

The Atlantic Semantic

Here are two sections from a very much longer work by **William Clark** which centres on the Institute for European Defence and Security (IEDSS). At some point in the future the longer work will be made available in some form.

Clark runs *Pink Industry: the Atlantic Semantic* at <http://pinkindustry.wordpress.com/> at which there is an enormous amount of his detailed research on British politics and its international relations.

67. The Social Democratic Alliance

Stephen Haseler and Douglas Eden were founding members of the SDA and then the Social Democratic Party (SDP). Haseler had a considerable Atlanticist role before and during the life of the SDP, itself largely formulated along a US model.¹ Haseler formed the SDA in 1975 with the distanced help of Brian Crozier, with the intention of drawing votes from the Labour Party up to the 1983 election. In a letter to *The Times*, Crozier alluded to his previous attempt at the creation of an anti-Labour party backed by covert operatives:

'Anthony Cavendish claims that the Democratic party, which he co-founded with the late Desmond Donnelly and others, was Britain's first alternative Opposition. I knew and admired Donnelly and we lunched occasionally at The Travellers. His suicide, and the young Jeffrey Archer's by-election win, left the job undone, so we tried again, many years later; and this further chance was lost.'² (emphasis added)

Cavendish had been an MI6 officer. He worked with George K. Young in the UNISON Committee for Action, a militia formed as one of the 'private armies' of the mid-1970s. These were largely psychological operations to bolster the public perception of a climate of disorganization and impending

¹ Brian Crozier, *Free Agent: The Unseen War, 1941-91*, (London: Harper Collins, 1993) p. 147.

² Brian Crozier, 'Crozier Disclosures,' *The Times*, 8 July 1993.

chaos along the lines indicated by Robert Moss and Haseler's mid-1970s work on the collapse of democracy and the threat of an extremist-dominated Labour Party, themes that were also found in the output of Crozier's Institute for the Study of Conflict (ISC) and the black propaganda being created in the British Army's Information Policy Unit in Northern Ireland.

Haseler had floated the idea of a new party in his 1980 'Towards a Centre Party?' in *Encounter*, while press releases produced by the SDA listed details of 'extremist' Labour MPs' activities to tie the need for a new centre party to allegations of Militant's 'infiltration' of the Labour Party as well as Labour MPs' links to the Communist Party of Great Britain. The concerted propaganda campaign against Militant was based around Reg Prentice MP. Taaffe stated that the same voices defending Prentice were increasingly raised against Militant and others on the left, to demand their exclusion from the Labour Party.³ He traced the campaign to a major article on the front page of the *Observer*, the first of many press attacks on Militant. This was by Nora Beloff, sister of Max (a council member of Brian Crozier's ISC and also with the Committee for the Free World). During WW2 Nora Beloff had worked for Political Intelligence at the Foreign Office, and her attacks on the extreme left of the Labour Party had the backing of David Astor.⁴ Michael Crick drew on Beloff, Prentice, Julian Lewis and Haseler's accounts of the Prentice affair to penetratingly observe that Prentice blamed Militant for his troubles, but had started off his criticisms of Labour by saying they were not socialist *enough*. Crick also pointed out that the Prentice affair's two-year media coverage helped give the *lasting impression* that the Labour Party was being taken over by extremists.⁵ For Crick, Labour's internal Underhill Report into the matter was a short nine-page, un-sensational account, produced by the right-wing Gaitskell faction in 1975. On its

3 Peter Taaffe, 'The Rise of Militant: Militant's 30 Years 1964-1994,' available at <<http://www.socialistalternative.org/literature/militant/ch10.html>>.

4 William Millinship, 'Obituary: Nora Beloff,' *Independent*, 15 February 1997.

5 Michael Crick, *Militant* (London: Faber and Faber, 1984) pp. 87-90

delivery few National Executive Committee (NEC) sub-committee members turned up and, at the urging of Eric Heffer, it was decided that nothing be done. Shirley Williams tried to have this decision reversed and the matter was then sensationalised by Nora Beloff in the *Observer* with headlines such as 'Revolutionary Plot is Exposed', although no plot as described by Beloff existed. At this point the campaign around Prentice started using these themes. The person who reignited the story on the failure to publish the Underhill Report (at this point it was now twenty-nine pages) on the eve of the 1979 election was Neville Sandelson MP.⁶ Crick does not mention it, but Sandelson was one of the founding members of the SDA (and Council for Social Democracy) and in 1988, with Haseler co-founded the Radical Society, a cross-party forum for debate on political and other issues, funded by James Goldsmith.⁷

The SDA preceded and influenced the formation of the SDP but a clear picture of the SDP's origins in 1981 is obscured within a Cold War parapolitical milieu. The chronology offered by Mark Pack is that in 1980 the Labour NEC's ongoing refusal to publish the Underhill Report galvanized the SDA to announce plans to run up to 200 candidates against Labour left-wingers.⁸ By December 1980 the Labour Party proscribed the SDA and a meeting was held in Shirley Williams' flat to consider possible support for a new party. By January 1981 a joint rally with the SDA and the Association of Democratic Groups, chaired by Lord George Brown of the Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies (IEDSS) was held. At the Anglo-German Konigswinter conference, Williams, William Rodgers and David Steel met and agreed on the outline of an alliance. The chronology continues with no further mention of the SDA. It stops at 1990 when the Monster Raving Loony Party's Lord Sutch out-pollled the SDP candidate.⁹

David Leigh expressed a sceptical account of the

⁶ Crick (see note 5), pp. 85 and 163.

⁷ Crozier (see note 1) p. 147

⁸ Mark Pack, 'Chronology of the SDP,' *Journal of Liberal History*, 2003, No. 39, available at < <http://www.liberalhistory.org.uk/uploads/39-Summer%25202003.pdf>>.

⁹ Pack pp. 56-59

purpose of the SDA, the veracity of its claims, the honesty of its tactics and the 'enormous amount of newspaper space [...] devoted to' the group 'who specialise in issuing very long lists of MPs and ministers they imply are virtually in the pay of the Kremlin. Wow, what a smear.'¹⁰ Leigh's version of events was that the SDA consisted of two polytechnic lecturers, Haseler and Eden, who 'send round quarterly newsletters to "registered supporters" in the Labour Party, many of whose names, sadly, have to be kept confidential.' Frank Johnson reported that Alfred Sherman questioned Shirley Williams about the fact that some of the 43 Labour MPs named as Communist sympathisers by the SDA now appeared as members of the SDP, but no answer was forthcoming.¹¹ Yet the existence of the 43 was supposed to have been one of the reasons for setting up the SDP.

If I go back a little further to the SDA's inception, *The Times* published a statement from the SDA wherein they accused the Labour Party's NEC of supporting East European dictatorships, and those Labour MPs who wrote for the *Morning Star* of being 'undercover political agents for alien political creeds'.¹² The list included Judith Hart, Michael Foot and Edward Short, who had been the subjects of a smear campaign emanating from The British Army's Information Policy unit in Northern Ireland and the ISC.¹³ The charges became the focus for considerable media interest and were re-invigorated by Nigel Lawson who had previously produced 'Subversion in British Industry' for the ISC in 1972.¹⁴

The first SDA newsletter was a call for the end of Trotskyist infiltration of the Labour Party and support for Reg Prentice; but despite its factionalism, it worked with the

¹⁰ Edward Leigh, 'Election Diary,' *The Guardian*, 1 May 1979.

¹¹ Frank Johnson, 'Shirley, the Belgian lieutenant's woman,' *The Times*, 19 November 1981.

¹² 'Social Democratic Alliance statement,' *The Times*, 29 September 1975.

¹³ Robin Ramsay and Stephen Dorril, *Lobster* 11 (1986), 'Wilson, MI5 and the Rise of Thatcher: Covert Operations in British Politics 1974-1978,' appendix 6: 'Examples of political psy ops targets 1973/4 - non Army origin'.

¹⁴ 'New Marxism charge for privileges body,' *The Times*, 19 November 76.

Association of Democratic Groups in sponsoring a 1981 conference intended to build support for the new SDP.¹⁵ The conference was chaired by former Labour Foreign Secretary Lord George Brown, then president of the SDA. By this time Eden and Haseler had been expelled from the Labour Party and were 'threatening to stand 200 candidates against it in the next general election, this despite the fact that some of its own prospective candidates were still Labour Party members.' Although the SDA became a part of the newly formed SDP, it was kept on the sidelines. It remained in existence with the formation of the SDP and in 1981 ran a campaign, headed by Brown, in the Greater London Council (GLC) elections, even though this contradicted a decision taken by the SDP steering committee. To make matters worse, Haseler contested the first SDP presidential election, finishing behind Shirley Williams and William Rodgers.¹⁶

68. 'A secret shield for the Lady'

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

Set up in 1995 to encourage study of the trans-Atlantic relationship, Eden's CSIA works with the Atlantic Council and NATO and has an Advisory Board that includes Geoffrey Lee Williams, the IEDSS' Alan Lee Williams and William Schneider

¹⁵ 'Labour urged to stop Trotskyist infiltrators', *The Times* 21 August 1975.

¹⁶ Peter Barberis, John McHugh and Mike Tyldesley, *Encyclopedia of British and Irish Political Organizations* (London:Continuum, 2003) p. 358.

Jr., Deputy Director (to Herman Kahn) of the Hudson Institute prior to 1981 and part of Team B.¹⁷ The 1999 conference gathered together former Ambassadors to the US, a former Chief of Defence Intelligence at the MoD, a Labour Defence Spokesman, advisors to British Aerospace and Edward Streater, the chairman of the IEDSS' New Atlantic Initiative, who also wrote for the Council for Arms Control.¹⁸ The CSIA's 1999 conference, 'NATO's future and Atlantic friendships and rivalries', demonstrated gross insensitivity and a lack of knowledge and understanding of the situation in Yugoslavia/Kosovo. Eden had invited academics in Belgrade who were then under NATO attack. The parallel drawn was that the procedure of the organizers corresponded to the way NATO seemed to choose its bombing objectives: 'mechanically, indiscriminately and with [sic] the help of lists where some addresses are not what they are thought to be.'¹⁹

Brian Crozier has related that he first met Eden at one of the early sessions of the National Association for Freedom (NAFF), and Eden would go on to work with Crozier's 'Shield.'²⁰ After the closure of the Information Research Department (IRD), Shield worked to provide briefings on the alleged Communist threat for the leadership of the Tory Party. Crozier also stepped into the gap caused by the closure of IRD with a group that included ex-SIS officer Nicholas Elliot and US General Vernon Walters that he described as a 'Private Sector Operational Intelligence agency', called the 6I (the Sixth International but more commonly rendered as the 61). Ramsay reviewed Crozier's memoir and observed that in the 1970s *and* 1980s Crozier claims that he 'ran' Eden as an agent, and that it was through the 6I that Crozier published the newsletters 'Transnational Security' and 'British Briefing,'

¹⁷ See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Team_B>.

¹⁸ 'Announcement,' 4th Annual Trent Park Conference on the Future of the Atlantic Community, (NATO, 1999) available at <www.nato.int/nato@50/agendas/a990618e.htm>); Edward J. Streater, *Arms control and the Third World*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, Council for Arms Control, 1989)

¹⁹ J. P. Roos, 'A European Bombing Campaign in the Internet: The Future of NATO,' available at <<http://www.mv.helsinki.fi/home/jproos/Nato.htm>>

²⁰ Crozier (see note 1) p. 147

his own version of the IRD's briefings on British subversion.²¹ The Social Affairs Unit (funded by the Heritage Foundation) also published 'British Briefing'.

After the death of Jack Jones, Eden reproduced Oleg Gordievsky's accusations against Jones.²² Eden claimed that in the 1970s Josef Josten, head of the Free Czech Information Service, had passed a list of KGB agents to him revealing a London-based Soviet spy circle. These came from Czech defector Josef Frolik.²³ Teacher observed that in February 1979, two weeks after Thatcher's election as Conservative leader, a House of Lords debate on 'Subversive and Extremist Elements', initiated by Lord Chalfont, aired the Frolik allegations.²⁴ Josten was a member of the Council of NAFF and passed the allegations to Stephen Hastings MP (a former MI6 officer) also a member of the NAFF council.²⁵ Dorril and Ramsay noted that on 14 December 1977 Hastings used parliamentary privilege to run in the House of Commons the disinformation attributed to Frolik that a group of British trade unions leaders were agents of Soviet intelligence.²⁶ Frolik was being run by the CIA and Dorril and Ramsay viewed this process as evidence of how the conspiracy theories of the subversive-hunters of the British right, such as Brian Crozier, had captured a significant section of the leadership of the Conservative Party which had actually tried to use them to damage the elected government of the day.

Crozier's 'A secret shield for the Lady,' for *The Times*,

21 Robin Ramsay, 'Crozier country: Free Agent: the unseen war 1941-1991', *Lobster* 26, pp. 14-18.

22 Douglas Eden, 'We came close to losing our democracy in 1979,' *Spectator*, 6 June 2009 available at < <http://www.spectator.co.uk/essays/all/3665728/we-came-close-to-losing-our-democracy-in-1979.html>>..

23 Tom Parkes, 'At last, researcher goes public with Cold War list naming lord as KGB spy,' *Daily Gazette*, 29 June 2009, available at <<http://www.gazette-news.co.uk/news/4462020>. At_last_researcher_goes_public_with_Cold_War_list_naming_lord_as_KGB_spy/>

24 David Teacher, *Rogue Agents: The Cercle Pinay Complex 1951-1991*, self-published, 2008. An updated version of this is available at <<http://www.cryptome.org/2012/01/cercle-pinay-6i.pdf>>.

25 Robin Ramsay and Stephen Dorril, see note 13.

26 Stephen Dorril and Robin Ramsay, *Smear! Wilson and the Secret State* (London:4th Estate, 1991) p. 321.

was billed as 'The inside account of an intelligence operation, rivalling MI5 and reporting direct to Mrs Thatcher', and offered his version of events that in 1976-1977 he was involved in: 'two secret counter-subversion exercises: one of them national, the other international'.²⁷ The idea with Shield was to set up a secret advisory committee to brief Thatcher and her closest colleagues on security and intelligence. Crozier was described as the scourge of left-wing militants *and* security chiefs who helped to form Thatcher's vision of a new Britain, via a 'semi-official campaign against the hard Left', similar to the agenda of the IEDSS. Teacher shows that with the 6I, Crozier wanted something bigger than Shield to take over the work of promoting the idea of a wider international threat from the Soviet Union with its worldwide subversive conspiracy.²⁸ Teacher also stated that this was directed by the Pinay Circle.²⁹

Crozier set out the formation of 'Shield' after a meeting with Thatcher in 1976, hosted by Viscount De L'Isle. This included Norris McWhirter, John Gouriet (a right-wing activist and businessman connected to Aims of Industry) and Robert Moss – largely the founding members of the NAFF. Later meetings included ex-MI6 officer, Nicholas Elliott. According to Crozier the problem they wanted to tackle was subversion: the deliberate undermining of the state and society. Crozier's motivation drew on his own propaganda themes that the trades unions, the Labour Party, schools, universities, the media and the churches were being taken over by the Soviets: 'Positive action was needed. The Shield Committee was necessarily small, secrecy being a paramount consideration.'³⁰

Crozier stated they produced 20 papers on various aspects of subversion, with the researchers being Douglas Eden and Peter Shipley. Copies of notes supplied by Eden to Margaret Thatcher when she was an MP and PM in the Janus Archive include: those passed to Thatcher via Richard Ryder

²⁷ Brian Crozier, 'A secret shield for the Lady,' *The Times*, 28 June 1993.

²⁸ David Teacher, see note 24, pp. 105-6.

²⁹ David Teacher, see note 24, p. 73.

³⁰ Brian Crozier, 'A secret shield for the Lady,' *The Times*, 28 June 1993.

her Private Secretary, (December 1976 and May and June 1978) relating to trade unions; via Alfred Sherman (October 1977) relating to the leadership of the Labour Party and (July 1984) the miners' strike; and in 1982 on Eden's attempts to influence the SDP's resolution on CND and the SDP.³¹ While Eden joined the IEDSS, Shipley went on to spend two years in Thatcher's personal policy unit (a replacement for the old Cabinet Office Think Tank) as an expert on left-wing subversion offering politically sensitive advice. This demonstrates Shield's reach into the Thatcher circle despite the difficulties with Crozier.³²

While at the unit Shipley wrote on *Militant* and shortly after leaving, produced in 1986 'Patterns of protest in Western Europe,' for Crozier's ISC and 'More than Militant: The future of the Labour left,' alleging that the Labour party had been successfully infiltrated by three Trotskyist organisations in addition to *Militant*. This returned to the Underhill Report and predicted that the parliamentary Labour Party, 'with up to 60 revolutionary Marxists in their number', would be taken over by the extreme left in a matter of years.³³ Shipley acknowledged that it was produced with help from a senior member of the Economic League.³⁴ It was a reprint of Shipley's 1977 'Trotskyism: entryism and permanent revolution.'³⁵

In 1987 Shipley went on to work directly under Norman Tebbit, then party chairman 'to discredit Labour parliamentary candidates during the election campaign', providing quotes to be used by Saatchi and Saatchi and targeting individuals.³⁶ While with the Conservative Research Department, he was

31 Albert Sloman Library, SDP Archives: Papers and correspondence of Douglas Eden, available at < <http://libwww.essex.ac.uk/Archives/SDP/eden.htm> >

32 'Whitehall advisers,' *The Economist* 27 August 1983, p. 16.

33 Peter Shipley, *Militant Tendency: Trotskyism in the Labour Party*, (London, Foreign Affairs Publishing Co., 1983).

34 'Election 87: Labour seeks assurance on "dirty tricks,"' *The Guardian* 6 June 1987.

35 Conflict Studies, No. 81, London, Institute of the Study of Conflict.

36 David Hencke, 'Election 87: Tebbit's aide digs to discredit left candidates: Anti-Militant author joins Central Office to fuel Saatchi and Saatchi', *The Guardian*, 4 June 1987.

head of the desk that was later used to discredit CND before the 1983 election. *The Guardian* stated that among the sources for Shipley's 1983 attacks on CND members was MI5.³⁷ Information was then passed on to the IEDSS' Peter Blaker 'who ran the propaganda unit DS19'. Judging from Shipley's writing at the time, the policy unit had a direct input into the Thatcher government's inner core's response to the miners' strike, riots in Bristol, Toxteth and the protests at Greenham Common.³⁸

Also with Thatcher's policy unit was the CPS's Christopher Monckton who, with the IEDSS' Caroline Cox, was part of the Committee for a Free Britain (CFB) a right-wing political pressure-group involving David Hart. According to Norton-Taylor and Pallister, the CFB placed 'anonymously published savage advertisements against Labour', and the CFB is also stated to have paid the legal costs of groups taking on supposed left-wing councils, and to have invited Adolfo Calero, the Nicaraguan Contra leader, to visit the UK.³⁹ The CFB also published the same 'British Briefing' that Crozier published, on which Colin Wallace has commented:

'Many of the smears in British Briefing are exactly the same sort of thing I was being asked by MI5 to spread in the 1970s. Some of the politicians..... are the very same people I was being asked to smear.'⁴⁰

Seamus Milne studied the use of MI5 and the anti-subversion lobby against the miners' strike, and made an early mention of Charles Elwell's connection to the government's covert strategy alongside David Hart.⁴¹ Elwell had been the Assistant Director of MI5 and one of Wilson plotters, who worked with Crozier. In his second edition Milne noted that Rupert Murdoch had financed Hart's activities in 1992,⁴² and provided some

37 'Election 87: Labour seeks assurance on "dirty tricks",' *The Guardian* 6 June 1987.

38 Peter Shipley, 'Why laws are not enough,' *The Times*, 20 November 1984.

39 Richard Norton-Taylor and David Pallister, 'A Nasty Little Operation' *The Guardian*, 20 February, 1992.

40 Seamus Milne, *The Enemy Within* (London: Verso, 1994), p. 272

41 Milne (see note 41) p. 272.

42 Seamus Milne, *The Enemy Within* (London: Verso, 2004) p. 333

information on Hart's connection to CIA director William Casey and the CIA's Herb Meyer who edited 'World Briefing' for Hart, and who would take over producing 'British Briefing' from Brian Crozier.

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

'Britain's existing counter-subversion machinery, proposals for fundamental change, and contingency planning for a major crisis a widespread paralysis caused by political strikes and riots which Margaret Thatcher might well face when, as we trusted, the Conservative party won the next general election.'⁴³

Richard Norton-Taylor stated that the IEDSS, initially shared premises in Golden Square with the ISC, then run by Crozier.⁴⁴ Thatcher had sent her congratulations to Washington on the Heritage Foundation's achievement and at this point Heritage was 'keen to establish a foothold in Britain'. Norton-Taylor quoted the Heritage Foundation's *Policy Review* as stating that the establishing of IEDSS had the aim of supporting both the Conservatives and 'Social Democrats' in a situation whereby UK politics was to be remodelled so that both parties could function in a similar manner to the Republicans and Democrats in the US, thus pushing the 'socialist' Labour Party to the outer fringes of politics. For Norton-Taylor the emphasis of the IEDSS was on influencing opinion-formers behind the scenes, with its then latest initiative of a conference to be addressed by Lord Carrington, NATO secretary-general, and Lord Chalfont of IEDSS, tied to a Gallup opinion poll on public opinion and NATO. Norton-Taylor also noted that Douglas Edén had broken off *formal* links with the IEDSS by 1985, when it attracted criticism, that *Encounter* shared offices with the IEDSS' *Survey*, and that the Committee for the Free World shared a Whitehall office block with Julian

⁴³ Crozier, (see note 1) p. 137

⁴⁴ Richard Norton-Taylor, 'Where detente is a dirty word: The Heritage Foundation in Britain,' *The Guardian*, 26 November 1985.

Lewis, of the anti-CND Coalition for Peace through Security. Eden (who is from the US) also appeared in the Committee for the Free World (also termed the Committee for a Free World) set up by the IEDSS' Leopold Labedz and Midge Decter. The Committee for the Free World distributed Eden's 1982 'The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament'.⁴⁵ The CFW also included Brian Crozier's close associate Robert Moss, described by Kelly as 'the CIA's Man in the Media'⁴⁶ and an anti-Communist columnist in the *Daily Telegraph* and *Goldsmith's Now!*

69. Conclusion

Chris Mullin reported that Haseler threatened that the disruption organised by the SDA would occur if the Labour party endorsed unilateral nuclear disarmament.⁴⁷ Easton provided the basis for an understanding of the Social Democratic elements that are evident in the early formation of the IEDSS.⁴⁸ This was a faction of the pro-nuclear, pro-NATO, pro-US wing of the Labour Party associated with *Socialist Commentary* and *Encounter*. Easton questioned Crozier's account⁴⁹ but affirmed that Stephen Haseler had a considerable trans-Atlantic role before and during the life of the SDA/SDP. Easton also contextualised Joseph and Roy Godson's CSIS work with the unions in the UK, stating that their foremost British associate in this CSIS/NATO work was SDP founder member, the IEDSS' Alan Lee Williams. As director of the English Speaking Union, Williams chaired Joseph Godson's Labour and Trade Union Press Service operation. With the renewed rise of CND in the late 1970s, Williams became a central figure in the government-funded Peace

45 Peter E. Newell, 'Chatham House and Spies,' available at <<http://www.worldsocialism.org/spgb/dec00/chatham.html>>.

46 Phil Kelly, 'An Unholy Alliance,' *Leveller*, No. 52, available at: <<http://www.wcml.org.uk/contents/international/cold-war/the-atlanticist-tendency-of-the-labour-party/an-unholy-alliance/>>.

47 Chris Mullin, 'Who are the SDA's potential candidates?' *Tribune*, 8 August 1980, available at <<http://archive.tribunemagazine.co.uk/article/8th-august-1980/11/who-are-the-sdas-potential-candidates>>.

48 Tom Easton, 'Who were they travelling with?', *Lobster* 31 (1996), pp. 17-18.

49 Brian Crozier, 'Who inspired Britain's new party?' *The Times*, 1 July 1993.

Through NATO.

The US viewed the rise of the anti-nuclear movement in Europe the 1980s with great alarm: the Iran-Contra documents Easton cited (which also made mention of the formation of the British American Project, in which three members of IEDSS were key players) made clear that the first Reagan administration was seriously afraid that Thatcher, and even Kohl, might not be re-elected. The draft constitution of the new SDP was written in Massachusetts by two of the SDP's founders, Robert MacLennan and William Goodhart and Easton also identified a connection in the SDP with the CSIS. Eden was the main actor in denying CND any recognition in the SDP. With Alan Lee Williams he founded the Social Democrats for Defence and Disarmament, with them acting as chair and vice-chair. They drafted the SDP's defence and disarmament policy.⁵⁰

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

⁵⁰ Alan Lee Williams and Douglas Eden, 'One point unresolved on Polaris', *The Times*, 24 June 1986 and Julian Haviland 'SDP urged to reject CND link,' *The Times*, 8 July 1982.