962 before becoming Minister.

(7) Braden was replaced as head of the CIA's IOD by Cord Meyer in 1954, when Meyer took over responsibility for the CIA's clandestine funding of the EM and EYC, and later FWF.

(8) On the early relationship between the two complexes, see Young European Federalists and Retinger pgs 209-216; on CIA funding of the EM and EYC, see *The European Movement 1945-1953*, F. X. Rebattet (son of the EM Secretary-General Georges-Louis Rebattet), unpublished thesis, Oxford University, 1962; Eringer pgs 19-21; *The CIA backs the Common Market*, Steve Weissman, Phil Kelly and Mark

Hosenball, and *How CIA money took the teeth out of British Socialism*, Richard Fletcher, both published in *Dirtywork 1: The CIA in Western Europe*, various authors. Lord Duncan Sandys, son-in-law to Winston Churchill, would sit in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in 1950-52 and then from 1965 to 1983; he died in 1987. All data on mandates in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe are taken from http://assembly.coe.int/ASP/AssemblyList/AL_MPSearchAlphaArchivesE.asp. A complete archive of the *Bulletin Européen* can be found at http://www.fondazioneDragan.org/publicazioni/periodici/bulletin/bulletin_europ_en_en.htm, founded by Iosif Constantin Dragan, who would be a participant at CEDI Congresses from 1970 on and an AESP contact from at least 1976 on – see the 1976 AESP dinner attendance list in the documentary archive.

(9) Van Doorslaer and Verhoeyen, pgs 149-150. The official PEU site at <http://www.paneuropa.org/> describes Coudenhove Kalergi's position, the ensuing power struggle with Habsburg and the latter's victory after Coudenhove Kalergi's death in the following terms: "Coudenhove envisaged the inter-war period of Europe as having an alternative "integration or collapse." Even in 1923, he vehemently warned against the "future war" and of the danger that Europe, after the war, would be "divided" by an artificial border "into a Soviet colony and an American protectorate." ... At the 8th Pan-Europa Congress in Bad Ragaz [in 1957], Otto von Habsburg was elected to the Central Council of the Pan-Europa Union and soon afterwards, as the Vice-President of Coudenhove-Kalergi, proposed himself as the successor in the Office of President. ... On 27 July 1972, Coudenhove-Kalergi died in Vorarlberg. On a proposal by the French President, George Pompidou in 1973, Otto von Habsburg was elected as the International President of the Pan-Europa Union and new aims were set for the movement: the idea of liberating Central and Eastern Europe from communist oppression - as a precondition of genuine European integration in the sense of a united Europe - and the defence of Christian values / the spirit of Christian teaching in relation to how mankind is meant to be in an increasingly materialistic age. Concluded on 11 -12 May 1973, the Strasbourg Declaration of Basic Principles formulated the aims of the Pan-Europa Union which held sway for almost two decades until the victory of freedom in Central Europe."

(10) A major source, not fully integrated here, is the exhaustive - and exhausting - book by Saunders, which refers to Forum World Features only in passing and makes no mention at all of Crozier.

(11) Since March 1952.

(12) On the Bilderberg Group, see Retinger; Eringer; Gonsalez-Mata. Gonsalez-Mata was particularly well informed on the Bilderberg Group, being a former head of Spanish intelligence; not least because of this, his statements should be treated with caution. The Hotel De Bilderberg, flagship of the Bilderberg Groep Hotels and Restaurants, is itself also still running – see the documentary annex.

(13) Pinay's political career is dealt with in depth in Rimbaud; the book makes no mention of the Cercle Pinay and includes only a passing reference to Maître Violet in connection with the sniffer planes scandal, detailed below.

(14) Faligot and Krop, pg 194.

(15) Crozier, pg 191.

(16) On Violet's links to the pre-war Cagoule, his SDECE career and his early relationship with Antoine Pinay, see Faligot and Krop, pgs 193-200; Péan, pgs 33-54 - the major book on the sniffer plane scandal; Mungo - a key AESP\MAUE insider source; *Lobster* 18, pgs 24-25; Crozier pgs 97 and 191-192. On the Cagoule in

general, see Bourdrel. *Europe-Amerique* would publish an interesting article on the Cagoule just after the war – see the 7th February 1946 issue.

Dubois and Violet would both come into early contact with Franco's Spain via Catholic networks, the key contact person being **Francisco Javier Conde**, from 1948 to 1956 Director of the IEP. According to Landrin (see footnote 4), Conde was sent on official mission to Brussels by Foreign Minister Martin Artajo in March 1950; in October 1950, he would attend a meeting of a certain Organisation Internationale d'Etudes Diplomatiques presided by Dubois. Violet would soon follow: *La Vanguardia Española* reports that on the 5th June 1952 Foreign Minister Martin Artajo received "Mr. Violet, Secretary of the International Parliamentary Group Pro Orden Cristiano" and on the 6th, Esteban Bilbao, President of the Parliament, received Conde accompanying "Mr. Jean Violet, the Secretary-General of the **Conseil International pour l'Ordre Chrétien**", CIOC - see *La Vanguardia Española* of 6/6/52 pg 4, and of 7/6/52 pg 4. The meetings were to prepare for a CIOC conference in Madrid scheduled for the 18th-20th October of that year; the previous conference had been held in Paris, official seat of the Council.

Conde, whose IEP helped host the conference, told journalists: "CIOC is a meeting of parliamentarians from various European countries, particularly French, Belgian, Dutch and Swiss. Its members also include parliamentarians from other countries such as Ireland and Italy. The main aim of the meetings is to influence the legislative bodies of the different peoples in a Catholic direction. The wish of the Council is not just to limit itself to Europe but also to welcome into its ranks parliamentarians from the great Catholic countries of the world, particularly from Latin American countries". The sessions were chaired by Conde, CIOC spiritual advisor Dubois and former Minister and then Senator for Paris Edmond Michelet, leading a French delegation of nine Members of the National Assembly and one other Senator. Michelet would later serve as Justice Minister in 1959 (when Pinay was Finance Minister), sending a telegram of support to the CEDI Congress of that year and would hold the post of CEDI International President in 1962-63. Seven months after the October 1952 CIOC Madrid conference, Conde, Dubois and Violet would be received by Franco on 27th May 1953, and Franco's hospitality would be returned a month later when Conde, Minister and Secretary-General of the [Falangist] Movement **José Solis Ruiz** and two other Spanish delegates would be hosted by Violet at the June 1953 CIOC conference in Paris – see *La Vanguardia Española* of 17/10/52 pg 3, 18/10/52 pg 4, 19/10/52 pg 4, 21/10/52 pg 6, 28/5/53 pg 4, and 28/6/53 pg 30.

Dubois would visit Spain the next summer, this time in an official role as the spiritual advisor to the **Fédération Internationale des Pharmaciens Catholiques**, a lay federation founded in the 1930s and recognized by the Vatican; the FIPC held its III Congress (500 participants) in Zaragoza in August 1954 – see http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/laity/documents/rc_pc_laity_doc_20051114_associazioni_fr.html#FÉDÉRATION INTERNATIONALE DES PHARMACIENS CATHOLIQUES and *La Vanguardia Española* of 15/8/54 pg 3, 29/8/54 pg 3, and 4/9/54 pg 3. As obscure as Catholic chemists may seem, the 1947 Congress of Catholic Pharmacists in Lyon was advertised in Spanish newspapers, and coach parties from Spain attended the IV Congress in Freiburg in September 1956 (38 Spaniards), the V Congress in Belgium in August 1958 (80 Spaniards, 2,000 participants), the VII Congress in Lisbon in September 1963 (500 participants), the IX Congress in Vienna in August 1967 and the XI Congress in Dublin in July 1971 – see *La Vanguardia Española* of 9/4/47 pg 4, 27/3/56 pg 6, 4/9/56 pg 4, 16/8/58 pg 3, 10/8/63 pg 3, 6/9/63 pg 14, 24/8/67 pg 22, and 19/6/71 pg 31.

Solis Ruiz would be the key contact person when Pinay himself later visited Spain for the Catholic cause as part of the **Comité International pour la Défense de**

la Civilisation Chrétienne [CIDCC], a largely French body created in 1948, whose first President was Belgian Paul Van Zeeland and whose Secretary-General was noted Catholic publicist Pierre André Simon. It would publish a monthly journal *Vérité et Documents* whose first issue - on Hungarian Cardinal Mindszenty - appeared in February 1949. However, CIDCC's first International Conference would only be held in June 1958, in Bonn and Berlin including delegations from nine countries - Germany, Austria, Belgium, France, Italy, the Netherlands and exile groups from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The CIDCC Chairman elected at the conference was Hermann Lindrath, a wealthy German Protestant industrialist, CDU MP from 1953 on and Finance and Economy Minister in Adenauer's third cabinet from October 1957 until his death in February 1960. Lindrath had a chequered past, having joined the Nazi Stahlhelm in 1933, the SA in 1934 and the NSDAP in 1937; he would join the CDU in 1945 and flee from his native East Germany in 1951. At the first International Conference in 1958, the CIDCC Vice-Presidents were Pinay, Solis Ruiz and former Italian Minister Gaetano Martino; the Spanish section was chaired by Solis Ruiz, and its Vice-Presidents included IEP Director Fraga Iribarne. It is worth noting that Pinay and Martino had been two of the six national delegates at the European Coal and Steel Community's crucial Conference of Messina in 1955 that would lead to the Treaty of Rome in 1957 and the creation of the EEC in 1958 - van Zeeland was the first candidate proposed to head the committee to develop the proposal for a European common market, but was defeated by Paul-Henri Spaak.

In November 1959, Solis Ruiz invited Lindrath to Madrid to prepare the ground for the II International Conference of the CIDCC; the Spanish media lionised Lindrath, the "biggest businessman in the world" who controlled "34% of German iron, 25% of its coal, 17% of liquid fuel, 62% of aluminium, 39% of lead, 4% of steel, 43% of zinc" and had important holdings in Volkswagen. The II International Conference of the CIDCC including delegates from fourteen countries was held in Madrid from the 25th to 27th January 1960, and was attended by Simon, Pinay, Solis Ruiz, Fraga and CEDI mainstay von Merkat; it received telegrams of support from Adenauer and from the Secretary of State of the Vatican, and would end with a private audience with Franco for the foreign dignitaries, accompanied by Solis and Fraga - the Franco government had meanwhile arranged permanent premises in Madrid for the CIDCC headquarters. Lindrath would however be absent from the January 1960 conference; he would die on February 27th. The succession to the Presidency was only one outstanding issue: the German section wished to study the political and organisational problems of the CIDCC, the French section wanted to focus on media measures to combat Soviet psychological warfare, the Italian section proposed drafting a declaration of principles, and the Spanish section felt the need to settle the definitive aim and international status of the Committee. Another CIDCC meeting held in Paris on 13th June 1960 failed to settle the issue of the Presidency, as the German delegation, expected to fill the post, had not named a candidate due to tensions between Protestants and Catholics; ad interim, Pinay as First Vice-President took on the function. These issues were then again raised at a somewhat chaotic CIDCC Praesidium meeting, held in Bonn on 12-13th June 1961 - Simon had resigned as Secretary-General, Pinay was occupied with business affairs, and key personalities from France, Switzerland and the Netherlands could not attend. Solis accepted to chair the meeting, which was organised by the German section; the key CIDCC members would be received by Adenauer.

It is not known what decisions the CIDCC took about the succession to the Presidency, de facto held by Solis, or the direction of the Committee, but another Praesidium meeting was held in Berlin in April 1962, the III International Conference of the CIDCC met in Fribourg, Switzerland sometime that year, and the Spanish CIDCC section organized its second round of conferences in November-December, at which a key speaker was Federico Silva Muñoz. Foreign guests flying in for the Spanish CIDCC conferences included Heinz Gehle, foreign policy expert

for the German section and Press Secretary of the CIDCC, and its new secretary, Georg Jaschke, both of whom had attended the Madrid 1960 conference – on Gehle, see footnote 318. The IV International Conference of the CIDCC was held in Luzern in October 1963, and, either at that conference or at a subsequent Presidium meeting, Solis Ruiz's temporary role as acting President was formalised – he would be the International President at the V International Conference of the CIDCC held in Vienna in September 1964, which, for the first time, included a delegation from Portugal. The Portuguese Minister for Corporations (i.e. Labour and Welfare) and head of the Portuguese delegation, José João Gonçalves de Proença, would then visit Solis Ruiz in Madrid in June 1965 to discuss the organisation of the next conference, and delegations of twenty-five countries finally met at the VI International Conference of the CIDCC in Lisbon in March 1966 under the chairmanship of the Portuguese President of the Republic (1958-74), Rear-Admiral Américo de Deus Rodrigues Tomás and CIDCC International President Solis Ruiz. Fraga sent a telegram apologising for his absence. Pinay gave the closing speech, before the leaders of the CIDCC were received by the President of the Portuguese Council, Oliveira Salazar.

In reacting to news of the death of Adenauer in April 1967, Solis Ruiz told the Press that Adenauer had founded the CIDCC and that he himself had had the honour of replacing Adenauer as its President. Both statements seem inaccurate; although Adenauer had certainly supported the CIDCC in 1958-61, no other data point to him having had a founding or directing role in it. The next mention of the CIDCC came in March 1968 when Solis Ruiz extended a visit to Bonn to attend a CIDCC meeting, no doubt of the Presidium. The Spanish section held another round of conferences in April 1969, another CIDCC Presidium would be held in Bonn on 8th May and a further round of conferences by the Spanish section was held in Madrid in June. Solis Ruiz was still International President at this time, and said of the CIDCC before the May 1969 Presidium that "this organisation has acted over recent years as a channel for relations and activities between the Federal Republic of Germany and Spain". In November 1969, the CIDCC, qualified in the *Vanguardia Española* reporting for the first time as "the extreme rightwing organisation CIDCC" published a letter from two Italian cardinals objecting to the new Mass approved by the Vatican – the Italian CIDCC section poured red ink into the fountains on St. Peter's Square on the first Sunday of Advent in 1970 when the new Mass was introduced, and submitted a petition with 100,000 signatures to the Pope. An interesting article in *La Vanguardia Española* of 6/2/71 pg 23 reports on the neofascist bomb in Reggio Calabria, and lists the extreme rightwing groups making their presence felt on Italian streets as including "Ordine Nuovo, Avanguardia Nazionale, ...Defence of Christian Civilisation".

No later actions of the CIDCC are known. For further reading on the CIDCC, useful accounts by Spanish CIDCC members of the 1958-61 meetings were published by the IEP - see *Revista de Política Internacional* numbers 47 and 58 (web address in footnote 4), sources for the above summary as were issues of the *La Vanguardia Española* of 31/1/59 pg 12, 14/11/59 pg 17; 15/11/59 pg 5; 22/11/59 pg 5; 14/1/60 pgs 7 and 9; 20/1/60 pg 20; 23/1/60 pg 22; 26/1/60 pgs 11 and 18; 27/1/60 pgs 15 and 17; 28/1/60 pgs 1, 10 and 11; 12/6/60 pg 9; 14/6/60 pg 20; 13/6/61 pg 7; 14/6/61 pg 46; 16/6/61 pg 16; 17/6/61 pg 7; 8/3/62 pg 7; 10/11/62 pg 32; 28/11/62 pg 8; 15/10/63 pg 8; 5/9/64 pg 5; 6/9/64 pgs 5 and 46; 1/5/65 pg 7; 22/6/65 pg 4; 29/3/66 pg 17; 30/3/66 pgs 14 and 44; 1/4/66 pg 13; 20/4/67 pg 14; 15/3/68 pg 16; 19/4/69 pg 7; 8/5/69 pg 17; 21/6/69 pg 7; 31/8/69 pg 21; 2/11/69 pg 20; 3/1/70 pg 20. Also see *La Vanguardia Española* of 25/5/60 pg 21 for possible CIDCC links to the Institute of European Studies at the University of Social Studies "Pro Deo" in Rome, founded by the Dominican Félix Morlion.

Whilst Pinay's CIDCC would continue throughout the 1960s, Dubois and Violet also kept up contact with Franco's Spain - accompanied by Solis Ruiz, Dubois and Violet, "member of the Governing Council of the IHEDN", would have a private audience with Franco on 10th June 1964 – see *La Vanguardia Española* of 11/6/64 pg 7. The *Revista de Política Internacional* number 89 reported on a later and little-known action by the Dubois/Violet/SDECE group, the "Church of Silence": the submission of an anti-communist petition to the Ecumenical Council of the Vatican in 1965.

(17) Crozier, pg 192. The significance of these Franco-German encounters can be judged from a 1958 article in the *International Herald Tribune*: "The warmest expression of French-German friendship and cooperation since the end of World War II was contained in a joint communique issued last night [Sept. 14] by French Premier Charles de Gaulle and West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer following a meeting in Colombey-les-Deux-Eglises. 'We are convinced', the communique said, 'that close cooperation between the German Federal Republic and the French Republic is the foundation of all constructive action in Europe. It contributes to the reinforcement of the Atlantic Alliance. It is indispensable to the world'. 'We feel', the communique further declared, 'that the hostility of the past is forever at an end and that Frenchmen and Germans are called upon to live in accord and to work together.' Mr. Adenauer spent the night in the general's home" - *International Herald Tribune*, 15/9/58, republished in the *IHT* on 15/9/08. Two central characters in the later Cercle complex and the 6I would also be involved in the efforts for Franco-German reconciliation and early European defence cooperation: Count Hans Huyn, whose career is detailed below, and US Air Force Brigadier General Robert C. Richardson. According to his web biography, "upon creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation in 1949, newly promoted Colonel Richardson became the first Air Force planner on the NATO Standing Group ... As one of the original NATO war planners, he prepared the European Theater war plans on how to counter a potential Cold War invasion ... He worked the negotiation of an agreement for Germany's rearmament and for the establishment of the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers in Europe (SHAPE) in Paris, France". Richardson would work at SHAPE from 1951 to 1955 and would return to Paris in 1961, playing a key part in the Headquarters U.S. European Command in Paris implementing the NATO air response during the Berlin Crisis which immediately followed the construction of the Berlin Wall in August 1961 – see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert_C._Richardson_III and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlin_Crisis_of_1961.

(18) *Mémoires*, Critérion, Paris 1991, pgs 285-286.

(19) *Le Figaro*, 2/4/63, quoted by Gonsalez-Mata, pg 38. At the September 1955 Bilderberg conference in Bavaria, Strauss was accompanied by General Gehlen, head of the BND - see Gonsalez-Mata, pg 27.

(20) *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 13/9/63, reproduced in *IGfM*, pg 75.

(21) *Spiegel*, 10/1980, pg 23; *Spiegel-Buch*, pg 110, an invaluable source on Strauss.

(22) Gonsalez-Mata, pg 26.

(23) Crozier, pg 33.

(24) Crozier, pg 32.

(25) Crozier, pgs 29-31.

(26) Many MI6 officers and agents worked on the staff of the *Economist* at one time or another, amongst them the famous double agent Kim Philby (who had been recommended to the journal by top MI6 officers Sir John Sinclair and G. K. Young), Tom Little and Patrick Honey, two IRD writers who would join Crozier in the ISC, and last and most certainly not least, Robert Moss who was an editorial writer and special correspondent for the *Economist* from 1970-1980, editing the weekly *Economist Foreign Report* from 1974-1980. "In 1986, Moss felt the need to get away from the commercial fast track and moved to a farm in upstate New York ...where he developed the practice he calls Active Dreaming" – see <http://www.mossdreams.com/>.

(27) Crozier, pg 32. As part of the post-war decentralisation of German government offices, the BND had been located in Pullach near Munich in the heart of Strauss's fief, Bavaria. This geographic consideration and shared political convictions led to a longstanding close relationship between Strauss's CSU and the BND under Gehlen and Wessel right up until the FDP's "Kinkel coup" of 1980, when Wessel was replaced by Genscher's man, Klaus Kinkel, a future German Foreign Minister, putting an end to the "Gehlen dynasty" and the BND's longstanding affiliation with the Right. The relationship between Strauss and Gehlen did not however always run smoothly - see Höhne and Zolling. By 1962, Foertsch would be the Inspector-General of the German Army; it would be an article on Foertsch by *Spiegel* editor Conrad Ahlers in September 1962 that would trigger the *Spiegel* Affair – see Höhne and Zolling, pg 216.

(28) Dorril and Ramsay, 1990, pg 6. After the war, the NTS would be the parent body for the IGfM - see *IGfM*.

(29) Höhne and Zolling, pgs 33-36. Also see the CIA's file on Gehlen, at <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB138/CIA%20Information%20Act%20-%20Reinhard%20Gehlen.pdf>

(30) "As in neighbouring Belgium, the Dutch stay-behind army was also made up of two branches. One branch was called Operations, or O for short. It was directed by Louis Einthoven, a cold warrior who died in 1973 [incorrect; aged 83, Einthoven died in 1979] and throughout his life had warned of the dangers of communism. Einthoven, who ran the O branch for 16 years in secrecy, was also the first director of the Dutch post-war domestic security service Binnenlandse Veiligheidsdienst (BVD). "The double function of Einthoven as chief [of] BVD and of O was of course very valuable to us," a former unnamed member of O recalled, for this helped to firmly integrate the secret army into the Dutch intelligence community. The second branch of the Dutch stay-behind was Intelligence, or I. It had been set up after World War Two by J.M. Somer, but was commanded by J.J.L. Baron van Lynden after Somer was dispatched to the Dutch colony of Indonesia in 1948 to fight the independence movement there. ... The O unit, under Einthoven, carried out sabotage and guerrilla operations, and was charged with strengthening the local resistance and creating a new resistance movement. O was also in charge of sensitizing people to the danger of communism during times of peace. Moreover, O was trained in covert action operations, including the use of guns and explosives, and possessed independent secret arms caches." - Ganser, pgs 85-86. Those interested in Gladio should see the excellent book *NATO's Secret Armies – Operation Gladio and Terrorism in Western Europe* (Frank Cass, London 2005) by Ganser, who is a Senior Researcher at the Centre for Security Studies at the Federal Institute of Technology (ETH) in Zurich, Switzerland. ETH also hosts the Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact (PHP) at www.isn.ethz.ch/php, a cooperative research project run by the Centre for Security Studies at ETH Zurich and the National Security Archive at the George Washington University. On Einthoven, see Jan. H. Kompagnie, 'Einthoven, Louis (1896-1979)', in *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland* 3 (Den Haag 1989) and the articles by Professor Giles Scott-Smith referenced in footnote 33. It is interesting to

note that the Intelligence Director of the Dutch Gladio network, J.J.L. Baron van Lynden, had been imprisoned during the war in Colditz Castle, as had Neave, Stirling and Elwell – see Paul Koedijk, *Gladio in Nederland in Vrij Nederland*, 25/01/92.

(31) Crozier, pg 32.

(32) See Marks, chapter 9; Thomas.

(33) Barbizon quote: Laurent, pg 303, quoting Zangrandi. Both Zangrandi and Laurent were ground-breaking sources of their day; other fragmentary early sources on Interdoc were *Libération*, 9/10/75; Verhoeyen and Uytterhaegen; Dorril and Ramsay, 1990, pgs 6-8. The first real insight into the genesis of Interdoc was given by the publication of Crozier's memoirs in 1993 - see pgs 29-33 and 45-49. However, it was not until the new millenium that considerable detail of Interdoc's operations emerged, thanks to the invaluable research conducted by Dutch journalist Paul Koedijk and Professor Giles Scott-Smith of Leiden University and of the Roosevelt Study Center and Academy in Middelburg, research which is only summarised here - see *Interdoc, Peaceful Coexistence, and Positive Anti-Communism: West European Cooperation in Psychological Warfare 1963-1972*, Giles Scott-Smith, *Cold War History*, Vol. 7 No. 1, Spring 2007 (available at http://www.roosevelt.nl/Content/RSC/docs/2007_Confronting%20Peaceful%20Co%20existence.pdf from <http://www.roosevelt.nl/smartsite.dws?ch=rsc&id=2001>) and *Interdoc: Dutch-German cooperation in psychological warfare, 1963-1972*, Giles Scott-Smith, in *Battleground Western Europe: intelligence operations in Germany and the Netherlands in the twentieth century*, Ben de Jong, Beatrice de Graaf, Wies Platje (eds), Het Spinhuis (www.hetspinhuis.nl), 2007.

(34) Crozier appears to be mistaken in claiming that Interdoc was created "shortly after" the Bad Godesberg meeting in March; the registration papers actually date from February 1963.

(35) Dorril and Ramsay (1990), pg 6.

(36) See Bloch and Fitzgerald.

(37) It is interesting to note that the March 1955 Bilderberg conference was held in Barbizon, the same venue as the seminal Interdoc group in 1961. Prince Bernhard's role is indicative of the assistance given by the Bilderberg group, only recently created itself, to the fledging Interdoc organisation – see Scott-Smith's article in *Cold War History* referred to in footnote 33.

(38) I have not been able to track down Einthoven's memoirs (*Tegen de stroom in: levende vissen zwemmen tegen de stroom in, alleen de dooie drijven mee*, Apeldoorn, 1974, ISBN 90-6086-596-0) – it would no doubt be an interesting read.

(39) Crozier, pg 49.

(40) Crozier, pg 46.

(41) Stevenson, pg 253. Ellis's intelligence career is given in Dorril. Ellis would found Interdoc UK in 1964 and run it until retiring due to ill-health in 1969. Interdoc had also created a West Berlin offshoot in 1967 and had discussed an Interdoc USA centre with the NSIC in the mid-1960s, a plan which came to nothing. On Menzies' rôle in Gladio, see his letter to the Belgian Prime Minister of 1949 in Gijssels (1991), pgs 149-150. Crozier also notes that "Ronald Franks" of MI6, to whom Crozier reported on the Bonnemaison/Interdoc meetings, expressed "great interest" in them - Crozier, pg 31.

- (42) Dorril and Ramsay, pgs 6-7; biography in Dorril.
- (43) On the links between Interdoc, the ISC and the Monday Club, see *Time Out*, 29/8/75; Ramsay and Dorril, pgs 3 and 40-41. On the history of the anti-union outfits Common Cause and IRIS, see Dorril and Ramsay's *In a Common Cause – the anti-communist crusade in Britain 1945-60* in *Lobster* 19 (May 1990), pgs 1-8, and Ramsay's *The Clandestine Caucus – anti-socialist campaigns and operations in the British Labour Movement since the war*, *Lobster* Special Issue, undated.
- (44) Van Doorslaer and Verhoeyen, pg 143; Laurent, pg 41 et seq; *Gladio*, pg 77; Willan, pg 33.
- (45) Retinger, pgs 236-237.
- (46) Laurent, pgs 302-303, quoted in full in footnote 105.
- (47) Crozier, pgs 102-104. From 1961 on, *Est-Ouest* would produce a Latin American edition, *Este y Oeste*, and an Italian edition, *Documenti sul comunismo*. In the 1950s, one of the editorial team working on *Est-Ouest* with Albertini was Roland Coquillot, alias Gaucher, present at the 1975 fascist summit at de Bonvoisin's castle - Brewaeys and Deliège, pg 34. Gaucher, a former militant in Marcel Déat's RNP, would work for Albertini's magazine for over ten years – see *Celsius* no. 52, August-September 1992.
- (48) Young European Federalists, pg 208. In 1968, Strauss as Finance Minister intervened to ensure favourable tax treatment of the Frankfurt Study Group – see *Spiegel*, 36/1981. The website of the SWG gives a list of previous SWG speakers (<http://www.swg-hamburg.de/Vortrag/vortrag.html>), amongst whom we find Filbinger, Habsburg, Col. Gerhard Hubatschek, Huyn, General Karst, Kurt Klein, Major-General Komossa, Dr. Marx, von Merkatz, von Richthofen, Professor Rohrmoser, Dr. Sager and Reginald Steed, the influential Cold War specialist for the *Daily Telegraph* who had served in the Intelligence Corps interrogating German POWs in World War II and who died in 1993 – see *Lobster* 26, page 8.

Another of the SWG's speakers was **Father Lothar Groppe**, a Jesuit Military Chaplain from 1962 on, who worked from 1963 to 1971 as Military Chaplain and Lecturer at the German Army's Command School, also based in Hamburg, with which the SWG was closely linked. Groppe would later lecture for the Austrian Army Command School from 1973 to 1987, and would direct the German section of Radio Vatican for some years. With Huyn and Löwenthal, Groppe would found the registered charity **Förderverein Konservative Kultur und Bildung** [Association to Promote Conservative Culture and Education] which ran a Conservative Bureau in Bielefeld; Groppe and Huyn were on the Board of Trustees, Löwenthal was spokesman – see <http://www.apabiz.de/archiv/material/Profile/IKBF.htm> and http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lothar_Groppe.

A web article on the SWG from Antifaschistische Informationen, Rechte Organisationen in Hamburg, Nr. 1 of 02/06/95 at <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/archiv/Antifaschismus/Organisationen/Diverse/Aiswg.html> names as further SWG speakers Löwenthal, Dr. Böx of the CDU and the AESP, General Schall and Polish-German exile **Herbert Hupka**, a Board member of Grau's earlier Frankfurt Study Group, CDU MP from 1969 to 1987, Vice-President of the **Bund der Vertriebenen** [League of Expellees, the main German exile pressure group] and a fervent opponent of Ostpolitik - Hupka and Huyn would contribute articles to the 1971 book *Ostpolitik im Kreuzfeuer* [Ostpolitik in the Crossfire]. Hupka would contribute throughout the 1970s to the **Ostpreussenblatt**, the largest selling German expellee

newspaper which was based in Hamburg - see <http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ostpreu%C3%9Fenblatt>. Ostpreussen [Eastern Prussia] refers to the Baltic German region of the Second and Third Reich that was split between Poland and the Soviet Union after 1945; its capital Königsberg is now known as the Russian EU enclave of Kaliningrad.

The *Ostpreussenblatt* is geographically and politically close to the SWG, not surprising considering that both the SWG's *Deutschland Journal* and the *Ostpreussenblatt* were edited from 1967 until his death in 1995 by Hugo Wellems who joined the Nazi party as an 18 year old in 1930 and would serve as a Falangist volunteer in the Condor Legion in the Spanish Civil War - see http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hugo_Wellems. An SWG publication defending SWG speakers General Schall (later of WACL) and General Karst (of Grau's Swiss ISP, the Brüsewitz Centre and the Deutschland-Stiftung) was reviewed in http://archiv.preussische-allgemeine.de/1977/1977_05_07_19.pdf. A series of SWG documents are given in the invaluable annex in *Young European Federalists* (partially reproduced below), including a 1976 issue of *Vertrauliche Mitteilungen aus Politik und Wirtschaft* (Confidential News from Politics and the Economy), another newsletter produced by Grau, which advertised a three-day lecture tour by Habsburg jointly organised by the SWG and PEU. Huyn's *Wir alle sind Afghanistan: Moskaus Ziel heißt Europa* [We Are All Afghanistan : Moscow's Target is Europe] was published by the SWG in 1980.

(49) Willan, pgs 123-124 - the best English-language account of the manipulation of democracy and terrorism in Italy in the post-war period, and very highly recommended.

(50) For details of delle Chiaie, Giannettini and Aginter Press, see Christie's excellent book; Laurent; Bale, pgs 2-18; Willan, particularly Chapters 6 and 7.

(51) Christie (1984), pg 28.

(52) Laurent, pg 304; Roth and Ender, pg 54; Willan, pgs 41 and 95; Gonsalez-Mata, pg 78.

(53) On the IRD in general, see Bloch and Fitzgerald; Smith; Fletcher - a major source on the IRD; *Guardian*, 27/1/78; *Observer*, 29/1/78; *New Statesman*, 27/2/81; *Leveller*, 64/1981; *Guardian*, 18/12/81; *Tribune*, 2/9/83, 9/9/83. A later source not integrated here is Paul Lashmar and James Oliver's book *Britain's Secret Propaganda War*, published in 1998 by Sutton Publishing.

(54) Crozier, pgs 56-57.

(55) Saunders, pg 261.

(56) Saunders, pgs 311-312.

(57) Crozier, pgs 72-74. Crozier's biography of Franco would be translated into Spanish by Esteban Perruca, in charge of the newsreels section of the Information Ministry.

(58) The IAS was an affiliate of the American Security Council Foundation - see Bellant, pgs 30-31. On the NSIC, Casey would testify at the Senate hearing to confirm his CIA appointment: "As a founding Director of the National Strategy Information Center, I supported the establishment of chairs and professorships in national security on 200 campuses throughout the United States" - see *State Research* no.22, February-March 1981, pgs 86-87.

- (59) Crozier, pg 74.
- (60) Crozier, pg 90.
- (61) Crozier, pgs 85-86.
- (62) Crozier, pg 86.
- (63) This study is too brief to cover all of the activities of the ISC in any depth: see *Time Out*, 20/6/75, 29/8/75, 5/9/75, 30/9/77; *CIA, Students of Conflict*, Steve Weissman, *Embassy Magazine*, August 1976, reprinted as *The CIA makes the news in Dirtywork 1: the CIA in Western Europe*, pgs 204-210; *Searchlight* no.18, November 1976, no. 20, January 1977; *Guardian*, 20, 21, 31/12/76; *Daily Mail*, 22/12/76; *Private Eye*, 7/1/77; *State Research* no. 1, pgs 13-17; Laurent, pgs 304-305; Gonzalez-Mata, pgs 162-163; Winter, 1981, pgs 170-171, 321, 543-544; Bloch and Fitzgerald, pgs 98-99; Freemantle, pgs 189-191; Péan, pgs 65-70; Ramsay and Dorril - essential reading; Norton-Taylor, pgs 73-74 - an excellent overview of the British security and intelligence services; Herman and O'Sullivan, pgs 108-112, an invaluable study on terrorism and propaganda groupings; Dorril and Ramsay (1991) - indispensable; Toczek - an outstanding summary of the British Right including the Monday Club, SIF, NAFF, ISC and FARI; Crozier - from the horse's mouth, albeit guardedly...
- (64) Both donations were organised by Sir Robert Thompson - Crozier, pg 90.
- (65) As the NSIC was to play a crucial role in the birth and life of the ISC, it is worth including the full articles by GroupWatch and pinkindustry in the NSIC annex below.
- (66) Minutes of the ISC Council meeting on 2/1/72 in Knight, pg 176.
- (67) Crozier, pg 90.
- (68) *Leveller*, 64/1981. It is interesting to note that two IRD offshoots were created at roughly the same time: the ISC in London in 1970 and the Information Policy Unit in Northern Ireland in 1971 - both were involved in anti-Left propaganda in the critical period 1973-75, InfPol providing forged documents to discredit politicians, the ISC railing on about Communist subversion in the unions, media, etc. InfPol's operations would be exposed by top operative Colin Wallace in 1985: see Ramsay and Dorril; Foot; Dorril and Ramsay (1991).
- (69) Saunders, pgs 107-111. In his memoirs, Crozier writes about recruiting Goodwin to the ISC: "[in 1970] I had known Goodwin for eight or nine years from the time he had commissioned a long study from me on Communist China's steel industry. A publishing venture he was involved in had collapsed, and I had helped him find a job with the Congress for Cultural Freedom, from which I now lured him" (Crozier, pgs 89-90). This seems to confuse chronologies: Crozier says he knew Goodwin from around 1961-62, yet the only recorded collapsed publishing venture and CCF involvement of Goodwin's dates back to the early 1950s. Saunders adds that Goodwin would later become a Features and Drama Director at the BBC.
- (70) For biographic details of many ISC authors, see Dorril; on ISC/IRD links, see Ramsay and Dorril.
- (71) Crozier, pg 98. For a biography of Moss, see *Covert Action Information Bulletin* nos. 7 and 10; Cocksedge, Coldicut and Harant, pg 124 (who report that Moss was

"son of a senior Australian Defence officer"); Ramsay and Dorril, pgs 53-54; Dorril and Ramsay (1991); Toczek.

(72) Toczek, pg 29.

(73) All three pacification supremos in Vietnam would later develop links with the Cercle Pinay: Thompson (ISC Council), Robert Komer (Board of the ISC's American offshoot WISC) and William Colby (guest at a Cercle Pinay meeting in December 1979).

(74) Clutterbuck would later combine forces with Peter Janke and ISC librarian Richard Sims in Control Risks, perhaps the world's most prominent business security and kidnap ransom agency – see below. Clutterbuck died in 1998.

(75) Crozier, pgs 102-104.

(76) By 1978 Biggs-Davison would be a Life Member of the Habsburg-Violet-Damman group, the AESP. From 1984 to 1986, he would sit in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.

(77) In 1951 he served on the Board of the British Society for Cultural Freedom alongside Michael Goodwin, the future Administrative Director of the ISC. See Saunders, pgs 76, 88, 110; Crozier, pg 15.

(78) Howarth devotes a chapter to Julian Amery in his history of the SOE; also see Amery's *Sons of the Eagle* (1948) and Nigel West's *The Secret War*, Coronet, London 1993. Amery was responsible for British links with General Draza Mihailovic, leader of the Chetniks, Serbian monarchist irregulars fighting the German occupation. Charged with collaboration, Mihailovic was shot by Tito in 1946. The British rendition of anti-Tito resistance fighters to Yugoslavia after the war (leading to their execution) was heavily criticized by Count Nikolai Tolstoy in his mid-1980s books, *Victims of Yalta* and *The Minister and the Massacres*, the latter attributing blame to Macmillan; Amery sided with Tolstoy who was feted at a Monday Club dinner in 1988. For Amery's more recent contacts with the Chetniks, see *Observer*, 17/5/92. On the Albanian operation, see Leigh, pgs 11-13 for a brief summary, Verrier for an intelligent insider's view; the main documentary work is Nicholas Bethell's *The Great Betrayal*, London 1984, which has many references to Amery. Tom Bower's *The Red Web*, Aurum Press, London 1989, details MI6 landings in Northern Russia. After service in the Balkans, Amery would serve from 1945 until demobilisation in China as aide to General Carton de Wiart, British representative to General Chiang Kai Shek. Around this time, Julian's brother John, a convinced fascist, was hung by the British government for having gone to Germany, joined the Nazis and organised the British Free Corps to fight alongside the Germans on the Russian front. As well as being a prominent member of the Monday Club during G. K. Young's ascendancy, Julian Amery was allegedly linked with Young to South Africa's development of a nuclear programme. Amery was a Director of the South African Vaal Reefs Exploration and Mining Corporation, and a consultant to the Bank of Credit and Commerce International, implicated in many cases of money laundering from arms and drugs trafficking, which collapsed in July 1991. BCCI's London branch was used as a conduit for CIA payments to 490 of its British contacts - see *Guardian*, 26/7/91. Amery resigned from the Monday Club in February 1991 in protest at its takeover by racist extreme right-wingers - see *Observer*, 24/2/91. To watch him speak in the UK Parliament in 1991, see <http://www.c-spanarchives.org/program/QuestionTime79>, starts at 11 min 27 sec. A biography of Julian Amery is given in Dorril, pg 2; he died in 1996.

(79) On Stewart-Smith, see Ramsay and Dorril; Dorril and Ramsay (1991); Toczek.

FAPC would be liquidated in 1986; Stewart-Smith died in 2004.

(80) The major sources on Young are *Lobster* 9-21, and particularly 11 (Ramsay and Dorril) and 19, pgs 15-19, for an autobiographical obituary written by Young some time before his death in May 1990 - Young's account studiously avoids his days in the Monday Club, NAFF and Unison; Christie (no date), pgs 123-130 for a preliminary investigation; Toczek for an essential piece of research on Young and the Tory Right; Dorril and Ramsay (1991) which puts Young's efforts into context; Dorril for his MI6 career. Also see Bloch and Fitzgerald; Foot, pgs 78-79, 435; Verrier, chapters 3 and 4. Young's own book on subversion is well worth a read.

(81) Christie (1984), pgs 35-36; Willan, pgs 99-102 et seq.; *Gladio*, pgs 78 - 96; Herman and Brodhead, pg 80.

(82) Toczek, pgs 15-16.

(83) Gonsalez-Mata, pg 315. Bennett's mother Marguerite was a Kleinwort. The merger between Kleinwort and Benson in 1961 was facilitated by the fact that Cyril Kleinwort (Bilderberg participant, 1966 and 1971) and Mark Turner of Benson's were already working together as Directors of Commercial Union. Kleinwort Benson was bought by the Dresdner Bank in 1995; since 2006, the company has been known as Dresdner Kleinwort. Kleinwort Benson still maintained its longstanding contacts with the Bilderberg Group in the late 1990s; Simon Robertson, the former Chairman of the Kleinwort Benson Group plc, attended the 1997 Bilderberg meeting in Atlanta – see *Lobster* 35, pg 31. On Kleinwort Benson, also see footnote 160.

(84) Gonsalez-Mata, pgs 290-291. The conference was held in the Paramount Imperial Hotel in Torquay, the constituency (renamed Torbay in 1974) that Bennett held for thirty-two years from his victory in a 1955 by-election until his retirement from Parliament in 1987. His successor as Torbay MP would be Rupert Allason who writes authorised intelligence histories under the pen-name Nigel West. Bennett was an early member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in 1957-58; he would return there from 1974 to 1987. Between 1963 and 1984, Bennett would also attend fourteen annual Bilderberg conferences (1963, 1964, 1966-68, 1971, 1973-75, 1977-80, 1984). Bennett's part in Young's Unison was described in Peter Cadogan's *Unlicensed Rebel of the Right*: "15 July 1976: Today I had lunch with GKY [Young] ... he told me that when he first had the idea that is now Unison, he saw General Templer about it. Templer was interested but too old and sick to act and he suggested General [Sir Walter] Walker ... The form the thing now takes is that of an instant communications network capable of acting at the highest level if the established machinery and government breaks down ... The key man in the [House of] Commons is Sir Frederic Bennett, and with him are some twenty other MPs ... Unison will go public later this year" – see Dorril's *Lobster* 26, pg 23. In 1979, Bennett published *Reds under the Bed, or the Enemy at the Gate – and Within* which went into a third edition in 1982 and which may well have been a contribution to the Cercle/6I UK propaganda campaign. From 1979 to 1987, Bennett was the leader of the UK delegation to and also Chairman of the Council of Europe and Western European Union Assemblies; his predecessor as Chairman of the WEU Assembly from 1977 to 1979 was Kai-Uwe von Hassel, guest at a 1976 AESP meeting and a member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe from 1977 to 1981. Bennett died in 2002.

(85) See Winter (1981), pgs 382-383; Penrose and Courtiour.

(86) See Hain's book *A Putney Plot*, Spokesman Books, London 1986, which includes information from Colin Wallace. Wallace's 1974 notes show that Thorpe, Hain and other Liberals had also been targeted by MI5 in an attempt to prevent a

coalition between the Liberals and Wilson's minority Labour government.

(87) Dumont, pgs 174-179. Dumont obtained his information by infiltrating AESP circles under the pseudonym of Maurice Sartan.

(88) Gijssels, *L'Enquête*, pg 224 et seq. - despite some inaccuracies and no index, the best introduction to the '70s plans for coups d'etat, the 'Brabant Wallon killers', the extreme right and the strategy of tension in Belgium. It should however be read in conjunction with Brewaeyts and Deliège, who have produced the (so far) definitive work on de Bonvoisin, PIO and the WNP scandal.

(89) Dumont; Laurent, pgs 297-298. The ABN and its sister group, the European Freedom Council, held their joint conference entitled "Our Alternative" in Brussels from November 12th to 15th 1970. A previous joint ABN/EFC conference on "How to Defeat Russia" was held in London on October 15th to 22nd, 1968. For more recent ABN/EFC conferences, see footnote 106.

(90) Péan, pg 76.

(91) *Le Vif/L'Express*, 19/5/89.

(92) Dumont; *Le Vif/L'Express*, 19/5/89.

(93) Christie (1984), pgs 28-29.

(94) Aginter Press's contact within the CSU was Strauss's secretary, Marcel Hepp, who also edited the Strauss newspaper, *Bayern Kurier* – see Laurent, pg 133.

(95) *L'Espresso*, 24/03/74, quoted in Péan, pg 83.

(96) Dumont, *Le Vif/L'Express*, 19/5/89.

(97) Péan, pg 65. It is worth noting that in his progress report on CREC, Guérin-Sérac also mentions a meeting with Damman in Vienna in May 1969: could the three men have met at the same symposium?

(98) Published in Péan.

(99) On De Roover, Milpol, the Delcourt network and Gladio, see Van Doorslaer and Verhoeyen; *Histoire de glaives*, Michel Bouffieux, in *Gladio*, various authors, pgs 29-60, and back issues of *La Vanguardia Española* listed in the Sources annex. On Vankerkhoven and CEDI Belgium, see Van Bosbeke, pg 15. Vankerkhoven would sit in the European Parliament for the PSC from 1982 to 1984.

(100) Roth and Ender, pg 73.

(101) *Unheimliche Patrioten*, pg 437 - an indispensable encyclopaedia of the Swiss Right.

(102) *Unheimliche Patrioten*, pg 431.

(103) Crozier, pgs 72-74; *La Vanguardia Española* of 5/3/63 pg 13, 6/3/63 pg 19, and 8/3/63 pg 17, which reported a three-day visit by Minister Fraga to Brussels, his third after trips in 1959 and 1961: "He stated that the reason for this private visit was to meet with the Belgo-Spanish group of the interparliamentary union and with the Belgian CEDI section as well as with the members of AENA to exchange points of

view". Although supposedly a private visit, Fraga's television and radio speeches whilst in Brussels and the Charlemagne Grand Dinner he attended would be heavily covered in the Belgian French-speaking Press - *La Vanguardia Española* proudly noted that five Belgian newspapers, in all 850,000 copies a day, had reported on the visit, and that his hosts had "underscored the need for a rapid integration of Spain into the European and Atlantic Communities". Two months later, Fraga would attend another CEDI event in Munich, meeting Strauss – see *La Vanguardia Española* of 14/5/63 pgs 5 and 17.

(104) Laurent, pg 302.

(105) " "These conferences [Paris, December 1960; Rome, 1961], attended by public figures from some fifty countries, had the aim of bringing together "beyond the bounds of nations or of doctrines eminent persons from political, academic, diplomatic, trade-union and media circles for the defence of freedom". Its Board of Sponsors notably included Senators Dodd, Keating, Mundt, Admiral Burke, Presidents Paul-Henri Spaak, Paul Van Zeeland, Antoine Pinay, René Pleven, Maurice Schumann, Heinrich von Brentano, Fulbert Youlou, Ivan Matteo Lombardo, Pacciardi, Carlos Lacerda, Jules Romain and Gabriel Marcel" (Henri Coston: *Dictionnaire de la politique française*). Amongst the other French representatives were General Vanuxem, François Duprat, former leader of Ordre Nouveau ... the lawyer Georges de Maleville, member of the National Front, Georges Albertini and many exiles from Eastern European countries" (Laurent, pg 302). Suzanne Labin and her husband Edouard, the two mainstays of the French section of WACL, were amongst the earliest contacts of Aginter Press; a contact list of Aginter Press published by the inquiry into Aginter Press carried out by the post-revolutionary Portuguese intelligence service SDCI mentions a meeting between the Labins and Aginter Press in December 1966, only a few months after Aginter Press's creation - see Laurent, pg 302.

(106) At a July 1973 meeting of the European Freedom Council in London, the participants included Lombardo, Otto von Habsburg, WACL notables David Rowe, Kuboki and Raimundo Guerrero, and French General Paul Vanuxem, who had had links to the OAS and would be involved in the last-ditch stand of the Vietnam war - "Vanuxem was present at the closing stages of the Vietnam War, urging the incoming South Vietnamese President, General Minh, to keep fighting until the bitter end, which came only a few days later" (*Decent Interval*, Frank Snepp, Penguin, London 1980). Vanuxem would later figure on a 1978 AESP membership list as a member of an AESP Study Group. The European Freedom Council, sister group to the ABN, is certainly worth further investigation; it continued in existence until at least 1991 - see the obituary in the *Times*, 3/3/06, of one UK member, Ukrainian-born Stefan Terlezki, CBE, outspoken Conservative MP for Cardiff West from 1983 to 1987 who would also sit in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in 1986-87. The ABN/EFC would hold joint conferences in London in 1982 ("The West's Strongest Allies") and again in 1985.

(107) *L'Espresso*, 17/12/74; Willan. I am indebted to Jeff Bale for information on Lombardo and other Italian members of the AESP.

(108) Naylor, pg 259, who points out that a water-sniffing plane would be of great use to Pesenti's cement company.

(109) The Cercle Pinay complex had multiple links to Calvi's Banco Ambrosiano which are described below. This essay cannot however attempt to give a full account of the financial links between the Vatican Bank, P2, Sindona, Calvi and Pesenti - see Cornwell; Yallop; Raw; Naylor.

- (110) Christie (1984), pgs 20-21, 33, 47-49; Willan, pg 44.
- (111) Péan, pgs 97-102. The UBS's German title is the Schweizerische Bankgesellschaft, SBG.
- (112) Péan, pg 213.
- (113) Bacelon, pgs 243-244; Wolton, pg 258.
- (114) *Dans le secret des princes*, Christine Ockrent et le Comte de Marenches, Livres de poche Stock 1986, pgs 135-137. An English translation was published as *The Evil Empire*, Sidgwick & Jackson (Chapman Pincher's publishers ...), London 1988. Crozier suggests personal rivalries as a cause for Violet's dismissal – see Crozier, pg 191, also quoted below.
- (115) Crozier, pg 97 et seq.
- (116) Crozier, pg 64.
- (117) Crozier, pg 98.
- (118) ISC memo reproduced in Péan, pg 236.
- (119) Bloch and Fitzgerald, pgs 98-99.
- (120) *State Research* no. 1; Ramsay and Dorril, pg 38.
- (121) Crozier, pg 100.
- (122) Crozier, pgs 100-101.
- (123) 1972 saw a major investment in expanding the Cercle's output from the ISC and *Le Monde Moderne*, much of it financed by Pesenti. Interestingly, Pesenti's financial operations in 1972 were a particular focus of Italian magistrates investigating the Banco Ambrosiano scandal: "Of particular interest was a 1972 "loan" to Pesenti from the IOR. It was indexed to the Swiss franc and, when repaid, cost him three times the sum originally contracted. Whether it was a smart business operation by the IOR, a cover for Pesenti's pumping money into the Vatican bank, or simply a device for the IOR to help Pesenti illegally move a large sum of cash abroad will likely remain a mystery" - Naylor, pg 127.
- (124) Péan, pgs 92-93.
- (125) Stewart-Smith, pgs 66-67.
- (126) Mungo, pgs 39 - 40; Gijssels, *L'Enquête*, pgs 156-157. See footnote 322 below for other CLEW members. Picard's International Society of Friends of Wilton Park (ISFWP) would be a regular forum for Cercle complex friends to exchange views; the ISFWP would meet for example in Paris in February 1972, attended by ISFWP Honorary President Pinay and Spanish EEC Ambassador Alberto Ullastres. The ISFWP would meet again in Madrid in March 1973, attended by Spanish Chief of General Staff Lt-Gen. Manuel Diez Alegria, former Chief of the Belgian Army General Staff Lt-Gen. Georges Vivario, Crozier who spoke on "European Security and the Helsinki Conference", Violet, Sanchez Bella, Ullastres, Picard and Alan Hughes, Deputy Rector of Wilton Park. Damman's AESP activity report for the first quarter of 1973 adds that he and Jonet also attended. On these two conferences, see *La Vanguardia Española* of 24/2/72 pg 23, 29/3/73 pg 5, 30/3/73 pg 6, 31/3/73 pg 8,

1/4/73 pgs 7 and 44. The members of the ISFWP network specifically indicated on the attendance list of the February 1976 Grand Charlemagne Dinner and Chapter Assembly of the AESP included former SDECE officer and Foreign Ministry advisor Jacques Leguèbe of the *Monde Moderne*. Wilton Park itself would offer opportunities for Franco officials to meet with high-ranking members of the British government - Diez Alegria spoke there in June 1971, and Fraga would speak there at the crucial juncture of December 1976, meeting Heath, Whitelaw and Carrington although not new Tory leader Margaret Thatcher due to her heavy schedule - see *La Vanguardia Española* of 10/12/76 pg 22. Having been Spanish Ambassador to London from 1973 until the death of Franco in November 1975, Fraga had served until June 1976 as Vice-President of the first post-Franco government and Interior Minister.

(127) Walsh, pgs 133-134; Van Bosbeke, pg 66; *La Vanguardia Española* of 9/7/61 pg 6.

(128) By 2002, Valori would be the President of the Industrialists Union of Italy (Confindustria) and a UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador - see the UNESCO Appeal in *International Herald Tribune*, 12/06/02.

(129) Peron's Italian contacts came via his wartime service as Argentinian Consul in Rome.

(130) Naylor, pg 138; information from Jeff Bale; Raw, pg 143; Willan, pgs 60-61; Buongiorno, pgs 111-115; Cecchi, pgs 75-85.

(131) Crozier, pgs 99-100.

(132) Péan, pgs 237-239. See footnote 126 on the Wilton Park meeting in Madrid.

(133) Péan, pgs 52 and 68; Roth and Ender, pg 72. Bacelon claims that Andreotti had attended one of the AESP's earlier Charlemagne Dinners on 6th May 1970, also held in Aachen and attended by Pinay, Violet and de Villegas. Bacelon is generally unreliable, but gives accurate details of the 1973 Dinner mentioned here; his information about the 1970 Dinner may well be correct.

(134) Brewaeyts and Deliège, pg 129; Roth and Ender, pgs 72-73; Joel van der Reijden. Longstanding CDU foreign policy spokesman and one of Brandt's most prominent opponents on Ostpolitik, Dr Werner Marx would serve as a CDU MP from 1965 until his death in 1985; he would chair the German Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee from 1982 to 1985.

(135) Roth and Ender, pg 72.

(136) Péan, pg 82.

(137) See notably Gijssels, *L'Enquête*, pg 197 et seq., Benjamin and Dethy, and the other books on Belgian parapolitics listed below. The Tratsaert report is quoted in full in Gijssels, *Het Leugenpaleis*, pgs 61-66.

(138) On de Bonvoisin, see *Celsius*, numbers 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 29, 30, 31, 34; Brewaeyts and Deliège, and the other books on Belgian parapolitics quoted below.

(139) Mungo (as "Michel de Frocourt"), pg 22. Van Bosbeke states (pg 18) that this was a quarterly publication whose second issue named Mungo as the author; I have been unable to obtain it.

(140) Brewaeyns and Deliège, pg 180; Brewaeyns and Deliège also note (pg 39) that de Bonvoisin arranged a contract for a business contact by taking him to Paris in 1986 to meet Paul Violet, Jean Violet's son and deputy to the Mayor of Paris, Jacques Chirac. Violet junior was also Vice-President of the Regional Council of the Ile-de-France, member of the National Council of Chirac's RPR and founder in 1991 of the Chirac lobby group, République et Valeurs (*Le Monde*, 20/9/91).

(141) De Bock quoted in *Celsius* No. 17, pgs 17-18; Brewaeyns and Deliège, pgs 24-25.

(142) See *Gladio*, pgs 29-60.

(143) Extracts are given in *Celsius* no. 17, pgs 14-19.

(144) *Searchlight*, no. 18, Nov 1976, pg 4.

(145) Crozier, pg 104.

(146) Crozier, pg 104.

(147) Eringer, pgs 37-40.

(148) Reproduced in the *Morning Star*, the official British Communist newspaper, 31/1/76.

(149) Crozier, pg 106.

(150) Crozier, pg 107.

(151) James Theberge of the CSIS and future Washington ISC President, also contributed to the campaign - see below on the WISC.

(152) Herman and O'Sullivan, pgs 82-83; ISC publications list; Ramsay and Dorril, pgs 38-39; Robert Moss, *The Collapse of Democracy*, Maurice Temple Smith, London 1975; Crozier, pgs 109-111.

(153) Péan, pgs 72-73. Curiously, Damman does not know of or does not think of the Cercle offshoot in the US, the Washington Institute for the Study of Conflict, founded the previous month. A whole series of ISC Conflict Studies in 1975-76 focused on the areas named by Damman under point 2 - Korea, Vietnam, the Middle East, Portugal, and the security of supply of raw materials: *Iraq: the Search for Stability* (May 1975), *Southern Europe: NATO's Crumbling Flank* (June 1975), *Portugal - Revolution and Backlash* (September 1975), *North Korea - Undermining the Truce* (March 1976) and *Stability in the Gulf: The Oil Revolution* (May 1976).

(154) On the destabilization of democracy in the UK in the 1970s, see Penrose and Courtiour; *Lobster* 9 -21 and notably No. 11 (Ramsay and Dorril); Wright; Leigh; Foot; Dorril and Ramsay (1991). On these sources, Penrose and Courtiour were the first and came very close but then were led astray. *Lobster* pursued the story and produced much invaluable information, launching the Wallace story before Wright had even appeared. Wright, whilst being an inside source, is partial in its opinions and in its content. Leigh thoroughly documented one aspect - the straight Wilson-Wright struggle (see however *Lobster* 17) but has grave omissions, particularly in only focusing on Wilson to the exclusion of Heath, Thorpe and the many other politicians targeted, and in totally omitting Winter and Wallace as key witnesses, and the counter-subversion lobby and other MI6 friends as key actors. Foot concentrates on the major witness, Wallace, and does an excellent job. Dorril and Ramsay (1991)

continue the investigation they started in *Lobster* 11, and produce the most complete account of the destabilization to date.

(155) Ramsay and Dorril; Foot. It is interesting to note that various figures mentioned in Wallace's 1974 notes about this manipulation of domestic politics include G. K. Young, Geoffrey Stewart-Smith, John Biggs-Davison and Julian Amery, all four members of the Monday Club. Biggs-Davison and Amery were mentioned as possible contenders for the leadership of the Conservative party once Heath had been removed; it seems Young and Stewart-Smith were intended as channels for InfPol's disinformation.

(156) *Times*, 6/5/73.

(157) Dorril and Ramsay (1991), pgs 229-233.

(158) On Wallace and CO2, see Ramsay and Dorril; Foot; Dorril and Ramsay (1991). Wallace's testimony - and the mass of documentary evidence to support it - represents without a doubt the most serious exposure of the British secret state's intervention in domestic politics - the British Watergate - since the Second World War. The three sources listed above are essential reading for anyone interested in "the very British coup".

(159) Leigh, pgs 163-180, 239-241.

(160) Wolton, pgs 168-169. The cash slush fund run for decades by the UIMM would be the subject of extensive French press revelations and an official investigation in 2007-08, when it transpired that the UIMM, whose 600 million Euro slush fund was fed by levies on member companies, had regularly paid out vast cash sums to unidentified beneficiaries under the authority of the UIMM President Denis Gautier-Sauvagnac (known as DGS) who then resigned as UIMM President in November 2007. An inquiry by the French Finance Ministry's anti-moneylaundering unit Tracfin would reveal suspicious cash withdrawals from UIMM funds of 19 million Euros between 2000 and 2007. The practice of cash payments, used according to DGS to "fluidify social relations" i.e. to facilitate the cooperation of union representatives, had previously been followed under Daniel Dewavrin, the UIMM's President from 1999 to 2006, as Dewavrin confirmed in an interview with *Le Monde* (16/10/07). The UIMM is currently still under official investigation. The article at http://www.challenges.fr/actualites/business/20071016.CHA1981/chronologie_sur_laffaire_gautiersauvagnac.html gives a useful chronology up to October 2008. Interestingly, DGS had worked as CEO of Kleinwort Benson France from 1990 to 1994 before joining the UIMM in 1994 as Delegate-General and rising to become its Vice-President in 1996 and then President in 2006. On possible UIMM funding of the Institut d'Etudes de la Désinformation which would host Crozier, Huyn and Horchem in 1989, see footnote 440.

(161) Péan, pg 71.

(162) Péan, pgs 240-241. Destremau represented Versailles in the French National Assembly from 1967 to 1973, became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from 1974 to 1976 and eventually was made ambassador to Argentina. He would sit in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe from 1969 to 1974.

(163) On the Elf network and the Gabon connection, see Péan (1983). The Elf network would also intervene in domestic politics during the 1981 elections - the Elf network was the channel chosen to transfer FF 2,000,000 from Gabonese oil revenue to support Giscard d'Estaing's 1981 election campaign. In 1979, Robert had been appointed French Ambassador to Gabon on Gabonese President Bongo's insistence,

and much to the disquiet of the French Foreign Office. See Péan (1983), pgs 139-150.

(164) Péan, pgs 117-119, 135-136, 156; Wolton, pg 266.

(165) On Muldergate, see Winter (1981), (1989) and (2004); Manz; Rees and Day; *The Great White Hoax* .

(166) The first editor of *To The Point* was Dr. Eschel Rhoodie for the nine months preceding his appointment to the Department of Information - *The Great White Hoax*, pg 32. The list of participants at the July 1974 XXIII CEDI Congress includes a Dr. Anthony Mertens from Holland, "Director of the magazine *To The Point* (International)"; also attending was a Brigadier Helm Roos from Cape Town – see the documentary annex.

(167) Péan, pg 110.

(168) *The Great White Hoax*, pg 4. Two similar campaigns targeting German MPs and German military officers were equally successful – see below.

(169) Péan, pgs 92-93, 107-113.

(170) Péan, pg 108.

(171) Péan, pg 113.

(172) Laurent, pg 305.

(173) *Guardian*, 30/3/73.

(174) Winter (1981), pgs 320-321; *Time Out*, 5/9/75, and Herman and O'Sullivan, pgs 110, 116-117, 134. Morris' book *South African Terrorism* was published by Harold Timmins in 1973.

(175) On the ASC, see Bellant, a outstanding piece of research on Reagan's links to the American far Right, and http://www.rightweb.irc-online.org/profile/American_Security_Council. Four-star Admiral John 'Jack' Sidney McCain Jnr, son of World War II navy aviation pioneer and four-star Admiral John 'Slew' Sidney McCain, would participate in the bombing of Hanoi as Commander US Pacific Forces (CINCPAC) during the early Vietnam war whilst his Navy pilot son – the defeated 2008 Republican presidential candidate, John Sidney McCain III – was being held in the 'Hanoi Hilton'.

(176) Janke would later send Conflict Study no. 52 to Robbertze; see the letter of 28/1/75 to Janke from Lt-Gen. K. R. Coster of the DGSS published in *Searchlight* no. 20, Jan 1977, pg 4.

(177) *Données pour un moment* in *Bulletin du Centre de recherches et informations sociales et économiques (CRISE)*, no. 2, 15/6/77, quoted in Faligot, pgs 181-182; Péan, pgs 113-114.

(178) See bibliography in Huyn.

(179) Herman and O'Sullivan, pgs 109-110; *Time Out*, 5-11/9/75.

(180) See founding document in *Searchlight* no. 18, November 1976, pg 5.

(181) *Covert Action Information Bulletin* no. 10, August-September 1980, pg 42.

(182) Gonsalez-Mata, pgs 149-155; Eringer, pgs 45 and 49.

(183) See Valentine, Snepp; for a discussion of Thompson and Komer's part in the Phoenix programme, see *State Research* no. 17 (April-May 1980), pgs 105-106.

(184) See Cooley. The ground for the January 1980 visit to China had been prepared a year earlier when America switched diplomatic recognition from Taiwan to the PRC on January 1st, 1979.

(185) *Covert Action Information Bulletin* no. 10, August-September 1980, pg 42; RAND Corporation obituary.

(186) See *El Mercurio*, 28/2/73 amongst others.

(187) *State Research* no. 1, pgs 13-17.

(188) On Team B, see the chapter in *Peddlers of crisis - the CPD and the Politics of Containment*, Jerry W. Sanders, Pluto (UK)/South End Press (USA), 1983. Daniel O. Graham worked for the CIA in the Office of National Estimates from 1963-1966. During the Vietnam war from 1967-1968 he was chief of the Army's military intelligence estimates. Graham served again in the Office of National Estimates during 1968-1971, then served as Director of Collections for the Defense Intelligence Agency in 1971. During 1973-1974 Graham served as Deputy Director of the CIA under Director William Colby and from 1974-1976 he was the Director of the DIA. Ronald Reagan called upon General Graham to be his military advisor for his 1976 and 1980 campaigns. Graham died in 1995 – see his official eulogy at http://www.fas.org/irp/congress/1996_cr/h960105a.htm. Another prominent member of Team B was Admiral Thomas H. Moorer, former Head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, later Director of the NSIC and Board member of the ASC and Western Goals – see NSIC Annex below. Another ASC member on Team B was William Van Cleave – see http://rightweb.irc-online.org/profile/Cleave_William_Van.

Many of those who had been on Team B or on the White House staff at that time - notably Cheney, Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz and Perle - would repeat this exercise of sidelining a politically awkward CIA finding as a part of the WMD fiasco during the second Iraq war in 2003. The wish of the neo-cons to override CIA assessments and develop their own pro-war intelligence channels, largely reliant on the exile Iraqi National Congress under Chalabi, would be a catastrophic own goal – the INC intelligence network, infiltrated by the Iranian intelligence service, obligingly provided "firm evidence" of Iraqi WMDs, triggering the American invasion which, in one fell swoop, reduced Iran's regional rival to chaos and discredited Iran's greatest geopolitical adversary, the US neo-con clique, in the eyes of the world. Larry Johnson, a former senior counter-terrorist official at the State Department, said: "When the story ultimately comes out, we'll see that Iran has run one of the most masterful intelligence operations in history. They persuaded the US and Britain to dispose of its greatest enemy" - *Guardian*, 25/05/04. Vincent Cannistraro, a former senior CIA counter-terrorist officer, stated: "It's pretty clear that the Iranians had us for breakfast, lunch and dinner ... I think Iran saw an opportunity here to feed information into the United States through [INC intelligence chief] Aras Habib Karim and Chalabi that influenced the US decision ... it seems that they were able to spread disinformation that found its way into the speeches of policy makers in the United States ... I think it was a pretty artful operation by the Iranians" - Australian Broadcasting Corporation: *The World Today*, 26/05/04.

(189) Other members of the USCISC included Leonard D. Theberge, Vice-President of Rohr Industries; John Diebold of the Diebold Group; US Ambassador to Venezuela Robert McClintock; Professor Donald Treadgold, Chairman, Department of History, University of Washington; Dr Ernest Lefever of the Brookings Institute. Lefever would be involved in the 1980s anti-disarmament campaigns assisted by the Cercle complex – see below.

(190) Crozier, pg 124.

(191) Crozier, pg 113.

(192) Ironically, the death-blow to Crozier's FWF could not have come from a better friend. As former head of the CIA's IOD from 1954 on, Cord Meyer had overseen CIA support for FWF since its inception. In the early 1970s, Meyer would direct the Covert Action department with the rank of Deputy Director. At this time he was a very close associate of Crozier's; Crozier records that he flew to Langley three or four times a year to visit Meyer at Langley - Crozier, pgs 90-91. At the time of FWF's exposure, Meyer was CIA Chief of Station in London - Crozier's main linkman to the CIA throughout the crucial period of the mid-1970s.

(193) *Time Out*, 20/6/75.

(194) *Conflicting Accounts*, 29/8/75; *Subversion Inc.*, 5/9/75.

(195) ISC memo, 2/6/75 quoted in Péan, pg 86; as this is translated from the French, the text given here will not match the exact wording of the English original. See Ramsay and Dorril, pg 39. The same year as this ISC conference at Ditchley Park, one of its Governors, Professor the Lord Vaizey, whom we have already met as Honorary Treasurer of the British-Irish Association founded by Hamilton, Crozier and Moss after the ISC's 1972 Ditchley Park conference on Ireland, would serve as an adviser to an ISC Study Group on subversion in higher education which started work in November 1975 and which published its findings in September 1977 as an ISC Special Report, *The Attack on Higher Education*. The ISC Education Study Group also included Professor Edward Shils of the WISC and Dr Kenneth Watkins of NAFF and Aims. See *State Research* no. 1, October 1977, pg 17; *Time Out*, 30/9/77.

(196) Roth and Ender, pg 54; Gonsalez-Mata, pg 163; Crozier, pgs 124-125.

(197) The exposure of FWF in June and of the ISC in August may have killed off the Washington ISC, created in March; nothing further is known of any specific WISC action - it is probable that it was (sub)merged into the Rand Corporation. Crozier also records that what he calls "the Great Smear Campaign" against himself and FWF would lead to the ending of Crozier's official links to MI5. A few days after the CIA/FWF story broke in the summer of 1975, Crozier claims to have had his last meeting with Sir Michael Hanley, head of MI5 and the MI5 Director of Counter-Subversion, Dirk Hampden - Crozier, pg 114. However, in April 1976, Crozier's NAFF would publish a controversial article by "a recently retired counter-subversion chief of MI5" – if not Hampden, then his successor, Charles Elwell, with whom Crozier would work after Elwell's retirement in 1982.

(198) Crozier, pg 118.

(199) *The Scotsman*, 8/8/77.

(200) NAFF was renamed the Freedom Association in January 1979. The FA continued with many of NAFF's personnel; Norris McWhirter was FA Chairman, Ivens FA Vice-President, both being on the editorial committee of *Freedom Today*, the FA journal. Until April 1989, Crozier also served on the *Freedom Today* editorial

committee. Robert Moss remained NAFF/FA Director until 1981. FA Board members included the ISC's Vice-Admiral Sir Louis Le Bailly, SIF's Gerald Howarth and Rhodes Boyson, and Professor R.V. Jones who served with the ISC's Leonard Schapiro and G. K. Young in the group set up to reorganize MI6 in the 1950s. FA would use the same tactics of legal action against strikers that NAFF had used in 1976, most notably during the 1984 miners' strikes leading to the foundation of the breakaway Union of Democratic Mineworkers.

(201) *The Great White Hoax*, pgs 59-60.

(202) *Time Out*, 8/7/77.

(203) Crozier, pg 118. To watch Churchill speak, see <http://www.c-spanarchives.org/winstonchurchill>.

(204) Ramsay and Dorril, pg 15. Also see footnote 315 concerning Thatcher's attendance at an April 1977 NAFF meeting at which Churchill spoke.

(205) Dorril and Ramsay (1991), pg 288.

(206) Chalfont had excellent security and intelligence contacts such as Jeremy Wetherell, formerly a member of K5, MI5's Soviet Counter-Espionage department. In the 1980s, Wetherell would work for the private detective agency Zeus, founded by Chalfont and Sir James Goldsmith, which was involved in political surveillance activities on behalf of the nuclear power industry - see *Observer*, 29/1/89.

(207) Crozier, pgs 127-129.

(208) Crozier, pgs 114 and 118.

(209) Grau had previously worked with the NPD within a group set up for the 1972 parliamentary elections - see Hirsch, pg 313; Hirsch is an excellent and exhaustive encyclopaedia of the German Right which gives further details on many of the Germans mentioned in this book. On Grau and his groups, see Young European Federalists, pgs 158, 167, 208-214, 265 et seq. including its annex of ISP documents; *Unheimliche Patrioten*, pgs 427-442; *IGfM*, pgs 78-79; Hirsch.

(210) *Unheimliche Patrioten*, pgs 433-435. Bitschnau was the Habsburg family's longstanding lawyer; from the early 1960s on, he would represent the Habsburgs in court cases against the Austrian government to restore their Austrian citizenship and residence rights, described in Bitschnau's 2005 book *Heimkehr der Habsburger - Der Kampf um das Ende der Landesverweisung* [Return of the Habsburgs - the fight to end their expulsion], Ares Press. See <http://www.paneuropa-vorarlberg.at/heimkehr-der-ha%20bsburger.htm>.

(211) *Unheimliche Patrioten*, pgs 428-429.

(212) *Unheimliche Patrioten*, pg 589.

(213) *Fiche et Fouine, ça suffit* No. 1, February 1990, the journal of the Comité En finir avec l'Etat-fouineur (Stop the Snooper State Committee), founded after a parliamentary inquiry revealed the existence of a longstanding secret political police department within the DJPF, the Swiss Justice and Police Ministry. A second parliamentary inquiry into the DMF, the Swiss Ministry of Defence, uncovered two secret components of the Gladio network in Switzerland, the armed resistance group P26 and the intelligence group P27. P26 worked closely with MI6 who had created Gladio's European operational basis. The last secret agreement between MI6 and P26

was signed in 1987, three years before the parliamentary inquiry. See back numbers of *Fiche et Fouine, ça suffit* and the Committee's book *Schnüffelstaat Schweiz* (Snooper State Switzerland).

(214) Colonel Schmid would commit suicide in February 1981 when faced with a judicial inquiry into his collaboration with Cincera.

(215) Non-Swiss readers should note that as Switzerland has compulsory military service and places rigorous restrictions on conscientious objection, almost all Swiss men will have an Army personnel file.

(216) *Abendland*, March 1981, quoted in *Unheimliche Patrioten*, pg 670; *Fiche et Fouine, ça suffit* No. 1, February 1990; *Schnüffelstaat Schweiz*, pgs 133-137. For a résumé of "the Cincera affair" and "the MIDONAS affair", see *Unheimliche Patrioten*; the revelations were published at the time in three brochures by the Democratic Manifesto, *Dossier Cincera* (1976), *Dossier DM-Prozess* (1977) and *Cincera als Cäsar: wir waren Cinceras Berner Spitzel* (1977).

(217) In 1983, Cincera would be elected to the National Council, the Swiss Parliament, at the same time as Dr Peter Sager of SOI; the two men would work together on the Parliamentary Committee on the Media - see *Unheimliche Patrioten*, pg 676. Cincera would serve on the National Council until 1995; he died in 2004 - see <http://www.parlament.ch/e/suche/pages/ratsmitglieder.aspx> and <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D33671.php>. Sager would serve on the National Council until 1991; from 1984 to 1991, he was also a Swiss representative on the Parliamentary Assembly of the Strasbourg-based Council of Europe, and would serve as its sometime Vice-President - see <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D6777.php> and <http://www.parlament.ch/e/suche/pages/ratsmitglieder.aspx>. Sager would become the leading pro-Contra propagandist in Switzerland; his Vereinigung Demokratischer Nicaragua (VDN, Association for a Democratic Nicaragua) was one of the main outlets for anti-Sandinista disinformation in Europe in the mid-1980s. Sager was particularly useful for the Contras due to his rôle within the Council of Europe; in 1984, he headed a Council of Europe delegation to Nicaragua. In 1985, he was part of a Swiss National Council delegation that strongly condemned the Sandinistas after their return to Switzerland. On 16/2/86, Sager founded the VDN together with Contras Evenor Valdivia and Jaime Pasquier and industrialist Alexander Eugster. In March 1986, Sager travelled with a second Swiss National Council delegation to Nicaragua, and on 31/5/86, the VDN gave a press conference with CIA agent Roberto Ferrey. In 1986, Sager's pro-Contra book, *Case Study of Slander - media manipulation by Nicaragua, Propagandists in Switzerland* was published by SOI. On the cooperation throughout the 1980s between Huyn's Luzern-based EKMS (European Conference for Human Rights and Self-Determination, founded in 1974) and Sager's SOI, see footnote 318. The SOI would close due to a lack of funding in 1994, thirty-five years after its foundation; Sager died in 2006 - see http://www.swissinfo.ch/ger/Home/Archiv/Peter_Sager,_Bekaempfer_linker_Unterwanderung,_ist_tot.html?cid=580096. On Sager, see *IGfM*, pgs 63-64; *Die Contra Connection*, pgs 84-87, 245; *Unheimliche Patrioten*; Dorril and Ramsay, 1990, pg 16, which notes that Sager, his wife and fellow SOI member Peter Dolder set up a specialist bookshop in 1958. In 1991, Peter Sager would create the Stiftung für Demokratie (SFD) to award an annual "Peter Dolder Prize" for doctorates in Swiss history and political rights; one of the assessors is Sandra S. Sager from Bern - see <http://www.sfd-bern.ch/index.php?id=30&L=0>.

(218) *Unheimliche Patrioten*, pg 437.

(219) *Unheimliche Patrioten*, pgs 431 and 593.

(220) On Löwenthal and his various groups, see *IGfM*; Young European Federalists; Hirsch. Together with Huyn, Löwenthal also served as a major German linkman for WACL and CAUSA, the political arm of the Moonies; Löwenthal frequently attended international conferences organized by WACL and CAUSA, such as the joint WACL/CAUSA congress hosted by Stroessner and Pinochet in Asuncion, Paraguay in 1981. On WACL and CAUSA (the Confederation for the Association and Unity of Society in the Americas), see Anderson and Anderson; Boyer; *Die Contra Connection*. Löwenthal was also a Member of Honour of the "freedom fighters" alliance, Resistance International (see footnote 320), and an Honorary Member of the Board of the right-wing students' group Hochschulring Tübinger Studenten which had links to the neo-Nazi Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann - *Spiegel*, 41/1980, pg 31, and Hirsch, pg 406. Löwenthal died in 2002.

(221) *Stern*, 8/1978.

(222) Ramsay and Dorril; Crozier, pg 102.

(223) *Observer*, 10/2/91. Keston has certainly been the major British outlet for this kind of disinformation with excellent contacts to the BBC World Service: Keston's Jane Ellis did three "Words of Faith" programmes for the World Service in November 1990 which were nothing less than a party political broadcast for a newly-formed Christian Democrat party in the Soviet Union. Three years later, Crozier revealed in his memoirs who exactly was behind the new party: "In 1990, taking advantage of glasnost, the NTS had emerged as a Christian Democrat opposition party. It was allowed to hold meetings in Russia and a USSR-wide congress in Leningrad in November 1990" – Crozier, pg 271. The head of the BBC World Service in 1990, John Tusa, had been company secretary of Forum World Features in 1966-67, resigning over editorial disputes with Crozier, unaware of FWF's CIA links. See Crozier, pgs 70-71 and 73; Ramsay and Dorril, pgs 4 and 34; *Guardian*, 31/12/76 and 11/10/89.

(224) The IGfM/ISHR should not be confused with the legitimate Paris-based human rights organisation, the Fédération Internationale des Droits de l'Homme (FIDH).

(225) Crozier, pg 124.

(226) On Horchem, see *Spiegel*, 36/1981, pg 16; Crozier; Various authors (IFF), pgs viii-ix.

(227) ISC advert for the *Annual in Conflict* Study no. 60, August 1975.

(228) *ISC Annual of Power and Conflict 1974-75*, pg 16.

(229) *Spiegel*, 10/80, pg 23 et seq.; Roth and Ender.

(230) Yallop, pg 456; *State Research* no. 15, Dec 1979 - Jan 1980, pgs 50-51.

(231) Retinger, pg 212; *State Research* no. 15, Dec 1979 - Jan 1980, pgs 50-51.

(232) Two other participants at the 1974 Bilderberg conference would soon set up groups within the complex: George Ball, Chairman of the US Committee of the ISC, founded in March 1975, and Sir Frederic Bennett of SIF, a founding member of NAFF in July 1975 - Gonzalez-Mata, pgs 21, 27 and 312-315, who gives the 1974 Bilderberg participants list.

(233) *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 13/9/63 reproduced in *IGfM*, pg 75.

(234) Gonsalez-Mata, pg 107.

(235) On Lageneste, see Faligot and Krop, pgs 334-335.

(236) Péan, pg 242. Habsburg has lived in Spain and Portugal for much of the time - both are former possessions of the Habsburg empire. For Habsburg's Portuguese connections, see his biography in *IGfM*, pgs 59-60.

(237) See Günter Walraff in *Stern*, 7/4/76 and *Libération*, 9-10 + 11/4/76, and his *Die Aufdeckung einer Verschwörung*.

(238) *Die Contra Connection*, pg 164. The HSS published a celebration of sixteen years of cooperation with the Fundacion Canovas del Castillo in its *Informationen 1/2 1995* (pg 14), which quoted HSS Chairman Alfred Bayer: "Over the past sixteen years we have held no less than 7,350 seminars with over 335,000 participants, over 80% of which [were organised] in cooperation with the Fundacion". Bayer and the Fundacion's head, Carlos Robles Piquer, were received by King Juan Carlos as part of the 1995 celebration. Robles Piquer was Fraga Iribarne's brother-in-law and had twice served under him, firstly in the 1960s as Director-General of Information, Fraga's top civil servant and main contact of Crozier's when Fraga was Minister (see Crozier, pg 72), and then again in the first post-Franco government of December 1975 - July 1976 when Fraga was Vice-President and Interior Minister and Robles Piquer was Minister for Education and Science. Having become President of the Alianza Popular in 1976, Fraga Iribarne would be official Leader of the Opposition from 1982, when AP became the second strongest party in Spain, until 1986 when he resigned from AP. In 1989, Fraga Iribarne would refound AP as the Partido Popular, serving as its Honorary President and selecting future Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar as PP's President. Withdrawing from national politics, Fraga Iribarne was then elected President of the Region of Galicia in 1990, a post he held until 2005. After his 2005 regional election defeat, he was selected to represent the Galician Parliament in the Senate, a post reconfirmed in 2008. As for Silva Muñoz, having served as first President of Fraga's Alianza Popular in 1976, he would soon leave to undertake a failed attempt to unite the Spanish extreme Right on a joint ticket with Blas Piñar in the 1979 elections. On post-Franco politics, see the useful *Diccionario de la Transicion*, Victoria Prego, Plaza & Janes, Barcelona 1999.

(239) The Service de Documentation, de Renseignements et d'Action, a branch of the Army's Service Général de Renseignements. Part, at least, of the Gladio network in Belgium was run by SDRA-8.

(240) Brewaeyns and Deliège, pg 58.

(241) See Blackstock; Churchill and Vander Wall, 1988 and 1990.

(242) Churchill and Vander Wall, 1988, pg xiv.

(243) It is interesting to note that one of PIO's Press contacts was René Haquin, the journalist whose book *Des taupes dans l'extrême droite - la Sûreté de l'Etat et le WNP* first exposed the Latinus/Smets story, detailed in a later chapter. It appears with hindsight that Latinus's fascist militia WNP served to entrap Smets and other Sûreté officers investigating de Bonvoisin and the extreme Right, and that it was subsequently deliberately blown by its members to discredit the Sûreté - this would explain the revealing interviews Latinus gave Haquin for his book. Haquin got sucked in and became as much an actor in parapolitical developments as a reporter of them; it would seem that Haquin was at least unwittingly manipulated into blowing the gaffe and sinking the Sûreté's investigations. Haquin's association with PIO several

years previous to the WNP scandal may however indicate a less innocent involvement. Haquin, having paved the way, subsequently withdrew from further investigation into the extreme Right and returned to his previous field of crime reporting.

(244) Bougerol in conversation with Philippe Brewaeys.

(245) See Anderson and Anderson.

(246) Interview with Ray Cline by Alan de Francovitch and the BBC team preparing the programme *Gladio Story*, quoted by Bouffioux in *Téléoustique*, 23/4/92 – this experience may explain PIO's English-language title. On Cline, see notably Herman and O'Sullivan who cover his later career as a disinformationist in depth.

(247) Brewaeys and Deliège, pg 55.

(248) Brewaeys and Deliège, pg 118.

(249) *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, no. 10, Aug-Sept 1980, pg 37.

(250) Boyer, pg 283.

(251) See Cooley.

(252) On de Borchgrave and the joint Moss/de Borchgrave group MARA, see Boyer; *Lobster* 19, pg 20; Herman and O'Sullivan; Brewaeys and Deliège. Rees, Moss and Wannall would also work within the Scaife-funded Maldon Institute, founded in 1985 – see <http://www.publiceye.org/liberty/Maldon.html> and <http://www.publiceye.org/liberty/Rees/Rees.html>, which also includes information on Rees's involvement in Western Goals.

(253) Prominent Flemish journalist Walter de Bock investigated Latinus in depth in a series of articles entitled *Latinus, de spiderman*, published in *De Morgen*, 1-12/7/89, and collected and translated into French as a special issue of *Celsius*, December 1991.

(254) Damman's misspelling of Bougerol's name is no indication of a lack of contact between Damman and Bougerol at this stage - the same Chapter participants' list includes Damman's misspelling "Totossy"; Töttösy had been in touch with Damman since at least 1961.

(255) Eringer, pg 50.

(256) Van Doorslaer and Verhoeyen, pgs 150-154; Willan, pgs 107-100.

(257) During his period at NATO in the 1950s and 1960s, Brosio also attended the conferences of the Bilderberg group, such as the October 1957 conference at Fiuggi devoted to security within NATO (also attended by Cord Meyer) and the extraordinary Bilderberg conference convened in Wiesbaden in March 1966 to deal with the urgent question of a reorganisation of NATO. The latter conference was also attended by Pinay, the then Secretary of State George Ball and a future Deputy Director of the CIA, General Vernon Walters – later all Cercle associates. See Gonzalez-Mata, pgs 27 and 58; Eringer, pg 45.

(258) Information from Jeff Bale; Willan, pgs 107-110. For a fictionalized account of the various coup attempts in Italy, see Morris West's *The Salamander*, William Heinemann, London 1973. As for Brosio, in March 1975, he attended a conference on

European security organized by the Centro Italiano di Documentazione e Azione Sociale (CIDAS) which included amongst its participants Gianni Accame, a former Italian correspondent of Aginter Press, and General Diulio Fanali of ISSIED, implicated in the Borghese coup and the Rosa dei Venti conspiracy - Laurent, pg 304.

(259) Cornwell, pg 90.

(260) Cornwell, pgs 166-167.

(261) The loan taken by Pesenti was only one of the extremely complex financial transactions by Calvi which allowed him to steal \$250 million for P2. The most recent and comprehensive account of the Banco Ambrosiano is given by the respected financial journalist Charles Raw, who details Pesenti's relationship with Banco Ambrosiano. See Raw, pgs 91-92 for this episode.

(262) Péan, pg 90. Nothing is known of the Edicercle project - one possibility is indicated in footnote 322 below.

(263) Péan, pg 91.

(264) Péan, pg 92.

(265) Crozier makes no mention of FARI or of BOSS in his memoirs, no doubt because of the sensitive issue of covert South African funding.

(266) Cocksedge, Coldicut and Harant, pg 124; *Guardian*, 11/2/83.

(267) *Guardian*, 6/5/80 and 11/2/83; Ramsay and Dorril, pgs 4-5 and 40; *State Research* no. 7, Aug/Sept 1978; *Observer*, 29/1/89; Dorril and Ramsay (1991); Toczek; Herman and O'Sullivan, pg 269, note 62. Interestingly on Colonel Ronald Wareing who returned to the UK from Portugal in 1972 or 1973, news reports in *La Vanguardia Española* on CEDI meetings held in Spain in the early 1960s refer to the presence of an Irish Colonel variously named as Colonel Warding (5/7/60 pg 5), Colonel Naring (26/6/62 pg 9) and Colonel Donald W. Aring (9/6/63 pg 7) – search by date and page at <http://www.lavanguardia.com/hemeroteca/index.html>.

(268) Christie (1984), pgs 126-127.

(269) *The Great White Hoax*, pg 32.

(270) Annex of ISP documents in Young European Federalists.

(271) Winter (1981), pgs 543-544.

(272) Dorril and Ramsay (1991), pg 365, note 10; Foot.

(273) The 4th **Lord St Oswald**, D.L., M.C., whose plebeian name was Rowland Winn, had reported on the Spanish Civil War for Reuters and the *Daily Telegraph* before serving with the SOE in Albania and Thailand from 1940 to 1945. He would later volunteer for service in Korea from 1950 to 1952, winning a Military Cross. After demobilisation and having inherited his title in 1957, he sat as a Conservative Peer in the House of Lords until his death in 1984, serving as a government whip from 1959 to 1962 and Joint Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture from 1962 to 1964. Apart from his parliamentary career, Lord St Oswald was also Vice-President of Stewart-Smith's Foreign Affairs Circle – see *Lobster* 19 (May 1990), pg 7. One regular focus of his was on Poland - in 1971-72, he would campaign with Airey Neave for British official recognition of the 1940 Katyn massacre as a Soviet war crime,

serving with Neave as Deputy Chairmen of the Katyn Memorial Fund, one of whose patrons was Winston Churchill MP. From 1973 until the first direct European Parliament elections in 1979, he would sit as an appointed MEP. The 1976 CEDI Congress was far from Lord St Oswald's first; in July 1972, as a Member of the House of Lords, he had visited Madrid for the XXI CEDI Congress, presumably having previously attended the CEDI General Assembly in London on 14th April. Other participants at the July 1972 XXI CEDI Congress included Habsburg, of course, as well as Sanchez Bella, Martin Artajo, Ullastres and Geoffrey Rippon. As a freshly appointed MEP, Lord St Oswald would then speak at the next CEDI Congress in Brussels in November 1973, also attended by Sanchez Bella, Martin Artajo and Richard Jaeger - see *La Vanguardia Española* of 16/7/72 pg 7 and 11/11/73 pg 26, the latter of which reports his speech as saying that "the honourable gentlemen at Yalta in 1945 had bought the freedom of Western Europe at the price of slavery for Central and Eastern Europe". The same year, Lord St Oswald also wrote the introduction for Joseph Josten's *Unarmed Combat*, published in 1973 in *Beiträge zur Konfliktforschung* (Contributions to Conflict Studies, Markus Verlag, Köln), which also quoted from SOI and Sager. The noble SOE and Korea veteran would also provide the introduction for *The Soviet Threat to Peace*, published jointly by Foreign Affairs and Markus Verlag, which included contributions by Brzezinski and Ball. The Markus Verlag (Press) in Cologne, which operated between 1951 and c. 1994, was a significant German-language government disinformation outlet; according to its German Wikipedia entry, "the Markus Press was specialized in political propaganda books on military policy and the Eastern Block, sometimes published in close cooperation with the Federal Interior Ministry and the Federal Defence Ministry ... The Press was the publisher from 1951 to 1973 of the illustrated magazine of the Federal Border Protection Force ... From 1971 to 1990, the Press published the magazine *Beiträge zur Konfliktforschung – Psychopolitische Aspekte* (Contributions to Conflict Studies – Psychopolitical Aspects), launched by General Johannes Gerber which was funded by the Federal Defence Ministry and set itself the task of acting as a counterweight to the generally pacifist-inclined peace research of the day." One author for *Beiträge zur Konfliktforschung* in 1975 was Hans Josef Horchem.

(274) Crozier, pg 193.

(275) Career information from <http://www.queens.cam.ac.uk/page-292> and van der Reijden. Tennant died in 1996. Tennant would later play a significant part assisting the mid-1980s anti-disarmament propaganda operations run by Cercle/6I associates – see below. Van der Reijden also notes that Tennant was a member of the Academic Council of Wilton Park. It is unclear whether Tennant was ever active within CEDI; his name does not appear on a 1972 list of CEDI office-holders, which does however name other British CEDI members besides Agnew and Rodgers: the Rt. Hon. Geoffrey Rippon, Minister for Europe (Monday Club member from at least 1970 on, participant at the 1974 Bilderberg conference in Megève together with Frederic Bennett and Gerald Thompson of Kleinwort Benson); the Rt. Hon. Sir Frederick Corfield, QC, MP, former minister; Sir Denys Lawson, Bt, investment banker; Francis Bennett, Chief Whip; Kenneth Clarke MP, later a Bilderberger. CEDI's 1972 General Assembly was held in London. Francis Bennett, Alderman QLC, would attend this 1976 CEDI Congress, as would a certain Martin McLaren of London, and Bernard Woodford, Director, Witney, Oxfordshire.

(276) Crozier, pg 193. Bach died in 2001. On Bach's involvement in the Northrop bribes scandal, see Van der Reijden.

(277) Van Doorslaer and Verhoeyen, pg 164.

(278) On Jardim, see Laurent, pgs 153, 329, 335; Péan (1983), pg 149. On Kaulza de Arriaga, see the Sunday Times Insight team's book on the Portuguese revolution.

(279) Crozier, pgs 127-128.

(280) In 1988, Elliott proposed giving a posthumous honour to Philby as a deception operation to mislead the KGB. Elliott's career details are given in Dorril and *Observer*, 2/2/92. Elliott's first set of memoirs are bizarrely - in reference to Georgi Markov? - entitled *Never Judge a Man by his Umbrella* (Michael Russel, Salisbury 1991). He also wrote *With My Little Eye* (1993) and died in 1994 - see Dorril's *Lobster* 28, pg 24-25.

(281) Crozier, pgs 129-130. Peter Shipley was a specialist on revolutionary groups in Britain, and author of a March 1977 ISC Conflict Study, *Trotskyism: 'Entryism' and Permanent Revolution*; he went on to do a spell in Thatcher's Cabinet Office, leaving in 1984 to rejoin the ISC.

(282) Crozier, pg 137.

(283) Pincher (1978), pgs 115 and 137-139; Ramsay and Dorril, pg 13. In February 1977, during a heated Parliamentary debate, Hastings had also drawn the Home Secretary's attention to the 'bias' in a *World in Action* television programme in favour of those journalists who had exposed the CIA funding of FWF. Hastings died in 2005.

(284) Crozier, pg 128.

(285) Crozier, pg 120.

(286) Crozier, pg 128-129. The ISC had already dealt with subversion in education and in the Churches: in March 1974, the ISC had produced a Conflict Study entitled *Marxism and the Church of Rome*, which was republished by *Le Monde Moderne* in 1975. An ISC Study Group on subversion in higher education, which included Dr Kenneth Watkins of NAFF and Aims, started work in November 1975; its findings would be published in September 1977 as an ISC Special Report, *The Attack on Higher Education*. From May 1977 to April 1978, an ISC Study Group would meet to discuss on subversion in the media; the ISC Special Report *Television and Conflict* would finally be published in November 1978 - see Crozier, pgs 150-155.

(287) Crozier, pgs 137-138.

(288) Crozier, pg 139.

(289) Crozier, pg 138.

(290) Crozier, pgs 139-140.

(291) Crozier, pgs 131-133.

(292) Crozier, pg 142.

(293) Crozier, pg 144. The most likely contenders are MI5 Head of Counter-Subversion Dirk Hampden, Crozier's official liaison who retired sometime after the summer of 1975 but seems not to have had a later private career, or alternatively Hampden's successor Charles Elwell, who wouldn't in fact retire until 1982 but who did actually effect this crucial shift of operations from counter-espionage to counter-subversion in the late 1970s; after retirement, Elwell would work with Crozier throughout the 1980s.

(294) Crozier, pg 133.

(295) Crozier, pg 134.

(296) For all quotes by Crozier on the 6I below, see Crozier, pg 135.

(297) Biographical information on Romerstein and Kraemer from Various authors (IFF), pgs v-xiii, <http://www.ashbrook.org/events/colloqui/2001/romerstein.html> and the biographies online at <http://www.iwp.edu/faculty/facultyID.9/profile.asp> and <http://www.iwp.edu/faculty/facultyID.23/profile.asp>. On Romerstein, also see Crozier, pg 11; on Kraemer, also see Crozier, pg 185.

Kraemer's father had been a longstanding Washington insider; according to Wikipedia, the German-born Fritz G. A. Kraemer was Senior Legal Advisor to the League of Nations at the League's Legal Institute in Rome during most of the 1930s before fleeing to America in 1939, leaving behind his wife and son. He would become a US citizen by joining the US Army's 84th Infantry Division in 1943. "A gifted "talent scout" and teacher, in 1944 he discovered the young Henry Kissinger who joined his division. In 1961 he also discovered Alexander Haig, and in 1969 recommended him as the Military Assistant to then National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger. His son Sven Kraemer also served in the Nixon-Kissinger National Security Council. From the early 1950s until 1978, when he retired from civil service, he served as Senior Civilian Advisor to the U.S. Army Chief of Staff in the Pentagon and influenced the Department of Defence during the Cold War. During his time at the Pentagon, he also influenced Secretaries of Defense James R. Schlesinger and Donald Rumsfeld ... Kraemer died on September 8, 2003, in Washington, D.C., and was buried with full military honors in Arlington National Cemetery on October 8. He was honoured by former Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger, his former students Henry Kissinger and Alexander Haig." – see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fritz_G._A._Kraemer. His obituary in the *Guardian*, 12 November 2003 stated that, besides Haig and Kissinger, other protegeses of his were Vernon Walters and Edward Lansdale – see <http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/2003/nov/12/guardianobituaries.usa>.

Besides Romerstein and Kraemer, an alternative candidate for a 6I Congressional member could be later IFF speaker **David Holliday**, who would switch in 1976 from being Capitol Correspondent of KWTW Channel 9 (CBS) to serving as "Administrative Assistant to Governor David L. Boren of Oklahoma and between 1978 to 1985 as Chief Assistant for Legislative Affairs to Senator Boren. Between 1985 and 1987, Mr. Holliday served as a Professional Staff Member of the US Senate Select Committee on Intelligence ... Between 1987 and 1991, Mr. Holliday was the Special Assistant to the Chairman [Senator Boren from 1987 to 1994] and Official Spokesman of the US Senate Select Committee on Intelligence" – see Various authors (IFF), pgs v-xiii. Holliday himself wrote: "During the years that I spent with the Senate Intelligence Committee, the area that I was primarily responsible for was covert action. I got very much involved with that subject" - from an IFF presentation that Holliday gave with Romerstein, see Various authors (IFF), pg 131.

(298) Crozier, pg 135.

(299) Crozier, pgs 135-136.

(300) Crozier, pgs 180-181.

(301) Crozier, pg 136. Nothing more is known of Perriaux's involvement in the Cercle, which would certainly be worth investigating further.

(302) Crozier, pg 136.

(303) Crozier, pg 187.

(304) One of the enduring political lessons illustrated by this investigation is that purges of or restrictions on the security and intelligence services often simply displace rogue agents into the private sector as 'retirees'. The Cercle and 6I drew much of their support from intelligence veterans displaced following purges in Germany (1969), the UK and France (1970), the UK and the USA (1977) and Belgium (1978). As Wikipedia has commented on the Western Goals Foundation: "After the Watergate and COINTELPRO scandals of the early 1970s, several laws were passed to restrict police intelligence gathering within political organisations. The laws tried to make it necessary to demonstrate that a criminal act was likely to be uncovered by any intelligence gathering proposed. Many files on radicals, collected for decades, were ordered destroyed. The unintended effect of the laws was to privatize the files in the hands of 'retired' intelligence officers and their most trusted, dedicated operatives".

(305) Crozier, pgs 189-190.

(306) *Spiegel*, No. 37/1982 (see <http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14351703.html>), and Roth and Ender, pgs 57-58. Hans Christoph Schenk Freiherr von Stauffenberg, who died in Munich in 2005, was a member of the junior branch of the von Stauffenberg family, being the son of Reichstag Nazi MP Franz Wilhelm Karl Maria Gabriel Schenk Freiherr von Stauffenberg.

(307) In Germany, party foundations distribute grants from the Ministry for cooperation and Development to 'deserving partners' in the Third World, and are an important and official component in political parties' foreign policy bodies.

(308) *Spiegel*, 10/1980, pgs 26-27; *Spiegel-Buch*, pgs 118-119. Handwritten notes on the original are revealing: "GS/BK/HSS" indicates that the document should be passed to the CSU General Secretariat, the Strauss newspaper *Bayern Kurier* and the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung itself. Several countries are underlined by hand in the original: Nigeria, Turkey, Manila, Hong Kong, Jordan and Saudi Arabia. A further country not mentioned was Angola. On the 16th October, 1976, Strauss accompanied by CDU MP and foreign and defence policy spokesman Dr Werner Marx met Holden Roberto in the backroom of the Munich pub "Franziskaner"; the FNLA leader wanted Strauss's help in unfreezing arms shipments promised by Kissinger - *Spiegel*, 10/1980; *Spiegel-Buch*, pg 119. On HSS activities, see *Die Contra Connection*; *Spiegel*, 9/1980, 10/1980; *Tageszeitung*, 24/1/87, 16/3/87, 13/5/87, 18/5/87, 20/5/87, 22/5/87, 6/6/87, 12/6/87, 3/7/87; *Lobster* 14, September 1987, pg 33.

(309) Péan, pgs 76-77.

(310) Crozier, pg 125.

(311) Péan, pgs 72-74.

(312) Mungo, pg 24. Another Cercle outlet which may have participated in the campaign was Huyn's Swiss-based group, the EKMS, whose January 1978 conference was entitled Peoples In Chains : non-Russians in the Soviet Union; the proceedings were published by Sager's SOI (see footnote 318) - the subject of the EKMS conference in 1977 is as yet unknown.

(313) Damman's diary from Mungo, pg 26. Operation H2 also involved publication of an article on Helsinki and détente by Habsburg in the February-March 1977 issue of the *Bulletin Européen*, published by Constantin Dragan, an AESP contact since at least 1976; this would be followed by the publication of the Appeal itself and a covering AESP letter in the April issue of the same magazine - see footnote 8 and

http://www.fondazioneDragan.org/media/02_03_1977_be_fr_febbraio_marzo.pdf and http://www.fondazioneDragan.org/media/04_1977_be_fr_aprile.pdf. The next issue in May would publish a long article by AESP stalwart Vincent Van den Bosch on the first direct European Parliament elections in 1978. Operation H2 would also reach to Franco's Spain - Franco's official foreign policy review, the *Revista de Política Internacional* produced by the Instituto de Estudios Políticos (IEP), would publish an article by Habsburg on Soviet policy towards Europe in its number 150, March-April 1977 – see footnote 4 for the web address. The H2 campaign would also be echoed by Töttösy's FEGOMEE – see footnote 329.

(314) Mungo, pg 27. Keston College had earlier contributed to this campaign for religious freedom in the Soviet Union: "After a World Council of Churches meeting in Nairobi in 1975, there was a request for the pooling of resources to produce documentation on religion in Eastern Europe. This was eventually published under the title *Religious Liberty in the Soviet Union* (published by Keston College, Kent, England, a centre for the study of religion and communism, and edited by the Rev. Michael Bourdeaux)" – Deacon, pgs 69-70. On Deacon, see this author and Robin Ramsay's piece *Truth Twisting: notes on disinformation* in *Lobster* 19 (May 1990) pgs 20-22.

(315) On the Brüsewitz Centre, see *IGfM*, pgs 69-70, Young European Federalists, pgs 188-214, Hirsch and the *Ostpreussenblatt* at http://archiv.preussische-allgemeine.de/1977/1977_04_30_18.pdf, according to which the inauguration of the Centre would be attended, apart from the persons named below, by Strauss, Bavarian Minister and HSS chief Fritz Pirkl, Cornelia Gerstenmaier, Habsburg, the wife of ex-Soviet dissident and vocal right-winger **Vladimir Bukovsky**, von Hassel and Pachmann. The *Ostpreussenblatt* article is from the 30th April 1977 issue which contradicts the Brüsewitz Centre foundation date of October 1977 given in other sources. Another article on the same page of the *Ostpreussenblatt* reported on a speech about "Tovarich Brezhnev's Fifth Column" given in April 1977 by Winston Churchill - "Winston Churchill, the official defence spokesman of the Conservatives, addressed a meeting of the National Association for Freedom in the presence of Margaret Thatcher, Vladimir Bukovsky and members of both Houses of Parliament"; the article also announced that Churchill would be addressing a PEU conference in Saarbrücken on the 8th May 1977 on the subject of Britain's contribution to Europe. For a 1977 picture and article about Cornelia Gerstenmaier introducing Vladimir Bukovsky, to German Parliament President Carstens, see http://archiv.preussische-allgemeine.de/1977/1977_03_12_11.pdf. Bukovsky, who was close to the GfM from the 1970s on, would be a frequent signatory for and later President of Resistance International in the 1980s before working with Crozier in the Cercle's anti-disarmament campaign and the Cercle/6I/IED's anti-Gorbachev campaign – see Crozier, pg 246 and footnotes 320, 441 and 442. Bukovsky currently serves on the Board of Academic Advisors of the IWP, on which see below.

Habsburg's youngest daughter, now **Walburga Habsburg Douglas**, would play an active part in her father's political life from a very early age. In 1973, at the age of fifteen, she would be co-founder of the German PEU youth wing, Paneuropa-Jugend Deutschland; at the age of nineteen, she was co-founder of the Christian Paneuropean Study Group and the Brüsewitz Centre before going on to study law and canonical law in Salzburg. She would then work with her father in the European Parliament from 1979 until 1992 with a spell in 1983 studying journalism in the National Journalism Centre in Washington and working in the Washington office of *Readers' Digest*. From 1985 to 1992 she worked as Information Counsellor in the Information Ministry of the Sultanate of Oman, and from 2004 on sat on the Board of the Arab International Media Forum in London. She would not however neglect the PEU, serving as PEU Deputy International Secretary-General from 1980 to 1988, PEU International Secretary-General from 1988 to 2004, and since then as PEU

International Executive Vice-President. In August 1989, she and her father would be key organisers of the Paneuropean Picnic which punctured the Iron Curtain and accelerated the fall of the Berlin Wall, described below. In 1992, she married the Swedish Count Archibald Douglas and became active in the Swedish Moderata samlingspartiet, standing on their list for the European Parliament in 1999 and 2004, and for the Swedish Parliament in 2002 and 2006, when she was finally elected. Since 2006, she sits on the Swedish Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee.

(316) Quote from *Spiegel*, 9/11/87. On Colonia Dignidad, see below. Roth and Ender add (pg 79) that Bossle and Huyn served on the Presidium of a Deutsch-chilenischer Freundeskreis (German-Chilean Friendship Circle). Bossle and the IfD would fall out of favour with the CSU in 1989 due to increasingly public scandal – see *Spiegel*, 24/7/89.

(317) *Die Contra Connection*, pg 258. Pachmann was also an author for the Moonie newspaper *Integral*.

(318) Roth and Ender, pg 62; *IGfM*, pg 80; Van der Reijden; Huyn bibliography, which cites as a source "Résumé of the Founding Meeting of the European Conference on Human Rights, Luzern 1-3/3/74". Huyn served as EKMS Vice-President through until 1999 – see his obituary by Kirche in Not at <http://www.kirche-in-not.de/aktuelle-meldungen/2011/01-25-nachruf-hans-graf-huyn>. The sometime Honorary President of the EKMS was Swiss CVP MP Dr. Edgar Oehler, a former Editor in Chief of the *Ostschweiz* newspaper group from 1973 to 1985 who served on the Swiss National Council from 1971 to 1995, sitting on the Security Policy, State Policy and Media Policy Committees; his personal site at <http://www.oehler.ch/en/curriculum-vitae.html> coyly states that the EKMS was an "organization of Members of European Parliaments, especially active during the period of the cold war for family re-unification, relief for refugees etc". The sometime President of the EKMS was another Swiss MP and Editor in Chief, Oscar Fritschi, a FDP member of the National Council from 1991 to 1999, sitting on the same three committees as Oehler from 1995 to 1999 – see http://www.parlament.ch/D/Suche/Seiten/biografie.aspx?biografie_id=86.

The EKMS would hold annual conferences in Switzerland, the proceedings of many of which were published by Sager's SOI in Bern. According to the Swiss Government Library System (Bibliotheksverbund der Bundesverwaltung) at <http://libraries.admin.ch/cgi-bin/gwalex/chameleon>, the EKMS would hold at least the following conferences: *Völker in Ketten : Nichttrussen in der Sowjetunion* [Peoples In Chains : non-Russians in the Soviet Union], held on 13th to 15th January 1978 in Luzern, published by SOI; *Terrorismus : Ursachen, Gefahren, Bekämpfung* [Terrorism : its causes and risks and how to combat it], held on 9th and 10th May 1983 in Muri near Bern, published by EKMS; *Osthandel und Ostkredite I : Möglichkeiten, Grenzen, Gefahren* [Eastern Trade and Eastern Loans I : possibilities, limits, risks] held on 30th and 31st October 1984 at the Schloss Lenzburg (near Zürich), published by SOI; *Der politische Krieg : Die reale Gefahr* [Political Warfare : the real danger]; held on 30th and 31st October 1985 in Muri near Bern, published by SOI; *Menschenrechte und Freiheit : Voraussetzung für den Frieden* [Human Rights and Freedom : precondition for peace], held in 1986 in Muri near Bern, published by SOI; *Jalta im Lichte der KSZE* [Yalta in the light of the CSCE], held on 23rd and 24th April 1987 at the Jagdhof am Fuschlsee near Salzburg, published by SOI; *Die Atlantische Gemeinschaft* [The Atlantic Community], held on 6th and 7th May 1988 at the Hotel Sternen in Muri near Bern, published by EKMS.

Some time before 1979, the Swiss EKMS spawned a German registered charity EKMS e. V. based in Bonn, which launched an appeal attacking Soviet control of Eastern Europe in 1979; the appeal would be signed for the EKMS e. V. by Huyn and

Claus Jäger, CDU MP from 1972 to 1994 and prominent member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe from 1981 to 1987. The appeal was co-signed by Otto von Habsburg for the PEU and Rudolf Wollner for the Bund der Vertriebenen [League of Expellees], the main German exile pressure group; Wollner was also a Vice-President of the PEU and a member of the ZDF Television Council – well-placed to support Löwenthal. For the appeal, see the *Ostpreussenblatt* 01/09/79 at http://archiv.preussische-allgemeine.de/1979/1979_09_01_35.pdf, page 5. Page 24 of the same issue of the *Ostpreussenblatt* carries a review of a book "commissioned by the SWG" denouncing Brandt, Schmidt and *Ostpolitik* in general written by Dr. Heinz Gehle, on whom see footnote 16 and below.

The German EKMS branch would later organize a conference on *Psychiatry and Glasnost* on 23rd January 1988 in Bonn, probably as part of the anti-Gorbachev campaign detailed in a later chapter – see footnote 442. It would also publish *Eine Chance für Deutschland : Anwendung des Selbstbestimmungsrechts der Völker* [An Opportunity for Germany – Application of the Right to Self-Determination of the Peoples] by SWG and *Ostpreussenblatt* author Dr. Heinz Gehle in 1989 and *Die globale Überwindung des Kommunismus duldet keinen Aufschub* [The Global Conquest of Communism Cannot Be Postponed] by Stefan Marinoff in 1990 – we have already met Marinoff, a BND agent, as co-founder with Huyn of the German-based Western Goals Europe and AESRI in 1981; he had previously been an author for Stewart-Smith's *East-West Digest* in 1977 – see Huyn bibliography. The President of the EKMS e. V. from 1999 to date has been former DDR civil rights activist (and daughter of a Stasi officer) Vera Lengsfeld, who was elected to the West German Parliament for the Greens in 1994 before jumping to the CDU fraction in 1996, serving as a CDU MP until 2005. The EKMS e. V. is still active today with a focus mainly on Berlin.

(319) For biographies of Bossle, Blumenwitz and Rohrmoser, see *IGfM*, pgs 59, 63 and 65. Bossle would die in 2000, Blumenwitz in 2005, Rohrmoser in September 2008 – see Rohrmoser's obituary in *Die Welt*, 18/9/08. In 1981, Rohrmoser would work with the Federal Government on a publication covering the philosophical bases of terrorism; in 1987-88, he would work several times as speaker for the German section of CAUSA. As for Blumenwitz, the legal proceedings against Amnesty International's German section would run for more than twenty years and would trigger a Chilean court inspection in 1988, leading to a Chilean government decision to close Colonia Dignidad in February 1991 – see *Guardian*, 24-25/8/91. Blumenwitz' *Chile – Rückfahrt zur Demokratie* (Chile – Return to Democracy) would be published by the IfD in 1987. On Colonia Dignidad and its links to DINA, see Gero Gemballa's *Colonia Dignidad*, Rowohlt rororo aktuell, Reinbek bei Hamburg 1990, pgs 148-151. On DINA's Washington assassination of Orlando Letelier, see John Dinges and Saul Landau's *Assassination on Embassy Row* (Pantheon, New York 1980; McGraw-Hill, New York 1981); Taylor Branch and Eugene Propper's *Labyrinth* (Penguin, London 1983). On DINA's international cooperation within Operation Condor, see John Dinges's excellent *The Condor Years* (New Press, New York 2004). On DINA's 1975 production of nerve-gas using precursor chemicals purchased from Britain, see *Observer*, 23/4/89.

(320) On Lobkowicz, see *IGfM*, pg 62; *Die Contra Connection*; his web biography at http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nikolaus_Lobkowicz and his CVs by the Catholic University of Eichstätt at <http://www.ku-eichstaett.de/fileadmin/190806/PDF/vita-lobkowicz-eng.pdf> and <http://www1.ku-eichstaett.de/ZIMOS/festschrift/09%20Mitarbeiter.pdf> make no mention of his support for the Brüsewitz Centre, IGfM or Resistance International. Lobkowicz was mostly recently spotted as a speaker for the German branch of Opus Dei in 2010 – see <http://www.opusdei.de/art.php?p=37857>. Resistance International was active throughout the 1980s, defending the Nicaraguan Contras, the Afghan mujaheddin, RENAMO in Mozambique and Jonas Savimbi's Angolan UNITA. Several Cercle

associates signed two RI appeals widely published in the international press, one in March 1985 just before Reagan imposed a trade embargo on Nicaragua (Close, Huyn, Lobkowicz, von Hassel, Graf von Stauffenberg, Bukovsky and Crozier), and another in October 1987 (Close, Löwenthal, Lobkowicz, von Hassel, Graf von Stauffenberg, Bukovsky, Crozier and Stewart-Smith) – see *Die Contra Connection*, pgs 264-267. Löwenthal was also a German Member of Honour of RI; RI's American Members of Honour included former US Ambassador to the UN Jeane Kirkpatrick, Midge Decter, a personal friend of Reagan's and Chair of the Committee for a Free World (on which see *State Research* no.22, February-March 1981, pgs 88-90), and WACL President General Singlaub, a former Chief of Staff of US forces in South Korea until 1977 and then Chief of Staff of the Army Forces Command. A close collaborator of Col. Oliver North, Singlaub would be one of the major players implicated in the Irangate scandal. On Resistance International, see *Die Contra Connection* and *IGfM*; on Singlaub, see below, Bellant and Crozier. Crozier would play a considerable part in the anti-Sandinista campaign in the UK, working within the Committee for a Free Nicaragua – see *Die Contra Connection* pgs 90-91 and *Lobster* 16 (July 1988), pg 18.

(321) Mungo, pg 24 et seq.

(322) The Vice-President of CLEW was Egidio Ortona, host for the founding ceremony and President of the Italian branch set up in 1977. A former Italian Ambassador to the US, Ortona was a founding member of the Trilateral Commission and served on its Executive Committee in 1979 as European Chairman – see Eringer. The other members of CLEW were Sir Heinz Koepler, former Rector of Wilton Park, Düsseldorf lawyer Klaus F. Beckmann, Doctor Georges Ladame, President of the Swiss Society of Friends of Wilton Park, and Jean J. Richard, Vice-President of the International Society of Wilton Park - see Mungo. The statutes of CLEW also mention an offshoot of Wilton Park called the European Discussion Centre (E. D. C.), which may be the same as the "Edicercle" mentioned by Violet in his message to Damman of 31st March, 1976 about the funding crisis of the Academy. Damman's longstanding Hungarian contact Ernest Töttösy was a member of Wilton Park International; Van der Reijden also notes that Sir Peter Tennant of the Cercle was a member of the Academic Council of Wilton Park.

(323) The 1978 AESP membership list published by Mungo is also reproduced in Gijssels (1991), pgs 152-157. An earlier internal membership list dating from around 1977 already included many of the new names in the AESP in 1978, listing Huyn, van den Heuvel, Vallet and Valori as members of the core organising group, the Permanent Delegation, whilst Soustelle, Biggs-Davison, Agnew, Rodgers, Pirkel and Graf von Stauffenberg figured as AESP Life Members, and Grau, de Bonvoisin, Vigneau, Marique, Magnino, Schneider and Bitschnau served as AESP Study Group members. Any project supported by Pinay was sure to win the ear of the Moroccan King; in November 1955, French Foreign Minister Pinay had signed the La Celle-Saint-Cloud Agreements ending the exile of the Sultan of Morocco Mohammed V, and introducing limited home rule, paving the way for the ending of the French and Spanish protectorates and the independence of Morocco in 1956. Pinay would then be a regular private guest of the Moroccan King – see, for example, *La Vanguardia Española* of 19/3/69 pg 16.

(324) This von Stauffenberg, only distantly related to the Freiherr von Stauffenberg who ran the CSU's private intelligence network, was part of the main branch of the von Stauffenberg lineage, being the third son of Claus Schenk Graf von Stauffenberg who with his brother Berthold was executed in 1944 for plotting to kill Hitler. In contrast to the parliamentary information given here, taken from Wikipedia, a CDU Pensioners Union information sheet from 2008 states that von Stauffenberg was a German Federal MP from 1972 to 1984 before being elected to the European Parliament.

(325) *Le Soir*, 4/9/91 and Brewaeys and Deliège, pgs 62-63 quoted from the Senate Gladio Commission findings. No details are known of the "Saudi affair", but the reference is intriguing. In the spring of 1978, Crozier had met the recently-appointed head of the Saudi intelligence service, Prince Turki ben Faisal, and briefed him on the 6I and its activities - could that be what Fagnart refers to?

(326) On PIO, Bougerol, de Bonvoisin, Latinus, De Roover and the Belgian Gladio network, see *Histoire de glaives*, Michel Bouffieux, published in *Gladio* (pgs 29-60); Michel Bouffieux in *Libertés*, 9, 10, 11, 13-15, 17, 18, 19 and 20-22/4/91 (*Libertés* was a short-lived Belgian left-wing daily which appeared from March to June, 1991) and in *Téléoustique*, 27/6/91; *Le Soir*, 4/9/91; Gijssels (1991); Brewaeys and Deliège.

(327) The hostages were released five minutes after Reagan's inauguration on January 20th, 1981; Reagan's first Presidential address was to announce their liberation. On the "October Surprise", see Reagan campaign assistant Barbara Honegger's *October Surprise* (Tudor, NY 1989); *An Election held Hostage? A Compendium*, ed. David Marks (Fund for New Priorities in America, NY 1991) which includes many declassified documents; Sick, a cautious but conclusive investigation by a National Security Council staffer under Presidents Ford, Carter and Reagan, principal White House aide for Iran during the 1979-81 hostage crisis, and later of Columbia University, New York.

(328) Sick, pg 149. "One example [of Brenneke's inside knowledge] was his statement to a DIA official on 3rd January, 1986, that 'Admiral Poindexter had given permission to sell 10,000 missiles to Iran'. On that date, a draft presidential finding was being prepared ... that provided for the sale of TOW missiles to Iran. President Reagan signed the finding on 6th January" - Sick, pg 210. Sick devotes several pages to discussing Brenneke's claims and reliability; for other accounts of his claims, see Roth; Gijssels (1991).

(329) All information on P7 and the Comité Hongrie 1956-76 from Gijssels (1991), pgs 91-96. Töttösy also worked directly with Habsburg and Jacques Jonet within the Association Europe Hongrie, a right-wing Catholic group set up in 1990. The AEH brought together bankers, industrialists and politicians with the aim of promoting industrial and commercial development in Hungary. The AEH's task was made easier by Habsburg's rôle as Chairman or Deputy Chairman of the European Parliament's Delegation for Relations with Hungary from 1989 to 1999. See *Celsius* 39 (April 1991), pgs 3-4.

To summarize Töttösy's biography: born 8. Dec. 1918 ; LLD Doctor of Law, University Pazmany, Budapest, Attorney at Law in Budapest Bar Association 1940; practiced in Budapest, 1940-52; Judge and Attorney Highest Distinction, 1945; admitted to the Budapest Court of Appeal 1951; accused of participation in a CIA coup attempt, imprisoned and physically and psychiatrically tortured 1952; fled to Belgium, received aid from Caritas Catholica Belgica 1956; Secretary of Belgian Christian Trade Unions - secrétaire permanent de la CSC, Belgium, 1957; Doctor of European Law, Catholic University of Leuven UCL, Belgium; Executive Manager of Mutual Fund Company, USA 1964; President United Atlantic Investment Corporation, 1965; President Amitalia Fund Management Company [alleged to be a covert CIA funding channel], 1970; Financial and Legal Advisor, 1974; publication *Hongrie 1956-1976* with Dessart Francis, Artigraph, 1976; founder Comité Hongrie 1956-76, first meeting Bélliard 39 (CEPIC/PIO offices, see *Humo*, 15/11/1990); Director, Middle East Consulting Agency, 1977; Secretary-General, FEGOMEE - European Federation of Overseas and East European Refugees 1977; Secretary General Tilapia Food Aid Organization, 1982. Memberships in 1981: World

Organization of Periodical Press, Belgium; Wilton Park International; Vice President, World Federation of Hungarian Freedom Fighters; European Chairman of World Federation of Free Hungarian Jurists; Belgo-American Association; Belgian Atlantic Association; Secretary-General, FEGOMEE.

FEGOMEE [Fédération Européenne Des Groupements d'Outre-Mer et Expulsés de l'Est] was founded in Paris in July 1977; the founding President was Belgian Professor Dr. Mairlot, one of the founding Vice-Presidents was Rudolf Wollner, Vice-President of the German BdV, and the founding Secretary-General was Töttösy who provided the group with offices in Brussels. The same year, FEGOMEE, claiming to represent some three million expellees, applied for NGO status with the Council of Europe and focussed on the upcoming Belgrade CSCE conference also targetted by the AESP H2 campaign. FEGOMEE worked closely with Resistance International.

For links between Töttösy, van den Heuvel, Vankerkhoven, de Bonvoisin etc, also see the article "Brusselse Truffels" by Editor Jan Portein in the leftwing Dutch investigative journal *Kleintje Muurkrant* 328 (8 January 1999) at <http://www.stelling.nl/kleintje/328/Janp.htm> - Portein is however unaware of the *Spiegel*, 1/1960 and 31/1960 *Oberländer's Friends - Documents in safe* which reveals that after Oberländer was forced out as Minister for Exiles in 1960, forged wartime diaries of his allegedly implicating him in the 1941 massacre were offered by Dutchman Joop Zwart to various parties interested in buying them, two of which were named by the Spiegel - Peter Sager in Bern and Karl Friedrich Grau in Bonn, who both met Zwart to discuss the documents and tapes which they no doubt wished to remove from circulation. Zwart's Dutch legal action against Oberländer would end in July 1960 with Zwart being detained for forgery; he claimed to have stored his documents about Oberländer in a safe in Switzerland.

(330) Crozier, pg 172. Albertini would die in 1983 - see his biography in van der Reijden. There are two works on Albertini, neither of which I have yet obtained: *L'Homme de l'Ombre - Georges Albertini 1911-1993* (surely a misprint for 1983), Laurent Lemire, Ed. Balland, 1989, and *Le Dossier Georges Albertini - une intelligence avec l'ennemi*, Jean Lévy, Ed. L'Harmattan-Le Pavillon, 1992. Lévy, who worked for *CelsiuS*, was interviewed about his book in *CelsiuS* no. 52 (August-September 1992).

(331) Listed in Huyn's bibliography. The *Ostpreussenblatt* would echo the Cape Route campaign in April 1977 in an unsigned article entitled "Soviet Shadows Over Africa" - see http://archiv.preussische-allgemeine.de/1977/1977_04_16_16.pdf.

(332) *People's News Service*, 6/2/79, pg 3.

(333) Ramsay and Dorril, pg 53. The previous year, du Plessis's report, *Moscow's Control over Mozambique and Angola*, had been published by Stewart-Smith's *East-West Digest* (no. 23, 1977). The ISC would return to the significance of South Africa for the West's oil supply in a May 1979 ISC Special Report, *The Security of Middle East Oil*.

(334) On Freedom Blue Cross, see Rees and Day, pgs 196-197; *State Research* no. 7 (Aug-Sept 1978) pgs 130-132 and no. 16 (Feb-March 1980) pg 71. Gonsalez-Mata, writing with less direct information a year after the Brighton conference, gives a slightly different take, seeing Freedom Blue Cross as the reactionary rump of a "cleansed" post-Lockheed Bilderberg Group: having described "... the reorganisation of the Bilderberg Group rid of its "black sheep", politicians, bankers and industrialists belonging to right-wing organisations which cannot be integrated, reserve officers, former intelligence chiefs, etc", Gonsalez-Mata adds in a footnote: "These marginalized sectors would set up in London a new organisation, "worthy

successor to the Bilderberg Club of heroic times" (sic), called Freedom Blue Cross whose main aim is to "hinder Soviet expansionism in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America" " – see Gonsalez-Mata, pg 297. The two DoI front groups, the FAA, charged with European and American outreach, and the SAFF, mostly active within South Africa itself, would be closed down shortly after the Brighton conference following their exposure in the media - *People's News Service*, 6/2/79, pg 3.

(335) Crozier, pg 167.

(336) Crozier, pg 171.

(337) Michael Goodwin later became a financial adviser to the International Association for Cultural Freedom which took over from the CIA-funded Congress for Cultural Freedom. Ian Greig died in 1995.

(338) Crozier, pgs 187-188.

(339) Crozier, pg 188.

(340) Crozier, pg 157.

(341) The Dulverton Trust provided the ISC with a grant of £50,000 in 1978 - Crozier, pg 174.

(342) On Turki ben Faisal and the mujaheddin, see Cooley, an outstanding book; *US and the Taliban: a done deal*, Pierre Abramovici, *Le Monde Diplomatique*, English edition, January 2002. After his London posting, ben Faisal would serve as longstanding Saudi Ambassador in Washington. On Horchem's contribution to the drive for a war in Iraq, see footnote 464.

(343) See Haykal.

(344) Crozier, pg 159.

(345) Crozier, pg 161.

(346) Many of Langemann's operations are described in Heigl and Saupe, which unfortunately tells us nothing more about the Cercle Pinay.

(347) "Hans von Machtenberg's indiscretion [in providing Langemann with information on the Cercle] was nevertheless considered unacceptable, and the 6I's directorate decided to sever relations with him. I was personally very sorry about this rift, as I held Hans in high esteem", Crozier pg 193.

(348) Given in English in the original, this is no doubt Crozier's title for his second attempt to get multinationals to fund the 6I after the failure of Freedom Blue Cross described above.

(349) Besides spelling his name wrong, Langemann also was wrong in calling de Marenches ex-Director; he would remain Director of SDECE until 1981.

(350) It is interesting to note that Franks was Bonn station chief at the time of the *Spiegel's* initial allegations about Strauss in 1963 - see Dorril.

(351) Born in 1921, Luchsinger was chief editor of the influential Swiss daily newspaper *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* from January 1968 to January 1985. Having studied at Yale in 1951-52, Luchsinger joined the NZZ and would work as its Bonn

correspondent from 1955 to 1963 when Strauss and von Merkatz were Federal Ministers; he would then serve as head of the NZZ foreign desk before becoming chief editor in 1968. According to his biography in van der Reijden, Luchsinger would receive the Freedom Prize in 1985, the year of his retirement, and was a member of the Löwenthal-Pachmann-Horchem group Konservative Aktion, the IGfM, Resistance International, WACL, CAUSA, the Jonathan Institute, and the European Institute on Security, the latter no doubt the EIS detailed below.

(352) This is probably the Dr Stefan Kux whose *Europe's Neutral States: Partners or Profiteers in Western Security?* was published by the IEDSS in 1986. Colonel Botta was Head of Procurement for the Swiss military intelligence service.

(353) Langemann is confusing two prominent journalists called Löwenthal: the friend - Gerhard, the Cercle contact obviously intended here, and the enemy - Richard, Professor of Foreign Policy at the Free University of Berlin, a close friend of Willy Brandt; the two had worked together to formulate the opening to East Germany and the Soviet Union under Ostpolitik that won Brandt the Nobel Peace Prize.

(354) *Spiegel*, 37/1982, pgs 28-31 (see <http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14351703.html>), and Roth and Ender, pgs 58-60.

(355) Crozier, pg 191.

(356) *Spiegel*, 10/1980, pg 23; *Spiegel-Buch*, pg 109.

(357) *Spiegel*, 12/1980.

(358) Huyn, pg 258.

(359) Whilst some Heritage/Cercle links are described below, the Heritage Foundation deserves more attention than can be given within the scope of this study; Herman and O'Sullivan and Bellant are useful starting points.

(360) Elected to Parliament in 1968, Filippo Maria Pandolfi served as Under-Secretary of State for Finance under Aldo Moro from 1974 to 1976 before becoming Minister of Finance and then Treasury Minister under Andreotti in 1978. Six months before this Cercle meeting, after the Italian elections in June 1979, Pandolfi had tried to form a government after first Andreotti, then Socialist leader Craxi had failed to raise a workable majority. Pandolfi also failed; the new administration was formed by Christian Democrat Cossiga in August. Pandolfi would then serve as Minister for Industry and Commerce from 1980 to 1983 and Minister for Agriculture and Forestry from 1983 to 1988 before joining the European Commission as Italian Commissioner and Commission Vice-President in charge of research and development from 1989 to 1993.

(361) General Alan Fraser, South Africa's Consul-General in Iran and the Cercle's intermediary for its contacts with the Shah as mentioned above.

(362) When Langemann wrote this document in 1980, Pinay was already 88; he would die on 13th December 1994, a fortnight short of his hundred and third birthday. Later in 1980, Violet would himself hand over the organisation of Cercle meetings to Crozier and Franz Josef Bach - Crozier, pg 193. Bach had previously attended the December 1976 CEDI Congress in Madrid with Crozier, Violet, Pinay and Huyn.

(363) *Spiegel*, 37/1982, pgs 28-31; see <http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14351703.html>.

(364) Crozier, pgs 192-193.

(365) Prouty.

(366) See Prouty, Appendix III for the full text, which had been written by Stilwell and Air Force Major General Edward G. Lansdale – at the time, Lansdale was Administrative Director of the Institute for American Strategy, founded in 1958; Frank Barnett was the IAS Program Director. See above and footnote 58. On Lansdale, see <http://pinkindustry.wordpress.com/edward-lansdale/>.

(367) See Valentine. Colby had attended the previous Cercle meeting one month earlier in December 1979. Colby himself had had early experience in unconventional warfare - one little-known part of his CIA career was his involvement in setting up and training the Gladio network in neutral Sweden and Finland and in the NATO members Norway and Denmark whilst stationed at the Stockholm CIA station in 1951. Colby's Scandinavian Gladio network would soon get into controversy – the Swedish network would be exposed in 1953 after the arrest of a right-wing militant, and in 1957, the director of the Norwegian secret service NIS, Vilhelm Evang, would strongly protest against the domestic subversion of his country by the United States and NATO and would temporarily withdraw the Norwegian stay-behind army from the CPC Gladio coordination meetings. See the website of the Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact (PHP), www.isn.ethz.ch/php, a cooperative research project run by the Center for Security Studies at ETH Zurich and the National Security Archive at the George Washington University on behalf of the PHP network.

(368) Crozier, pg 177. Stilwell had one interesting early posting; immediately before his three years at the CIA, the then Colonel Stilwell was appointed Special Military Advisor to the US Ambassador in Italy in 1947; "over the next two years, his staff responsibilities encompassed the Trieste question, finalization of the Italo-Yugoslav boundary and Italian rearmament" - see his Army obituary at <http://www.army.mil/usapa/epubs/pdf/go9202.pdf>. The Italian Ambassador Extraordinary liaising with the Americans at the time was Ivan Matteo Lombardo. Stilwell's stint as Chief of Strategic Planning at SHAPE from 1956 to June 1958 would come just after Richardson, who had helped set up SHAPE in 1951, left SHAPE to return to the US in July 1955. From June 1958 until January 1959, Stilwell was Commander of the Western Area, Germany – Strauss was German Defence Minister at the time. Stilwell's Chief of Staff in Korea and successor as Commander-in-Chief after 1976 was Major-General John K. Singlaub who had served on and off under Stilwell since 1951 – see Chapter 12 of Singlaub's 1991 book "Hazardous Duty" at <http://www.vfwpost7591.org/Chapter-12.html>. Crozier is the only source referring to Stilwell's Pentagon job as being Deputy Undersecretary of Defense for Administration; according to Stilwell's 1991 *Washington Post* obituary, Stilwell was Deputy Undersecretary of Defense responsible for international security policy, and the POA (see below) also states that Stilwell was Deputy Undersecretary for Defense for Policy, adding that he served as Chairman of the Department of Defense Security Review Commission. In the late 1980s, Stilwell would serve on the Board of the Moonies' geostrategy offshoot, the US Global Strategy Council: chaired by Ray Cline, the USGSC's Board also included Richard Pipes of WISC and General Daniel O. Graham of the ASC. In 1988, Stilwell would also write for the Moonies' magazine *The World and I*, edited by de Borchgrave; Cline sat on its Editorial Board. The Psychological Operations Association (POA) presents the annual General Stilwell Award named after "the man who is known as the father of the rebirth of Psychological Operations in the late 1980s"; the first recipient in 1986 was Stilwell, the second in 1987 Frank Barnett, President NSIC – from the now-closed POA Geocities site at <http://www.geocities.com/psyopassociation/Stilwellb.html>. Stilwell died on Christmas Day, 1991.

(369) Jameson died in September 2007. Whilst at the CIA in the early 1950s, Jameson had played a peripheral rôle in the creation of the Congress for Cultural Freedom - see Saunders.

(370) Herman and O'Sullivan, pg 99. According to his web biography at http://www.cicentre.com/ST/STAFF_Wannall.htm, "Ray Wannall served in the Federal Bureau of Investigation from 1942 until his retirement in 1976 as the Assistant Director of the Intelligence Division - a 34-year career focused on counterintelligence. During his last job, Wannall was the chief of FBI worldwide counterintelligence and counterterrorism". He would later found the Nathan Hale Institute and chair the Security and Intelligence Foundation – see footnote 447.

(371) Ironically, the *Spiegel* Affair had been triggered by Spanish Information Minister Manuel Fraga Iribarne who gave a Press conference on 6th November 1962 revealing the illegal extradition of *Spiegel* Chief Editor Conrad Ahlers, then on holiday in Spain, following a request from Bonn – see *Spiegel-Buch*, pg 126 et seq. Strauss and many of the leading public figures implicated in the Lockheed bribes scandal were members of the Bilderberg Group. For Lockheed-Bilderberg links, see the two books on the Bilderberg Group mentioned above and the factual novel by Bernt Engelmann.

(372) *Spiegel*, 35/1980, pgs 22-25, and 36/1980, pg 250. Langemann alleged in another report that the anti-Strauss campaign was "covertly coordinated" by the rival news magazines, *Stern* and *Spiegel*; he however made no mention of the Moscow angle - see *Spiegel*, 32/1982, pgs 30-31. Grau's Frankfurt Study Group would also be involved in the pro-Strauss campaign with a typically devious 'political action' – plastering the election posters of prominent SPD moderates with forged stickers reading "Better the Russians in Heilbronn than Strauss in Bonn! Détente! - Young Socialists in the SPD". Grau's action team were caught by the police, the Study Group offices searched and considerable amounts of further forged campaigning material found, e.g. "Popular Front for Schmidt!". Grau would later be prosecuted for this – see *Spiegel* 36/1981. This police action led to further investigations of Grau and, ultimately, to his dramatic death in 1984 – see below. On Löwenthal's continued support for Strauss in his ZDF Magazin programme, see *Spiegel*, 9/1983, pgs 104-106.

(373) *Sunday Times*, 7/10/84. Sejna would also be a major source for Joe Douglass.

(374) *Spiegel*, 41/1984, pg 290, and Fallon, Chapter 25.

(375) 6/3/85 issue.

(376) The full-page adverts appeared in the *Times*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Guardian*, *Financial Times*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Die Welt*. See *Spiegel*, 41/1984, pg 290, and 42/1984, pgs 3 and 290. A robust defence of Goldsmith's actions in the *Spiegel* case was included in Deacon; Goldsmith's own account was distributed by the Monday Club.

(377) Robert Moss's column in the *Daily Telegraph* would be a regular outlet for Cercle disinformation. One report from Langemann to his minister's office dated 21st February, 1980, revealed a further example of a Cercle-inspired article in the British press and alluded to the CSU's private intelligence service, with which Langemann liaised closely: "The enclosed article ["The KGB's plans for the Games"] from the *Daily Telegraph* of 11/2/80, written by our friend Robert Moss, is the result of steps taken together with the office of the Freiherr von Stauffenberg". Another occasion when the *Daily Telegraph* was used by Moss to plant propaganda came in August 1980 when

Moss recycled a CIA report in his *Telegraph* column. The CIA report, which alleged that the Nicaraguan Sandinistas' final offensive against the dictator Somoza had been planned by the Cuban General Staff, had been provided by "a senior member of the 6I in the Pentagon", probably General Stilwell, Reagan's Assistant Secretary of Defence in charge of administration - see Crozier, pg 164.

(378) It's worth noting that George H.W. Bush's brother Prescott S. Bush Jnr had been a founding director of the NSIC with Barnett and Casey in 1962, and was still serving as a member of its Advisory Council in 1984. Crozier had had the opportunity of "a long private talk" with George Bush a year before this Cercle meeting when both men attended the July 1979 launch of the Jonathan Institute in Jerusalem - see Crozier, pg 178.

(379) Roth and Ender, pgs 89-90. The Cercle/6I had already assisted the Israelis a year earlier at the July 1979 launch of the propaganda outlet, the Jonathan Institute - see below. Crozier reveals that the next Cercle meeting would be held in December 1980 in Washington, a meeting attended by Carter's adviser on Soviet Affairs, Professor Marshall Shulman of Columbia University - see Crozier, pg 261. Crozier also reveals another guest at that meeting: "At the Cercle meeting in Washington in December 1980, Georges Albertini had brought along a quiet Frenchman named François de Grossouvre. This was an impressive example of his foresight. De Grossouvre, a physician, was the closest friend and confidant of the Socialist leader and presidential candidate François Mitterrand. For many years, de Grossouvre had carried out special missions for Mitterrand. By nature and training, he was self-effacing. He played no part in our debates, but listened carefully, taking notes. Five months later, François Mitterrand narrowly defeated Valéry Giscard d'Estaing in France's presidential elections. One of his first actions was to appoint de Grossouvre as his coordinator of security and intelligence. Shortly after, having obtained his direct line from Albertini, I went to see him in his modest office in the Elysée Palace. We had reacted with alarm to Mitterrand's victory, but de Grossouvre reassured me" - Crozier, pgs 217-218.

(380) Bellant, pg 32, which gives details of the ASC's election programme. The ASC's campaign included briefing or campaigning for 67 candidates; the two main ASC members involved were General Daniel O. Graham, Executive Director of the ASC Political Action Committee and a former head of DIA and Deputy Director of CIA, and General John Singlaub, Chairman of ASC's action arm, the Coalition for Peace through Strength, and World President of WACL, former CIA operative and a central figure in the Irangate scandal - see footnote 368 for his career.

(381) Sick, pgs 110-111.

(382) Woodward, pgs 39-41. At that time, although he did not know it, de Marenches himself had less than six months left as head of the SDECE; after eleven years at the helm, the arch-conservative signalled his disapproval of the May 1981 election of France's first post-war socialist government by resigning his post without even staying for his replacement's customary "breaking-in" period. De Marenches was certain to be replaced; his covert manipulation of domestic politics had earned him the anger of Mitterrand's advisers. In 1978, *Le Monde* alleged that "under de Marenches's leadership, terrorism and also disinformation - the influencing of public opinion - were extensively pursued [by the SDECE]" (*Le Monde*, 24/2/78). The right-wing in SDECE fiercely resisted Mitterrand; the Action Service rebelled, purged Socialist sympathizers amongst the NCOs and refused to remove Giscard's portrait from the officers' mess. The rebellion of the Action Service centred around the diving base in Aspretto, Corsica, from which the divers for the 1985 anti-Greenpeace "Operation Satanic" were drawn. The theory that the Greenpeace operation was deliberately blown (*inter alia* by drawing MI5's attention to the "covert" purchase of a

Zodiac boat in London and by leaving French Navy issue equipment at the scene) so as to sabotage the Socialist government (particularly Defence Minister Charles Hernu) draws substance from the identity of the "Operation Satanic" action team: the commander of the operation was Lt-Col Jean-Pierre Dillais, in 1981 rebel base commander of Aspretto. The captured Capt. Alain Mafart was Dillais' deputy at Aspretto and another of the ringleaders of the revolt. The team that actually laid the limpet mines were all involved in the Aspretto revolt. See this author's article *French Vendetta* in *Lobster* 16, July 1988.

(383) *Spiegel*, 44/1983, pgs 76-78, 28/1986, pgs 36-39, and 42/86; *Die Zeit*, 24/06/83 Nr. 26.

(384) All uncredited information in the section on the Belgian strategy of tension is taken from Gijssels, *L'Enquête* which, despite certain inaccuracies and no index, is the best overview of Belgium from a parapolitical perspective. Brief biographies of CEPIC figures can be found in a supplement to *Celsius* 29, May 1990. Other books on the rumours of a coup in 1973, the strategy of tension in the 1980s and the extreme right in Belgium are de Bock; Haquin; Willems; Dupont and Ponsaers; *De Bende Tapes*, various authors; Gijssels, *Het leugenpaleis*; Brewaeys and Deliège, the latter being highly recommended. The official report of the investigation into the Brabant killings is published as *Les Tueries du Brabant*, various authors.

(385) The report is published in full in Gijssels, *L'Enquête*. Amongst other things, the Sûreté report stated: "The registered office of CEPIC is located at 39, rue Belliard in Brussels. The building also houses the Belliard auditorium, the registered office of the Mouvement d'Action pour l'Unité Européenne* and the offices of the Société de Promotion et de Distribution Générales (PDG) controlled by Benoît de Bonvoisin through front-men. *This is an otherwise unknown organisation run by Benoît de Bonvoisin bringing together various distinguished persons". MAUE was not so unknown to some at the Sûreté: one year previous to this report, as a MAUE bulletin dated May, 1980 indicates, the President of MAUE, under whom de Bonvoisin served as Board member, was **Robert Nieuwenhuys**, a former Sûreté Division Chief from 1943 to 1945, attaché to Kings Léopold III and Baudouin until the end of the 1950s before becoming Head of Protocol for NATO Secretary-General Joseph Luns and serving with the Belgian Atlantic Association and the CEPIC Study Centre. Damman's diaries show that Nieuwenhuys had been in contact with the AESP/MAUE since at least 1977.

(386) Latinus would later officially apply to become a regular officer within the Sûreté. Massart would give his version of the Latinus affair in *Les dés étaient pipés* (The dice were loaded), Editions Quorum, Ottignies, 1997.

(387) See Bouffioux; Brewaeys and Deliège.

(388) It is not difficult to understand why the Brabant Wallon investigations never exposed the truth when one learns that Didier Mievis was a member of one of the Gendarmerie investigation teams from the very beginning.

(389) Vivario, honorary aide de camp to the King, was an associate of Damman's, attending the March 1973 Wilton Park meeting as a member of the AESP delegation with Damman and Jonet, on which see the AESP activity report for the first quarter of 1973 and footnote 126. Vivario's alleged involvement in coup plots is perhaps not surprising, bearing in mind his rôle in creating the DSD, forerunner of Bougerol's PIO, in 1970. Vivario died in November 1990 - see above; Brewaeys and Deliège, pg 56; *Celsius* no. 36, January 1991.

(390) *Libertés*, 14/2/91.

(391) See Cornwell; Yallop, pgs 454-456. On Bagnasco, also see *CelsiuS* no. 42, July/August 1991. Despite the sniffer plane scandal, in June 1989 de Weck would be appointed to the five-man Supervisory Board of the IOR, charged with selecting a successor to former IOR President, Archbishop Paul Marcinkus.

(392) Gonsalez-Mata, pgs 52-53; Crozier, pgs 239-241. "Over breakfast at Claridge's in London, I discussed the problem with a French visitor. We agreed that the best way to mobilise Mitterrand on this issue was to persuade him to invite General Gallois to brief him on the SS-20 danger. We both knew Pierre Gallois. I had translated his important Conflict Study analysing the SS-20 threat, and interpreted for him at Pinay Cercle meetings. Jean Violet gave him a 'genius' rating" - Crozier, pg 241. As a key contributor to early strategic plans for the nuclear defence of Europe, Gallois was the French counterpart of US Air Force Brigadier General Robert C. Richardson III, who had helped set up SHAPE in 1951 and formulated the first NATO atomic response plans. Von Merkatz died in 1982 – see his obituary in the *Ostpreussenblatt* at http://archiv.preussische-allgemeine.de/1982/1982_03_13_11.pdf

(393) Crozier, pgs 239-243.

(394) On MI5's surveillance of CND, see *Guardian*, 21, 22 and 28/2/85; Reeve and Smith; Hollingsworth and Taylor, pgs 131-133; Campbell and Connor, pgs 282-284; Norton-Taylor, pgs 80, 83-84.

(395) *The Price of Peace*, pg 1; Crozier, pg 246.

(396) A letter reprinted in the *Guardian* (3/10/80) from John Adler at the South African Embassy to Stewart-Smith states that funding from Pretoria was to be cut from the 1980 figure of R175,000 (\$96,000) to R125,000 (\$68,000) for 1981. On this period of FARI, see *State Research* no 7; *New Statesman*, 15/2/80; *Guardian*, 7/6/78 and 6/5/80; *Lobster* 11 (Ramsay and Dorril), pg 40; Herman and O'Sullivan, pg 269, note 62; Cocksedge, Coldicutt and Harant, pg 124.

(397) On the CPD, see "*Peddlers of crisis - the CPD and the Politics of Containment*", Jerry W. Sanders, Pluto (UK)/South End Press (USA), 1983, and *State Research* no. 16 (February-March 1980).

(398) On CIA funding for Crozier's anti-CND campaigns, see Crozier, pg 245. On the Heritage Foundation's UK groups, see *Guardian*, 30/4/83, 8/10/83, 26/11/85, 26/6/87 and *New Statesman*, 29/5/87. On IEDSS, see *City Limits*, 14/8/86; *Lobster* 13, pg 18; Herman and O'Sullivan, pgs 80-81; IEDSS 1991 Publications List; the excellent pieces by *Lobster* contributor William Clark at <http://pinkindustry.wordpress.com/the-institute-for-european-defence-and-strategic-studies/> and <http://pinkindustry.wordpress.com/the-institute-for-european-defence-and-strategic-studies/european-defence/>. Also see footnotes 189, 352 and 402. The IEDSS would later promote the disinformation theme that the Soviet special forces spetsnaz used women peace-campers as cover to reconnoitre the Greenham Common Cruise missile base - see this author and Robin Ramsay's piece *Truth Twisting: notes on disinformation* in *Lobster* 19 (May 1990) pgs 20-22.

(399) Crozier, pgs 184-185.

(400) Herman and O'Sullivan, pg 81.

(401) Crozier, pg 189.

(402) The account of the creation of Romerstein's Office in the previous paragraph is taken from <http://www.espionageinfo.com/De-Eb/Disinformation.html> which thanks Romerstein for his collaboration in writing the piece. Ernest Lefever had been a longstanding associate of the USIA and author in 1957 of the book *Ethics And United States Foreign Policy* (The World Publishing Company, Cleveland Ohio). On the USIA/BAC/IEDSS, see *World in Action*, 24/10/83, reported in *Lobster* 4 (1984), pg 16; *New Statesman*, 20/5/83, reported in Steve Dorril's *American Friends: the Anti-CND Groups* in *Lobster* 3 (1984), pgs 16-21, and footnote 398 above.

(403) Crozier, pgs 243-246.

(404) On Tennant's involvement in the creation of the MMU, see *Daily Telegraph*, 20/11/86, from van der Reijden; on the MMU, see Crozier, pg 279. On the Crozier/Lewis group, the Campaign against Council Corruption (CAMACC), see Crozier, pgs 255-257.

Julian Lewis studied at grammar school in Wales before graduating from Oxford in Philosophy and Politics; he received a DPhil in Strategic Studies from St Antony's College, Oxford in 1981. From 1981 to 1985, he was Research Director of the Coalition for Peace through Security; he then became Director of Policy Research Associates which, according to his website, "successfully campaigned for changes in the law on Educational Indoctrination, Media Bias, Propaganda on the Rates [local taxes], and Trade Union Democracy". From 1990 to 1996, Lewis was a Deputy Director of the Research Department at Conservative Central Office (CCO) and Director of the CCO's MMU. In May 1997, he was elected to Parliament and still serves as MP today; from November 2002 until the formation of the Cameron government in May 2010, Lewis was Shadow Junior Defence Minister specialising in the Royal Navy, Royal Marines, nuclear deterrent and other strategic issues. In September 2010, he was appointed by the Prime Minister as one of the nine cross-party members of the Intelligence and Security Committee.

Lewis's colleague from 2002 to 2010 as Shadow Junior Defence Minister, this time with responsibility for defence procurement and the Royal Air Force, was another old Crozier friend – SIF's **Gerald Howarth** who has represented Aldershot, a major Army base, as MP since May 1997 and who was appointed Parliamentary Under Secretary of State under Defence Minister Liam Fox in the Cameron government in May 2010. To watch Lewis and Howarth speak in the UK Parliament, see <http://www.c-spanarchives.org/julianlewis> and <http://www.c-spanarchives.org/geraldhowarth>.

A third Crozier ally within the Conservative Party is **Edward Leigh**, since 1997 "an enthusiastically Thatcherite MP" (Crozier, pg 243) who has held the powerful post of Chairman of the Select Committee on Public Accounts since 2001; he also sits in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe since November 2010. Having served as Thatcher's private correspondence secretary from 1976-77 when she was Leader of the Opposition (briefed by Shield), Leigh worked closely with Lewis from 1981 to early 1985 within the 6I's Coalition for Peace through Security, of which Leigh was General Director and Lewis Research Director. "In Parliament, CAMACC's main activist was Edward Leigh, who had earlier played a leading rôle in our Coalition for Peace through Security" – Crozier, pgs 256-257.

To return to Lewis, he has twice won the Trench Gascoigne prize awarded by the Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies for his essays *Nuclear Disarmament versus Peace in the 21st Century* (2005) and *Double-I, Double-N: A Framework for Counter-Insurgency* (2007) - see www.julianlewis.net/index.php. Described by the *Daily Telegraph* as "one of the most vigorous

rightwingers in the Commons" and by the *Guardian* as the Conservative Party's "front bench terrier", the man whom Crozier called "the 6I's leading activist in Britain" is a man certainly worth watching. His involvement in Lamont's Cercle, if any, is unknown. A typical quote from a press interview on his site: "I am not surprised that the Stasi were worried about those of us who were working for the vital deployment of NATO Cruise missiles in Britain in 1983, and for the retention of our own nuclear deterrent. However, I am increasingly alarmed at the determination of the Labour government to take no action whatever to expose the identity of these despicable hacks and traitors who were spying for our potential enemies at a crucial turning-point of the Cold War. Three-quarters of Labour MPs at that time were committed to one-sided nuclear disarmament, and several were fellow-travellers of the Soviet system, so it is not surprising that the Government wishes to hush the matter up. What is more worrying is that MI5 – our domestic security service – is colluding in this or was so incompetent that it failed to discover what was going on in the first place" – *Lymington Times*, 23/09/2000.

Lewis has mostly recently cropped up in the news as coordinator of a ultimately successful campaign by MPs to prevent disclosure of their second-home addresses by amending the Freedom of Information Act - "Dr Lewis admitted that it would already be possible for someone to "target" a particular MP. However, he warned of a situation where "someone with a grudge" or a follower of al-Qa'eda "conveniently finds 646 addresses and sends 646 packages containing something explosive, horrible or, at the very least, abusive to 646 unprotected mail boxes"." – *Sunday Telegraph*, 5/7/08.

Paul Mercer who worked very closely with Lewis to prepare the massive CND smear book, *Peace Of The Dead*, in 1986, seems to have continued his activities in infiltrating protest movements, as a web article by activistsecurity.org indicates:

"Nottingham Indymedia can reveal that a second spy linked to Global Open, Paul Mercer, was actively involved with environmental and animal rights campaigns in Nottingham, including Nottingham Against Incineration and Landfill (NAIL). Mercer was involved in groups in Nottingham in the period 2002-2007. ... Mercer was publicly exposed for his role in spying on anti-arms trade campaigners, Campaign Against the Arms Trade (CAAT) in 2007. His contract for the operation was finalised through Global Open. [On this, see <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2007/apr/19/bae.armstrade>].

Paul Symington Mercer graduated from the University of Nottingham in 1982 with a degree in Production Engineering. After leaving university, he worked for "free market think tank" the Adam Smith Institute, in Westminster. ... He is also the author of at least seven books, including several specialist works on military aviation. Between 1987 and 1991 he served as a Conservative Borough Councillor in Charnwood, Leicestershire.

Mercer has a long-standing interest in protest movements. ... At a meeting organised by think tank Policy Exchange in January he described himself as having spent 29 years trying to "combine an academic study of extra-parliamentary groups with actually going and seeing what happens on protests." He claimed to have "covered and having been on pretty well every major public order disturbance in London over that period," including the Poll Tax Riots and Mayday 2001.

In the 1990s, Mercer involved himself in the anti-roads movement including protests against the M11 in Claremont Road. In 1994, he published the *Directory of British Political Organisations* ... Nowadays he presents himself as an expert on protest movements and advises companies on how to deal with protests. ...

MERCER AND THE CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

In 1986, Mercer published *Peace Of The Dead – The Truth Behind the Nuclear Disarmers*. The book was described in an introduction by Lord Alun Chalfont as "an indispensable work of reference" for "the increasing number of people in this country who regard CND as at best a chronic nuisance and at worst an insidious danger." The vast tome running to 465 pages is

an extended denunciation of CND and the wider "peace movement" with the scare quotes used throughout. Mercer argues at length that CND was a Communist front, attempting to disarm the UK, in the process furthering the foreign policy aims of the Soviet Union, supporting this with extensive quotations from publicity material produced by CND, various satellite groups and assorted Marxist sects. A series of appendices detail committee members, presidents and vice-presidents of CND and associated groups, with their various political affiliations.

In the preface, Mercer states that he has relied "as much as possible on primary sources, including confidential and internal CND documents." These documents, which consist primarily of official letters, reports and minutes, are, Mercer claims, "not normally available to outsiders." He states that they have been "obtained through careful research and from CND sources concerned about the developments within the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament since its revival" (p 422). Presumably these are the same people who Mercer notes in the acknowledgements who "would rather not be named." One such internal document, which he considers sufficiently interesting to reproduced in full, is a letter from Nabil Ramlawi, the London representative of the Palestine Liberation Organisation(PLO) to CND promoting an upcoming rally in London complete with – what Mercer claims is – former-chair of CND Bruce "Kent's handwritten annotation."

At some point, it is clear that Mercer infiltrated CND, a fact stated openly when he was introduced at the Policy Exchange event. While *Peace Of The Dead* makes no explicit mention of infiltration as a research tool, Mercer does imply a first-hand knowledge of key-members of the organisation. The acknowledgements include, among those deserving of a "special mention", a nod to "Monsignor Bruce Kent (perhaps unwittingly)". Furthermore, the inside back cover of the book has a photograph of Kent apparently talking to Mercer, whose face has been obscured.

It is around this time that Mercer became friends with Conservative MP, Julian Lewis who is credited in the acknowledgements with having "done most in terms of proof-reading, copy-editing and acting as a source of inspiration." Lewis was the Research Director of the Coalition for Peace Through Security, who CND accuse of disrupting their events, sending a spy into their office and trying to link Bruce Kent with the IRA. Mark Loveday, James and Michele, all at the Coalition, also merit acknowledgements. Mercer's evident chummy relationship with the Coalition for Peace Through Security is, at least partly, explained by the fact that Policy Research Publications which published the book shared an office the Coalition.

In 2007, Lewis (by then shadow defence minister) told the Guardian that he was still "in social contact with" Mercer. He admitted that he had "worked closely with Paul in the 1980s," and suggested that Mercer had done "a lot of good work exposing the far left". Lewis himself has a history of similar "good work". With his position in the Coalition for Peace Through Security he was a leading figure in an extensive government supported campaign to discredit CND. During the 1970s he had even infiltrated the Labour Party.

Among the other groups thanked in the acknowledgements is the Freedom Association a "non-partisan" right-wing libertarian group associated with the Conservative Party. During the 1980s they campaigned against the boycott of Apartheid South Africa and engaged in union breaking activities."

For the full article, see <https://network23.org/infiltrators/2011/03/10/paul-mercer/>.

(405) *New Statesman*, 29/5/87.

(406) *Guardian*, 26/6/87.

(407) Crozier, pg 245.

(408) *Guardian*, 26/6/87. Brenchley was a former ambassador to Norway and

Poland, and former head of the Defence and Overseas Secretariat in the Cabinet Office from 1975 to 1978; after serving as Chairman of the ISC Council, he would later chair the ISC successor, Paul Wilkinson's RISCT. A full biography of Brenchley is given in *Lobster* 11.

(409) *Guardian*, 26/6/87.

(410) The "Gardiner case": a certain Mr Wood had infiltrated the Dutch peace campers under the name of Gardiner, acting on orders from the BVD; it was later confirmed that the man named by Wood as his case officer was indeed a member of the BVD. According to Wood, the operation was coordinated by an American Colonel Stevenson, based in Frankfurt, and Mr. Blackburn, a US Embassy official in the Hague. Wood alleged his mission was to use "all means" to encourage violent actions by the Dutch peace-campers; to this end, he promoted and participated in the theft of the ammunition with Belgian peace campaigners - see *Le Soir*, 4/9/91.

(411) Crozier, pgs 245-246. The Bonner Friedensforum (Bonn Peace Forum) was an anti-disarmament propaganda group active during the upswing in the peace movement in the early eighties; Crozier recalls that it was "largely composed of students alerted to the dangers of unconditional pacifism. Our funds contributed to the cost of posters and banners displayed during demonstrations" – see Crozier, pg 246; footnote 436 below. The Belgian Rally had been created by "our man in Brussels", probably Jacques Jonet, the former political secretary to Habsburg who had assumed much of the mantle of the late Florimond Damman. Crozier's mention of "a well-known general" (pg 246) almost certainly refers to Close.

(412) Close, who died in 2003, had one interesting early posting as Belgian Military Attaché in London from 1967 to 1970. On the EIS, see *Die Contra Connection*, pgs 282-284, Roth and Ender, pgs 80-81; Van Bosbeke, pgs 17-18. Details of the creation of the EIS and its proper title are sketchy; the three sources on the EIS give slightly inconsistent information. Roth and Ender, the earliest source, and Van Bosbeke both seem to be unaware of the 1981 Brussels conference, mentioned only in *Die Contra Connection*, which gives the fullest list of names. Van Bosbeke gives the EIS title in German, citing Roth and Ender. However, if the EIS was founded by Close and met in Brussels and Luxembourg before dissolving, one would expect the organisation's name to be in French.

(413) On IEPS, see Van Bosbeke, pgs 16-17.

(414) On Western Goals Europe, see *Spiegel* 44/1983; on AESRI, see *Die Contra Connection*, pgs 272-274, and Roth and Ender, pg 48. The US-based Western Goals Foundation would not long survive the death in September 1983 of its founder, Democratic Congressman Larry McDonald, ironically killed on Korean Airlines flight KAL007, allegedly part of a Pentagon 'black' programme testing Soviet air defences, that was shot down by Russia.

(415) *Spiegel*, 31/82; Roth and Ender, pg 61; <http://pdf.zeit.de/1985/03/eingebildeter-rotschock.pdf>.

(416) Another member of the Coalition for Peace through Strength was Richard Perle, appointed by Reagan as Deputy Defence Secretary. On the Reagan Administration's links to right-wing defence strategy groups such as the CPS, CPD and CFW, see the background paper *The Reagan Administration* in *State Research* no.22, February-March 1981, pgs 78-90.

(417) Graham was also Vice-President of the American branch of WACL and held posts on honorary committees of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of

Nations – see Herman and O'Sullivan, pg 99.

(418) Hollingsworth and Norton-Taylor, pg 132 - an excellent book. For Elwell's MI5 career, see Dorril; Leigh; Norton-Taylor, pgs 19, 85, 88 - one of the best books of its day on the British security and intelligence services.

(419) *Guardian*, 2/10/89, 14-15/12/89; Norton-Taylor, pg 19; *Lobster* 18, October 1989, pg 34. On Clockwork Orange 2 and Colin Wallace, see Foot, and *Lobster* 11 - 20.

(420) *Observer*, 9/12/90 and 16/12/90. Also see the television programmes *This Week* (26/4/90) and *World in Action* (10/12/90).

(421) Contributions varying between £5,000 to £10,000 were made by Boots, Unilever, Bass, BP, the Hanson Trust, Courage, GKN, Allied Lyons, ICI and United Newspapers, publishers of the *Daily Express* and *Sunday Express*. The Trust's secretary was John Arkell, a former Boots director; trustees included Lord McAlpine and Lord Boyd-Carpenter, former chairman of backbench Tory peers. Council members included Sir Austin Bide of Glaxo, Peter Calazet of BP, and Sir Derek Palmar of Bass and United Newspapers.

(422) On IRD, Common Cause and IRIS, see Dorril and Ramsay (1990).

(423) See *Lobster* 19, pg 20, and *Observer*, 2/10/88.

(424) Paul Foot, *Daily Mirror*, 14/12/90. In an article entitled "*Thatcher aide starts agency to publish Soviet dissidents: Emigres in Britain fear David Hart's CIA links in news scheme may lead to Soviet news clampdown*" in the *Guardian* of 17/12/88, David Rose noted that Hart "is setting up a news agency to publish information from Soviet dissidents with the help of a former top-level executive of the US Central Intelligence Agency [and] holds regular meetings at 10 Downing Street with Mr Charles Powell, the Prime Minister's private secretary and adviser on foreign affairs, at which he has supplied information from Soviet sources. Hart was a friend of the late CIA director, Mr William Casey, whom he introduced to the late Times editor, Mr Charles Douglas-Home. He has met Mr Robert Gates, the present deputy director of the CIA. He is friend and employer to Mr Herb E. Meyer, who was, until 1986, vice-chairman of the CIA National Intelligence Committee, the body which collates intelligence assessments for the US President on the basis of the entire range of inputs from CIA agents in the field [and] Hart's principal contact for material for the proposed news service [...] is Mr Vladimir Bukovsky". Both Hart and Bukovsky would attend later seminars by a French 6I outlet, the IED – see below. On Bukovsky and Hart, see <http://pinkindustry.wordpress.com/the-institute-for-european-defence-and-strategic-studies/european-defence/>.

(425) Herman and O'Sullivan, pg 107.

(426) Herman and O'Sullivan, pg 105. The Jonathan Institute was named after Lt. Col. Yonatan Netanyahu, commander and only Israeli military fatality during the 1976 hostage rescue from Entebbe, Uganda; his younger brother Binyamin, also a former member of the Israeli special forces, is currently Prime Minister of Israel.

(427) On Wilkinson and the RFST, see *Lobster* 16, pg 16 (list of Board Members), pgs 23-24 and insert; *Lobster* 17, pgs 17-18; Herman and O'Sullivan.

(428) *Observer*, 7/12/86.

(429) See *The Terrorism Reader*, Walter Laqueur and Ariel Merari, Meridian NAL

Penguin, New York, 1987 (Horchem's contribution was originally published in *Terrorism - an international journal*), and *Contemporary Research on Terrorism*, Paul Wilkinson and Alasdair Stewart, Aberdeen University Press, Aberdeen 1987.

(430) Gemballa, pg 130: the two books were *Krieg im Frieden - Theorien des Terrorismus* (War in Peacetime - Theories of Terrorism) and *Die verlorene Revolution* (The lost revolution). Horchem was previously author of *Extremisten in einer selbstbewussten Demokratie* (Extremists in a self-aware democracy), Herder, 1975 and *Zum Entwicklungsstand des Rechtsextremismus im demokratischen Rechtsstaat* (On the development of right-wing extremism in the democratic State of law), Funke, 1978.

(431) On all of the above groups, see Herman and O'Sullivan. On Tugwell and the CCS, see *Lobster* 16, July 1988, pgs 22-23; *Lobster* 17, November 1988, pg 17; Manz - a major piece on South African propaganda in Canada; Herman and O'Sullivan, pgs 115-116, 173-176; Foot, pgs 16, 18, 22. On the Mackenzie Institute, see Crozier pg 204, *Lobster* 16 and footnote 443 below.

(432) *Spiegel*, 51/1984, pgs 92-93 at <http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-13512014.html> and *Unheimliche Patrioten*, pgs 609-611.

(433) Crozier, pg 193.

(434) Crozier, pgs 287-288.

(435) Crozier, pg 290.

(436) The Bonn Peace Forum was also mentioned in a letter from Crozier to Huyn, dated 9th January, 1989, which prepared for this Cercle Pinay meeting the next month: "My dear Hans, I hope that the Bonn Peace Forum still exists, or, if not, that something similar exists or can be built up. The idea is to use such an organisation to circulate particular slogans" - see footnote 438.

(437) Having served as Ambassador to the UN from 1985 to 1989, Walters was appointed Ambassador to West Germany in April 1989, a post he would fill until August 1991, ushering in German reunification in October 1990. Walters died in 2002.

(438) Translated from the German given in Roth, pgs 31-33. Roth's book was on the theme of the "October Surprise", recycling much of Barbara Honegger's book and including a series of contacts with Dirk Stoffberg, South African hit squad leader. Roth claimed to have been given the 1989 Cercle minutes and Crozier's letter quoted above by a British intelligence officer based in Bonn. Barnett would serve as NSIC President until 1993. The diaries of Minister of State for Defence Alan Clark, published in 1994, revealed that a later meeting of the Cercle was held in Oman in November 1990. Attendees at the meeting at the Al Bustan hotel, Muscat, included Lord Julian Amery (joint Cercle Chairman), Sheikh Qaboos (Ruler of Oman), Jonathan Aitken (Minister of Defence Procurement), Paul Channon (former secretary of State at the Dept. of Trade & Industry), General Norman Schwarzkopf (Commander of the Allied forces in the Gulf), the unnamed Head of the Dutch Secret Service, and an unnamed French Admiral. Another longstanding Cercle guest was Middle East expert, former SOE and MI6 officer and later Conservative MP for Inverness Lt-Col. 'Billy' McLean, named in *One Man in His Time: the Life of Lt-Col. N. L. D. 'Billy' McLean, DSO* by Xan Fielding (Macmillan, London 1990), pg 205, which also mentioned that Cercle meetings were held in Bonn, Munich and Washington and first named Amery as Chairman of the Cercle - see *Lobster* 22, pg 17. McLean, Fielding, Amery and Winn (Lord St Oswald) had served together in SOE in Albania and/or Siam.

(439) Crozier, pg 291.

(440) On the UIMM, see footnote 160. According to the 6/5/2008 article *Quand l'UIMM finançait l'Institut de la désinformation* (When the UIMM financed the Institute for disinformation) by Laurent Léger online at <http://www.bakchich.info/article3585.html>, "the Institute was given considerable funding by the UIMM and its Parisian branch, the GIM, which represented 2,700 companies and 300,000 employees, funding which allegedly ceased when GIM's management changed a few years ago with the arrival as GIM Director of Pierre Chasseguet, a senior Dassault executive ... Daniel Trinquet, one of the co-founders of the IED, denied the existence of such funding, telling Bakchich "Ah, I would have loved to be funded by the UIMM" before conceding that "the UIMM, the CNPF and other employers' federations" did take out "subscriptions" to the Institute's output. Subscriptions that were probably very well paid ...". Volkoff died in 2005. Léger, Chief Editor of the Bakchich site, was a journalist at *Paris Match* until 2002, later working for *Le Parisien* and *Le Point* before founding Bakchich in 2006.

(441) The IED would hold its Second International Assizes on Disinformation in the French Assemblée Nationale on 10-11th April 1992. The choice of the French Assemblée Nationale as venue for the IED's Second International Assizes on Disinformation reflected a move away from the internationalism of the First Assizes towards a more French-centred attendance. The participants at the two days of presentations on "Disinformation in the world" and "Disinformation in France" were almost all from French academic or media circles with a scattering of senior security officials, notably former DST Director Jean Rochet who had attended the First Assizes, and former Renseignements Généraux Director, Roger Chaix. The attendance at the First Assizes of many of the Cercle's international contacts had been slimmed down by the Second Assizes to just Brian Crozier, "Sovietologist", who spoke on "The story behind the Moscow coup and the exact historic rôle of Mikhail Gorbachev". The only other foreign speakers were from the former Eastern bloc, notably Vladimir Bukovsky. For details of planned cooperation in 1988 between David Hart, present at this first IED seminar, and Crozier and 6I ally Bukovsky, see footnote 424; for an earlier conference appearance by Bukovsky in the anti-Gorbachev campaign, see footnote 442.

(442) One possible early contribution to the anti-Gorbachev campaign was the organisation by the German offshoot of Huyn's EKMS of a conference *Psychiatry and Glasnost* held in Bonn on 23rd January 1988; co-sponsored by the Deutsche Vereinigung gegen politischen Mißbrauch der Psychiatrie e.V. (DVpMP, German Association Against Political Abuse of Psychiatry, founded in 1977), the conference hosted speakers such as Cornelia Gerstenmaier ("Human Rights in the USSR under Gorbachev") and Franz Ludwig Graf von Stauffenberg ("Political Psychiatry – the Sedation of the Spirit") – see <http://www.psychiatrie-und-ethik.de/rundbriefe/RB1-88.htm>. Horchem's book was published by the Deutsches Strategie-Forum in 1989, a year which also saw the appearance of Huyn's *Die Doppelfalle Glasnost für Perestrojka ; das Risiko Gorbatschow* (Universitas, Munich) and Romerstein's *Soviet Active Measures and Propaganda: Influence Activities in the Gorbachev Era*, published by the National Intelligence Book Center in Washington, D.C and Tugwell's Mackenzie Institute for the Study of Terrorism, Revolution and Propaganda in Toronto, Canada. These were followed in 1990 by *Gorbachev's Operation: A Common European House - Soviet Strategic Deception*, Count Hans Huyn, Center for Intelligence Studies Reprint Series 2, Alexandria VA, USA, September 1990 (Huyn was a Senior Fellow at the CIS), and *The Gorbachev Phenomenon: Peace and Secret War*, Brian Crozier, Claridge Press, London 1990 (on which see Crozier, pgs 290-291) and *Gorbachev, Glasnost and The Gospel*, Canon Michael Bourdeaux, Hodder and Stoughton, 1990; on Bourdeaux being refused a visa, see *Guardian*, 11/10/89.

Another contribution to the anti-Gorbachev campaign was made by Vladimir Bukovsky at an August 1990 conference in Prague: "The central theme of the "Peaceful Road to Democracy" conference, sponsored in Prague by Resistance International and the American Foreign Policy Council, addressed the difficult task of transition: How do we build a free-market economy and a democratic society 'from under the rubble' (in Solzhenitsyn's phrase)? "Mr. Gorbachev is turning the Soviet Union into one giant Beirut," said Vladimir Bukovsky in his opening remarks at the conference. "State structures remain the greatest obstacle to human freedom, and...socialism cannot be restructured or reformed: it can only be eliminated." " – see http://www.afpc.org/event_listings/viewConference/771, http://www.afpc.org/event_listings/viewConference/772, http://www.afpc.org/event_listings/viewConference/773 and footnote 458. In 1991, Huyn would produce *Die deutsche Karte : Moskauer neue Strategie* [The German Map : Moscow's New Strategy] (Universitas, Munich); to watch Huyn and Charles Viar speak at a conference organized by the Center for Intelligence Studies on 28th October 1991 on the post-coup Soviet Union, see <http://www.c-spanarchives.org/program/CoupS>. In June 1992, the USIA published a sequel to their 1988 Congressional report entitled *Soviet Active Measures in the "Post-Cold War" Era 1988-1991*, "A Report Prepared at the Request of the United States House of Representatives' Committee on Appropriations", online at http://intellit.muskingum.edu/russia_folder/pcw_era/index.htm, which is a fascinating read (the non-hyperlinked sections can be found in the root directory pcw_era). Many of Huyn's and Romerstein's claims about Soviet Active Measures would also be recycled in Switzerland by former Swiss Army Security Service officer Hans-Ulrich Helfer in his 1991 book *Manipulierte Eidgenossen* [Manipulated Confederates] – see www.presdok.ch/presdok/artikel/manipulierte-eidgenossen.pdf.

(443) See Various authors (IFF), pg vii. Dumont's associate as CIS Senior Fellow Dr. Françoise Thom would also contribute to the anti-Gorbachev campaign, addressing the Conservative Leadership Conference in Washington on the subject of glasnost and perestroika in December 1989 – see <http://www.c-spanarchives.org/program/10137-1>.

(444) See <http://www.publiceye.org/liberty/felt.html>

(445) From <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/95unclass/Cram.html>, written by Cleveland Cram, the former deputy chief of the CIA's London station, responsible for his service's liaison with MI5 and MI6, whose 1965 criticisms of MI5 chief Sir Roger Hollis would be leaked by Angleton. Cram would be recalled from retirement to evaluate Angleton's record over the two decades that Angleton had run CIA Counter-Intelligence; the eleven volumes of Cram's highly classified report "ripped Angleton's reputation to shreds", on which see <http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/1999/jan/20/guardianobituaries.haroldjackson>. To avoid confusion with the earlier British group SIF, Angleton's Security and Intelligence Fund is here given the acronym ASIF; Cram's references to the acronym SIF are amended to ASIF.

(446) Registration as a domestic non-profit corporation (status later revoked) by Washington District of Columbia Dept of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs at <http://mblr.dc.gov/corp/lookup/status.asp?id=105279>.

(447) From Cram – see footnote 445 above.

(448) Registration as a domestic non-profit corporation (status later revoked) by Washington District of Columbia Dept of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs at <http://mblr.dc.gov/corp/lookup/status.asp?id=139816>.

(449) See footnotes 252 and 370 above.

(450) In 2009, the CIS website (<http://www.centerforintelligencestudies.org>) gave the membership of its Board of Directors as Charles S. Viar, Chairman; B/Gen. Robert C. Richardson III, USAF (Ret.); Joseph D. Douglass, Jr., PhD; Lloyd F. Mercer, MD; L. J. Barnum. An earlier CIS website dated 2005 (<http://www.centerforintelligencestudies.com>) recorded the Advisory Board members as being William F. Andrews and L. David Kendrick, and the Senior Fellows as including Joel-François Dumont, Dr. François [sic] Thom, Dr. Stanley F. Jorgensen, Grant L. Mugge, Dr. Scott Powell, David S. Sullivan and Steven L. Schneider; Dr. Ada Bozeman was an Adjunct Scholar. Since the death of General Richardson in 2011 and the resignation of Joseph Douglass due to ill health, the Board is now reduced to Viar and Mercer.

Douglass was the author of *Conventional War and Escalation*, published by the NSIC in 1981, and, in 1990, of *Red Cocaine: The Drugging of America and the West* (foreword by Ray S. Cline), whose red cover dramatically portrays Lenin and a syringe superimposed on a hammer and sickle; for a short version, see <http://www.scribd.com/doc/26352970/Joseph-D-Douglass-Jr-Influencing-Behavior-and-Mental-Processes-in-Covert-Operations>.

According to his web biography, since removed from www.scribd.com, he is "a national security analyst and author with expertise in defence policy, threat assessment, deception, intelligence and political warfare, nuclear strategy, terrorism, advanced chemical and biological warfare agents and applications, and international narcotics trafficking ... Dr Douglass received his PhD in electrical engineering from Cornell University in 1962 and has taught at Cornell, the Navy Postgraduate School at Monterey, and John Hopkins School of Advanced International Relations in Washington, D.C.. He has worked in and for the national laboratories (Sandia Corporation), the US Government, where he was Deputy and Acting Director, Tactical Technology Office, Advanced Research Projects Agency - and with various defence contractors, such as the Institute for Defense Analyses and System Planning Corporation. He is a former member of the Weapons Systems Evaluation Group, US Army Science Board, and a former consultant to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He currently directs The Redwood Institute, which was formed to address the internal problems America faces - such as illegal drugs, crime and impoverished education".

Douglass shared his background in weapons testing with fellow CIS Board Member General Richardson, on whom see footnotes 17 and 459. To hear Douglass claiming that the international drugs trade and the 9/11 terrorists were under Soviet influence, American MIA POWs in the Korean War were used as guinea pigs for Chinese biological weapons trials, scenarios for Soviet military invasion of the US, listen to the amusing and instructive one-hour interview by Jeff Nyquist at <http://itunes.apple.com/us/podcast/jeff-nyquist-show/id261015748>; Nyquist would also interview Romerstein in 2009. For a broadcast of a panel discussion on drugs with Douglass, see <http://www.c-spanarchives.org/program/USDr>.

(451) See <http://www.wanttoknow.info/aboutus>.

(452) See <http://www.gmu.edu/library/specialcollections/mcnamara.html>.

(453) The SACB was an US Congressional body set up in 1950 under the McCarran Internal Security Act to investigate and force registration of groups deemed to be under Communist control. On Powell, see <http://www.linkedin.com/in/scottspowell>.

(454) *Front for Apartheid* in *Newsday*, 16/07/95 – see the IFF annex below for the

text and further details.

(455) The IFF's major publication was the book *Glasnost, New Thinking and the ANC-SACP Alliance: A Parting of Ways*, a title which sums up the IFF's propaganda line; its regular publications included the journals *laissez-faire* and *terra nova*, *OPPORTUNITIES Briefing* (Eastern and Central Europe) and *Perspectives* (former Soviet Union). The IFF would also follow a hard anti-EU line with the research papers *Sir Leon's Invisible Hand – Competition Enforcement in the EC* and *Culture Vultures – the EC's Imposition of Cultural Conformity*. One author for the IFF's magazine *terra nova* would be Bilderberger Sir Frederic Bennett, from 1970 an associate of G. K. Young's in Kleinwort Benson, SIF and Unison, and from 1975 a companion of Crozier's in NAFF and FARI.

(456) See <http://www.fas.org/irp/news/1992/13422733-13426372.htm>.

(457) See <http://www.iwp.edu/faculty/facultyID.12/profile.asp>. To watch video of Waller, see <http://www.c-spanarchives.org/jwaller>.

(458) See http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3996/is_200301/ai_n9183342. The American Foreign Policy Council was founded in 1982 – see http://www.afpc.org/about_us/index. The AFPC, which hosts the post of "Kraemer Strategy Fellow", published *The Soviet Union Fights The Cold War*, a CD-ROM of Reagan administration documents prepared by project director Sven Kraemer.

(459) See <http://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/>. Another member of the CSP Advisory Council - and close associate of General Richardson - was the Chairman of the Board of the Richardson/Graham pro-Star Wars group High Frontier, **Ambassador Henry Cooper**, who would serve first as Reagan's Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Air Force, instituting the 1981 Strategic Modernization Program, then as Assistant Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency responsible for space arms control policy before defending the Strategic Defense Initiative as US Chief Negotiator at the Geneva Defense and Space Talks. During the Bush administration, Cooper worked for Defense Secretary Dick Cheney helping to reverse the SDI funding cuts mandated by Congress before serving as Director of the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization (SDIO). Cooper is still active in defending missile and space defence; he sat with Crozier's old friend and NSIC and ISC benefactor Dan McMichael and William Van Cleave on the Independent Working Group, which produced a 2009 report on missile defence – see <http://www.ifpa.org/pdf/IWG2009.pdf>.

Richardson had been one of the original team which developed the Stars Wars concept, having "spent much of his career in politico-military and national security planning activities with the US Joint Staff, the Air Force, and NATO...He also worked in new weapons development and procurement in the 1960s as a Deputy Chief of Staff for Science and Technology in the US Air Force Systems Command. Subsequently, General Richardson was Deputy Commander of the Defense Atomic Support Field Command, Sandia Base, New Mexico" where he was responsible for managing atomic weapon development and training activities and the nuclear weapons stockpile; he retired from the military in 1967. For his earlier career at NATO and SHAPE, see footnote 17; also see his and Graham's biographies at <http://www.highfrontier.org/Highfrontier/main/Contact/Meet%20the%20Staff.htm>, http://users.erols.com/hifront/hf_biography_page.html, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert_C._Richardson_III and the special issue *Nazis, the Vatican and CIA in Covert Action Information Bulletin* No. 25 (Winter 1986) pages 27-38 at <http://www.mosquionet.com/~prewett/caqsmom25.3.html>. Richardson died on 2nd January 2011.

(460) The IWP started offering summer courses a year after the IFF's three intelligence conferences in 1991 and expanded to a year-round programme in 1994 – see <http://www.iwp.edu/default.asp>.

(461) The IFF's German branch seems to have been largely a publication outlet; no other IFF Germany activities are known. The IFF would also spawn a British offshoot, IFF (UK), largely independent of its American parent and of little apparent relevance to the Cercle or 6I – on which see *Lobster* 16, July 1988, pgs 18-19. To watch television coverage of Romerstein, Holliday and Sellars at the first IFF conference in Washington in 1991, see <http://www.c-spanarchives.org/program/USInte>. Other IFF footage is at <http://www.c-spanarchives.org/duncansellars> (in 1990 discussing "Nelson Mandela's visit to the U.S., and his association with certain international leaders. Mandela's statement in support of Kaddafi, Castro and Arafat which created controversy during his visit to the U.S", and in 1991 discussing "the announcement of President Bush to lift South African sanctions"), <http://www.c-spanarchives.org/markfranz> and <http://www.c-spanarchives.org/ninabelyaeva>, which state that Mark Franz, previously UN expert at the Heritage Foundation, was IFF Director of Research and Nina Belyaeva was IFF President, seen here speaking at the Heritage Foundation. Franz would leave the IFF to work for the Bush 41 re-election campaign.

(462) Crozier at this time was starting his memoirs; his account of the IFF conference was published in the *National Review* in January 1992 and can be found at http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1282/is_n1_v44/ai_11836256. To watch an American television interview with Crozier in 1999, see <http://www.c-spanarchives.org/program/TheForm>.

(463) In 1991, Huyn was the Vice-President of the Atlantic Treaty Association. In the 1990s, Huyn, Rohrmoser and Filbinger would all be regular contributors to the Swiss rightwing weekly newspaper, *Schweizerzeit*; Huyn would be taken on as a staff contributor in 1993 – see the 2007 Swiss Parliament report on rightwing extremism in Switzerland by Urs Altermatt und Hanspeter Kriesi, <http://www.klartext.ch/?p=7798>, <http://www.schweizerzeit.ch/> and "The radical right in Switzerland: continuity and change, 1945-2000" by Damir Skenderovic (Altermatt's assistant), 2009, www.berghahnbooks.com. Huyn withdrew from public life after the death of his wife in 2004 and died on 22nd January 2011 – see his obituaries at <http://www.ovb-online.de/lokales/rosenheim/landkreis/profilierter-aussenpolitiker-1095115.html>, <http://www.kirche-in-not.de/aktuelle-meldungen/2011/01-25-nachruf-hans-graf-huyn> and [http://www.stol.it/index.php/Dolomiten/Todesanzeigen/\(vom\)/2011-01-25](http://www.stol.it/index.php/Dolomiten/Todesanzeigen/(vom)/2011-01-25).

(464) Earlier in 1991, Horchem had helped to prop up the allied war effort during the first Iraq War by resurrecting the "threat" of international terrorism; during an interview for the British Channel 4 television programme *Dispatches* on 30th January 1991, he warned that over one thousand Iraqi hitmen lurked in every corner of Europe. His Bonn Institute for Terrorism Research would close in 1993, the year he published his memoirs, *Auch Spione werden pensioniert* (Even spies retire sometime), E.S. Mittler & Sohn, Herford, Berlin and Bonn. Horchem would not however be inactive; the same year, he became President of the Brussels-based expert network Groupe International de Recherche et d'Information sur la Sécurité which focused on combatting terrorism and international organized crime and which co-organised a November 1996 conference whose speakers included ex-MI6 chief Sir Colin McColl and Professor Ariel Merari – see <http://www.drmmc.org/spip.php?article278>. Horchem died in August 2004 – see his obituary in http://www.welt.de/print-welt/article333057/Sein_Leben_galt_dem_Kampf_gegen_den_Extremismus.html. In 2003, Rolf Tophoven, Horchem's deputy in the Bonn institute, founded the Essen-based Institut für Terrorismusforschung und

Sicherheitspolitik (Institute for Terrorism Research and Security Policy, IFTUS) and become a notable terrorism commentator in Germany today - see http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rolf_Topfhoven.

(465) In the late 1990s, Dumont would write for the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung, contributing to the HSS bi-monthly *Politische Studien* (Political Studies) no 351 of January-February 1997, a special issue devoted to "New Threats to State Security"; Dumont's article on "The Evolution of Terrorism" quoted abundantly from Horchem. CIS Senior Fellows Dumont and Dr. Françoise Thom of the Sorbonne would later attend a conference of intelligence experts devoted to the theme of preventive war, held at the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung's conference centre in Wildbad-Kreuth on 27-28th May 2003. In June 2008, Dumont would be founding Vice-President of the European Security and Defence Press Association ESDPA (APESD in French) - see <http://www.esdpa-org.eu/>, <http://www.lmaldonado.com/espda/> and <http://www.apesd.org/> which feature former CIS Senior Fellow Françoise Thom. Dumont also contributes to the site <http://www.european-security.org/> which advertises the APESD; Dumont is a regular writer on intelligence matters for the magazine *Défense* published by the Association of Former Auditors of the IHEDN - for the July/August 2007 issue which includes four pieces from Dumont, see <http://www.cybel.fr/html/Communaute/defense/-128.php>, which also carries an article by Laurent Léger, listed as another former Auditor of the IHEDN. It is not clear whether this Laurent Léger is the same person as the Bakchich editor who alleged UIMM funding of the IED (see footnote 440).

(466) As to the later careers under Bush of Crozier's American contacts, following his retirement from official service in 1989, Herbert Romerstein would become the Director of the Center for Security Research at the Education and Research Institute. "Over the years the Center has acquired collections of congressional hearings and reports on Communism, espionage, terrorism, front groups, attempts to penetrate the U.S. Government, and numerous related issues. Sources of relevant documents include House and Senate committees, the Subversive Activities Control Board, reports from the intelligence community, State Department, Department of Defense, and others. More recently, with the release of secret records from the former USSR and its satellite countries, as well as from the vaults of our own intelligence/security agencies, the Center has been engaged in collecting documents from these sources. In particular, ERI has in its possession more than 100,000 pages of once highly classified records from the Federal Bureau of Investigation pertaining to Cold War security cases" - see <http://education-research.org/CSR/CSR.htm>. To watch a conference jointly organised in 2000 by the ERI and the Monday Club with Herb Romerstein and Nigel West, see <http://www.c-spanarchives.org/program/SovietInt>. Romerstein still works for the IWP - see http://www.iwp.edu/docLib/20091005_IWPViewbook.pdf and <http://www.iwp.edu/search/default.asp?q=Romerstein>. To watch other broadcasts with Romerstein, see particularly <http://www.c-spanarchives.org/program/Accuracy> and <http://www.c-spanarchives.org/herbertromerstein>.

As for Sven Kraemer, after serving under Reagan as Director of Arms Control at the NSC from 1981 to 1987 and Senior Staff Member for Defense and Foreign Policy for the House of Representatives until 1989, Kraemer became Director of Policy at the American Security Council in 1991 - see http://www.afpc.org/event_listings/viewDelegation/778. Kraemer was a frequent member of American Foreign Policy Council delegations and participant at AFPC conferences in the 1990s, as was his father. To watch his 1988-91 testimony to House and Senate committees on missile defence, see <http://www.c-spanarchives.org/svenkraemer>. He would go on to serve as Policy Advisor to the Under-Secretary of Defense for Policy, Douglas J. Feith, from 2001 to 2005. Kraemer left the IWP Faculty sometime after 2006 - see http://www.iwp.edu/docLib/20060126_IWP_Brochure.pdf, but still served on an

AFPC delegation to China in 2006 – see http://www.afpc.org/event_listings/viewDelegation/439.

Kenneth deGraffenreid would also be a member of an AFPC delegation to China in 1997 – see http://www.afpc.org/event_listings/viewDelegation/855. To watch an interview with him on the CIA budget in 1997, see <http://www.c-spanarchives.org/program/IAB>. He would serve as Deputy Under-Secretary of Defense for Policy Support in the Department of Defense from 2001 to 2004, and then as Deputy National Counterintelligence Executive (NCIX) until 2005. "As the lead agency for U.S. counterintelligence, the NCIX is charged with providing strategic direction to and ensuring the integration of counterintelligence activities across the government." At the NCIX, deGraffenreid would work under former Feith advisor Michelle Van Cleave, appointed by President Bush in July 2003, who served until March 2006; she would later be a guest lecturer for the IWP and join the Jamestown Foundation as a Board Member – see <http://www.jamestown.org/aboutus/boardmembers/>. Michelle Van Cleave may well be related to William Van Cleave, member of Team B, the CPD and the ASC whom Reagan appointed to be his Director of the Department of Defense Transition Team to ensure transition from the Carter Administration – see http://rightweb.irc-online.org/profile/American_Security_Council and http://rightweb.irc-online.org/profile/Cleave_William_Van. Both Van Cleave's would be speakers for the CSP; both would join Sven Kraemer and Ambassador Cooper, amongst others, in signing an open letter to the US Senate denouncing the New START Treaty in December 2010 – see <http://freedomandsovereignty.blog.com/2010/12/21/start-treaty-metrosexual-rino-republicans-are-surrendering-our-national-security-like-the-cowards-they-are/>. deGraffenreid continues (with Romerstein) on the IWP faculty today.

Many of Crozier's American contacts listed above – and Crozier himself – have appeared on the Conservative Caucuses' *Conservative Roundtable* television programme, aired weekly on over 100 channels nationwide, mostly on public access television:

1993

March - Sven Kraemer: Nukes in the Former Soviet Union;
June - Gen John K. Singlaub: Jimmy Carter Defense Policies;
June - Joe Douglass: China, Cuba & Drugs;
December - Brian Crozier: Author, "The Unseen War";

1994

March - Gen. Dan Graham: SDI Missile Shield, Defense Policy;
April - Gen. Robert Richardson: Space, Defense;

1995

June - Michael Waller: Russia still a threat to U.S and freedom;

1996

June - Dr. Joseph Douglass: U.S. P.O.W.s still held in Russia;

1997

February - Maj. Gen. John Singlaub, Ret: Update on Nicaragua & Taiwan;
April - J. Michael Waller: Red China targets U.S.A;
September - Duncan Sellars: U.S. helps Communists consolidate power in Angola;

2001

January - Herbert Romerstein: Author, "The Venona Secrets";
March - Amb. Henry Cooper: Missile Defense;

March - Michael Waller: Missile Defense & Global Security;
April - Ken DeGraffenreid: Security & Intelligence;
June - Amb. Henry Cooper: Missile Defense - a Shield in Space;
October - Dr. Joe Douglass: Unconventional Warfare;

2002

September - Dr. Joseph Douglass: Author, "Betrayed", about U.S. abandonment of POWs - see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Conservative_Roundtable_episodes.

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NB: I have not integrated print sources published after this book was last revised in 1993-1994. The most important later print sources not integrated here are a series of articles in British newspapers on Jonathan Aitken, Julian Amery and the post-Crozier Cercle in the late 1990s, Robert Hutchinson's 1997 book on Opus Dei, Paul Lashmar and James Oliver's 1998 book on the IRD, Stephen Dorril's 2001 book on MI6 which (amongst many other things) describes MI6's pre-war and wartime relationship with Habsburg, and David Rockefeller's 2002 memoirs detailing the early days of the Pesenti group – there may well be other sources of which I am unaware.

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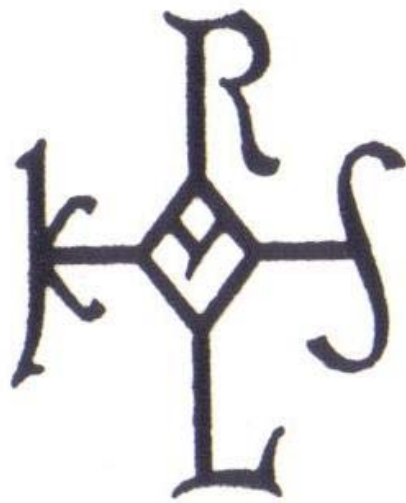
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The seal of Charlemagne – Karolus Magnus, the AESP logo

NSIC ANNEX

DOCUMENT 1

1989 text taken from: <http://rightweb.irc-online.org/gw/2806.html>.

GroupWatch: Profiles of U.S. Private Organizations and Churches, was compiled by the Interhemispheric Resource Center, Box 2178, Silver City, NM 88062. Check when each article was last updated as much material is no longer current. This material is provided as a source for historic research.

National Strategy Information Center
Acronym/Code: NSIC
Updated: 8/89

Categories:
Political

Background:

The NSIC is a right-wing think tank for military strategy. It has a history of working with hard-line, anti-Soviet groups promoting an aggressive U.S. foreign policy. (10)

In a 1961 article in the Military Review on the subject of political warfare, Frank Barnett wrote, "Political warfare in short, is warfare--not public relations. It is one part persuasion and two parts deception. It embraces diverse forms of coercion and violence including strikes and riots, economic sanctions, subsidies for guerrilla or proxy warfare and, when necessary, kidnapping or assassination of enemy elites.

"The aim of political warfare... is to discredit, displace, and neutralize an opponent, to destroy a competing ideology, and to reduce the adherents to political impotence. It is to make one's own values prevail by working the levers of power, as well as by using persuasion."(22)

In 1962, Frank Barnett founded NSIC. Among its founding directors, officers and advisers were such stalwart right-wing figures as beer baron and funder of many ultra-rightist organizations Joseph Coors; Prescott Bush, Jr. , brother of President George Bush; Frank Shakespeare, chairman of the conservative think tank, the Heritage Fdn; and William Casey, former director of the CIA. (1,11,29)

The stated purpose of NSIC is to "encourage a civilmilitary partnership" to keep the public informed on issues surrounding national defense. A properly informed public, the NSIC believes, will support "A viable U.S. defense system capable of protecting the nation's vital interests and assisting allies and other free nations determined to maintain their core values of freedom and independence."(12) One of the goals of NSIC is "to train young American labor leaders in the critical issues--philosophy, military, and political--that divide the free world from the Communist States."(10) The group focuses its efforts on business, labor, professional and military groups; academic and mass media; governmental schools; and colleges and universities. (12)

Funding:

Between 1973 and 1981, Richard Scaife donated a total of \$6 million to the NSIC from the Carthage Fdn, the Sarah Scaife Fdn, and the Trust for the Grandchildren of Sarah Mellon Scaife. (1) In 1985 the John M. Olin Fdn gave the Washington office of NSIC three grants: \$107,320 for support for an advisory committee for European democracy; \$41,300 for support for a book by Abram Shulsky on American intelligence and national security; and \$20,000 to support educational programs on the nature of totalitarian

regimes. (3) In the same year, the NY office received the following grants: \$10,000 from the Adolph Coors Fdn for programs and publications on national security; \$35,000 for work on the history of Soviet intelligence, \$30,000 for research and writing on detente, and \$15,000 support for a conference at the Center for European Strategy from the Winston Salem Fdn; \$5,000 of general support from the Samuel Roberts Nobel Fdn; and from the W. W. Smith Charitable Trust \$260,000 for operating support and \$70,000 for a Consortium for the Study of Intelligence which examines the intelligence networks of various nations. (3)

In 1986, the Washington office of NSIC received \$41,000 from the John M. Olin Fdn to support the book by Abram Shulsky on American intelligence and national security, and \$152,000 from the Lynde and Harry Bradley Fdn to support a program on national defense and intelligence. (4) In 1986, the N. Y. office received \$15,000 from the Smith Richardson Fdn, \$5,000 from the TRW Fdn, and \$175,000 from the Sarah Scaife Fdn for general operating support. (4)

In 1981-1982, the NSIC received a grant from the U.S. Information Agency to study the feasibility of an Intl Youth Year conference. (2)

The organization lists its 1989 budget as \$1,600,000. (12)

Activities:

The NSIC worked with the Committee on the Present Danger (CPD) as a lobbyist for the preservation of containment militarism, a policy demanding a strong U.S. military build-up and presence throughout the world. The CPD saw the Soviet Union as a powerful evil force with the goal of world domination. (10) In order to be more effective in its work with the CPD, NSIC opened a full-scale office in Washington DC in 1976 to interact with the White House and the Pentagon, to work with Trade Associations, and to inform the public of the concepts and plans of the CPD. (10) In setting up the DC office, Barnett worked directly with ultra-hawk Eugene V. Rostow of the CPD. Barnett brought Rostow onto the NSIC board. (10)

The NSIC Washington office, run by Roy Godson, has spent the decade of the 1980s developing a nine volume agenda for U.S. foreign policy, with a special focus on low intensity warfare and intelligence. (28,29) According to NSIC's literature the purpose of NSIC's Consortium for the Study of Intelligence (CSI) is to encourage colleges and universities to offer in-depth programs of study on intelligence; to promote the development of a U.S. theory of intelligence and define its place in American national security policy; to encourage research into the intelligence process; and to study the tensions between intelligence activities and the democratic process and values of our society. (31)

Subjects of the volumes include: The Elements of Intelligence; Analysis and Estimates; Counterintelligence; Covert Action; Clandestine Collection; Domestic Intelligence; and Intelligence and Policy. (31)

The production of each volume of the series was preceded by a conference or symposium of invited guests where the substance of the volume was developed. Attendees at the conferences became defacto important players in the activities of the think tank. The CIA, the military intelligence divisions, and the executive branches of government were well represented at all of the gatherings. (28,30,31) The second volume in the series, Intelligence Requirements for the 1980's: Analysis and Estimates, was published in 1980. It attempts to teach people how to evaluate the quality of and analyze intelligence information received from agents. (30) Among those present at the 1979 colloquium that developed the substance of this volume were such intelligence luminaries as Richard V. Allen of the Natl Security Council; William Colby, former head of the CIA; Dr. Ray S. Cline, former deputy director of the CIA; Dr. Fred C. Ikle, former director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; Mr. Morris Liebman, chairman of the American Bar Association; and from the NSIC, Dr. Roy Godson and Frank

R. Barnett. (30)

The subject of the 1981 conference was clandestine collection which led to the 1982 volume on the subject. This document claims that U.S. intelligence gathering is far inferior to that of the Soviet Union and sets out the U.S. intelligence needs. (31) Notable figures attending this colloquium included: Dr. Ray Cline of the Center for Strategic and Intl Studies; Lt. Gen. Daniel Graham, former director of the Defense Intelligence Agency; Dr. Edward Luttwak, ultra-hawk and expert on terrorism; and Dr. Richard Pipes, former chief Sovietologist at the Natl Security Council. (10,31)

In 1983, the NSIC, the Natl Defense University, and the Natl Security Studies Program of Georgetown co-sponsored a symposium on "The Role of Special Operations in U.S. Strategy for the 1980s." (21) Col. Oliver North, of Iran-Contra fame, attended as a representative of the National Security Council. (21) Edward N. Luttwak and Arnaud de Borchgrave, editor of the Unification Church-owned Washington Times, were present representing the Center for Strategic and Intl Studies. (21) Margo D. B. Carlisle, staff director of the U.S. Senate Republican Conference Committee, was also present. Carlisle, a former aide to Sen. James McClure, attended the 1980 World AntiCommunist League (WACL) conference and has been connected with WACL activities in Central America. (8) The CIA was represented by a number of people, including former assoc deputy director Theodore Shackley. The intelligence agencies of the military--especially the Defense Intelligence Agency, formerly headed by Gen. Daniel Graham--attended in number. (10,21)

In its 1984 book, Special Operations in U.S. Strategy, the NSIC showed a shift in strategy from containment militarism to one promoting low intensity conflict operations. The new strategy stresses the need for fulfilling U.S. objectives through "special operations." According to the strategy, the "special operations" are to be coordinated with the private sector in the countries where these operations are located, and call for the use of psychological techniques and operations. (11)

The NSIC strategies, according to an analysis by the Political Research Associates of Boston, advocate a U.S. policy of low-intensity conflict."In practice it is an endless, ongoing, permanent form of paramilitary action against governments and political movements that assert independence from U.S. domination."(29) Other criticisms of these volumes have ranged from calling them "authoritarian" to "a political blueprint for a police state."(29)

On Godson's recommendation, the NSIC paid Arturo Cruz, Sr. of the directorate of the Nicaraguan contras \$40,000 to serve as a research fellow for six months. (2)

Roy Godson was a key figure in Anglo-American trade union relations, organizing "educational visits" for British trade unionists to visit the U.S. during the Reagan administration. (14) The trips were organized under the auspices of the Labour Desk of the U.S. Youth Council and the Intl Labor Program of Georgetown University. The purpose of the trips was "to broaden international education about Western democratic values." A typical trip included a visit to the naval base at Norfolk, a meeting with former ambassador to the United Nations (Reagan administration) Jeane Kirkpatrick, talks on defense at the National Security Council (former operational base of Col. Oliver North) and talks at the NSIC. The trips were financed by the Reagan administration. (14)

Government Connections:

Frank Shakespeare was a United States Information Agency director and a director of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. (15) During the Reagan administration he served as ambassador to Portugal from 1985 to 1987, and after that as ambassador to the Vatican. (15)

William Casey was CIA director in the Reagan administration, served as

chair of the Securities and Exchange Commission from 1971 to 1973, and as Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs from February 1973 to March 1974. (1,23)

Roy Godson served as a consultant to the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board--a group of private citizens that oversees intelligence operations--in the Reagan administration. (2) Eugene V. Rostow was one of the architects of the containment militarism policy of the Reagan administration. He served as President Reagan's head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. (10)

Richard Pipes served as a National Security adviser to President Ronald Reagan and was a major figure in the Committee on the Present Danger. (1) Hon. Antonin Scalia, justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, is listed as a member of the Consortium for the Study of Intelligence. (13)

Margo D. B. Carlisle was an aide to Sen. James McClure (RID). (8) Margo Carlisle attended the 1980 WACL conference and is was involved in the "repackaging" of Roberto D'Aubuisson, the founder and former head of the ARENA party in El Salvador. (8)

Admiral Thomas Moorer was head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and a member of Team B, a group assembled in the mid 1970s by then-CIA director George Bush to study the Soviet danger. The Team B laid the foundation for the revitalization of the Committee on the Present Danger. (1,10)

Private Connections:

Frank Barnett was a prominent member of the Committee on the Present Danger, an anti-Soviet group advocating a strong U.S. military and a policy of containment militarism. (10) Before founding NSIC, Barnett was the director of research for the ultra-right Smith-Richardson Fdn and a program director of the Institute for American Strategy. (22)

William Casey served as pres and chairman of the exec committee of the International Rescue Committee (IRC), a private voluntary organization that helps refugees from totalitarian oppression. (24) The IRC worked with the CIA in Vietnam and cooperates with the U.S. government on programs in El Salvador. (25)

Prescott Bush, Jr. , a former director of the NSIC, is brother to President George Bush. He is a member of the Knights of Malta, a conservative lay Catholic group and has been involved with AmeriCares, a right-wing private organization that receives grants from the U.S. Agency for International Development in Central America. (15)

Henry Fowler, former NSIC director, was co-chair of the Committee on the Present Danger until 1988. Fowler was Secretary of the Treasury under President Harry Truman. (1)

Admiral Thomas Moorer, former NSIC director, served on the national advisory board of Accuracy in Media, a right-wing media group that promotes conservative causes and monitors the teaching of college professors. (6,7) Moorer has been on the board of the American Security Council, an ultra-hawk organization that works on Congress to effect an anti-Soviet foreign policy. ASC runs the powerful lobby, the Coalition for Peace Through Strength, which has more than 190 Congressional members. (9,33) He also served on the board of Western Goals, a group that focused on national security and gathered information on suspected communist sympathizers. (8)

Frank Shakespeare, former director of NSIC, is chairman of The Heritage Fdn, a conservative think tank that played an important role in policy development in the Reagan administration. (10) He is also a member of the Knights of Malta and the American Catholic Committee (ACC). The ACC is a group that tried to undercut the U.S. bishops' pastoral on the economy. (15)

"Joseph Coors," wrote Al Weinrub in the Labor Report on Central America,"has used the power of the Coors financial dynasty not only to provide support to the contras, but to set a right-wing political agenda

in the U.S..."(16) Coors was the chair of the Rocky Mountain region Reagan/Bush campaign in 1984. (17) He provided financial backing for Accuracy in Media, a media support group for the right wing. (17) He also supported various groups organized by New Right tactician Paul Weyrich including the Catholic Center, a religious group that sent conservative "truth squads" to organize workshops in cities with liberal bishops, and the Free Congress Fdn, a group dedicated to electing conservatives to Congress. (18,19) Coors and Weyrich combined efforts again in founding the conservative think tank, the Heritage Fdn. (19) Coors money has also supported right-wing religious groups including the Church League of America, Fellowship of Christian Athletes, the Moral Majority, and Campus Crusade for Christ. (19) Coors supported Lt. Gen. John Singlaub's U.S. Council for World Freedom (USCWF), the U.S. chapter of the World Anti-Communist League. USCWF and the Nicaraguan Refugee Fund, (another Coor's cause) played major roles in funding the Nicaraguan contras. (19) Both Joseph Coors and his wife Holly were on the 1982-1983 board of the Council for Natl Policy. (20)

Roy Godson is the Director of the International Labor program at Georgetown University and was deeply involved in the Iran-Contra Affair. He was a contact person and middle-man in fundraising for Lt. Col. Oliver North's network to supply the contras. He connected Terry Slease, attorney for Richard Scaife (wealthy right-wing philanthropist and NSIC donor), with North, and was present at meetings between National Security Adviser Bud McFarland, North and Slease. (2) Godson was a representative of the Intl Youth Conference which was one of the organizations used to channel funds to the Nicaraguan contras. He also was indirectly connected, through Slease, with the Institute for North-South Issues, a group funded by the National Endowment for Democracy, that served as a channel for contra funds. Godson also served as a contact between the private contra network and Edward Feulner, president of Heritage Fdn. Heritage served as a pass-through for INSI of a \$100,000 donation to the Nicaraguan opposition. (2) Godson serves on the board of the League for Industrial Democracy, a neoconservative organization working with labor groups in the U.S. (26) He is also on the board of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, a quasi-governmental group that works primarily within the ranks of Congress to implement an anticommunist, pro-military agenda. (10,27) Ray Cline served on the board of NSIC's Consortium for the Study of Intelligence. Cline is a former deputy director of the CIA, and has been involved with Major General John Singlaub's U.S. Council for World Freedom, the U.S. branch of the World Anti-Communist League. (8) Lt. Gen. Daniel Graham is on the board of the U.S. Council for World Freedom. He is founder and chairman of the pro-SDI lobby group, High Frontier, and was on the 1982-1983 board of the Council for Natl Policy. Graham has also been involved with CAUSA, the political arm of the Unification Church (UC) and the American Freedom Coalition, another Christian political offshoot of the UC. (8,20,32) Richard Pipes was a member of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority and a founding member of the Committee on the Present Danger. (10)

Misc:

Political Research Associates of Boston note that lowintensity warfare as defined by the NSIC is low intensity only from a U.S. government perspective where high-intensity warfare means nuclear war. (29)

Comments:

U.S. Address: 150 East 58th St, New York, NY 10155 and 1730 Rhode Island Ave, NW, Suite 601, Washington DC, 20036.

Principals:

Frank R. Barnett and Morris Liebman, co-founders. (2) Frank R. Barnett,

president; Roy Godson, director of the Washington DC office. (5) Others listed as officers in 1984 were: Dorothy Nicolosi, vice pres and treasurer, Paul E. Feffer, intl vice pres, Rear Admiral William C. Mott (ret.), vice pres and general counsel, Hugh F. McGowan, Jr. , sec, and Omer Pace, asst sec and asst tres. (11)

Directors listed in 1984 were: Karl R. Bendetsen, former chairman and CEO of Champion Intl Corp; D. Tennant Bryan, chairman of the board of Media General, Inc; Prescott S. Bush, Jr, senior vice pres and director of Johnson & Higgins; Richard C. Ham; Morris I. Liebman, Sidley & Austin; John Norton Moore; Admiral Thomas H. Moorer (ret.); Jerald C. Newman, pres and CEO of The Bowery Savings Bank; Robert H. Parsley, Butler, Binion, Rice, Cook and Knapp; Frank Shakespeare, vice chairman of RKO General, Inc; Charles E. Stevenson, pres Denver West; James L. Winokur, chairman of Air Tool Parts and Service Co; Major General Richard A. Yudkin (ret.), senior vice pres (ret.) of Owens-Corning Fiberglas Corp. (11)

The 1984 Advisory Council members were: Issac L. Auerbach, Vice Admiral M. G. Bayne (ret.), Allyn R. Bell, Jr, Joseph Coors, Henry H. Fowler, John W. Hanes, Jr, Admiral Means Johnston (ret.), R. Daniel McMichael, Rear Admiral David L. Martineau (ret.), Chuck Mau, Vice Admiral J. P. Moorer (ret.), Dillard Munford, Lloyd Noble, Harry A. Poth, Jr, Adolph W. Schmidt, Frederick Seitz, Laurence H. Silberman, Arthur Spitzer, John A. Sutro, Albert L. Weeks, Dee Workman, Evelle J. Younger, Admiral Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr (ret.). (11)

The conferences and symposiums sponsored by NSIC play an important part in the development of the organization's strategy recommendations and publications. Personnel from NSIC who attended the 1983 symposium, "The Role of Special Operations in U.S. Strategy for the 1980s," were: Frank Barnett, president; Sara A. Begley, research asst for the Council on Economics and Natl Security; Dr. Roy Godson, director of the DC office; Robert A. Silano, exec dir of the Council on Economics and Natl Security; and B. Hugh Tovar, research assoc.

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- The underlying cites for this profile are now kept at Political Research Associates, (617) 666-5300. www.publiceye.org. END OF WEB ARTICLE

DOCUMENT 1 ENDS

DOCUMENT 2

From <http://pinkindustry.wordpress.com/national-strategy-information-center/>, an excellent site with much information on many British-Atlantic groups, run by *Lobster* contributor William Clark .

PINKINDUSTRY The ATLANTIC SEMANTIC

National Strategy Information Center

According to a profile the National Strategy Information Center (NSIC):

...is a rightwing think tank for military strategy. It has a history of working with hard-line, anti-Soviet groups promoting an aggressive U.S. foreign policy. Frank Barnett founded the NSIC in 1962 along with Morris Liebman. Other founding directors and advisers of the NSIC include ultra-rightist beer baron Joseph Coors; Frank Shakespeare, chair of the conservative think tank, the Heritage Foundation; and former CIA director William Casey. Barnett was also a prominent member of the Committee on the Present Danger. Before founding the NSIC, he served as the

director of research for the ultra-rightwing Smith Richardson Foundation, and a program director of the Institute for American Strategy.^[1]

It can also be described as a US neoconservative think tank with a focus on intelligence-related issues. According to Phil Kelly's (1981) ^[2], *The Leveller 52*, the US National Strategy Information Center (NSIC) was:

...founded in 1962 by William J Casey now appointed by Reagan to head the CIA. NSIC is a pressure group for militant anti-communism and is at the centre of a vast network of front organisations. One of its main activities, Casey told the Senate Intelligence Committee hearing on his CIA appointment, has been the building of academic respectability for the practice of intelligence. It has helped to sponsor more than 200 professorial chairs and teaching posts in US universities and colleges devoted to teaching and researching intelligence. NSIC provided some of the cash used by journalist and CIA contract employee Brian Crozier to transform his news agency Forum World Features, a CIA front organisation into the Institute for the Study of Conflict (ISC).

For Kelly one of the central characters in this process was Stephen Haseler, founder of the Social Democratic Alliance:

Haseler works for the NSIC's 'left face', the Advisory Committee on European Democracy and Security (ACEDS), which published his book, *Eurocommunism*. Co-author of the work was NSIC's Dr Roy Godson, director of the International Labor Programme at Georgetown University in Washington DC. This institution has been a centre of cold war sentiment among US intellectuals, and many of its staff now find themselves in the Reagan administration. According to Haseler and Godson, Eurocommunism is nothing more than a Soviet ploy to detach western Europe from the U.S. without a war.

He also lists a range of the front groups and political interventions backed by the NSIC including the Committee on the Present Danger (CPD), a grouping of academics, politicians, retired military and intelligence personnel and 'cold war liberals' and traces the rise of these groups to the nomination of George McGovern as Democratic Candidate in 1972 on a 'stop the Vietnam war' platform which pushed the Democratic right into a counter-attack, which grew into the CPD in 1976 in an alliance with the right-wing think tanks. Others mentioned are more right-wing in orientation including the Committee for the Free World, which he states was started by Midge Decter:

Decter said the idea for the CFW originated at an Israeli government-sponsored conference on terrorism in 1979. Her husband, Norman Podhoretz, also a member of CPD and CFW, is editor of 'Commentary', the organ of the American Jewish community, which, like 'Encounter' was closely associated with the now-defunct Congress for Cultural Freedom, the major US post-war cultural intervention. The CCF collapsed in 1967 when it was revealed that its main source of income had been the CIA, through dummy foundations.

Decter, in an excerpt from her memoir, *An Old Wife's Tale: My Seven Decades in Love and War*, reproduced at the Hoover Institution site states:

The idea for the committee had in a very tentative way been brewing for a couple of years. A European friend named Leopold Labedz and I would meet from time to time and say, "Why don't we . . ."—that sort of thing.

Leopold Labedz was the editor of *Survey: A Journal of East and West Studies*, (with Walter Laqueur initially initially under the umbrella of the Congress for Cultural Freedom as *Soviet Survey*^[3]), and a member of another NSIC funded project, which also involved Haseler and many of the others mentioned here, the Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies. Decter — involved in a range of organisations such as the second incarnation of the Committee on the Present Danger, Hudson Institute, Heritage Foundation, Coalition for a Democratic Majority and the Project for the New American Century — outlined her concerns in her memoir thus:

The beginning of my activist life came in 1972, when Richard Nixon was competing for his second presidential term against George McGovern. McGovern's candidacy signaled the capture of the Democratic Party by the hard left, who had taken control

of it through a lethal combination of radical opposition to the war in Vietnam, the radicalization of the civil rights movement, and women's liberation.[...] By the 1970s there was a new peril in the United States—the demoralization brought on by the seizure of national self-hatred that had spread like typhus from the sixties radicals into the major institutions of the culture.

So to understand the NSIC we can view it within these 'Atlanticist' networks which grew and operated from the 1940s onwards. Key factors in the analysis should deal with: anti-communism (and other forms of threat generation such as 'terrorism'), networks of front organisations, covert Intelligence connections, the building of academic respectability for the practice of intelligence, funding and organisation via think tanks and foundations, historical connections to organisations such as the Congress for Cultural Freedom (others would include the Committee on the Present Danger) and connections to the US/Israeli government-sponsorship such as the conference on terrorism in 1979. As Kelly notes, and this is also set out in Edward Herman and Gerry O'Sullivan (1990) *The Terrorism Industry* [4] the conference: the Jerusalem Conference on International Terrorism (JCIT) organised with the Jonathan Institute, can be viewed as a key node in the formulation of a defining theme that 'international terrorism' constituted an organised 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'. [5] This network shifted its focus after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the present "war on terror."

Origins

According to its website the NSIC was founded as a nonpartisan, nongovernmental organization in 1962. [6] Critical appraisals state that it was the first right-wing think tank to address such issues as national security strategy, low-intensity conflict, operations of intelligence agencies, political warfare, and the role of nongovernmental groups, especially labor unions, in furthering foreign and military policy goals. And that:

Over the past four decades, NSIC has worked with the CIA and other U.S. intelligence agencies in studies of political and psychological warfare and in their collaboration with conservative labor union operations, especially in Europe and Latin America. [7]

This also adds that, like a great deal of this network such as the Heritage Foundation, it was launched with start-up funding from the Coors family, and is supported by the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation. The NSIC's founding directors included Joseph Coors, Frank Barnett, William Casey, Frank Shakespeare, and Prescott Bush, Jr. Barnett was also a member of the Committee on the Present Danger, and a leading advocate of political warfare, psychological operations, and low-intensity conflict strategy in the 1980s. The NSIC's Consortium for the Study of Intelligence is housed in the International Labor program at Georgetown University, where Godson's was the director. [8]

In a more in-depth profile at GroupWatch [9] Frank Barnett's intentions with the organisation are set out:

In a 1961 article in the *Military Review* on the subject of political warfare, Frank Barnett wrote, "Political warfare in short, is warfare—not public relations. It is one part persuasion and two parts deception. It embraces diverse forms of coercion and violence including strikes and riots, economic sanctions, subsidies for guerrilla or proxy warfare and, when necessary, kidnapping or assassination of enemy elites. "The aim of political warfare... is to discredit, displace, and neutralize an opponent, to destroy a competing ideology, and to reduce the adherents to political impotence. It is to make one's own values prevail by working the levers of power, as well as by using persuasion."

The NSIC is also said to have a focus on training young American labor leaders together with influencing business, professional and military groups; academic and mass media; governmental schools; and colleges and universities. The profile also provides some information on NSIC's funding sources. Between 1973 and 1981, Richard Scaife donated a total of \$6 million to the NSIC from the Carthage Foundation, the Sarah Scaife Foundation, and the Trust for the Grandchildren of Sarah Mellon Scaife. This also notes that in 1985 the

John M. Olin Foundation gave the Washington office of NSIC three grants: \$107,320 for support for an advisory committee for European democracy (together with a 1981-1982 grant from the U.S. Information Agency to study the feasibility of an Intl Youth Year conference, it is very likely that this is connected to the rise of the British American Project for a Successor Generation and Reagan's Project Democracy)^[10]; \$41,300 for support for a book by Abram Shulsky on American intelligence and national security; and \$20,000 to support educational programs on the nature of totalitarian regimes.

The New York office (111 east 58th Street) continued to receive grants from the Adolph Coors Foundation for programs and publications on national security and the history of Soviet intelligence, research and writing on detente, and \$15,000 support for a conference at the Center for European Strategy; and from the Winston Salem Foundation, the Samuel Roberts Nobel Foundation and from the W. W. Smith Charitable Trust.

The NSIC worked with the Committee on the Present Danger (CPD) to lobby for the preservation of containment militarism (1730 Rhode Island Ave.) although this seemed a re-interpretation of George Kennan's formulation). NSIC opened an office in Washington DC (in 1976 to be closer to the White House and the Pentagon. In setting up the office, Barnett worked directly with Eugene V. Rostow of the CPD, bringing him onto the NSIC board.

Early NSIC publication: W. Scott Thompson's (1978) *Power Projection: A Net Assessment of the U. S. and Soviet Capabilities* ^[11], lists its officers on the back cover, and in 1978 these were given as:

- Frank R. Barnett
- Dr. Frank N. Trager (Director, National Security Program, New York University) A biography from his essay on the US Security structure states that he was Director of Studies at the NSIC; general editor of the National Security Studies Series, editor of the Strategy Papers, and a member of the editorial boards of *Orbis* and *Asian Affairs: An American Review*; chairman of the American-Asian Educational Exchange; board member of the Foreign Policy Research Institute; chairman, Executive Committee, Chinese Cultural Center, Inc.; and member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Burma Research Society, and the Siam Society. He has been on the faculties of Johns Hopkins and Yale Universities, the National War College, the Foreign Service Institute, Department of State, and has held various government positions. Trager has served as Director of the U.S. Economic Aid Mission to Burma and has frequently visited Southeast Asia. He has been a consultant to the Rand Corporation, Stanford Research Institute, Hudson Institute, and to the Departments of State and Defense. He is author of numerous books, monographs, and articles on Burma, Asia, and national security topics.^[12]

Along with the NSIC's Frank Barnett, Trager was a signatory and member of the 1967 Citizens Committee for Peace With Freedom in Vietnam (this included Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower and Dean Acheson) and argued that it:

...felt that popular opposition to the war in Vietnam did not, in fact, represent the feelings of America's "silent center": a majority of "independent and responsible men and women who have consistently opposed rewarding international aggressors."^[13]

- Robert G. Burke (General Counsel Burke and Cerutti)
- Paul E. Feffer (President, Feffer & Simons Inc.) Feffer was appointed to to draft a set of policy recommendations on the 'Book Gap', this was a perceived situation whereby the US National Security Council and the US Information Agency (USAID) felt that American books needed to combat the ideas and philosophies of other societies, particularly the then Soviet Union. Feffer chaired a study of 40 US publishers, librarians, lawyers and government officials under the auspices of the Helen Dwight Reid Educational Forum (HDRF) sponsored by USAID.^[14]

Evron Kirkpatrick (Husband of Jeane J. Kirkpatrick) was president of HDRF and, according to a Sourcewatch profile, was part of CIA plans for a domestic "national psychological warfare program" as a part of the US cold war strategy.^[15] Jeane Kirkpatrick helped establish

the Coalition for a Democratic Majority and both husband and wife were involved in the American Enterprise Institute.^[16]

With a foreword by, then Ambassador, Kirkpatrick, the eventual report on this was summarised in William M. Childs and Donald E. McNeil (Eds.) (1986) *American Books Abroad: Toward a National Policy*, published by the Helen Dwight Reid Educational Foundation.^[17] Childs has been active for many years with USIA international publishing activities and in the 1980s was an adviser to the American Enterprise Institute.

Feffer was a publishing consultant and the chief executive of Feffer & Simons Inc., which was a publishing company in New York. A large international exporter of periodicals and books, in the mid-80s it tried to convince Chinese officials to import more consumer magazines through a chain of stores in China called 'Friendship Stores', where foreigners can shop with American dollars.^[18]

According to an online biography Feffer was a director of Recoton (wireless monitoring systems etc.) and Chairman of Feffer Consulting Co., Inc., an international media consulting firm, since 1991 and a consultant to Merck & Company's publishing division. He founded Feffer and Simons Inc. in 1955, which was eventually sold to Doubleday & Co. in 1962 (where he remained as President of the subsidiary Feffer and Simons until 1986) and was Chairman of Baker & Taylor International, a subsidiary of W. R. Grace & Co., from 1987 until 1991. Feffer & Simons and Baker & Taylor specialized in international publishing and book and magazine distribution and development of overseas markets for U.S. publishers.^[19]

According to the New York Times^[20] Feffer was president of Hampton Arts International, a company involved in cultural exchanges between Eastern Europe and the US.

- Rear Admiral William C. Mott (Rtd.) (National legal center for the Public Interest): Mott was a judge advocate general of the Navy in the 1960s. During World War II he served with the Office of Naval Intelligence and then as an assistant naval aide to President Franklin D. Roosevelt. According to an obituary in *The Washington Post* (November 2, 1997) after the war he was assigned to the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations as a liaison with the State Department and the United Nations. He first worked with the Office of Judge Advocate General in 1946 as head of the International Law Branch and Foreign Claims Commission Office. After retiring from active duty, he became executive vice president of the U.S. Independent Telephone Association and served as chairman of the presidential advisory committee on the National Strategic Materials and Minerals Program and president of the Capital Legal Foundation and the National Legal Center for the Public Interest.

The Washington Times (October 18, 1989) states that he was part of the 1980s Bush administration's desire to ease legal restrictions on covert action "so that CIA operatives could assist a coup without fear of violating the ban on assassination". Mott is quoted as saying:

"There's no question in my mind that it [the ban on assassination] puts a kind of halter around certain efforts,"

Mott was part of the American Bar Association's (ABA) Standing Committee on Law and National Security. The ABA, through the work of its various standing committees, collected and published studies on how the news media of Communist countries, especially in the Soviet Union, fulfill their assigned educational function under centralized policy control and daily censorship. The ABA's Standing Committee on Law and National Security also has generated and published considerable documentation about the use of journalists, foreign correspondents, scholars, and many types of nonpolitical associations to spread disinformation and to manipulate the press in foreign countries. The Department of State in 1981 issued a comprehensive report on Soviet disinformation techniques. The full report was published in the November and December 1981 issues of the ABA's Standing Committee's monthly Intelligence Report, edited by Mott.

The State Department's paper notes that "the Soviets use the bland term 'active measures' to refer to operations intended to affect other nations' policies, as distinct from espionage and counterintelligence," but also quite distinct from the open,

accepted public diplomacy in which virtually all nations engage extensively. The techniques of Soviet “active measures” include written or spoken disinformation, forgeries, blackmail, ghost-written stories, use of front organizations, and political influence operations. The United States is the primary target, but “Moscow is devoting increasing resources to ‘active measures’ against the governments of other industrial countries and countries in the developing world.” The objective is “to disrupt relations between states, discredit opponents of the U.S.S.R., and undermine foreign leaders, institutions, and values.” The tactics and emphasis adjust to changes in international situations, the report says, but such measures “continue, and in some cases intensify, during periods of reduced tensions.”^[241]

In the 1980s he was the panel moderator of the Association of Former Intelligence Officers.^[242] He was also Executive Director of The Council on Economics and National Security (CENS), a project of the NSIC, which focuses its research and educational activities on the ‘resource war’: the possibility of interruptions in U.S. imports of strategic minerals on which its industrial might depends.

- Dorothy E. Nicolosi (Treasurer) Still with the NSIC^[243], Nicolosi was associate Editor of the NSIC’s Agenda Papers and other publications^[244]

Sven F. Kraemer (Program Director): Son of senior civilian Pentagon analyst Fritz Kraemer who was a mentor of Henry Kissinger, according to a biography at The Institute of World Politics (where he teaches a course on U.S. National Security Strategy and Emerging Threats) Kraemer worked at the Office of the Secretary of Defense (1963-67); National Security Council staff (1967-1976); Senior Staff Member for Defense and Foreign Policy, U.S. Senate (1978-1981); Director of Arms Control, National Security Council (1981-87); Senior Staff Member for Defense and Foreign Policy, U.S. House of Representatives (1987-89); Policy Advisor, Office of the Secretary of Defense (2001-05)^[251]. The Institute of World Politics, and Kraemer, have been heavily and continually funded by the Earhart Foundation, The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, Inc., Smith Richardson Foundation and others for work that includes: Public Diplomacy and Political Warfare in the War on Terrorism (2004); a biography of Gen. Pinochet (2002); Business intelligence (2000); The Cold War, with Sven Kraemer as Project Director (1999); Soviet Espionage (1999).^[261]

Dr. Roy Godson (Research Associate)

The Directors are:

Karl R. Bendetsen (Champion International Corporation)

Richard C. Ham (Attorney at Law)

Morris I. Leibman (Sidley & Austin)

John G. McKay Jr. (Bradford, Williams, McKay, Kimbrell, Harmann & Jennings)

John O. Marsh Jr. (Mays, Valentine, Davenport & Moore)

Admiral Thomas H. Moorer (Rtd.)

Col. John C. Neff

Robert M. Parsley (Butler, Binion, Rice, Cook & Knapp)

Dr. Eugene V. Rostow (Yale University Law School)

Frank Shakespeare (President RKO General Inc.)

James L. Winokur (Air Tool Parts and Service Company)

Major General Richard A. Yudkin (Owens-Corning Fiberglas [sic] Corporation)

The Advisory Council is:

Isaac L. Auerbach

Vice Admiral M. G. Bayne

Allyn R. Bell Jr.

J. Fred Bucy

Joseph Coors

Henry H. Fowler

John W. Hanes Jr.

Robert C. Hill

R. Daniel Mc Michael

Dillard Munford

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John A. Sutro

This is much the same line-up as the 1984 board with the exception of Prescott S. Bush, Jr, (senior vice president and director of Johnson & Higgins); John Norton Moore; Jerald C. Newman, (CEO of The Bowery Savings Bank).

Of those listed Frank Shakespeare, Eugene V. Rostow, Sven F. Kraemer and Roy Godson and Admiral Thomas Moorer have readily identifiable connections to the network of anti-communists. [[

- Shakespeare was a United States Information Agency director and a director of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. During the Reagan administration he served as ambassador to Portugal from 1985 to 1987, and after that as ambassador to the Vatican, he was also a member of the Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies and the Heritage Foundation.
- Rostow was one of the architects of the containment militarism policy of the Reagan administration and appears on the original Committee on the Present Danger and its second incarnation. He served as President Reagan's head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. He was also with the national council of the League for Industrial Democracy with Roy Godson.
- Admiral Thomas Moorer was part of Accuracy in Media that monitored the teaching of college professors, and on the board of the American Security Council and the Coalition for Peace Through Strength, and on the board of Western Goals which monitored suspected communist sympathisers.
- Godson was the Director of the International Labor program at Georgetown University and caught up the Iran-Contra Affair in fundraising for Lt. Col. Oliver North's network to supply the contras. According to Rightweb, Godson also served as a contact between the private contra network and Edward Feulner of the Heritage Foundation which donated to the Nicaraguan opposition. Godson was also with the board of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority.

How the NSIC operated is set out in the Rightweb profile. To aid the production of a nine volume agenda for US foreign policy a conference or symposium of invited guests is organised whereby attendees became *de facto* players in the activities of the think tank.

The CIA, the military intelligence divisions, and the executive branches of government were well represented at all of the gatherings. The second volume in the series, *Intelligence Requirements for the 1980's: Analysis and Estimates*, was published in 1980. It attempts to teach people how to evaluate the quality of and analyze intelligence information received from agents. Among those present at the 1979 colloquium that developed the substance of this volume were such intelligence luminaries as Richard V. Allen of the Natl Security Council; William Colby, former head of the CIA; Dr. Ray S. Cline, former deputy director of the CIA; Dr. Fred C. Ikle, former director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; Mr. Morris Liebman, chairman of the American Bar Association; and from the NSIC, Dr. Roy Godson and Frank R. Barnett.

The 1982 conference was attended by Ray Cline of the Center for Strategic and International Studies; Lt. Gen. Daniel Graham, former director of the Defense Intelligence Agency; Dr. Edward Luttwak and Richard Pipes, former chief Sovietologist at the National Security Council.

In 1983, the NSIC symposium "The Role of Special Operations in U.S. Strategy for the 1980s," was attended by Col. Oliver North, National Security Council; Edward N. Luttwak and Arnaud de Borchgrave, representing the Center for Strategic and International Studies with the CIA represented by a number of people, including former deputy director Theodore Shackley. The Rightweb profiles states that the NSIC showed a shift in strategy from containment militarism to one promoting low intensity conflict operations, stressing the need for "special operations" coordinated with the private sector in the countries where these operations are located, using psychological techniques and operations.

Crozier

Crozier's memoir *Free Agent* (p. 74) mentions a 1968 meeting with Frank Barnett who is quoted as saying the NSIC "co-ordinated the efforts of scattered scholars in the field of strategy", although it was at this point that Crozier's 'news agency' Forum World Features (FWF) was exposed as being a propaganda front. Crozier mentions that in 1970, NSIC founder William J. Casey (Reagan's campaign manager and head of the CIA) was impressed by FWF and was putting together a "syndicate of high-powered businessmen with a view to taking it over and marketing it in the US." This would seem to have come to nothing but Brian Crozier's (1971) *Annual of power and conflict*, was published by the NSIC, and ^[27]According to Crozier (p. 63) FWF had started with 'Kern House Enterprises' as the holding company (based in Delaware), with the aim of supporting the CCF.

The Nation Magazine reported that:^[28]

In 1962 Richard Barnett had been recruited to lead the National Strategy Information Center by William Casey, later Director of Central Intelligence. In its heyday, the National Strategy Information Center was regarded as a shadowy group with close connections to the intelligence community; Barnett was a sort of freewheeling broker who put ideas and money people together. One such case involved a C.I.A.-sponsored organization in Europe called Forum World Features, run for a time by British freelance journalist and intelligence operative Brian Crozier. A bit more than a year ago, Crozier confirmed in an interview what others with less direct knowledge had said for many years: that "the C.I.A. personally requested Mr. SCAIFE" to take over as owner of Forum, which he ran from 1973 until 1975, when it was closed down shortly before TIME OUT, a London weekly, published an article on the C.I.A. connection which contained a 1968 CIA memorandum, addressed to then director Richard Helms, which described Forum as a CIA sponsored operation providing a significant means to counter communist propaganda.

Stephen Dorril's (1984) *American Friends: the Anti-CND Groups*, Lobster 3, states that the Committee for the Free World (CFW) announced itself to the public in a full page advertisement in the *New York Times* (6th April 1981), and that:

Seed money came from the John M. Olin Foundation, the Smith Richardson Foundation, long time banker of the National Strategic Information Council, and the Heritage Foundation, and the Scaife Family charitable trusts. Both foundations have

been identified as having extensive ties to the CIA. Richard Scaife, for example, owned the CIA newsfront, Forum World Features, for which Robert Moss was a regular contributor.

He notes that many of the CFW founders were involved in the Congress for Cultural Freedom, a propaganda cabal operating and also notes that the impetus for forming the CFW was the Jerusalem conference^[29]:

According to the Wall Street Journal (26th July 1979) participants at that conference included former CIA Director Bush, former CIA Deputy Director Ray Cline, Robert Moss and Brian Crozier – the latter two being paid propagandists for the CIA, French and British Intelligence. The Jerusalem Foundation that sponsored the '79 conference is an Israeli Intelligence front, established in the memory of one of the fallen commandos at Entebbe.

Dorril also notes that Ernest Lefever was funded by USIA to help “highly placed and influential leaders in Western Europe to gain a solid understanding of US defence and arms control policies, with special reference to their religious and moral implications.” This led to a conference in the UK in May 1983 with church leaders in attendance and sponsored by the British Atlantic Committee (BAC) and the Institute for Defence and Strategic Studies:

Lefever was refused a position in Reagan’s administration because his views on human rights were to the right of Kirkpatrick’s distinction between ‘friendly authoritarianism’ and ‘hostile totalitarianism’. Lefever’s Centre for Ethics and Public Policy received \$250,000 in 1983 and is linked to the Heritage Foundation. He is co-author (with Roy Godson) of the apologist ‘The CIA and The American Ethic’. Godson is a member of the Consortium for The Study of Intelligence (CSI) which includes 8 serving or former CIA officers.

This also notes that Godson was with the NSIC and that Sven Kraemer, Programme Director of the NSIC was at the May meeting. NSIC was described as a lobbying organisation dedicated to the preservation of ‘containment militarism’; its stated goal to ‘train young American Labour leaders in the critical issues that divide the Free World from the Communist states’. It received \$6,000,000 from Richard Scaife, an ultra-right millionaire who “has made the formation of public opinion both his business and his vocation”. He also gave \$250,000 to the CPD, \$3,800,000 to the Heritage Foundation and \$5,300,000 to the Centre for Strategic and International Studies(CSIS).

IEDSS which also backed the May meeting, also has links to the hardliners. Headed by Gerald Frost, former head of the Conservative Think Tank, Centre for Policy Studies (CPS), its chairman is J. Edwin Fielner, who played a major part in the election of President Reagan and is President of the Heritage Foundation. He also sits on the study group on US Grand Strategy on which the CIA is represented via CSIS. IEDSS is based in the offices of the Institute for the Study of Conflict (ISC) whose board of management member Vice-Admiral Louis Le Bailley also attended.

Dorril also notes that Eugene V. Rostow, when Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, stated

“there is participation on an increasing scale in the US of three groups whose potential impact should be cause for concern. They are the churches, the ‘loyalist opposition’ and, perhaps most important, the unpoliticised public”.

He followed this by organising the propaganda campaign against the American Peace Movement’s ‘Ground Zero Week’.

Rostow was also concerned about the growing unilateralist movement and initiated a similar propaganda operation in the UK, aimed at neutralising the efforts of CND. This involved: mobilising public opinion, working within the Churches, and a ‘dirty tricks’ operation against the peace groups.

William J. Casey, head of the CIA, met with US Information Agency (USIA) to organise the propaganda campaign in Europe. A direct mailing campaign was organised with Richard Viguerie and the U.S. Ambassador to Ireland, Peter Dailey. At the same time, Ernest Lefever, Director of the ‘Ethics and Public Policy Programme’ at Georgetown University, received \$200,000 to organise the Church groups [...]

Casey has claimed that the CIA weren't involved – and maybe he is right, for in the main the whole exercise was privately operated. What united the various participants is membership of or links to the 'Committee On The Present Danger' (CPD). The CPD is a Second Cold War pressure group populated by Reagan's political backers. It has a stranglehold on his defence and foreign policy and, as many commentators have noted, it is the present danger.

Drawing on a *Peace News* report of 29/9/83, he notes that:

The Rand Corporation, a Californian military research body with links to the government and the CIA, sponsored a week's study on 'the Successor Generation' and its implications for Nato. 'The Successor Generation' is another name for anti-Americanism in Europe. Peter Dailey, US Ambassador to Ireland, noting the trend of antipathy to American policies, reported to the White House on ways of strengthening support for Cruise and Pershing, recommending that Reagan appoint an 'Arms Reduction Ombudsman' – not to help with arms reduction, but to do public relations work for Reagan's policies.

Consortium for the Study of Intelligence

The Consortium for the Study of Intelligence was founded in 1979 as a project of the NSIC. ^[30]

Board of directors

- Roy Godson: Professor of Government, Georgetown University. President
- Dorothy E. Nicolosi: Former Treasurer, National Strategy Information Center Vice President
- Jeffrey Berman Treasurer & Executive Director
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- Reed Coleman: Chairman and CEO, Madison-Kipp
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- John Norton Moore: Professor of Law, Center for National Security Law, University of Virginia School of Law
- Jerald C. Newman: Former CEO, Long Island Medical Center
- Andrea Scrosati: Vice President, SKY Italia
- Allen Taylor: Chairman, Chipstone Foundation^[31]

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- Harold C. Hinton (c1980) *The China Sea: the American stake in its future*; ISBN: 0878558713
- Roy Godson(ed)[1982] *Clandestine collection*, ISBN: 0878558314.
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- Herbert I. London; preface by John Tower (c1984) *Military doctrine and the American character: reflections on airland battle*, ISBN: 0887386148.

- İhsan Gürkan [foreword by Sinclair L. Melner](c1980) *NATO, Turkey, and the southern flank*, ISBN: 087855825X.
- Joyce E. Larson (ed) (1979) *New foundations for Asian and Pacific security: based on the addresses, papers, reports, and discussion sessions of an international conference held at Pattaya, Thailand, December 12-16*, ISBN: 0878554130.
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- Morris Albert Adelman and National Strategy Information Center, *Oil, Divestiture, and National Security*, Crane, Russak, ISBN 0844810703.
- Norman Polmar and National Strategy Information Center, *Strategic Weapons: An Introduction*, Crane, Russak [for] National Strategy Information Center, ISBN 0844813990

These are undated and taken from BookFinder.com

AllBookstores.com states that Godson's *Intelligence Requirements for the 1980's : Elements of Intelligence*, is also published with the Consortium for the Study of Intelligence.

The list below is taken from National Library of Australia, and included in the list is one from the Brian Crozier run Institute for the Study of Conflict:

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- *The evolution of Soviet security strategy, 1965-1975* / Avigdor Haselkorn Published New York : Crane, Russak, c1978
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- *Strategic weapons : an introduction* / Norman Polmar Published New York : Crane, Russak [for] National Strategy Information Center, c1982
- *The Military unbalance; is the U.S. becoming a second-class power?* Published New York, National Strategy Information Center [1971]
- *Trends in organized crime* [electronic resource] Published New Brunswick, N.J. : Transaction Periodicals Consortium for the National Strategy Information Center, c1995-
- *The Challenge of Soviet shipping* Published New York, NY : (111 E. 58th St., New York 10022) : National Strategy Information Center, [1982 or 1983]
- *Annual of power and conflict* Published London : Institute for the Study of Conflict

- *The fateful ends and shades of SALT : past ... present ... and yet to come?* / Paul H. Nitze, James E. Dougherty, and Francis X. Kane Published New York : Crane, Russak, c1979
- *Afghan alternatives : issues, options, and policies* / edited by Ralph H. Magnus Published New Brunswick, N.J., U.S.A. : Transaction Books, c1985

The list below is taken from University of Bradford

- *'Eurocommunism' : implications for East and West* / by Roy Godson, Stephen Haseler ; research contributors ... (others). National Strategy Information Center. London (etc.) : Macmillan (for the National Strategy Information Center), 1978.
- *Strategic weapons : an introduction* / Norman Polmar. National Strategy Information Center. London : Crane, Russak for National Strategy Information, 1981.
- *Strategic weapons : an introduction* / (by) Norman Polmar. National Strategy Information Center. London : Macdonald and Jane's for National Strategy Information Center, Inc., 1976.
- *Special operations in US strategy* / edited by Frank R. Barnett, B. Hugh Tovar, Richard H. Shultz.

National Defense University., National Strategy Information Center. (Washington, D.C.?) : National Defense University Press in cooperation with National Strategy Information Center, Inc. :S Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O. (distributor)), 1985.

The list below is taken from McMaster University

- *Trends in Organized Crime* [electronic resource].

by National Strategy Information Center.

- *The intelligent layperson's guide to "Star Wars" : 16 questions & answers on strategic defense and space weaponry'*

Larson, Joyce E., Bodie, William C., National Strategy Information Center. National Strategy Information Center, Inc., 1986.

- *Maritime strategy, geopolitics, and the defense of the West,*

Gray, Colin S., National Strategy Information Center. Published in the U.S. by Ramapo Press [for] the National Strategy Information Center, c1986.

- *Elements of intelligence* / edited by Roy Godson.

National Strategy Information Center., Consortium for the Study of Intelligence. National Strategy Information Center ; Distributed by Transaction Books, 1983.

- *Strategic weapons : an introduction*

Polmar, Norman., National Strategy Information Center. Crane, Russak [for] National Strategy Information Center, c1982.

- *Clandestine collection* / edited by Roy Godson.

by Godson, Roy, 1942-, National Strategy Information Center., Consortium for the Study of Intelligence., Colloquium on Clandestine Collection (1981 : Washington, D.C.) National Strategy Information Center ; Distributed by Transaction Books, [1982]

- *Intelligence requirements for the 1980's : covert action* / edited by Roy Godson.

National Strategy Information Center., Consortium for the Study of Intelligence. National Strategy Information Center ; distributed by Transaction Books, c1981.

- *Strategic options for the early eighties : what can be done?*

by Van Cleave, William R., Thompson, W. Scott (Willard Scott), 1942-, National Strategy Information Center. Automated Graphic Systems, c1979.

Some other works by Godson are discussed at the *The Literature of Intelligence: A Bibliography of Materials, with Essays, Reviews, and Comments*

Excerpts and summaries of more recent work can be found at the website of the Consortium for the Study of Intelligence (part of the NSIC) but the links do not seem to be working. The site does provide links to the 2004 *Al Qaeda's Growing Sanctuary* By Douglas Farah and Richard Shultz, published in the Washington Post and the 2004 *Armed Groups: A Tier-One Security Priority* by Richard H. Shultz, Douglas Farah, Itamara V. Lochard, USAF Institute for National Security Studies.

its page on the Working Group on Intelligence Reform lists these publications (note Joseph Nye and David Kay):

- Patrick Watson, *FBI's Changing Missions in the 1990s*.
- Douglas MacEachin, *Tradecraft of Analysis: Challenge and Change in the CIA*.
- Abram Shulsky and Jennifer Sims, *What Is Intelligence?*
- Robert Kohler, *The Intelligence Industrial Base: Doomed to Extinction?*
- Walter Jajko, *The Future of Defense Intelligence*.
- L. Britt Snider with Elizabeth Rindskopf and John Coleman, *Relating Intelligence and Law Enforcement: Problems and Prospects*.
- William Hood, James Nolan, and Samuel Halpern, *Myths Surrounding James Angleton: Lessons for American Counterintelligence*.
- Henry Sokolski, *Fighting Proliferation: The Role of Intelligence*.
- Joseph S. Nye, *Estimating the Future*.
- Henry S. Rowen, *Reforming Intelligence: A Market Approach*.
- Randall M. Fort, *Economic Espionage: Problems and Prospects*.
- Roy Godson with Richard Kerr and Ernest May, *Covert Action in the 1990s*.
- James Q. Wilson, *Thinking About Reorganization*.
- David Kay, *Denial and Deception: Iraq and Beyond*.

Richard Shultz (seemingly the only employee of the Intelligence Consortium) has a list of his publications at his site at The Fletcher School, Tufts University

Projects

The idealist.com state that:

“The Culture of Lawfulness (COL) Project of NSIC is an educational organization that helps develop academic approaches to enhance societal involvement in supporting the rule of law. The COL Project works with school systems, Ministries of Education, non-governmental organizations, and international organizations such as the United Nations and the Organization of American States.”

Notes

1. ↑ International Relations Center (1998) Council for the Defense of Freedom.

2. ↑ An Unholy Alliance. Other sources state that the NSIC was founded by Frank R. Barnett and Morris Liebman and others that it was Prescott Bush and his son Prescott, Jr., William Casey and Leo Cherne
3. ↑ A BBC Broadcast (July 8, 1980) Publications in Britain on the “Soviet Threat” noted that Survey’s subscribers, according to its publishers, include all Western governments and its contributors included the US National Security Adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, apart from its propaganda orientation, this is deflated by the observations on its predictive worth:

Labeledz [...] recently wrote an article for the London weekly ‘Now!’. The article is headlined “The Fall of Europe” and claims to be a documented study of the current situation. It’s full of all sorts of scientific prophecies of a pending Russian invasion of Western Europe. On the strength of a scrupulous analysis of the international situation, the author of this article predicts to the day when exactly the Russians will start building their naval base on the Norwegian archipelago of Spitzbergen. This will happen on 14th September 1983.

Now! was run by James Goldsmith.
4. ↑ Edward S. Herman and Gerry O’Sullivan (1990) *The Terrorism Industry: The Experts and Institutions That Shape Our View of Terror*, this can also be seen in relation to Herman’s (1982) *The Real Terror Network*, and the use of state-sponsored propaganda campaigns as modelled by Herman and Chomsky.
5. ↑ See: Sara Diamond (1995) *Roads to Dominion: Right-wing Movements and Political Power in the United States*. With a focus on the Christian Right, Diamond aims to show how both an understanding and prediction of the Right’s influence on day-to-day policy making in the US by way of the observation of consistent patterns in its relationships with political elites and government agencies in both conflict and collaboration with state institutions. In the context mentioned above, this draws on Philip Paull’s (1982) “International Terrorism”: *The Propaganda War*, which detailed the media outlets and journalists involved in the campaign and their working relationship with US and other intelligence agencies(see note 83, P.374).
6. ↑ The National Strategy Information Center (2008)About NSIC.
7. ↑ Right Web (2004) The National Strategy Information Center, IRC-Political Research Associates.
8. ↑ Right Web (2004) The National Strategy Information Center, IRC-Political Research Associates.
9. ↑ International Relations Center (2006) National Strategy Information Center, IRC-Political Research Associates.
10. ↑ The Rightweb profile states that:

...Godson was a key figure in Anglo-American trade union relations, organizing “educational visits” for British trade unionists to visit the U.S. during the Reagan administration. The trips were organized under the auspices of the Labour Desk of the U.S. Youth Council and the Intl Labor Program of Georgetown University. The purpose of the trips was “to broaden international education about Western democratic values.” A typical trip included a visit to the naval base at Norfolk, a meeting with former ambassador to the United Nations (Reagan administration) Jeane Kirkpatrick, talks on defense at the National Security Council (former operational base of Col. Oliver North) and talks at the NSIC. The trips were financed by the Reagan administration.
11. ↑ W. Scott Thompson’s (1978)*Power Projection: A Net Assessment of the U. S. and Soviet Capabilities*.
12. ↑ Frank N. Trager (1977) *The National Security Act of 1947: Its Thirtieth Anniversary*, Air University Review. The Air University Review also has a history of the NSIC:

Lieutenant Colonel David R. Mets (1977) *Watching the Pendulum Swing: A Look at the Works of the National Strategy Information Center*. This states that the keystone to the NSIC's "entire publishing effort" may be said to be Frank N. Trager and Philip S. Kronenberg, editors (1973) *National Security and American Society: Theory, Process, and Policy* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas). Lieutenant Colonel Mets' essay is a literature review that states that the NSIC has an authorship that tends to be less associated with the armed forces and federal government. Based in New York and affiliated with New York University (NYU), although it does not publish a periodical. However, it is "very active in soliciting a variety of topical studies concerning national security and in conducting seminars and conferences on the subject throughout the nation." By the mid-1970s the NSIC publications covered four principal areas: general studies, works on the use of the political instrument of national policy, books on military affairs, and essays on the economics sinews of national security policy; these took the form of general teaching tools, Strategy Papers, and Agenda Papers.

13. ↑ US History Encyclopedia: Statement by Committee Seeking Peace with Freedom in Vietnam.
14. ↑ Hendrik Edelman (1986) Book Review, *Publishing Research Quarterly*. This notes that: "Paradoxically, the report's leitmotif involves subsidizing the export of American books to get exposure for their free-world political and economic philosophy."
15. ↑ http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Evron_Kirkpatrick
16. ↑ Bill Van Auken (2006) *Jeane Kirkpatrick: from "social democrat" to champion of death squads*.
17. ↑ Hendrik Edelman (1986) Book Review, *Publishing Research Quarterly*.
18. ↑ *Folio: The Magazine for Magazine Management* (1985) China beckons Western magazines; PRC's liberalization and continued thirst for technical knowledge keep interest high among publishers.
19. ↑ http://www.zoominfo.com/people/Feffer_Paul_93989074.aspx
20. ↑ Enid Nemy (1990) *New Yorkers*, etc. *New York Times*, May 20.
21. ↑ Albert Boiter (1982) *Washington Perspectives*, *The Washington Quarterly*.
22. ↑ Michael Getler (1982) *Retired Intelligence Officers Alarmed by Soviet Spying in U.S.*, *The Washington Post*, October 3.
23. ↑ <http://www.strategycenter.org/board.htm>
24. ↑ See: Harold C. Hinton (1980) *The China Sea: The American Stake in Its Future*, Transaction Publishers, (p.41).
25. ↑ *The Institute of World Politics* (2007) *Sven F. Kraemer: Biography*
26. ↑ *Institute of World Politics* (2003) *Media Transparency Profile*. Earhart fund the Atlas Economic Research Foundation, Tufts University-Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy, Institute of Economic Affairs, Jamestown Foundation, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, Georgetown University, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Ethics and Public Policy Center, Inc., Mackinac Center for Public Policy, Russell Kirk Center for Cultural Renewal, Mont Pelerin Society, Acton Institute For The Study of Religion and Liberty, George C. Marshall Institute, Philadelphia Society, Milton and Rose D. Friedman Foundation, Project for the New American Century, the National Strategy Information Center and many other neoconservative organisations.
27. ↑ Brian Crozier (1993) *Free Agent*, Harper Collins

28. ↑ Quoted from <http://www.mail-archive.com/ctrl@listserv.aol.com/msg05635.html>

29. ↑ Kevin Toolis' (2004) Rise of the terrorist professors, The New Statesman, 12 June, notes that:

Netanyahu, a vivid, brilliant propagandist and player on the Washington diplomatic circuit, sought to convince American conservatives that the sectional interests of the Israeli state were identical to those of the western democracies. He was largely preaching to the converted. Many of the names of contributors to the second Jonathan Institute conference, held in Washington in 1984, reappear as neoconservatives in the run-up to the 2003 Iraq war. They include Jeane Kirkpatrick, Charles Krauthammer, Michael Ledeen and Bernard Lewis.

Benjamin Netanyahu, Mekhon Yonatan's (1981) International Terrorism: Challenge and Response, published by Transaction Publishers, contains contributions from Shimon peres, Paul Johnson, Hugh Fraser MP, Henry M. Jackson, Menachem Begin, Chiam Herzog, Richard Pipes, Brian Crozier, Ahron Yariv and Lord Chalfont. To these names Herman and O'Sullivan (p.105) add Robert Moss, George Bush, Ray Cline, Midge Decter, Norman Podhoretz, Claire Sterling, Ben Wattenberg, George Will and that a 1984 conference included George Shultz, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Michael Ledeen, Arnaud de Borchgrave and Jillian Becker.

30. ↑ Consortium for the Study of Intelligence

31. ↑ National Strategy Information Center: Board

DOCUMENT 2 ENDS

NSIC ANNEX ENDS.

IFF ANNEX

DOCUMENT 1

Taken from <http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/2807/lhiff.html?200610>:

Editors Note:*Front for Apartheid*, appeared in Newsday, Sunday, July 16, 1995. The article was reported by Dele Olojede in South Africa and Timothy M. Phelps in Washington. The article concerns a Washington think-tank called the International Freedom Foundation that had branches in Johannesburg, South Africa and London, England. The International Freedom Foundation was actually a front for intelligence operators who worked on psychopolitical operations to prolong apartheid. People involved included United States Department of State Officials, United States Congressmen, and US Intelligence agents. The article says "jobs" for South African intelligence provided at least half of the total IFF revenue, and South African military intelligence would send fees from the "jobs" directly to the IFF Washington office.

The article is a limited hangout that doesn't mention the South African Institute of International Affairs, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, or the Council on Foreign Relations. The article has a picture of Secretary of State George Shultz shaking hands with Oliver Tambo, the late exiled leader of ANC, at the State Department in 1987. The article mentions that people like Henry Kissinger were invited to International Freedom Foundation seminars to deliver keynote speeches. Among those in attendance was former CIA director William Colby. Shultz, Kissinger and Colby were members of the Council on Foreign Relations. The article talks about Americans who were on the board of Directors of the IFF, and who worked for the IFF in South Africa. Nearly every man mentioned was a United States Intelligence agent at one time or another. Do former United States intelligence agents, continuing working as agents even after they become elected government officials, or are appointed to the US Department of State?

A list of some of the people mentioned in the story with locations and dates of intelligence service follows:

SHULTZ GEORGE P (Council on Foreign Relations Member) Panama 1984, Grenada 1984, Libya 1986

KISSINGER, HENRY A (Council on Foreign Relations member) South Africa 1969-1977, Philippines 1972, Indonesia 1975, Angola 1976, Britain 1976, Chile 1976, China 1989-1997

COLBY WILLIAM EGAN (Council on Foreign Relations member) Norway 1944-1952, Sweden 1951-1953, Italy 1953-1958, Vietnam 1959-1971, Indonesia 1963-1965, Chile 1970-1973, Japan 1985, Singapore 1985

DORNAN ROBERT K (R-CA) Laos 1981

SELLARS, DUNCAN W (Chairman IFF, 1993) South Africa 1986, Nicaragua 1988

ABRAMOFF JACK South Africa 1983

KEYES ALAN L India 1979-1980, Zimbabwe 1980-1981

BURTON DAN L (R-IN) Mozambique 1986

HELMS JESSE A (R-NC) Argentina 1975-1976, Taiwan 1975, Chile 1976-1986, Panama 1977, Guatemala 1981, Mozambique 1986, South Africa 1986

WILLIAMSON CRAIG South Africa 1980-1998

DE KLERK F W South Africa 1986-1996

BOOYSE WIM South Africa 1993

YUILL MARTIN South Africa 1983-1988

CRYSTAL RUSSELL South Africa 1983-1985

LEVENTHAL TODD United States Information Agency

KALUGIN OLEG D USSR 1960-1992

PARKER JAY A South Africa 1984-1985

The description of the International Freedom Foundation printed in the 1993 Encyclopedia of Associations reads,

"*14748* INTERNATIONAL FREEDOM FOUNDATION (Conservative) IFF

200 G. St. NE, Ste, 300. Phone:(202) 546-5788

Washington, DC 20002. Duncan Sellars, Chm.

Founded 1986. Staff:20 Nonmembership. Works to foster individual freedom throughout the world by engaging in activities which promote the development of free and open societies based on the principles of free enterprise, while recognizing and respecting the sovereignty and cultural heritage of nations. Believes that freedom of thought and expression, and free association without government interference, is essential to human dignity and without protection from violent coercion, liberty and prosperity are impossible. Works to demonstrate the benefits of a "parliamentary" democracy" and expose the "failures" of a "people's democracy," which the group says, is often referred to as a system of "freedom" but is actually a guise for totalitarianism. Considers totalitarian systems to be the "enemies of freedom" and a threat to the security of the West. Encourages and mobilizes support of indigenous democratic movements. Organizes forums for dialogue and discussion on issues of human rights and free enterprise. Sponsors seminars, fellowships, and international exchanges; maintains speakers' bureau. Telecommunications Services: Fax (202) 546-5488."

"Publications Angola Peace Monitor, monthly Covers developments in the Angolan peace process · Price: \$105/year. ISSN: 1045-0513 Circulation 2000. Advertising: not accepted. ·Freedom Bulletin, monthly. Newsletter, includes feature articles on major foreign policy issues. Price: \$24/year in U.S. \$30/year outside of U.S. ISSN: 0897-5086 Circulation: 221000. i Advertising: accepted. · Freedom Bulletin - UK Edition, 6/year. Newsletter including articles on foreign policy issues from British and European perspectives Price: \$10/year; £8 /year in United Kingdom. Circulation 6000. · Freedom Bulletin - Republic of South Africa Edition, monthly, Newsletter including features on developments in South Africa. Price: \$20/ year in U.S.; R45/year in South Africa. Circulation: 6000. Advertising: not accepted. · InterAmerican OPPORTUNITIES Briefing, bimonthly. Newsletter; includes business activity and economic reform in Latin America. Price: \$105 /year. ISSN: 1055-9299. · Laissezfaire, quarterly Journal on European affairs and European-Third World relations; includes book reviews. Price: \$30/year in U.S.; £10/year in United Kingdom. Circulation: 6000. Advertising; accepted. OPPORTUNITIES Briefing, bimonthly. Newsletter; includes free market trends and business opportunities in Eastern Europe. Price: \$105/year. ISSN: 0960-5088. Advertising: not accepted. · Soviet Perspectives, monthly. Guide to economic reform and business opportunities in the Soviet Union. Price \$225/year ISSN: 1055-1042. · Sub-Sahara Monitor, monthly. Newsletter ; includes political and economic issues, periodic country reports, aid and trade briefs, investment analysis, and book reviews. Price: \$105/year. ISSN: 1018-1520. · terra nova, quarterly. Journal containing scholarly articles on foreign policy issues, as related to free market economic and political thought; includes book reviews. Price: \$24/year. ISSN: 1056-8018. Circulation: 7000. · Also publishes monographs, posters, and reports produces videotapes."

If the International Freedom Foundation is a front for Intelligence organizations do their publications contain information telling intelligence agents what to do?

Why didn't Newsday connect the International Freedom Foundation to the Council on Foreign Relations? Did the Truth and Reconciliation Commission investigate the Council on Foreign Relations/Royal Institute of International Affairs/South African Institute of International Affairs role in creating the racial tension, hatred and genocide in South Africa? If they did, what were their findings? If they did not, don't you think it is about time they did?

The Newsday article follows:

.....
NEWSDAY Sunday July 16, 1995 Front for Apartheid Washington-based think tank said to be part of ruse to prolong power *This article was reported by Dele Olojede in South Africa and Timothy M. Phelps in Washington, and was written by Olojede.*

Then Secretary of State [CFR member] George Shultz shakes hands with Oliver Tambo, the late exiled leader of ANC, at State Department in 1987.

Johannesburg, South Africa A respectable Washington foundation, which drew into its web prominent Republican and conservative figures like Sen.. Jesse Helms and other members of Congress, was actually a front organization bankrolled by South Africa's last white rulers to prolong apartheid, a Newsday investigation has shown.

The International Freedom Foundation, founded in 1986 seemingly as a conservative think tank, was in fact part of an elaborate intelligence gathering operation, and was designed to be an instrument for "political warfare" against apartheid's foes, according to former senior South African spy Craig Williamson. The South Africans spent up to \$1.5 million a year through 1992 to underwrite "Operation Babushka," as the IFF project was known.

The current South African National Defence Force officially confirmed that the IFF was its dummy operation.

"The International Freedom Foundation was a former SA Defence Force project," Army Col. John Rolt, a military spokesman, said in a terse response to an inquiry. A member of the IFF's international board of directors also conceded Friday that at least half of the foundation's funds came from projects undertaken on behalf of South Africa's military intelligence, although he refused to say what these projects were except that many of them were directed against Nelson Mandela's African National Congress.

A three-month Newsday investigation determined that one of the project's broad objectives was to try to reverse the apartheid regime's pariah status in Western political circles. More specifically, the IFF sought to portray the ANC as a tool of Soviet communism, thus undercutting the movement's growing international acceptance as the government-in-waiting of a future multiracial South Africa.

"We decided that, the only level we were going to be accepted was when it came to the Soviets and their surrogates, so our strategy was to paint the ANC as communist surrogates," said Williamson, formerly a senior operative in South Africa's military intelligence, who helped direct Babushka. "The more we could present ourselves as anti-communists, the more people looked at us with respect. People you could hardly believe cooperated with us politically when it came to the Soviets."

The South Africans found willing, though possibly unwitting, allies in influential Republican politicians, conservative intellectuals and activists. Sen. Jesse Helms, now chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, served as chairman of the editorial advisory board for the foundation's publications. Through a spokesman, Helms said that he did not know anything about the foundation.

"Helms has never heard of the International Freedom Foundation, was not chairman of their advisory board and never authorized his name to be used by IFF in any way shape or form. We never had any relationship with them," Mere Thiessen, a Helms spokesman, said.

Rep. Dan Burton, who was the ranking Republican on the House subcommittee on Africa, and Rep. Robert Dornan were active in IFF projects, frequently serving on its delegations to international forums. Alan Keyes, currently a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination, also served as adviser. (He did not return a call seeking comment.) The Washington lobbyist and former movie producer Jack Abramoff, and rising conservative stars like Duncan Sellers, helped run the foundation.

All those contacted denied knowing that it was controlled and funded by the South African regime.

Although there are strong indications that U.S. laws may have been broken some IFF officials have admitted in interviews that they knew that South African military intelligence money helped pay for the foundation's activities in Washington there is no clear evidence that the

politicians associated with IFF either took campaign contributions or otherwise directly benefited financially from the foundation .

Under U.S. law, anyone who represents a foreign government or acts under its orders, direction or control, has to register with the Justice Department as a foreign agent. Asked if a "think-tank" set up and supported by a foreign government has to register, a Justice official said, "If the foreign [government] has some say in what they are doing and, obviously, if they are funding it they probably do then they probably do have to register." Violation of the law carries a fine up to \$10,000 and a prison term of up to five years.

Several key figures involved in the IFF and contacted by Newsday denied any knowledge that the foundation was a front for the political agenda of a foreign government. Duncan Sellers, now a Virginia businessman, said, "This is nothing I ever knew about. It's something that I would have resigned over or closed the foundation over. I would have put a stop to it."

"The Congressman didn't know anything about it," said a spokesman for Dornan, Paul Morrell. "This is all news to him if it is true." Morrell described Dornan's impression of the IFF as simply "pro-freedom, pro-democracy, pro-Reagan."

Phillip Crane, another U.S. representative listed as an IFF editorial adviser, joined the board in 1987 at the request of Abramoff, said an aide, and by 1990 had quit. "He never attended a board meeting that he can recall," said the aide, Bob Foster. "He had no idea that any such situation [intelligence connections] existed."

Williamson said that the operation was deliberately constructed so that many of the people would not know they were involved with a foreign government. "That was the beauty of the whole thing guys pushing what they believed," he said. Helms for example, voted against virtually every punitive measure ever contemplated against South Africa's white minority government, however mild. And Burton was nearly hysterical in arguing against sanctions that a large bipartisan majority passed in 1986 over President Ronald Reagan's veto, at one point warning that "there will be blood running in the streets" as a result.

But in some cases, such as Abramoffs, the relationship with the South African security apparatus was more than merely coincidental, according to Williamson and others. A former chief of intelligence, now retired, said emphatically that the South African military helped finance Abramoffs 1988 movie "Red Scorpion." The movie was a sympathetic portrayal of an anti-communist African guerrilla commander loosely based on Jones Savimbi, the Angolan rebel leader allied to both Washington and Pretoria. Williamson also said the production of "Red Scorpion" was "funded by our guys," who in addition provided military trucks and equipment -as well as extras .

Abramoff reacted with anger when told of the allegations Friday, saying his movie was funded by private investors and had nothing to do with the South African government. "This is outrageous," he said.

Details of South Africa's intelligence operations in the last years of apartheid have begun to rapidly emerge with the imminent establishment of a Truth Commission by the Mandela government. The commission will elicit confessions of "dirty tricks" by apartheid's foot soldiers and their Commanders, in exchange for immunity from prosecution. Williamson, for instance, recently revealed that he was involved in the assassination of Ruth First, wife of the ANC and South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo, and other anti-apartheid activists.

In South African government thinking, the IFF represented a far more subtle approach to defeating the anti-apartheid movement. Officials said the plan was to get away from the traditional allies of Pretoria, the fringe right in the United States and Europe, "some of whom were to the right of Ghengis Khan," said one senior intelligence official. Instead, they settled for a front staffed with mainstream conservatives who did not necessarily know who was pulling the strings.

"They ran their own organization, but we steered them, that was the point," Williamson said.

"They were very good, those guys, eh?" said Vic McPheerson, a police colonel who ran security branch operations and participated in the 1982 bombing of the ANC office in London. "They were not just good in intelligence, but in political warfare."

Starting in 1986, when Reagan failed to override comprehensive U.S. economic sanctions, the South African government began casting about for ways to survive in an international environment more hostile to apartheid than ever. A very senior official in South African military intelligence, to whom IFF handlers reported at the time, said the operation cost his unit between \$1 million and \$1.5 million a year. The retired general said the funds represented almost all of the IFF's annual operating budget, although the foundation gained such legitimacy that it began to attract funding from individuals and groups in the United States.

On at least one occasion, the IFF had trouble accounting for its money. It was unable to comply in 1989 with a New York State requirement that it provide an accountant's opinion confirming that its financial statements "present fairly the financial position of the organization." It was eventually barred, in January, 1991, from soliciting funds from New York. According to financial records provided by Jeff Pandin, the foundation's last executive director in Washington, IFF revenue in 1992 dropped by half of the preceding year's, to \$1.6 million. It just so happened that President Frederik W. de Klerk ended secret South African funding for the foundation in 1992, in response to pressure from Mandela to demonstrate that he was not complicit in "Third Force" activities. Pandin expressed shock that much of the organization's money had been coming from clandestine South African sources. "I worked for the IFF from Day One to Day End," he said. "This is complete news to me." He said he once had met Williamson when he was in Mozambique, but was unaware of any official links.

On the surface, the IFF's headquarters was in north-east Washington, D.C., at 200 G Street, next door to the Free Congress Foundation, another conservative institution. From that base, it launched campaigns against communist sympathizers and perceived enemies of the free market. It broadly supported Reaganism, and its principal officers ran with the Ollie North crowd. But it always paid special attention to ANC. When Mandela made his first visit to the United States in 1990, following his release from prison, the IFF placed advertisements in local papers designed to dampen public enthusiasm for Mandela. One ad in the Miami Herald portrayed Mandela as an ally and defender of Cuba's Fidel Castro. The city's large Cuban community was so agitated that a ceremony to present Mandela with keys to the city was scrapped.

The IFF published several journals and bulletins, in Washington and in its offices in Europe and Johannesburg. One of its contributors was Jay Parker, an African-American who was a paid public relations agent of successive apartheid regimes throughout the 1970s and 1980s. People like Henry Kissinger were invited to IFF seminars to deliver keynote speeches. The foundation brought together the world's top intelligence experts at a 1991 conference in Potsdam, Germany, to mull over the changing uses of intelligence in the post-Cold War world. Among those in attendance was former CIA director William Colby and a retired senior KGB general, Oleg Kalugin. The IFF also waged a major but not surprisingly futile campaign for U.S. retention of the Panama Canal. But its main purpose was always to serve the ultimate goals of the South African government, according to those who helped nudge it in that direction. The former senior South African military intelligence official said he traveled to the United States and Canada in 1988 as a guest of the IFF. But the real reason for his trip, he said, was to try to strengthen South African intelligence operations on the ground, at diplomatic posts and the North American offices of Satour, the country's tourism promotion agency.

"I was surprised at the kind of access the IFF operation provided us," said Wim Booyse, who went by the title of Senior Research fellow at the Johannesburg office of the IFF. Booyse said when he visited Washington in 1987 to attend IFF-sponsored seminars, part of the propaganda training he and other visitors received came from a disinformation specialist at the United States Information Service, an official he identified as Todd Leventhal. Leventhal said in response that he remembered meeting with Booyse and possibly a few other IFF people, but gave no formal talk and talked to them only about countering disinformation, not spreading it

Far from being a mere branch of the IFF, the Johannesburg office was in fact the nerve center of IFF operations worldwide. According to Martin Yuill, who served as administrator of the "branch," he began to realize that perhaps Johannesburg was not just a branch office after all, since it was always deciding how much money the other offices, including the

Washington headquarters, should have. "I guess one would have to conclude that that was the case," he said.

Although he insisted that the IFF was no clandestine operation, Russell Crystal who ran the Johannesburg office, said it was vital to the foundation. He said Friday in an interview that "jobs" for South African intelligence provided at least half of total IFF revenue, and that he sometimes asked military intelligence to send the fees from these "jobs" directly to the Washington office of the IFF.

"The military intelligence, there were certain things they wanted done -- tackling the ANC as a terrorist-communist organization," Crystal said. "The projects we did for them, they paid for." He added that it was not impossible that South Africa accounted for far more than his estimated 50 percent, of IFF revenues.

As an example of this "tackling," Crystal cited the targeting of Oliver Tambo, whenever the late exiled leader of the ANC traveled around the world. Once, when Tambo visited with George Shultz, then-secretary of state, the IFF arranged for demonstrators to drape tires around their necks to protest the "necklace" killings of suspected government informers in black townships in South Africa.

"The advantage of the IFF was that it pilloried the ANC," said Williamson. "The sort of general western view of the ANC up until 1990 was a box of matches [violence] and Soviet-supporting -- slavishly was the word we latched on. That was backed up with writings, intellectual inputs. It was a matter of undercutting ANC credibility."

By 1993, the IFF effectively shut down after de Klerk pulled the plug on many politically motivated clandestine operations. But the IFF did not go down before one final parting shot.

In January that year, the foundation financed a investigation into alleged human rights abuses during the 1980's at ANC guerrilla camps in Angola. Bob Douglas, a South African lawyer, concluded there was evidence of torture and other abuses, forcing the ANC to acknowledge some abuses. Douglas said Friday he did not believe that the IFF worked for military intelligence. "I did a professional job for which I charged professional fees," he said crossly. "I did my job of work, I finished my work, and had nothing to do with it since then."

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DOCUMENT 2

August 2008 article *The wrecking crew* by Thomas Frank, online at <http://www.harpers.org/archive/2008/08/0082132>.

The wrecking crew:

How a gang of right-wing con men destroyed Washington and made a killing

By Thomas Frank

Thomas Frank is the author of four books, including *What's the Matter with Kansas?* and the forthcoming *The Wrecking Crew* (Metropolitan Books), from which this essay is adapted.

Corruption is uniquely reprehensible in a democracy because it violates the system's first principle, which we all learned back in the sunshiny days of elementary school: that the government exists to serve the public, not particular individuals. *We Are the Government*, insisted the title of a civics primer published in the earnest year of 1945. "The White House belongs to you," its dust jacket told us. "So do all the other splendid buildings in Washington,

D.C.” This idea runs so deep in the American grain that many of us can’t bring ourselves to question it, even in this disillusioned age. Republicans and Democrats may fight over how big government should be and exactly what it should do, we tell ourselves, but surely everyone shares those baseline good intentions, that simple devotion to the public interest.

We continue to believe this despite such massive evidence to the contrary as the career of Jack Abramoff, the conservative lobbyist whose feats of corruption have been unreeling in newspaper and congressional investigations for years. On January 3, 2006, Abramoff pled guilty to bribing a member of Congress, evading taxes, and defrauding his clients, but what made his case memorable were the incredible details: the millions of dollars Abramoff and his confederates casually squeezed out of clients, the luxury restaurant he opened in order to hand out the goodies more efficiently, the golf trips to Scotland, the gleeful contempt he expressed for nearly everyone in his voluminous emails, and, later, the desperate wriggling of prominent Republicans as they tried to deny their old pal.

Journalistic coverage of the Abramoff affair has clung reliably to the “bad apple” thesis, in which the lobbyist’s sins are carefully separated from the movement of which he was once a prominent part. What Abramoff represented, we read, was “greed gone wild.” He “went native.” He was “sui generis,” a one-of-a-kind con man, “engaged in bizarre antics that your average Zegna-clad Washington lobbyist would never have dreamed of.”

In which case, we can all relax: Jack Abramoff is in jail. The system worked; the bad apple has been plucked; the wild greed and undreamed-of antics have ceased.

But the truth is almost exactly the opposite, whether we are discussing Abramoff or the wider tsunami of corruption that has washed over the capital in recent years. It is just this: Fantastic misgovernment is not an accident, nor is it the work of a few bad individuals. It is the consequence of triumph by a particular philosophy of government, by a movement that understands the liberal state as a perversion and considers the market the ideal nexus of human society. This movement is friendly to industry not just by force of campaign contributions but by conviction; it believes in entrepreneurship not merely in commerce but in politics; and the inevitable results of its ascendance are, first, the capture of the state by business and, second, what follows from that: incompetence, graft, and all the other wretched flotsam that we’ve come to expect from Washington.

The correct diagnosis is the “bad apple” thesis turned upside down. There are plenty of good conservative individuals, honorable folks who would never participate in the sort of corruption we have watched unfold over the past few years. Hang around with grassroots conservative voters in Kansas, and in the main you will find them to be honest, hardworking people.

But put conservatism in charge of the state, and it behaves very differently. Now the “values” that rightist politicians eulogize on the stump disappear, and in their place we can discern an entirely different set of priorities—priorities that reveal more about the unchanging historical essence of American conservatism than do its fleeting campaigns against gay marriage or secular humanism. The conservatism that speaks to us through its actions in Washington is institutionally opposed to those baseline good intentions we learned about in elementary school. Its leaders laugh off the idea of the public interest as airy-fairy nonsense; they caution against bringing top-notch talent into government service; they declare war on public workers. They have made a cult of outsourcing and privatizing, they have wrecked established federal operations because they disagree with them, and they have deliberately piled up an Everest of debt in order to force the government into crisis. The ruination they have wrought has been thorough; it has been a professional job. Repairing it will require years of political action.

Let us start with conservatives’ sense of their own exclusion. This idea may strike you as peculiar, but to conservatives it is fundamental; it predicates everything they do, say, and enact. The government is never theirs, they believe, no matter how much of it they happen to control. “Even when conservatives are in power they refuse to adopt the psychology of an establishment,” marveled the journalist Sidney Blumenthal during the Reagan years. George W. Bush, who has grabbed more power for the executive branch than anyone since Nixon, actually sees himself as a “dissident in Washington.” One of his more worshipful biographers

calls him the nation's *Rebel-in-Chief*: he "operates in Washington like the head of a small occupying army of insurgents. . . . He's an alien in the realm of the governing class, given a green card by voters."

The hallucination is dazzling, awesome. For most of the past three decades these insurgents have controlled at least one branch of government; they were underwritten in their rule by the biggest of businesses; they were backed by a robust social movement with chapters across the radio dial. Still they remain the victims, the outsiders; they fight the power, the establishment, the snobs, the corrupt. John McCain rails against Washington as the "city of Satan"—which in any sober theology would make him Lucifer's lieutenant. Fred Barnes, the author of *Rebel-in-Chief*, is such a well-known Washington fixture that he hosts a TV show called *The Beltway Boys*. Karl Zinsmeister, the editor of a magazine published by the ultra-insiders at the American Enterprise Institute, reviled the people of the capital in 2004 as "morally repugnant, cheating, shifty human beings." Soon afterward he was rewarded for his adherence to the fantasy by being appointed chief domestic-policy adviser to President Bush.

Conservatism-as-revolution was not always such a ridiculous idea. In the Fifties and Sixties, conservatism was widely regarded as a deluded relic of an earlier age. The Republican Party itself was dominated at that time by its moderate faction, which conservatives defeated only after a titanic struggle spanning many years. Then, in the Seventies, right-wing insurgencies spread across the country: conservative cliques took control of the Southern Baptists and the National Rifle Association, and in 1978 the first of a wave of tax revolts shook California. In 1981 came the turn of the College Republicans, where the right-wing takeover was led by none other than the future supercorruptionist Jack Abramoff. This uprising holds special significance for the historian, since it not only introduces us to the cast of characters who went on to dominate Washington during the Gingrich and Bush eras but also provides a window into the conservative soul.

The story begins in 1980, the year of the "Reagan Revolution," when there appeared on the national scene a phenomenon that bewildered political observers: legions of politicized, energetic college students who were conservatives rather than liberals or radicals, as had been typical in the two decades previous. And not only were their politics deeply square but the idol of this unlikely youth craze was the oldest president ever. Reagan's entire Pennsylvania campaign, for example, was run by a lad of twenty. In 1984, the aged actor won 60 percent of the college-student vote. The historical turnabout was irresistible, and Reagan Youth became one of the great journalistic clichés of the period, powering hundreds of newspaper columns and at least one beloved TV sitcom.

These sons of Reagan had a strong sense of generational self-awareness, and they loudly told the world how they had come by it. In the midst of the interminable Iran hostage crisis, a crowd of them at one college campus were supposedly so moved by a showing of *Patton* that they demonstrated spontaneously in favor of a nuclear attack on that country, shaking the ivory tower with chants of "First strike now!" Another well-known story of the era was how a bunch of privileged kids at Dartmouth College, a traditional fortress of privilege, decided that embracing the traditional politics of privilege and mimicking the traditional manners of the privileged were actually acts of great daring, exposing them to persecution by tyrannical liberals. Then there was Jack Abramoff, a College Republican leader in the Boston area who gained, according to the John Birch Society's *Review of the News*, a "reputation as one of the most innovative of the national Conservative youth leaders" after he mounted such a massive grassroots push for Reagan in 1980 that he almost single-handedly shifted Massachusetts into the Republican column.

Abramoff, a burly fellow from Beverly Hills, came to Washington in 1981 to assume the chairmanship of the College Republican National Committee. Back in the Vietnam days it had been leftists who fought the power, he explained to reporters. But "now *we're* the campus radicals." His newly energized College Republicans (CRs) fanned out across the nation, instructing clean-cut kids on how to use the tactics of the Sixties left for their own causes. A snapshot of Abramoff using a bullhorn to rally a conservative throng was proudly reproduced in the CRs' *Annual Report* for 1983, just across the page from a photo of Ralph Reed, who was then Abramoff's right-hand man, pumping his fist at the head of a swarm of

angry, sign-waving conservatives. In both instances the young men had gone into action wearing neckties.

It was Abramoff's friend Grover Norquist, then a recent graduate of Harvard Business School, who came up with a plan for changing the very nature of the College Republicans. Norquist made a study of the CRs, developing a scheme to transform them from "a resume-padding social club," as one account puts it, into "an ideological, grassroots organization." Abramoff made Norquist the College Republicans' executive director, and the two put Norquist's theory into action. They purged the "old guard." They amended the group's constitution, establishing a structure that made the Washington office more powerful, and rewarded proselytizing on campus.

What the rising conservative sensibility of those years treasured above all else was "confrontation" with the left. It called for a quasi-military victory over liberalism; it would have no truck with civility or fair play; and it made heroes out of outrage-courting lib-fighters like Reagan's communications director Pat Buchanan, the organizer Howard Phillips, and the young Jack Abramoff.

The first and most noticeable characteristic of this new militancy was an air of swaggering truculence. There are, of course, bullies from every walk of life and every political persuasion, but on the right bullying holds a special, exalted position. It is no accident that two of the movement's greatest heroes—Tom DeLay and Oliver North—had the same nickname: "the Hammer."

Jack Abramoff filled this bill perfectly. He had reportedly been something of a bully in high school and had now grown into a "hard-charging" and "dynamic" leader, in the assessment of conservative magazines, an ass-kicking weight lifter who could quiet the commies with his fists if they got out of line. The gangster fetish of his later years is by now familiar to the whole world—his constant references to *The Godfather*, his black trench coat and fedora, his Meyer Lansky memorabilia, the murderer argot that will no doubt serve him and his friends well during their prison years.

Abramoff himself derided the moderates he had ousted from control of the CRs as "wishy-washy country-clubbers" and insisted that he had transformed the organization into an "ideological, well-trained, aggressive, conservative" outfit. "Fighting the Left with a goal of victory" became the official, stated purpose of his College Republican cadres, according to an essay Abramoff wrote for the group's 1983 *Annual Report*. The CRs were "fighting America's last stand," he blustered; they would "defund the enemy wherever possible," one of his lieutenants added. According to the journalist Nina Easton, CR officers had their underlings memorize the gory opening monologue from the movie *Patton*, only with the word "Democrat" standing in for the word "Nazi." Other young rightists of the period went a step further. J. Michael Waller, the editor of the *Sequent*, a student paper at George Washington University, actually took breaks from red-baiting professors in order to zip down to Central America and hang out with the Nicaraguan Contras and the death-squad faction in El Salvador.

War was the order of the day, from President Reagan's fight with the air-traffic controllers right down to the college campus, where Abramoff became famous for his declaration: "It is not our job to seek peaceful coexistence with the Left. Our job is to remove them from power permanently." War plus revolution, actually. Abramoff liked to describe his CRs as "the sword and shield of the Reagan Revolution," and in 1984 the young firebrand used his moment at the rostrum of the G.O.P. convention in Dallas to lecture the assembled small-business types on revolutionary theory.

Whether the small-business types grasped it or not, a revolution was indeed under way. Conservative politicians had long served business interests, and so businesspeople had long tended to be conservatives, but now would come a new turn: conservatism as business, conservatism as a source of profit for the people Jack Abramoff once referred to as "political entrepreneurs."

In its embryonic form, conservatism-as-industry consisted mainly in peddling right-wing grievances to the like-minded. In those days there were dealers in precious metals who used

a towering contempt for liberalism as a sales pitch for gold coins. There were outfits raising money to help beleaguered conservative politicians who were in fact not beleaguered and had not asked for the help. There were anti-union charities and even fake anti-union charities, all of them capitalizing on the keen hatred for labor shared by so many businessmen. “There was so much money ready for conservative organizations in the United States,” said Spitz Channell, a freelance conservative fund-raiser later involved in the Iran-Contra scandal, that the problem was finding “ways to spend that money.”

Abramoff quickly established himself as an entrepreneur with promise. When the “campus radical” took over as the CRs’ chairman in 1981, the group’s budget came directly from the Republican National Committee. That had been sufficient for the old CRs, who liked to party and aimed to anger nobody. But Abramoff started to complain about the arrangement in his first year. And he schemed to achieve autonomy. He didn’t want “to be the youth arm of the Republican National Committee,” his onetime lieutenant David Miner remembers. He wanted

a very strong, viable organization. And instead of once a year sitting down with the budget director and the political director of the RNC and making a twenty-minute case about why they should donate \$100,000 a year to the College Republicans, Jack decided he was going to run the College Republicans just like the Republican National Committee was run: he was going to have his own direct mail list, he was going to have prominent members of Congress sign letters for him, and he was going to raise his own money. That’s a pretty bold statement for someone to do at twenty-two years old.

It was so bold, in fact, that it infuriated the RNC officials charged with supervising the college auxiliary. They kicked the CRs out of their building.

No matter. Under Abramoff’s leadership, enthusiasm was high, membership soared, and revenues quintupled; what’s more, fully 70 percent of that income came from individual donors, dwarfing contributions from the RNC itself. “Jack was a very creative, smart executive,” Miner told me. He was “a hell of a CEO.” Before Abramoff’s name became so poisonous, most College Republicans regarded this era as their finest hour. In 2001, then-chairman Scott Stewart introduced the lobbyist to the CRs’ convention as “probably the best national chairman we’ve ever had.”

As entrepreneurs are supposed to do, Abramoff and Norquist opened themselves to the market, setting up incentives for growth and looking for investors outside the parent organization. And what did the College Republicans have to offer these investors, these donors? Outrage. Activism. The right-wing position rammed home with force. To see college kids in the street, chanting the slogans of the hard right—this was a spectacle for which older Republicans, angered by what they had seen in the Sixties, were willing to pay a great price. And Abramoff’s CRs delivered, with constant protests in Washington and a series of insulting posters, the most famous of which slyly implied that liberals were communist dupes.

I have managed to unearth a single specimen of direct mail from the CRs’ Abramoff period, and it is typical of the genre circa 1983: by turns chummy, frightening, confiding, and apocalyptic. As was common in those days, the letter is signed by an elected official—in this case by New York Representative Jack Kemp, then the best-known conservative in Congress. (Today Kemp advises John McCain on economic policy.) It pleads with the recipient to “dig down deep” for the College Republicans, led by “my good friend Jack Abramoff.” And why should Mr. and Mrs. America give to Jack Abramoff’s CRs, of all groups? Because, according to Kemp, they are “the most important Republican organization in America today,” prepared to do all manner of grassroots electioneering in the upcoming 1984 contest. And why should the reader care about that? Because “our nation is in grave danger of sliding into another depression” should liberals be permitted to resume their tax-and-spend ways. “That’s right,” Kemp warned. “A depression worse than the so-called Great Depression.” Thankfully, though, Jack Abramoff and his “dedicated group of young leaders . . . understand what must be done to return economic prosperity to America.”

The larger mechanism CEO Abramoff used to break free from his stodgy, moderate Republican elders was a tax-exempt fund-raising group called the United Students of America Foundation (a.k.a. the USA Foundation, or sometimes just USAF), which was

technically nonpartisan but in reality simply added its voice to whatever cause the CRs happened to be pushing. While direct mail solicited funds from individual conservatives, the USA Foundation allowed Abramoff and his crew to go after hefty contributions from the real powers of American conservatism: corporations. And with the support of corporate money came, wouldn't you know it, support for corporate-friendly causes in the world at large.

Going freelance, as Abramoff did with the USA Foundation, soon became a popular career move among the sons of Reagan. Ralph Reed launched a group called Students for America, a Southern outfit designed to bring evangelicals into the conservative mix. Students for a *Better America*, which warred on liberal professors, was set up by Steve Baldwin, also a onetime Abramoff lieutenant. The Conservative Youth Federation of America was launched by Amy Moritz, yet another Abramoff associate. And let us not forget the Conservative Action Foundation, the Conservative Student Support Foundation, and the mysterious Young Conservative Foundation, "America's premier Human Rights organization."

It was through the USA Foundation that Abramoff seems to have discovered the profitable side of politics. The occasion for this discovery was the College Republicans' ongoing war with Ralph Nader's Public Interest Research Groups (PIRGs), student-activist outfits that were set up in the Seventies and funded at most colleges by "activity fees" that all students were required to pay unless they checked a box on a form. This was the point on which the CRs challenged them, insisting on campus after campus that it was "sinful and tyrannical" to compel students to fund an obviously political organization.

Like other Nader groups, the student PIRGs were something of a nuisance for business, and at some point it apparently occurred to Abramoff or Norquist that defunding and thus "killing" campus PIRG chapters was a service for which the targeted businesses ought to be paying. So the young entrepreneurs of the USA Foundation got out there and sold themselves as political hit men. According to one 1986 study, by the journalist Allan Nairn, the group managed to collect tribute from canning and bottling companies, two oil companies, an electric company (PIRGs were then working to set up utility watchdog groups), Amway, Coors, an assortment of San Francisco landlords worried about the possibility of rent control, and the Campbell Soup Company, which paid the USA Foundation to undermine a campus support group for a migrant farmworkers' union. It was pug nacity for pay.

The USA Foundation's motto was "Promoting a free market of ideas on the nation's campuses," and here we encounter yet another of the Washington right's signature lines. Like so many conservative ideas—anticommunism, for example—it sounds fine at first. A "free market of ideas" sounds like "free inquiry" or a "free exchange of ideas," an environment in which hypotheses are tested and bad ones are weeded out while good ones go on to earn the respect of the community of scholars. But this is not what the phrase means at all. Markets do not determine the objective merit of things, only their price, which is to say, their merit in the eyes of large corporations and the very wealthy.

The point, and the profit, was in getting the people with money to understand which ideas served their common interests, which ones didn't, and then to act together as a class—supporting the good ideas and crushing the liberal ones. This was a plan with legs: When I spoke to Grover Norquist in 2006, he was still insisting that businesses had to be instructed on big-picture thinking, on the amazing returns to be realized through funding conservatism. By then, of course, Grover Norquist was no longer some campus activist; he was the architect of the most effective defund-the-left program Washington has ever seen. And his old friend Jack Abramoff was on his way to jail.

Side by side with the Entrepreneur in those days stood another great conservative hero: the Freedom Fighter, a ragged warrior who had, according to myth, spontaneously taken up arms against communism in Third World countries around the globe. American conservatives came to love these freedom fighters intensely, and for a simple reason. These tough anticommunists in faraway lands validated the conservatives' most cherished fantasies of the Sixties turned right-side up. The freedom fighters proved it: Reagan's revolution was real.

Traditional conservatives had generally regarded anticommunist guerrilla movements as necessary evils, doing important if ugly work. The transforming fire of Reaganism, however,

turned all such cutthroats and mercenaries into patriots. It was our guys who were the heroic underdogs now, disrespected and ill-supplied, going up against the high-tech, organization-men monsters of the Soviet Union—and, of course, its liberal proxies here in the United States.

The peerless darling of the freedom-fighter fan club was Jonas Savimbi, the charismatic Angolan guerrilla leader whose every utterance seemed to strike young Eighties conservatives as a timeless profundity. Angola had been one of the very last countries in Africa to be freed from colonial domination, but, unlike seemingly every other “national liberator” in the preceding decades, Savimbi was not a communist. In Angola, the communists were the ones who grabbed power in the capital as soon as the Europeans left; Savimbi, who fought them with the backing of the apartheid government in South Africa, supposedly believed in free enterprise and balanced budgets.

Conservatives were smitten with this self-titled general who struggled for free markets in his remote land. They fell for Savimbi as romantically, and as guilelessly, as Sixties radicals once did for Che, Ho, and Huey. Savimbi was “one of the few authentic heroes of our time,” roared Jeane Kirkpatrick, queen of the neocons, when she introduced him at the 1986 Conservative Political Action Conference. Grover Norquist followed the great man around his camp in Angola, preparing magazine articles for Savimbi’s signature. Jack Abramoff made a movie about Savimbi, depicting him as a tougher, African version of Gandhi. Even Savimbi’s capital—the remote camp called “Jamba”—was described in conservative literature with elevated language such as “Savimbi’s Kingdom.”

In truth, Savimbi’s main achievement was to keep going, for nearly thirty years, a civil war that made Angola one of the worst places on earth—its population impoverished, its railroads and highways and dams in ruins, its countryside strewn with land mines by the millions, even its elephant herds wiped out, their tusks hacked off to raise funds for his army.

This was the man the rebel right chose for the starring role in one of the strangest spectacles in American political history, a media event designed to cement conservatism’s identification with revolution. The organizer was Jack Abramoff; the place was Jamba; the model, I am told, was Woodstock—only a right-wing version, with guerrillas instead of rock bands. Every kind of freedom fighter was there, joining hands in territory liberated by arms from a Soviet client regime. There were Nicaraguan Contras, some Afghan mujahedeen, an American tycoon—and they all got together at Savimbi’s hideout.

This “rumble in the jungle,” as skeptics called it, came to pass in June of 1985. Of course, bringing it off required considerable assistance from Savimbi’s South African patrons. Nobody else even knew how to *find* Jamba.

Since these freedom fighters had no actual issues to discuss—no trade agreements or mutual-defense plans or anything—they signed the Jamba Declaration, a bit of high-flown folderol written by Grover Norquist that aimed for solemnity but sounded more like the work of a fifth-grader who has been forced to memorize the Gettysburg Address and the Declaration of Independence and has got them all jumbled up somehow.

Jamba was meant as a celebration of *freedom*, a word revered by Americans generally and a term of enormous significance to conservatives in particular. Yet as freedom’s embodiment Abramoff had chosen a terrorist: Jonas Savimbi, the leader of an armed cult. To fill the main supporting role in this great freedom-fest, meanwhile, the organizers turned to apartheid South Africa, a place where only a small, correctly complexioned percentage of the population possessed even the most basic democratic rights.

And here we encounter one of the right’s great lost causes. You don’t have to dig very deep into the conservative literature of the Eighties before you hit apartheid South Africa. Today the issue makes conservatives uncomfortable, naturally, and few of them will own up to the passion with which they once worked to rationalize that government or to vilify its foes. But in those days, South Africa’s agonizing racial problems, its prosperous but beleaguered business community, and its stout defiance of all things communist made it a potent symbol for American conservatives: South Africa was essentially like us, and yet the liberals, with

their sanctions and divestment strategies, with their airy do-gooder moralism, were prepared to sell out this loyal friend, just as they had sold out so many others.

As it happened, Jack Abramoff had visited South Africa in 1983 to meet with student leaders, presumably including Russel Crystal, who headed an energetic right-wing outfit on that nation's campuses. Crystal was a sort of South African doppelgänger to Abramoff, echoing not only the American's tactical thinking but his combative style as well. In the early Eighties, Crystal's group declared "all-out war" on its campus adversaries, who, he said, were "undermining the will of the Western world"; on one occasion his followers reportedly threatened a peaceful left-wing demonstration with baseball bats. Just like the College Republicans, Crystal's student organization spent heavily, and Crystal boasted about its financial "support from the business community."

One month after Jamba, Crystal's student group hosted a second right-wing Woodstock, bringing together conservative college students from around the world. The event was called "Youth for Freedom," and a "Dear Delegate" letter given to each participant explained its purpose: It was 1985, the U.N.'s "International Youth Year," and high-minded youth congresses were happening all over the world—most of them "under the leadership of . . . communist front organisations . . . to propagate their own marxist/leninist agenda." The duty of the righteous was obvious: "to gather the true defenders of liberty and freedom"; to ponder "the security and prosperity of the free world"; and to draft a statement to which "conservative students worldwide" might rally. Norquist, Abramoff, Although Abramoff is listed as the very last speaker on the official "Youth for Freedom" program, none of the attendees I talked to remember seeing him there. and a gaggle of College Republicans made up the American contingent. Color was added by a representative of the German extreme right. (Bonus points: he had been a U-boat captain during World War II.) The delegates listened to a denunciation of divestment. They received an expensively printed booklet about the martial and philosophical achievements of Jonas Savimbi. After the conference, the kids were given a treat: some of the "youth for freedom" got to go to a military base to see a riot-control demonstration.

Coverage of the conclave in the South African press focused on the lavishness of the proceedings and the great expense involved in flying everyone to Johannesburg. The participants stayed in the finest hotel in the city, and the conference provided a squad of interpreters and a video crew to document it all. Obviously, Russel Crystal's tiny student group couldn't have paid for all of this by itself, and Crystal himself kept mum about the financing. But other freedom-youths confirmed that the gathering had been at least partly funded by South African corporate concerns, in the now-familiar political-entrepreneur pattern: "The business community in South Africa is very enthused about any face-lift possibility that they can gain," one of the organizers told Allan Nairn.

Out of the Youth for Freedom conference came an organization called Liberty and Democracy International, which didn't last long, perhaps because of the neck-snapping contradiction between its dreamy title and its South African reality. Out of that organization, in 1986, came the International Freedom Foundation—the IFF—the strangest scheme hatched to that point by the sons of Reagan for bringing the power of money to bear on politics and the world of ideas.

Not one of the many former IFFers I contacted, either in the United States or in South Africa, would consent to an interview, but we do know the most basic facts about the group. According to the official report of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the duties of the IFF included supporting Jonas Savimbi and fighting trade sanctions against South Africa. The IFF's head office was in Washington, where Abramoff served as executive director. But the shots were called by the organization's South African branch, headed by Russel Crystal. There was an office in London and, eventually, one in West Germany. We also know that the IFF was an expensive proposition and that the apartheid government spent millions of dollars propping it up. The group hosted speakers, conferences, and presentations; it published several magazines and a flock of newsletters; its principals constantly traveled the globe, spreading their toxic trinity of "Liberty, Security, Prosperity."

The Washington branch of the IFF, it seems, was particularly successful at courting politicians. The group's "advisory board" listed, among others, Senator Jesse Helms and Representatives Phil Crane, "B-1 Bob" Dornan, James Inhofe (a stout family-values supporter), and "Buz" Lukens (an egregious family-values violator). The group also tried their hand at influence-buying. In 1987, the IFF's Washington office requested \$450,000 from South Africa in order to buy a jet plane for the presidential campaign of Jack Kemp, then the idol of the conservative movement. According to internal IFF documents, this bauble would be an investment sufficient to make Abramoff's gang "the 'kitchen cabinet' types of the Kemp administration." The South Africans turned the proposal down, realizing even then what a long shot Kemp was.

The IFF made no direct attempt to justify apartheid, for the simple reason that racism as a philosophy of government was flatly irredeemable in the West. Instead the IFF aimed to tarnish apartheid's enemies, "to paint the ANC as a project of the international department of the Soviet Communist Party." This was merely a large-scale replay of the political entrepreneurship we saw at the USA Foundation, with Jack and the gang yet again hiring themselves out to a wealthy client to perform a hit on a troublesome left-wing group. High points in this campaign included hearings by the House Republican Study Committee in 1987 to blame "the plight of the children of South Africa" on the commie-terrorist ANC; reports playing up the ANC's commie-derived taste for atrocities against kids; newspaper ads designed to throw cold water on Nelson Mandela during his triumphant visit to America in 1990; and an endless war on Ted Kennedy, a leading proponent of the 1986 sanctions against South Africa.

The real, confessed *éminence grise* behind the IFF was South Africa's infamous "superspy" Craig Williamson, a man whose bloody escapades deserve an entire volume in the annals of Cold War espionage. Williamson infiltrated South Africa's main leftist student group in the Seventies and rose to its leadership; he used the connections thus made to assist in the imprisonment and murder of the movement's other leaders. A respected South African historian, asked for his opinion of the man, said simply, "Craig Williamson was the scum of the twentieth century. He murdered friends of mine. I spit on the ground he walks on."

When the IFF's true identity was exposed in 1995, the Americans questioned by the media denied any knowledge of its ugly provenance. In most cases this was plausible enough; after all, the basic principle of a clandestine operation is secrecy. But Jack Abramoff almost certainly knew. Still, he denied it—"categorically," he exclaimed—when the truth came out. Plus, he had an explanation for all the bad press: "It's pay-back time in South Africa."

The single biggest scandal of the Eighties resulted from a confluence of the two great conservative themes I have been describing: the "freedom fighter" mentality and the cult of political entrepreneurship.

The outlines of the Iran-Contra story are well known. President Reagan's CIA was waging a "secret" war against the Sandinista government of Nicaragua; the Democratic Congress understandably objected, as we were technically at peace with that nation, and, in 1983, cut off funds to the CIA-backed Contras. Over at the National Security Council, however, Marine Lieutenant-Colonel Oliver North came up with a scheme to get money to the Contras anyway, using a network of private donors, weapons sales to Iran, and private supply operations. He also organized behind-the-scenes efforts to lobby Congress to change its mind.

Quite early on in the annals of Iran-Contra our pioneering political entrepreneurs make their inevitable appearance. Jack Abramoff crops up in North's notebook for February 14, 1985, his name misspelled but the beginnings of a great lobbyist unmistakable. On March 26, Abramoff showed up on a list of people helping North to influence the upcoming Contra-aid vote in Congress. Later that day, Abramoff phoned North and told him that a number of "votes" were available in exchange for some or other favor.

We do not ordinarily remember Iran-Contra for the business opportunities it generated, but in the long, winding history of conservatism-as-industry it remains a particularly instructive chapter. The aforementioned political entrepreneur Spitz Channell, for example, sensed the Contras' potential early on and used them to become the most successful fund-raiser in all of Washington, circa 1985. Channell's marks were conservative widows; he made his pitches in

person, often using a scary slide show put together by Oliver North about the dangers of Nicaraguan communism. Not only did his donors reap tax write-offs by giving to one of the “nonprofit” groups Channell had set up but they sometimes got to meet President Reagan too, a favor the fund-raiser arranged simply by throwing some change to one of the president’s former aides.

None of this put much money into the pockets of the Contras, though. On the right, the fund-raiser typically prospers, even if the cause does not. And Channell was a professional; he later admitted that he became interested in Nicaragua only after he noticed how the subject ticked off rich folks. He proceeded to take the customary profiteering to dizzy entrepreneurial heights. Of the \$12 million raked in by Channell’s empire of fund-raising organs in 1985 and 1986, it is estimated that only \$2.7 million actually made it to the Contras. Huge sums were diverted to Channell’s friends, his lover, and his friends’ lovers. All the middlemen between here and Managua took a cut, too.

Iran-Contra was the scandal with the Midas touch, and it continued to rain money on the faithful even after the whole rotten operation had been rolled up. One day in July 1987, as the Democrats in Congress screeched hysterically about the White House and its illegal foreign policy, Ollie North put on his uniform, stood before the cameras, raised his hand, and summoned up a backlash that ultimately crushed the liberals and brought a flood of prosperity to the political entrepreneurs of the right.

Jack Abramoff’s IFF, for example, started selling copies of an Ollie North videotape made up of a slide show that was almost certainly the one Spitz Channell had used to scare his dotards, advertising it with a photo of the stern-faced Marine testifying before “the so-called Iran/Contra congressional committee.” Oliver North videotapes eventually became something of an industry unto themselves, but the one made by Abramoff, titled *Telling It Like It Is*, is almost certainly the only bit of filmed entertainment ever to be dedicated “to the memory of William J. Casey,” the CIA director made famous by his unabashed contempt for Congress.

The trade in Olliana boomed for years, as the persecuted patriot was indicted for his crimes and came to require a legal-defense fund (and also, apparently, a host of fake legal-defense funds). Jerry Falwell compared Ollie to Jesus Christ. There were Oliver North keychains and pocketknives and T-shirts and eventually even a TV show in which Ollie told America the secrets of war. There was the usual round of plunder, as funds raised to help Ollie stayed with the fund-raisers instead. And inevitably there was “Ollie, Inc.,” as the man himself went into the nonprofit direct-mail business. By 1994, when he ran for a Senate seat in Virginia, Oliver North had become the most successful political fund-raiser in the land, bringing in some \$20 million over the course of his campaign. Remarkably, he lost anyway.

Prodigious though they may seem, these acts of retail profiteering were minuscule compared with the colossal entrepreneurial gambit that the Iran-Contra investigation revealed. The insiders called it “the Enterprise”: private money, raised through the sale of government favors and property, would go to fund private armies of “freedom fighters” operating overseas. The ultimate aim of the Enterprise, as envisioned by CIA Director Casey, was privatization on the grandest scale imaginable: the construction of a foreign-policy instrument that was free from the meddling of Congress, financed by sales of weapons and another precious commodity that government had in abundance but had hitherto been reluctant to market—access.

The Enterprise eventually fell apart under congressional scrutiny, but fifteen years later this very bad idea was back again in even more grandiose form: a vast selling-off of government favors to those willing to fund the conservative movement, a wholesale transfer of government responsibilities to private-sector contractors, and even private armies, unaccountable to Congress or to anyone else.

Today industry conservatism includes specialists in dozens of fields. There are professionals and amateurs; those who do it because they’re paid to do it and those who do it because their eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Entrepreneur. It includes establishment firms and feisty start-ups, megacontractors taking billions to do work that the government used to do itself for far less, young men with a nice smile and a single client— who just wants to do a

little clear-cutting out West somewhere. In conservative circles you encounter entrepreneurs both formally and casually, at carefully programmed events laying out the opportunities for profit opened up by Hurricane Katrina, or in conversation at a banquet celebrating some right-wing anniversary or other. At one such event in 2004, waiting for the presentation of a “Charlton Heston commemorative firearm,” I made the backslapping acquaintance of a freelance motivational speaker who, upon discovering that one of my tablemates was an officer of the Transportation Security Administration, immediately sought his confirmation that “we’re gonna privatize that, right?”

For some in winger Washington this is an idealistic business, but what gives it power and longevity is that it is a *profitable* business. I mean this not as polemic but as a statement of fact. Washington swarms with conservative ideologues not because conservatives particularly like the place but because there is an entire industry here that supports these people—an industry subsidized by the nation’s largest corporations and its richest families, and the government too. We are all familiar with the flagship organizations—Cato, Heritage, AEI—but the industry extends far beyond these, encompassing numerous magazines and literally hundreds of lobbying firms. There is even a daily newspaper—the *Washington Times*—published strictly for the movement’s benefit, a propaganda sheet whose distortions are so obvious and so alien that it puts one in mind of those official party organs one encounters when traveling in authoritarian countries.

There are political strategists, pollsters, campaign managers, trainers of youth, image consultants, makers of TV commercials, revolutionaries-for-hire, and, of course, direct-mail specialists who still launch their million-letter raids on the mailboxes of the heartland. Remember the guy who wrote all those sputtering diatribes for your college newspaper? Chances are he’s in D.C. now, thinking big thoughts from an endowed chair, or churning out more of the brilliant usual for one of the movement’s many blogs. The campus wingnut whose fulminations on the Red Menace so amused my friends and me at the University of Virginia, for example, resurfaced here as a columnist for the *Washington Times* before transitioning inevitably into consultancy. A friend of mine who went to Georgetown recently recalled for me the capers of *his* campus wingnut, whom he had completely forgotten until the guy made headlines as the lead culprit in a minor 2004 scandal called “Memogate.” Later he worked for the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad, teaching democratic civics to Iraqi politicians.

There is so much money in conservatism these days that Karl Rove rightly boasts, “We can now go to students at Harvard and say, “There is now a secure retirement plan for Republican operatives.”” The young people who, like Jack Abramoff before them, have answered conservatism’s call over the past three decades were obeying their conscience, perhaps, but they were also making a canny career move.

Canny career moves are just about all we can expect from conservative government these days: tax breaks for wealthy benefactors, wars started and maintained for the benefit of American industry, fat contracts granted to the clients of the right consultant. Like Bush and Reagan before him, John McCain is a self-proclaimed outsider, but should he win in November he will merely bring us more of the same: an executive branch fed by, if not actually made up of, lobbyists and other angry, righteous profiteers. Washington itself will remain what it has been—not a Babylon that corrupts our pure-hearted right-wingers but the very seat of their Industry Conservatism, constantly seething and effervescing, with tens of thousands of individuals coming and going, each avidly piling up his own tidy pile but between them engaged in an awesome common project.

Take a step back, reader, and see what they have wrought.

DOCUMENT 2 ENDS

DOCUMENT 3

From : <http://ricksincerethoughts.blogspot.com/2005/07/lost-in-stars.html>

Wednesday, July 13, 2005

Lost in the Stars

This afternoon I received a telephone call from James Verini, a journalist working on a story for LA Weekly about a think-tank I worked for in the early 1990s, the International Freedom Foundation (IFF). Since the IFF has been defunct for a decade now, it seemed odd that a reporter would be interested in it. The hook is that one of the IFF's founders was Jack Abramoff, the Washington lobbyist now in hot water for alleged fraudulent activities involving several clients, in particular some Indian tribes. I told Mr. Verini that my time at IFF came after Abramoff's involvement in the organization and that, in fact, I had not met Abramoff (who may actually have remained on the IFF's board of directors but who had no role in its day-to-day activities).

My first contact with the IFF came in 1989, when I was asked to write a book under contract. That book was published in 1990 under the title *Sowing the Seeds of Free Enterprise*. Later, after working for almost a year in the public affairs office of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), I was asked to apply for the new position of Director of African Affairs at IFF. I jumped at the chance, since I really did not like working at CSIS because it was bureaucratic and unwieldy and my job there was not intellectually challenging, while IFF had a small staff (I think about 15 at the time) and I was promised a great deal of autonomy in my research.

I edited a newsletter called *Sub-Saharan Monitor* (not the publication now available on line) and later was promoted to Director of International Economic Affairs. When Mark Franz left IFF to work for the Bush 41 re-election campaign, I took his job as editor of the quarterly journal, *terra nova*. I really enjoyed editing *terra nova*: it was, as Robert Bork put it in another context, "an intellectual feast." I was able to interact with scholars from around the world, commission articles on interesting subjects, combine articles and book reviews so that they fit a common theme, and try to market the product to readers in Africa, Europe, and the Americas. It was a dream job for a writer/editor like myself, and one that I would love to replicate some day.

I explained that I had left IFF after the 1992 election when a number of staff, including myself, were laid off as fundraising faltered. Verini asked if this was because a Democratic administration was coming into office, but I told him that it was more because the end of the Cold War had caused funds to dry up for anti-Communist organizations like the International Freedom Foundation.

He asked if I was aware that the IFF had been funded by the South African government. (He characterized it as a "front" for the apartheid government.) I said no, that I only became aware of that fact when I googled IFF about six years ago and discovered that files had been uncovered during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's investigations. In fact, while I was at IFF, it seemed we were always scrambling for money, trying to find new and bigger funding sources. That was hardly the mark of an organization that was underwritten by a foreign government.

So far as I know, no one at the IFF at the time, including chairman Duncan Sellars or executive director Jeff Pandin, was aware of any underwriting by the South African government, the SADF, or South African intelligence services. The source of the money, such as it was, was hidden, and it is easy, in hindsight, to conclude that the money had been laundered quite successfully. Upon reflection, when I learned about the IFF's ultimate funding source a few years back, it occurred to me that the South African money must have been channeled through several European donors to IFF, who we all thought were primarily anti-communist in their motivation, none of whom had any apparent ties to South Africa or its government. (One, I remember, was described as an elderly Belgian businessman. And, no, I never learned his name.)

In his questions, Mr. Verini suggested that the International Freedom Foundation was a "pro-apartheid" organization. I told him this was a mischaracterization, that in fact the IFF was critical of the apartheid government, which we viewed as "ethnic socialism." (This view was best expressed, at the time, by George Mason University economist Walter E. Williams

in his book, *South Africa's War Against Capitalism*, which I believe I reviewed in the predecessor to *terra nova*, *International Freedom Review*.) While the IFF was, in fact, opposed to the African National Congress, that was never equivalent to being in favor of apartheid.

I explained that we staff members -- researchers, writers, editors -- never had any pressure put on us to say anything in particular. Far from a propaganda front, the IFF provided us with free rein to pursue research topics. Naturally, those of us who worked for IFF shared a certain philosophy -- free-market oriented (in my case, libertarian) and anti-communist. No constraints were placed upon us in terms of what not to write about, and no direction was given about specific topics to pursue. There was no doubt, of course, that part of our job was to refute disinformation emanating from the ANC and pro-communist groups in southern Africa. Our overarching aim was to promote liberal democracy and free enterprise as an alternative to both communism and apartheid. This was typical of conservative and libertarian think tanks and advocacy groups in the closing years of the Cold War.

Verini asked what my views were on South African sanctions. I told him that I had testified before U.S. congressional committees during the 1980s, expressing my view that sanctions were an ineffective policy tool, and that I opposed the embargo against Cuba and sanctions against Libya for the same reason. (Believe me, such consistency was not common in the Reagan years. In fact, during my testimony at one hearing, Howard Wolpe, then-chairman of the House subcommittee on Africa, congratulated me for my consistency, albeit with a puzzled look on his face.) I also told Mr. Verini that my views have not changed, that I still believe sanctions are wrong-headed and ill-advised.

After our initial conversation, Verini called back to ask whether, during my time at the IFF, I had had any contact with the Bush administration. I told him nothing more than routine meetings with State Department officials, ambassadors, and the like, typical for anyone who works for a Washington think tank.

I did add this anecdote, however:

In the fall of 1992, I was working as the chief foreign policy advisor to Libertarian Party presidential candidate Andre Marrou and his running mate, my friend, Nancy Lord. My predecessor as editor of *terra nova*, Mark Franz, was working for the Bush re-election campaign. One day in September or October, Mark called me at work to ask me for some advice about how to frame a campaign issue. In the course of our conversation, I said to him, "You know, it's nice to have the luxury of knowing you're working for a presidential candidate who is going to lose." Mark responded ruefully: "I know exactly what you mean, Rick."

Posted by Rick Sincere at 5:55:00 PM 0 comments Links to this post Labels: 1990s, Africa, International Freedom Foundation

DOCUMENT 3 ENDS

David Teacher adds:

To watch video of the IFF's Washington conference with Duncan Sellars moderating Romerstein and Holliday, see <http://www.c-spanarchives.org/program/USInte>. Other IFF footage is at <http://www.c-spanarchives.org/duncansellars> (in 1990 discussing "Nelson Mandela's visit to the U.S., and his association with certain international leaders. Mandela's statement in support of Kaddafi, Castro and Arafat which created controversy during his visit to the U.S", and in 1991 discussing "the announcement of President Bush to lift South African sanctions"), <http://www.c-spanarchives.org/markfranz> and <http://www.c-spanarchives.org/ninabelyaeva>, which state that Mark Franz, previously UN expert at the Heritage Foundation, was IFF Director of Research and Nina Belyaeva was IFF President, seen here speaking at the Heritage Foundation. Franz would leave the IFF to work for the Bush 41 re-election campaign.

IFF ANNEX ENDS

ROGUE AGENTS ENDS.