

# The U.S.'s Project Democracy: Another British Creation

*One of the major conduits for U.S. programs of irregular warfare (“color revolutions”) against other nations is the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), which has poured billions of dollars into anti-government operations around the world over the last 30 years. It is headed today by the very same individual, Carl Gershman, who ran it in 1983. The following profile, minimally edited, is excerpted from EIR’s “Project Democracy” Special Report of 1987.*

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## The Trilaterals Launch Project Democracy

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As Henry Kissinger revamped the NSC [National Security Council] system into the focal point of the parallel government’s subversion, the newly created Trilateral Commission, of which Kissinger was a charter member, and Kissinger’s patron David Rockefeller, an architect and principal funding source, was launching the effort that would lead directly to Project Democracy.

Early in 1974, as the United States was entering the final convulsive phase of the Watergate crisis, and enduring its final humiliating defeat in Vietnam, the Trilateral Commission constituted a Task Force on the Governability of Democracies. Harvard’s Prof. Samuel Huntington, a consultant to the State Department’s Agency for International Development and a leading figure in the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, was one of three academics selected by Trilateral Commission director Zbigniew Brzezinski to draft a study on the “future of democracy.”

Michel Crozier and Joji Watanuki were the other two. Under the tight supervision of Brzezinski, and with input from other leading Trilateral members including: Robert R. Bowie, George S. Franklin, Rep. Donald M. Fraser, Karl Kaiser, Seymour Martin Lipset, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., and Gerard Smith, the trio prepared a study for presentation to a full session of the

Trilateral Commission in Kyoto, Japan on May 31, 1975.

### ‘Fascism with a Democratic Face’

The basic conclusions were that the so-called democratic nations of North America, Western Europe, and Japan were facing a grave crisis, brought on because of the transition to “post-industrial society”; that this crisis would require the adoption of corporatist-fascist forms of government—while maintaining the veneer of what one Trilateral apologist called “fascism with a democratic face.”

Among the policy initiatives taken up at Kyoto was the creation of a new institute for the “cooperative promotion of democracy”:

“One might consider . . . means of securing support and resources from foundations, business corporations, labor unions, political parties, civic associations, and, where possible and appropriate, governmental agencies for the creation of an institute for the strengthening of democratic institutions.”

The Kyoto meeting took place in May of 1975. According to the Tower Commission report and virtually all published accounts, Project Democracy was first launched with President Reagan’s June 8, 1982 speech before the British Parliament—almost seven years to the day later. Or was it?

Despite the apparent “Reaganaut” label, Project Democracy, in both its public diplomatic and covert dimensions, was launched during the Carter administration, in large measure to ensure the continued implementation of the Trilateral Commission’s “fascism with a democratic face,” regardless of who succeeded Jimmy Carter in the White House.

In early 1979, Republican National Committee chairman and Trilateral Commission member William E. Brock, along with his DNC [Democratic National Committee] counterpart Charles Manatt and George Agree of Freedom House, founded the American Political Foundation (APF). The purpose of the APF was

to implement the Kyoto plan, specifically by selling the package to the next President, Democrat or Republican.

Two other prominent figures in the launching of the APF were Rep. Dante Fascell (D-Fla.) and AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, another founding member of the Trilateral Commission. In 1967, in the wake of *Ramparts* magazine's exposé of CIA funding of the National Student Association, and simultaneous exposés of CIA covert political operations abroad, Fascell had proposed to do away with CIA clandestine activities and had actually introduced legislation to create a bipartisan institute to conduct both the open and secret foreign policy of the United States. The legislative proposal died a sudden death at the time, but resurfaced as a cornerstone of the American Political Foundation's effort.

Following the election of Ronald Reagan in November 1980, a major effort was launched to capture the President for the Project Democracy agenda.

It has been widely misreported—intentionally—that the key event that launched Project Democracy was President Reagan's June 1982 speech before the British Parliament. In reality, a far more important speech was delivered in London one month earlier, on May 10, 1982. The event was a conference at Chatham House, the headquarters of the elite Royal Institute for International Affairs (RIIA), the mother organization of America's own most venerable center of liberal Establishment power, the New York Council on Foreign Relations. RIIA, as the leading think tank of the British Crown, as distinct from the elected parliamentary government, maintained responsibility for the recruitment and grooming of British agents of influence throughout the English-speaking world.

The speaker at Chatham House on May 10, 1982 was Henry A. Kissinger. During the Carter era, Kissinger had assumed the post of North American director of the Trilateral Commission, succeeding Zbigniew Brzezinski who had moved into Kissinger's NSC office as President Carter's National Security Advisor.

## The Malvinas War

The backdrop to the Kissinger appearance was an unfolding war in the South Atlantic, with a British naval detachment steaming toward the Malvinas Islands, recently reoccupied by Argentine military

forces. The United States had recognized the Malvinas as Argentine territory since the time of the Monroe Doctrine, but the Reagan administration was in the process of throwing its crucial backing to Great Britain, a move that has soured U.S. relations with Ibero-America to this day.

In the Middle East, unbeknownst to President Reagan, but with the full secret backing of Secretary of State Alexander Haig, another Kissinger NSC product, Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, was preparing the Israeli invasion and occupation of Lebanon.

And within several months, Mexico's near default on a \$1 billion interest payment would formally launch the most profound monetary crisis in centuries.

After boasting to his elite British audience that he had sided with the British Crown in every postwar policy dispute with Washington, and that in "my White House incarnation then, I kept the British Foreign Office better informed and more closely engaged than I did the American State Department," Kissinger returned to a familiar theme: American strategic disengagement. Kissinger proposed that the United States withdraw from three-quarters of the global responsibilities it assumed at the close of World War II and assume instead the less dominant role of participant in an alliance system modeled on that of Prince Metternich's post-1815 Congress of Vienna balance of power. Put bluntly, let the United States focus its efforts within its own Western Hemisphere.

Echoing the earlier thoughts of British international socialist Lord Bertrand Russell, Kissinger denounced the United States for failing to use the opportunity of America's brief postwar monopoly on atomic weapons against Russia, and concluded that America's failure to act had given Moscow the chance to achieve irreversible military supremacy.

Finally, addressing both the Malvinas crisis and the imminent Third World debt explosion, Kissinger concluded:

"Americans from Franklin Roosevelt onward believed that the United States, with its revolutionary heritage, was the natural ally of peoples struggling against colonialism; we could win the allegiance of these new nations by opposing and occasionally undermining our European allies in the areas of their colonial dominance. Churchill, of course, resisted these American pressures.... The strategic position of self-confidence

of a close ally on a matter it considers of vital concern must not be undermined.”

### A ‘New Yalta’

Moscow clearly considered Kissinger’s speech at Chatham House (which Kissinger’s office at CSIS [Center for Strategic and International Studies] made a point of widely disseminating internationally) to be a signal that the Atlanticist liberal Establishment was prepared to accept a New Yalta arrangement acknowledging Russia’s increased military and political clout. So, in April 1983, Soviet General Secretary Yuri Andropov gave an unusual interview to the West German radical chic magazine *Der Spiegel*, in which he delivered, in Aesopian terms, a concrete proposal for such a New Yalta deal.

Andropov acknowledged that the United States had every right to consider the presence of Soviet-backed regimes in Nicaragua and Cuba a threat to the United States’ vital national interest. Therefore, let the United States militarily remove the Soviet-backed regimes operating within the U.S. sphere of strategic influence. In return, the United States should accept the fact that the Eurasian land mass and northern Africa constituted a similar sphere of strategic influence for Moscow that must be free from any American military threat.

The liberal Establishment of the West, which had heralded Andropov’s appointment as General Secretary as a sign that a “new breed” of Westernized Soviet leaders had emerged in Moscow, accepted in principle the Russian offer. Project Democracy, for the United States, was to be the principal instrument through which this treasonous New Yalta deal would be imposed.

The first step was to sell it to Ronald Reagan.

According to official documents of the American Political Foundation, news coverage, and interviews with Reagan’s White House staff, Brock, Manatt, and Agree approached the State Department and White House with the proposal that the President launch “Project Democracy” in his London speech. Two leading Kissinger protégés then holding senior posts at State, Lawrence Eagleburger and R. Mark Palmer, pushed the idea. And John Lenczowski, an aide to Alexander Haig who would soon move over to the NSC as the Soviet desk officer, and who maintained close ties to the Heritage Foundation, pushed the idea with his Reaganite friends at the White House. In 1981, Lenc-

zowski had penned an article published by the Heritage Foundation under the presumptuous title, “A Foreign Policy for Reaganauts,” in which he too had floated the proposal for a private institute to advance “democracy and free enterprise.”

Within weeks of the President’s return from London, the APF was moving to implement the program. In November 1982, APF received a \$300,000 (eventually \$400,000) grant from the Agency for International Development to run The Democracy Program, a six-month study that would lead within a year to the passage of legislation creating the government-funded and privately directed National Endowment for Democracy.

Considering that Project Democracy was ostensibly a Reagan initiative, an unlikely collection of experts—drawn heavily from the Carter administration—were recruited to direct the APF study.

- The Democracy Programs director, Prof. Allen Weinstein, was the editor of the *Washington Quarterly*, the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies journal that had been the launching point for Michael Ledeen’s political career.<sup>1</sup> When Weinstein was passed over as the director of the successor National Endowment for Democracy, he assumed the presidency of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, founded by Robert M. Hutchins, the closest collaborator of Lord Bertrand Russell in the United States and a devout international socialist.

- The vice-chairmen of the study group were Anthony Lake, a leading Trilateraloid who had run the State Department Policy Planning Bureau under Carter-Mondale, and Ben Wattenburg, a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and a director, with Samuel Huntington, of the right-wing social-democratic Coalition for a Democratic Majority.

- Other leading figures included Lane Kirkland; Peter G. Kelly, the chairman of the DNC’s Finance Committee; Rep. Dante Fascell; Sen. Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.), then and now, the leading foreign-policy adversary of the Reagan White House in the Senate.

- The project staff was also dominated by Kissinger protégés and Carter administration refugees, including: Keith Schuette, special assistant to Secretary of State

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1. See “Ledeen’s Beloved Universal Fascism: Venetian War Against the Nation-State,” *EIR*, Nov. 4, 2005, *inter alia*.

Alexander Haig; Robert Hunter, European studies director at CSIS and a former Carter NSC staffer; David Newsom, Carter's ambassador to Libya; Eugenia Kemble of the AFL-CIO, the sister of Penn Kemble, the chairman of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority and a leading right-wing social democrat who would emerge as a major player in the Iran-Contra debacle. Representing business on the program staff was John D. Sullivan, formerly a partner in the law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell and an official of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

On April 18, 1983, the Democracy Program issued its interim report, "The Commitment to Democracy: A Bi-Partisan Approach." The report proposed, among other actions, that Congress legislate the mechanism for funding what Weinstein called a "democracy quango" (quasi-autonomous non-governmental organization). "No theme," the report asserted, "requires more sustained attention in our time than the necessity for strengthening the future chances of democratic societies in a world that remains predominantly unfree or partially fettered by repressive governments. . . . There has never been a comprehensive structure for a non-governmental effort through which the resources of America's pluralistic constituencies . . . could be mobilized effectively."

### **The National Endowment for Democracy**

In November 1983, Congress passed the National Endowment for Democracy Act (NEDA), establishing federal funding to the initial tune of over \$31 million for the recently incorporated NED. The legislation designated the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), headed by Charles Z. Wick, to administer the government's share of the NED funding. Wick, while enjoying a longstanding personal friendship with President and Mrs. Reagan, also happens to be a former business partner and social intimate of billionaire Armand Hammer, perhaps the leading Soviet agent in the United States since the days of Lenin, Dzerzhinsky, and Bukharin.

The enabling legislation mandated a blatantly corporatist-fascist structure, designating four subsidiary institutes to receive and deploy the bulk of the public funding:

- 1) The AFL-CIO's Free Trade Union Institute and its Western Hemisphere affiliate AIFLD;
- 2) The U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE);

- 3) The Republican National Committee's newly created overseas "action arm," the National Republican Institute for International Affairs (NRI) [today the International Republican Institute—ed.];

- 4) The Democratic National Committee's parallel group, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) [today the International Democratic Institute—ed.].

From the very outset, Project Democracy's NED was to conduct an ambitious program of intervention into the internal public and private institutions of foreign nations, particularly the nations of Ibero-America, which, by the autumn of 1983, were deep in the throes of an IMF-led assault around the issue of the \$360 billion in unpayable debt. The five designated areas of NED operation were listed in its early charter documents as:

- 1) "Leadership Training"—a euphemism for what more conventional, earlier CIA training manuals would have referred to as "agent-in-place" and "agent of influence" recruitment, training, and financing.

- 2) "Education"—training and broadly defined propaganda efforts.

- 3) "Strengthening the Institutions of Democracy"—funding of selected labor unions, university programs, political parties, newspapers, business groups, religious groups, and community action programs that would put their resources at the disposal of the Trilateral Commission and IMF agendas.

- 4) "Conveying Ideas and Information"—indoctrination and action propaganda, in more traditional language.

- 5) Development of Personal and Institutional Ties"—the buildup of overt channels of influence through NED-linked personnel and with agents in place and agents of influence operating in the countries targeted by the various NED covert action programs.

The administrative structure of the NED, as spelled out in its 1983 incorporation papers and the congressional public funding legislation, designated a chairman, vice-chairman, president, secretary, treasurer, and board of directors to oversee its operations. While these personnel are listed along with complete biographical data in an appendix to this report, it is useful to highlight some of those individuals here.

From the outset, the chairman and treasurer has been John Richardson, a former partner in the Dulles brothers' law firm, Sullivan and Cromwell, who ran Radio Free Europe during its heyday in the late 1950s

and 1960s, and later became a leading State Department official under Kissinger.

Trilateral Commission member and AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland was appointed a director of the NED. According to a June 28, 1986 article in the *National Journal*, Kirkland was granted absolute veto power over the selection of the NED president, as part of a behind-the-scenes deal in which he agreed to kick back some of the initial \$18 million granted to FTUI-AIFLD [Free Trade Union Institute-American Institute for Free Labor Development] to the National Democratic Institute and the National Republican Institute (which Congress was initially hesitant to fund due to the obvious violations of the Constitution; later, Congress decided to scrap the constitutional objections and fund the party institutions anyway).

Kirkland selected Carl Gershman, a former staff researcher for the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith and a leading consultant to the Kissinger Commission on Central America, as NED president. Gershman has years of experience in the social democratic milieu. A director of Social Democrats, U.S.A., he cut his political teeth at the International Rescue Committee, working also for Freedom House and the Committee for a

Free World. The Gershman appointment established the dominant position inside the NED of the most rabidly pro-Israel wing of the labor/ social democracy.

By October 1984, when NED issued its second annual report, Henry A. Kissinger and Walter F. Mondale, both Trilateral Commission members, were added permanently to the board of directors....

While Congress was putting the finishing touches on NEDA, and Richardson, Gershman, Kirkland, Manatt, and the others were incorporating the Endowment in expectation of the funding, across town at Foggy Bottom, the State Department had already been engaged in a year-long propaganda and recruiting drive on behalf of Project Democracy's public side.

On Nov. 4-6, 1982, State sponsored the first of a series of democracy conferences, this one focused on free elections. Some weeks later, another conference, titled "Democratization in Communist Countries," was held at Foggy Bottom. The conference speakers and invited-guest list read like a who's who in the State Department socialist apparatus. Diplomats, journalists, labor leaders, bankers, elected officials from every continent were drawn in to these pep rallies and profiling and recruiting sessions.

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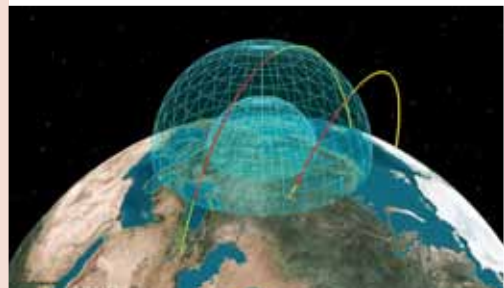
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