

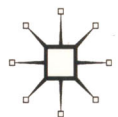


Western Anti-Communism and the Interdoc Network

Cold War Internationale

Giles Scott-Smith

Palgrave Macmillan Transnational History Series



Western Anti-Communism and the Interdoc Network

Cold War Internationale

Giles Scott-Smith

Roosevelt Study Center/Leiden University, The Netherlands



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Series Foreword

We have published a number of studies in the *Palgrave Macmillan Transnational History Series* that examine the ways in which transnational history and national history intersect – that is, when certain national developments become linked to global phenomena, and when transnational themes take on domestic significance in some countries. Thus, for instance, *The Chinese in Britain, 1800–Present* by Gregor Benton and Edmund Terence Gomez gives a detailed description of Chinese migrants and residents in Britain, but the subject is relevant not just to British or to Chinese history but to global affairs (economic, cultural, military) in which overseas Chinese played important roles. To take another example, *Telegraphic Imperialism* by Deep Kanta Lahiri Choudhury establishes fascinating connections between the development of the telegraph, a transnational phenomenon, and social and political movements in India that were facilitated by the new means of communication. It is clear that both the national and the transnational offer crucial contexts for understanding the past, and for this reason the intersection between the two perspectives is one of the most interesting areas for historical inquiry.

This book also deals with national affairs – in particular the history of the Netherlands – in relation to such transnational themes as ideology, cooperative research, and international conferences. But the primary context for the discussion of these themes is the Cold War, an international, geopolitical phenomenon. The relationship, therefore, between international history and transnational history is presented in all its richness and complexity.

We call our series “transnational history” rather than “international history” because we believe there are some important differences between the two. International history usually deals with interrelations among nations, in particular at the political and strategic level. The key questions in international relations relate to diplomacy and war. Nations seek to protect themselves against would-be enemies; they define their respective national interests and hope they may be reconciled through diplomatic efforts; they seek to construct some sort of a stable “international system” through the balance of power and other mechanisms; and when such balance breaks down, war can result. All these are subjects of study in international history. It is not surprising that many studies in that genre deal with origins of wars, both hot and cold, and efforts to re-establish peace, however short-lived it might prove to be.

Transnational history, in contrast, is concerned less with affairs among sovereign states than with interactions among individuals and their communities. These are “non-state actors” and so often act without restraint

by governments. Moreover, they pursue objectives little related to geopolitical questions (military balance, national security, war), such as the cure of diseases, control of drugs, prevention of human rights abuses, and the protection of the natural environment. Transnational actors and themes tend to develop with their own momentum, thus following their own chronologies separate from ones that privilege national or international geopolitical affairs.

This book offers a fascinating instance in which international and transnational themes come together. Its overall framework is the Cold War, a quintessentially geopolitical phenomenon, but the volume contains a discussion of private and semi-private networks of intellectuals in the Netherlands and elsewhere in Europe who sought to understand and to influence their Soviet counterparts. The focus is on the International Documentation and Information Centre (Interdoc) that was established in The Hague and was active during the 1960s in engaging in ideological research and campaigns to counter Soviet propaganda. Former intelligence officials were involved in Interdoc's founding. There is little doubt, then, that this story forms a part of Cold War history, an aspect that is relatable to psychological warfare. The transnational significance lies in the way in which various meetings and research projects came to focus on "Western values" that were to be formulated and protected, and to seek to establish global networks of like-minded individuals and organizations. In time, during the 1970s, Interdoc served as an instrument for reaching out to intellectuals in Soviet-bloc countries.

Some volumes in our series have documented the growing contact between both sides of the Iron Curtain during the 1960s and beyond. This book offers additional insight into the ways in which a geopolitical "reality" (Cold War) was steadily transformed into a transnational phenomenon.

Akira Iriye
Rana Mitter
Jeff Michaels

Acknowledgements

This book is largely based on the papers of C.C. van den Heuvel located at the National Archives in The Hague. The papers are extensive but incomplete: some files were destroyed for security reasons even during his lifetime. Files on Denmark and Royal Dutch Shell, for instance, are no longer present, and records of Interdoc board meetings are scarce. These gaps could be filled by making use of other archival sources in Europe and the US. It is probably impossible to compile a fully comprehensive history of Interdoc, such was the diversity of its activities and the semi-clandestine nature of much of its business. Nevertheless, it has been possible to put together the Interdoc story, the people and ideas that drove it, and its place within Cold War history.

In completing this book I have benefited greatly from the support of many people along the way. First, I would like to thank the Van den Heuvel family members, Christiaan, Elme, and Marona, who did everything they could to encourage my progress and to assist the research. Special thanks also goes to the archivist at the National Archives, Robbert Jan Hageman, who accommodated without any problem my erratic visits to The Hague over a period of seven years. The Roosevelt Study Center in Middelburg has been the perfect base for this project, providing the encouragement, financial support, and research time without which none of this would ever have come about. Of the many people whom I interviewed, I would particularly like to thank Peter Becker, Willem Couwenberg, and Pieter Koerts for their willingness to share their recollections on several occasions. I am grateful to those who provided me with personal papers that added greatly to the final story: Gunhild Bohm-Geyer, Willem Couwenberg, Edo Groenewald, Bertil Häggman, and Uwe Holl.

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Abbreviations

IIIF	Section F (Psychological Warfare) of the BND's Research and Analysis Division
AAEE	American-Asian Educational Exchange
AC	Atlantische Commissie/Atlantic Commission
AESP	Académie Européenne de Sciences Politiques
AFL-CIO	American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations
AfO	Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Ostfragen
AIVD	Algemene Inlichtingen en Veiligheidsdienst (successor to the BVD in 2002)
AKU	Algemene Kunstzijde Unie, later AkzoNobel
ANJV	Algemeen Nederlandse Jeugd Verbond/Dutch Youth League
APACL	Asian People's Anti-Communist League
ASIS	American Society for Industrial Security
ATA	Atlantic Treaty Association
AWF	Aktionskomitee Wahret die Freiheit/Action Committee for Truth and Freedom
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BDJ	Bund Deutscher Jugend
BMG	Bundesministerium für gesamtdeutsche Fragen
BND	Bundesnachrichtendienst
BPM	Batavische Petroleum Maatschappij (a division of Royal Dutch Shell)
BRFA	British Reserve Forces Association
BSC	British Security Coordination
BUI	British United Industrialists
BVD	Binnenlands Veiligheidsdienst/Dutch Security Service (1949-2002)
CAS	Committee on Atlantic Studies
CC	Common Cause
CCF	Congress for Cultural Freedom
CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union
CEDI	Centre Européen de Documentation et d'Information
CESES	Centro di studi e ricerche sui problemi economico-sociali/ Centre for Research on Socio-Economic Problems
CEVS	Centrum voor Europese Veiligheid en Samenwerking/ Centre for European Security and Cooperation
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIAS	Comité International d'Information et d'Action Sociale
CIDA	Centre d'Information et de Documentation Atlantique

CIDCC	Comité International pour la Défense de la Civilisation Chrétienne
Cominform	Communist Information Bureau
Comintern	Communist International
Confindustria	Confederazione Generale dell'Industria Italiana/General Confederation of Italian Industry
COSEC	Coordinating Secretariat of the International Student Conference
CPN	Communistische Partij Nederland
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
CSU	Christlich-Soziale Union
DM	Deutsche Mark/deutschmark
DSC	Defensie Studie Centrum/Defence Study Centre
EC	European Community
ECCS	European Union of Christian Democratic and Conservative Students
EDS	European Democratic Students
EEC	European Economic Community
EL	Economic League
EPPC	Ethics and Public Policy Center
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FDP	Freie Demokratische Partei/German Liberal Party
FEAO	Federation of European–American Organizations
FEC	Free Europe Committee
FHO	Fremde Heere Ost
FIR	Fédération Internationale des Résistants
FWF	Forum World Features
G-2	US Army Intelligence
GDR	German Democratic Republic
ICCS	International Union of Christian Democratic and Conservative Students
ICTO	Interkerkelijk Comité Tweezijdige Ontwapening/ Interdenominational Committee for Bilateral Disarmament
IKV	Interkerkelijk Vredesberaad/Interdenominational Peace Commission
Interdoc	International Documentation and Information Centre
InVoLu	Interne Voorlichting Luchtmacht/Internal Information Service of the Dutch Air Force
IPC	International Preparatory Committee (for WFDY–IUS festivals)
IRD	Information Research Department of the British Foreign Office
ISAY	International Secretariat for Atlantic Youth
ISC	International Student Conference

ISoC	Institute for the Study of Conflict
ISMUN	International Student Movement for the UN
ISS	Institute for Strategic Studies
IUS	International Union of Students
IY	Interdoc Youth
JASON	Jong Atlantisch Samenwerkings Orgaan Nederland
JFK	John F. Kennedy Institute (Tilburg)
KGB	Komitet gosodardstvennoj bezopasnosti (Committee for State Security)
KLM	Koninklijke Luchtvaart Maatschappij/Dutch Airlines
KVP	Katholieke Volkspartij/Catholic People's Party
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party (Japan)
MDIC	Multilateral Disarmament Information Centre
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
NAM	National Association of Manufacturers (US)
NATIS	NATO Information Service
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NFR	Nationale Federatieve Raad van het Voormalige Verzet Nederland
NIVV	Nederlands Instituut voor Vredesvraagstukken/Netherlands Institute for Peace Research
NJG	Nederlandse Jeugd Gemeenschap/Netherlands Youth Association
NRC	Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant
NS	Nederlandse Spoorwegen/Dutch Railways
NSA	National Student Association
NSC	National Security Council
NSIC	National Strategy Information Center
NSR	Nederlandse Studenten Raad/Netherlands Student Council
NTS	Narodno-Trudovoy Soyuz Rossiyskikh Solidarstov/National Alliance of Russian Solidarists
NUPI	Norwegian Institute of Foreign Affairs
OAS	Organisation Armée Secrète
OGEM	Overzeese Gas- en Elektriciteitsmaatschappij
OI	Ost-Institut (Switzerland)
OPSJ	Organisatie van Progressieve Studerende Jeugd/Organisation of Progressive Student Youth
OSS	Office of Strategic Services
OWI	Oost-West Instituut/East-West Institute
PCI	Partito Comunista Italiano
PSB	Psychological Strategy Board
PTT	Staatsbedrijf der Posterijen, Telegrafie en Telefonie/National Post, Telegraph, and Telephone Company
RGR	Rassemblement des gauches républicaines
RHSA	Reichssicherheitshauptamt/Reich Security Office

SCESC	Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation
SDECE	Service de Documentation Extérieure et de Contre-Espionnage
SDES	Société pour le Développement de l'Economie Suisse
SFMO	Stichting Fondsenwerving Militaire Oorlogs- en Dienstslachtoffers/Foundation for Fundraising for Military Casualties in War
SHAPE	Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe
SIB	Studentenvereniging voor Internationale Betrekkingen/Student Society for International Relations
SIHE	Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology
SOEV	Stichting voor Onderzoek van Ecologische Vraagstukken/ Foundation for the Investigation of Problems of Ecology
SORELS	Société Coopérative d'Etude et de Promotion des Echanges Economiques et Culturels
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands/German Social Democratic Party
SV	Staatsveiligheid/State Security (Belgium)
SVP	Stichting Vredespolitiek/Foundation for Peace Politics
SYL	Suomen ylioppilaskuntien liitto/Finnish Student Association
SYS	Scandinavian Youth Service
TD	Technischer Dienst (of the Bund Deutscher Jugend)
TUC	Trades Union Congress
UCID	Unione Cristiana Imprenditori Dirigenti/Christian Union of Business Executives
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UIRD	Union internationale de la résistance et de la déportation/International Union of Resistance and Deportee Movements
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USIA	US Information Agency
VFF	Volksbund für Frieden und Freiheit
VV	Vrede en Vrijheid
WACL	World Anti-Communist League
WASC	World Alliance for Student Cooperation
WAY	World Assembly of Youth
WCDE	Werkcomité voor Opvoeding tot Democratie/Working Committee for Democratic Education
WFDY	World Federation of Democratic Youth
WVF	World Veterans Federation
ZWO	Nederlandse Organisatie voor Zuiver-Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek/Netherlands Organization for Pure Research

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