Books as Cultural Diplomacy

A Case Study of The British Foreign Office's Information Research Department (IRD), 1948–1956

by

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Declaration of Authorship

I, Musa Igrek, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

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Abstract

This dissertation aims to demonstrate how books functioned as a form of cultural diplomacy during the early years of the Cold War, between 1948 and 1956. This is achieved using the Information Research Department (IRD) of the UK Foreign Office (FO) as a case study. This thesis analyses the UK's early Cold War foreign policy and examines how books have promoted national identity.

The examination of the IRD's activities during the early Cold War period reveals how the UK government developed specific strategies of cultural representation and narrative to inform and influence both domestic and foreign audiences and to maintain and enhance its attractive image. In order to develop a theoretical framework linking power relations to the promotion and construction of national identity through public and cultural diplomacy activities, the research has applied Gramsci's concept of hegemony based on moral and intellectual leadership.

This thesis contributes to a stronger understanding of: how the IRD's funding and distribution of books were used to promote and (re)construct the UK's national identity in the early years of the Cold War; how books promoted a favourable national image abroad; how these books functioned as an effective tool for the UK to carry out its 'role' as a global power both at home and abroad – to maintain and reproduce its hegemony; how these books helped the political elites disseminate their preferred messages; and how intellectuals and private organisations were involved in this book-publishing strategy. The thesis has demonstrated how foreign policy preferences were organically and fundamentally connected with elite-constructed conceptions of national identity and that public and cultural diplomacy played a substantial role in projecting, promoting and protecting these conceptions. The study also provides an example of how public and cultural diplomacy projects were designed and worked upon both by official and non-official actors.

The data used in this thesis comes primarily from the archival collection of the IRD's files covering the period of 1948–1956, which are available at the National Archives in London. Additionally, a small but significant amount of data comes from newly released (April 2018) material from the University of Reading's Special Collections of Archives and Rare Books.

Acknowledgements

LIST OF ACRONYMS

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation (UK)
BC	British Council (UK)
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency (USA)
COI	Central Office of Information (UK)
CRD	Cultural Relations Department (UK)
FO	Foreign Office (UK)
IRD	Information Research Department (UK)
JIC	Joint Intelligence Committee (UK)
MI5	Security Service (UK)
MI6	Secret Intelligence Service see SIS (UK)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
PRO	Public Record Office (UK)
PWE	Political Warfare Executive (UK)
RIO	Regional Information Office (UK)
SIS	Secret Intelligence Service see MI6 (UK)
SOE	Special Operations Executive (UK)
USIA	United States Information Agency (USA)

Chapter One

1.1 Introduction

Public diplomacy, telling a country's story to the world, is inextricably related to power, and for the UK during the Cold War this worked as a one-way transmission of information (Cull, 2008; Taylor, 2009; Snow, 2009; Pamment, 2013). Public diplomacy has been used by governments seeking to inform, influence and engage with foreign audiences in order to gain support for their national goals and foreign policies (Cull, 2008). More recently, new public diplomacy has included action by both government and non-government entities and individuals (Melissen, 2005; Cull, 2008; Snow, 2009). During the Cold War, radio, exhibitions, student exchanges, book programmes and libraries were vital tools in the conduct of public diplomacy and these activities expanded from the straightforward support of certain policies to the use of the arts to gain supporters overseas (Scott-Smith, 2009). Book publishing and book programmes fall into the category of cultural diplomacy, a subset of public diplomacy, understood as the use of culture to facilitate or achieve foreign policy objectives (Cull, 2008). The differences between public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy, as strategies by which to communicate a country's history to the world, are difficult to untangle, as I explain later, together they play a vital role in nations' foreign policy.

One of the main expectations of foreign policy is that it projects national identity, and public diplomacy – as a tool of foreign policy – can 'facilitate (re)defining and (re)constructing national identities' (Szondi, 2009, p. 295; Glover, 2011; Pamment, 2015; Hill, 2016). Foreign policy practices play a prominent role in constructing national identity and identity is connected 'constitutively to the national interest' and is 'a foreign policy catalyst' (Williams et al., 2012, p. 195). National identity, or national self-image, is based on perceptions of sameness and difference, and it is subject to constant redefinition. Changing foreign policy alters the dominant concepts of national identity, and political elites have the power to emphasise particular preferred meanings and understandings in the construction of national identity (Campbell, 1992; Hill, 2016). During the Cold War, both the East and the West constructed representations of themselves and the 'other' and public and cultural diplomacy played a significant role in promoting and constructing national identities.

Books have long been considered a tool in conducting public and cultural diplomacy; however, to date, there have been few case studies to show how this works in practice (Mitchell, 1986; Finn, 2003; Schneider, 2006; Szondi, 2009; Zaharna, 2009; Barnhisel, 2010; 2015). There is still little consensus as to what constitutes public

diplomacy in reality, the tools it offers, and how they might be used to best effect (Kelley, 2009). Notably, in traditional public diplomacy, books have been a key vehicle used to deliver a country's message and to create and develop relationships between peoples and nations.

In seeking to understand how books function as tools of public and cultural diplomacy, I start with an analysis of foreign policy, followed by an examination of how books serve to deliver policy by promoting and constructing national identity. More specifically, this dissertation aims to demonstrate how books functioned as a form of cultural diplomacy in the early Cold War between 1948 and 1956. This has been achieved by using the Information Research Department (IRD) of the UK Foreign Office (FO), as a case study to develop fruitful discussion of and evidence for my research. The IRD was established in 1948 under the then Labour government as a secret government department and was finally closed in 1977; however, its existence only became public knowledge in 1995. As the UK's power and prestige declined after WWII, there was a need for 'national self-advertisement' – more commonly known as 'propaganda' – and the IRD contributed to this 'national projection' that would be known today as public or cultural diplomacy (Taylor, 1999; Defty, 2004). The IRD's role was to use 'national projection' in the interests of the UK and democracy and to influence public opinion by showing that the UK, and the Western tradition for which the UK stood, had something better to offer than the Communist way of life (Taylor, 1999; Scott-Smith, 2012). British post-war foreign propaganda echoed the concept of 'positive national projection' developed in the inter-war years, and the IRD had a significant role in promoting this approach (Taylor, 1999; Defty, 2004; Van Kessel, 2011).

The IRD became deeply involved in book publishing and distribution as an aspect of the UK's Cold War engagement and developed close links with publishing houses, international organisations, intellectuals and writers. It was responsible for national projection, propaganda against Communism (Scott-Smith, 2012; Taylor, 1999; Defty, 2004) and for influencing public opinion, both domestically and internationally, by producing and distributing material including books, newspaper stories, films, exhibitions and radio scripts to project, promote and protect the 'British way of life', 'Social democracy' and 'Western civilisation' against the perceived threat of Soviet Communism (Wilford, 2003; Schwartz, 2009). The IRD selected writers and commissioned, translated and produced a variety of books to promote the image and interests of the UK and to counter Communism. It supported the publication, both in English and in translation, of over a hundred titles including works by such well-known writers and intellectuals as George Orwell, Bertrand Russell and Arthur Koestler and had a close connection with private publishing houses including Ampersand, Batchworth, Phoenix and Bodley Head.

By the mid-20th century, Britain's position as a world-power commanding the resources and markets of an immense empire was already diminishing, and the events of WWII shifted the balance of power even further towards the increasingly dominant US (Young, 1997). The urge to protect Western democracy against the Soviet threat became a significant imperative at state level. The UK felt responsible for guiding and leading international systems towards an established and prosperous world constructed around the general principles of Western democracy it advocated, including free-trade, freedom of expression, property rights and the rule of law.

The country was no longer at the head of an immense empire that once stretched from the Americas to Asia, from Africa to Australia and, as its reach and influence continued to shrink, the question arose as to what extent this small group of islands off the coast of continental Europe could command influence on the world stage. As the UK's international position changed, there was a need to promote and (re)construct national identity. The implications of this led the political elites to represent the UK as a model of success, through its values and principles; they wanted to project a self-image of a proud and great country (Wallace, 1991; Young, 1997). It is necessary to add that, through this projection, the political elites wanted to create a credible image for both foreign and domestic audiences.

The country's national projection strategy and the desire to create an attractive image was part of the post-war consensus in foreign policy between the Labour (1945–51), and Conservative (1951–64) governments, both of which wished to preserve the idea that the UK had a principal role in world diplomacy, that it remained a global power and that it guarded the traditions of democracy and Western civilisation (Vickers, 2003; Deighton, 2010; Taylor, 1999; Van Kessel, 2011). Related to this point, as with individual identity, 'national identity' is how states define themselves, and the (re)construction of national identity relies on a form of 'othering', i.e. identifying what the nation is not; cultural factors play a major part in defining this (Gibbins, 2014). It can be argued that the construction of national identity is based on the conceptions of the elites, which tell people who they are and how they should act as a national community (Ritchie, 2014). In this process of construction, the dominant group imposes its self-image on a larger population and forms a hegemony over other groups, discussed further in Chapter 3.

The country's endeavour to communicate with the public both at home and abroad was part of the specific response to changing international and domestic circumstances (Taylor, 1999). The UK's policymakers circulated cautiously constructed narratives through the British Council (BC), the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and other overseas information organisations. A new department claiming 'our principles offer the best and most efficient way of life', and 'we have a rival ideology to that of Communism' (Scott-Smith, 2012, p. 66). The government was careful to hide its

endeavours; for this reason, many historians have considered it as part of the UK's wider intelligence activities (Aldrich, 2001; Defty, 2004; Schwartz, 2009). However, I would describe the IRD as the UK's Cold War covert public diplomacy agency since its activities and functions fit the definition of public or cultural diplomacy.

Besides its core aim of understanding how books function in public and cultural diplomacy, this study investigates, within the remit of the IRD case study, how books were used in the practice of cultural diplomacy, conceived as part of public diplomacy, to promote and (re)construct the UK's national identity and present it internationally as a means to develop long-term relationships; how intellectuals and private organisations were involved in the state's book publishing and distributing activities to maintain and reproduce hegemony; how books promoted a favourable national image abroad; how the IRD's funding and distribution of books operated in promoting national identity in the early years of the Cold War; how these books helped the political elites to disseminate their preferred messages; and how these books functioned as an effective tool for the UK to carry out its 'role' as a global power both at home and abroad. An examination of the IRD's activities uncovers how the UK government developed specific strategies of cultural representation and narratives to inform and influence both domestic and foreign audiences. The study also reveals how the UK wanted to create and distribute certain perceptions and understandings about the nation to sustain its 'imagined communities' of the UK but also the Western free world through books (Anderson, 2006).

The existing studies on books in cultural diplomacy are mainly found in the context of American academic research and focus on the activities and policies of the US government during the Cold War (Barnhisel and Turner, 2010; Laugesen, 2010, 2017; Robbins, 2007). Broadly, such studies examine the relationship between cultural diplomacy and book programmes and argue that these programmes can be seen as a tool of cultural diplomacy in the sense that books were used by governments to achieve their foreign policy goal of winning hearts and minds. In these studies, the authors also identify that the books disseminated the values of different countries and their ways of life; this is explained by the ability of books to introduce new ideas and ideologies which represent different cultures.

There is much to be learnt from the scholarly work on the USA's experiences in this area. Nevertheless, the role of books in US Cold War cultural diplomacy is not sufficient to form a general understanding of the cultural Cold War, especially when we want to understand how these government-funded publishing activities helped states to maintain and reproduce their powers. No literature was identified on the role of books in the UK's foreign policy from a public or cultural diplomacy perspective, and this is a significant gap in academic work. This dissertation, therefore, contributes to filling that gap by examining governmental activity in using books to achieve foreign policy goals.

Because the UK experience can be compared by other authors with that of the USA, the scope of this research is limited to the IRD's publishing activities, which have not been given sufficient attention, and particularly not in a way that enables an understanding of their role in the UK's domestic and foreign policy. Consequently, this dissertation does not offer a comparison between the UK and the USA's book publishing activities but instead focusses on an in-depth analysis of a single case study to provide material that can be a starting point for subsequent comparative case studies.

Having established a gap in the literature regarding the role of books in UK foreign policy in general and, specifically, in the Cold War period, I now make a case for presenting the existing works on the IRD as partial and explain how my study enables a broader understanding of the work of the IRD. The IRD has received increasing attention since the release of its official files in 1995. However, as I examine in the literature review in Chapter 2, the works identified did not focus on the IRD's publishing activities and their role in promoting and constructing a national identity or on how these books aimed to help the UK maintain its intellectual and moral leadership.

Overall, the studies mentioned try to meet the substantial interest in the IRD from the perspectives of intelligence studies and communications history. None of the works identified provides an in-depth analysis of the publishing activities of IRD and its close relationship with non-state organisations in the context of cultural diplomacy. As I demonstrate, those studies have significant limitations, which I try to overcome, primarily due to their view of the state as a monolithic entity, which leads them to omit a thorough examination of the links the state necessarily has with other protagonists in the development of foreign and external cultural policy strategies. These connections with other figures in cultural diplomacy are crucial given the links with cultural policy (Mitchell, 1986; Figueira, 2018).

Most importantly, the IRD's relationships with cultural organisations and publishing houses, and its intention to develop national projection, have been neglected, as has the IRD's interaction with the BC, the UK's official cultural diplomacy branch. Nevertheless, the work produced to date is useful in providing some insight into the cooperation of the UK and the USA in combatting communism, the role of newspapers and magazines in the IRD's operation, the involvement of journalists, and the IRD's close links with the Labour Party and with Trade Unions. These insights illuminate the findings described in Chapter 5.

It is essential that the character of the individual books, films, magazines or exhibitions are investigated in detail to understand the UK's Cold War public and cultural diplomacy efforts. The use of cultural products during the Cold War in promoting nations and their 'ways of life' in a world of competing ideologies was substantial. Today, there is a growing recognition of the importance of non-governmental figures in public and

cultural diplomacy. However, the difficulties in accessing decision-making processes and political agendas inhibit our understanding of their position in the field. Revisiting the past will enable us to learn how non-state figures continuously played a notable role in cultural diplomacy and to uncover their relationship with state power and ideology.

By examining the nature of the IRD's funding of books, this study seeks to add a new dimension to the growing literature on historical cultural diplomacy and the role of 'culture', especially books, during the Cold War. Despite a revival of interest in propaganda, ideology and culture on the part of Cold War historians, book programmes, publishing and public and cultural diplomacy remain relatively neglected fields of research. As noted above, the position of UK – government – subsidised books in the cultural Cold War has not been given sufficient attention by scholars and, as Laugesen (2010, p. 128) observes, 'to dismiss these [book] programs as simple propaganda – as most scholars have so far done – is inadequate'. The fact that the books were subsided by the IRD does not mean that they can only be seen as propaganda material. This sole focus on books as propaganda is the fundamental limitation of scholarly work on the IRD to date.

The positioning of the IRD's books as a cultural product, representational of the UK's values, ideology and, broadly, its national identity, needs to be investigated through a cultural approach and from the perspectives of different disciplines, such as cultural studies, literature, translation studies, the cultural Cold War and book history, which also relate to cultural diplomacy as a field of enquiry. Existing studies of the IRD have primarily been from a political viewpoint. For the thirty years of its existence, the IRD led a major covert propaganda war that intended to affect ideas both internationally and domestically through the use of books. The majority of books that were subsidised by IRD are still on bookshelves around the world today, such as G. L. Arnold's *Peace or War?*; John Bowle's *The Nationalist Idea*; Maurice Cranston's *Human Rights To-day*; Victor Feather's *Trade Unions – True or False?*; and Denis Healey's *Neutralism.* Understanding the meaning for their existence is, therefore, still relevant for today's readers.

1.2 Theoretical Framework, Scope and Methodology

This dissertation is theoretically situated in the field of public and cultural diplomacy. Cultural diplomacy is a relatively new academic discipline focussed on the analysis of the role of culture in foreign policy. Through this study, I see cultural diplomacy as a subset of public diplomacy. There is, however, no agreed definition of 'cultural diplomacy', and the term has been grouped with other overlapping terms such as 'public diplomacy', 'propaganda', 'international cultural relations' and 'cultural imperialism'. This association is due to blurred boundaries, overlapping terms and subjectivity. Thus, I am aware of the complicated relationship between the terms and how scholars define the boundaries in different ways, and this will be further discussed

in Chapter 3. However, at this point, it is beneficial to identify the definitions of public diplomacy, cultural diplomacy and propaganda which will be applied throughout this dissertation.

The difficulties in finding an agreed definition of cultural diplomacy, have led me to adopt the description that seems most appropriate to the objectives of this study. Thus, I am adopting Aguilar's (1996, p. 9) definition of cultural diplomacy, as: 'the way a government portrays its country to another country's people in order to achieve certain foreign policy goals … and incorporates the activities of governmental agencies established to disseminate information, news, and interpretive material about the country … to instil sympathy and understanding for the goals of a country's domestic and foreign political action'. This precisely represents the activities of the IRD during its existence as an FCO department. The manner in which the IRD applied material, namely books, to influence public opinion and to project and promote the values of the UK fit this definition, which relates to how cultural diplomacy uses culture, in its broadest sense, as a tool of foreign policy to achieve a desirable outcome for the nation.

Throughout this study, propaganda may be seen as the 'deliberate attempt to influence public opinion through the transmission of ideas and values for a specific purpose, not through violence or bribery' (Welch, 2003a, p. 318). The IRD's book activities, as part of the UK's early Cold War activities in public and cultural diplomacy, can be located in this field of propaganda. Additionally, public diplomacy, for the purpose of the current study, is 'a government's process of communication with foreign publics in an attempt to bring about understanding for its nation's ideas and ideals, its institutions and culture, as well as its national goals and policies' (Tuch, 1990, p. 3). Often, the distinctions between these terms of public diplomacy, cultural diplomacy and propaganda are heavily questioned. Can audiences be influenced without understanding? As the processes are not clear cut, it is no surprise that there is no definite boundary between the terms. Cultural diplomacy is a concept closely related to public diplomacy and for this study I see cultural diplomacy as a subset of public diplomacy (Cull, 2008). The term 'cultural diplomacy' rather than 'propaganda' was chosen for the title of this dissertation as my approach to the books is to see them as a form of public or cultural diplomacy: my focus is on the presentation of the story of a country by agents of government (the IRD in this case) and not on their reception by audiences. This choice also supports my intention to examine the IRD's activities from a cultural approach and to release the IRD's book publishing activities from the negative connotations associated with the use of the term 'propaganda'.

I advance the argument that the publishing activities of IRD were to a degree a hegemonic instrument of the UK's foreign policy, as the ideas and cultural values that were being instrumentalised were linked with dominant political, cultural and economic

interests. In order to understand these connections more fully, Gramsci's concept of hegemony, indicating intellectual and moral leadership both at national and international level, will lead to the investigation of how books functioned through the influence of specific elite networks that operated in the interests of the state and the prevailing ideology. In other words, it indicates the UK's intellectual and moral leadership, both domestically and internationally, in a particular set of ideas and way of life by exercising power through discourse.

Through the publishing of books privately, publicly or via subsidies during the Cold War, the state sought to maintain its influence, power and prestige in the global arena and to promote its national identity. This policy also saw the adoption of anti-totalitarian rhetoric and a clear indication of how the country defined itself. As demonstrated in the Chapter 5, the state's efforts to create attraction towards the UK by the concepts of 'three circles', 'third force' and 'special relationship', helping the UK to maintain and reproduce its intellectual and moral leadership in the Commonwealth, the US, the Middle East and Western Europe, were inextricably related to power and the UK's desire to maintain and reproduce its leadership.

For Gramsci, hegemony is a relationship based on consent and built on political and ideological leadership, rather than domination based on hard power. Hegemony can mean cultural, economic, moral, ideological and political leadership over subordinate groups. Gramsci's concept of hegemony emphasised that attractive culture, ideology, values and institutions are vital characters which can cause others to follow, appreciate and accept the country as a model, consequently increasing its power and influence (Dirzauskaite and Ilinca, 2017). Gramsci has significantly contributed to the articulation of the concept that power is not only exercised through 'force' but also through 'consent'. In this light, the IRD's activities need to receive close attention to understand how it conducted the transformation of general interest in a way that aligned with the interests of the leading political elites. This investigation is also necessary to show how books helped the IRD to establish a 'common sense' interpretation of the British way of life, anti-communism and Western civilisation.

Hegemonic power extends from national to international level and, to become hegemonic, a state has to establish and protect a 'world order', universal in conception (Cox, 1994). Anglo-American world views came to predominate during WWII, when the UK and the USA were the guardians of free democracy and were seen in occupied nations as a symbol against the totalitarian threat (Wallace, 1991). The 'new world order' with the beginning of the Cold War showed how the UK and the USA sustained this Anglo-American hegemony to promote and protect Western values and fight against Communism, and here the IRD and its activities played a significant role. The UK needed to be close to the USA in the new international order and to preserve its leadership role.

As Harold Macmillan's wartime analogy indicates, 'the British act as Greeks to the imperial/American Romans' and this understanding formed a central part of the UK's foreign policy in the Cold War (Wallace, 2005, p. 56). It is not surprising that the UK's main aim was to harness American power to British ends; thus, for instance, British governments believed that the UK retained an independent and significant role in the world despite American superiority (Marsh, 2013; Schake, 2017). It is clear that cultural unity between the two countries also helped to shape their national identity and pushed them to produce new narratives.

Distributing and establishing the idea that 'the British way of life' is better than the 'other', be that totalitarian Communism or unrestrained capitalism, and projecting the notions of 'social democracy' and 'Western civilisation' can all be classed as the effort of forming 'common sense' for the UK's leadership. As Holub (1992) states, in order to understand how power relations work, it is essential to investigate the preferred meanings and methods which construct the 'common sense'. The state's effort to create an ideological sphere that helps to maintain and reproduce its hegemony shows how power is exercised in civil society and the state. By power, I mean the capacity to produce an intended result that is closely linked with cultural diplomacy, the role of culture in foreign policy.

The concept of hegemony will also help to uncover the function of intellectuals who represent moral and ideological positions in the cultural domain and their undeniable role in promoting and constructing national identity. Intellectuals have a role in transforming; they are in a position of producing knowledge and introducing that knowledge to others and are, furthermore, guardians of universal values (Scott-Smith, 2002). Therefore, their part in the construction of society is major; their power in producing ideological material or distributing ideas that serve the state agenda gives them a meaningful character in power relations. As Parmar (2019) defines them, intellectuals are part of an 'elite knowledge network' that engages in building hegemony. This will be further examined in Chapter 3.

In the Cold War, intellectuals played a significant role as both supporters and challengers of the ideas circulated by ruling classes. This is particularly important for this study as the IRD worked closely with intellectuals both at home and abroad. Their ability to operate in 'discursive strategies of manipulation of knowledge and opinions' make them an attractive instrument for the state (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 185). Regarding the IRD's work, certain writers held a pivotal position within the hegemonic structure and are the object of specific investigation in Chapter 5. As I demonstrate further, intellectuals including George Orwell, Bertrand Russell and Arthur Koestler played a vital role in the fight against the Communist hegemony in that they permitted the IRD to publish their books and distribute their ideas via government channels.

Alongside the role of individuals, networks play a powerful role in supporting the state in the development of cultural diplomacy. The Gramscian perspective is helpful in analysing and uncovering the state-private networks that performed a central role in the IRD's publishing operation and in displaying the covert power relations and political dimensions of culture in foreign policy. Gramsci's idea of hegemony contains elements of cooperation and contestation, which will help to identify the full extent of this network in British cultural Cold War history. As hegemony can be achieved through a combination of private and public efforts, this complicated relationship needs to be investigated to understand how the IRD operations unfolded both at home and abroad and how the non-state organisations helped to promote and construct the UK's national identity.

After detailing the theoretical framework of this dissertation, I want to underline the scope of this study. The subject of this dissertation is how books function as part of public and cultural diplomacy strategies, and I use the UK's FCO IRD as a case study by focussing on its book publishing and distribution activities between 1948 and 1956. As mentioned earlier, although the IRD was involved in producing and disseminating many cultural products, such as exhibitions, films, magazines and radio scripts, this study will be limited to an examination of its book publishing and distribution activities, its affiliation with intellectuals and publishing houses, and its relationship with the BC within the scope of book publication. Given the time and resources available for this study, it is not possible to cover the entirety of its nearly thirty-year existence. The study covers the initial nine years of IRD activities, finishing in 1956, at the time of the Suez Crisis, which had a profound impact on British foreign policy. One of the most significant events of the Cold War era, the event was a diplomatic and military clash between Egypt and an alliance of the UK, France and Israel. It revealed to the world the weakness of the UK's imperial power and was therefore considered a critical foreign-policy failure for the country (Taylor, 1999; Vaughan, 2005).

This research does not examine how the Cold War shaped the culture; rather, it focusses on material means, namely how books as a form of cultural diplomacy were intended to promote and construct a national identity to achieve the UK's foreign policy aims. However, the scope of the study does not include detailing or measuring the success of the IRD's book publishing activities. The cultural and intellectual impact of the books is hard to detail and a challenge to measure as they have a lifetime impact (Melissen, 2005; Von Flotow, 2007; Rawnsley, 2013). Further, the study does not examine or compare the impact of particular governments on IRD activities, as fighting against Communism and maintaining and reproducing the UK's leadership were the main objectives of all governments between 1945 and 1958 (Deighton, 2010; Taylor, 1999; Defty, 2004). This was an extension of the UK's desire to construct some form of stable international system.

In order to deliver the above research objectives, the study uses a qualitative research methodology. The primary research material is the archival collection of the IRD's files covering the period from 1948 to 1956, which are available in the National Archives, London, UK. Moreover, a small but significant amount of data comes from newly released (April 2018) material from the University of Reading's Special Collections of Archives and Rare Books. In terms of secondary literature, I rely on the political and cultural history of the UK and its foreign policy in the early Cold War. The selected empirical data were taken solely from the archival material that contains departmental records, reports, correspondence and minutes. To analyse the data and to understand how political elites promoted and constructed the UK's national identity, I employ Discourse Historical Analysis (DHA), a particular form of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). DHA is unique in that it highlights identity construction, and this approach has been used in the analysis of national identities where the emphasis on 'us' and 'them' is at the heart of identity (Wodak et al., 2009; Aydın-Düzgit, 2014). It is crucial to understand that foreign policy-makers identify 'self' and 'other' in order to maintain their leadership position and to achieve their foreign policy goals through public and cultural diplomacy activities.

The DHA approach will help to map out the UK's national identity and its reconstruction process in the early Cold War. It will give us the perspective of the political elites and their power relationships. This is also closely related to the role of public diplomacy in constructing and promoting national identities. As the UK moved away from its empire in search of a new role after WWII, the country faced the questions of 'who are we?' and 'how do we want to be seen by others?' (Szondi, 2009, p. 295). The UK's determination to construct distinctions between 'self' and 'other' nations played a significant role in the Cold War, and exploring the role of public and cultural diplomacy to promote and distribute this identity is, therefore, significant.

In the following paragraphs, I outline the thesis: in the first chapter, the Introduction, as we have seen above, I present the research topic, justify my choice and provide a brief outline of the background and context of the research into the IRD and its publishing activities. The chapter outlines the main aims and scope of the research and provides a summary of the theoretical and methodological approaches chosen for the research. In the second chapter, I examine the existing literature about the IRD and the role of books in cultural diplomacy.

Chapter 3 presents the critical analytical frame within which this study is based. This encompasses two main areas: hegemony, ideology and power; and culture, propaganda and public/cultural diplomacy. The first section discusses the Gramscian notion of hegemony in international relations and the concept of soft power. By applying hegemony to the case of books as a form of cultural diplomacy, the chapter aims to show

how the state aimed to exercise its powers through ideological and material means. The second section in this chapter discusses culture, power and ideology as they are key concepts in public and cultural diplomacy. The third section defines foreign policy, diplomacy and national identity and the fourth section focusses on the relationship between public diplomacy, cultural diplomacy and propaganda. Chapter 4 explains the usage of CDA and how this methodology is applied effectively to the research to understand power, national identity, hegemony and ideology through discourse. In this chapter, I also discuss the data collection method, the case study approach and working with archival material and the limitations this poses.

The fifth chapter contains the major arguments and findings of the thesis. The findings will be presented under four different topics: the UK's early Cold War foreign policy and the Anglo-American hegemony in the early Cold War which explains the UK's leadership efforts in the cultural Cold War; the history and the publishing activities of the IRD; the actions of the intellectuals in achieving the IRD's objectives; and the IRD's relations with the BC. The sixth and final chapter, Conclusion, will present a final discussion and an overview of the research findings, together with reflections on the contribution of this study to the knowledge of cultural diplomacy and the potential developments of this study.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

In this chapter, I consider the existing literature on books and cultural diplomacy, and analyse the IRD in order to validate the focus of this book. The relationship between books and cultural diplomacy is a niche consideration for governments when developing foreign policy and, as such, remains an under-researched area of study. This literature review is structured in two sections. The first outlines the hypothesised relationship between cultural diplomacy and books, examining what approach governments adopt regarding the publication and dissemination of books. It adopts a specific focus on the agents involved in these activities, the role of books in projecting a national image, the potential for books to promote a certain 'way of life', including concepts of 'freedom' and 'democracy', and the involvement of state-sponsored cultural organisations and private organisations in publishing. The second section reviews the existing literature on the IRD and its activities, explains prominent themes, draws together various approaches for assessing the IRD's material, and identifies areas for further research.

2.1 Books and Cultural Diplomacy

In the battle of ideas, books have always been a leading cultural product with the capacity to relay messages to other nations. As vehicles for transferring knowledge, books serve as useful tools for introducing and promoting a country's lifestyles and attitudes. Therefore, books can represent a nation's culture and identity, such that their role in facilitating dialogue between nations and peoples is undeniable. Nevertheless, recognition of the role that books play in foreign policy and international relations has been lacking. Little published research has gained notoriety, excepting perhaps some analyses of cultural diplomacy and the role of publishing in the Cold War era. However, the recent emphasis on the impact of cultural diplomacy has produced many studies by American institutions. These regard books as ideological tools that promote an American way of life, democracy, and personal freedoms. Book programmes have been a central tenet of American cultural diplomacy from the 1940s onwards, such that the field has attracted scholars interested in the cultural Cold War, media and communication, cultural studies, and the history of books.

The American and Canadian approaches have been well documented by various scholars, including Arndt (2006); Schneider (2006), Von Flotow (2007; 2007a; 2007b), Barnhisel (2010; 2015), Laugesen (2010; 2017), Reisch (2013), and Maack (2001), with significant attention devoted to book programmes in the early Cold War period. Only recently have books been studied as tools of cultural diplomacy in other parts of the

world and in different disciplines. The majority of attention has come from history, politics, media, and security scholars.

The American literature generally supports the idea that the USA's book programmes acted as reliable tools for promoting the American way of life, projecting the nation's values and public image, and spreading US-based conceptions of freedom and democracy during the Cold War. Many authors, including Barnhisel (2010; 2015), Laugesen (2010; 2017), and Reisch (2013), argue that book programmes counteracted Soviet propaganda, which was considered a threat to Western democracy and values. These scholars mainly considered these programmes to be part of the American Cold War diplomacy effort, and studies in this area mainly examine the role of non-state organisations and the CIA. They note that this programme was entirely focused on this state-level purpose rather than on producing relevant literature.

Kramer (2013, p. XII) claims that American book distribution programmes were created "to affect the perceptions, beliefs, and expectations of political and intellectual elites ('leadership groups'), who would have at least some capacity to influence the Communist regimes' policies directly or indirectly". Arndt (2006) and Barnhisel (2010; 2015) note that the American book programmes were initially based upon a powerful culturalist approach, which aimed to showcase American culture and create long-term understanding of American values. However, in the 1950s, this was almost entirely converted into an informationalist approach, which had the aim of supporting immediate policy goals, as a result of internal and external pressures. The aim of book programmes became promoting an understanding of American culture and American policies in the international sphere. Barnhisel (2010) claims that the informationalist approach has dominated official American institutions engaged in cultural diplomacy, but that the culturalist approach has always retained a role, since informing foreign audiences about a nation can be seen as an example of cultural diplomacy.

Connecting book programmes with imperialism and hegemony is a key feature of the existing literature. For example, in the 1950s, it is recognised that the USA practised cultural diplomacy in order to achieve foreign policy objectives. This included the politicisation of books (Barnhisel, 2010; Laugesen, 2010). In the Cold War era, book programmes remained open to institutional use in order to achieve the government's foreign policy objectives, but this raised issues about intellectual freedom and the relationships between publishers and authorities – see Section 3.5 for a more in-depth discussion of this issue. The aim of the books produced and distributed by these programmes was to present an image of the USA as a well-meaning liberal democracy. The intended audience was elite opinion-makers (Barnhisel, 2010; Reisch, 2013). Thus, for the UK, there is a need to explore the motivations of the IRD's book publishing activities, as well as to identify what kind of approach was adopted and whether activities

were motivated by imperialist or hegemonic ambitions, given the lack of academic focus on these programmes.

Book programmes are useful tools for improving reputations and for winning over hearts and minds in the fight against radicalism. As such, cultural diplomacy tools have been extensively employed as part of this effort. Authors like Finn (2003) and Schneider (2006) point to how the character of books used in cultural diplomacy became visible as means of fighting extremist ideas after the 9/11 attacks, just as it was during the Cold War. Providing examples of the UK's cultural diplomacy effort by focussing on IRD will contribute significantly to this field and help to understand the motivation of the British Government.

Book programmes were mainly managed by government bodies during the Cold War, but in some cases non-state institutions also played a role. Countries' official organisations played an essential part in the distribution of books abroad. Agencies such as France's Alliance Française practised similar approaches to those of the USA – albeit with different justifications, strategies, and outcomes – towards francophone Africa, and book programmes were applied as a key element of France's cultural diplomacy effort during the Cold War (Maack, 2001; Barnhisel, 2010). However, the methodology employed by state and non-state organisations in conducting book programmes must be explored further.

The literature provides evidence of relationships between private and public institutions. However, the involvement of the British Council (BC) in book programmes, for example, blurs the lines, as the organisation serves as the official organ of the UK's cultural diplomacy. The evidence of its close relationship with the IRD is strong. However, where there is extensive material in the American literature on official organisations and their involvement in cultural diplomacy in the Cold War, such material is lacking for the UK. The information gap means that the extent of the UK's Cold War cultural diplomacy is not known. For this reason, the examination of the forms of interaction between the IRD and the BC is vital – this is provided by Section 5.7.

However, the Cold War book programmes were not only conducted by governments and their overseas libraries and reading rooms, but also involved private organisations. For example, the Ford and Rockefeller foundations played essential roles in many of the cultural diplomacy programmes that were established by the US Government (Arndt, 2006; Cohn, 2006; Barnhisel, 2010). In this research, the involvement of publishers which were part of the IRD's operation prompts the consideration of the relationship between state institutions and private sector organisations. Clarifying these relations, particularly in the case of the UK's early Cold War operations, will also raise our understanding of state-private relationships within the wider field of cultural diplomacy. The literature identifies some cases in which the UK

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and the USA worked together to promote overseas libraries with other countries, such as France and Italy, as part of a pro-Western message, with the help of non-governmental organisations (Barnhisel and Turner, 2010). This demonstrates the existence of partnerships with private organisations as part of cultural diplomacy efforts during the Cold War.

Ad hoc support or long-running assistance was also supplied by national intelligence agencies. Book programmes were funded both overtly and covertly, as early in the Cold War public and cultural diplomacy became the main component of the USA's global governance strategy. The CIA secretly promoted positive images of the USA by, for example, establishing international conferences and engaging in publishing activities. The CIA's involvement in publishing was crucial, and politicians agreed that this approach bolstered the state's national security (Finn, 2003). The attention paid to book programmes by the CIA and other supporters helps to explain why these efforts continued long after the fall of the Soviet regime (Kramer, 2013).

Reisch's (2013) book is a new source of evidence about the USA political warfare against the Soviet bloc and the form of the CIA's involvement in book publishing. Such research, being based on archived material, helps us to understand the covert relations between secretive government departments and publishing activities. In *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War*, Saunders (1999), focussing on the CIA, reveals that state-private networks paid little attention to the IRD, especially its close relation with the *Encounter* magazine, which was jointly supported by the IRD and the CIA. Her interest mainly rests on the IRD's secret relationship with the Congress for Cultural Freedom, an anti-Communist advocacy group founded in 1950. As the existing literature shows, state intelligence agencies were involved in Cold War cultural diplomacy operations. The apparent absence of the UK intelligence agencies demonstrates why a study of the IRD – a covert FCO department – is necessary.

During the Cold War, books that were intended to reinforce a nation's image and reputation needed to be translated into target languages. For example, in 1952, the US Government encouraged the creation of a private, non-profit organisation, Franklin Publications, which then applied itself to promoting the publication of American books in non-aligned territories, particularly Middle-Eastern countries, such as Egypt, and Pakistan, and the translation of books into local languages (Jacquemond, 2009).

In the following paragraphs, I analyse translated books, since many book programmes only cover this type of material. Translated books are critical elements of foreign policy (Bound et al. 2007; Von Flotow and Nischik, 2007; Schäffner, 2007). According to Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy, U.S. Department of State (2005, p. 12) as a cultural product 'translation lies at the heart of any cultural diplomacy initiative, such that some misunderstandings between peoples may be resolved through

engagement with each other's literary and intellectual traditions'. Thus, since they aim to reach foreign audiences, book programmes are prominent parts of translation activities. This creates a promising area of research within cultural diplomacy.

Books and translated books have been examined in different ways. Some writers, such as Reisch (2013), consider books in their entirety, even though some are translated, and there are genre divisions between works of fiction and non-fiction, and literary and non-literary publications. On the other hand, academics like Von Flotow (2007; 2007a; 2007b) interpret the relationship between cultural diplomacy and translated books using only literary works. However, this causes the scope of the analysis to narrow significantly. Analysis of the relationship between cultural diplomacy and translated books should be expected to produce more detailed insight when non-fiction books or other types are included, so as to consider state-funded books as a cultural production in their entirety.

As mentioned above, this study analyses a wide range of published books. It does not only focus on literary works of fiction but also includes non-fiction books that were subsidised by the IRD. The study is not limited to works of literature or translated books, as the IRD promoted not only translated books but also books written in English. Therefore, this approach creates a comprehensive database of state-funded books and public and cultural diplomacy objectives. In most cases, I take a similar position to Von Flotow (2007; 2007a; 2007b); but include aspects of Laugesen's (2017) and Reisch's (2013) approaches, regarding their lack of categorisation by genre (i.e. fiction or non-fiction). In the UK context, there is a need to establish a place for books within cultural diplomacy. Following this, attention can be devoted to specialised research in areas such as book history, cultural studies, and translation studies.

The state's careful selection of works for book programmes was based on a target audience, as the main aim of cultural diplomacy programmes was to influence elite opinion in foreign countries (Von Flotow, 2007b; Barnhisel, 2015). A nation's cultural elite, which includes politicians, media executives, university professors, students, literary agents, publishers, and culturally engaged upper-class individuals, were seen as primary targets by government agents (Von Flotow, 2007a). The literature on the USA's book distribution activities argues that programmes had a significant impact on intellectuals, professionals, and students in Eastern Europe during four decades of Soviet rule; thus, book programmes that were conducted for over three decades played a substantial role in the victory of Western ideology in the Cold War (Reisch, 2013). This chapter determines whether patterns can be seen within the IRD's operations as they targeted groups with propaganda material – see Section 5.6 for a more in-depth discussion of this targeting.

Another relevant discussion point within the literature is the process for selecting books for the target audience, which can be based on aesthetic, economic, or ideological

considerations (Von Flotow, 2007). The decisions to select some texts for publication need to be explained since this is entirely out of the control of readers. The selection of material by the authorities, publishers, institutions, clients, and governments either implicitly or explicitly indicates a unique ideological position. Hence, books, especially those that are targeted at foreign readers, can be material demonstrations of ideological procedures that are communicated for the benefit of readers (Chung-Ling, 2010). Additionally, the interest of the state in book publishing prompts a discussion about how the government localises books across cultural environments, as determined by target audiences. Regarding the IRD's works, there is a need to understand the IRD's effort to adapt books to local cultures. This is a valuable contribution to our understanding of the character of the cultural product within cultural diplomacy.

This section establishes that the topic of books and cultural diplomacy is under-researched, and that the existing materials mainly focus on the activities of the US Government. The role of books as a form of cultural diplomacy is an important research area. However, the UK's history in this area is not well understood. I argue that this can be explained by the lack of varied approaches within the IRD's operations, as studies have mainly employed political approaches to analysing the IRD's activities. In the next section, I consider the literature on the IRD's activities, discuss notable features, and identify weaknesses and gaps, so as to establish a focus point for my dissertation.

2.2 The IRD and the Existing Literature

Regarding the relationship between books and cultural diplomacy, only a small body of scholarly work exists relating the IRD to book publishing activities, but this has been growing recently. Two distinct fields of historical enquiry – intelligence studies and the history of communication – have attracted academics to the IRD (Defty, 2004). The IRD and the related fields of cultural and political warfare received substantial scholarly attention in the mid-1990s, with the release of some IRD papers in 1995, which provided details about secret associations that included figures such as George Orwell. The two pioneering essays written by Smith (1980) and Fletcher (1982) are mainly based on knowledge gathered from special sources (including friends and ex-FO workers) and interviews.

Smith (1980) analysed books which were covertly sponsored by the IRD and writers' involvement in these activities, filling in gaps in earlier press reports. He considered the purpose of propaganda and its role in moulding relations with other states. Fletcher (1982) identified the IRD's efforts to spread Western values and the function of publishing in this strategy. He claimed that the IRD was keen to work with influential public figures, such as writers, academics, journalists, and politicians, and that the positioning of books played a prominent role in influencing public opinion in the IRD's favour both at home and overseas. Both Smith's (1980) and Fletcher's (1982) articles

remain important within the field. Nevertheless, they were published before the release of new archival material, and the IRD's book activities were not a central point of their study.

In 1993, as part of the FCO's commitment to open government, the then-Secretary of State, Mr Douglas Hurd, agreed to the review of the IRD's records. As a result of this review, the FCO Library and Record Department (1995) published a book covering 1948 – the first year of the IRD's operation. This book describes the early initiatives and administrative arrangements, and details how the IRD spread their message in cooperation with other departments, organisations and governments, as well as through the media. The release of the first batch of the IRD's archived material in 1995 enabled academics and journalists, such as Lashmar and Oliver (1998), Aldrich (2001), and Wilford (2003), to gain insight into the operations of the IRD. Soon after the publication of this material, the department's activities began to receive increased media and scholarly interest. Thus, the IRD's broadcasting activities have attracted considerable attention from scholars, whereas their publications have received little attention, such that this is adopted as the primary focus of this study. Considering also that few analyses of the relationship between books and cultural diplomacy have been published, this study offers significant scope for providing extensive insight.

The IRD conducted its activities in secret, such that many historians consider the institution to be a part of the UK's wider intelligence network, especially since the government took care to hide its activities (Defty, 2004; Schwartz, 2009). Thus, there is plenty of research emphasising the intelligence aspect of the IRD, such as that produced by Dorril (2000), Aldrich (2001), and Wilford (2003). A small team of historians led by Philip M. Taylor (1999) integrated the IRD's works into wider studies of British propaganda in the twentieth century, with attention primarily given to the use of propaganda in the post-war years regarding conflicts in Malaya, Korea, and Suez. Studies of this kind consider the book purely as propaganda material; nonetheless, I employ a cultural approach that considers books as cultural products that hold a significant power to maintain and reproduce state power, and promote national identity.

The IRD has received much attention from journalists who have created different lenses to analyse the IRD's activities. Lashmar and Oliver's (1998) book offers an undercover interpretation of the IRD and its activities, centring on the IRD's involvement in Malaya, Korea and Suez. This was the first book to be written about the IRD after the government released previously classified material. They reviewed material from both public and private archives and interviewed people who were connected to the IRD to produce an in-depth mapping of the IRD's activities. As one of the early studies on the IRD, their research has prompted further research. Nevertheless, the state intelligence aspect of the IRD has taken priority over the IRD's cultural activities.

Two crucial analyses highlight the IRD and its book publishing activities. Jenks' (2006) book demonstrates how the IRD was profoundly and directly involved in journalism, with their commissioning and production of feature articles. It also considers how scripts were planted in newspapers, magazines, and broadcast services, both in the UK and overseas, and how this embodied the IRD's propaganda activities. Smith's (2010) short essay examines the IRD's publishing activities and its relationships with commercial publishing houses, thereby providing a useful summary of the IRD's activities. In his account, Smith focuses on individual books and mainly employs secondary sources. However, examination of the IRD's activities from a public and cultural diplomacy perspective, consideration of how the state became involved in publishing processes, and the assessment of how books became tools to exercise power is still lacking.

Previous studies of the IRD's book publishing activities do not consider these books as cultural products, but rather as propaganda material. Furthermore, the lack of analysis into the relationship between state and private sector actors, taken together with the periodic release of new material by the National Archives, limits our understanding of the IRD's activities. Furthermore, neither Jenks (2006) nor Smith (2010) covers the relationship between ideology, power, and culture within the framework of the IRD's activities and their role in promoting British national identity. Thus, they are far from detailed in their research on the book publishing activities of the IRD.

The IRD's efforts to promote and protect British and Western values, as well as the motivation behind the adopted approach, needs to be investigated in detail, since this programme received a significant proportion of the UK's foreign policy resources. Notably, the relationship between book publishing activities and the UK's effort to restore its image play a critical part in power relations. Therefore, there is a need to separately examine each of the IRD's activities, such as the publication of books and magazines, the release of films, and even the holding of exhibitions. This study centres on the IRD's book publishing activities in order to reveal the motivation of the state, and identify the connection between these activities and ideology and power.

The most comprehensive study of the IRD ever undertaken is that conducted by Defty (2004). In this study, he examines British and American Cold War propaganda from a historical perspective, and argues that the UK took a leading position in producing anti-Communist propaganda. The relationship between the USA and the IRD is at the centre of this work. Defty takes advantage of the vast amount of material that was released under the Waldegrave Initiative, and incorporates memoirs, correspondence, and interviews with individuals involved in British anti-Communist propaganda. He reviews the UK's anti-Communist propaganda policy from 1945 to 1953, and notes that printed material was the most effective and favoured method of issuing propaganda,

since the IRD had connections with publishing houses via embassies. By contacting former members of the IRD, Defty conducts an in-depth investigation of the IRD itself. Nevertheless, the IRD's publishing and translation activities need further examination, and the period from 1945 to 1953 is insufficiently long to develop a complete picture of the IRD's activities in book production and translation.

Defty's (2004) approach to analysing the IRD adopts the perspective of intelligence studies and communications history. Nonetheless, the IRD offers numerous insights into the cultural Cold War, and public and cultural diplomacy. Yet, Defty does not consider the IRD's publishing strategy in detail, and thus misses an opportunity to demonstrate the function of the IRD in developing close relationships with writers and with other cultural organisations, such as the BC. I believe this to be extremely important, such that, in this study, I examine the political discourse of the UK Government through the IRD's sponsorship of books in Section 5.4.

Two prominent studies have examined the IRD's actions from the cultural diplomacy perspective: Vaughan's (2005) book and Davies' (2013) article. The first examines how the BC and other overseas cultural organisations used education and exchange programmes, commercial magazine publishing, the film industry, and book distribution to achieve their foreign policy objectives (Vaughan, 2005). His book offers valuable insights that impact our understanding of the FCO and the IRD's approach. However, cultural diplomacy is not the primary focus of his study. Davies (2013) researches another strand of the IRD's work: magazine publishing. The British national projection magazine, *Anglia* – produced in Russian by the FCO and delivered to the USSR from 1962 to 1992 – played a key role in the UK's unique propaganda and cultural diplomacy strategy during the Cold War (Davies, 2013). *Anglia* received substantial input from the IRD. Davies (2013) focusses on this magazine, and examines the UK's propaganda and cultural diplomacy policy behind the Iron Curtain.

The release of the IRD material has drawn in many scholars, who mainly consider the institution from a security and intelligence perspective. Intelligence historian Richard Aldrich (2001) produced an influential book about the IRD and its history, in which he outlines British and American cooperation during the Cold War and considers the British Government's anti-Communist propaganda as deployed through the IRD's activities. Wilford's (2003) book examines the CIA's activities and its relationship with the British left. He also explains the IRD and its relationship with literary intellectuals, such as George Orwell. Despite their comprehensive studies of the IRD, Aldrich's (2001) and Wilford's (2003) works offer limited consideration of the IRD's book publishing activities and their function in creating narratives around the UK's national identity. This can be explained in part by the IRD's numerous activities in different areas. By concentrating

only one area of activity, this study creates a detailed picture of the IRD and its operations from the public and cultural diplomacy perspectives.

The book programme strategies adopted by nation-states have generally been viewed as being 'part of a broader policy aiming at the promotion of their national culture abroad and, for the dominant ones, at strengthening their hegemony or influence' (Sapiro, 2014, p. 86). I agree with this claim because, during the Cold War, books were employed by the state to influence public opinion, to compete with other value systems and ways of life, and to serve the national project: promoting national identities. As a cultural product, they have the power to serve the national interest.

As this literature review demonstrates, most of the relevant literature focuses on the USA, such that the lack of analysis of the IRD's book publishing activities presently limits our understanding of the UK's Cold War public and cultural diplomacy. Furthermore, much of the available analysis adopts an intelligence and security lens that inevitably frames the IRD in this context. In order to provide a broader perspective to the IRD, there is a need for research to be conducted from the public and cultural diplomacy perspective, analysing the role of books in distributing narratives of the UK's national identity. The next chapter outlines the study's conceptual framework.

Chapter Three
Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

This chapter provides a theoretical foundation for the dissertation. However, in-depth examinations of cases and associated processes are insufficient; to understand how books function within cultural diplomacy, it is necessary to begin by analysing the driving factors of foreign policy and exploring the role of public and cultural diplomacy in the promotion and construction of national identity. Gramsci's theory of hegemony provides a useful framework for the analysis of culture's role in early Cold War UK foreign policy; it enables us to demonstrate how books, intellectuals, publishing houses and other government institutions served to maintain and reproduce the power of the British state. The concept of hegemony, which can be applied to define domestic and international power relations, is exceptionally valuable when investigating the role of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office's (FO) Information Research Department (IRD) both at home and abroad between 1948 and 1956. The sections below are as follows: the notion of hegemony in international relations and the concept of soft power; the definitions of foreign policy, diplomacy and national identity; an explanation of cultural diplomacy, public diplomacy and propaganda; and the concept of the book as a mass media tool.

3.1 Hegemony, International Relations and Soft Power

In this section, I will focus on hegemony and its function in international relations (IR). Hegemony as a term comes from the Greek word for ruler, leader, guide or overlord and is usually used to denote the rule or influence of one country over others (Edgar, 2008; Brooker, 2003). However, the concept of hegemony in the field of IR is associated with various complex theoretical perspectives. It is seen not as a singular theory but as a term applied in conflicting ways in global politics (Gill, 1994; Worth, 2015; Antoniades, 2008). Therefore, it is not easy to comprehensively understand the concept of hegemony, as different approaches focus on different parameters or basic assumptions. Instead of moving towards a consensus theory, academics continue to create new approaches or frameworks for studying hegemony (Dirzauskaite and Ilinca, 2017; Worth, 2015). There is clearly significant division among IR scholars, which makes sense given the complex and multi-layered nature of hegemony.

Approaches to understanding hegemony in IR generally fall into two categories: 'domination' and 'leadership'. Hegemonic power is largely based mainly on military, economic or political resources, which are essential elements for influencing the behaviour of other countries (McKeown, 1983). Therefore, hegemony as a concept can encompass international leadership, regional hegemony, ideological hegemony and

hegemonic contestation, as it offers a wide range of applicability (Worth, 2015). Consequently, despite the significance of the concept, IR as a discipline has yet to agree upon a dominant analytical framework for studying hegemony.

Since the academic origin of IR in 1919 with the David Davies Chair in Aberystwyth, Wales, hegemony has been a critical concept in the field. Furthermore, the concept has been emerging in the sub-discipline of international political economy (IPE) since the 1970s (Worth, 2015; Dirzauskaite and Ilinca, 2017). Gramsci's ideas, which helped broaden the scope of the concept, are from his book *Prison Notebooks,* written between 1929 and 1935. Gramsci's prominence in IR can be traced back to Robert Cox's two hugely influential articles 'Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory' (1981) and 'Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method' (1983) and Stephen Gill's coedited volume, *Gramsci, Historical Materialism and International Relations* (Worth, 2011). These works signalled the beginning of a neo-Gramscian school of thought with a critical approach.

From a neo-Gramscian perspective, hegemony succeeds by spreading its philosophical and moral worldview. This ideological and cultural leadership as the paramount factor in the development of hegemony is the unique aspect of neo-Gramscian approach (Dirzauskaite and Ilinca, 2017). The neo-Gramscian school believes that hegemony is a relationship constructed on consent and erected by political and ideological leadership while domination, in contrast, is built on power (ibid.).

All theories conceptualise a hegemony that is exercised by or expressed through the state, and in schools of realism and liberalism, the state is the crucial player in international relations; however, the neo-Gramscian school views the state differently (Dirzauskaite and Ilinca, 2017). While realism and liberalism maintain that state is formed on political society, neo-Gramscians reject this sense and instead see civil society as its foundation, as the social forces that shape political society generally arise from civil society (ibid.). The role of civil society has a prominent place in the Gramscian understanding, and neo-Gramscian thinking offers a powerful tool of exploration for this research. There will be more discussion about Gramsci's concept of civil society later in this chapter.

Despite discussion around the validity of Gramsci's application to IR, the 'neo-Gramscian' approach has been employed to demonstrate how power and consent are sustained (Murray and Worth, 2013). Cox's (1981) work on 'world order' and the role of hegemony in IR still occupies the central role in this argument. He is the first academic to systematically integrate material power, ideas and institutions into a comprehensive theory of hegemony. He did this by relying on Gramsci's understanding that hegemony is not only coercion but subscription to a collective and legitimised ideology and reinterpreting British and US hegemony between 1815 and 1985 in this light (Hopf,

2013). Cox explores British naval power and its ideology of free trade, which, combined with the City of London as the world's financial hub, enabled British domination of world politics for most of the nineteenth century (ibid.). Cox's ideas on hegemony provide a good understanding of the term, particularly of the hegemonic relations that took various forms during the Cold War. In this study, I subscribe to a similar understanding.

Characterising hegemony in a manner that everyone would agree with is a hard, likely impossible task. Nonetheless, Gramsci's own definition of hegemony and some other vital elements of his concept help us understand the term at both the national and international level. In Gramsci's (1971) notion of hegemony, the hegemonic class exercises power over subordinate classes by employing a blend of coercion (domination) and persuasion (intellectual and moral leadership). This hegemonic leadership is said to be based on consent, which is especially meaningful in investigating the role of culture in foreign policy.

It is essential to look at various definitions to understand Gramscian intellectual and moral leadership. According to Fontana (2006, p. 39), the exercise of intellectual and moral leadership is instantaneously 'the transformation of philosophy and knowledge into the common sense of the people'; in turn, 'such a transformation is simultaneously the organisation and proliferation of consent', and this all happens within civil society. The idea of hegemony in Gramsci represents a moral, cultural and intellectual leadership guided by cultural and political vehicles (Kurtz, 1996). Achieving any level of intellectual and moral leadership is difficult. Thus, intellectual and moral leadership by means of consent in a democratic society, as Scott-Smith (2002, p. 5) claims, 'make(s) hegemony necessarily a multi-layered, multi-faceted coalition of social forces', and its apparatuses and alliances change over time. It is essential to emphasise that intellectual and moral leadership depends on 'the transformation of sectional interests, via influence and compromise, into a 'general interest' for society as a whole that could overcome conflicting interpretations of the world'; therefore, hegemony functions as a kind of 'umbrella of interpretation and not as a simple integrated system' (ibid.).

Throughout this thesis, I adhere to the definition of hegemony as 'intellectual and moral leadership'. In this light, the IRD's activities must receive close attention if we are to understand how the institution transformed general interest in a way that aligned with the interest of the political elites. Considering the number of publishing activities undertaken by the IRD, an examination of how it intended to shape public opinion is certainly worthwhile.

Hegemony: Can It Be Internationalised?

Despite diverse approaches to hegemony from different theoretical views, Gramsci's ideas to examine the 'international' have constituted a significant component of a broad debate. These debates have sometimes created more heat than light, and the

current state of the discussion of hegemony is unclear (Ives and Short, 2013; Clark, 2011). Therefore, I examine this discussion further in this section.

There is no singular theory of hegemony that satisfies all scholars. As Worth (2015, p. 173) points out, to recognise the complexities of the international system, 'a model of hegemony needs to be built that looks at the multitude of agencies involved in forging a hegemonic order between social classes. These need to be understood at the local, national and global levels'. The debate over whether Gramsci's notion of hegemony can be internationalised is particularly significant for this research because the IRD's operation was conducted at the national and global levels with the help of international organisations, publishing houses and intellectuals.

In the current confusing state of hegemony in IR, it is important to explore how Gramsci himself applied the term. He examined common tendencies within states that could be seen as 'international' (Ives and Short, 2013; Worth, 2015). It is necessary to point out that Gramsci starts methodologically from a 'global' perspective concentrated on a political community in which the historical construction of the modern nation-state was conceived (Ives and Short, 2013). This demonstrates that Gramsci's understanding of hegemony was inspired by both its domestic and international forms of practice (Jones, 2006). Evidently, hegemony offers both a national and international approach that will help to investigate the IRD's activities.

Gramsci's constant devotion to an international scope of analysis leads him to position internal assessments within broader frameworks (Ives and Short, 2013). The mechanisms of hegemony within the broader practices of globalisation allow us to examine the concept beyond the range of the territorial national politics that were dominant in Gramsci's time (Worth, 2015). However, modern discussions ignore Gramsci's constant emphasis on the connection between the domestic and the international. The question of what emerges from a true understanding of hegemony at the international level offers a fertile area for research.

There are many other pieces of Gramsci's writing that can help us understand whether his concepts can be 'internationalised'. For example, after referring to the leading role of the Roman Catholic Church (an international institution, ideology and culture), his focus shifted to domestic considerations – over time, his focus shifted from international to national (Ives and Short, 2013). The initial point that must be addressed is that the national and international levels of hegemony operate intimately with each other, and thus the shift can be from home to abroad or the other way around.

The neo-Gramscian approach considers hegemony to be consent built on leadership. Cox's definition provides a framework for understanding this leadership: 'A world hegemony is thus in its beginnings an outward expansion of the internal (national) hegemony established by a dominant social class. The economic and social institutions,

the culture, the technology associated with this national hegemony become patterns for emulation abroad' (1994, p. 61). This sustains an explanation of how 'way of life' became a battlefield in the Cold War ideological fight in order to create a new world order both at home and abroad. This theoretical insight underpins this study, as it will be helpful when exploring the IRD's publishing operations and their contributions to the new world order during the Cold War.

Cox claimed that hegemony at the international level has less to do with state leadership and more to do with what he called 'world order', which is 'when a world is ordered through a set of hegemonic practices influenced by a leading state' (Worth, 2015, p. XVII). Cox (1994) also points to the extension of hegemony from the national to international level, contributing to my proposition of investigating the IRD's promotion of the 'British way of life' as a hegemonic project both at home and abroad.

The neo-Gramscian approach explains how hegemony is expressed at various stages of global society through diverse agents by providing an understanding of the distribution of power in international politics in a way that does not lean solely on a dominant state (Worth, 2015). In this light, it is easy to say that hegemony is not something that can be tied into the dominance of any one state or group. It has a higher social foundation that cuts across international boundaries, though in an imbalanced manner (Joseph, 2008). Therefore, post-1945 hegemony has not been about the dominance of one state – the USA – but about the dominance of a particular socioeconomic model of growth (ibid.). In this sense, protecting and promoting Western values was a vital priority in the Cold War new world order. This is significant to the understanding of Anglo-American hegemony and the co-operation between the UK and the USA, as the two countries worked together against Soviet hegemony. This is further discussed in the Findings section.

To understand Gramsci's hegemony internationally, we must focus on the elements of agency that Gramsci saw as vital for exercising hegemonic authority, such as popular culture, religion and national mythology; this will help us develop a comprehensive understanding of hegemony's place in the international arena (Worth, 2015). During the Cold War, there was undoubtedly competition between 'ways of life', in which countries defined themselves by their values and culture. Incorporating Gramsci's concepts into international relations, especially when concerning the role of culture in foreign policy, is not a simple task. What is undoubtedly clear is that Gramsci was in no way a political economist. Works of Stuart Hall, Raymond Williams, Henri Lefebvre and Ernesto Laclau show how to recognise global hegemony; rather than restricting the locus of hegemony to state structures, they consider hegemony as an open territory in which states and sovereign groups can be seen in opposition to each

other through elements such as nationalism, economic globalisation and forms of identity that are visible at every level of global politics (ibid.).

Hall and Williams offer a way to use Gramsci as a form of explanation within global society that offers more than the current IPE literature (Worth, 2011). Therefore, it is useful to look at Raymond Williams' (2005, p. 38) understanding of hegemony: 'We have to emphasise that hegemony is not singular; indeed that its own internal structures are highly complex, and have continually to be renewed, recreated and defended; and by the same token, that they can be continually challenged and in certain respects modified. That is why instead of speaking simply of "the hegemony", "a hegemony", I would propose a model which allows for this kind of variation and contradiction, its sets of alternatives and its processes of change'. Williams' approach effectively illustrates the complex nature of hegemonic authority that can be exercised at both a national and international level, which is the aim of this research. As this shows, there is a broad scope for looking at the IRD's activities with Gramscian concepts. The IRD's role in promoting, protecting and presenting the British way of life (national image/identity) and fighting against Communism at both the national and international level brings our argument close to the Gramscian concept, particularly when considering the UK's role in guarding and representing Western civilisation and values.

State, Civil Society and Gramsci

Having explored Gramsci's understanding of hegemony in this section, I will now briefly discuss the state, political society and civil society in Gramscian terms. This exploration will help us understand the role of non-state organisations and their function in exercising hegemonic power, which is particularly crucial for understanding the cultural Cold War and the IRD's book-publishing operations.

From Gramsci's perspective, the state consists of both political society and civil society. The state is not just the government apparatus that functions within the 'public' sphere (political parties, military, government) but also a part of the 'private' sphere of civil society (media, church, education) through which hegemony operates (Bieler and Morton, 2006). The difference between political society and civil society is simply operational, not organic; in actuality, civil and political society are a single entity (Gramsci, 2000). In saying that political and civil society are not distinct from each other and that they exist alongside each other, Gramsci reveals that he does not see the state in a narrow sense. It is clear that hegemony is produced in a state combining both political and civil society. As Gramsci shows, the struggle for hegemony – the struggle to develop a new 'common sense' – is performed not just in the formal institutions of the state, but also in the maze of civil society.

Civil society is where Gramsci locates culture and ideologies. To understand what role these play, meaning the impact of institutions such as popular culture and mass

media, he applied the concept of hegemony (Strinati, 2004). Civil society is where ruling or dominant social groups manufacture, organise and maintain consent by disseminating their hegemony through ideology, philosophy and ways of life (Green, 2011). In particular, books play a valuable role in creating a narrative that projects the strength of the nation and a new 'common sense'.

If a ruling group can effectively establish its values as the dominant values of society, it can achieve the power and legitimacy to dominate other groups. In these circumstances, if the dominant social groups are the organisers and creators of the existing state, their values and norms are represented as 'universal' and 'neutral' and can be accepted by subordinate social groups as truth and common sense (Green, 2011). Clearly, the dominant class has the political and economic power; thus, the ability of the dominant class to distribute its preferred meaning, ideologies and methods results in their implementation as society-wide 'common sense' (Gramsci, 2000). These beliefs then lose their ideological nature and become common ground (Van Dijk, 1998). For Gramsci, common sense is 'confused formation, in part drawn from 'official' conceptions of the world circulated by the ruling bloc, in part formed out of people's practical experiences of social life (…) it offers a deeply held guide to life, directing people to act in certain ways and ruling out other modes of behaviour as unthinkable' (Jones, 2006, p. 9). This is closely related to how states competed for the universalisation of their ways of life, values and ideologies through civil society during the Cold War; the IRD's role in creating this common sense is significant.

The relationship between coercion and consent is a critical pillar of hegemony that can be defined as the mechanism through which 'common sense' and consent are constructed in civil society (Donoghue, 2017). This approach is linked to the IRD's effort to normalise political elites' preferred meanings and ideologies through published material. This leads to Anderson's (2006) concept of 'imagined communities', which talks about creating a narrative through cultural material. It also shows how national identities are established through various forms of communication – for the purpose of this study, books. This concept is essential in understanding the Cold War, during which competition between 'ways of life' was the main instrument in an ideological battle over what constitutes 'common sense'. Further, as Glover (2009, p. 12) points out, 'imaging community prompts us to consider the extent to which the imagining and the image are the same things – and thus how they are equally reproduced within as well as without the nation'. Most important here is the need to understand IRD's function in creating an 'image' of the country through published material. By employing the concept of hegemony and considering the position of different forms of communication, this study investigates the role of the IRD and its tools in creating a collective identity and constructing 'imagined communities'. This is related to how these groups see the 'self'

and 'others'. To understand this complex relationship, I employ critical discourse analysis (CDA) to analyse the data, which I discuss further in Chapter 4.

Gramsci's interest in the formation of hegemony reached to areas such as national folklore, literature, culture, religion and popular interests as well as more well-known super-structural systems of agency such as the media, political parties and education system; therefore, Gramsci's model of hegemony was far more comprehensive in its examination of civil society (Worth, 2015). Another significant civil society factor in Gramscian thought is that civil society consists of formal and informal networks, institutions and cultural practices that facilitate interaction between the individual and the state, 'the ensemble of organisms commonly called private' (Germain and Kenny, 1998, p. 7). As already stated, civil society is the most crucial aspect of Gramscian hegemony, and this realisation helps us understand how the IRD targeted the arena of civil society through libraries, reading rooms and bookshops. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, these distribution centres for the IRD's material could be seen as instruments of hegemony for the political elite; especially internationally, these conduits made the books widely accessible to readers.

This section examined the Gramscian concept of state and civil society. The following sections in this chapter explore the relationship between coercion and consent in Gramscian thought, as these are the critical elements of hegemony.

Consent and Coercion

In Gramsci's understanding of hegemony, the exercise of power requires both consent and coercion. Amid these power dynamics, consent takes a significant role because the emphasis is less on the structural factors that establish the possibility of hegemony than 'on the way in which power is accepted as legitimate through ideological and cultural persuasion' (Gamble, 2002, p. 130). The importance lies in how a particular conception of the world order is produced as a constant across numerous agencies and organisations and in the combination of many different interests into a main political project (ibid.). The combination of consent and coercion within hegemony can also be clearly seen in Machiavelli, whose centaur, 'semi-animal, semi-man', indicates 'that a prince must know how to use both natures, and that one without the other is not durable' (Boothman, 2011, p. 62). Consent is organised through civil society, leaving coercion to operate in political society (Jones, 2006). Thus, consent and coercion are vital concepts for thinking about hegemonic processes. It is clear that the concept of hegemony provides a superior understanding of international Cold War power relations in which building consent among different societies at home and abroad is at the centre of the ideological battle.

Hegemony can consist of cultural, economic, moral, ideological and political leadership over subordinate groups. Gramsci shows that power is not only exercised

through 'force' but also through 'consent', which implies moral leadership (Arrighi, 2010). This leadership involves convincing others that its governance serves the interest of nations or improves the welfare of humankind (ibid.). This understanding is particularly crucial for this research, as the protection and promotion of Western values were seen as a mission for the UK.

As the Cold War was essentially an ideological war incorporating both political and civil society, the role of culture in building consent was crucial. Gramsci's uniqueness rests in his belief that true systemic strength is not achieved through coercion by the state apparatus or dominant class but rather through the active consent of the subordinate classes to a view of the world that belongs to the rulers – a view considered to be common sense (Choi, 2016). Hegemony, as a set of processes involving an amalgamation of private agencies and state activity, can obtain buy-in from others for its own aims through a combination of persuasion and coercion. Hegemony unavoidably involves a multi-layered structure that is a harmonious blend of consent and coercion helping to efficiently maintain hegemony (Parmar, 2019; Harshe, 2006). It is essential to explore the IRD's efforts to propagate the 'British way of life' as the dominant ideology of the ruling class through a mechanism of consent.

Gramscian thought rejects hard power alone as a means to succeed in dominance and leadership. For Gill (1991), hegemony is not an association of coercive force (as it is seen in realist theory, for example) but rather, fundamentally, one of consent obtained through 'intellectual and moral leadership'. For the neo-Gramscian school, cultural leadership is emphasised as a condition that enhances actors' power and influence since attractive ideologies, values, cultures and institutions are valuable characteristics; these characteristics can cause other actors to follow, value and recognise the actor as a model, consequently enhancing its power and authority (Dirzauskaite and Ilinca, 2017). This cultural leadership can be regarded synonymously as soft power, which I will discuss further in this chapter (ibid.). The Cold War effort clearly involved winning the consent of subordinate groups, or, put colloquially, winning hearts and minds; how consent is organised through civil society via books is an area that Gramscian concepts will help us to explore.

Intellectuals

Having discussed consent and coercion in Gramsci, I now move to his understanding of intellectuals and their ideological, communicative and cultural character, as they can drive the institutions to form moral, philosophical, ideological and scientific values. During the Cold War, many governments and private organisations sought to have close relationships with intellectuals. Thus, the position of writers and intellectuals as cultural producers was quite strong in the IRD's operations. The IRD's efforts to reach these influencers and access their work invites a discussion about their

role in power relations, particularly when it comes to exploring their function in producing representation. Primarily where public intellectuals became an essential aspect of public and cultural diplomacy, history helps to investigate and discover their role in enabling hegemonic projects in society during the Cold War.

Intellectuals have a crucial responsibility with their ideological and communicative function in society and ability to create and distribute ideas (Gramsci, 2000). Intellectuals hold moral and ideological positions in the cultural domain – they play a transformative role. Gramsci (2000) says that all people are intellectuals but only some people have the effectiveness of intellectuals. He sees two categories of intellectuals. First, there are 'traditional intellectuals' who 'can be defined as the expression of that social utopia by which the intellectuals think of themselves as 'independent', autonomous, endowed with a character of their own, etc.' and who tend to represent and direct the interests of those in power (Gramsci, 1971, p. 8; Kurtz, 1996). Second, there are 'organic intellectuals' who are regarded as the 'true representatives of a particular social group, generated by the sphere of production'; they tend to represent and direct the interest of subaltern populations (Bieler, 2000, p. 16; Kurtz, 1996). The role of these 'organic intellectuals' is to establish the transformation of ethical and intellectual life (Storey, 2009).

Intellectuals are critical in influencing what constitutes 'common sense', as they develop ideas and produce written works. They form natural consent and maintain it through intellectual and moral leadership (Bieler, 2000). They represent various socio-cultural, economic and class interests and support certain perceptions (language, religion, folklore, philosophy) held by social groups or individuals (Antoniades, 2008; Murray and Worth, 2013). Their production of ideological material and distribution of ideas that serve the state agenda give them a meaningful position in power relations. Notably, intellectuals played a significant role in the Cold War as both supporters and challengers of the ideas that were circulated by ruling classes.

Intellectuals 'present the ideas and justifications of the class's related domination coherently and persuasively'; however, demonstration of these ideas can be distributed through institutions such as church, school and the mass media (Edgar, 2008, p. 155). Their concerns are the production, distribution and interpretation of culture, ideas, knowledge and discourse; nevertheless, not all intellectuals have the same degree of power (Storey, 2009; Strinati, 2004). Some intellectuals straightforwardly create hegemonic ideas, some elaborate on them, and some of them carry out tasks provided by authorities (Strinati, 2004). As Iber claims, 'the cultural Cold War was structured not only by state power but also by the intellectual communities of the political Left that came into contact with it' (2015, p. 3). I agree with Iber, as it is hard to deny the role of intellectuals during the Cold War. As detailed in Section 5.6, intellectuals played a significant part in the IRD's operation. Researching the function of intellectuals in

creating agreement around a specific order provides insight into the role of non-governmental actors in cultural diplomacy. Therefore, a focus on the IRD considering the Gramscian concept of hegemony centred on moral and intellectual leadership will help us understand state-private connections.

In the political science literature, it is well-established that 'epistemic communities' play a leading role in policy processes. They are networks of specialists with a common worldview regarding cause-and-effect relationships, and they are important actors responsible for developing and circulating causal ideas and some related normative beliefs (Haas, 2001; Parmar, 2006). Epistemic communities seem to represent value and knowledge-based special interests, and seek to influence the state (Parmar, 2006). State-private networks may be conceptualised to a degree within the epistemic community model and particularly with Parmar's (2019), 'elite knowledge networks' concept. His concept stems from Gramsci's ideas and helps to explain national and transnational elite power strategies and how these networks built long-term relationships that created paths for the international distribution of ideas and people. Parmar's concept offers an approach to investigate the IRD and its relationship with elite knowledge networks, including intellectuals, publishing houses and other independent organisations, which support, in the pursuit of their roles – directly and/or indirectly, intentionally or unintentionally – the IRD's operations. As Parmar (2006) points out, the role of the networks remains neglected in hegemony studies; therefore, the IRD's networks give us a fruitful area to explore how these networks actually delivered outcomes.

Soft Power: A Critical Perspective

Gramsci shows that hegemonic power requires both coercion and consent; his ideas reject hard power alone as a means to succeed in intellectual and moral leadership. This leadership can be considered synonymous with soft power (Dirzauskaite and Ilinca, 2017). The term 'soft power', coined by Joseph Nye in the 1990s, is extremely influential in studies of cultural diplomacy; however, I am critical of the concept and do not find it to be a productive theoretical lens. Thus, in this section, I briefly outline the differences and relationship between hegemony and soft power and explain what value is added to the research by using Gramsci's hegemony instead of soft power. I will not engage in a detailed discussion of soft power, as it would lead this thesis away from its primary aim. I should point out that for my 2012 MA dissertation, which looked at Turkey's cultural diplomacy efforts through books, I broadly benefited from Nye's concept of soft power; however, the nature of this research pushed me to explore a different approach that more effectively serves the particular aims of the research and has broadened my understanding of the subject matter.

The term 'soft power' initially grew in popularity outside the academic world. Today, soft power is a term applied by policymakers, media analysts and scholars, though the signification is vague and the term is used, even by Nye, with many different meanings (Parmar and Cox, 2010; Baumann and Cramer, 2017). It generally refers to 'the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments'; it arises 'from the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideas, and policies' and rests 'on the ability to shape the preferences of others' (Nye, 2004, p. 256). The variance in definition shows how Nye has constructed the concept using various interpretations of power. He also describes soft power as an ability that can be applied by an agent through the use of attraction; that ability is reliant on the agent's control of particular political and cultural values as well as their foreign policy practices (Lock, 2010). As these definitions show, soft power is strongly related to convincing others to embrace your aims without applying force. Countries' efforts in using their cultural, political and economic ability foster the attraction.

The use of cultural diplomacy (using both elite and popular culture) is an essential element of soft power; policy-making, foreign perception, value system and legitimacy are the resources that enable soft power (Nye, 2002). There is a noteworthy interest in soft power and its benefits, and this interest has been growing significantly. This cannot be explained easily, but soft power offers governments the means to achieve their aims without using 'explicit inducements or coercion' (Hall, 2010, p. 192). However, Nye deliberately separates soft power from propaganda because of the negative implications of the latter term (Bukh, 2014). There will be further discussion about propaganda later in this chapter but this distinction can be seen as one of the reasons why soft power has received global recognition in both academic and policy-making communities (ibid.).

Soft power is thought to consist of several societal resources, such as literature, movies, fashion and food; but whether government-directed public and cultural diplomacy can use those resources to influence public opinion is an important question. Culture, ideology and institutions are intangible power resources that help to establish preferences of others, and soft power relies not only on culture but also on states' 'political values' and 'foreign policies' (Nye, 1990; Ang et al., 2015).

Soft power focuses on highlighting attraction between states. From Nye's perspective, soft power offers a way for countries to achieve what they want without using coercion. Hard power, on the other hand, entails using force to bring about an outcome, meaning conquest or coercion through military, political or economic might (Nye, 2002, 2003; Schneider, 2010; Gienow-Hecht and Donfried, 2010). Hard power rests on 'carrots and sticks – inducements and threats – soft power convinces others that they should follow because of the allure of an other's way of life' (Mattern, 2007, p. 101). Soft power differs from hard power with its 'ability to use the carrots and sticks of

economic and military might to make others follow your will' (Nye, 2003). However, as Nye points out in relation to using both hard and soft power in practice (such as in the case of the war on terrorism), 'attraction is much cheaper than coercion, and is an asset that needs to be nourished' (Nye, 2003). In later writings, faced with the shortcomings of the concept, Nye elaborated on another category of power – smart power – which is the capacity for combining elements of hard and soft power (Nye, 2010a).

There are critical perspectives of the concept of soft power in both academic and public spheres; critics of the term have noted its definitional vagueness. In this section, I focus on these critical arguments. As Lock (2010) shows, the concept of soft power has been critiqued in academic circles for being too blunt (Lukes, 2007), too soft (Ferguson, 2003) and too vague (Mattern, 2007); he requests clarity about the term, and this has been accepted and echoed by Nye himself.

As I noted earlier, there are many definitions of soft power from Nye – this is the main target of criticism – and these various explanations are not free of contradictions. Therefore, I share the opinions of Zahran and Ramos (2010, p. 16), who point out that Nye's soft power definition 'lacks rigour; its use is problematic and uncertain, making a strict definition of the concept hard to obtain'. Recently, and perhaps in reaction to these criticisms, Nye added: 'Fully defined, soft power is the ability to affect others through the co-optive means of framing the agenda, persuading, and eliciting positive attraction in order to obtain preferred outcomes' (Nye, 2011, pp. 20–21). Nye's approach to revising the term shows the difficulty of finding a strict definition; the term is stretched in multiple directions, rendering it unreliable.

The vagueness of the term 'soft power' gives rise to two problems: 'First, because these very different forms of power are conflated in Nye's work, neither is clearly articulated. Second, Nye's accounts of each of these forms of power tend to provide little conceptual space in which to consider the role of the subject of power'. Therefore, Nye's concept of soft power can be viewed as nonstrategic (Lock, 2010, p. 34). Ferguson (2004, p. 24) argues that soft power's influence is narrow and that there is nothing new about the concept – it used to be called imperialism and it is 'merely the velvet glove concealing an iron hand'. Furthermore, as Rawnsley (2012, p. 124) says, 'soft power has become the latest fashionable catch-all term that all governments must claim to do, otherwise they are out of step with the times'. This shows that 'othering' is central to the discourse of soft power, as the concept distinguishes between states with 'soft power' and 'non-soft power' (Kiseleva, 2015).

A particularly important criticism of soft power is that the role of civil society and the absence of agents provoke disagreements over soft power. Nye's definition of power, the ability to influence the behaviour of others to get desired outcomes, does not contain any qualifications about agents. Additionally, the definitions of hard and soft power do

not distinguish between agents either; notably, there is a dearth of attention on the side of non-state agents and a significant focus on state actors' role in soft power (Zahran and Ramos, 2010). The main question that Nye does not respond to is this: who are the agents that really hold soft power? Moreover, in his definition of soft power, he does not encompass the agents and their characteristics (ibid.). A state can be considered as an agent of hard power, yet non-state groups can hold hard power as well, so one could reasonably think the same goes for soft power, indicating that Nye does not give sufficient consideration to non-state groups as agents of power (ibid.). For this research, the function and activities of non-state institutions and intellectuals are quite significant; the lack of attention paid to these agents leads us to believe that the Gramscian notion of hegemony, with its significant focus on non-state organisations and intellectuals, is far more productive.

Nye applies the concept of soft power to the promotion of US policies during and after the Cold War and claims that, like the US, European and Asian countries also use soft power to represent their national values (Nye, 2010; Hall, 2010). Nye's concept is based on his case study of the USA's global leadership, which focused on how the country's universalistic culture and foreign policy of fostering common interests and values with other countries was the foundation of its global impact (Nye, 1990). Nevertheless, the national values that countries want to present through soft power open up questions about the choice of which values and their discursive and political nature; therefore, the external factors that shape a state's explicit 'national values' can be related to political struggles (Hall, 2010). I agree with this criticism, as there is no set of cultural ideas that can be used as a source of soft power all around the world because culture has a different meaning for different people (Zahran and Ramos, 2010). These criticisms capture the impossibility of finding national values that can fit all countries and function as a source of soft power – for Edward Said soft power is another form of cultural hegemony (Changhe, 2013). Soft power is about creating attractiveness, so the USA focuses on how American values achieve this; however, children in Islamic countries, for example, may love American food, cinema and music, but that does not necessarily mean that they love America (Ferguson, 2003). In other words, Nye's representation of the USA values as a universal soft power source is problematic.

Where the notion of soft power offers limited space, the conceptual framework of the theory of hegemony can move us closer to a broad analysis of regional/global, cultural/political hegemony. Therefore, focusing on the relationship between hegemony and soft power will help bring light to the complex nature of power and effectively frame my argument because the theory of hegemony is beyond the totality of Nye's concept of soft and hard power (Yörük and Vatikiotis, 2013).

Others have contended that Nye's concept of soft power should be further integrated with Gramsci's concept of hegemony, and I share this view. According to Zahran and Ramos (2010), Nye has always accepted the parallels between soft power and the Gramscian idea of hegemony. Both notions refer to a set of shared beliefs, ideas, values and institutions shared by various groups and they both view one group as able to control and influence the other (ibid.). The vocabulary that soft power presents is specific to a certain time and a case; therefore, there is a need to constraint the usage of soft-power notion; I do agree with Sevin's (2017, p. 206) criticisms: 'Soft power is a valid concept, but it is not a theoretical framework. It explains its given case – U.S. foreign policy starting with early 1990s – yet fails to provide any analytical insights that go beyond the American practice'. It is essential to understand this kind of criticism, as it helps to focus attention on a broader way of seeing soft power and, importantly for this thesis, how Gramsci's terms can help us understand the role of the state in presenting, promoting and protecting the British 'way of life' to reconstruct its image amid the struggle against Communism.

It is not difficult to see the influence of Gramsci on Nye. Hegemony like soft power functions by consent to a set of general principles that enables the authority of one group and a certain level of fulfilment to all others (Zahran and Ramos, 2010). Despite applying the Gramscian notion of hegemony to develop his ideas on soft power, Nye does not incorporate input from neo-Gramscian authors, such as Cox or Gill (ibid.). While I recognise the popularity of soft power in the field of IR, it is my obligation as a researcher to consider and explore alternative approaches that enrich the field. For the purpose of this dissertation, soft power is not a productive concept; Gramsci's key concepts offer a far more adequate framework.

3.2 Culture, Ideology and Power

In this section, I look at the definitions of culture, ideology and power, as they are key concepts in public and cultural diplomacy. Culture is a difficult term to define, as there is no set meaning and any definition will unavoidably contain political, social and economic patterns of thinking and behaviour. As Amin (1989, p. 6) states, 'there is no generally accepted definition of the domain of culture, for the definition depends on the underlying theory of social dynamics that one adopts'. This study is concerned with the early years of the Cold War, however, which was primarily a conflict of words, ideas and economics – culture cannot be ignored.

Cultural Cold War scholars, when discussing their approach to culture, usually refer to cultural diplomacy as reaching 'between the blocs, and within them, in areas outside what is ostensibly the direct state and governmental ambit, whether in the field of high culture (literature, the arts, music) or popular culture (television, pop and rock music, films)' (Major and Mitter, 2006, pp. 240–241). States as actors in international

relations can act politically to spread culture or they can use culture as an instrument of state policy to reach their political goals (Conze, 2004).

Viewing culture as a product of art in the broadest sense 'can lead to debates about cultural imperialism and the attempts of one nation to impose its cultural goods as well as its ideology and way of life on another country' (Depkat, 2004, p. 178). Popular culture in particular was associated with the US, which has been seen as imposing a form of cultural imperialism to challenge the values of both Cold War allies in Western Europe and adversaries behind the Iron Curtain (Major and Mitter, 2006). The definition of 'culture' remains a controversial issue. I employ Williams' (1983, p. 90) definition that explains the practice of culture in three different but comprehensive categories of use: the first denotes 'a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development'; the second reveals 'a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period, a group, or humanity in general'; the third describes 'the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity'. This dissertation has two layers of culture: the first is culture as a product of art in the broadest sense, both high culture and low culture; the second is culture as an objective-driven tool of domestic and foreign policy.

It is hard to ignore the position of culture in the state's foreign policy. States employ culture to ensure stability, security or even hegemony; the function of culture during the Cold War was that of a weapon in the battle to win hearts and minds in the 'way of life' fight between the East and the West (Reeves, 2004; Conze, 2004). Culture was the principal agent for the process of influencing audiences both at home and abroad.

Ideologies and ideological ideas played a fundamental role during the socio-cultural and political struggle between the ideologies of communism, social democracy and capitalism known as the Cold War. The 20th century is the century of ideologies, entailing the popularisation and manipulation of political ideas to mobilise and control large segments of the population (Nuti and Zubok, 2006). Ideology as a concept is fairly complex and has no universally agreed-upon definition. Ideology can be defined as 'the set of factual and evaluative beliefs – that is the knowledge and the opinions – of a group' (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 48). The primary definition of ideology, 'a coherent and relatively stable set of beliefs or values', has remained a constant in political science, though its connotations have changed (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p. 8). Ideologies are 'representations of aspects of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation' (Fairclough, 2005, p. 218). Ideologies play a central role in making conflicts appear normal or necessary to maintain or enhance social unity (Freeden, 2003). It is important to unpack and describe certain ideological features of the IRD's book-publishing activities – this is presented in Section 5.4.

At this stage, it is important to note that I view ideologies as 'the structures of dominance around almost any idea or theme' that a group of people hold about themselves and the world to establish and maintain power (Freeden, 2003, p. 122; Barker, 2004). The concept of ideology is closely related to matters of power and political conflict; ideology and ideological patterns of thought constitute a medium through which foreign policy issues can be spread to and perceived by a mass audience (Cassels, 1996). There are certain beliefs and worldviews that benefit the dominant class, and this class is able to circulate its the through society thanks to its control over various forms of communication, such as mass media, churches, and schools. The study of ideology entails finding constructions, contexts and motives that are not readily evident (Freeden, 2003). An investigation into the IRD's book-publishing effort will demonstrate how the idea turned into action and the role of ideology in the IRD's material activities will surface after investigating its patterns and practices.

A dominant ideology has the power to construct an 'imagined community' and turn ideas into something seemingly 'natural', universal and eternal; organisations struggling for power try to influence societal ideology to bring it closer to what they want it to be. The Gramscian concept of hegemony is exemplified when most people in a society think similarly about certain circumstances or even forget that there are alternatives to their current conditions (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). Ideologies are employed to maintain or enhance the power of the state. The Cold War shaped the nature of states' foreign policies; it required new habits in which ideology took on a prominent role. This ideological shift affected the definition of cultural diplomacy, which had always 'swivelled back and forth in the space between nationalist and internationalist goals' (Arndt, 2006, p. 481).

Ideologies are an instrument of power designed to wield influence on the masses. I see discourse and ideology as primarily about power relations, discourse being 'the communicative practices through which ideology is exercised' (Freeden, 2003, p. 105). The general strategy of dominant discourse often follows the basic intergroup division of underlying ideologies: 'emphasizing our good things, emphasizing their bad things, mitigating our bad things, and mitigating their good things' (Van Dijk, 2015, p. 474). During the Cold War, Communism was primarily seen as a threat to Western state power, a threat to the dominant Western power structures and their 'way of life' – the state, and the dominant groups therein, used both material and ideological instruments to maintain their power.

Power is closely linked to ideology and culture. Power can be framed in numerous ways and has many expressions that cannot be condensed into one formulation (Barnett and Duvall, 2005). It can, however, be defined as 'the production of intended effects' (Russell, 1938, p. 18) or, as it is by Wrong (2009, p. 2), as 'the capacity of some persons

to produce intended and foreseen effects on others'. If we consider these definitions, one may argue that book publishing became, in particular circumstances, a meaningful symbol of state power; book publishing is an important industry because it affects who gets to say what to whom, which Foucault (1980) argues should always be the central question in identifying power relations. Thus, this thesis focuses on the power holders during the Cold War and their ability to distribute dominant ideologies to maintain and reproduce their power. How the state exercised power is of major concern, as this will reveal the dominant discourse circulated by the UK to establish its hegemonic practices during the cultural Cold War.

3.3 Foreign Policy, Diplomacy and National Identity

In this section, I briefly go over the definitions of foreign policy, diplomacy and national identity. Given the context of this dissertation, it is important to establish how foreign policy and diplomacy are defined and how they are linked to national identity. The relationship between diplomacy and foreign policy is an intimate one, which leads to some complications. Diplomacy can be defined as 'the principal means by which states communicate with each other, enabling them to have regular and complex relations'; it is the practice through which states conduct foreign relations, the way allies cooperate and opponents resolve issues (Berridge and James, 2003, p. 98; Griffiths et al., 2002). Diplomacy allows for peaceful management of relations between political entities and is thus an essential tool with which states pursue their foreign policies.

Diplomacy focuses on interactions between actors and foreign policy (Hocking, 2016). It is a fundamentally 'political activity and, well-resourced and skilful, a major ingredient of power'; its main aim is 'to enable states to secure the objectives of their foreign policies without resort(ing) to force, propaganda or law' (Berridge, 2015, p. 1). Diplomacy as an act of communication that functions on a government-to-government level has three essential purposes: intelligence gathering, image management and policy implementation (Griffiths et al., 2002; Rawnsley, 2000). Diplomacy is a vehicle through which a state can assert itself, voice its concerns to the world, and compete for its national interests (Griffiths et al., 2002). Diplomacy is as much a system of representation as it is a system of communication (Jönsson, 2002). It exists to achieve a state's aims while maintaining international order and avoiding hostilities (Griffiths et al., 2002). Foreign policy is distinct from diplomacy, however, as it involves different techniques and strategies; diplomacy is simply one method of conducting foreign policy.

Foreign policy develops goals and crafts strategies to achieve them. It is 'a set of actions or rules governing the actions of an independent political authority deployed in the international environment' (Morin and Paquin, 2018, p. 3). It aims 'to coordinate, and to establish priorities between competing interests with an external dimension' (Hill, 2016, p. 6). In other words, it is the set of 'political and security policies adopted by a

state in relation to the outside world' (Berridge and James, 2003, p. 154). Foreign policy is an extremely political activity. Therefore, changes in foreign policy are caused by domestic politics and other national-level factors.

The question of who conducts diplomacy and foreign policy needs to be addressed. Diplomacy is the most basic institution of the international community and it involves communication between officials aiming to promote foreign policy through either formal deal-making or implicit change (Berridge, 2015). Both public and private actors are involved in diplomacy, and while diplomats are the chief practitioners of diplomacy, they are not the only experts who negotiate and pass messages. Foreign policy is made up of a wide-ranging set of activities by which 'political leaders, senior foreign policy officials, staff members of the foreign policy agencies, diplomats, and negotiators conceive of, develop, and implement foreign policy' (Hutchings and Suri, 2015, p. 4).

The development of foreign policy in the late-20th and 21st centuries has underlined the demand for methods of cooperation that are expressed in networks including both governmental and non-governmental actors (Hocking, 2016). This is closely related to the difficulties of separating foreign policy from domestic policy. Redefinition of domestic-foreign policy borders and closer connections between governmental and non-governmental players has increased the space diplomacy has to function (ibid.). Since the end of World War II, and particularly under the pressures of the Cold War, the practice of diplomacy has been extended to involve a government-to-people relationship, often known as public diplomacy (Siracusa, 2010). I will discuss public diplomacy later in this chapter.

National Identity and Foreign Policy

Having explored the definition of foreign policy and diplomacy, I will now examine 'national identity' and its close links to foreign policy, as it is hard to ignore the effect of the Cold War's construction and promotion of national identities on foreign policy. Projecting identity abroad is one of the main expectations of foreign policy (Hill, 2016). For this research, I follow Wallace's (1991, p. 65) definition that notes its links to national identity: 'foreign policy is about national identity itself: about the sources of national pride, the characteristics which distinguish a country from its neighbours, the core elements of sovereignty it seeks to defend, the values it stands for and seeks to promote abroad' (ibid.). That being said, national identity is undefinable, its meanings are continually shifting and there is no singular, objective national identity (Prizel, 1998; Ritchie, 2014). Identities play vital roles in a society 'they tell you and others who you are, and they tell you who others are' (Hopf, 1998, p. 175). Identity is always the result of a connection between the 'self' and the 'other' (Campbell, 1992; Wendt, 1992; Neumann, 1996). As with most identities, national identity is a narrative that people voice about themselves in relation to others.

Identity is 'an inescapable dimension of being' and 'a site in which political struggles are enacted' (Hill, 2016, p. 226). Identities are socially constructed, and they change in the course of interaction with others and in response to both internal and external changes (Wendt, 1999). Identity formation is achieved within 'the inscription of boundaries that serve to demarcate an inside from an out-side, a "self" from an "other", a "domestic" from a "foreign"' (Campbell, 1992, p. 8). National identity is considered 'a constructed and public national self-image based on membership in a political community as well as history, myths, symbols, language, and cultural norms commonly held by members of a nation' (Hutcheson et al., 2004, p. 28). The role of elites in imposing their version of national identity closely relates to concepts of power and how state officials construct national identity. The political elites' own understanding of self is shaped by both foreign and domestic policy changes. Besides, foreign policies 'rely upon representations of identity, but it is also through the formulation of foreign policy that identities are produced and reproduced' (Hansen, 2006, p. 1). Fostering a sense of national identity is significant in the establishment of a new state; in a sense, nation-building needs elites to promote a cohesive sense of national identity (Leach, 2017). Material objects, representations, language and everyday practices all play into national identity. Billig (1995), who coined the term 'banal nationalism', referring to these ordinary signs of nationalism in everyday life. Furthermore, a state reproduces its own identity through daily social practice, and this identity shows its preferences which are reproduced daily by political discourse, media culture, education, and national holidays (Hopf, 1998; Morin and Paquin, 2018).

Foreign policy, which is closely tied to domestic policy, strongly influences national identity, as the political elites have the power to direct particular preferred meanings and understandings in the construction of national identity. The dominant group imposes its self-image on a larger population and forms its hegemony over other groups. There is a close link between hegemony and identity: 'The distribution of identity supports and shapes the hegemonic ideology. The hegemonic ideology, in turn, legitimates the hegemon's leadership as well as the institutions and rules that influence international order' (Allan et al., 2018, p. 852). Hegemonic ideology is healthy when it echoes with the discourses of national identity (ibid.). A state's national identity changes, subject to which other states it is interrelating with, and discourses of national identity that are produced by elites hold various elements of identity (Hopf, 2016). This means that national identity is significantly subject to change in both the national and the international sphere.

States need to meet a set of conditions to construct a nation and 'it is interaction with the outside world, namely the acceptance or rejection of "the other", that allows polities to develop a sense of national uniqueness' (Prizel, 1998, p. 16). 'Self' and 'other'

are important in foreign policy; Morin and Paquin (2018, p. 262) show that 'the cultural boundary of "self" is defined in relation to how the "other" is represented. The other does not share the characteristics that the 'self' attributes to itself'. However, if identity is always 'relational, then otherness can very well be an imaginary community' (ibid.). This complex relationship shows how identity and foreign policy are undoubtedly sites for political struggles (Hill, 2016). There are certain relations between the images of identity presented by political elites or the media and everyday discourses about nations and national identities (Wodak et al., 2009; De Cillia et al., 1999). For example, British early Cold War identity was based mainly on the national and international promotion of certain values as we will see in Section 5.2.

Challenges that states face may lead them to alter their identity, as was seen in Germany after World War II, the UK after the dissolution of its empire, and Russia after the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the USSR. Throughout the Cold War, the American identity was expressed as the leader of the free world against Soviet imperialism (Morin and Paquin, 2018). This shows that national identities 'are not completely consistent, stable and immutable; they are, to the contrary, to be understood as dynamic, fragile, 'vulnerable' and often incoherent' (De Cillia et al., 1999, p. 154). The bases of national identity are exclusive for each nation and are subject to continuous re-creation (Prizel, 1998). Identity is often conceptualized as 'a narrative that Self tells of itself' and the definition of Self 'requires situating oneself vis-à-vis others. Self positively identifies with some significant Others while it negatively identifies with other (and does so to different degrees)' (Bjola and Kornprobst, 2018, p. 145). National identity is not entirely formed by contrasts; alliances can also contribute to forming identity; therefore, the 'special relationship' between the UK and the USA is an excellent example as we will see in Section 5.1 (Morin and Paquin, 2018).

During the Cold War, both the East and the West constructed representations of themselves and of the 'other'. The East defined itself in terms of the fight for peace while the West defined itself in terms of the fight for democracy; for the East, the West represented an imperialist war camp while for the West, the East represented the anti-democratic, totalitarian camp (Krakovsky, 2012). The domestic and foreign power struggles for hegemony and the reconstruction of the UK's national identity in the early years of the Cold War must be analysed in the context of competing ideologies and the UK's search for identity after losing its empire. Because foreign policies are based on representations of identity and during the formulation of foreign policy identities are constructed and reconstructed (Hansen, 2006). This is closely related to a unifying foreign policy that the UK government wanted to establish as this approach would give a coherent image of Britishness.

The UK's determination to construct a distinction between 'itself' and 'other' nations had a major effect on the Cold War and its 21st century identity. Exploring the role of public and cultural diplomacy in promoting and disseminating this identity is important. For this research, it is necessary to see how national identity is linked to specific political, cultural and economic projects, as is done in Chapter 5. It is also necessary to explore the national identity constructed by the British political elite with the aim of maintaining the UK's power and influence. Public diplomacy plays an essential role in projecting and promoting national identities. Therefore, it is hard to separate a country's foreign policy from its national identity. As our findings reveal, promoting a strong national identity was the core aim of public diplomacy activities in the early years of the Cold War and books played a crucial role.

3.4 Propaganda, Public Diplomacy and Cultural Diplomacy

In this section, there is a discussion of the definitions of propaganda, public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy. The lack of an agreed-upon definition, particularly regarding cultural diplomacy, makes it challenging to identify the boundaries of these terms. When we talk about culture in the Cold War, we move into the research area known as the cultural Cold War; scholars are generally referring to cultural diplomacy when they talk about this approach. For this study, the lack of cultural research on the early-Cold War era in the UK led me to look at the parallel activities in the US as a major ally of the UK during the Cold War. In the American context, most of the Cold War book-publishing activities, whether publicly or privately funded, are considered to be part of the US's cultural diplomacy effort; in the UK's framework, such a connection is not visible. Consequently, there is a need for a discussion on the boundaries between cultural diplomacy, propaganda and public diplomacy. I will try to develop an understanding of these terms in a manner that ties back to the IRD's activities.

Propaganda is a term that mainly relates to public and cultural diplomacy. The term itself is derived from the missionary work of the Roman Catholic Church, the 'propagation of the faith', and can be broadly described as a tool 'to disseminate or promote particular ideas' (Jowett and O'Donnell, 2006, p. 2). It is now almost invariably used in a negative sense and terms such as lies, distortion, dishonesty, manipulation, mind control, psychological warfare, brainwashing and palaver can be used synonymously with it (ibid.). Propaganda is often associated with untruths or half-truths, though to simply describe is as 'always harmful, always false' is not the best approach, as it can be used for good and bad causes (Hummel and Huntress, 1949, p. 2; Nelson and Izadi, 2009). Propaganda in any language 'predicates some kind of lying as a legitimate tool of political power'; despite generally being viewed negatively, the motives and ends are key elements of any operation (Hummel and Huntress, 1949; Arndt, 2006,

p. 28). The deliberate attempt to impact public opinion through the circulation of ideas and values for a certain purpose is propaganda that does not function through violence or bribery claims that because it functions and this method was the primary tool for nations in the war of ideas (Welch, 2003a).

The foundation of propaganda can be an institution, organisation, group or individual; the source of propaganda can be open or its identity can be hidden depending on strategy. Propaganda is commonly said to have three varieties: black, white and grey (Welch, 2003a; Kilbane, 2009). With black propaganda, 'not only is there deliberate distortion but the identity of the source is usually concealed or inaccurate' and channels such as leaflets, posters, radio and television stations and now even the internet can serve as tools for it (Welch, 2003b, p. 41). Nevertheless, the success of black propaganda largely depends on the target's keenness to accept its validity and the content of the message (Welch, 2003b). Government agencies mostly employ white propaganda, which 'camouflages its origin, its motive, or both, and (…) is conducted for the purpose of obtaining a specific objective by manipulating its audience'; it aims to engender support for a particular regime or ideology (Welch, 2003c, p. 425). Grey propaganda occupies space between black and white in that 'the source may or may not be identified, and the accuracy of the information is uncertain' (Welch, 2003d, p. 151). Several authors such as Welch (2003) and Defty (2004) have identified the IRD's work as close to grey propaganda, and I agree with this classification.

Public Diplomacy

For this dissertation, it is necessary to examine the relationship between cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy, as we want to identify how to categorise the IRD and its activities. There are many views on what constitutes public diplomacy that vary significantly. It is generally seen as concerned with achieving a positive public perception in other countries and constructing a good national image. In other words, it is the process of reaching out to everyday people (the public) and presenting a country to the world. Governments use their values to appeal to foreign audiences with the aim of achieving their foreign policy goals.

Public diplomacy is 'where state and nonstate actors use the media and other channels of communication to influence public opinion in foreign societies' (Gilboa, 2008, p. 58). Cull defines public diplomacy as an 'international actor's attempt to manage the international environment through engagement with a foreign public' (2010, p. 12). Public diplomacy as a state effort aims 'to cultivate a certain image of their nation for international publics' (Yang et al., 2012, p. 653). Public diplomacy aims to change public attitudes to affect state behaviour. In other words, the practitioner country initiates a public diplomacy project to communicate with target audiences which then contribute to the achievement of foreign policy goals.

Public diplomacy plays a vital role in enhancing a country's image and achieving the desired outcomes of a country's foreign policy. Tuch's (1990, p. 3) public diplomacy definition offers a strong framework and will be used in this thesis: 'a government's process of communication with foreign publics in an attempt to bring about understanding for its nation's ideas and ideals, its institutions and culture, as well as its national goals and policies'. The definition has two elements: public diplomacy is focused on the citizens of other nations and public diplomacy is about the promotion of a nation's interest through influence. These two functions of public diplomacy are valid for defining what the IRD was aiming to do.

Public diplomacy is often portrayed as a one-way information flow intended to transmit the positive aspects of a country to foreign peoples (Melissen, 2005). Public diplomacy thrived during the second half of the 20th century, including during the Cold War when 'the intent of public diplomacy was not only to inform and justify actions to both publics but also to convince the enemy of their ideological, economic and political convictions' (Huijgh, 2016, p. 440). The original function and aim of public diplomacy started with the total-war period of the early Cold War years, when public diplomacy changed from a 'struggle for the minds and wills of men' to one aimed at 'winning hearts and minds' (Armstrong, 2009). 20th century public diplomacy, or traditional public diplomacy, is 'conceptualised as information-messaging, cultural projection and international reputation management' (Huijgh, 2016, p. 444). In a way, the Cold War was a way-of-life contest between global powers, primarily the US, UK and Soviet Union, to influence foreign populations. Twentieth-century public diplomacy can be framed in two. First, to target influential elites in society that have the power to influence opinions and beliefs; second, to use public diplomacy activities to influence the opinions of these elites; and third, the expectation of these elites, in turn, to influence their government's policies (Pamment, 2013). The aim was to influence another country's public opinion.

Twenty-first-century public diplomacy, or what is now called 'new public diplomacy' 'is built upon the idea of the formation of relations through dialogue and networking activities by many actors above and below the level of national government and different types of non-governmental actors at home and abroad' (Huijgh, 2016, p. 444). The main characteristics of public diplomacy activities are information, influence and engagement (Kelley, 2009). The 9/11 terrorist attacks and the 'global war against terrorism' demonstrated the importance of public diplomacy, as the US sought to improve its image and fight against radicalism by publishing books (Gilboa, 2008). New public diplomacy acknowledges the importance of interchange with foreign publics as a condition of foreign policy (Melissen, 2005).

The term 'public diplomacy' was coined by Edmund Gullion when he was reflecting on 'the process of international information and cultural relations' (Cull, 2009,

p. 17). The term aimed to replace the expression 'propaganda', as its implications were seen negatively; additionally, the term is used to refer to efforts aimed at reducing misunderstanding and fostering intercultural communication with foreign publics by promoting ideas, culture and information and by engaging with foreign publics (Tuch, 1990; Cowan and Cull, 2008). It is essential to point out that the earliest use of the term 'public diplomacy' was not from an American but rather in a London Times piece in 1856, 'merely as a synonym for civility in a piece criticising the posturing of President Franklin Pierce' (Cull, 2009a, p. 19). The term was later adopted by academics and journalists alike; nevertheless, in the 1950s, the perception of the phrase public diplomacy sharply 'shifted towards the realm of international information and propaganda. It was not so much that the term was being functioned differently, but rather that diplomacy was being practised and understood differently' (ibid., p. 21). For this thesis, it is necessary to investigate how to define the IRD's activities, as they are usually classified as propaganda; however, we need to consider the other relevant terms to propaganda.

Public diplomacy is applied through mediated and unmediated personal communication platforms such as movies, brochures, books, magazines, radio, television, websites or cultural and academic exchange programmes, lectures and public functions (Zöllner, 2006). Public diplomacy activities generally aim to foster an appreciation and understanding of a culture and to build long-term understanding and a relationship (Pratkanis, 2009). Nevertheless, public diplomacy has not received sufficient critical analysis from the perspective of Cultural Studies, Cultural Policy Studies or Cultural Sociology; current cultural diplomacy practices have not received attention within the social, political and ideological contexts in which they operate (Ang et al., 2015). Public diplomacy can be practised by a multi-national corporation, non-governmental organisation, international organisation, terrorist organisation/militia or any other player on the world stage (Cull, 2009a).

It is also crucial, for the sake of clarity, to note how the term is used in the US. There, the term 'public diplomacy' has been used to explain international cultural propaganda and press management activities since 1965 (Cull, 2003; Welch, 2003e). Promoting the national interest 'through understanding, informing and influencing foreign audiences' was how the State Department described it in 1997 (Cull, 2003, p. 237). The term is 'in some ways propaganda'; however, the US wanted to escape the negative implications of the term 'propaganda', especially when describing the activities of the USIA and the Voice of America (VOA) (ibid.). During the Cold War, the US, the Soviet Union and Western Europe were prominent powers that invested deeply in their 'communications with the world' (Melissen, 2005). Public diplomacy focuses on building relationships, communicating with those with different views, understanding the needs

of different cultures and peoples, and considering where common ground can be found (Leonard et al., 2002).

Propaganda and information have always been linked to the exercise of public diplomacy (Nelson and Izadi, 2009). Nonetheless, there is a debate over 'whether government-sponsored activities are manipulative "propaganda" or valid "public diplomacy"' (Zaharna, 2004, p. 219). There are also different views about whether public diplomacy constitutes propaganda due to the links between the term 'propaganda' and lies, distortion, deceit and manipulation (Nelson and Izadi, 2009). The question of truthfulness is not only related to propaganda but is also linked with public diplomacy, as Nelson and Izadi (2009, p. 338) claim: 'a public diplomacy discourse that relies on selective truths to fulfil its commitment to the policies it aims to propagate does not fulfil the ethical standard of truthfulness'. This connection shows the similarity between the two terms, so it is difficult to establish a clear boundary between them. Thus, it can be said that the perceived connection between public diplomacy and propaganda was not accidental. Nevertheless, I agree with Cull (2003) for this research, as he considers public diplomacy in some ways as similar to propaganda.

Public diplomacy arose during the early years of the Cold War when information and persuasion campaigns were the principal weapons for two superpowers in their global ideological and strategic struggle (Gilboa, 2008). During the Cold War, public diplomacy was applied amid hostile relationships to get long-term results abroad and the idea was that 'if public opinion in the target society is persuaded to accept a favourable image of the other side, it will exert pressure on its government to alter existing hostile attitudes and policies' (Gilboa, 2008, p. 59). Public diplomacy activities, 'as practices of transnational communicative engagement' were said to be able to change public opinion in the target country, enabling better conditions for foreign policy success (Hayden, 2012, p. 2).

Based on a historical analysis of public diplomacy practice among various nations and institutes, Brown (2012a, p. 2) offers an explanation for the nature and purpose of public diplomacy in four elements: i) public diplomacy as an 'extension of diplomacy'; ii) public diplomacy as a 'mode of national projection'; iii) public diplomacy as cultural relations; and iv) public diplomacy as political warfare. Public diplomacy, as an extension of diplomacy, is 'a matter of national projection', the connecting idea being that 'external communications exist to create an image of the nation in the minds of foreigners, a positive image will make foreigners want to support our policies, visit (or emigrate) to our country, invest in our industries or buy our goods and services' (ibid.). From these elements, we can evaluate the UK's early-Cold War approach to public diplomacy. The changing foreign and domestic policy environment led the UK to employ what was then

called 'national projection', and this was in the context of the country's decline as a global power (Taylor, 1999).

Developments in foreign policy in the late-20th and early-21st centuries have highlighted the demand for forms of partnership between governmental and non-governmental actors. This demand is closely related to the intimate connections between foreign and domestic policy. Public diplomacy has become increasingly significant and has both international and domestic dimensions. Redefinition of the boundaries between domestic and international policy and the closer links between non-governmental and governmental actors have expanded the space in which diplomacy has to function (Hocking, 2016). Developing constructive dialogue and cooperation with civil society is essential for domestic public diplomacy; public diplomacy needs to be in harmony with a narrative that the actors want to construct through their public diplomacy initiatives (Huijgh and Warlick, 2016). Therefore, governmental and non-governmental actors both play critical roles in formulating public diplomacy narratives.

The domestic dimension of public diplomacy involves strong communication with citizens to legitimise foreign policy activities and produce public support for these external programmes (Huijgh, 2016). Connecting domestic changes to public diplomacy and applying domestic success as a master narrative can enhance a country's image and, in turn, its foreign policy influence (Huijgh and Warlick, 2016). Domestic development can be, in a sense, a foreign policy achievement – external identity building has become a significant aspect of public diplomacy for some countries, such as Canada, Indonesia and Chile (Melissen, 2005). However, 'when the story told abroad does not entail or equal the entire domestic reality, or when the voices of opponents at home undermine the dominant narrative projected abroad', the lacking functions of public diplomacy are exposed (Huijgh and Warlick, 2016, p. 19). Therefore, it is vital to see the IRD's working method and its narrative in the Findings chapter.

In this study, the UK's public diplomacy activities in the early years of the Cold War are seen as a means of influencing foreign and domestic perceptions of the UK and constructing and promoting a national identity. Public diplomacy can also 'facilitate (re)defining and (re)constructing national identities'; as the UK moved away from its empire in search of a new role after World War II, the country faced the questions of 'who are we?' and 'how do we want to be seen by others?' (Szondi, 2009, p. 295). As the country entered a new era, it needed to maintain its powerful role, so it fostered discourse that enabled its 'assumed' global power role. Public diplomacy functions 'through what are essentially communicative practices intended to influence foreign political discourse (i.e., seeking support for one's particular definition of reality)' (Rasmussen, 2009, p. 4). Public diplomacy played a vital role in constructing and promoting national identity, as it has the power to influence foreign publics and distribute preferred meanings as well as

the ability to influence self-image as an element in foreign political discourses (Rasmussen, 2009; Szondi, 2008).

State actors see public diplomacy as 'the efforts by which an actor seeks to transfer ideas and beliefs by influencing foreign political discourses through direct contact and participation in political debates' (Rasmussen, 2009, p. 1). Public diplomacy is aimed at the structural environment in which actors define themselves, their interests and their truths about the world; it 'seeks to influence self-image as an element in foreign political discourses' (ibid.). However, this gives rise to many questions; Steven Lukes (2007, p. 97) asks, 'To what extent, in which ways and by what mechanisms do powerful agents influence others' conceptions of their own interests?' The attractiveness of the ideas and values that a state disseminates to people both at home and abroad is strongly related to the domestic and foreign dimensions of public diplomacy.

The relationship between state and non-state actors becomes crucial in public diplomacy, as the revolutions in international relations give rise to new discussions around strategic public diplomacy, information management, public relations, nation branding, self-presentation, e-image and domestication of foreign policy (Gilboa, 2008). Public diplomacy studies now explore various sub-categories, such as nation-branding (see: Szondi, 2008; Anholt, 2003), public relations and strategic communication (Huijgh, 2016). If we briefly look at public relations, there are multiple concepts in play. The modus operandi of the new public diplomacy is not totally different from the public relations method (Melissen, 2005). Public relations is mainly connected to corporate communications and business management structures while public diplomacy practice and theory are connected to foreign affairs and national interest (Snow, 2006). A new term that connects public diplomacy and public relations is 'strategic communications', which 'refers to the totality of communications used to promote positive messages about the country – including those from government, business, tourism, finance sectors, and cultural institutions' (Snow, 2006, p. 154).

Despite a strong link between foreign policy and public diplomacy, there remains a lack of research in this area. Furthermore, NGOs constitute an essential aspect of public diplomacy, yet there is a lack of research on how they function (Gilboa, 2008). The IRD's relationships with publishing houses and seemingly independent organisations provide a strong example for further understanding. Gramsci's concept of hegemony also helps us understand how power relations work and how power holders target public opinion to distribute preferred meanings. This research, in a sense, is a case study to demonstrate the practical aspects of how public diplomacy was conducted early in the Cold War. I believe that Gramsci's hegemony approach to public diplomacy allows for a different understanding of the field.

Cultural Diplomacy

Cultural diplomacy plays a substantial role in foreign policy and it is well-established that it has an impact on relationships between countries. Cultural diplomacy is a fluid notion so, as with many of the concepts discussed in this thesis, it is difficult to find an agreed-upon definition. I share the same concerns as Arndt (2006, p. XV), who claims that to try to describe cultural diplomacy recalls 'the shop–worn fable of the blind men and the elephant – one feels a tree, another a snake, another a brush, another a flapping sail, another an ivory prong'. The lack of definitional clarity has led to a discussion on its relationship with propaganda and public diplomacy. For the purpose of this dissertation research, I regard cultural diplomacy as a 'subset of public diplomacy' (Cull, 2008; Mark, 2009, 2010). Cultural diplomacy as a concept is closely linked with states' foreign policy objectives; in other words, foreign objectives are at the centre of cultural diplomacy activities (Mark, 2009).

Scholars differ in how they define cultural diplomacy. Cull (2008, p. 33) sees cultural diplomacy as a subset of public diplomacy, just one of five components, the others being listening, advocacy, exchange diplomacy and international broadcasting; Mark shares this view (2009, 2010). Gienow-Hecht (2010) claims that the division of the two terms (public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy) into two distinct concepts is mainly a matter of Anglo-American political vocabulary. In general though, this distinction is preferred by cultural diplomacy scholars and experts. This distinction is fairly difficult to nail down, however, as their conceptual structures are remarkably different (ibid.). For example, German authorities use the term foreign cultural policy (auswärtige kulturpolitik) rather than cultural diplomacy, which allows for more unsolidified interchange between state and non-state powers (Gienow-Hecht, 2010a). Mark (2009) proposes a different approach to cultural diplomacy and its boundaries by arguing that there is a difference between public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy and defining public diplomacy as a government's communication with foreign audiences to positively influence them. By definition and in practice, they are clearly strongly connected; the differences between them are largely based on the fact that there is no set meaning for cultural diplomacy.

Despite considerable complications in the use of the term, there are noticeable characteristics that can help us describe cultural diplomacy. The definitional approach of this thesis to cultural diplomacy is fundamentally based on Gienow-Hecht's (2004, p. 4) definition as the use of culture as 'an instrument of state policy'. However, given the strong link between cultural diplomacy and propaganda in the context of the Cold War, my approach for this dissertation is to combine several definitions. Aguilar (1996, p. 9) offers a more comprehensive and convincing definition of cultural diplomacy as 'the way a government portrays its country to another country's people in order to achieve certain

foreign policy goals (…) and incorporates the activities of governmental agencies established to disseminate information, news, and interpretive material about the country (…) to instil sympathy and understanding for the goals of a country's domestic and foreign political action'.

The above definition offers a broad framework that can help us understand the IRD's activities as a central function of British 'foreign policy goals': combat Communism; maintain world power status, positive projection of culture, values and national achievements; dissemination of information, news and interpretive material, such as books; and, considering 'the goals of (the) country's domestic and foreign policy', projecting, promoting and protecting the British way of life, social democracy and Western civilisation. It is hard not to imagine why cultural diplomacy is associated with Cold War policies. Barghoorn's (1960, pp. 10–11) definition of cultural diplomacy is essential; he defines it as 'a branch of intergovernmental propaganda, but it is a special and significant one' involving the 'manipulation of cultural materials and personnel for propaganda purposes'. For the purpose of this thesis, Barghoorn's framework helps to clearly define the IRD's activities with an emphasis on 'cultural material' (books), 'personnel' (writers/intellectuals) and the capabilities of the UK officers abroad.

With its instrumental nature, cultural diplomacy is generally seen as a practice of government and its primary actors as government agents (Jora, 2013; Anheier and Isar, 2007). However, its scope has widened to non-governmental organisations and individuals (Bulumac and Sapunaru, 2012). Although individuals and non-government organisations are significant in cultural diplomacy, the government is generally viewed as the main actor (Aguilar, 1996). Isar (2010), however, claims that the main actor of cultural diplomacy is whoever is the most intensely involved in the practice.

In recent years, non-state organisations have assumed roles in conducting cultural diplomacy and these institutes 'have global interests and the will to make them felt on the world stage' (La Porte, 2012, p. 1). Non-state actors are 'true agents of cultural diversity' and have the capacity to gather people around a cultural idea; thus, despite states holding the main power, non-state organisations can be part of the process (Figueira, 2015, p. 180). It's important to note, however, that in the IRD's case, this operation happened secretly – this is elaborated on in Section 5.5. This warrants a discussion of subterfuge involving seemingly independent actors.

Cultural diplomacy has strong links to the government and its foreign policy, and it has the responsibility 'to present a favourable image so that diplomatic operations, as a whole, are facilitated' (Mitchell, 1986, p. 5). This implies that culture functions as a tool for achieving foreign policy aims and, thus, is politicised (Szondi, 2009). This instrumental potential appeals to governments in that it helps them demonstrate their cultures and values nationally and internationally (Ang et al., 2015). It is hard to detach

cultural diplomacy from foreign policy or cultural policy once that connection has been made, and presenting national culture often involves a strong connection with both foreign and cultural policy (Williams, 1983). For governments, as the main actors involved behind cultural diplomacy, the concept seems very attractive. The communication of images, ideas and values presented as a cultural product can be seen as an effective way for governments to distribute their ideological messages (ibid.); thus, these governments approach cultural diplomacy as 'their power of agency in the cultural arena' (Isar, 2010).

The relationship between cultural diplomacy and propaganda constitutes a noteworthy part of this research, as the terms can overlap. There are various positions among scholars on where the fine line is between propaganda and cultural diplomacy. When the involvement of the state is visible, scholars are more likely to link it to propaganda; when less visible, the involvement is more often designated as simply cultural diplomacy (Gienow-Hecht, 2010). For example, the French expression frequently seen in Foreign Ministry material on overseas cultural policy is 'oeuvres de propaganda (works of propaganda)' (Dueck, 2010). Additionally, Welch (2003e, p. 101) notes similar language differences and says that the USA refers to cultural propaganda, 'a long-term process intended to promote a better understanding of the nation that is sponsoring the activity' as 'public diplomacy' while Britain and France generally refer to it as 'cultural diplomacy' or 'cultural relations'. Furthermore, it is worth keeping in mind the moral judgment attached to the term propaganda by academics and the wider public, as it implies 'something bad, employed only by nasty politicians who make selective use of the truth and actively manipulate information in order to suppress intellectual freedom' (Cull, 2003; Dueck, 2010, p. 141). Propaganda was associated with its negative links in the UK more than anywhere, though the British were very imaginative when using propaganda to win World War II (Mitchell, 1986). This explains why many politicians and academics avoid the term and why so many historians have opted for the term 'cultural diplomacy' over 'propaganda' (Dueck, 2010). Propaganda is discussed further later on in this section.

The Cold War era offers scope for a fruitful discussion aimed at understanding the 'fine' boundaries between propaganda and cultural diplomacy. In the period between the two world wars, when intervention by governments in international cultural relations became standard practice, cultural diplomacy was 'mainly, if not entirely, (…) recognisable under (…) title of cultural propaganda' (Haigh, 1974, p. 28). Mitchell's (1986, p. 28) claim that cultural propaganda is 'at one end of a scale that passes through cultural diplomacy to cultural relations at the other end; the progression is from the use of culture as a force to advance national ends'. The IRD's close relationships with non–governmental actors such as publishing houses, writers, journalists and academics were

important to the conduct of its activities. Therefore, the IRD's function in promoting the 'British way of life' and 'Western democracy', alongside its role in combatting Soviet Communism through books and other cultural products, needs to be investigated around the concept of cultural diplomacy.

There are two more terms – 'cultural relations' and 'international cultural relations' – that have a strong connection with cultural diplomacy. Several authors distinguish between cultural diplomacy and cultural relations, including Mitchell (1986), who points to distinct differences them. He proposes that the aim of cultural diplomacy is 'to present a favourable image, so that diplomatic operations as a whole are facilitated' while the purpose of cultural relations is 'to achieve understanding and co-operation between national societies for their mutual benefit' (Mitchell, 1986, p. 5). Arndt (2005, p. XVIII) claims that cultural relations 'grow naturally and organically, without government intervention' while cultural diplomacy 'can only be said to take place when formal diplomats, serving national governments, try to shape and channel this natural flow to advance national interests'. Cultural relations have a longer history than public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy, and the main components of cultural relations that differentiate them from cultural diplomacy can be listed as the 'longer timescale, honesty, mutuality, and trust' as well as independence from a state (Rivera, 2015, p. 13).

Cultural relations establish themselves naturally and two-sided cultural diplomacy takes place when governments try to shape the run of cultural relations in their own interests (Arndt, 2006). According to Mitchell (1986, pp. 3–5), cultural diplomacy is 'narrower in scope. It is essentially the business of governments' and it leans towards being one-sided action while cultural relations 'achieve understanding and co-operation between national societies for their mutual benefits'. Moreover, the main difference between cultural relations and cultural diplomacy is in support for foreign policy objectives, which is one of the primary functions of cultural diplomacy while cultural relations operate separately from the state with a focus on developing mutual understanding (Rivera, 2015).

Other notable definitions of cultural diplomacy detail its relationship with cultural relations. Fisher and Bröckerhoff (2008) describe the term differently by siding with Mitchell's (1986) definition. According to them, cultural diplomacy is 'the act of presenting cultural goods to an audience in an attempt to engage them in the ideas the producer perceives to be represented by them' (Fisher and Bröckerhoff, 2008, p. 28). Cull (2008) also emphasises the broadcasting of cultural resources overseas. The main aspect of cultural diplomacy can be seen as a promotion of a certain perception rather than on straightforward communication. In contrast, cultural relations 'aims to be a genuine exchange of people, cultural goods or ideas, based on reciprocity and a symmetrical relationship' (Fisher and Bröckerhoff, 2008, p. 28). There are clear differences between

cultural diplomacy and cultural relations regarding the involvement of government, the nature of the actions and the methodology employed. For our case, the involvement of the government was fundamental despite the IRD's effort to work in secret with publishing houses and intellectuals. These activities cannot be seen as cultural relations, as the activities fulfilled foreign policy goals in both the long and short term; government officers and diplomats were the main actors driving the IRD's operations.

There are some discussions as to whether international cultural relations is synonymous with cultural diplomacy. There are three differences between cultural diplomacy and international cultural relations (Mark, 2009). First, the concept of international cultural relations involves general and idealistic goals while cultural diplomacy acknowledges government foreign policy objectives; second, cultural diplomacy uses 'selective self-projection' – the idea that international cultural relations are more honest is to do cultural diplomacy an injustice; third, international cultural relations can be carried out by an organisation with a degree of administrative independence while cultural diplomacy is a diplomatic practice of government, though it is one that is not undertaken exclusively by diplomats working for a government's foreign ministry (Mark, 2009, p. 19). Mark (2009) claims that Mitchell's (1986) conceptualisation of the distinction between cultural diplomacy and international cultural relations is unsuccessful; the difference lies in their goals, as international cultural relations has idealistic and general aims while cultural diplomacy is centred on government foreign objectives. Thus, the IRD's activities fall under the definition and methods of cultural diplomacy due to the involvement of government and the alignment with foreign policy aims.

It is clear that the terms propaganda, public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy and the boundaries between them are hard to define. The moral choices, language differences and negative connotations of the terms are the main reasons to agree with or ignore these relations. The absence of agreed-upon definitions generates a matter of choice and its arguments. During the Cold War, amid a battle of ideologies, the cultural sphere was extremely politicised, and culture as a medium of foreign policy was systematically applied to propaganda/cultural diplomacy goals. Therefore, I would argue that the IRD's activities are part of public and cultural diplomacy linked to political and cultural propaganda; this argument will be made more explicit using evidence from the findings. The next section reflects on the notion of the book and its relationship with authority.

3.5 A Powerful Object: The Book

As this study places books at the heart of cultural diplomacy, this section offers a brief historical overview to lead the discussion on the role of books in the Cold War. It also provides an indication of why the state is interested in using books as a tool. The section also briefly looks at the notion of translation, as the IRD was involved in translating books into different languages.

It is difficult to dismiss the position of books in world history and how they gave rise to several great turning points. The Renaissance, the Reformation, the Scientific Revolution and the Age of Enlightenment all relied on the printed word for their spread and enduring impact. For two-and-a-half millennia, humanity has used the book, manuscript or printed form, to record, worship, administer and educate (Lyons, 2013). Before books, or writing in general, oral cultures were responsible for the distribution of information and value; print culture later gave future generations a way to craft an enduring record of authors' words (Campbell et al., 2012). Books are viewed as the source of several religions, including Judaism, Christianity and Islam (Lyons, 2013).

The background of the book lies in classical times when there were many well-known authors and when works of many kinds, both fictional and nonfictional, were copied and distributed for reading or verbal transmission (McQuail, 2001). In the early medieval period, the book was not principally seen as a means of communication but rather a store of wisdom, particularly of sacred writings and religious texts that had to remain uncorrupted (McQuail, 2001; Lyons, 2013). Books are the oldest form of media, with the first known book having been written in Egypt around 1400 B.C. For a very long time, however, they did not constitute a mass medium, as very few copies existed (Lee, 2009). For centuries, when books were hand–crafted by monks and booksellers, most people in society did not even realize that they existed (Fang, 1997; Finkelstein and McCleery, 2006). They were a luxury and very few people could read or write. Consequently, only religious orders, the ruling elite, and some wealthy merchants ever saw or owned one (Lee, 2009). Many books from the Middle Ages were illuminated manuscripts, and the power and importance of books lied as much in their physical and visual qualities as in their texts (Benton, 2009; Campbell et al., 2012). They often held great iconic significance, not only because they were rare and costly but because the ability to read was quite rare – they were usually made for churches or wealthy clients.

Before the introduction of the printing press, few people in Europe, aside from scholars, were literate. The Church had no need to be particularly worried about heresy in books, as they were not accessible to the public (Fang, 1997). The danger of new ideas was exclusively that those in power may themselves be persuaded: 'Curiously, the threat print posed to authority was not that the masses would become voracious readers of incendiary tracts but that the authorities and exegetes from whom they habitually took

their opinions would themselves become infected with new ideas' (ibid., p. 26). Books were not originally reproduced for the masses; they were expected to circulate within limited circles. However, this changed in 1456 when Johannes Gutenberg invented movable metal types and opened the vast door into mass production of printed materials. Publications spread quickly across Europe, as the revolution was encouraged by a public eager for knowledge (Lee, 2009).

Mass production of printed materials enabled the democratisation of knowledge and the opening of information which was once exclusive to the elite to multiple layers of society. This spread of knowledge went in parallel with the creation of an administrative system that promoted the interests of culture, commerce and imperialism. Clearly, printing played a crucial role in a revolution that had a transformative impact on civilisation (Eisenstein, 1980). It led to massive political, religious, economic, educational and personnel changes. Where royalty and the church had previously been able to coordinate information, the mass production of books enabled a new arena for ideas. Distribution threatened the power of the church and state, as knowledge could be used as a powerful tool and weapon (Lee, 2009). Church leaders were much more concerned about 'what passed the lips of preachers who spoke to the masses in the common language (which) changed (in) about 1478 with the publication of a handsomely illustrated Bible in Low German. Here was a direct challenge to the power of the church as the sole interpreter of God's Word' (Fang, 1997, pp. 26–27). In other words, printing undermined the authority of the Church by simply making Biblical text accessible to the public (Eisenstein, 1980). Gutenberg's invention enabled people to mass-produce texts and distribute them broadly in a way that had not been possible before (Finkelstein and McCleery, 2006). The ability to make texts available to the masses fundamentally altered societal power dynamics. Later on, mechanized production and the commodification of books and newspapers gave rise to 'print capitalism', which made possible the amalgamation of cultures and the creation of imagined communities (Anderson, 2006). Books played a substantial role during the Cold War as a means to gather nations around the proper 'way of life', as we will see in Chapter 5.

The growing use of the printing press brought about new innovations, such as printed pamphlets containing information and opinions (McAlpine, 2015). These pamphlets were particularly common in England, France and Germany in the 16th and 17th centuries and covered religious, scientific, social and political writing that writers and publishers wanted to make available to the general public (ibid.). This form of publishing was fairly cheap to distribute, so people were able to make their ideas widely known – this ability was used to promote a variety of disruptive ideas (ibid.).

Printing similarly performed a principal function in religious and institutional change. Before the 1500s, the Catholic Church enjoyed dominant ideological control and

unparalleled social power (Fang, 1997). Martin Luther was the principal agent responsible for the widespread distribution of Biblical knowledge and criticism of the Papacy to the public during the sixteenth century. This lit the fire of the Protestant Reformation, which began in 1517, and constituted the first mass effort to take advantage of the new technology and the first successful opposition to the Catholic monopoly (ibid.). Luther's translation of the Bible was comprehensible to speakers of many local German dialects. The Protestant Reformation gave rise to new forms of religious and institutional conflict in European society (ibid.). Nearly everywhere from the early sixteenth century onwards, government and church authorities applied censorship to or completely restricted printed materials, though not with the efficacy of modern totalitarian states (Lee, 2009; Fang, 1997). This shows how highly those in power regard books and how strongly they seek to control their distribution and production.

The 18th century saw a massive increase in book production. Still, publishers had to cope with censorship and intrusive policing of their activities, especially in continental Europe (Lyons, 2013). During the French Enlightenment period, the regime tried to silence its critics and block the spread of rebellious works; under Napoleon, book production became firmly controlled by the state (ibid.). Between 1450 and 1800, remarkably little changed in the printing process; printers continued to set type by hand and, thus, at the start of the Industrial Revolution, printing was done much as it had been in Gutenberg's day (Fang, 1997). After 1800, however, rapidly changing technology in the printing industry helped to change the whole fabric of society – printing 'encouraged literacy, broadened knowledge, and involved ordinary people in public affairs to a greater extent than ever before (…) The Industrial Revolution brought to printing the advantages of mass production – a greater output of printed material at a far lower cost' (ibid., pp. 47–48). Printing played a major role in the Industrial Revolution, the American Revolution and the French Revolution and was itself part of an information revolution. Thomas Paine's Common Sense, for example, spread the rebellious viewpoint that led to the American Revolution; in France, the Declaration of the Rights of Man was published and shook all of Europe (ibid.).

By the 19th century, paper was as cheap as it would ever be and books were being mass-produced. Up until then, the roles of publishing, printing and bookselling had commonly been undertaken by a single enterprise. But over time, the three activities diverged and as the industrial age got underway, the business of publishing became more specialised, involving developing marketing strategies, organising finance and fostering a stable of authors (Lyons, 2013). Nevertheless, while the development of a reading public was a business opportunity for publishers, others considered it a threat to society (ibid.). The demand for books grew significantly between 1880 and 1920 as the centre of social and economic life moved from the culture of rural farm production to an

industrialised, urban culture (Campbell et al., 2012). The first half of the 20th century was a dark period in history generally and a troubling time in the history of the book. Wars, paper shortages, economic depression, curtailing of free speech and higher labour costs caused serious problems for the industry. However, book production increased again after World War II; book clubs rose in popularity and the modern publishing industry thrived in both the West and East.

The 20th century was a time of many changes; 'communication' would become a central concept and the printed word still held its own alongside the newer media of radio, film and later, television. The concept was associated with terms such as dialogue, information, public opinion, propaganda, public relations, journalism, media, mass communication and technology (Simonson et al., 2013). These terms grew in importance as well in the minds of both scholars and the public and encouraged historical thinking and investigation (ibid.). Increased public attention was driven by many factors, including 'the onslaught of propaganda in World War I, the rise of public relations after the war, and accelerating attention to the questions about the public and public opinion from that point forward' (ibid., p. 20). This is the era in which public diplomacy gained prominence, as already discussed in Section 3.4.

During World War II, the ideologies of democracy, communism and fascism were central to the imagining of the war. Thus, propaganda, cultural and information activities were considered to be important enough to be undertaken by governments. In the early part of the 20th century, governments discovered the benefit of using the media for domestic and foreign propaganda and books were seen as a useful tool to foster a positive image, promote the national culture and maintain contact with expatriates (McQuail, 2001). Books have an important place in the history of Cold War; they remained an important if not the leading method of cultural relations during this era (Travis, 2013, p. 181). Books are one of the central media elements that serve the freedom of expression and the democratic and cultural exchange of ideas and information in an open society (Kurschus, 2015). Their dominant role made them the carriers of Cold War politics and ideology.

In this thesis, I consider books as a cultural product, by which I mean 'goods or services that express attitudes, opinions, ideas, values or artistic creativity and offer information, entertainment and aesthetic emotions' (Martin, 2004, p. 4). Cultural products performed an essential job in the formation of a national image and communication of its values at a time when the power of culture was practiced as a weapon against the enemy, the Soviet Union, and its ideology, communism (Schneider, 2006).

In the early years of the Cold War, books and libraries were considered essential tools to inform the public. Books have long been related to the offer of a wider world and the ability to connect and integrate people with different ideologies from different

countries (Barnhisel and Turner, 2010). Besides, books have a role in the development of social cohesion and in enabling access to information that fosters the involvement of everyone (Kurschus, 2015). Governments struggled to control what the readers at home and abroad learned about their own but there was an expectation that books would foster a new connection, support foreign policy aims and spread a powerful image about their ideological stance (ibid.). Such power was not wholly new, as books constituted a lasting propaganda tool during the world wars. Overt and covert book-publishing activities by the governments on both sides of the Iron Curtain intended to make use of a cultural product to serve their foreign policy aims. It is clear that publishing was used to deliver the ideological messages of the government.

Books can serve particular goals and their ability to reach mass audiences means they are vulnerable to manipulation or the promotion of a particular point of view. Governments, non-profits and cultural organisations wanted to shape media content in order to promote themselves and their values. This type of government media influence can persuade target audiences for political, ideological or commercial purposes. As a medium of mass communication, books can promote ideas broadly; their effectiveness is based not only on their economic success but on their level of influence over the masses. Books do not merely transfer current information – they serve as historical artefacts.

Publishers, as gatekeepers with major control over the knowledge available in authoritarian societies, are clearly important players. They are in a position to control what information is disseminated and which ideas are circulated in service of the dominant ideology (Altbach and Hoshino, 1995). In other words, control over access to information and the means of knowledge distribution is an important structure in any society, and publishers exercise significant power through their control over what to print.

Book is not only a medium for the storage of information, but it also has a significant role in constructing identity (Kurschus, 2015). Nations in their need to define national identity use books that represent their image; therefore, the book has a role as a 'carrier of national identity and a medium with a subversive social and political potential' (Kovač, 2010, p. 280; Kurschus, 2015). For example, in European history, the role of the book was closely related to national identities, states and their development, and the book is one of the pillars of cultural policy agreed by all European Member states (Kurschus, 2015). The states have employed book publishing programmes as part of their domestic and foreign cultural policy agenda. Therefore, international book fairs, books festivals, serve a central place for the nations to project their image and these activities also allow cultural exchange between nations and people where public and cultural diplomacy takes a significant role.

In the project of promoting a nation's image in order to create attractiveness for the audience both at home and abroad, literature and famous authors are one of the essential elements in this process. This is most obvious in the in modern, present-day European history, particularly in Eastern European countries, who struggle to form an independent national identity (Kurschus, 2015). Literature and book culture function as a form of identification for European values and permit the construction of national and individual identities (ibid.). Therefore, literature and authors have the power to foster the national image through for examples international literary awards such as the Nobel Prize, Man Booker and Prix Goncourt and many others.

Translated Books: Product of Culture

The IRD was involved in the translation of books and their distribution around the world. Translated books were an essential medium of the IRD's operation because translation helped reach foreign audiences to introduce and promote ideas, as we will see in Section 5.4.

Translation is generally done within the framework of communication; it can be seen as a particular kind of intercultural communication. It deals with at least two languages and an extensive network of cultural, historical, political and ideological components (Hatim and Mason, 1997; Schäffner, 2003; Bhabha, 1994; Katan, 2009). Translation plays a significant role in the global distribution of ideas, but ideas do not circulate on their own – they are delivered by agents and institutions that can face cultural, political and economic barriers (Sapiro, 2014). Translated books, which produce a healthy level of awareness across borders, can eliminate barriers such as politics, economics, nationalism and cultural materialism (Evans, 2011). Cultural production is not limited to one language and one culture, and in order to interact with humankind as a whole, information must be made available to those beyond national borders. This is why translated books are a critical element of foreign policy (Schäffner, 2007; Bound et al., 2007; Von Flotow and Nischik, 2007). According to *Cultural Diplomacy: The Linchpin of Public Diplomacy* (2005, p. 12), as a cultural product, 'translation lies at the heart of any cultural diplomacy initiative; some misunderstandings between peoples may be resolved through engagement with each other's literary and intellectual traditions'. Furthermore, cultural diplomacy could easily be called the export of translated cultural products (Von Flotow, 2007a). Cultural products such as literary works, films and plays are not able to be universally understood without being translated, which is why translation is such a crucial aspect of cultural diplomacy and why translated books can be seen as a form of cultural diplomacy (Von Flotow, 2007).

Translated books are not just cultural products that travel across borders and open new windows. Translation inevitably echoes power dynamics, as it involves different cultures and its main communication channel is a language that is not only an

instrument for communication but also a potentially manipulative tool mirroring national ideology (Leonardi, 2008).

Translation plays a major role in fostering political ideas and, for quite some time, translation was applied to propagandize particular ideas. While translation is often invisible in the field of politics, it 'is actually an integral part of political activity. Which texts get translated, from and into which languages is itself already a political decision' (Schäffner and Bassnett, 2010, p. 13). Government bodies, institutions and associations that provide support for publications can act as patrons; there is a long tradition of governments wanting to foster knowledge of their culture abroad or even making an effort to import ideas from abroad (Schäffner, 2007). For example, Martin Luther achieved the support of a German duke who approved his request to translate the Bible into German. In the UK, King James pushed for the translation of the Bible into English (ibid.). In the medieval Arab world, translation was part of the government policy to an extent that it had its own institutions and budget; Arab rulers recognized the value of translation for propagating their faith and recruiting for their state (Faiq, 2000; Schäffner, 2007). This is also an indication of how translation offers a reliable tool of foreign ideological distribution.

During the Cold War, translation played a significant role. In Communist Eastern European countries, speeches delivered at Communist party congresses were translated into other Eastern European languages for immediate publication in a daily newspaper and made available in Western languages such as English, French and Spanish for distribution to embassies (Schäffner, 2007). The US was one of the strongest promoters of its culture through translated books. In 1952, for example, the government encouraged the creation of a private, non-profit organization, Franklin Publications, which promoted the translation of American works into languages used throughout the Third World, particularly the Middle East (Jacquemond, 2009). Translation was a vital tool on the other side of the Iron Curtain. Translated books served to open the USSR to Western ideas by 'winning the hearts and minds' of Soviets who liked to read (Richmond, 2003). The US, UK and other Western countries supplied books to the Soviets – generally members of the intelligentsia who were open to Western ideas – through various channels, such as embassies, diplomats, travellers and special deliveries (ibid.). The USSR did not falter in this respect, however, as it published more books than other countries and it too profoundly empowered translation during the Cold War as part of its ideological agenda (Richmond, 2003; Tymoczko, 2010).

The strong connection between power, ideology and politics in translation begs the following questions: 'Who decides which texts get translated, and from and into which languages? Where are the translations produced? Which factors determine the translator's behaviour? How are translations received? What is the status of translations,

of translating, and of translators in the respective cultures and systems? Who chooses and trains translators? How many? For which language combinations?' (Schäffner, 2007, p. 136). The choice of material by ruling authorities, be they publishers, institutions, clients or governments, either implicitly or explicitly, indicates a distinctive ideological position. Therefore, translated text serves as a material demonstration of the ideological narrative of the ruling authorities (Chung-Ling, 2010). Section 5.4 will detail the role of the IRD as a patron in the translation process.

Translation itself is an ideological activity; 'the translator acts in a social context and is part of that context' (Hatim and Mason, 1997, p. 121). Translators play a noteworthy function through their choice of strategies, though it is an open question as to whether translations are 'ideologically slanted' or 'culturally mediated' by translators. (Leonardi, 2009, p. 197). The choice of the translators – what to translate and how to translate it – is controlled by political aims. Therefore, it is important to emphasise this point that politics is closely linked to ideology (Schäffner, 2007; Álvarez and Vidal, 1996). The relationship between the translator and the author, the source text and translation, indicates a close link between translators and the power structure – this power is not only related with the product being translated but is 'inherent in the translation process itself' (Tymoczko and Gentzler, 2002, p. XXVIII). The selection process, deciding which works are worthy of being translated, is run by powerful agents and constitutes an incredibly significant political act (Fischer and Jensen, 2012). The IRD's effort to translate Orwell's *Animal Farm* and *1984* into Arabic and Russian is an indication of how this process was affected by political and ideological concerns.

In an age of communication and dialogue among nations, translation plays a significant role in transporting ideas across national borders. Translation is an act of cultural communication and allows for intercultural understanding, social cohesion and peaceful coexistence between cultures and linguistic groups (Donahaye, 2011; Bhabha, 1994; Katan, 2009). Particularly over the last few decades, states have increasingly been launching translation programmes to promote their literary and intellectual production. The British Council, for example, sponsors translations worldwide through its country offices. This trend is, as already discussed, aimed at advancing national foreign policy goals. Translation grants have a crucial role in encouraging intercultural exchange, they allow more diverse book titles and help to introduce authors' work to different countries; this exchange helps in understanding, amalgamation and social cohesion (Kurschus, 2015). For example, the German institution 'Inter Nationes' offers some translations at half the standard cost; the French Ministry of Culture supports, assists and encourages the translation of French texts (Schäffner, 2007). With this study, I aim to understand this relationship. The next chapter considers the methodology, the research questions and the IRD as a case study.

Chapter Four

Research Methods

This chapter presents the research methodology employed for this dissertation. I discuss the research questions, data collection method, ontology, epistemology, the case study approach and working with archival material and the limitations this poses. This chapter also explains critical discourse analysis (CDA) and how this methodology is applied effectively to the research to understand power, national identity, hegemony and ideology through discourse.

4.1 Research Questions, Objectives and Assumptions

In this study, I explore how books were used by the UK in public and cultural diplomacy during the early years of the Cold War. To demonstrate how books functioned as a form of cultural diplomacy, I use the IRD as a case study. The IRD played a role in national projection and the fight against Communism as an entirely secret government department; it was established in 1948 and finally closed in 1977. The IRD was responsible for influencing public opinion both domestically and internationally through the production and distribution of books, newspapers, films, exhibitions, and radio scripts to project, promote and protect the British way of life. This thesis focuses on the IRD's activities between 1948 and 1956.

To understand how books functioned as a form of public and cultural diplomacy, I will analyse the UK's foreign policy efforts (1948–1956) and explore the following: how the IRD's funding and distribution of books were used to promote and (re)construct the UK's national identity in the early years of the Cold War; how books promoted a favourable national image abroad; how these books functioned as an effective tool for the UK to carry out its 'role' as a global power both at home and abroad – to maintain and reproduce its hegemony (moral and intellectual leadership); how these books helped the political elites disseminate their preferred messages; and how intellectuals and private organisations were involved in this book-publishing strategy.

An examination of the IRD's activities will uncover how the UK government developed specific strategies of cultural representation to influence both domestic and foreign audiences and maintain its power. This study will also reveal how the UK sought to, through books, distribute and create certain perceptions of the nation to sustain its imagined communities – that of the UK as well as that of the Western world through books (Anderson, 2006). This research contributes to the existing literature on the subject, which is dominated by research focused on the US, by studying cultural diplomacy in the British context. Additionally, it contributes to the literature by conducting a specific exploration of books as a form of cultural diplomacy.

The IRD's role in the publication and distribution of books can be seen as an early example of the UK's efforts in Cold War public and cultural diplomacy. This study allows for an exploration of the character of power, hegemony and ideology in cultural diplomacy by providing analytical evidence gathered through archival research. This exploration will give us a chance to look at the past and learn a lesson from history.

The following paragraphs identify the assumptions made in this study. The relationship between books and cultural diplomacy first caught my attention while I was working as a culture and arts journalist in Istanbul, Turkey. At the time, in 2006, the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism had just established a programme called 'Promotion of Turkish Literature Abroad' (TEDA). The programme seeks to raise global awareness of Turkish art and culture by disseminating Turkish literary works worldwide. The project began with a focus on Turkish citizens abroad, especially in Europe (typically Germany and France) before shifting towards the Middle East with an emphasis on fostering dialogue and maintaining Turkish influence in the region.

Turkish government interests laid out in books was nothing new; Tercüme Bürosu (The Translation Bureau) that operated between 1940 and 1946 translated many Western books into Turkish to serve as instruments for the establishment of a modern society through literature. Kemalist ideology, which was shaped by the principles of M. Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Republic, highlighted the importance of a national identity (Paker, 1998; Aksoy, 2010). I have written many articles in a Turkish newspaper (Zaman Daily Newspaper) about the place of these books in foreign policy.

In the modern era, many countries around the world, including the US, the UK, France, Canada, Germany, Turkey and China, use books as a tool of foreign policy. This shared cultural practice by various countries must be investigated from a cultural diplomacy perspective, as instrumental policy by governments through books presents a complicated picture. The practice of using culture to foster mutual understanding has become an important tactic. Despite this, there has been little discussion about the relationship between books and cultural diplomacy, especially in the UK. After moving to the UK to earn my master's degree, I pursued my interest in government-funded book programmes as foreign policy tools. My MA thesis focussed on the relationship between book programmes and cultural diplomacy in Turkey and included interviews with the translators, writers and publishers involved with the TEDA project. This MA thesis is the primary motivation behind, and the foundation of, this study's pursuit. Coming from a literature background and working as an arts and culture journalist, I find the relationship between culture and government to be both engaging and important.

There is copious historical research about the IRD but a lack of analysis of its diplomatic activities. I believe that by choosing the IRD as a case study, I will find an

answer to the following question: how do books function as a form of cultural diplomacy? This question lies at the heart of the research.

4.2 Ontology, Epistemology and Research Approach

The research process has three aspects: epistemology, ontology, and methodology (Blanche and Durrheim, 1999). According to Crotty (1998, p. 8), epistemology is 'a way of understanding and explaining how we know what we know'. Ontology is 'the study of being' (ibid., p. 10), which 'raises basic questions about the nature of reality and the nature of the human being in the world' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005, p. 91). As Crotty (1998, p. 10) says, 'to talk about the construction of meaning (epistemology) is to talk about the construction of a meaningful reality (ontology)'. For this study, I adopt the constructivist approach, which says that 'truth and meaning do not exist in some external world but are created by the subject's interactions with the world' (Gray, 2014, p. 20). In other words, constructivism focuses on the idea that 'there is no objective truth waiting for us to discover it. Truth or meaning comes into existence in and out of our engagement with realities in our world. (…) Meaning is not discovered but constructed' (Crotty, 1998, p. 10). This essentially means that different people can construct meaning in different ways because meaning is not merely found, but actively constructed by human beings (Crotty, 1998; Gray, 2014). Meaning is part of participants' experiences, and the function of the researcher is to present this meaning through his or her perceptions (Crotty, 1998; Guba and Lincoln, 1994). This collaboration between researcher and participant does not create an objective perspective.

In constructivism, knowledge is 'created in interaction among investigator and respondents'; a substantial instrument for the transfer of knowledge from one setting to another is 'the provision of vicarious experience, often supplied by case study reports' (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, pp. 111–114). Findings are literally created as investigations continue and the subjects and objects actively participate in the process (ibid.). I am aware that my position will have an impact on the process and I position myself as a researcher within the parameters of a constructivist approach. To make full sense of the study, I investigate the broader structures and rich context while at the same time acknowledging my subjectivity (Gray, 2014). Regarding presentation, as required by a constructivist approach, I aim to create a balance of all perspectives, values, and beliefs as they relate to the study and I will explain the reality with the lens through which people look (Costantino, 2008). Therefore, I apply a constructivist approach that enables me to engage with multiple stakeholders and understand and construct the reality from them.

Here, I want to discuss why the IRD was chosen as a case study and the scope of this study. The book-publishing activities of the IRD played a vital role in the UK's Cold War-era foreign policy. Additionally, the large body of archival material about the IRD encouraged research at the level of weeded material, which will be discussed further.

Selected empirical data were taken solely from the archival material containing departmental records, reports, correspondence and minutes. The study looks only up to 1956, just before the Suez Crisis, which had a noteworthy political impact on the UK's foreign policy and was considered a momentous foreign relations failure showcasing the limits of British power.

As stated in the introduction, the activities that the IRD engaged in took various forms, including books, magazines, exhibitions and films. The amount of material covering the IRD's operations is enormous; limiting the research to the department's early years allows for comprehensive, in-depth coverage of the topic with more control of the data. The relevant files, which include a wide range of materials for future studies, are available at the National Archives in London, the official archive and publisher for the UK, England and Wales.

Case studies as an approach or research strategy can incorporate both qualitative and quantitative data and have the ability to create hypotheses and encourage further research (Aaltio and Heilmann, 2010). As a comprehensive qualitative research strategy, case studies can be used for a single event or circumstance (Hijmans and Wester, 2010). The relationship between research activities and research aims is a critical one – these activities must be relevant to the research aims. This means that the researcher should be conscious of the various approaches that may be required for different aspects of the study (Walliman, 2006).

To achieve the objectives of this study, we need primary data that includes qualitative data. In the context of this study, I believe that using qualitative data would result in more objective outcomes. Case study research generally provides a massive volume of data, meaning that the necessary qualitative data analysis is complicated and requires flexibility, knowledge and skill (Evers and Staa, 2010). All research methods have strengths and limitations. The strengths of case study methods are as follows: 'their potential for achieving high conceptual validity; their strong procedures for fostering new hypotheses; their value as a useful means to closely examine the hypothesised job of causal mechanisms in the context of individual cases; and their capacity for addressing causal complexity' (George and Bennett, 2005, p. 19).

Case studies enable investigators to reach 'high levels of conceptual validity or to identify and measure the indicators that best represent the theoretical concepts the researcher intends to measure' (ibid.). According to Evers and Staa (2010, p. 749), in qualitative case studies, the concentration is basic and the aim of the researcher is 'to understand what is important in a case from within, as opposed to from the perspective of outsiders, such as fellow researchers'. The limitations involved with case studies are as follows: a need for additional information from independent sources; verity of the archive; access to a fully catalogued archive (as some documents may be destroyed

accidentally or intentionally – 'archive producers and/or custodians sometimes willingly demolish or hide material that would reflect negatively on their organisation, or their country'); archival documents frequently 'reflect the reality as perceived by the organisation or government that produced them' (Stan, 2010, p. 30). I discuss the limitations further in the next section; however, the main problem encountered during this research was regarding the files that remained closed to the public until December 2018.

Despite its time-consuming nature and inevitable difficulties, I collected the data by myself. The archival information is a rich source of primary data, which allowed for an investigation of the IRD's complexity and helped to answer my research questions. The advantage of this approach is that public documents at the National Archives about the IRD provide an enormous amount of data; working with such rich primary data helped to create 'interesting, testable and well-supported' research (Crichton, 2010, p. 951). This primary data on the IRD, which has been available since 1995, adds validity and reliability to the findings, as primary data 'is as near to the truth that we can get about things and events' (Walliman, 2006, p. 51).

Researchers' responsibilities are to design the study, collect, analyse and report the data, and use these new data to answer their research questions (Blaikie, 2003). Qualitative research is used for information provided in accounts, opinions, feelings, words or descriptions; this approach is common when people are the focus of the study, particularly small groups or individuals (Walliman, 2006). Observational field notes, historical records, interview transcripts, literary texts, research diaries, photographs, videos and material objects can all supply qualitative data (Evers and Staa, 2010; Walliman, 2006). The IRD-related materials are mainly text-based and contain a notable number of minutes and reports; hence, they must be dissected, rearranged, organised and interpreted (Evers and Staa, 2010). Archival records help to explain the past and clarify its impact on the present; they constitute a unique method of data collection for a case study research (Stan, 2010). They can provide valuable insight into different peoples, groups, organisations and institutions (ibid.). The IRD-related material offers substantial primary data, which helps us uncover the department's activities and relationships with different institutions and people.

4.3 Data Collection Method and Archival Material

The nature of the IRD as a secret government department warrants a discussion on the selection of its archived material, the nature of the 'secret' documents, legal issues, my approach to this material, and its reliability. An archive is defined by Cox (1996, p. 254) as consisting of 'the papers (or usually, a selection of or from the papers) which official authorities (in the case of the archives of the state, the central government) drew up for the conduct of their affairs, or which they used in conducting them. They are

the papers which themselves formed an actual part of that conduct of affairs'. For researchers who rely on case studies, archival records are a major source of material on government organisations (Stan, 2010). The archival materials are what made this study possible.

There are numerous references to the term 'document' in this study. A document is 'an instrument in language which has, as its origin and for its deliberate and express purpose, to become the basis of or to assist, the activities of an individual, an organisation, or a community' (Webb and Webb, 1975, p. 100). The IRD files contain various types of documents, including letters between officers, recorded minutes, embassy correspondence. The files of concern for this study are numbered FO 1110 and titled 'Foreign and Commonwealth Office: Information Research Department: General Correspondence, 1948–1967'.

These documents must not be seen as just retrospective accounts of the activities being researched but as work produced by actual actors involved in them (ibid.). Additionally, archives 'are not merely evidence for the facts. They are part of the facts'. In other words, 'what they contain had a particular significance at the time it was written and in the circumstances of the time' (Cox, 1996, p. 256). I was aware during my research that archival documents often reflect reality as 'perceived by the organisation or government that produced them' (Stan, 2010, p. 30); working with intelligence-related materials made me far more cautious in my approach to the 'truth' represented in the documents.

For those working with British archives, it is critical to consider the implications of three critical acts of Parliament (1958, 1967 and 2010) concerning intelligence-related and other records held by the government. Under the Public Records Acts of 1958 and 1967, government departments are required to have criteria that establish which records must be permanently maintained and to transfer them to the Public Record Office (PRO) after 30 years. Before 2010, the old system prevailed, meaning records were closed for 30 years unless the Lord Chancellor established a longer or a shorter period. This was changed by the Freedom of Information (FOI) access system. The government decided that both the FOI system and the Public Records Acts should be amended to reduce the period to 20 years, and these changes were made through the Constitutional Reform and Governance Act of 2010.

In 2013, the new protocol went into effect and the government began releasing records after 20 years instead of 30. Materials can be withheld on grounds of national security and defence, where disclosure may damage the economic and financial wellbeing of the UK, or where it may create hostilities between the UK and other states or international organisations (Peters et al., 2008). These exceptions explain why not all of the IRD files have been released.

The files of the IRD between 1948 and 1956 are largely accessible. Academics consider intelligence-related material in the public domain as selective, random, little and late (Bennett, 2002). The selection committee system is criticised by academics such as Wark (1992, p. 197), who describes the selection criteria as 'an impenetrable wall, whose bricks were created from other than pure reason'. Defty (2004, p. 13) claims that 'the files of (the) IRD have certainly been carefully weeded. Some files have been retained in their entirety. In more cases, the sensitive material has been removed from files or the policy of blanking out sensitive sections has been employed'. During my research, I have observed the same issues as Defty – blank stretches between paragraphs and removed files. Andrew (as cited in Wark, 1992) describes the British public archives as information laundered to cover a wide variety of sins and give a misleading impression. It is critical that researchers are aware of these concerns when using archive data – in our case, data on the IRD. Once I had all of the available documents, however, the materials were ready for analysis.

4.4 Data Selection and Analysis Method

In this section, I discuss the case study, the intelligence-related material analysis, and how CDA is applied in this research. The corpus of primary data used for this thesis is made up of publicly available materials from the National Archives, as well as a small but significant number of materials from the Special Collections of Archives and Rare Books at the University of Reading.

The selection of materials for this research was done through the National Archives search engine (http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C8409). While the index, which shows the content of the IRD-related files, is available online, the files themselves have not been digitised and need to be examined physically in the National Archives. I created a set of keywords, such as 'book(s)', 'translated book(s)', 'writer(s)', 'publishing', 'publishing house(s)', 'the British Council', 'publisher(s)', 'background books' and 'material(s)' (see Appendix 1), and applied it to the index.

The aim was to identify the files that were relevant to my topic, as there was no way to review all 2,275 files covering the 1948–1967 period; of these, 1,025 were relevant to the 1948–1956 period. During my study, I discovered that one of the publishing houses with which the IRD had worked very closely had archives available at the Special Collections of Archives and Rare Books at the University of Reading. The university had just recently finished cataloguing the material (April 2018). I intended to look at this newly released material solely out of academic curiosity. However, the number of materials I found that were related to the IRD's operation was significant – I could not ignore these previously unseen archival documents.

I use the format FO Number, such as FO 1110/1, to refer to specific files in the Findings chapter. The files at the National Archives and the University of Reading helped

me classify patterns within and between materials; I was able to identify special characteristics in communications between the IRD and multiple departments, writers, publishing houses, the British Council, and British embassies and consulates around the world.

In this part of the study, I will focus on the analytical method, CDA, and explain why I have chosen this approach. After data selection, I classified the selected data by topic, such as: the role of the IRD in book-publishing strategies; the IRD's close relationships with publishing houses; the character of intellectuals in the IRD operation; and the position of the British Council as an official cultural diplomacy department. Once the data were ready to be analyses, I decided to employ CDA in my efforts to understand the distribution of power, dominant values and ideas, and the (re)construction of national identity. CDA has been developed by scholars such as Norman Fairclough, Teun van Dijk, Theo van Leeuwen and Ruth Wodak, though there is no consistently defined CDA methodology. CDA approaches are generally problem-oriented (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). To analyse the correspondents and minutes, I employed discourse-historical analysis (DHA), a form of CDA that I will define later in this chapter.

Before engaging in a broad discussion about what CDA is, I will explain the reasons I used CDA over all other methods. First, CDA critically and systemically examines the social order and explores how power is reproduced in discourse and society through perception. Second, the purpose of CDA as an explanatory critique is to promote egalitarian and liberal discourse and, in turn, democratization. This kind of promotion is intended to make people 'aware that discourse functions as a form of social practice which reflects and takes part in the reinforcement of unequal power relations' (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2004, p. 88).

Third, its political approach 'is dedicated to uncovering societal power asymmetries, hierarchies, and the oppression of particular groups' (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006, p. 9). CDA aims 'to reveal the role of discursive practice in the maintenance of the social world, including those social relations that involve unequal relations of power' (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2004, p. 63). I believe that this type of driven analysis is appropriate for this study, which aims to: understand how political elites promoted and constructed national identity; investigate the UK's efforts to construct and maintain intellectual and moral leadership; and understand how official actors carried out public and cultural diplomacy activities.

CDA is interested in the relationship between discourse and abuse of power. The first stage of this analysis is to access specific forms of discourse in politics or media that will affect people's views (Van Dijk, 2008). The ruling power – in our case, the state – tries to influence people's minds and exercise control over their beliefs, ideologies, behaviour and knowledge. As Van Dijk (2008, p. 90) notes, 'these notions of discourse

access and control are very general, and it is one of the tasks of CDA to spell out these forms of power'. Conducting a discourse analysis is challenging not only because of its complex methodology and analytical tools but also because there is no consistent or agreed-upon theory or method.

CDA centres on an understanding of 'how communication practices construct identities, experiences, and ways of knowing that serve some interests over others' (Mumby, 2001, p. 614). The method was chosen on account of its critical aims, such as uncovering power relations within language and unveiling ideology (Fairclough, 1995; Wodak and Meyer, 2009). Gramsci's concept of hegemony is compatible with CDA because the concept aims to understand state and power 'maintenance through power relations between state, citizen and civil society' (Donoghue, 2017, p. 2). Hegemony, ideology, power, dominance, reproduction and institutions are among the concepts that have examined using CDA (Van Dijk, 2008). The method is sometimes used to conduct detailed analyses of individual texts to display how the meanings of broader discourses are recognised (Larsen, 2004). It is a theoretical and methodological framework that enables us to investigate the constitutive function that discourses perform in contemporary society (Vaara, 2015).

CDA has been a crucial element behind revealing means of power manipulation and uncovering the ideological character of discourse (Fairclough, 1995). All forms of discourse have an implicit or explicit impact on society, and the function of the state in distributing these discourse practices is crucial. Therefore, CDA will help reveal hidden power dynamics. As the IRD was a secret FO department, CDA's ability to uncover discrete ideology and power relations makes it a reasonable approach to adopt. It will help us understand how the state ideologies regarding the 'British way of life' and 'Western democracy' that the UK sought to promote, project and protect were transformed into 'common sense'. Thus, CDA is applied to reveal how books were used as a tool of political elites to influence ideas and values and how the UK sought to (re)construct and promote its national identity through public and cultural diplomacy activities both at home and abroad.

For most discourse analytical approaches (qualitative research in general), there is no set process for data collection or analysis – the research design should be formulated around the unique characteristics of the research topic (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2004). To put it another way, there is no definitively correct way to use CDA. Its applications have often been criticized for 'a lack of rigour and detail in the actual linguistic analyses' and CDA forms fairly simplistic understanding of power and textuality; CDA is also said to be too descriptive (Vaara, 2015, p. 503; Mills, 1997). Most CDA researchers integrate linguistic categories with varying degrees of focus and intensity; 'CDA does not necessarily include a broad range of linguistic categories in each single

analysis' (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p. 21). Given that CDA as a method allows you to choose your linguistic level of intensity, this study uses non-intense linguistic categories as research questions and scope of the project does not need an extreme linguistic approach.

There are different approaches within CDA for analysing data. For this study, I employed DHA to map out the UK's national identity (re)construction process and provide us with the perspective of the political elites and their power relations. This is also closely related to the role of public diplomacy in constructing and promoting national identity through various instruments – in our case, books. DHA is unique because it emphasizes identity construction; this approach has been used in analyses of national identity where the focus is on the 'us' and 'them' at the heart of identity (Wodak et al., 2009; Aydın-Düzgit, 2014). DHA tries 'to integrate all available information on the historical background and original sources in which discursive "events" are embedded' (De Cillia et al., 1999, p. 156). As a form of CDA, DHA understands discourses with their historicity (Krzyżanowski and Wodak, 2008) tied to their struggle in transformation, continuity and change, mainly through foreign policy changes. This focus makes DHA an attractive method for understanding the political and historical process through its historical conditions – in our case, the state's effort in its global power struggle to promote and (re)construct its national identity. This is closely related to Anderson's (2006) concept of 'imagined communities'.

DHA will help to map out a range of British national identities and the state's efforts and power struggle during the early years of the Cold War. It will also help identify consensus within the elite discourse on national identity that was reconstructed in the changing environment of the new world order. The UK's national identity, as constructed by political elites after World War II, represented a 'positive national projection' of 'the British way of life', which I explore further in Chapter 5.

Once I identified the materials relevant to the IRD's book-publishing activities, I organised the documents thematically, some themes being IRD history, Background Books, Bellman Books, Comet Books, publishing houses, intellectuals and the British Council. The primary data types are correspondence exchanges (minutes, letters, reports) containing quotes from foreign secretaries, policymakers, FO officials, IRD officials, ambassadors, writers and publishers. Another important step was the preparation of the narrowed-down text data for analysing. The section below describes the analysis.

DHA relies on three main stages. The first stage, 'discourse topics', involves outlining the core content of the discourse in its widest sense: the UK's global power status; the UK as a guardian of civilisation and Western values; and the UK as a model for other nations in terms of values and principles.

The second stage engages with the 'discursive strategies' employed in the construction of identities; such strategies are necessary to be or remain a hegemonic actor. Reisigl and Wodak (2009, p. 95) suggest five discursive strategies: referential/nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivization/framing or discourse representation, and intensification/mitigation. For example, argumentation strategies are used to endorse attributions ('positive self-presentation' and 'negative other presentation'), and that can appear in various forms. Among the most common is the engagement of *topos* (Wodak, 2015; Aydın-Düzgit, 2018). *Topos* is defined as 'persuasive strategies or rules which connect an argument to a claim or conclusion' (Baker and Ellece, 2011, p. 152). *Topoi* are therefore 'widespread beliefs which help to maintain an argument without actually constituting the argument itself' (ibid.) For example, national identities frequently confront the *topos* of culture and history (the UK's global power during its Empire) and the construction of national identities indicates the *topos* of threat (for example, communism as the 'enemy' that the UK needed to fight) (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009; Aydın-Düzgit, 2018).

The third stage of the analysis investigates the 'linguistic means' that are applied to understand these discursive strategies (Wodak, 2015). Referential/nomination strategies indicate the use of 'tropes, substitutions, certain metaphors and metonymies, with the effect of creating ingroups and outgroups' in discourse, such as the use of 'us' and 'them' (Aydın-Düzgit, 2014, p. 359). Aside from the archival material, I also applied DHA to some secondary data where it was necessary, notably to the text in which officials and policymakers shared their ideas concerning the research questions.

DHA helps to explore the role of political elites in constructing national identity and how public and cultural diplomacy played a vital role in promoting this identity through books both at home and abroad. This is closely related to the elite efforts to disseminate this national identity in public discourse by universalising or naturalising these meanings throughout society in order to construct a new, self-serving 'common sense'. DHA also helps to identify what kind of images the political elites wanted to distribute. This mode of analysis is particularly important in the context of the Cold War, an ideological conflict between East and West with two clear sides: 'us' and 'them'.

The main limitation of this research was the inability to access some files in FO 1110 that are withheld on grounds of national security and defence or where disclosure 'may damage the economic and financial benefits of the UK or where it may prejudice relations between the UK and other states or international organisations'. A secondary limitation was the difficulty in reading handwritten materials (especially the internal 'minutes' of the IRD). However, as most of the documents were typewritten, this was not too problematic. Additionally, the file descriptions sometimes were often inaccurate, so it is likely that some pertinent material was missed on account of inadequate

descriptions. These are all standard troubles faced when using archival data for research.

This chapter presented the research methodology for this thesis by discussing the research questions, data collection method, ontology, epistemology, the case study approach and working with archival material and the limitations this poses. Given that most the IRD files were classified as 'secret', a discussion of intelligence-related materials and a description of my approach as a researcher were absolutely necessary. Material selection and the CDA method are important tools for uncovering power relations and, in our case, revealing how book-publishing activities as a form of public or cultural diplomacy helped to promote and construct the UK's national identity.

Chapter Five

Findings

This chapter presents the results of the research undertaken to analyse how books served as a tool of cultural diplomacy for the Information Research Department (IRD) between 1948 and 1956. To understand the structure and operations of the IRD, it is essential to review the UK's foreign policy during the early years of the Cold War and the Anglo-American relationship that explains the UK's efforts to enhance its image and emphasize intellectual and moral leadership. This chapter also explores what was a popular term among IRD officials, 'national projection', which today would be known as public and cultural diplomacy. It then provides an overview of the IRD's origins and publishing strategies. Additionally, it addresses the role of intellectuals, especially Orwell's, in the IRD's operations. Finally, it goes over the position of the British Council (BC) as the UK's 'chief agency' for cultural diplomacy and its work with the IRD on British foreign policy.

5.1 UK Foreign Policy

This section on the UK's foreign policy provides an essential background for understanding the IRD and its activities. The IRD was a British government body used during the Cold War to achieve foreign policy objectives through cultural (along with other institutions, such as the BBC and the BC). This review of early-Cold War British foreign policy serves to demonstrate the changes in the political, ideological and cultural context of the UK's efforts to maintain and (re)construct its national identity. This chapter details the foreign policy choices of British political elites and their close relationship with the US. It will also explain their efforts to preserve moral and intellectual as well as their determination to preserve Britain as a global actor alongside the rising American power (Marsh and Baylis, 2006).

In this way, I map out relevant agents and their motivations. This reveals the internal and external factors that led the country to engage foreign publics through 'public diplomacy', 'overseas information policy' or 'national self-advertisement' in order to adjust to changing global and domestic circumstances (Taylor, 1999). This review focuses on how the UK positioned itself amid the power dynamics of this era and the state's efforts to enhance its image abroad through various strategies, such as 'three circles', 'third force' and 'special relationship', to maintain and reproduce its leadership in the commonwealth, the US and Western Europe.

The UK's pre-eminence began to rapidly diminish in 1914. The ultimate downfall of the empire is generally said to have resulted from various factors, including both world wars, increased industrial competition and domestic socioeconomic challenges

(Haugevik, 2008). Comparisons with the US and USSR contributed to the idea that the days of the UK's world power status were numbered. However, the UK sought to maintain existing power structures as much as possible following WWII and remain a world power (ibid.).

At critical moments in history, moral and cultural factors take on a more predominant role than economic, political or military might. The UK's extensive contributions to the rebuilding of Germany and the rest of continental Europe following WWII is crucial, and it is important to note that they contributed despite limited economic reserves (Mommsen, 2002). This demonstrates how moral principles espoused by legitimate governments can sometimes outweigh other forms of predominance (ibid.). However, the UK began to lose its empire in the aftermath of the second world war and had to start its search for a new position in the new world order. The country succeeded in preserving a leading-power role, largely through its 'special relationship' with the US (Dumbrell, 2006; Young, 1997; Bluth, 2012). During the Cold War, the UK's fear of expanding Soviet hegemony in Europe led to the need for a continued American presence in Europe (Freedman, 1989).

While the UK's leading-power role of the UK was under threat, the urge to protect Western democracy against the Soviets became a foreign policy priority. The UK felt a responsibility to guide and lead the international system. In Gramscian sense, the UK's government acted to positioned itself as the moral and intellectual leader for an established and prosperous world constructed around the principles of Western democracy, free trade, free expression, etc. The goal to be close to but independent of the US was the central element of the UK's foreign policy (Marsh and Baylis, 2006). It makes sense that the British government wanted to be sure that its views were projected to the wider world to enhance its global image (Taylor, 1999). The government's approach was strongly founded on its aspiration to maintain the global hegemony that it had held for centuries. The 1945–1956 period was one of decline and missed opportunities for the UK; British policymakers at the time were aware of the country's new situation but wanted to maintain its role as a great power (Freedman, 1989). As a result, foreign policy was reshaped around restructured world order, which led the country to redefine its national self-image and reconstruct its national identity.

Throughout the early years of the Cold War, there was a significant degree of consistency in foreign policy between the Labour governments of Attlee and Bevin and the Conservative governments of Churchill and Eden (Young, 1997; Kent, 2005). The country was reluctant to accept that its power had declined. The long-term implication of this reluctance was that both Labour (1945–51) and Conservative (1951–55) governments actively sought to keep the UK atop the international order and maintain a

principal role in world diplomacy (Vickers, 2003). This mindset was prevalent among UK policymakers, military figures, and politicians (Deighton, 2010).

This bipartisan foreign policy consensus among British leadership put these national aspirations at the heart of the country's international relations during the Cold War (Larres, 2006). As a result, foreign policy consensus among the parties was fairly standard in the mid-20th century; disagreements were over minor problems rather than fundamentals (Young, 1997). This consensus allowed for focus on the agreed-upon need for the reconstruction and promotion of the country's national identity. Such a unified front enabled the elites to unite the British public and gain support for opposing communism and promoting Western values with carefully crafted messages. This process resulted in the national identity being constructed alongside a clear identification of an 'enemy' or 'other'.

The Cold War was waged not only through alliances, rearmament and economic might but also through covert action and propaganda. In the early years, the UK wanted to present itself as a proud and magnificent country (Wallace, 1991; Young, 1997). The Cold War was a struggle for hearts and minds – it was a global propaganda conflict as opposed to a real war. Propaganda became a vital component of national diplomacy for great powers (Taylor, 1999). Peacetime propaganda strategies came to dominate foreign policy. With extensive experience in propaganda during the world wars, the UK was facing a new era fighting against a new 'enemy'. This discourse of 'enemy' prevailed during the Cold War; this chapter will go further into how political elites defined 'other' and 'self' in a later section.

Communism was considered the most important external political threat for the British Commonwealth and all Western democracies. In 1945, Prime Minister Attlee chaired a cabinet committee to determine how to represent the UK abroad. The committee decided that the 'projection of Britain abroad required the deliberate formulation of an overall theme. Neither the Foreign Office alone, nor all the overseas departments together could discharge this work. It followed that the formulation of policy for overseas publicity must be conducted interdepartmentally and under the direction of a Minister' (Taylor, 1999, p. 232). In 1946, the committee stated that 'the basic object of British overseas information is to ensure the presentation overseas of a true and adequate picture of British policy, British institutions and the British way of life' (ibid.). This effort was rooted in a desire to construct an image of itself to offer as a model for the rest of the world. The state encouraged 'a true and adequate picture' of its institutions and values to serve as a template for Western democracy. At this point, elite discourses on the UK's national identity began to take form.

The emphasis on institutions was essential because intellectual and moral leadership is achieved 'when major institutions, forms of social organisation … key

values of the dominant state become models for emulation in other subordinate states' (Gill, 1991, p. 47). Similarly, hegemony is realised in universal norms, institutions and mechanisms, which then help form international rules of behaviour (Dirzauskaite and Ilinca, 2017). The concept of 'world order' effectively breaks the bonds set by nation-states and sees hegemony from a different perspective (Worth, 2015). This understanding is essential for later in this Chapter when I look at the IRD's activities, which reflected domestic structural changes in foreign policy changes.

The UK felt responsible for Europe and sought to act against the Soviets with US assistance. In May 1947, Bevin claimed that 'if we only pushed on and developed Africa, we could have the United States dependent on us, and eating out of our hand, in four or five years' (Marsh, 2003, p. 17). This shows the UK's hopes of establishing a position that is close to the US but at the same independent of her. It also indicates a *topos* of culture, history and pride calling back to its empire's global superiority and the Self that had been constructed by government elites.

Despite the acknowledgement of American power, the UK was keen on remaining a global power. However, the UK was wary to damage the country's partnership with the US. Such aspirational ideological goals required a coherent foreign policy. In March 1948, the cabinet concluded: 'We should use United States aid to gain time, but our ultimate aim should be to attain a position in which the countries of Western Europe could be independent both of the United States and the Soviet Union' (Poole, 2011, p. 55). The UK wanted to re-establish its international status and recover its national pride after WWII (Wallace, 1991). The cabinet's message shows a *topos* of urgency, as they felt the country needed help to act quickly for Western Europe, but demonstrates its continued aims to be a European and global leader.

The UK's network of connections stretched back to its days as an empire. Its reputation as a trusted partner of the US alongside its foreign policy and military competence aided the perception of the UK throughout the Cold War as more powerful than it really was (Dumbrell, 2006; Larres, 2006). As Labour Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin told the House of Commons in February 1947, Anglo-American cooperation could help restore economies and establish peace throughout Europe. If the West was divided, however, the Soviets would exert control over all of Europe (Turner, 2010) – Anglo-American cooperation was based on mutual need. WWII heavily reinforced the Anglo-American worldview with the UK and US as 'the champions of freedom, democracy, a source of support and a symbol of hope against a totalitarian threat to the resistance in occupied countries' (Wallace, 1991, p. 71). Therefore, it is important to explore, through a Gramscian lens, Anglo-American relations in this period to explain the UK's moral and intellectual leadership efforts and how they affected the narratives of British national identity. The new international order shifted leadership from the UK to the US and

established the UK as a supporting partner in US hegemony. This supporting role had its benefits, however, as Anglo-American solidarity was necessary to counter the USSR and ensure the UK's survival. By exploring the notion of a 'special relationship' later in this section, we see how the UK needed to foster an attraction towards itself to maintain its global role and ensure US support for post-war recovery.

Throughout the 19th century, as industrial and commercial capitalism began to internationalise, the UK had significant control over global markets and a hold over the international power structure (Gill, 1994). The UK effectively ruled as a global empire and, therefore, helped to preserve peace among great powers for 100 years. This success can be explained by the UK's ability to use its power not just for its national interests but for a universal interest (ibid.). Historically, to become hegemonic, a state must establish and protect a world order, which is universal in conception (Cox, 1994).

The UK had managed to maintain its empire despite recent economic difficulties. Nevertheless, by 1939, the UK was not well-prepared for another major military conflict. The entry of the US into the war in 1941 changed the scene for the survival of not just the UK but of the British Empire (ibid.). The UK was an essential ally in the creation of the western community of ideas that was preserved and disseminated by US hegemony between the 1940s and 1960s. American hegemony reached not only the diplomatic and military spheres but also the economic and ideological spheres (Angster, 2006; Dumbrell, 2006). The US challenged the UK to put to rest its imperial ambitions by putting financial and political pressure on the country to limit its capacity to maintain an empire (Gamble, 2003). Still, the close relationship with the US was crucial in the face of the USSR.

The UK sought to preserve some of its authority in the new world order by befriending the new superpower (Haugevik, 2008). However, it quickly became apparent that this relationship was to be on American terms. The wartime cooperation that began in 1941 became a close partnership, especially between the intelligence and military establishments. This approach was sustained following the war and still exists in many respects today (Gamble, 2003; Parmar, 2006). It is essential to consider the UK's effort to present, promote and protect its image in context – the country considered itself to be the guard of Western civilisation (Van Kessel, 2011).

The USSR fought the Cold War in the arena of ideas and ideologies. Thus, the West needed a common ideology of its own to keep pace. The US hegemony could not have functioned without the cooperation, consent and participation of other Western and European societies (Angster, 2006). For a hegemony to be sustained, specific coalitions must participate to maintain their leadership roles; historically, leading states have created alliances intended to protect certain practices (Worth, 2015). Coalition-building is an essential aspect of hegemony, as it delivers 'greater legitimacy for the leading state

to pursue its own moral leadership' (ibid., p. 11). Shared values and national identities were the basis of the alliance between the UK and the US, which made them allies in the ideological fight against the USSR. The close relationship between the two countries, which could be described as a cultural unity founded on a common language, shared values and a common foreign policy objective, affected the political elites and their efforts to construct a national identity that would appeal to Europe, the Middle East, Asia and the Commonwealth.

Despite the role of international organisations such as the UN and NATO, nationalism became the primary British reaction to the Soviet threat; British interests rested on protecting their nation, sustaining their global position and becoming a nuclear force. The desire to enhance national power remained a dominant theme in 1950s British politics (Glass, 2014). To retain power was not an easy task and hegemony required certain coalitions to function. Since the idea of an Anglo-American special relationship took hold, both countries had faced complex situations in global politics and in new international structures, including conflicts over military intervention and conflicts between leaders (Brown, 2012). In the decade following WWII, the 'special relationship' between the UK and the US was real and bought the UK some authority in the new world order and an alternative to European commitments (Wallace, 1991). Rhetoric aside, however, the reality of this relationship rested on the economic dependence of the UK on the US from 1940 onwards and the subsequent American pressure on the UK to commit to European integration (ibid.). Unpacking this 'special relationship' helps us understand the close connection between the UK and the US to fight against the Soviets, the common 'enemy'. The demonization of the 'enemy', in line with 'us' and 'them' rhetoric, was employed often throughout the Cold War by both the UK and the US.

Anglo-American world views came to predominate during WWII, in which the UK and the US stood as champions of free democracy and a source of hope against totalitarianism in occupied nations (Wallace, 1991). The 'special relationship' developed during the war gave the UK a prominent spot in the new world order and carried the country closer to Europe (ibid.). Aware of power dynamics, the UK's main aim was to harness American power to British ends, as an FO document says: 'If we go about our business in the right way we can help steer this great unwieldy barge, the United States of America, into the right harbour. If we don't, it is likely to continue to wallow in the ocean, an isolated menace to navigation' (Marsh, 2013, p. 190). This shows that the Anglo-American hegemony was seen as a tool for the UK's role in setting the rules of international involvement and establishing a glorified form of its image.

Churchill was the first to introduce the idea of a 'special relationship' with the US in his 'iron curtain' speech delivered at Fulton, Missouri in 1946 (Dumbrell, 2006). Since then, this 'special relationship', unique in both content and scope, has been emphasized

by many British and American state leaders. The Anglo-American relationship has undeniably helped the UK maintain its influence on world politics and contributed to the country's national identity (ibid.). The term 'special relationship' was based on the underlying 'cultural unity between the two peoples, cemented by language, literature and law' (Reynolds, 1988, p. 95). The much-debated term has various meanings to historians and political scientists (Holmes and Rofe, 2012). There are discussions around the term ranging from whether to use 'a' or 'the' before the term to whether to capitalise the 'S' and 'R' in order to emphasise it as a proper noun (ibid.).

The special relationship was the UK's effort to benefit from American power and use 'the special cultural connection to help manage this new and unpredictable actor on the world stage'; the UK's policymakers believed that a special relationship was both achievable and essential (Reynolds, 1988, p. 95). Churchill expected that the Anglo-American alliance would be effective in the fight against Russian influence (Marsh, 2003; Dumbrell, 2006; Brown, 2012). British Foreign Secretary (from 1977 to 1979) David Owen argues that the concept was simply a dangerous intellectual notion that 'gave us a distorted perception of our power and influence in the world' (as cited in Marsh, 2003, p. 7). There is a degree of exceptionality in this claim, but it is clear that the special relationship delivered something of a soft landing for Britain's post-imperial fall (Dumbrell, 2006). Any committed alliance must be built on the search for a common objective in international relations and this generally appears in the form of contesting a common threat (ibid.).

The cultural Cold War provides an excellent example of how alliances are created around civilizational commonalities and value a common enemy. In this case, the US and the UK led Western civilisation against the USSR. As the relationship between the UK and the US developed, British political opinion came to view the US not just as the UK's partner but also as its natural inheritor to the leading role in the world system (Gamble, 2002).

In the early Cold War, the UK was an indispensable partner in American eyes. The UK's role in long-term European recovery was essential because the country had the least troubled economy coming out of the war and the closest cultural links to Americans – the UK seemed like a natural leader (Maier, 2005; Marsh, 2003). The UK supported the US because 'the UK's ruling elite believe that the Americans and the British are birds of a feather' (Vucetic, 2016, p. 272). The elites viewed themselves as essential and active members of the 'special relationship'; this can be seen as a hegemonic division of labour (Tate, 2012). There was a divide between the powerful US and its partner, the UK, who needed to guide and influence Europe and the Commonwealth to support Anglo-American foreign objectives (ibid.).

The term 'special relationship' has various meanings and its popularity has fluctuated, though it remains relevant in political discourse (Brown, 2012). This 'special relationship' discourse could in some way be seen as an 'imagined community', as in Anderson's concept, especially due to the unity around language and values. This national collaboration taught America how to be a hegemon (Schake, 2017). According to Marsh and Baylis (2006, p. 179) a document drafted in March 1949, but initially considered too sensitive to circulate, shows that the UK thought that 'the partnership with the United States is essential to our security' and that the UK's broader goals would best be fostered by creating a position independent of but closely related to that of the US in order to influence American policy. With the help of the US, the UK was able to maintain its strength and take part in the new international order. Most importantly, the effort of the UK to preserve its role of intellectual and moral leadership and redefine its national identity was at the heart of its foreign policy.

An essential guiding concept for UK foreign policy is leadership; the desire to lead other nations is deeply rooted in the country's collective memory and culture (Deighton, 2019). This can be tied to Churchill's idea of the UK as being at the intersection of 'three circles': the US, Europe and the Commonwealth. He famously demonstrated the British approach to maintaining the UK's high-power status in his 'Three Circles' speech in October 1948:

> The first circle for us is naturally the British Commonwealth and Empire, with all that comprises. Then there is also the English-speaking World in which we, Canada, and the other British Dominions and the United States play so important a part. And finally, there is United Europe. These three majestic circles are coexistent and if they are linked together there is no force or combination which could overthrow them or even challenge them. Now if you think of the three interlinked circles, you will see that we are the only country which has a great part in every one of them. We stand, in fact, at the very point of junction, and here in this Island at the centre of the seaways and perhaps of the airways also have the opportunity of joining them all together. If we rise to the occasion in the years that are to come it may be found that once again we hold the key to opening a safe and happy future to humanity and will gain for ourselves gratitude and fame. (Churchill, 2013, p. 374)

This comment shows the construction of a superior identity featuring 'the key to opening a safe and happy future to humanity' (ibid.). This representation is based on the *topos* of history, on the past of the British Empire its leadership role. He also makes use of the *topos* of humanity by referring to the UK's past position of military, economic and political predominance. The excerpt also demonstrates the *topos* of comparison, as the

UK is 'the only country which has a great part' in all three interlinked circles; it also engages in a positive representation of the UK self-image.

In his 'three circles' speech, Churchill is demonstrating a desire for a new, unique role for the UK after WWII; this approach was extremely effective for the development of post-1945 British foreign policy (Dumbrell, 2006). According to Wallace (2005, pp. 55–56), the speech was 'intended to support a claim to international leadership well beyond what Britain's limited military and economic resources alone would support'. As this shows, the notions of a 'special relationship' and the 'three circles' underpinned the UK's foreign policy and have not disappeared. This is related to contemporary political issues, as the UK has left the European Union and it's unclear whether America can serve as an acceptable replacement for Europe.

The 'three circles' concept exhibits the key elements that formed the UK's policy, which were nicely summarised *by* Deighton (1995, p. 156)*:*

> *A belief in the uniqueness of Britain's position in the world as the only power which was a leading member of the Imperial/Commonwealth, the American and the European circles: the only point of intersection between the circles. This position gave Britain authority, and indeed, an obligation to act as a major power in the free world, despite her own economic difficulties and despite the increasing dominance of superpower politics in the international system. A strong sense of the past and traditions and obligations in foreign policy further combined with a desire to avoid radical choice and precipitate action.*

It is clear that 'three circles' was a strategic, economic and ideological structure that has, in many ways, shaped the UK's foreign policy choices and national identity.

Churchill's idea of 'three circles' was not the UK's only Cold War-era foreign policy inspiration. Other leaders of the era used parallel discourses: Ernest Bevin, Foreign Secretary in Britain's post-war Labour government, mentioned 'three main pillars of our policy, the Commonwealth in some degree, Western Europe and the United States'; Anthony Eden, Churchill's Foreign Secretary and successor, spoke of 'three unities' and later 'a three-legged stool' (ibid.). These various phrasings all demonstrate the UK's supposed 'role' in the world.

Churchill's idea of 'three circles' can be seen as a hegemonic division of labour in which the UK, as a leader in Europe and the Commonwealth, could offer something unique to the Western alliance (Tate, 2012). American global economic and military dominance and the UK's ability to offer leadership to the world by constructing influence and consent (ibid.). The notion of being close to the power-holder, the US, while at the same time maintaining and promoting its leadership demonstrates the UK's foreign policy aims.

Each government in the post-war era portrayed the 'special relationship' differently and found a variable level of achievement working with its American counterparts (Brown, 2012). As the first post-war Prime Minister, Attlee struggled to define how the relationship with the US would continue to function. He immediately engaged with the problem of the UK's strategic position, which was in decline after the war, and the question of how to preserve an independent force of conventional and nuclear weapons (ibid.). The strategic element of the 'special relationship' was evident during Attlee's leadership from 1945 to 1951 (ibid.). The main foreign policy objective of the Attlee government was to reclaim some form of equality with the US and the USSR (Kent, 1989). This would allow the UK to preserve its position as a hegemonic power; his 'third force' idea was how he planned to achieve this aim. The notion of 'third force' was 'based on an imperial vision of Britain leading an international grouping able to act independently of both the United States and the Soviet Union' (ibid., p. 47). The 'third force' referred to a British-led group of Western Europe, African colonies and a British-dominated Middle East (Young, 1997). The 'third force' concept can be seen as a means of guiding the subaltern groups in specific intellectual and moral directions.

Attlee believed internationalist ideas were the best way to maintain world peace and preserve the UK's global influence (Kent, 2005). During Labour's first full term (1945–50), the prime minister and foreign secretary worked carefully with senior officials to create a favourable new world order in Europe (Hill, 2016). Labour's emerging thoughts on foreign policy were based on the UK 'having a civilising mission in the world and, as the world's greatest democracy, as having a manifest destiny to act as a world leader' (Vickers, 2003, p. 19). The assumed civilising role was at the heart of the foreign policy approach, as the aim was to maintain and promote the country's power through its ideas and institutions.

Post-war recovery was no easy task for the UK. The country was no longer a great power; the war left it financially dependent on another power and economic limitations forced the UK to work with partners (Turner, 2010; Marsh, 2003). Another example of the UK's desire to be independent is Bevin's 1947 plan to build an atomic bomb, which would make the UK the world's second nuclear power (Young, 1997). Additionally, political and economic measures such as the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan were intended to build Western defences against the USSR, but the Marshall Plan was not only a political and economic strategy for Western Europe – it was also part of the ideology of freedom (Lucas, 1999; Porter, 2015). The UK received the lion's share of Marshall Plan funds, which sustained it in the early post-war years. Of course, this support would not last indefinitely (Larres, 2006). And while the UK was ready to go along with American leadership, it was not prepared to be seen as just

another European country (Vickers, 2003). Nevertheless, the UK's policymaking elites were aware that post-war realities put the UK's global position into question.

The Attlee government's foreign policy was unquestionably conservative and was closely linked to past lines of ideas; analysts who initially assumed that a left-wing Labour government would be sympathetic to the Communist Soviet Union were wrong (Larres, 2006). This leads us to consider the UK's national identity under a Labour government. This identity was moulded not only on the party's view of the UK as a world power but also on the principles of internationalism with explicit reference to universal moral principles (Vickers, 2003). For Labour, domestic and foreign policy were interconnected. The Attlee government's foreign policy objectives were 'to maintain the Commonwealth structure; to ensure that the Middle East and Asia were 'stable, prosperous and friendly'; to maintain a special relationship with the United States of America; to consolidate stability in Western Europe; and to resist the expansion of Soviet communism' (ibid., p. 162). However, it was impossible to achieve these objectives quickly, as the country did not have enough resources. When Churchill succeeded Attlee as prime minister in October 1951, he largely continued Labour's foreign policy (Larres, 2006). This suggests that the UK's Cold War foreign policy was based on party consensus.

By early 1950, the US was conscious of the strategic importance of the UK and the Commonwealth in the integration of Western Europe and in the fight against the USSR (Poole, 2011). While committing itself to cooperation with America, the UK was also determined to preserve its independence and influence US policy in support of British interests (Young, 1997). The UK shared America's concern over the Soviet threat, but their interests did not fully overlap. Therefore, for the UK, it was essential to retain autonomy and preserve its global-power status (Kent, 2005). As we will see in the following section, the UK needed to use foreign policy practices to reach specific foreign publics that the country wanted to attract. After 1951, the Conservative governments led by Churchill and Eden continued to frame the UK as an active power holder with the material capacity to act independently and influence others.

During his second premiership, which lasted from 1951 to 1955 and involved critical actions, including participation in the Korean War, Churchill worked on how to restructure the UK's relations with the world (ibid.). Churchill established the 'three circles' theory with the assistance of his foreign minister, Anthony Eden. The UK sought to influence and bring balance to all three. By the mid-1950s, the perception of the dangers of Communism helped form a consensus among the elite and working class regarding the UK's place in the world; nevertheless, some have argued that this consensus was largely manufactured by the government to manage public opinion (Deighton, 2010). How to deal with the Cold War as a domestic and foreign policy issue was a major question for government departments (ibid.). In the following paragraphs, I

examine how the state's domestic policy was firmly tied to its foreign policy and detail the state's domestic efforts. This demonstrates how changes in foreign policy affected domestic policies and how the IRD's activities, which I examine in Section 5.4, were able to spread both at home and abroad.

The UK's leadership was particularly important in Europe, and the US was willing to help to reconstruct Europe by providing financial aid and security. Despite the growing economic dependence of the UK on the US, the government did not want to emphasise this domestically or internationally (Taylor, 1999). The home front was a vital component of the state's Cold War strategy – securing hearts and minds of people in the UK and in the Commonwealth against Communism was crucial (Deighton, 2010). This approach was similar to the one taken during WWII, which managed to secure the British home front against Nazism (ibid.). Domestic and foreign publicity needed to incorporate the same language (Taylor, 1999). It was clear to the UK that in an era of significant global political competition, the country had to defend its national interests by influencing the opinions of domestic and foreign publics to assert that the UK still had a significant role to play in the post-war world, particularly in protecting and promoting Western values (ibid.). Foreign policy changes led the state to simultaneously and similarly manage its domestic hegemonic struggles to prevent a major power crisis. The UK needed to create a favourable balance of power abroad; at home, alertness and control required welfare reforms and an elevated position for the state in running of the economy (Deighton, 2010).

The home front was an integral part of the UK's Cold War history; domestic institutions were battlegrounds when communism was considered to be a critical and ongoing threat to British values and Western democracy (ibid.). Cold War pressures led to the monitoring of Communist activities and the expulsion of Communists from some public services and trade unions at home and throughout the Commonwealth (ibid.). The fear of Communist manipulation of domestic affairs led the government to carefully monitor trade unions, the armed forces and the civil service (ibid.). This demonstrates the difficulties of separating foreign and domestic policies that are ideologically entwined with each other.

The UK's efforts allow us to see how manufacturing consent at both the national and international level is essential for states. It helped the state (re)construct a national identity that functioned both at home and abroad. For Gramsci, hegemony is the dominance of the ruling class in controlling the interests, preferences and ways of everyday life of other groups with the consent of these groups (Dirzauskaite and Ilinca, 2017). The ability to simultaneously manage foreign and domestic policy was essential for the state. In these instances, the state, or ruling class, shapes ideas to maintain control over its citizens without appearing coercive (Donoghue, 2017). The UK's efforts

to control and shape meaning in order to maintain its global-power status were at the centre of its foreign and domestic policies.

In the Cold War, two European universalisms battled for global dominance; the end of this battle left one side dominant in military power and made it the foundation of a global economy and popular culture (Cox, 2000). The Pax Britannica of the mid-19th century and the Pax Americana of the mid-20th were established on 'universal principles projected from one form of Western civilisation' (Cox, 1994a, p. 264). This helps to explain the importance of Anglo-American hegemony and how power moved from the UK to the US in a continuous way. Nevertheless, the UK wanted to carry forward its leadership, as the country saw itself in a unique position.

Alliances were a pivotal element of Cold War strategy, and these complex relationships revealed the need for the US to support allies (Brown, 2012; Marsh, 2003). International hegemony is strongest when it is founded in deeper social processes and established across various states in the international system (Jones, 2006). This invites an exploration of Anglo-American hegemony in the early Cold War to understand how hegemony worked at the international level. The special relationship was a desperate attempt by the UK to retain a degree of influence on its trans-Atlantic partner and take a limited role in establishing the US position (Brown, 2012). It was something fundamental, as it involved both guiding and accompanying the US on its global leadership duty. This demonstrates the UK's endeavours to preserve its intellectual and moral leadership from a Gramscian perspective.

A shared political culture helped the UK and the US maintain their relationship, but frequent disagreements over European integration or the role of national interest in multilateral organisations had to be managed (ibid.). Both wanted a 'world order' based on an adherence to liberal political institutions, principles of common law, and firm economic and monetary policy as declared by constitutional administrations (ibid.). Thus, the general principle was to protect against Soviet hostility 'while the specific goal shared by the Anglo-American alliance was to project freedom and democracy through constitutional forms' (ibid., p. 17). The aim of the alliance was freedom from Soviet influence and aspiration for a political future away from Soviet hegemony. Thus, in the light of this Anglo-American alliance, the IRD was tasked with convincing domestic and foreign publics of the UK's leadership status.

Harold Macmillan's famous wartime analogy from 1943 is significant in that it shows how UK political elites saw themselves: 'the British were to the Americans as the Greeks were to the Romans – an intellectual guiding influence upon a young superpower' (Brown, 2012, p. 17). The story of the special relationship in the 20th century is about how power dynamics were restructured and what impact this restructuring had. As Christopher Hitchens has stated, the real relationship was between two Romes – a

declining Rome and a rising Rome (Dumbrell, 2006; Gamble, 2003). It is important to unpack this, as the British perception of themselves as the 'Greek and Romans' played a significant role in foreign policy.

The UK saw itself as a guardian of Western civilisation, and its long history of being a great power led the UK to consider itself similar to the Greeks, who served to guide the more barbaric Romans (the US). When key British elites accepted the US as the UK's 'natural successor to the leading role in the world system', their motivation was based on 'cultural and ideological affinities' and 'the perception that both states shared an interest in promoting the conditions for a liberal international order' (Gamble, 2002, p. 128).

The agreement between the UK and the US was that the UK would agree to the position of the US as a world power in order to preserve the liberal global order, which remained a vital British interest (Schake, 2017; Gamble, 2003). This peaceful replacement of one hegemonic power by another was exceptional; while it was not completed without considerable friction and misunderstanding, there was no war – instead, the UK turned out to be a critical US ally (Gamble, 2003). The Anglo-American special relationship can be described with Mattern's (2005) concept of 'we-ness', which indicates close relations between states and share values and identities that are largely based on trust; in other words, as an 'extension between (s)elf and (o)ther' (Wendt, 1996, p. 386). A British national identity tied to this 'special relationship' shows how identity is not static, but continually in flux.

The UK was more successful than most states at exploiting American strength for its interests; it was able to secure its interests without America realizing (Schake, 2017). This strategic approach is part and parcel of the UK's efforts to preserve and promote its leadership status. As we will see in the next section, the tools for promoting national identity are an important area of investigation. It is essential to understand the civilising mission that the UK believed itself to be undertaking by guiding and accompanying the US while at the same time securing its interests.

The UK's foreign policy choices during the Cold War sometimes ended in great embarrassment. The Suez Crisis in October 1956, which serves as the cut-off point for this study, created domestic and international difficulties for the Eden; this episode is considered a failure of UK foreign policymakers. Despite Eden's involvement in developing the 'three circles' theory, his leadership did not promote its tenets – the ill–fated Suez invasion was the defining event of Eden's government (Gamble, 2003; Brown, 2012). This crisis made the British realise that they were no longer the world's most powerful nation and that their ideological message had less impact than that of the Americans (Young, 1997; Taylor, 1999; Dumbrell, 2006). Following the Suez Crisis, Anglo-American 'we-ness' rapidly and effectively gained prominence (Mattern, 2005). It

was a turning point in the UK's foreign policy and prompted another reconstruction of national identity; this demonstrates the instability of constructed national identities.

The Suez Crisis did away with the illusion of the UK as a great power. This mindset among political elites was ruined only after the Suez Crisis confirmed British dependence on the US (McCourt and Glencross, 2012). The crisis demonstrated the limits to independent British action and marked the end of an era in British diplomacy. From 1948 to 1956, the idea of Britain as a world power was at the heart of UK foreign policy even as there was a clear disconnect between the appearance and realities of British power (Deighton, 1995). The main post-war objective of UK foreign policy was the re-establishment of the country as an independent world power on par with the US and the USSR (Kent, 2005). The UK's strategy to continue and promote its assumed world-power status required actions to repair its reputation and self-image. As Wallace (1991, p. 68) puts it, 'the difficulty for Britain is that national rhetoric and imagery contradict the reality of practical diplomacy'. The Suez Crisis exemplified the new political environment in that the UK was no longer at the centre and that, without US support, no European power would be able to exercise global power. The US–UK 'special relationship' did indeed exist and while there was certainly economic and security dependency on the US, the UK never fell to the position of 'client, vassal or satellite'; it is clear that special relationship was a significant characteristic of anti-Communist Atlantic security (Dumbrell, 2006, p. 272).

The UK's perception of its role in world politics during the Cold War was complex. It thought of itself as a great power with global interests and responsibilities; therefore, it sought to maintain a global role. It served as a perfect example of how national identity is constantly redefined, especially alongside foreign policy changes. The realigned balance of power after WWII altered the UK's position in the international arena and forced questions about its national image. Defining the UK's role in the world has been a deep-rooted concern for British policymakers and has often been considered as a fundamental element in constructing a coherent foreign policy (Harvey, 2011). It is clear that political elites referenced UK historical narratives to create a coherent identity that could attract both domestic and foreign publics.

This chapter presents two dominant narratives of the UK's foreign policy during the early years of the Cold War: exceptionalism and decline. The narrative of exceptionalism 'has been a characteristic of British policymakers' attempts to define the country's international significance' and largely came from the foreign policy establishment (ibid., p. 4). It is strongly related to the UK's imperial legacy and its loss of power. It also reflects the deep-rooted belief among the political class in the UK's lasting ability to influence critical international issues (ibid.). The evidence for this is Churchill's 'three circles' narrative. This notion is highly symbolic of exceptionalism, as the core of

these three circles was Churchill's attempt to find a distinctive post-war profile for the UK that emphasises the country's unique position in the global power structure (ibid.; Deighton, 1995).

The narrative of decline in foreign policy reflects the reality of the country's loss of great-power status. This narrative continued in the retreat from 'east of Suez' and the UK's 1970s economic struggles (Deighton, 1995; Harvey, 2011). Nevertheless, we must consider the notion of a 'special relationship', which provides clues to the motivation of political elites and their role in constructing a new narrative to project at home and abroad. British political elites managed to agree on a conception of the world; 'British elite groups were socially and ideologically coherent, not diverse, while intelligence monitoring and white propaganda encouraged the public notion of Britain as a responsible and moral great power' (Deighton, 2010, p. 132). The next section explores the concept of national projection and its root in UK foreign policy.

5.2 UK's National Projection

The aim of this section is to understand the notion of 'national projection' by political elites, which is today known as public and cultural diplomacy. National projection played a large role in the UK's post-war foreign policy and the IRD was at the heart of it. The goal was to protect and promote state interests, democracy and the British way of life; officials sought to influence public opinion and present the UK and Western traditions as superior to the Communist way of life. As already stated, the foreign policy changes and the UK's declining position affected narratives of national identity.

Throughout the 20th century, public diplomacy – informing, engaging and influencing foreign public opinion – became an essential component of foreign policy. Projecting identity abroad is one of the core expectations of foreign policy and public diplomacy served to promote these images (Hill, 2016). How states coordinate and design their cultural projection overseas has generally been part of the field of international relations, typically below foreign cultural policy or, more recently, public or cultural diplomacy (Paschalidis, 2009). Public diplomacy is about identity and perception or, in other words, representation of 'self' and 'other' (Zaharna, 2012). The representation of one's own culture to foreign publics shapes and reflects aspects of that culture. The construction of national identity is often a means of 'othering' and identifying what the nation is not (Gibbins, 2014). Therefore, such representations can be seen as characteristic of political elites in their representation of the UK's 'assumed' role.

The need to preserve British influence and reputation was at the forefront of post-war discussions among policymakers, ministers and civil servants, who felt that projecting an attractive image of the country was essential. As Wallace (1991, p. 78) points out, 'states cannot survive without a sense of identity, an image of what marks their government and their citizens from their neighbours, of what special contribution they have to make to civilisation and international order'; in a way, foreign policy is a reflection of that need for identity. This identity formed around how the country saw itself and the scope of its interest. Foreign policy and domestic policy are closely related and are both influenced by culturally constructed core values, notions of identity and role models (Depkat, 2004). Efforts to sell an image of the nation to foreign publics have always involved different organisational forms and 'varied interplay between external images and self-conceptions, and idiosyncrasies of domestic and foreign policy' (Clerc and Glover, 2015, p. 4). The UK's national projection was directed at both foreign and domestic publics; this approach was a form of national identity construction reflecting its national interests and the expectations of itself in international society.

To understand the UK's national projection efforts, the inter-war period is a good place to start. By the end of WWI, the UK had realised its unique role during a crisis of

Western civilisation (Van Kessel, 2011). The idea of the UK being the custodian and 'beacon of European civilisation' was vigorously stated at multiple levels of government. The UK's approach to defending European civilisation emphasised the tradition it had to preserve but also required constant communication with exterior cultural effects to maintain the vitality of the civilisation (ibid.). The origin of the phrase 'national projection' goes back to the 1930s. Its leading advocate, Sir Stephen Tallents, sketched the concept in his book *The Projection of England* (published in 1932); 'national projection' was used to characterise a particular form of official propaganda (Crinson, 2004). Tallents, who also popularised the term 'public relations', served as Secretary of the Empire Marketing Board; for him, 'national projection' was not propaganda but rather a form of public relations (ibid.).

Tallents actively avoided the term propaganda. He created a wide range of euphemisms to do so, the most common being national projection. For him, this term was not a counterpart of foreign propaganda; national projection was intended to be educational in the broadest sense (Taylor, 1981). His use of projection as a substitute for cultural promotion proved useful. He stated that such projection was necessary to defend the UK from rising European fascism, the USSR and, in particular, the US (Van Kessel, 2011). National projection was about the transmission of images of the UK that validate new areas, such as industry, tourism, universities and scientific research. This concept also featured in shows in national pavilions designed for international exhibitions (Crinson, 2004). National projection aimed at foreign audiences focused on British civilisation and personality. The government sought to ensure that its views were understood and valued abroad (Defty, 2004). Tallents was in favour of a school of national projection, which later came to fruition as the BC (Crinson, 2004; Anthony, 2018). Clearly, the concept received a great deal of attention and was heavily linked to cultural and political beliefs and practices.

For Tallents, the English language, British news agencies, commercial and personal communications, and the dominance of British shipping companies were images to reflect in order to foster a favourable national image. He was conscious of the potential to inadvertently patronise foreign publics and so opted to focus on stimulating interest and appreciation for the British way of life (Taylor, 1981). Tallents saw that national projection 'could serve a constructive peacetime purpose'; he believed that the English people must be seen as 'a great nation still anxious to serve the world and to secure the world's peace' (Taylor, 1981, p. 112). Here, we can see the *topos* of uniqueness and the *topos* of assumed national role with which national identity is related. Tallents' concept of national projection indicates that public and cultural diplomacy focuses on identifying what the nation is and how it can be represented to others. Before WWII, the term public relations was used interchangeably with projection, propaganda,

publicity and advertising. This understanding offers additional insight into the ways to recognise connections between public relations and public diplomacy in the UK. Taylor (1981) discusses Tallents' work in the context of propaganda. This historical phase of the UK's public and cultural diplomacy is linked to Tallent's idea of national projection.

The decision to create organisations designed to conduct cultural propaganda brought a new air to British diplomacy; it was seen that cultural propaganda, or, as many officials chose to define it, cultural diplomacy, 'would not only serve to enhance national influence and prestige abroad through the promotion of British interests but would also effectively further the broader ideals of international peace and understanding' (Taylor, 1981, p. 126). During the inter-war period, the UK recognised the necessity of projecting the UK as a response to anti-British totalitarian propaganda. Inter-war developments, such as the BBC, the BC and the BBC foreign language broadcasts, increased the role of the FO in the national government (ibid.).

One essential value that British culture has always emphasised is freedom. This guiding principle was represented as a core foundation in the UK's system of government and in that of the British Commonwealth (Van Kessel, 2011). The UK wanted to conduct national projection because it feared that other countries would not always portray them in a truthful or favourable light (Willcox, 1983).

European governments began to acknowledge the value of foreign cultural policy after WWI. The creation of the BC indicated the importance of the cultural aspect of international relations and promoted the UK as the guardian of Western tradition and European civilisation (Van Kessel, 2011). This image of the UK represented the democratic and liberal values of European culture (ibid.). Social and political relations pushed the UK to (re)construct its national identity through different methods and organisations. I will detail the BC and its relationship with the IRD in Section 5.7.

The UK's projection abilities were significant; the state used all available modes of communication. For example, the Ministry of Information (MOI), established in 1939, was the central government department responsible for publicity and propaganda during WWII. Its functions included news provision, press censorship, domestic publicity and publicity in allied and neutral countries. The MOI was often criticised for its overstaffing and using patronising slogans (Cull, 2003a) and was dissolved in 1946. The Central Office of Information (COI) took on the MOI's internal publicity functions while overseas responsibilities were designated to relevant foreign or colonial office departments (Cull, 2003a).

National projection became even more critical during WWII because nations become a significant form of identification in wartime; people are more likely to use nationhood as a primary component of their identity in wartime than in peacetime (Noakes, 1997). Overseas British representation took on a more crucial role than ever

before. As the official committee on the machinery of government stated in April 1944, 'whatever limitations may be placed on publicity at home by political and other factors, quite different considerations will apply to British publicity overseas and that, in the face of the efforts made by other countries, a positive British policy will command universal approval at home and pay handsome dividends abroad' (Taylor, 1989, p. 12). This shows how the concept of positive national projection was intended to promote economic and political interests. Furthermore, the country aimed to represent 'self' positively with an expectation of universal support based on its values, attributes, and practices.

Having discussed the concept of national projection and its roots in the UK, it is essential to understand the implications of national projection during the Cold War. The ideological nature of the Cold War shaped the instruments that were used to fight it; both sides of the Iron Curtain were busy developing these tools. Despite massive military build-ups, armaments were far from the only products used throughout the conflict (Major and Mitter, 2006; Engerman, 2010). Economic production, for example, served as an indicator of success. More importantly, each side of the Iron Curtain relied on propaganda/information campaigns, as the core of the conflict was influence and ideology (Engerman, 2010). The cultural sphere was deeply politicised – the Cold War was fought over how to modernise society; how to organise, control and administer culture; and how to interpret popular culture.

The Cold War shaped the transfer of ideas, values, productions and reproductions in Europe; the ideological biases, geopolitical strategies and self-definitions challenged outline the definition of the 'enemy' (Gienow-Hecht, 2010a; Major and Mitter, 2006). From sport to ballet to comic books and space travel – anything expected to carry political significance could be employed as a weapon to shape opinion at home and abroad (Shaw, 2001). Understanding this ideological and representational battle is essential to comprehend the importance of book-publishing activities as part of cultural diplomacy efforts.

Self-representation aimed to impress domestic and foreign publics was a dominant approach on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The states employed strategies based on their competing ways of life. Between 1945 and 1991, art exhibitions, book programmes and cultural centres were sites for ideological conflict (Vaughan, 2005; Gienow-Hecht, 2010). Governments that had not previously highlighted culture, with the Cold War, began to invest in the promotion of literature, visual arts and music. Superpowers used psychological warfare and cultural subversion to weaken the 'enemy' and its allies (Gienow-Hecht, 2010). By 1947, cultural life and cultural institutions had become symbols of political confrontation as both American and Soviet policymakers recognised that, to win hearts and minds, they needed to emphasize cultural rather than

political identity (ibid.). Thus, the conflict turned into collective efforts to create an attraction signalling that 'our' way of living is better than 'theirs'.

The Cold War was not a traditional conflict; it was an ideological and cultural battle on a global scale (Caute, 2003). Cold War cultural diplomacy mainly took place in Europe between the US and the USSR; cultural products were principal components of this strategy (ibid.). Consequently, between 1945 and 1991, cultural production turned into the most influential instrument in the promotion of ideological aims and policies (Gienow-Hecht and Donfried, 2010). The Soviet and American approaches to cultural diplomacy boosted our understanding of the term. The American strategy, in particular, influenced many countries and demonstrated the cultural side of the country's Cold War foreign policy (ibid.).

Cultural diplomacy saw its peak during the Cold War (Schneider, 2006). Some examples of cultural diplomacy efforts in this era are cultural exchange programmes, jazz music, libraries and cultural hubs, book publishing, radio broadcasts and exchanges of students, writers and professionals (Tevdovski, 2009). During the Cold War, the US, the Soviet Union and Western Europe were the three main power centres investing in global communications with cultural instruments; they were all aware that cultural tools could shape political attitudes and conditions (Melissen, 2005; Lenczowski, 2008). It is clear that the Cold War represents the critical role of culture in projecting certain values and ways of life, which are strongly tied to national identities.

As already stated in the previous section, the role of the UK amid the conflict between the US and the USSR did not promise great success; it mainly suffered from the loss of European hegemony (Young, 1997). While maintaining its great-power character abroad, the vulnerability of its empire required a new relationship with those scattered worldwide possessions that made the UK a truly global power (Taylor, 1999; Young, 1997). Losing India, Palestine, Egypt, Malaya and Kenya were difficult processes in the shift from empire to commonwealth; the British people saw the post-war performance of the state, particularly overseas, as frustrating and disappointing (Taylor, 1999). The UK lost much of its power and influence between 1945 and 1973, though it was a slight relief that a former colony, the US, took on Britain's former 'superpower' status, as this ensured that the Anglo-American worldview would remain predominant (Frankel, 1975; Taylor, 1999). Nevertheless, the UK wanted to play its part in the power structure. Since the country needed to invest in recovery rather than military strength, Britain needed to 'sell' itself now more than ever before (Deighton, 2010) – as a result, the IRD was conceived.

The early Cold War was not an easy time for the UK. The goal of retaining world-power status alongside the US and the USSR proved to be a struggle. The country's national projection efforts were executed at home as well; this propaganda focused on

British interests and democracy, which became essential in the battle of ideas (ibid.). In this loss-of-power situation, propaganda took on an essential function in maintaining national status by influencing public opinion. This tool was intended to hide British weakness in the short term and encourage countries to look to Britain for moral and ideological inspiration in the long term, making it a key player in the fight against the Soviet bloc without requiring a substantial increase in military or economic performance (Lucas and Morris, 1992).

Soviet communism represented a critical and on-going danger to British values and Western democracy. The psychological battle known as the Cold War was fought using psychological approaches (ibid.). These approaches needed different tools, and the representation of 'way of life' on both sides of the Iron Curtain was one of the main themes. The desire for control and influence was presented as a positive projection of national achievements. For example, in 1946, an FO publicity directive stated that to counter Soviet propaganda in the Middle East, the approach should be to promote the UK's 'democratic system of government, social services, organisation of industry and labour, administration of justice; in short, the British way of life offers the best example of orderly and rapid progress. Material on these subjects should be given the widest possible publicity' (Vaughan, 2005, p. 153). The UK wanted to promote a coherent image of the country based on its national identity that 'offers the best example of orderly and rapid progress'. The extract indicates the *topos* of uniqueness that the UK had and the *topos* of definition that characterises the UK's national self-image. Rhetorical devices such as freedom and democracy represent positive connotations that the UK wanted to promote.

As another example, a report of the committee on government information services in 1946 stated that 'the basic object of British overseas information is to ensure the presentation overseas of true nature and adequate picture of British policy, British institutions and the British way of life' (Defty, 2004, p. 27). This text shows the *topos* of history which drew on the UK's institutions. The presentation of national identity was made using the *topos* of history combined with the *topos* of facticity ('true nature and adequate picture'). Nevertheless, in the early years of the Cold War, the British government was slow to engage in cultural diplomacy (Lee, 1998). Cultural projection was not yet a widely used strategy, and terms like 'the influence overseas of a British presence', 'non-military action', 'information effort', and even 'propaganda' were primary concepts in government (ibid.). The uneven development of British cultural diplomacy during the Cold War was connected to the vague approaches of civil servants and ministers to the UK's cultural transformation (ibid.). Below is the character of UK national projection clearly articulated in Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin's ideas:

It is for us as Europeans and as a Social Democratic Government, and not the Americans, to give the lead in spiritual, moral and political sphere(s) to all the democratic elements in Western Europe which are anti-Communist and, at the same time, genuinely progressive and reformist, believing in freedom, planning and social justice. (FO 1110/1/PR1/G)

The overall text is built on the *topos* of responsibility suggesting the UK's global role. The extract also indicates the *topos* of uniqueness and the *topos* of leadership, which the UK had to propose to the world: 'the lead in spiritual, moral and political sphere'. It should be noted that Bevin uses the *topos* of definition by pointing out what the UK was offering, notably social justice and freedom. The discourse about 'our' moral values and principles against 'their' way of life constitutes positive self-representation. Furthermore, the desire to offer something between the US and Soviet Russia is significant in that it reflects the preferred 'way of life' of the dominant groups, or the superiority of the UK 'self' constructed by the governmental elites.

The assumed role of the true leader of Europe was significant in the UK's early-Cold War foreign policy. This leadership is something that the UK felt the need to continue despite its decline in power. In general, Bevin's ideas demonstrate what components the concept of 'national projection' was aiming for. The purpose of the strategy was to reach foreign publics and foster an attractive perception. Bevin believed publicity applied abroad was an appropriate instrument for the projection of British social democracy. During the war, he insisted that diplomacy should be expanded from relations between elites to relations between people; after the war, he considered publicity and efforts to reach foreign publics as essential parts of this new form of diplomacy (Anstey, 1984). His ideas related to the theory that intellectual and moral leadership is more stable when the discourse of political elites resonates with the masses in a way comes to constitute common sense. Bevin whole-heartedly believed that 'the Russian and Communist Allies are threatening the whole fabric of Western civilisation' and asked for the deployment 'of spiritual forces, as well as material and political, for its defence' (Taylor, 1989, p. 21). In the early years of the Cold War, the UK clearly felt a responsibility to defend the West against the Soviet Union; the country was eager to protect Western values.

Foreign policy elites aimed to ensure reaching the public at home and deliver a more coherent and centralised publicity overseas (Taylor, 1989). There was a general idea among political elites that the UK must defend its national interests and influence opinion in order to play a chief role in the post-war world (ibid.). With the onset of the Cold War, the UK's role in the Western alliance needed publicity not just at home, but also behind the Iron Curtain and in those allied and neutral countries where the British case had to be developed if its economic and political authority was to survive (ibid.).

The UK's national identity was shifting with the creation of a commonwealth tradition that altered the former imperialist discourse (Barnett, 2018). This approach was particularly important given the UK's position as an imperial power; the shift from empire to commonwealth had to be described more effectively.

The UK felt obligated to enter the game of international propaganda. The two prominent instruments for the UK were the BC and the BBC. The Communist threat led the country to operate overt and covert activities to defend their 'way of life'. The BBC was a convenient tool for promoting the 'British way of life', though Bevin was hesitant to diminish its great independence. There were, however, close informal contacts between the head of the BBC and the FO (Cull, 2010; Deighton, 2010). The trade unions were considered the front line in the fight against communism. Using churches in the fight to protect Western civilisation was another proposal considered by the committee (Deighton, 2010). To respond to the threat, the BC and the BBC were deemed insufficient. Even Christianity was not suggested simply as a conflict to Communism but as part of the British way of life (Barnett, 2018). Competing for a value system offering a superior option required 'new machinery' to provide material to the state to oppose communism: the Information Research Department (IRD).

In 1948, there was a significant departure from the accepted methods of national projection with the foundation of the IRD, a covert peacetime propaganda agency (Taylor, 1989). The establishment of the IRD was the government's main Cold War innovation (Lee, 1998). It is worth repeating that the reason for projecting Britain and the Western tradition was to offer something better than the Communist way of life and to promote an attractive perception of the UK. The formation of the IRD was different from that of other FO departments. According to Taylor (1989, p. 21), this practice 'was secret, direct and aggressive, designed to pass over to the offensive and not leave the initiative to the enemy, but make them defend themselves'. This suggests that the IRD was a direct response to aggressive Soviet propaganda (ibid.). The next section details the IRD and its origin.

There was undoubtedly a battle against the USSR; the British state needed to secure mass consent to the shaping of public beliefs and practices. In 1950, the FO decided that, while straightforward anti-Communist and anti-Soviet work remained important, 'we have to show that there is a better alternative and that Western democracy, with Britain in the lead, is pointing the way to it' (Vaughan, 2005, p. 153). This approach shows the *topos* of danger and threat in its national image, in which the UK needed to act against the 'evil' of Soviet Russia and represent the 'us', as Western democracy, against the 'them'. This relates to the UK's desire to match other countries' expectations of the country.

The projection of the British way of life aimed to foster an attractive image to be adopted by others; in other words, communicating elite-driven ideologies intended to turn elite beliefs into what Gramsci called 'common sense'. The use of mass media served as a powerful tool to promote and construct national identity (Bloom, 1993). The selection, organisation and presentation of verbal, nonverbal, visual and audio elements say something about how a party sees its 'self' and the 'other'. The UK's use of demonstrated its belief that it had a unique and highly respected way of life that had much to offer others (Zaharna, 2012). In this light, the UK's use of national projection was a way to promote a national self-image constructed by political elites.

From my brief review, one can conclude that activities akin to what we today call cultural diplomacy were critical during the Cold War. The expression 'cultural diplomacy' was not widely used at the time, as the activities could be described with the then prominent 'propaganda'. The British had undeniably demonstrated an astounding ability for propaganda during WWI; however, the UK's approach to propaganda in peacetime had always been far less passionate (Taylor, 1989). Therefore, national projection was an especially important mission for the UK, as foreign opinion was increasingly viewing the country as a 'second division' power in the post-war world. The 'enemy' was seen as a threat in both domestic and international policy, so the projection of national identity abroad and at home was indispensable. Public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy promoted these strategic narratives to help the UK tell its story to the public. Decision-makers saw that intelligence and manipulative propaganda were essential in the fight against communism in the same way they were against Nazism (ibid.). Western countries feared the Soviets' potential to weaken and undermine Western democracies, so the worldwide presentation of Western values as a coherent doctrine in opposition to that of communism was a central focus of British and American policymakers (Defty, 2004).

National projection of the UK became essential as British interests were at risk in a world of competing ideologies (Taylor, 1989). Therefore, the UK needed to show that its national identity has much to offer other countries. It is clear that domestic politics had a significant influence on British national projection propaganda in the post-war decade on account of the differing visions and emphases of the various governments. Labour's view of national projection was centred around the British political agenda and social democracy while the Conservative's was based on the UK's international role (Vaughan, 2005). The aim of the national projection strategy, however, and its aspiration to generate attraction was part of the post-war foreign policy consensus between the Labour and Conservative parties.

A strong element of marketing developed to improve the UK's post-war economic position through propaganda. The idea was that exports would increase by illuminating

the British way of life (Taylor, 1989). The phrase 'way of life', as used by governments, is connected to national interest; from the state's point of view, the fundamental purpose of government is to protect 'the population and its way of life in terms of territorial integrity, core values and national wellbeing. This implies a single and accepted way of life whose protection constitutes a single, unified national interest' (Ritchie, 2014, p. 86). Of course, there is no single national interest, nor is there a single, objective national identity or way of life (ibid.). Through the projection of its own culture, the UK sought to foster an attractive image and garner recognition for its achievements, national goals and policies. Needless to say, the UK's national projection efforts on behalf of both British interests and Western democracy was a critical component in an era of conflicting ideologies (Taylor, 1999).

Intellectual and moral leadership is produced through ideational and material bases by attracting the interest of various groups to maintain and control a particular social order; the UK aimed to link its leadership to the concept of national projection (Zahran and Ramos, 2010). The narrative produced around the UK's national identity reflects the dominant ideology of the elites – it was constructed within an imagined community. The state wanted to manufacture consent around its national projection programme so that its efforts were viewed as legitimate.

Having introduced the concept of national projection, the next section details the IRD. I demonstrate its role in foreign policy and review its book-publishing activities in the UK and abroad.

5.3 The Creation of the IRD

In 1948, the new direction of UK foreign policy – combatting the Soviet threat – led to the government creating the Information Research Department (IRD). A 'small section' in the Foreign Office (FO), the IRD played a meaningful part in shaping the propaganda efforts of the UK in the Cold War. The UK was not alone in this type of propaganda activity; in the late 1940s and early 1950s, Western powers put considerable effort into psychological warfare, using propaganda channels to influence international opinion in support of the free world and to undermine Communist systems (Welch, 2003). The British government invested significant effort into this strategy, but the IRD's creation was not straightforward, and it required considerable discussion. This section, sourced from the archival material, looks at the IRD's creation, motivation, structure and operation methods.

In October 1947, a junior minister at the FO, Christopher Mayhew, sent a confidential note to his chief, Ernest Bevin, the Foreign Secretary, recommending a secret propaganda counter-offensive against the Russians, and he suggested setting up a new department to achieve the task (Bloch and Fitzgerald, 1983; Lashmar and Oliver, 1998). Mayhew believed there was a need to counteract Soviet propaganda and build a sense of Western identity. This was the beginning of a long journey that would occupy the government for decades. On 4 January, 1948, Bevin submitted a paper to the cabinet titled 'Future Foreign Publicity Policy', which was key in commencing the Cold War propaganda strategy. He was convinced more than ever that 'the Russians and Communist Allies are threatening the whole fabric of Western civilisation', and he called for the mobilisation 'of spiritual forces, as well as material and political, for its defence' (FO 1110/1/PR1/G). Bevin believed that Soviet propaganda was engaged in vicious attacks against the British Commonwealth and Western democracy:

> *Our publicity has hitherto been confined to supporting and explaining the current policy of His Majesty's Government in foreign affairs and at home, to advocating our way of life, and publicising our social democratic programme and achievements. (…) If we are to give a moral lead to the forces of anti-Communism in Europe and Asia, we must be prepared to pass over to the offensive and not leave the initiative to the enemy but make them defend themselves. (…) We should adopt a new line in our foreign publicity designed to oppose the inroads of Communism by taking the offensive against it, basing ourselves on the standpoint of the position and vital ideas of British Social Democracy and Western civilisation, and to give a lead to our friends abroad and help them in the anti-Communist struggle.* (FO 1110/1/PR1/G)

Bevin outlines the new foreign policy strategy, which will emphasise 'advocating our way of life', 'in foreign affairs and at home', and helping 'our friends' with their 'anti-Communist struggle' (ibid.). This analysis demonstrates a desire for dominance and influence on the part of the UK government, highlighting the opposition between 'us' and 'them', and associating 'Communism' with negative practices and characteristics, which is a clear indication of an attempt to emphasise the UK's position as the good guy in this ideological battle. Such a rhetorical strategy was particularly common in the analysed material. This could partly be explained by the desire of the UK to maintain or reproduce its power, and by the offer that was available for 'them' – i.e., 'British Social Democracy' and 'Western civilisation'. This is emphasised by the need for 'them' to integrate to 'our way of life' and to follow the UK's 'lead'. Thus, 'their' approach was seen as problematic when it contradicted the 'vital ideas' that Western civilisation comprised. The underlying logic of the anti-Communist discourse was that in order to protect, project and promote democratic society, democracy in this discourse became the opposite of Communist dictatorship. The text indicates the *topos* of the threat of Communism as the 'enemy', which the UK needed to combat. Furthermore, the overall text shows the *topos* of the UK providing leadership to 'our' friends.

Bevin employs the key phrases 'British Social Democracy' and 'Western civilisation' as the crucial conceptual foundations of this strategy. His application of these 'seductive' terms is an indication of the sources of cultural diplomacy, with particular emphasis on 'democracy' and 'Western values', and projecting the national culture to create dialogue was crucial in the government's strategy. Bevin's statement describing giving 'a lead to our friends abroad' demonstrates the desire to consolidate power and to act as an exemplar to the UK's allies in the 'anti-Communist struggle' (ibid.). The quoted document illustrates a clear opposition between the UK's ideology of 'British Social Democracy and Western civilisation' and the USSR's Communism. We also see how the UK defined itself as being against the 'other'. The former is overtly defined as a civilised society (as in the values of British society), while the latter represents a system of repression. Selling the 'British way of life' overseas was essential to spreading an image of the UK as a powerful and influential nation that had something distinctive to offer.

Bevin's text also shows that defining elements of national identity such as social democracy, Western civilisation and leadership took a major part in this discourse. The changes in the international situation and foreign policy led the government to search for new goals and strategies and to develop methods to achieve them; thus, it was essential to create a self-image that would be a desirable model and attract other countries. A new role in global politics was being found and combined with a need protect the national identity from the 'evils' of Communism.

The successes of the Soviet Union offered an opportunity to unite the country behind a common purpose: to protect the 'British way of life' – this time, against the Communist threat rather than Nazism (Clulow, 2012). This concept of the British way of life, which can be seen as a narrative for promoting national identity, leads us to the idea of the nation as an 'imagined community'. As Anderson (2006) describes it, a national identity is created through symbols and rituals, and this identity is connected with the forms of communication. Print capitalism, with the production and commodification of books and newspapers, permitted an intensification of the communication process (Barker, 2004).

The efforts of the IRD in this communication process, by publishing books, took on a noteworthy role in creating a national consciousness. 'Way of life' was a popular term during the Cold War; on each side of the Iron Curtain, this term included elements of either Western or Communist values. As Bevin's ideas show, the USSR was seen as a threat to the 'British way of life' and thus it was a primary ambition of the government to foster Western values against the ideological politics of Communism. In other words, the conflict was at an ideological level, with each side attempting to show its way of life as being superior. This includes an effort among the political elites to create a sense of national uniqueness and to construct their version of national identity.

The Cold War was a time of innovation for the British government. In the same document, Bevin outlined the only 'new machinery' required:

> *A small section in the Foreign Office to collect information concerning Communist policy, tactics and propaganda and to provide material for our anti-Communist publicity through our Missions and Information Services abroad.* (FO 1110/1/PR1/1/13G)

The quote above shows a clear distinction between 'our' ideology as a democratic and free society and 'their' ideology as a danger to society; a strategy was needed – the plan involved 'tactics and propaganda', and the tool was to 'provide material' and distribute this through 'our' people. 'Material' refers to a tool for anti-Communist publicity, and it is a declaration of the type of battle in which the state was planning to engage. Publicity would help the state spread its message all around the world. The term 'publicity' demonstrates the expectation of attracting a lot of interest or attention from people at home and abroad (ibid.). This ties in with the UK's self-presentation to the world. 'A small section' implies confidentiality and shows caution with this operation. The need for 'new machinery', implying a structure and systems for the new organisation, also shows the government's alarm at the increasing ideological threat to national identity. Thus, at this stage of the early Cold War, a new structure was needed to maintain the UK's global power status and promote its national identity.

The establishment of the IRD, with its aim of presenting the UK as having a superior way of life to that offered by Communism, brought a new dimension to the FO. The institutional power of the IRD was high in comparison with that of other FO departments, and it ended up being one of the largest departments among them, doubling its budget in two years. The aim of the IRD was to protect and promote Western values and to fight against Communism, and the UK wanted to circulate this discourse both at home and abroad. Many media were used, but the IRD focused its efforts on the production and circulation of books (there will be more discussion in the next section regarding the position of these books). Bevin stated that:

> *We should develop visits by important Trade Unionists from abroad and other influential, non-Communist foreigners, and set up a 'Wilton Park' in which we could offer them courses on British life and institutions and make available to them material and ideas useful for the struggle in their own countries against Communism. In short, we should seek to make London the Mecca for Social Democrats in Europe.* (FO 1110/1/PR1/G)

Bevin's idea of creating a 'Wilton Park' tells us another story. Wilton Park was a unit established in 1946, originally in Wilton Park, Beaconsfield, as part of the British government's initiative to restore peace and democracy in Europe after the war. Its first task was to screen German prisoners of war and introduce West German civilian leaders to the idea of free debate. Soon relocated to Sussex, this institution holds the unsung secrets of UK diplomacy and has been host to many international figures (Horsley, 2006). Therefore, 'Wilton Park' indicates a strategy of reaching influential people in order to offer 'British life and institutions', and the state's intention to bring effective intellectuals to its side and teach them good values. There will be further detailed discussion in Section 5.6 regarding intellectuals with the ability to change public opinion, and the IRD's relations with them. Another point in this text is the intention 'to make London the Mecca for Social Democrats in Europe', which demonstrates London's ambition to establish its reputation as an active international power broker, and its impressive intelligence expertise providing a strong image of the UK (Larres, 2006). Social Democrat parties had been suppressed across Europe by the Nazi and fascist regimes, and subsequently by Communist regimes, but the UK now had a Labour (that is, Social Democrat / Democratic Socialist) government and hoped to restore continental Social Democracy.

Bevin was consistent in his general principle that the country and its 'friends' needed 'British Social Democracy' and 'Western European civilisation', and the overall theme for this approach was to 'provide material to our anti-Communist publicity'. Bevin expands upon 'publicity':

> *We should advertise our principles as offering the best and most efficient way of*

life. (FO 1110/1/PR1/G)

This shows 'our principles' and 'the most efficient way of life' as a clearly distinct 'good' in opposition to their 'bad'. This indicates the *topos* of uniqueness, where the offer of 'the best' emphasises a strong element of the national identity that the political elites want to propagate. This also shows how, in the political struggle, national identity and foreign policy are strongly related to each other. The following sentences indicate a range of approaches:

> *We can no longer submit passively to the Communist offensive; we must attack and expose Communism and offer something far better. What we have to offer in contrast to totalitarian Communism and* laissez-faire *capitalism, are the vital and progressive ideas of British Social Democracy and Western European civilisation. … We should attack, by comparison, the principles and practice of Communism, and also the inefficiency, social injustice and moral weakness of unrestrained capitalism. We must not, however, attack or appear to be attacking any member of the Commonwealth or the United States. … We cannot hope successfully to repel Communism only by disparaging it on material grounds and must add a positive appeal to Democratic and Christian principles, remembering the strength of Christian sentiment in Europe. We must put forward a positive rival ideology. We must stand on the broad principles of Social Democracy, which, in fact, has its basis in the value of civil liberty and human rights. … We should represent the satellite countries as 'Russia's new colonial empire,' serving Russia's strategic and economic interests at the cost of the freedom and living standards of the Eastern European peoples. The myth that the Russians never break treaties should be exposed and Communism portrayed as the stalking-horse of Russian imperialism. … Finally, we should disseminate clear and cogent answers to Russian misrepresentations about Britain. We should not make the mistake of allowing ourselves to be drawn into concentrating our whole energy in dealing with those subjects which are selected for debate by Russian propaganda. On the other hand, we must see to it that our friends in Europe and elsewhere are armed with the facts and the answers to Russian propaganda. If we do not provide this ammunition, they will not get it from any other source. … In general, we should emphasise the weakness of Communism rather than its strength ... to raise the international tension.* (FO 1110/1/PR1/1/13G)

Bevin's message that 'we must attack and expose Communism' with the idea of offering 'something far better' shows that the country strongly believed that it still had something to offer to the world – the UK was not finished, as some might think given the loss of Empire (Schwartz, 2009; Taylor, 1999). These elements once again indicate the

topos of history and culture in offering something 'better' to the rest of the world. This also shows the UK's 'assumed' role as the guardian of Western civilisation, and words such as 'attack' and 'expose' demonstrate the confrontation in defence of the values of the West. 'Attack' suggests aggressive action against Communism with 'material' instead of weapons or armed force, and the discourse includes the *topos* of urgency in that the country should act soon against the danger. This narrative is one of criticising or opposing, fiercely and publicly, the terrible side of Communism and promulgating the 'good' side of Western values. One of the founding aims of the IRD is to present an ideology that is 'in contrast to totalitarian Communism and *laissez-faire* capitalism'; that is the UK's idea of creating a self-image of a third way between the two powers of the USA and the USSR with their contrasting ideologies. It is clear that the UK wanted to create a vital difference between 'self' and 'other', and narratives of national identity represented through 'we' as the guardian of Western civilisation and the protector of freedom and the rule of law. The IRD's strategy indicates that the political elites wanted to construct a coherent view of the UK's national identity that would help to create attraction for the UK's cultural, economic and political achievements.

The extract demonstrates how the UK as 'self' was defined in relation to 'other' by emphasising the UK's effort to create 'a positive appeal to Democratic and Christian principles' in opposition to 'Russia's new colonial empire'. This shows the importance of the establishment of the new department, as this would exemplify the state's efforts to define itself, its people and its culture at home and abroad. Nevertheless, in making this 'attack', the government intended to avoid giving the appearance of confronting any member of the Commonwealth or the USA. The UK government sought to maintain and reproduce its moral and intellectual leadership, in a Gramscian sense, by offering a way between American capitalism and Soviet Communism.

The need to win hearts and minds and meet the demands of the Cold War encouraged the UK's Labour government to create an agency primarily devoted to anti-Communist propaganda. Prime Minister Clement Atlee picked up the idea enthusiastically and permitted the setting up of the new department, as the government could 'no longer submit passively to the Communist offensive' (FO 1110/1/PR1/G). Usage of the word 'passively' demonstrates an end to the lack of an active response, or a willingness to fight, against the 'Communist offensive' and its assault on Western values. Atlee's decision shows how the government would now be acting decisively to influence or expand the resistance to Communism, and that the government was not happy to allow other people to take the lead.

The extract also shows the *topos* of presenting the UK's qualities such as civil liberty and human rights. When the British government set up the IRD as a political warfare executive, the idea was not just to maintain national security or to gain economic

and political advantages, it was also to promote and protect its national identity set broadly within Western values. These values were not considered national, but universal, and this served the national interest and influenced public opinion in promoting the UK way of life.

Setting up this new department was not easy. To conceal the IRD's existence from the public, authority for financing its operations was obtained from parliament in the 'secret vote', which was closely attached to the intelligence organisations (Bloch and Fitzgerald, 1983; Lashmar and Oliver, 1998; Vaughan, 2004). The secret vote, an annual fund applied to pay for intelligence operations, would allow more flexible use of money and would avoid people becoming aware of operations that might require covert or semi-covert means of execution (The National Archives, 1995; Schwartz, 2009). This was the method by which MI6 was given its budget, and the mechanism put both units, the IRD and MI6, beyond parliamentary scrutiny; and the links are apparent when we see that the second head of the IRD, John Rennie, subsequently became head of MI6 (Deery, 1997). It was decided that £100,000 would be allocated from the 1949–50 secret vote to cover the operational costs of the unit, including salaries, printing and films but not the office and administrative expenses, which would be met by the FO (The National Archives, 1995). However, in 1950, the IRD demanded that 35 members of its staff, along with other operational expenses, be covered by secret funding. The total cost of the IRD secret budget was now £200.000, more than double what it had requested in 1948. At that time, other information services such as the BC, the BBC External Services and the Information Policy Department were suffering under budget cuts (Defty, 2004; Schwartz, 2009). The IRD was a secret department, and the government firmly avoided any public association about its activities, especially any disclosure of the sources of the material it disseminated, so as not to undermine the effectiveness of its operations (Schwartz, 2009).

As one of the aims of the IRD was to gather confidential information about Communism and to produce factually based anti-Communist propaganda for dissemination both abroad and at home, secrecy was something to be expected in this operation. Nevertheless, to categorise the IRD as an exclusively anti-Communist department is not appropriate, as this fails to recognise the main difference between anti-Communist, anti-Soviet propaganda and that used against other targets, and it miscalculates the degree to which the IRD could also function as a weapon against non-Communist targets (Vaughan, 2004). However, in the area of propaganda, the UK was a major player, despite its declining power, and the creation of the IRD was a coordinated response to the Communist threat and to the need to promote national identity. Furthermore, the IRD helped to generate an element of consent for the UK's moral and intellectual leadership.

The process of creating the IRD was not without its problems. As John Peck, the second head of the IRD, explained in 1951:

It is not so much Communism that we seek to counter, since Communism and Communists by themselves are not expected to achieve very much; it is the aggressive aims of the Soviet Government using the Communist Parties and Communist-controlled organizations for the purpose of exploiting 'Communism' (whatever that may mean) for its own political ends. (FO 1110/460/PR126/5G)

Even though Peck wanted to emphasise the weakness of the 'other', the main threat, as he sees it, is the Soviet Government, which he believes to be simply exploiting the ideology of Communism. This illustrates how ideologies, as a discourse, took on a substantial character in the Cold War with their function of enhancing the state's power and dominance for its 'own political ends'. There is a need for ideological institutions to organise ideological practices; these institutions are formed for the 'realisation' of a common ideology (Van Dijk, 1998). The IRD's responsibility to serve the ideology of the state in the different regions and against the substantial threat put the department in a critical position.

The establishment of the IRD shows two different foreign policy approaches: defensive propaganda and offensive propaganda. Before 1948, sustaining the UK's place through the projection of British moral and ideological superiority was the function of defensive propaganda, but after 1951, this turned towards the offensive (Lucas and Moris, 1992; Defty, 2004). Attacking Moscow in the areas where the Soviets directly threatened British interests was the job of offensive propaganda (Lucas and Moris, 1992; Schwartz, 2009). In 1948, defensive and offensive propaganda approaches were coupled in a new British foreign policy objective, as we saw in Section 5.1, namely the 'positive' projection of the 'Third Force', a British-led Western European bloc linked to the Commonwealth and independent of both the USSR and the USA (Lucas and Moris, 1992). The UK desired to maintain its power after the war, and the government was confident and hopeful of creating a leading position – therefore, the new publicity policy was primarily 'designed to give a lead and support the truly democratic elements in Western Europe' (FO 1110/1/P/138/138G). The desire to be another option between the USA and the USSR defined a new posture in world power relations and reflected an aspiration to remain an equal of the two major powers. This shows how challenges in foreign policy can push governments in redefining their national identity.

The following excerpt provides a good synopsis of the intention of the UK government. In January 1948, Christopher Warner, then Assistant Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs (Information and Cultural Services), summarised the IRD as:

An offensive branch attacking and exposing Communist methods and policy and contrasting them with 'Western' democracy and British methods and policy; a defensive branch, which would be concerned with replying to Soviet and Communist attacks and hostile propaganda; a positive branch which would deal with the 'build-up' of the Western Union conception. (as cited in Lucas and Morris, 1992, p. 86)

The IRD was identified as 'an offensive branch', 'attacking and exposing Communist methods and policy', but its methods were justified as a defence against ideological attack, and as promoting 'Western democracy' and 'British methods and policy' that were part of the UK's national identity. The overall text is built on the *topos* of the national role and leadership, with the UK constructing a 'Western Union'. In the text, 'an offensive branch' indicates that the government had no choice but to defend itself. 'Exposing' shows the determination of the government to uncover Communist methods, so that the public could see them, while simultaneously fostering Western democracy (ibid.).

As for the Soviet Union's hostile propaganda methods, Warner acknowledged the ongoing attacks from Soviet and Communist sources, and tried to create a collective idea that would help to build up the 'Western Union' concept. The 'Western Union' was a strategic alliance for military, economic, social and cultural cooperation between Britain, France and the Benelux countries, signed in March 1948. This is a clear indication of the UK promoting itself as a leader and its strategy of holding power in Europe, signifying the *topos* of leadership. The usage of 'positive branch' shows the hope and confidence of the government, and it also describes the intense action that was taken to advance their aim to fight against Communism 'by exposing the realities of life under Communist regimes' and by offering Western values (FO 1110/1/PR1/1/13G).

The IRD did not restrict itself to overseas activities, and historians note that it made efforts to shape domestic opinion in the UK by using anti-Communist material created with government funds in order to aid right-wing social democrats within the Labour Party and the trade union movement (Bloch and Fitzgerald, 1983; Lucas and Morris, 1992). Therefore, the IRD's activities in shaping public opinion both at home and abroad show the interlinkage between foreign and domestic policy.

The IRD's activities in the UK did not greatly differ from those used abroad. The same strategy was applied across the UK with the aim of protecting and promoting the 'British way of life' and 'Western democracy'. This shows how identity, as a narrative of 'self', needs to represent itself to its people as well as to foreign publics. Historically, British society had united in defence of traditional values when confronted with a common enemy threatening its freedom and prosperity during the war years; subsequently, the following Labour government (1945–1951) considered Communism

and the Soviets a threat to the 'British way of life' (Clulow, 2012). The idea of protecting the 'British way of life' and 'Social democracy' at home and abroad indicates the strong relationship between cultural diplomacy and cultural policy, since cultural products were shaped by foreign policy concerns and distributed for both national and international audiences. The role of culture and books in the protection and distribution of the 'British way of life' triggers a fruitful discussion. As Figueira (2018) shows, there is a clear but cautious relationship between cultural policy, cultural diplomacy and foreign policy. These approaches bring us to an examination of how the representation of the national identity to other nations is an essential aspect of cultural policy and foreign policy; thus, an external cultural policy which is sometimes referred to as cultural diplomacy cannot be separated from internal cultural policy (Williams, 1983; Mitchell, 1986).

To emphasise again, the IRD's approach in operating both in the UK and abroad is an excellent example of how cultural diplomacy and cultural policy are linked to each other, because the changes in foreign policy affected the cultural policy of the UK. It will be an exciting research area to examine what the British cultural policy bodies were doing at the time of the IRD, as this study relies mainly on the FO's archival material as a source.

The portrayal of 'Britishness' took on a principal position in maintaining the public's view of the UK as being a major player in world politics and a fortress of traditional values (Larres, 2006; Clulow, 2012). The produced books, as a discourse, became a powerful instrument in influencing identities and attitudes, and they can be seen as a potent tool for manipulating and influencing public opinion.

The IRD started its operation in 1948 by focussing on Italy, France, the Middle East and Far Eastern countries that were identified as priority targets, especially since Italy and France both had very substantial Soviet-aligned Communist parties. This choice is not surprising, since the IRD was well equipped to respond to Soviet targeting (Wark, 1987; Welch, 2003). The majority of the material that was created by the IRD was based on 'fact', and one of its operational mottos was 'anything but the truth is too hot to handle' (Lashmar and Oliver, 1998; Welch, 2003). My understanding of this expression is that the British propaganda strategy was not about inventing stories but rather presenting material based on fact, albeit selected facts; however the IRD's 'factual' information was not free of ideology. The reason for always using factual evidence was the need for credibility, thus providing a stronger case for whatever argument a briefing or publication was trying to make (Welch, 2003; Jenks, 2006). Christopher Mayhew, the progenitor of the IRD, later clarified, in an interview in 1995, the selection of 'facts': 'It's quite extraordinary how if you select the facts you want, you can make a very powerful case, and certainly, all the propaganda has done has not been distorting facts or inventing them but selecting them. The policy of IRD was not to lie or distort facts but to

select the facts that proved our case that Bolshevism was no good and plug them'
(Lashmar and Oliver, 1998, p. 36). This is also related to the government method of
'positive self-presentation', and the IRD's factual approach shows the *topos* of facticity
that relayed with credibility and truth.

As the Cold War intensified, the IRD, as the government's political warfare body,
flourished quickly and reached its peak in the mid-1950s, when some three hundred staff
worked in the department, researching, compiling, and distributing material all around
the world (Young, 1997; Lashmar and Oliver, 1998; Welch, 2003). There are important
materials where the IRD describes its role, and this description gives a clear picture of
the IRD as a department.

For example, in May 1955, the IRD provided a note for the Joint Intelligence
Committee Working Party (JIC), describing the function of the IRD. The JIC was aiming
to produce a report on the collation of intelligence by the various departments in
Whitehall. This report shows the close links between the IRD and British intelligence
agencies. According to the report, the task of the IRD was:

> *To conduct propaganda about Communism and Soviet imperialism. Towards the*
> *free world our aim is to draw attention to the discrepancies between claims and*
> *realities, particularly in the fields of living standards and social welfare, to reveal*
> *the contempt for the individual which lies at the centre of Communist legislation,*
> *to expose the mechanism for exploiting the worker and muzzling the intellectual,*
> *to publicize the anti-democratic system of Party control and to challenge the*
> *Communist claim to be sole champions of world peace. Towards the Communist*
> *world our aim is to present a picture of a free society, to provide information on*
> *world events which Communist governments conceal from their people and to*
> *stimulate fundamental criticism of the basis of Communist society. In those*
> *countries of Eastern Europe, which are fundamentally Western in sympathy and*
> *culture, our aim is to keep alive the hope that their future lies with the West rather*
> *than with Russia.* (FO 1110/716/PR10111/34/G)

Such reasons as 'to present a picture of a free society' and 'to keep alive the
hope' show the motivation of the state to provide information in those countries that had
empathy with the UK. The text shows the *topos* of responsibility and leadership, and
there is also the *topos* of comparison between free society and Communism. The text
indicates how group members tend to speak or write positively about their own group,
and negatively about those out-groups which they define as opponents or enemies (Van
Dijk, 2015). The several usages of 'our aim' declared the commitment for action and the
self-identification of the elite with the imagined community of the nation. A clear
distinction between 'us' as a 'free society' and 'them' as an 'anti-democratic system'
stressed the difference between the two forms of society and the two ideologies. The

text shows how the IRD was keen to operate other-presentation, and 'their future lies with the West rather than with Russia' is a clear example of attracting different nations to the West for support and sharing of common beliefs and values. The text also indicates the *topos* of history and culture that the UK wanted to share with the rest of the world.

Propaganda directed towards the free world represented the most important task of IRD if only because of the greater ability of IRD to disseminate material here; and within the free – non-Communist – world, they paid increasing attention to the 'uncommitted' areas, with the object of keeping them out of the Soviet orbit. The basic aim was to influence leaders of opinion – parliamentarians, ministers, trade union and religious leaders, officials and journalists – rather than to create mass appeal. According to the IRD, this called for 'an objective rather than an emotional presentation of the facts' (FO 1110/716/PR10111/34/G). The phrase 'presentation of the facts' indicates the operation method of the IRD, which was based on a 'true' picture of the UK and its values. Employing this kind of discourse was part of an attempt to present the UK as a model society formed around 'truth', unlike the 'other' (Communist regimes).

The IRD, as a department, reported to the Assistant Under-Secretary responsible for Information Activities, who was also accountable for the activities of the Information Policy Department, the BC, and the BBC External Services (Schwartz, 2009). The IRD was based in central London and worked very closely with the other governments departments. The IRD was involved in powerful and extensive propaganda, such as sending articles to the COI, posting information to be entered at the News Department and providing material for ministers' speeches (Lashmar and Oliver, 1998; Jenks, 2006). Initially, the IRD was a small section which needed to recruit specialist staff and be free from the limitations of civil service pay and conditions, and the cost of the unit was transferred to the secret vote (The National Archive, 1995). Between 1947 and 1958, the directors of the IRD were Christopher Mayhew (1947–49), Sir Ralph Murray (1949–51), Sir John Peck (1951–53) and John Rennie (1953–58).

According to a report produced by the IRD in May 1955, the department's central headquarters was divided into different desks. The Editorial Section dealt with output, and the desks (Soviet–East European Desks; European Desk; West European Desk; China Desk; South Asia Desk; Japan Desk, India Desk and Middle East Desk) dealt with research (FO 1110/716/PR10111/34/G). The desks provided the material, which editorial writers turned into books, pamphlets and articles, though the desks themselves also prepared studies in a form suitable for issue. The Editorial Section also operated closely with a stable of London-based writers and news agencies that created anti-Communist material for the overseas and home markets (Jenks, 2006). The Editorial Section's responsibility – in some cases, acting as a literary agency – was to buy the copyright, to negotiate with the authors and to write reports about the materials and even decide the

suitability of the books for distribution. For example, the primary duty of the Soviet and East European Desks was mainly to:

Assemble, sort, record, evaluate and write up current information and intelligence on the bloc to form the basis for research and propaganda papers. In addition, they have a number of other important functions such as contributing to the formation of the Departmental view on some matters of Foreign Office policy and contributing to the general fund of intelligence on the Soviet orbit. (FO 1110/716/PR10111/34/G)

A closer look at the Soviet and East European Desks shows that they covered the Soviet Union, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, East Germany and Albania. By 1955, the Soviet Desk had 20 staff (10 research workers; 10 translators and filing clerks). Their sources of material varied widely, including newspapers, periodicals, agency reports, American material (a vast amount), encyclopaedias, the Communist press, BBC monitoring reports, Radio Free Europe reports, and Soviet studies published by the University of Glasgow and Chatham House publications (FO 1110/716/PR10111/34/G). The backbone of the IRD's work was the Basic Programme, which was issued at the beginning of the year. This helped the IRD to outline where the primary propaganda efforts would be required, and it established a schedule for papers around which the desks could plan their research, though the desk would also have to deal with unforeseen requirements and the organisation needed to be flexible.

The staff of the IRD have been described as a 'weird' mix, with a notable inclusion of émigrés, many of whom were the flotsam of unsuccessful intelligence operations; others were cautiously selected writers and journalists whose professional experience the IRD required; also, MI6 people who had reached the end of their careers would sometimes end up in the IRD (Bloch and Fitzgerald, 1983; Schwartz, 2009). Relations between MI6 and the IRD were close, especially with unit IX, which dealt with the Soviet Union, and the IRD was represented at liaison meetings in London between MI6 and the CIA throughout most of its existence; furthermore, the head of the IRD between 1953 and 1958, John Rennie, was later head of MI6 (Bloch and Fitzgerald, 1983).

This section has provided a brief introduction to the history of the IRD. The findings show the IRD's role in national projection and the effort of the political elites in constructing national identity in an era of changing foreign relations. The activity of the IRD reached just about every country in the world by one method or another; and as it continued to grow under Labour and Conservative governments alike, the IRD became one of the FCO's largest departments until its closure in 1977. The IRD, through its activities, aimed to present an image for target audiences both at home and abroad. While the early material created by the IRD consisted mainly of background papers and briefs, planned for exclusive distribution and not considered for direct public

consumption, a central feature of the IRD's production would soon come in the shape of covertly funded publishing schemes (Lashmar and Oliver, 1998; Smith, 2010). The IRD's case shows the power of narratives in everyday life, such as books, news articles and other publishing activities, and their connection with identities. The IRD saw books as having the potential to strengthen national identity or promote various senses of belonging, and as a method of constructing a progressive society based on Western values and against Communism. This shows that identity-based articulation of public and cultural diplomacy was the UK's public and cultural diplomacy strategy through the IRD. The next section focusses on the IRD's book-publishing activities.

5.4 The IRD's Book Publishing Activities

During the early Cold War, the IRD occupied a central position in the conduct of the UK's national projection operations (public and cultural diplomacy). To achieve its aims of resisting the Soviet challenge effectively – and promoting, protecting and projecting the British way of life – one of the main channels used was the production and distribution of books. This section explores the IRD's book publishing effort, which was part of the promotion and (re)construction of the UK's national identity.

The IRD's strategy, despite being decided at a high level in London, was also the object of discussions at lower levels of decision making. Archival evidence found by the author indicates how various UK embassies in which the IRD had representatives – the so-called Regional Information Officers (RIOs) – discussed and planned operations. The IRD wanted to make sure that the target audiences received appropriate material; therefore, knowledge of these audiences was crucial. This concern led the IRD to work closely with the local staff so as to ensure that their message was conveyed smoothly to the local audience.

How the operation of the new 'hush-hush' FO department was to be categorised was a subject of discussion by the RIOs in various embassies and missions. According to the archival material, R. A. F. Wallis of the British Embassy of Lima, in a letter to the IRD in February 1951, wanted to understand to what extent the 'legitimate' information officer could put out the IRD's anti-Communist material from 'unattributable' sources and he wanted to understand how the embassy should deal with this 'black' material (FO 1110/433/PR84/2/51). His letter provoked a discussion in the department, with the IRD officer C.F. Maclaren noting that 'Mr Wallis seems to have been reading too many spy stories and is thinking of activity as "black" when it is something quite different' (ibid.). As we can see from this extract, interpreting the activities being developed by the IRD was a contentious issue for those involved. The fact that the IRD was a secret department promoting covert activities created debate among the RIOs. Diplomats did not want to suffer embarrassments or incorporate this 'propaganda' material with their 'legitimate' overt operations since these were the methods used by the 'others'. However, the IRD needed to persuade its own people in the FO so as to avoid delegitimising the effects of their activities. This shows that the UK wanted to present itself as 'honest' and that foreign policymakers wanted to avoid the term 'propaganda' with all its negative connotations.

John Peck, a former private secretary to Winston Churchill and Ralph Murray's successor at the head of the IRD, replied to Wallis' letter in March 1951 and tried to explain the nature of the IRD's activities.

You distinguish this function sharply from the one which involves handling the Information Research Department's anti-Communist material, which you describe as "black" propaganda. It is on this point that I may be able to clear your mind: IRD articles and IRD material generally are not strictly speaking "black" at all, and the method of distributing them is not a "black" operation – at most, it is grey. The method of distributing IRD material differs from "black" activity among other things in that you inevitably and rightly show the Embassy's hand to the individual to whom you give it. The individual undertakes not to do anything with the material which will publicly associate it with the Embassy or with His Majesty's Government and will not reveal that it is part of a definite and sustained anti-Communist campaign being conducted by His Majesty's Government. (FO 1110/433/PR/84/2/51/G)

In replying to the RIO, Peck emphasised that the IRD's methods were not a 'black operation'. The term 'black' has overtly negative connotations, so the IRD wanted to make it clear that there was nothing wrong with their methodology. As we have seen in Section 3.4, the Cold War propagandists separated their work into 'white', which was overt, factual and acknowledged, 'grey', which was fact-based but without acknowledgement or attribution, and 'black' propaganda, which was often false and purposefully misleading as to its origins (Taylor, 1999; Welch, 2003; Jenks, 2006). Covert propaganda is a term used to comprise both 'grey' and 'black' propaganda. Grey propaganda was beneficial since it was more straightforward and aggressive than white propaganda but was less likely to insult the Soviets as much as black propaganda could (Welch, 2003; Taylor, 1999). The idea of grey propaganda was to emphasise Western values by contrasting them with Soviet activities and offering something better than Communism (Taylor, 1999; Welch, 2003).

The above extract shows that the IRD wanted to emphasise to the RIO that the British Government was quite clearly anti-Communist and made no bones about stating this strategy. Therefore, the 'proper' role of a RIO was about expressing the British point of view, and this was also evident in the government's effort to categorise its activities as 'grey' (FO 1110/433/PR/84/2/51/G). However, Peck does emphasise the need for secrecy in this operation and for the material not to be associated with the embassy or with HMG (ibid.). Discretion, rather than lying, was the basic *modus operandi* of the IRD out in the field.

The IRD's operation method was not new to the British Government. The state had a meaningful propaganda experience that it had inherited from WWI and WWII; and despite economic weakness during the early Cold War period, the UK still actively conducted propaganda operations.

In many respects, the IRD was the peacetime equivalent of the Political Warfare Executive (PWE) of WWII whose first head was Ralph Murray who, together with a couple of his staff, had served in the PWE during WWII where they had engaged in grey propaganda, spreading biased information from unknown sources (Lashmar and Oliver, 1998; Defty, 2004). Here, one can identify some organisational legacy in the *modus operandi* that was sustained by the continuity of staff in both high-, middle- and low-ranking positions. We should recall that at the time, black propaganda was the territory of the Secret Intelligence Service, MI6, but the IRD sometimes drifted into 'black' propaganda activities, particularly in the use of secret radio stations (Taylor, 1999; Welch, 2003). The IRD had a central role in conducting the UK's Cold War propaganda activities and in so doing it spearheaded the first organised response to Communism in Western and Eastern Europe.

Books that Moulded Public Opinion

In this part of the findings, I would like to analyse how books became one of the main operating tools of the IRD. Films, radio scripts, magazines, news articles and exhibitions were all among the IRD's activities. However, the attention of this study is on its book publishing operation, and by making use of archival material we will examine the types of books, their targets, their translation processes and the IRD's overall book operation both at home and abroad.

Book publishing was one of the IRD's favourite methods of distributing its message since it was well aware of the impact of books as a propaganda method (Lashmar and Oliver, 1998; Defty, 2004; Smith, 2010). Carefully prepared material on a variety of subjects aimed to expose the 'realities' of life under Communist regimes and to promote the British way of life (FO 1110/1/PR1/1/G). The FO considered that the public would more willingly accept material which did not come from official sources, and the most effective propaganda would be attributable to authoritative or prominent authors (Lashmar and Oliver, 1998; Defty, 2004; Smith, 2010). The use of seemingly non-official sources in order to create trust was a major part of the IRD's methods. Authoritative books would help to mould public opinion in that once a person read 'the truth' that person would become an advocate of Western democracy and would have sympathy for the UK and its way of life.

Apart from its primary task of creating confidential briefing material for journalists and foreign connections, the IRD made a broad variety of interventions into the domestic and international publishing business, such as approaching editors to publish on specific topics, commissioning series of educational books, and buying up the foreign distribution rights for literary works considered to be ideologically suitable. The material was produced by the IRD officers or was commissioned by them.

The materials were sent to different embassies where they were available for use, both in their own operations or activities or to be shared with local journalists or friends. In this way, unattributable articles could be made available to local news agencies.

The IRD's working method was based on reaching as many foreign citizens and influential people as possible who, in return, would help the UK to put forward its national interests and generate positive awareness of its policies – a strategy that indicates the concept of public diplomacy. It is important to note that civil society (both domestic and international), in which power holders can conduct their leadership, such as cultural institutions, universities, book shops and publishing houses, are the places in which the state can manufacture particular beliefs and values. Therefore, the IRD's close relations with publishing houses also fall into this framework. Below is a demonstration of how the power holder can manufacture consent in civil society in order to exercise their intellectual and moral leadership.

We have established that book publishing was a favoured method of the IRD for circulating its messages. We can now examine the approach of the IRD in selecting material to be published which took in both existing and specially commissioned work. Let us look first at how the IRD selected its books, before looking at how it held or obtained the rights to circulate material, and at its target audiences.

The books funded by the IRD could be classified into three types (FO 1110/716/PR10111/31G). The first type were the 'Basic Booklets' that were 'imprintless' (where the publisher's name, address, and other details about the book or publication were not available) and were written in a lighter style. They contained opinion and persuasion and were designed more for the reader whose knowledge of Communism and Communist tactics was slight. The idea of this kind of book was to increase negative perceptions of Communism. Basic Booklets were suitable for translation and publication either as they stood or after adaptation to meet local needs, and publishers and editors were encouraged to 'pirate' them (ibid.). The second type were 'Facts About... Books', which were also imprintless and were intended to provide a quick source of information for editors, journalists and speakers. The final type were 'Commercially Published Books', which were anti-Communist titles. In total, twenty-four of this type of book were selected, translated into different languages and distributed each year. These types of books are discussed in more detail later in this section.

According to the IRD, the latter two categories – Facts About…Books and Commercially Published Books – were for the use of the Mission staff and were to be displayed in information reading rooms that were open to the public (ibid.). These types of books were the most important tool in the IRD's activities and so the IRD advised the embassies to encourage publishers and editors to publish or serialise these books, even

in shortened form. The IRD was happy to help in negotiations with British copyright holders, and the department would contribute to or bear the cost of the reproduction rights if necessary (ibid.).

This approach shows that making a profit from this material was not a consideration as books showed the prosperity and modernity of the UK's society and the individual freedoms its way of life offered.

Books were a valuable and low-cost way of that allowed the IRD to influence both domestic and foreign citizens to promote 'national identity' and fight against Communism. The IRD's book operations aimed to reach people both inside and outside the UK and its territories, so as to arouse interest in and to promote the values of the country by providing knowledge and information related to the UK's culture, history, economy, science and technology. Nevertheless, some restrictions were imposed on some of the IRD's material, especially for articles and booklets, as the IRD did not want to cause embarrassment as evidenced by this archival material from 1955.

> *IRD publications are written for official use and for selected and restricted distribution to people who can be trusted. The recipient does not disclose the fact that the material was provided by HMG. The existence of a special Department in the Foreign Office to produce and disseminate anti-Communist material is secret. If there are questions about the source, which cannot be evaded, the reply should be that HMG was asked for the information and gave it.* (FO 1110/716/PR10111/31G)

The above extract shows that the IRD was careful about using material directly as 'black' propaganda; rather, the selection of books was based on non-inflammatory material that made them suitable for overt or semi-overt distribution. Otherwise, the direct link of the IRD material with black propaganda would create credibility concerns in foreign countries. Also, covert activity was much more connected with negative propaganda, and so, by offering overt distribution, the IRD wanted to make its material much more accessible and therefore less suspicious. In addition, as illustrated in the above extract, the IRD sought to emphasise that its existence and sources had to be kept secret. Thus, while the officials were distributing the material to their target audiences (university lecturers, politicians etc.), it was essential to follow this 'hush-hush' approach. This also illustrates that public diplomacy practitioners needed to cautiously evaluate how to use and distribute their material as they did not want to cause any misrepresentations. This also demonstrates how, at the international level, the government did not want to represent 'self' as a country that was involved in propaganda activities. This ties in with the positive self-presentation of 'us', who were not involved in propaganda activities, and the negative presentation of 'them', who were. Books allowed the state to communicate to a larger audience as these cultural products (books) were part of people's everyday

lives. The effort of the government in distributing this message was part of promoting their values while conducting their 'fight' against Communism at the same time.

Copyright was one of the essential issues that the IRD had to resolve when developing its publishing work. Obtaining copyright for existing works was frequently complicated and expensive; hence, by commissioning its own work, the FO and British Missions abroad were free to make their own arrangements for the translation, distribution and printing of the books. In some cases, the IRD worked closely with literary and copyright agents to acquire the rights for circulating the books around the world. The IRD needed to camouflage the agenda of the government during its publishing activities because while the IRD's agenda in book publishing was the need to fight against Communism, it was also simultaneously projecting an image of the UK that would improve the world's opinion of the country, its ideas, its culture and values, as well as encouraging this particular view of the UK domestically as well. The UK needed to compete with other countries – particularly with the two global powers of the USA and the USSR – and sell the image of the UK abroad through different mass-media tools, including books. As a potential social force, books were considered as representative of national identity, and this national projection was designed with the British identity in mind.

Books for the Educated Middle Classes

The IRD wanted to distribute its message to diverse target audiences. There were different types of material and distinctive audience segments. At one level, some highly confidential material was targeted at senior allied politicians. In contrast, at a less classified level, pamphlets, articles, letters, speeches and radio broadcasts were all used and directed at policymakers in Eastern Europe who might apply such material as factual background in their general work without the need for attribution. In order to distinguish the IRD's activities from those of the Americans, the IRD concentrated on the regions outside the USSR that were threatened by Communism (Welch, 2003). The primary focus of this grey propaganda was Western Europe and South East Asia, with India, Pakistan and the Middle East as a secondary focus. The Soviet bloc, by contrast, was left mainly to the Americans (Bloch and Fitzgerald, 1983).

The IRD wanted to influence domestic and foreign audiences, mass and elites. As a result, Commercially Published Books were made available in libraries, bookshops and reading rooms. This kind of book was the primary tool for reaching wider audiences, which I will discuss further in this chapter. The material reports, articles and booklets targeted the opinion-formers so that they could use them in their own works. Among the people who received the IRD documents and books were the BC, the BBC, Reuters, overseas radio stations, news agencies, journalists and information officers in diplomatic posts overseas. The primary target audience for the IRD was the educated middle class,

particularly in the Third World. The IRD's books were also available in the UK. For thirty years the IRD conducted its covert propaganda war aimed at influencing national and worldwide opinion (Welch, 2003). This shows how the IRD's material, especially books, allowed for particular ideologies to influence people and turn these ideologies into the common sense of the time that the interest of the group become a national interest.

To control society through culture for hegemonic purposes, people of influence were seen as being able to change a society's mindset. Books were the ideal tools for this hegemonic structure of educating people via the elite and opinion-formers. In this case, there is a need for the dominant class to create a climate for the subordinate classes. However, 'subordinate classes will not accept hegemony passively' and the ideas of the ruling class will have to be 'negotiated and modified, in order to make them fit the everyday experience of the subordinate classes' (Edgar, 2008, p. 155). Dominant classes maintain their authority by 'securing the "spontaneous consent" of subordinate groups' and achieving this control depends on the political and ideological agreement between the dominant and dominated groups (Strinati, 2004, p. 153). As the state was the substantial power holder, its connection with influential people and its aim of reaching them was one of the main thrusts of the IRD's activities. The department was aware that as soon as they had reached these opinion-formers, they would have a chance to spread their message. In other words, the political elite wanted to construct a particular public opinion towards the USSR and the UK's role around the world. In this process, intellectuals and their works played a significant role in distributing these narratives both at home and abroad.

By 1952, the IRD wanted to emphasise that the struggle against Communism was not merely a publicity task to be left to the information officers alone; rather 'the task is one in which all the principal members of a Mission have a duty to participate' (FO 1110/516/PR89/3). Therefore, the Heads of Mission also became involved in this 'battle'. This shows the UK's public and cultural diplomacy was primarily conducted through the work of embassies. The IRD was aware of the role of the individuals in forming friendly networks – these 'elite knowledge networks' are a significant element of public diplomacy, as Parmar (2019) describes. The IRD's material was no longer aimed simply at the general public; the goal now was to 'enable or assist recognised leaders of public opinion … to influence their own following' (FO 1110/516/PR89/3; Defty, 2004). As one of the IRD's creators, Christopher Mayhew (1998, p. 111), described in his book, the IRD had representatives in all British embassies and high commissions around the world 'who fed this material into friendly and receptive hands. At home, our service was offered to, and was accepted by, large numbers of selected MPs, journalists, trade union leaders and others'.

Distributing the IRD's material around the world was one of the primary concerns of the IRD, and the department particularly wanted to make sure that the material reached opinion-formers in areas of British interest (Smith, 2010). The IRD sought to encourage intellectual elites to become more friendly and sympathetic to the British cause. The strong position of intellectuals in society, with their power of appeal and their ability to shape public opinion, helped the government to spread its anti-Communist message and promote the particular national identity that the political elites wanted to project.

The IRD's expectations of influencing public opinion via books were strongly dependent on the ability to access social resources such as money, fame, status, knowledge, information culture or different forms of public discourse and communication (Van Dijk, 2015). The power-related term 'hegemony' focuses on the power or dominance that one group holds over another. For this research, power holders, such as writers/intellectuals who worked closely with the IRD, represent the intended or direct message of authority through their works. Their power as opinion-formers became part of the power structure and they became dominant in society. These types of 'friendly hands' played an essential role in the IRD's activities, and there will be more discussion about the role of intellectuals in Section 5.6.

Books for Local Cultures

As the IRD developed its activity during the early 1950s, there was concern about the need to select books for distribution that would be more effective in reaching a mass audience and combatting the ideas of Communism. The IRD was careful not to choose blatantly propagandistic titles, and the local officers were keen to hear from the local people so that they could meet their needs. What kind of images would be represented through the IRD's activities depended heavily on the values of different regions. This shows the importance of localising cultural diplomacy activities and determining what the target audience needed. Therefore, working closely with local translators and publishing houses helped the IRD to produce material that had a connection with local values. This shows how practitioners of public and cultural diplomacy were keen to bring a local element to their activities that would help them to inform and persuade their targets. The IRD's efforts in obtaining and negotiating copyright of the books for commercial publishers affected their selection of the material. In this case, the IRD preferred to obtain the copyright of the books for the local publishing houses and were also willing to pay any necessary fees on occasion.

The RIOs were working closely with the local people. The IRD in London asked the officers for suggestions before publishing the material, meaning that they played an essential role in the production process. The editorial department of the IRD had basic

responsibilities in the book selection process, and books that contained the IRD's preferred messages were approved for support, publication or distribution.

In 1955, Stephen Watts, who was acting as a supposedly freelance publishing editor, contracted some books for the series, communicated with the IRD regarding the choice of titles, and dealt with the publishers, some of whom would later state that they were unaware of Watts' connection with the FO or the IRD (Smith, 2012). For example, on 26 May 1995, the British Embassy in Bonn asked the IRD whether it would be possible to supply them with books such as *No Flies in China* by G. S. Gale (Allen and Unwin, 1955), *Heretics and Renegades* by Isaac Deutscher (Hamilton, 1955), *Scum of the Earth* by Arthur Koestler (Collins with Hamilton, 1955), *The Opposition to Lenin* by Leonard Schapiro (Bell, 1955) and *The P.E.N. in Exile* edited by Paul Taboru (International P.E.N. Club, 1955) for their libraries (FO 1110/738/PR121/196). J. Sanders, from the IRD, noted on 15 June 1955 that:

> 'The P.E.N. in Exile'*, a collection of literary essays by exiles that are politically vague and are of no use from our point of view, was considered for distribution and rejected. '*Scum of the Earth*' is about political prisoner camps in France at the beginning of the last war (it was written in 1941) and is an indictment of the French leaders of the time. It was rejected for distribution and is hardly suitable for German libraries. '*South East Asia between Two Worlds*' was considered for distribution and rejected and was not even thought to be worth ordering for the department. '*Russia and the Weimar Republic*' was rejected for posts. Mr Hugh Lunghi said of it that it is 'useful for reference though I believe the author is something of a fellow traveller.* (FO 1110/738/PR121/196).

The IRD's Editorial Adviser desk categorised some books as 'positively harmful' that should not be distributed, and others as 'neutral books', i.e. those which did not contain a sufficiently strong IRD message. Therefore, the IRD decided not to send the books ordered by the British Embassy in Bonn. On 22 June 1955, the Editorial Section replied.

> 'Russia and the Weimar Republic'* should be studied with some care before issuing it to the Libraries. It was not considered worth distributing here, but we leave to you and Miss Collingham to decide about placing it in Libraries when you have read it. … '*The Scum of the Earth'*, '*The P.E.N. in Exile'*, and '*South East Asia Between Two Worlds*' were not recommended from their point of view. … Instead of '*South East Asia Between Two Worlds'*, which was of no special value for its rather high price, the IRD rather wanted to send them Sir Francis Low's '*Struggle for Asia*' which was just published and is a useful book for the general reader.* (ibid.)

As the archival material shows, the IRD cultivated a strong relationship with practitioners of public and cultural diplomacy and understood that the local needs of the target country were at the heart of their operations. Focusing on local needs is the crucial element of any public and cultural diplomacy activity. Book publishing, which is the concern of this research, is one of the oldest cultural industries which 'functions as a political and social institution designed to manipulate and control both the conscious and unconscious desires of the masses' (Holub, 1992, p. 174). By applying the agents of socialisation such as the church, publishing houses, schools, the media and other non-governmental institutions, the state imposes its values and beliefs on society, thus providing a cultural direction (Kendie, 2006). Therefore, as the IRD's case indicates, cultural products are open to serve as hegemonic instruments of authority. The IRD's books played an important role as they functioned as a cultural export of the nation in order to introduce Western democracy and the Western way of living by attracting a foreign audience to their side, thus countering Soviet hegemony. The IRD promoted an image of the UK that reflected the political elites' own understanding and interests. This meant the UK sought to promote the narratives of national identity that highlighted its achievements in politics, culture and economics to create a role model for Europe and the rest of the world. With its activities, the IRD wanted to influence broader opinion in foreign societies, which is the main aim of public diplomacy (Melissen, 2013). In the next section, I analyse one of the major book publishing operations of the IRD that falls within the category of 'Commercially Published Books'.

5.4.1 Background Books

In the history of the IRD's book production 1949 was the year when the Department decided to expand its scale and methods of operations. With a new focus on shaping the directions of the British commercial publishing trade the IRD employed authors and publishing houses to produce its books in a way that would not be attributable to the IRD or officialdom. Some of the most respected names amongst the British democratic left ended up authoring works quietly planned and subsidized by the IRD (Smith, 2010). The most substantial part of the IRD's publishing activity involved a series of books gathered under the title of 'Background Books' which started appearing in 1951; over the next thirty years more than a hundred titles were published (Lashmar and Oliver, 1998; Welch, 2003; Smith, 2010). These books acted as representatives of the image of the UK, or national identity, which translates into protecting and spreading its cultural values, power, role and importance in both the international and national arenas. The books characterised the Cold War paranoia – the hidden threat undermining the 'British way of life' – the only way to stop that being to create a culture-wide awareness to defend British culture.

The 'Background Books' feature major British writers in the fields of philosophy, trade unionism, politics, and Sovietology. On the first set of the series, it was stated on the cover that the books were available from booksellers and newsagents and the physical appearance of the books was very accessible. Titles across topics in politics and philosophy, and numerous other textbooks and scholarly studies were published by
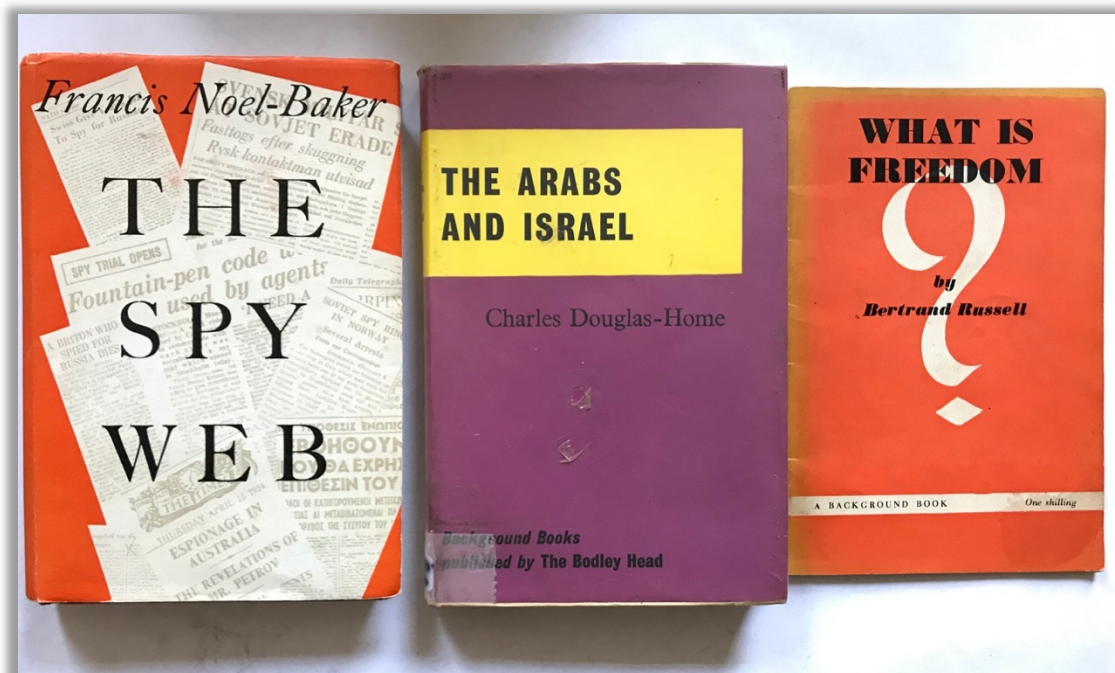
A selection of IRD's funded books, which were part of Background Books, From the Author's Private Collection

supposedly independent companies which functioned as fronts for the IRD activity. I discuss the responsibility of individual publishing houses and their relations with the IRD in Section 5.5.

Background Books were published from 1951 until 1970s by the following publishing houses: Batchworth Press, then by Phoenix House, and most widely by the Bodley Head. Ampersand were also publishing more general books. Thus, one can say that these publishing houses were some of the key commercial cultural organisations through which the IRD could operate and spread the ideas.

In 1951, the first book of the series to appear was Bertrand Russell's *What Is Communism?*; this was followed by Victor Feather's *Trade Unions – True or False?*; J. A. Hough's *Co-Operatives – True or False?;* and a collection of heavy hitters (including Bertrand Russell, Leonard Schapiro and W.N. Ewer) gathered under the title *Why Communism Must Fail*. In 1952 ten of the series were published including *What Is Peace?* by the Dean of Chichester; *What Is NATO?* by Andrew Boyd; *What Is Titoism?* by Cicely and Christopher Mayhew; and *The Law – Servant or Master?* by L. B Schapiro. This series of small pocket-sized books became the IRD's most distinct publishing scheme. A prefatory note on the cover stated:

> *These little books are designed to provide ordinary people, interested in what is going on in the world today, with some background information about events, institutions and ideas. They will not interpret current history for you, but they will help you to interpret it for yourself. Background Books will range widely in subject, dealing with what lies at the root of the questions thinking people are asking, filling in the background without which world affairs today cannot be properly seen or judged.*

The choice of titles already implies a selection, and the particular criteria for that represent the approach of the IRD to Communism and their aim of promoting national identity around the narrative of the British way of life and Western democracy and values. This extract exemplifies more clearly what the IRD wanted to achieve with the books. To start with 'little books' is both an indication of the small size of the books and the expression of an affectionate appeal. The educational tone in the language is meaningful, and this can be explained with the IRD's 'friendly' approach to its target audiences both at home and abroad. The usage of 'questions thinking people are asking' shows the effort of the IRD to create awareness and emphasises the freedom of thought offered by Western society. There is a clear distinction between the 'us' as a democratic and free society who questions and thinks and the 'them' on the other side.

Background Books as a title hints at the intention of the IRD to paint a coherent 'common sense' backdrop against which the particular organisations, events and ideas could be investigated, and the readers be enlightened and made aware of 'world affairs'

and matters of public interest. It should be noted that these books were in a way a joint product of the IRD and a seemingly independent publishing house; therefore, it is appropriate to see them as a collaboration of state and non-state actors – I explore this relationship further in Section 5.5.

As the series of Background Books continued, the IRD published 'Background Specials' that were longer and more detailed works such as *How Did the Satellites Happen*? (1952) by A Student of Affairs; *Eyewitness in China* (1966, translated from German) by Hugo Portisch ; *Aid for Development* (1966) by H. J. Arnold. The prefatory note on the cover of 'Background Specials' stated: 'Background Specials are full-size books on subjects of lasting importance dealing with subjects which in their nature cannot be compressed into the normal, pocket-sized volume of the series'. The whole series was financially supported by the IRD who purchased significant numbers of each title for distribution abroad.
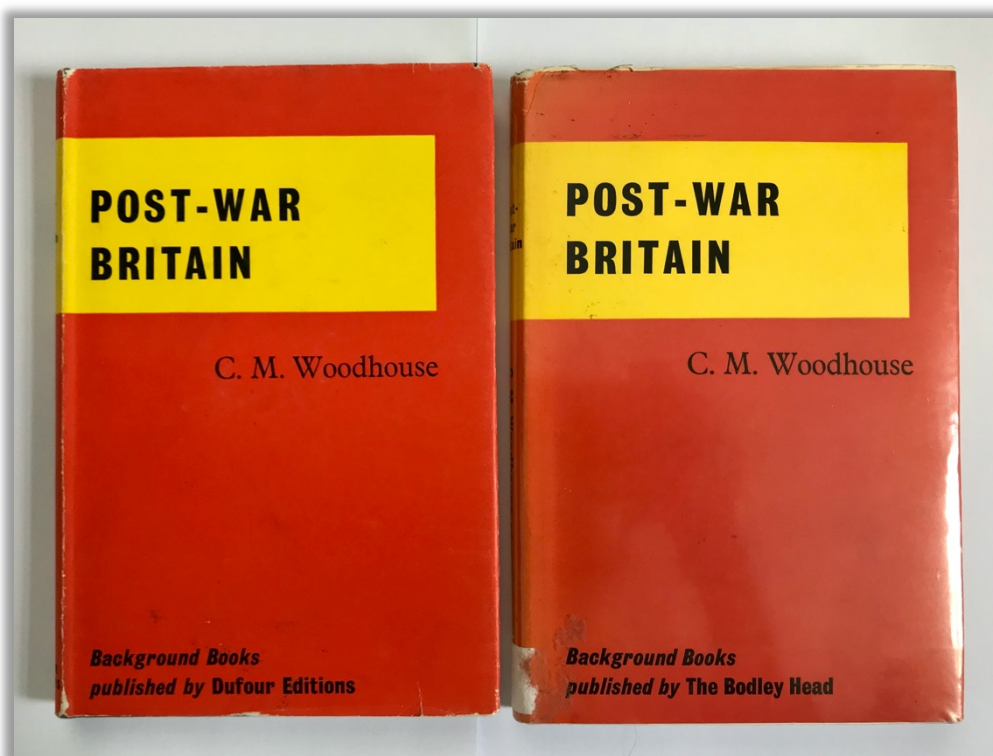
C. M. Woodhouse's book Post-War Britain was published by the Bodley
Head, UK in 1966 and by Dufour Editions, USA in 1967.

Many politicians contributed to the IRD books. Including C. Montague Woodhouse who had been in the FO in Tehran and was involved in the 1953 coup d'état overthrowing the Mosaddegh government. He was director of Chatham House – Royal Institute of International Affairs (1955–59) and subsequently a Conservative MP. *Post-War Britain* is a collection of essays on politics. It is hard to spot the difference between these two books (picture above); unless you focus on the left bottom corner of the book and you may see that the publisher differs. The IRD was good at finding publishing houses abroad to distribute its books. Dufour Editions is a privately owned North

American distributor of international titles and the leading supplier of Irish books since 1949. It is hard to find much information about Dufour, but it seems that it made a good deal with the IRD to publish this book of theirs in the USA. The relationship of the publishing house The Bodley Head (now part of Penguin Random House) with the IRD is also full of mystery.

Most of the effective anti-Communist books had been created independently, and in these cases, the IRD aided with foreign rights, translation and distribution. For example, the IRD was concerned about Communist inroads in Burma and managed to get foreign rights for Victor Kravchenko's *Chose Freedom*, Douglas Hyde's *Believed*, Freda Utley's *Lost Illusion*, and Nora Murray's *Spied for Stalin*, and had them translated, and distributed some of them by 1951 (FO 1110/373/PR8/27/51; Jenks, 2006). Some of the independently created books that the IRD encouraged included Richard Crossman's *The God that Failed*, Czeslaw Milosz' *The Captive Mind* and Margarete Buber's *Under Two Dictators* (FO 1110/716/PR10111/31G; Jenks, 2006). Ampersand as a publishing house played a noteworthy role in the IRD's operations. During my analysis, I found a note on 'Crisis Books – a series of eight booklets published by Ampersand, Ltd, 1954, 6d. each' (FO 1110/716/PR10111/31G). However, I could not track any other information related to 'Crisis Books'. There is further discussion later in this chapter about Ampersand, which illustrates how the publishing house became one of the important actors in the IRD's book operations. Having examined the Background Books, next I analyse 'Bellman Books' project that was another important part of the IRD's book activities.

5.4.2 Bellman Books

'Background Books' was the biggest propaganda project of the IRD in books, nevertheless other publishing projects were established during the lifetime of the Department. In 1955, the IRD began delivery of Ampersand's new Bellman Books series to posts around the world. These books can be classed under 'Commercially Published Books' but with their more sober cover and appearing more authoritative perhaps, the IRD might have wanted to reach different audiences and to open new areas for the distribution of material. In general, books that the IRD published 'contain a useful message or account of the practical aspects of Communism' and when the IRD introduced Bellman Books, they sought to create a notable contribution to general thinking about the main problems associated with Communism (FO 1110/840/PR61/120/1).

The series – written by 'some of the soundest and most original thinkers' in the nation – was described as:

Taken as a whole it sketches the broad framework of an ambitious and fundamental approach to world problems. The West is often criticized for having no positive thinking to put in the place of the Communist programme. These booklets are the sort of material that should help to combat criticism of this sort. It is, moreover, not improbable, that one may find that in the present climate of opinion material of this sort may be more effective, in some circles, than directly anti-Communist material. Moreover, the books, despite their broad scope, are both short and simple. (FO 1110/738/PR121/299)

Bellman Books series titles included G. L. Arnold's *Peace or War?;* John Bowle's *The Nationalist Idea*; Maurice Cranston's *Human Rights To-day*; Denis Healey's *Neutralism*; Geoffrey Francis Hudson's *The Fanatic and The Sane*; Joseph A. Lauwerys' *The Enterprise of Education*; Jules Menken's *The Economics of Defence*; L. B. Schapiro's *The Future of Russia*; Hugh Seton-Watson's *The Revolution of Our Time*; B.
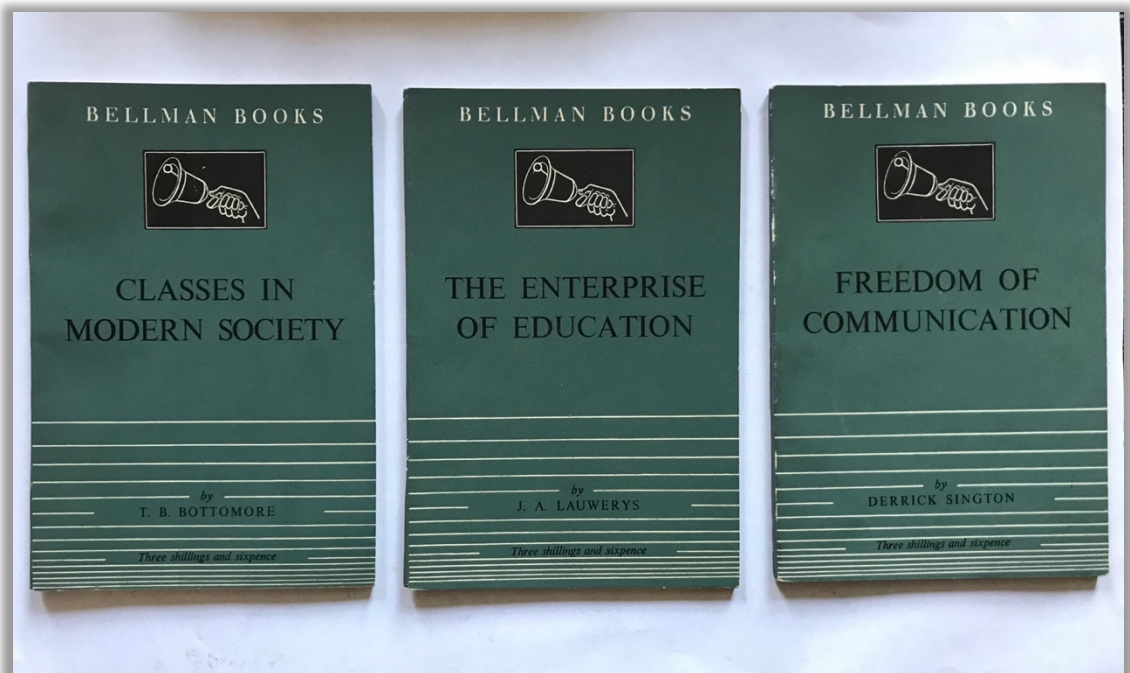
A selection of the IRD's Bellman Books that were published by Ampersand, from the author's private collection.

J. Wood's *Economic Co-operation; A Contrast in Methods*; G. D. N. Worswick's *Modern Man's Living Standards*; Alfred Zauberman's *Economic Imperialism. The Springs of Human Action* by Mark Abrams listed on the back cover of the books, as the IRD confirm, did not get produced. The general editor of series was Michael Goodwin. He was also an editor of the respected journal of opinion, *The Nineteeth Century and After* - a publication that had supported the Congress for Cultural Freedom (Wilford, 2003).

The IRD cautioned the RIOs that some books criticised the 'free world':

Although they are not anti-Communist in the narrow sense, these books not only openly reject Communist theories and methods, but also go some way towards

suggesting specifically non-Communist solutions of world problems. It is this aspect of the series, and the hope that they may stimulate further thinking on non-Communist lines, that give them a special value in our efforts to expose the fallacies and deceits of Communism. (FO 1110/738/PR121/299)

As the books suggested specifically non-Communist solutions to world problems, the IRD hoped that Bellman Books would stimulate further thinking along non-Communist lines which would 'give them a special value in our efforts to expose the fallacies and deceits of Communism' (ibid.). Usage of 'our efforts' indicates the ideological structure that was employed by the government to protect its power and discourse that served for projecting the 'British way of life' against Communism. The use of the term 'expose' shows the IRD's intention to reveal that 'their' Communist ideology was harmful or damaging to the public and to show 'our' good free society. The IRD's effort in placing the Communist ideology as a mistaken belief and 'their' misrepresenting the 'truth' as against 'our truth' was also part of that wide picture of 'self-presentation' of 'positive' things in the West and 'negative' things in the East.

A letter to the regional officers from London shows what could be done with 'Bellman Books'. According to the letter, these are the ideas for the officers:

Distribution to those likely to be usefully interested; presentation copies to libraries; persuading local publishers to issue in the appropriate language either the whole series or books selected from the series. If this can be done, we will negotiate rights with the publishers in London; arrange, where possible, for serialization of all or any the books in the series in newspapers; in some cases, posts have links with radio stations, and might arrange for talks to be broadcast on the series. (FO 1110/738/PR121/299)

As this text shows, the IRD wanted to distribute this series to suitable contacts or for presentation to libraries, as well as for placing in reading rooms. Also, the IRD desired to push the RIOs to find local publishers to reproduce the whole, or part, of the series or arrange for serialisation in newspapers or on radio. The IRD's intention here was of reaching mass audiences; this strategy was suggested to the officers who were the main actors of these activities in the different regions. The idea of serialisation shows the resolve of the IRD to develop potential hegemonic areas where the power of different media could be combined to shape public opinion and distribute narratives of national identity. Thus, the IRD was open to negotiating the rights with the publishers, and this was also part of the IRD's programme of building a transnational network of elite groups and institutions in civil societies to maintain and reproduce its ideas. By working closely with these 'elite knowledge networks' – as Parmar (2019) describes – the IRD aimed to

build long-term relationships that would help to create paths for the international distribution of ideas and people.

The IRD's system in promoting Bellman Books in different regions and for different government departments to use was noteworthy. For example, on 28 September 1955 the IRD wrote a letter to the Colonial Office as they wanted to draw their attention to Bellman Books series. The IRD official stated that the books:

> *Seem to me most useful and might, I think, be valuable among the intelligentsia in many of our colonies. They have the great advantages of being commercially published (and can, therefore, be distributed widely); positive in content (and should, therefore, have a wider appeal than negative anti-Communist material); written by men of repute and ability (and will not, therefore, appear to be talking down).* (FO 1110/738/PR121/299)

This text indicates that there was something distinctive in the ways that the IRD needed to convince both the UK officers and the regional officers outside the UK to sell its ideas. The IRD was aware of the need to choose which communication and media strategies would work to distribute its message and the description of Bellman Books as 'distributed widely', 'positive in content' and 'written by men of repute and ability' was part of the discourses that underpinned the IRD's efforts in distributing the ideology and the values that were promoted by the political elites.

In another letter to the Commonwealth Relations Office, the IRD described the books as:

> *Written by authors who though their names may not be well known outside the UK, are sound and original thinkers, they provide the broad framework of an ambitious and fundamental approach to world problems. Although not anti-Communist in the narrow sense, they do openly reject Communist theories and methods, and go some way towards offering specifically non-Communist, positive solutions of those problems to which Communists claim to have found the only answer. Moreover, in spite of the breadth of their scope, they are short and reasonably simple.* (FO 1110/738/PR121/299)

This text also shows 'Communist theories and methods', which are depicted negatively and also shows the determination to defeat, even destroy 'their' ideas with books that were written by 'original thinkers'. The text indicates the *topos* of usefulness as they deliver a broad framework to world problems. The emphasis on their character as 'short' and 'simple' was a way to increase the attractiveness of the books.

In the previous two sections, I have presented two significant commercial book operations that were promoted, distributed and produced by the IRD: Background Books and Bellman Books. At this point, it is necessary to discuss the translation of selected

books so as to enable the IRD's message to reach wider audiences. In the following paragraphs, I further explore the interactions of the IRD officers who understood the importance of translation so as to reach the audiences abroad, their efforts in finding local translators, and the approach to securing the copyright of the books.

Translated Books for Foreign Audiences

The idea of reaching publics both in the UK and abroad was a primary principle of the IRD and the department was aware that in order to distribute their ideology abroad, translation would be needed. The IRD advised all British posts overseas to find local translators and publishers if they felt that a book would have the right impact (Jenks, 2006). The IRD was very eager for its 'sufficiently attractive' books to be translated into different languages. As the IRD wrote to British Embassy, Tokyo, on 13 April 1951:

> We naturally hope that you will be able to find a publisher who will take them for their own sake and will accept the offer of the copyright as a minor inducement; but if a means of publication offers itself which requires financial help within reason, let us know, and we will see what can be done. (FO 1110/444/PR/97/1/51/G)

The IRD wanted to transmit its message across borders and the offer of financial help demonstrates the material capability of the UK state to spread its message to broader audiences in differing countries. This also involves using the power and capability of local publishing houses to reach their publics and offering them the help that they might need. In order to surmount borders, the books needed this kind of relationship which meant using the UK government's resources to distribute material that represented 'our' positive self-representation as a way of promoting national image. Therefore, this brings to the fore the importance of translation in public and cultural
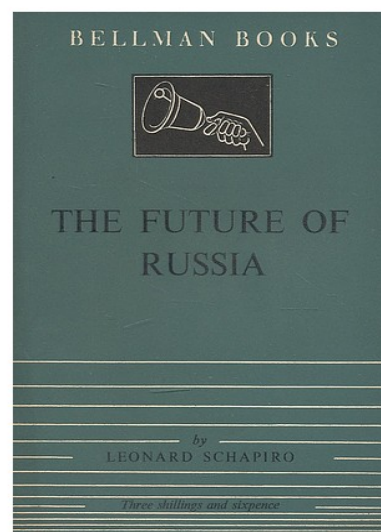
The English and Arabic versions of Ampersand Books, Leonard Schapiro's The Future of Russia, from the author's private collection.

diplomacy where the purpose is to reach foreign audiences with the aim of achieving foreign policy goals.

The IRD was aware that translation – as an act of cultural communication allowing intercultural understanding – has a momentous function in transporting ideas between different cultures; and it is a method and way of communicating with others over individual instructions that are sometimes subject to culture, ideology, religion and power (Azodi, 2015). The IRD's approach to finding a local translator and the purchase of copyright for the translation shows how translation has a potential to 'participate in the dialectic of power, the on-going process of political discourse, and strategies of social change' (Tymoczko and Gentzler, 2002, p. XVIII).

Let us take another example: the British Embassy in Amman wrote on 7 July 1955:

Material is distributed under cover of a plain envelope to people chosen according to the subject matter. The effect of the material is difficult to judge in view of the need to conceal its source, but some of the pamphlets on Communist atheism have left a strong impression on certain of the Moslem religious leaders. This therefore seems to be the best line of attack. … Nearly all our anti-Communist material is supplied in an Arabic translation through the Regional Information Office, Beirut. The system works very well, and the quantity is sufficient. (FO 1110/815/PR1080/4/G)

As this correspondence demonstrates, the books were valued not since they were British in nature, but because they were both in English, and also were made available in local languages. As the text tells, the IRD generally were good at working with local translators and having the Muslim religious leaders on the side of 'us' was made possible with the help of translation of material into Arabic. The support that was received from the Muslim leaders aided the IRD officers to identify 'the best line of attack' as 'their' Communist ideas would be seen as hostile in Muslim regions.

The IRD needed to find local translators as with different moral, social and political contexts the material would obtain different receptions; hence, in order to transmit the message accurately and effectively, it was essential to have the right translation and translators. As we saw above, in Section 5.4, the target audiences were not only English speakers but also local people who could only be reached through these translation activities. The degree of ideological influence through books that targeted non-English and English speakers depended on translation which took a crucial character in enforcing ideological values and beliefs such as the British way of life, Western civilisation and Social Democracy.

The officers observed further and indicated how these activities could be more effective in the Arabic language.

It should be more simple and direct, and used to plug two or three simple themes, such as Russian atheism and general anti-religious activities, particularly against Moslems, Russian measures directed at the break-up of family life, e.g. removing young children from their families to be brought up in State institutions and anything indicating laxity of the marriage bond, and evidence of Russian imperialism or expansion. (FO 1110/815/ PR1080/4/G)

The direction had to be a positive representation of the good 'us' versus negative images of 'their' way of life. This text shows how Islamic arguments were applied as supportive subtopics while advancing the overall anti-Communist message which was the essential theme of the IRD material. Translated books could also make the local people aware of the dangers of 'Russian imperialism'. Nevertheless, the IRD officers were aware that the Department 'cannot, of course, tailor everything to suit each country. We must often rely on you to adapt material. It may well be, however, that you are getting too much or too little, or enough of what you could best make use of' (FO 1110/716/PR10111/31/G). The IRD also received support from other organisations to translate material into local languages. Thus, the question of the translation of English literature into Burmese was discussed with the Asia Foundation – a non-profit international development organisation – representative by the local officer in 1956 (FO 1110/925/PR1079/23). This indicates the IRD's attempts to make contact with local organisations that held a strong capacity for the distribution of material. This also shows the role of non-state 'friendly' organisations and transnational networks that the UK government was in touch with in distributing its message abroad. In the next section, I present the IRD's book activities in the UK.

5.4.3 Books for the UK Audiences

The IRD's primary operations concentrated in foreign audiences; however, domestic audiences were also essential targets for its mission to maintain faith and conviction in freedom, democracy and the British way of life. This strategy was part of an effort to create a unified national identity. The IRD's domestic operation will increase our understanding of how political elites wanted to maintain its intellectual and moral leadership in the UK. The IRD's operation method was not different from abroad. The UK publishing houses performed a vital part, and the IRD's usual channel was placing books in libraries and reading rooms, sending the material to the university libraries and academics. The publishing houses such as Ampersand, Batchworth, Phoenix and the Bodley Head's advertisements for the IRD's supported books appeared in the magazines and newspapers.

The IRD's domestic publicity operation was part of promoting the UK's value system, a united national identity and creating awareness about the 'evil' nature of Communism. This is an essential feature of how public and cultural diplomacy works,

and it cannot be separated from domestic as the country needs to tell its story to the public. The IRD's effort illustrates that to promote national identity through public and cultural diplomacy activities and states need to construct domestic consensus about national identity (Melissen, 2013). This method indicates that the UK's early public diplomacy approach was aiming for both domestic and foreign audiences. This brings evidence that the UK's public diplomacy effort was not purely with a focus on the foreign public. Because the country needed to represent a positive self-image to its people and to produce public support and understanding about Communism.

The publishing houses used the available channels to promote their books; there is no evidence about how they did this and whether the IRD led the operation, but books were reviewed by critics and received publicity in different outlets which helped the material to be circulated and created awareness. I have not analysed in full the advertising or reviews of the material that appeared in these magazines, but, to sketch a picture and give a clear understanding of the IRD's operation I want to present a couple of examples that I identified during my research. The IRD's effort is an excellent example of a clear but cautious relationship between cultural policy, cultural diplomacy and foreign policy (Figueira, 2015). Cultural diplomacy as 'an explicit cultural-policy instrument' and representation of the national culture to other nations is a crucial aspect of cultural policy and foreign policy (Mitchell, 1986; Singh, 2010, p. 12).

The examples below are from *The Spectator* (1952) showing the advertisement for Bertrand Russell's book *What is Freedom*? published by Batchworth Press; and Bellman Books' advertisement in a *Times Literary Supplement* from 1956 which states 'the future of the world depends on the ultimate victory of the ideas upon which free society is based'.

As the IRD officer, P. F. Grey, noted in his circular letter to Missions and Ministers in Embassies, dated 6 June 1955, the success of the material in the UK:

> *Has been noticeable in England how the public during the past few years, as a result largely of public and press comment by usually well-informed exponents, have been able to adopt a much more realistic approach to Communism, both at home and abroad. What IRD set out to encourage abroad similar public, informed of the ramifications of Communist policy and able to distinguish the wood from the trees.* (FO 1110/716/PR10111/31/G)

The text shows how the material created a desirable outcome, and press comments were crucial in this success. The advertisements show the importance of different mass media and their character in informing the public about Communism. This is also telling us that the IRD saw the books as a way of telling the masses what they should think, know about and want through illumination on specific issues.

react to this statement. Further, 'Yugoslavia defected after three years of Stalinist domination' (p. 81). This is a common misconception, but it is nevertheless a misconception. Tito did not defect from the Cominform, he was expelled from it, and for the first year thereafter could hardly believe that it had happened, nor could he work out a consistent ideological position. Or again, in discussing the primacy of the Russian nation in the Soviet Union, we come upon reference to 'The Great Russian nation-state (historic Rus)' (p. 47). As any Ukrainian will instantly remind you, historic Rus had its capital in Kiev, and represented a different type of civilization from that which grew up around Muscovy, the home of the Great Russians.

Brown University   ELLIOT R. GOODMAN

Katherine Hunter Blair, *A Review of Soviet Literature*. (An Ampersand Book.) London, Allen & Unwin, 1967. 174 pp. 7s. 6d.

FIRST things first. Seven-and-sixpence for 170 pages on a specialized subject may look like a bargain; it looks less so when one considers this book as an object. My copy disintegrated into three pieces with a day's reading, and further observation has suggested the experience was not untypical; the cover is unattractive and quickly becomes scruffy. Even Soviet books are seldom nowadays so badly produced.

This interesting little book will probably run into a fair amount of criticism. As a critical history it has certain very evident deficiencies. It could scarcely be used as a work of reference: there is no index, the loosely-thematic chapters ramble through diverse subject matter, the bibliography is slight, a comprehensive survey of the field is neither aimed at nor achieved. More fundamentally, large areas of Soviet literature (theatre, much poetry) are hardly touched upon, and there is little attempt to separate the more important from the less. The present reviewer is ready to take on all comers in defence of Evtushenko, but is nevertheless disturbed to find him given far more space than any other writer (while Mayakovsky, for example, gets cursory treatment). In a manner disconcertingly reminiscent of some Soviet criticism, discussion of literary *form* is almost totally sacrificed to that of *content*.

The limitations of the book are, however, countered by considerable merits. Its author knows and conveys the 'feel' of the Soviet literary scene in a way that more methodical and comprehensive literary histories have not managed. She worries continually at one basic problem—what does the Socialist Realist method *actually* mean in terms of readers' and writers' attitudes, of books published and unpublished? Adopting a politico-critical stance somewhere in the neighbourhood of *Novyi mir*'s, she manages to be almost painfully fair to the sometimes muddled strivings of the Soviet intelligentsia: even to (say) Fadeev, often dismissed in the West as monster or bureaucrat.

A criticism of the IRD's book *A Review of Soviet Literature,* Katherine Hunter Blair in *Soviet Studies*, 21(1), 1969.

The book ends with a plea for concerted action by the free world to break through the ' propaganda fog ' that blinds those opposed to the régime. The thousand members of the N.P.A. who have escaped to West Berlin since the building of the wall is heartening proof that such men exist.

GORDON LETT.

Agriculture under Communism. By Lord Walston. *London: The Bodley Head. 1962. 108 pp. (A Background Book.) 10s. 6d.*

LORD WALSTON'S book is a useful primer on the perpetual farm crisis under Communist régimes. He quotes a remark about agricultural shortcomings by Mr. Khrushchev in 1953, and comments ' this is incontrovertible evidence that the Soviet leaders themselves are dissatisfied with the progress of their agricultural policies ' (p. 38). Mr. Khrushchev is still dissatisfied; and in the hope of achieving better things he has, since this book was written, made some substantial concessions to the peasants.

In Yugoslavia, as Lord Walston observes, the full rigours of the Russian system were mitigated soon after Belgrade's breach with Moscow; but some of Marshal Tito's recent declarations suggest that the process of liberalisation —if that is the right word for it—has gone too far; and that certain basic controls are to be restored.

Here and there, perhaps, the author's comments seem a little superficial. He notes that non-Communist countries ' are understandably chary of investing money in areas where the Communist doctrine prevails—though there are exceptions, such as Yugoslavia, which has in fact received substantial credits from non-Communist sources.' Communist governments do not want foreigners to *invest* in their countries; but they do not object to certain lines of commercial credits for specific purposes—for instance, Poland and China. It is true enough that Yugoslavia has received substantial credits from non-Communist governments; but this is mainly because Marshal Tito, although a Communist, has shown that he is not prepared to take orders from Moscow.

THOMAS BARMAN.

The Last Empire. By Robert Conquest. *London: Allen & Unwin, 1962. 132 pp. Maps. Bibliog. (An Ampersand Book.) 3s. 6d.*

Considers the background to Soviet colonialism and its expansion, particularly in Central Asia. Describes some of the results of the Soviet attempt to adapt the cultures and the religions of the minorities to their own purposes.

MIDDLE EAST

L'Affaire Nasser. By Ahmed Abul-Fath. *Paris: Librairie Plon. 1962. 335 pp. NF 16.95.*

THIS critique of Egypt's authoritarian régime is of topical interest in that its author, an early associate and admirer of President Nasser, now heads—in Syria—a ' Liberation Committee ' of Egyptian exiles dedicated to the destruction of Nasserism. The book, then, is less a work of history than a political tract: it details Nasser's misdeeds but leaves his achievements unrecorded. Its publication, and the welcome given its author in Damascus, are nonetheless symptomatic of the increasingly organised resistance to Nasserism which has gathered momentum in the Arab world since Syria's

Reviews of *Agriculture Under Communism*, Lord Walston and *Last Empire*, Robert Conquest in *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944–)*, 39(1), 1963.

Background Books' advert from the Spectator, 1952 that shows What is Freedom? by Bertrand Russell.

The advert in the Times Literature Supplement that shows Bellman Books by Phoenix in 1956 .

The Readers' Union Book Club and the IRD

There were different channels for distributing the IRD materials. Apart from newspapers, magazines and radio, there was another channel: Book clubs. I found no evidence about this side of the operation in the IRD's archival material in the National Archives. Nevertheless, as mentioned in Chapter 4, I identified amongst some newly available archival material, at the University of Reading, documents that related to one of the publishing houses that the IRD worked with: Phoenix House. The collection consists of a series of large albums containing specimens of art-work and publicity issued between 1945 and 1965. This archival set provides crucial information on how the Readers' Union' book club was used to distribute the IRD's books. Book historians are aware of the Readers' Union as a 'book club'; but, its relationship with the IRD is a new discovery.

The Readers' Union Book Club (established in 1937) was the third oldest book club in the UK after the Book Society (1929) and the Left Book Club (1936) (Holman, 2008). The main contribution of the book clubs in the early 1930s and 1940s was distributing books, and they were considered by many publishers to be a leading influence in the publishing industry (Humble, 2001; Holman, 2008). In the years between 1938 and 1958, there was a strong belief in which 'all book clubs of the period were performing such acts of cultural remaking, formulating middlebrow aesthetic by making the popular respectable and the obscure accessible' (Humble, 2001, p. 46). The purpose of the book club had a crucial role in introducing new reading material, and with their full range of distribution networks, these organisations were some of the more powerful institutions in the UK which made them attractive to the authorities for disseminating their ideology.

The Readers' Union helped to distribute the IRD's books and promoted the Background Books in their mail-order operations. The main role of the Readers' Union was to make the readers, libraries and bookshops aware of the contemporary books with the different range of book topics. The archival material shows that the IRD's Background Books were among the books that were promoted by the Readers' Union. In their leaflet 'What is a Background Books? it is stated:

> *Background Books are designed to make available in simple yet comprehensive form – and as inexpensively as possible – facts and views on world affairs, in the widest sense, which will provide for the general reader and older students an authoritative background of information and interpretation. In the five years since the series began some 40 titles have been published, ranging from pamphlets at a shilling [£0.05] to full-length books at half-a-guinea [£0.525]. Price is dictated by size, and size of each book is governed by the length required to present the*

theme adequately and lucidly. The range of subjects is wide too, but always they are questions which exercise the minds of thinking people today. The production figures of Background Books have passed the 300.000 mark apart from many foreign language editions. (University of Reading, Special Archives, the Records of Phoenix House Ltd, Box: 22, 1956)

This text from the booklet of the Readers' Union fits well with the IRD's general aim of answering the 'questions which exercise the minds of thinking people today' and also gives an idea of how they wanted to present the books. The text also emphasises the number of books that were published and their versions in different languages, and these two elements show how the Readers' Union wanted to show their importance. The Readers' Union offered reprinted books at steeply discounted prices and in their publicity in the *New Scientist* (19 January 1961) they describe themselves as 'The world's finest general book club'. When we look at material from the IRD's point of view, this promotion channel played a crucial part because of the established nature of the Readers' Union and its ability to reach people who are interested in reading all around the UK.

It is, however, hard to track the extent to which the Readers' Union increased the circulation of the IRD's books and or any effects in raising public awareness against Communism, protecting the 'British way of life' and promoting national identity. Such books played a vital role in circulating the narratives that were constructed by the political elites. The promotion leaflet describes the Bellman Books as:

Bellman books are planned to fill a gap – a gap in the information at the disposal of the ordinary intelligent man facing the complex world situation today. More knowledge applicable to the world's problems is available now than ever before. Yet few have the time to study and assess it. Bellman books aim to correct this by making available the knowledge of experts, holding firmly to facts and approaching problems rationally, with unfettered minds. As between the free world and totalitarianism Bellman books are not neutral. They take their stand on the belief that the future of the world depends upon the ultimate victory of the ideas upon which free society is based. They can be recommended to all discussion groups, political education groups, adult education classes and education authorities holding civics and current affairs classes. (University of Reading, Special Archives, the Records of Phoenix House Ltd, Box: 22, 1956)

The role of the Readers' Union in educating or informing its members occupied a significant role in the distribution of the IRD's supported books. The text shows the indication of 'unfettered minds' that represents 'other' nevertheless, the text makes clear where Bellman Books stand on – the free world. The 'complex world situation' and what books could offer point to the need for them to integrate 'our way of life' with the

'information' that was provided by Bellman Books. The protective tone of the words and the understanding of 'the ordinary intelligent man' as they did not have 'the time to study and assess it' is noteworthy.

The effect of the book club system was to ensure that large numbers of people read the same books and one could argue this wide distribution helped the IRD's books to become a talking point among the readers. These reading institutions in the Cold War had a part in 'inducing uniformity of public taste'; therefore, this strategic partnership between the IRD and Phoenix House shows the practice of the books in shaping public opinion not only abroad but also profoundly in the UK (Humble, 2001, p. 46). This also demonstrates the effort of the IRD in finding publishing houses that had a significant distribution network.

Book clubs shaped the cultures of reading around the UK and the role of the Readers' Union, which 'cannily marketed themselves as a union of readers against the commercial might of publishers' was noteworthy and its covert relationship with the IRD makes it even more exciting to investigate (ibid., p. 89). Most importantly, the Readers' Union – enrolled 17.000 members a year – played an active role in creating political consciousness in the early Cold War. The IRD's interest in publishing and supporting books was not based on increasing the book production, but it carried over into activities in promoting the British way of life. The Readers' Union and its role in distributing the IRD funded materials show how did the IRD manage to access the public discourse that helped to distribute the narratives of political elites in civil society. The Readers' Union also provides an excellent example of the role of non-state organisations in the early Cold War. In the next section, the research looks at the relationship between the IRD and publishing houses in the context of the public-private relationship.

5.5 The IRD's Role in Public-Private Partnerships

Following the previous section, which presents an overview of the IRD's publishing activities, including its relationship with publishing houses, this section reveals in depth the murky relationship between the public-private publishing activities of the IRD and those publishing houses, namely Ampersand, Batchworth, Phoenix and the Bodley Head. By engaging in this in-depth examination, I widen the focus of previous research that highlighted the activity of the state as a monolithic entity, and I seek to highlight the importance of partnership with non-state actors.

The IRD's approach (to work in secret with non-state organisations) is an excellent example of the role of private sector enterprises in public and cultural diplomacy. As the archival documents show, the power of the publishing house was its government backing. The target audiences were not aware of this, and the non-state nature of the organisations cloaked the source of the ideological messages contained in the cultural product. This kind of evidence highlights the difficulty of discussing the role of non-state entities in cultural diplomacy in the UK context. There are not enough cases to understand non-state organisations' role in the UK's Cold War cultural diplomacy.

The IRD was aware of the power (distribution capacity, access to public discourse, material capability) of the publishing houses, bookshops and libraries. By supplying them with material and support, the IRD aimed to pass its messages to society. As Gramsci (2000) defined ideology as the social function performed by libraries, schools, publishing houses, newspapers and journals, down to the local parish newsletter, it is significant to understand the role of non-state actors in the IRD's activities. The ability of powerful actors to embed their values within the books produces a wider cultural manifestation of dominant cultural values, such as the British way of life, anti-communism and Western democracy.

The state established its hegemony and creates in people particular beliefs and manners through a set of private institutions, which are seen as outside the state, such as churches, trade unions, schools and intellectuals. Through these civil societies, the ideologies of hegemonic groups turned into the common sense of the time and the interests of the groups became the national interests (Gramsci, 1971). The role of non-state actors become essential in the cultural Cold War, as the literature focused on the ideological and practical connections between private organisations and governments to fight against communism (Scott-Smith, 2008). For the purposes of this research, the function of private organisations and their role in promoting and constructing national identities and fighting communism are significant.

There are three different timelines in the IRD's Background Books series: first, they started in 1951 with Batchworth publishing house; after financial problems led to

Batchworth's collapse in the mid-1950s, the series moved to Phoenix House in 1955, and from 1960 to 1971 the series was published by The Bodley Head. There was also Ampersand, which constituted its primary partnership from the beginning of the operation.

Publishing Houses and the IRD

In this section, I look in depth at the relationships between the IRD and the different publishing houses. First, I look at Victor Gollancz, Odhams, Penguin and Oxford University Press, which the IRD wanted to bring into its operation. Before negotiating a deal with Batchworth Press and Ampersand Ltd, Arthur Koestler, Hungarian-British author and journalist, had pointed out 'forcibly' to the IRD the need to create a popular, cheap and non-Communist left-leaning series of books that would have the dramatic and supposedly hegemonic effect that Victor Gollancz's pro-Communist Left Book Club series had had in the late 1930s – to 'tackle the themes on which public opinion needs to be enlightened' (Jenks, 2006; Wilford, 2003, p. 57). The first head of the IRD, Ralph Murray, wrote to Christopher Warner on 29 January 1948:

> *We are now at a stage of considering plans for attempting to influence, and perhaps to enter into, the book market abroad, particularly in Asia. We have not got plans for a cut and dried official enterprise ready for submission yet, but meanwhile we have come to the conclusion that is essential for the proper extension of our work abroad that a basis should be laid in the form of publications in this country.* (FO 1110/221/PR/505/G)

This text shows the beginning of the book operation of the IRD and the mindset of the officers behind it. 'Plans for attempting to influence, and perhaps to enter into' is an indication of a need to shape the book market abroad, and the IRD saw this involvement as crucial. The anti-Communist discourse of the Cold War was part of the official discourse of the governments, and the IRD wanted to legitimise its anti-Communist battle through books. It needs to be emphasised that the IRD was aware that wide-ranging cultural products, books in our case, had a substantial role in spreading the messages of the UK government. The IRD saw books as tools to use against its 'enemy', tools to positively represent the UK's national identity. It is noteworthy that although the IRD was set up to deal with matters overseas, officials immediately considered how to propagandise domestically. However, the IRD's goal to expand its book publishing activities abroad, particularly in Asia, was not easy to achieve.

With the help of the right people and local publishing houses, as the correspondence below displays, to respond to the desire for anti-communist material would help to shape public opinion:

It has been pointed out to us forcibly by Mr. Koestler particularly, that the 'Left Book Club' type of publication served Soviet propaganda, wittingly or unwittingly, over a long period and that there is now a crying need for cheap (say one shilling) books issued under similar auspices, which will tackle the themes on which public opinion needs to be enlightened. It is further obviously desirable that, as far possible, such publications should be sponsored by publishers with known left affiliations. (FO 1110/221/PR/505/G)

As the text indicates, there was a need for cheap books that would function to oppose 'Soviet propaganda'. The desire to tackle 'their' ideas displays how the IRD felt responsible for enlightening 'public opinion' with 'their truth'. The job of the books was to propagate the government's idea of informed citizens who would be aware of the 'evil' of communism both at home and abroad; thus, book publishing would be the critical action of the IRD's operations. The IRD had to craft this operation carefully and find an appropriate publisher known for its 'left affiliations' that would be the most credible channel for getting the IRD's material out into public view.

The IRD considered approaching the Left Book Club's publisher, Victor Gollancz, 'putting to him that the national interest required the organisation of publications of this sort' and offering 'to intervene unobtrusively to cause them to appear in suitable cheap editions' (FO 1110/221/PR/505/G). The publishing deal with Gollancz did not go further. As the archival material indicates, the IRD saw book publishing as a 'national interest' strongly connected with self-presentation of the UK. This 'national interest' can be defined as an ideological, economic, political or cultural interest that would help to maintain the power and leadership of political elites. In order to meet the 'national interest', books were a valuable tool, and they were applied to convey democratic ideas and opposition to Soviet communism.

To promote a better understanding of the UK in other countries, the IRD wanted to establish a strong connection with British publishers and also with overseas libraries and publishers. The political message projected through the materials selected by the IRD and the distribution of anti-Communist literature around the world reflected the country's motivation and desire to stand as an alternative to both Soviet communism and American capitalism. This could be understood as a 'national interest' and as the promotion of the UK's national identity. Establishing this special relationship with publishers both at home and abroad was not easy for the IRD. The 'national interest' is also strongly related to the role of culture in foreign policy. As the text reveals, the state was always interested in putting culture into its foreign policy so as to meet a certain 'national interest'. Thus, the urge of this type of cultural production – to reproduce the values, ideas and beliefs of certain groups through books – played a meaningful role in the IRD's activities.

The IRD wanted to approach with a similar condition the publishing house Benn that had been founded by Sir John Benn in 1880. Ernest Benn Limited had become the publisher of the well-known series of travel books, the Blue Guides. The IRD desired an introduction to the principal partner in the firm so that they could talk about practical proposals from a technical point of view. Murray noted, in 1949, that the firm was not notably left-minded, as Gollancz was, but it did publish cheap books and pamphlets. In addition, its family connection with the Labour peer Lord Stansgate gave it 'a faint aura of political progressiveness' (ibid.). The IRD was aware that non-state organisations were influential and there was a mutual benefit for both sides. The publishing arrangement with Benn did not go further, so the IRD continued to look for a potential left-wing publishing house.

The IRD also tried Odhams, which was considered an ideal publisher as it had an association with the Labour Party (Lashmar and Oliver, 1998). The IRD's search for suitable publishing firms that might be interested in the IRD subjects continued. In a letter, the head of the IRD, Ralph Murray, explained to the FO Minister, Christopher Mayhew, that particularly with Oxford University Press, there was 'some promise of results' (FO 1110/221/PR/1589/G). According to Murray's note, dated 18 April 1949, it is clear that the IRD wanted to influence publishers:

> *These approaches whether on a ministerial or our own personal level, can only be suggestive and tentative. We see the need for something much more directly related to our work and in particular to the very urgent need for the fulfilment of our directive, with specific reference to the appeal to organised labour and the projection of 'social democracy' as a successful rival to Communism.* (FO 1110/221/PR/505/G)

The IRD used independent publishers as a cover to exercise its power and ideology in society; therefore, these cultural organisations became agents of the state by organising public understanding according to their own political and ideological agenda. In other words, through books, the IRD manipulated public opinion to fight communism and protect the British way of life that related to its national identity. As the text above demonstrates, the IRD needed something 'more directly related to' its work, and there was a 'very urgent need for the fulfilment' of finding the right publishing houses to start its operation. To combat the Soviet Union, the IRD hoped to 'project' the UK's 'social democracy' as a 'successful rival' to 'Communism', thus contrasting 'our' good social democracy against 'their' bad communism. As the text shows, a 'positive' national projection of the UK was central to promoting its national identity. The UK's role as the guardian of Western civilisation and against communism was legitimised through comparison between the UK (social democracy) and the USSR (communism).

With its need for a medium to influence people, the IRD had to find the right publisher for this operation, as books had the power to shape people's ideologies and values. The IRD obtained a little cooperation from the Labour Party, which introduced some of its literature to Burma and elsewhere, and it received some small beneficial results. The IRD wanted to be in touch with Odhams Press, as the publisher had a close relationship with the Labour Party. Murray suggested that the Trades Union Congress (TUC) could create a publishing branch, which could have international ramifications, and which should concentrate on the international projection of this 'social democratic' ideal in rivalry to communism. Odhams Press was an ideal firm for this purpose because of its association with the Labour Party, and as it had already published books and pamphlets and had the necessary machinery, organising experience and resources (FO 1110/221/PR/505/G). Murray felt that neither the Labour Party nor the TUC was capable of producing a flow of literature that could compete with the Soviet Communist propaganda machine:

> *What is needed is something as big, as cheap and as widespread as the Foreign Languages Publishing House and its complex distributing organisations known as the International Book Shops or names of that sort, such as in India, I believe, Commissars Book Shop. They are an ideal firm, (...) they already publish books and pamphlets and have the necessary machinery and of course the necessary organizing experience and resources.* (FO 1110/221/PR/1589/G)

It is clear that the IRD was aware of the USSR's use of book translation and publishing activities. The Foreign Languages Publishing House was a government-run publisher in the Soviet Union that published Russian literature, novels, propaganda and books about the USSR in foreign languages to promote the Soviet way of life. The text above shows that the IRD was observing and wishing to imitate its opponent in the Soviet Union and publish material 'as big, as cheap and as widespread' as they did. This displays how the IRD wanted to employ the same tool – books – against communism; it knew of the significance of books in the distribution of knowledge and messages, and their impact on ideas and beliefs. The use of 'big', 'widespread' and 'cheap' indicates the direction that the IRD aimed to follow in its fight against communism and in reaching the people that it wanted to influence. However, a collaboration with Odhams did not happen, as the officers thought that it would be challenging to work with the publisher because of subsidies and expenses.

The IRD also approached leading publisher The Bodley Head, an English publishing house founded in 1887, whose owner Alan Lane later founded Penguin Books in 1935. He and his brothers Richard and John were pioneers in the marketing of cheap paperback editions and Penguin Books, and its associated Pelican imprint carried an essential list of mass-market nonfiction. To be in cooperation with Alan Lane would have

a significant impact on the publishing activities of the IRD. Leslie Sheridan, from the IRD's Editorial Section, was the primary person who dealt with this case. He recorded on 12 May 1949 his meeting with Lane, who was recently back from America, where 'he had been much impressed and depressed by the crudeness of anti-Soviet propaganda and the lack of balance with which the American people were viewing this problem' (FO 1110/221/PR/1373/G).

According to Sheridan, Lane felt the need for a book for the English public dealing with communism objectively and seriously. He had been shown the paper *Foundations of Stalinism* by Sylvain Mangeot, Reuter's chief diplomatic correspondent. He felt that if this document, which was, in its present form, 'too short and unsuitable for publication, could be seen by a reputable author, it might assist him in the writing of a book on Communism' (ibid.). Sheridan was not very happy with Lane's response, as the book 'was not quoted as an official document' and 'there was no suggestion that the paper contained the views of HMG' (ibid.). Nevertheless, Sheridan wrote: 'This paper was not propaganda, it was simply a collection of facts', and Lane was interested in getting any names of writers (ibid.). As this conversation displays, the IRD had a complicated relationship with the publishing houses during the production process of the books in order to shape the meanings of cultural products and their function. At the same time, the IRD tried to convince the publishers that the material was not propaganda; it was just 'facts'. This also demonstrates the approach and the character of the IRD, which applied 'facts' as propaganda, but from the publisher's perspective, this book was just representative of the facts.

Sheridan was keen to work with The Bodley Head: 'I would see if there were any other papers which might help him and seek the permission of the FO to let him see them, and that I would also think of a few more suitable authors' (ibid.). This text indicates that the IRD wanted to use the distribution networks of big publishers such as The Bodley Head, which would help it to spread its material widely. The publishing giants had their own plans, and convincing them was not easy, but the IRD was aware of its power and wanted to use it for its own agenda. Therefore, the Editorial Section of the IRD worked hard to convince the publishers. The IRD was aware of the ability of publishers to control the flow of information and influence and shape public perceptions – an appealing feature for the government.

The staff at the IRD were very enthusiastic that they might have the chance to work with such an influential publisher; nevertheless, their primary concern was secrecy as a way to control the authors that Lane was approved to employ. This correspondence shows that influencing publishers directly was one of the IRD's methods, and apart from influencing them, the IRD wanted to establish a more direct channel for publishing and distributing its material. In other words, political elites with these activities wanted to

conduct their leadership in civil society. It appears that nothing happened as a result of the conversation between Sheridan and Lane, as the latter postponed further interactions due to business commitments. Nevertheless, after Batchworth and Phoenix, The Bodley Head in due course published the famous Background Books from 1960 to 1971, which shows that the IRD managed to convince the publisher after eleven years.

None of the approaches above resulted in collaboration, and the solution to finding an appropriate publishing house came from inside the IRD. In 1950, Ampersand, a publisher that was registered by Leslie Sheridan at Companies House in 1946, became the IRD's first covert publishing enterprise. Ampersand had been established just after WWII by an ex-wartime intelligence officer, Leslie Sheridan, and Victor Cannon Brokes. Sheridan had been a wartime officer with the British Special Operations Executive and more importantly was taken into the IRD in 1949 as an active officer to manage the Editorial Section, while continuing in his other job as an adviser in London (Smith, 2010). He used as a cover his work as a public relations consultant and was seen as 'a real behind the scenes operator'; it seems the real power behind him was his wife Adelaide Maturin, who worked as an MI6 officer (Lashmar and Oliver, 1998). He was part of the operations of the IRD; however, as he had described his role in correspondence as that of an adviser to an office of the FO, this allowed him to act as the middleman between commercial publishers and the IRD. Sheridan in 1958 said to information officers that while the IRD did not own the company, their relationship was 'very close' (ibid.). This meant that they had direct connections or shared beliefs, support and sympathy. Ampersand operated until 1977, just before the closure of the IRD. The Background Books series was edited by Stephen Watts, who was also a former MI5 officer and had had wartime intelligence experience. He joined IRD as one of the directors, and he would review titles with the heads of the IRD before commissioning them.

The IRD's relationship with the publishing house shows state and non–state actors – in Gramsci's terms 'state-spirited' actors – agreeing to form a kind of 'partnership' with the mutual aim of undermining communism and promoting the UK's national identity. However, seemingly independent publishers, appearing to have no governmental connection, played a significant role in the IRD's activities, as Ampersand's case shows.

The IRD's publishing activities were not only conducted with Ampersand. The distribution network of Ampersand was limited and therefore insufficient. Batchworth Press, a small company run from Bloomsbury, London by William Sydney Shears, also carried out book publishing activities. Before its cooperation with the IRD, Batchworth had published a curiously random range of titles such as *The Mapmakers Art*, *Leaves from the Country*, *Snuff and Snuff-Boxes*, and *Railways at Home and Abroad* for people

with specific interests – Batchworth handled printing 20.000 copies of each title of Background Books (Smith, 2010).

As soon as the first series of books was ready to distribute to the embassies, Leslie Sheridan, on 31 January 1951, noted 'We expect delivery of the first of our Background Books, *What is Communism*, within two weeks and I am anxious to get them out as quickly as possible. I have endeavoured to indicate that we have a special interest in Background Books, without, I hope, disclosing too much' (FO 1110/444/PR/97/1/51). Sheridan's 'special interest' in these books shows the big expectations from the IRD, and this also addresses the strategy and the ideas that the IRD was entertaining.

In 1956 Batchworth collapsed with debts of more than £26,000 (Lashmar and Oliver, 1998). The Batchworth Press's Background Books were transferred to Phoenix House. Phoenix House continued the publication of the Background Books between 1955 and 1959. It was one of the most exciting publishers with which the IRD had a close relationship. It was started by John Baker, who had been employed in the book trade for many years. He was the sales director of the J. M. Dent publishing house founded in 1888. Phoenix House was a Dent subsidiary, and the founder of the publisher had been Joseph Malaby Dent (1859–1926), who created the world-famous Everyman's Library. Dent remained at the forefront of the publishing world by increasing sales to overseas markets, including Australia, Canada, France, New Zealand, South Africa and the USA. The company achieved success by selling cheap editions of the classics to the working and middling classes, and Baker founded the Readers' Union in 1937, 'the first general club to offer reprints of recently published titles at discounts of up to five-sixths of the net price provided members undertook to select a minimum number of books per year' (Stevenson, 2010, p. 88). As we saw in Section 5.7, the Readers' Union had a big audience around the UK.

In the end, Background Books continued to be published by The Bodley Head under Max Reinhardt, who took the series over after 1960 until 1971. The IRD had an agreement with The Bodley Head to publish 'a very popular, very widely-read series of books called "background books" which dealt with subjects in which IRD were interested' (ibid.). As the analysis above displays, the IRD made a deal such as those with Batchworth Press (1951–1955) and Phoenix House (1955–1960), which was that the IRD would recommend writers and topics and then guarantee a bulk purchase to remove any risk for the publishing house. However, the IRD had to satisfy the publisher and make a deal based on different conditions. Ex-IRD officer Tucker (1996, p. 6) noted that the IRD made 'see-safe order' (consignment sale) deals with the publishing houses:

> *To suggest authors, suggest themes and to buy the end product. We were not looking for 100% support or anything like that and quite a lot of well-known people*

wrote for the series, often not fully realising that, behind the scenes, there was this see-safe arrangement.

The IRD's method was to use Ampersand to purchase a certain number of copies of each title of the Background Books series from The Bodley Head and, at the end of the year, to refund Ampersand for its expenditure (Bloch and Fitzgerald, 1983). Tucker (1996, p. 6) described the IRD's role as:

If you have an author who has a book in him, a publishing house will often agree to publish if someone takes the risk out of it for them by, for example, agreeing to buy, say, 15,000 copies of the book. The publisher is quite happy because that covers their costs and distribution and everything and anything above that is sheer profit for them.

Nevertheless, The Bodley Head's managing director, Max Reinhardt, denied knowledge of the IRD relationship later on: 'Ours was an orthodox publishing arrangement with Stephen Watts from Ampersand. I naturally had no idea of Ampersand's connection with IRD or the Foreign Office' (Bloch and Fitzgerald, 1983). Publishing houses are key cultural organisations, as mentioned above; their capacity to deliver mass mediums makes them valuable for exercising power. The IRD employed suitable authors and independent publishers considered both faithful and politically sympathetic to the IRD's goals (Smith, 2010). As Tucker (1996, p. 7) said:

There are lots of really quite well-known authors who wrote books for the background series and, as I say, it became a popular series, quite inexpensively priced. They were not too long, they were a good clean handy format, and they sold well on the commercial market in addition to our buying 15,000 copies which we then distributed to Foreign Office posts around the world who wanted them and put an order in for them. We sent them out and they presented them to their local contacts and anyone who they thought would be interested in them.

Tucker's comments suggest that the deal was more than just support to motivate the publishing market: they show the IRD's manipulation of sales numbers. According to Smith (2012), this strategy resembled a laundering exercise. It is clear that the IRD directed authors, ideas and material through an outsourced publisher, then bought the product and circulated the books overseas. In some cases, they advised overseas posts to reproduce, translate and circulate the material without declaring the source (ibid.).

Commercial publishing houses were critical to the IRD's activities; they gave the impression that the books were produced independently of state direction. There were, of course, shades of independence; there was undoubtedly no pure state of freedom from the state, as the IRD was involved in the decisions on what to publish and where to distribute. The books and pamphlets were published in large numbers and were

distributed to the lists of people acknowledged as opinion-makers sympathetic to the UK. The aim was widespread support for the IRD's operation, which would be constructed through local supporters rather than seeming to originate from the UK directly.

Independent publishers are seen as guardians of the public which give power to the public; however, a close relationship with the IRD put these cultural institutions in a political position. As gatekeepers, publishers have substantial control over the kinds of knowledge available in society. In authoritarian societies, it is easy to see their importance in controlling what is published, and which ideas are to be circulated to serve the approved ideology (Altbach and Hoshino, 1995). The control over access to information and the means of knowledge distribution are significant functions in any society, and publishers, with their control over what to print, exercise substantial power. The case of the IRD's book publishing activities are an excellent example of the complex state and private networks during the Cold War, with their most important function having been the promotion of narratives of national identities.

Looking at the IRD's activities from a public/cultural diplomacy point of view, one cannot deny the fact that book publishing activities provided a vital method to achieve a nation's foreign policy aims. The books acted as tools to promote the 'British way of life', which was firmly related to the national interest. The relationships between the IRD and publishing houses show that Cold War cultural diplomacy was not only conducted by the state; seemingly independent publishing houses played a noteworthy role in passing the state's messages to society both at home and abroad. Therefore, the UK's Cold War public diplomacy effort was not purely foreign public-oriented: domestic audiences were part of this strategy.

Comet Books Scheme and Collins

This section outlines a case where the IRD considered different books and not only propaganda. Publishing firm W.A.R. Collins wanted to collaborate with the IRD, and the department decided to support and distribute books from English literature. A director of Collins came to the office of the IRD to ask for advice on a new series to be known as 'Comet Books' which his firm was producing for the Asian market in collaboration with an American publishing firm. After the visit of the Collins director, the IRD sent a letter in 1956 to Asian embassies to seek their advice as to whether the books were suitable for their territory, and also suggestions for specific titles. According to the letter, the intention of 'Comet Books' was:

> *To show Asians a) what the West achieved and b) what is has to offer. The project should help meet the need for books in English which might otherwise be met from Communist sources and counteract the flow of books in English already being distributed by the Communists in South East Asia for prestige purposes*

(part of the Russian output is entirely non-political). (FO 1110/951/PR10106/24/G)

The text shows how the aim of 'Comet Books' aligned with the interests of the IRD. Concepts such as 'what the West achieved' and 'what it has to offer' were an indication of 'our' good achievement that needed to be contrasted with the Communist ideology. The aim was to tackle the books that were distributed for 'prestige purposes' by the Russians and the dominant discourse that needed to be refused by the UK. The IRD was aware that the publishing houses were able to shape public views and spread messages to national and international audiences. As non-political 'Russian output' occupied the area, the IRD felt that the UK had to step in to provide an alternative. The text also displays how books in the international arena were used for 'prestige purposes', which is closely related to public and cultural diplomacy, regarding creating understanding between nations and their peoples. Therefore, the function of the IRD books in the Cold War was also to promote widespread respect and admiration.

In the same document, the IRD said that works of fiction, both classical and contemporary, should be included, as should books that offered insight into contemporary life in the West. The IRD gave different suggestions: 'We have already put forward Shakespeare, and we would suggest work such as Roger Fry's *The Arts of Painting and Sculpture*. We might also include classics of English literature and some American novels by Willa Cather, *My Antonia*, *The Lost Lady* and *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, which all deal with early American life' (FO 1110/951/PR10106/24). The IRD's suggestions of different books are clear evidence that the department wanted to support books that represented the national identity, such as the works of Shakespeare. The book publishing effort of the IRD was part of defending the country from Communist attack, but these activities also represented efforts to define and promote the British national identity.

The IRD received replies from different embassies about the idea of distributing Comet Books. For example, British Embassy Rangoon, 1956, replied to London:

We are naturally interested in any scheme which will stimulate the sale of British books in Burma, particularly those showing what the West has achieved and what is has to offer. (...) we repeat our welcome to the wider distribution of English books, we reiterate our conviction that any money (including American) which may be available would be most effectively used for the translation of such books into the local languages and their distribution. (...) There are too many American titles and if the scheme is to succeed, and be above suspicion of subsidy, the number of British titles should be at least 60 per cent (some of us feel it should be even more). (FO 1110/925/PR1079/23G)

As the text shows, the IRD's officers welcomed the idea as the books would help them show what the 'West has achieved'; this is again the positive self-presentation of 'us' against 'them', which was accepted by local officers as well. The officers were open to receiving funds, 'including American', which shows the strong connection between two allies. However, the embassy expressed concern about there being too many American titles, stating that there should be a greater number of British titles. This indicates how the officers were caught in the middle between the USA and the USSR, and the IRD could offer something else that represented 'them' fully and showed the dominance of 'our' country. Furthermore, the text indicates that the officers planned to translate the material into their local languages.

As the archival materials indicate, the IRD engaged both at home and abroad in covert funding and support for the private publishing sector. The IRD was aware of the power of books; working with private organisations was crucial to its operations. Books in propaganda policy were brought out not only by the government, but also by private organisations, and such collaboration was essential. It is a complex issue to understand the limitations of the relationship between the state and private enterprise when a government wants to politicise cultural products, in this context books, for the aims of foreign policy. The Cold War publishing houses such as Ampersand, Batchworth, Phoenix and The Bodley Head could not be institutionally separate from the government; hence, cultural production had a close relationship with the state's political and ideological agenda. Publishing and the writers' network of the IRD that operated both at home and abroad targeted information in the form of a cultural product to promote the British way of life, Western civilisation and social democracy, while fighting communism.

The analysis leads to the difficult conclusion that seemingly independent non-governmental organisations were often involved in the public and cultural diplomacy field. As the tendency was to involve non-governmental actors in cultural diplomacy, what tools do we need to protect culture from this sort of secret relationship, which functions to support the government's agenda?

The IRD's Activities: Success or Failure?

This research does not aim to assess the effectiveness of the IRD's activities. However, evidence suggests that there are mixed thoughts about the IRD's success. In this section, I briefly discuss different examples from the archival material and secondary sources and the IRD's own evaluation methods that indicate its success. Selecting books for use overseas involves aesthetic, economic and ideological aspects, among others. Whether culture can purposely be chosen for export, whether it reaches the target place, and whether it is understood overseas in the way that it was at home are complex questions. Evaluation of the function of the book distribution programmes during the Cold War is 'more complicated than one might initially assume. Any final judgment about the

matter depends not only on how one views the magnitude of the programmes' impact on the East-bloc regimes and societies but also on how one conceives of the dynamics of drastic change in international and domestic politics' (Kramer, 2013, p. XXVI). To measure the impact of the cultural activities inside the Soviet Empire challenged the USA's psychological warriors; some can demonstrate how the USA damaged the authority of Communist parties, but the success of their activities is tougher to evaluate (Hixson, 2013). With his well-known contribution to the field, Arndt (2006, p. XII) argues that cultural diplomacy is 'reticent – its successes are most often invisible' and Pamment (2016, p. 237) says 'there is little evidence to suggest that it is possible to accurately evaluate all of the outcomes of public diplomacy'. I agree with these views, especially since the nature of books as a cultural product is such that their impact cannot be judged immediately – it is a long process. Furthermore, ideological influence cannot be measured and announced quantitatively (Schäffner, 2003).

The analysis, evaluation and discussion of the book publishing activities is somewhat complicated; the outcome of the process can never be controlled, and when a text takes its place in a new culture it is set free and takes on a life of its own (Von Flotow, 2007a). The effects of book programmes can never truly be controlled; whether these programmes increased empathy and understanding between two sides remains an open question (ibid.). The intellectual and cultural effect of book distribution in an unfree society 50 years ago is difficult to record and almost impossible to measure (Maack, 2001). I agree with Schäffner (2003), Von Flotow (2007), Maack (2001) and Arndt (2006) on the difficulties of measuring the impact of cultural diplomacy; therefore, as mentioned above, this study does not attempt to measure the impact of the IRD's activities. As public and cultural diplomacy activities have long-term targets and aims, it is impossible to evaluate the full extent of their impacts. The same can be said for assessing the impact of the IRD's book publishing activities. However, we can distinguish two forms of success: 'perceived' and 'actual' (Risso, 2014). Small elements of the archival material and secondary data (interviews with ex-IRD workers) show some degree of 'perceived' success.

It is not surprising that the IRD was keen to obtain reports on the actual impact of its material. Monthly or three-monthly reports were received from officers in the field on their activities. The officers' reports were based on surveys, questionnaires, anecdotal information and letters and comments from the public (Risso, 2014). There were close connections between London and the Regional Information Officers (RIOs). The numbers of published books and reviews from different newspapers and press cuttings were also part of the feedback circle. These types of feedback from RIOs were valuable for the IRD in assessing its success and developing strategies for its future publications; feedback is still one of the ways to measure foreign policy effectiveness (Morin and

Paquin, 2018). However, the practitioners themselves did not have a blueprint for assessing the success of the material (Risso, 2014). For example, Joseph Robinson, writing from the British Embassy in Paraguay on 30 July 1955, said that the IRD material was excellent and that 'Our reputation is firmly established with the regime as the best source for reliable anti-Communist literature' (FO 1110/790/PR1033/1). Furthermore, he comments: 'Original material by well-known authors or personalities is easy to place' (FO 1110/839/PR10107/52). This shows that both the IRD and the RIOs were aware of the effects of publishing well-known writers' material and this perception to some extent informed the IRD's policies. After receiving a monthly report from the British Embassy in Mexico in February 1956, the FO wrote back to the embassy, stating: 'The results are very good, and it is encouraging to see our work reaching this wide market' (FO 1110/902/PR1026/9). Increasing its global reach was at the heart of the IRD's strategy, and the RIOs worked hard to distribute its messages. The British Embassy in Amman wrote on 7 July 1955:

> *Material is distributed under cover of a plain envelope to people chosen according to the subject matter. The effect of the material is difficult to judge in view of the need to conceal its source, but some of the pamphlets on Communist atheism have left a strong impression on certain of the Moslem religious leaders. This therefore seems to be the best line of attack. (…) Nearly all our anti-Communist material is supplied in an Arabic translation through the Regional Information Office, Beirut. The system works very well, and the quantity is sufficient.* (FO 1110/815/PR1080/4/G)

As can be seen here, the RIOs were aware of the challenge of measuring the success of the material, but secrecy around the source made evaluation even harder. The emphasis on translation shows the effectiveness of localising the material, and this was essential in reaching foreign audiences to introduce and promote the preferred ideas.

The following text shows how the material was seen to have achieved the desired outcome at home, judging by public and press comments. The IRD's desire and purpose was to replicate this approach abroad and educate foreign people about communism. IRD officer P. F. Grey noted in his circular letter to Missions and Ministers in Embassies, dated 6 June 1955, the success of the material in the UK:

> *Has been noticeable in England how the public during the past few years, as a result largely of public and press comment by usually well-informed exponents, have been able to adopt a much more realistic approach to Communism, both at home and abroad. What IRD set out to encourage abroad is a similar public,*

informed of the ramifications of Communist policy and able to distinguish the wood from the trees. (FO 1110/716/PR10111/31/G)

It is clear that the IRD wanted to ensure that the books offered would satisfy the perceived needs of the area in question. On 15 February 1951, the IRD wrote a confidential letter to the RIO at the British Embassy in Rome, reporting that it had recently published *What is Communism?*:

This is a good light primer from our point of view, and we have bought a fair number for distribution by posts. (...) Would also be grateful if you would report at your convenience on the usefulness of this book. (FO 1110/444/PR/97/1/51)

Other examples show RIOs criticising the material and its likelihood of success. In November 1951 the British Embassy in Rangoon commented:

We feel that little headway has been made during the past year. True, there has been more material provided but it is still much too heavy; the form in which it is published is uninteresting; it lacks imagination and it is unappetizing (even members of the Embassy including myself have little desire to read the pamphlets). It seems to us therefore that what is required is somebody specifically to design covers who has an eye for advertisement. (FO 1110/415/PR 60/48)

In some cases, the RIOs compare the effectiveness of the UK's efforts with those of the USA. For example, a Foreign Office review of the UK in 1950 states: 'It seems that our general approach is often somewhat different from that of the Americans and, on the whole, the discreet and personal approach of our Information Officers gets more material effectively placed than the American reliance on volume of output' (Defty, 2004, p. 259).

There are a few testimonies from ex-IRD workers who later gave interviews, concerning the 'perceived' success or failure of the IRD. This can be seen in the comments of Christopher Mayhew (1998, p. 47), who as a junior FO minister was essentially the founder of the IRD:

It was successful: it did help to destroy Stalinist illusions, it gave encouragement to people who wished to tell the truth about the Soviet Union, and I think it helped to blunt the impact of Stalinist political warfare. In the UN, in the Third World, in Malaysia, and in many other countries it definitely heartened people who were doing their best to resist the propaganda of Stalin. It also helped people at home who were tangling with Fellow Travellers [a person who was philosophically sympathetic to Communism] and the like: I was told that the material was used and greatly appreciated. IRD was able to let informed people know the facts and

I think that this helped to maintain democracy and that, after all, was our primary aim.

Mayhew, who is hardly unbiased, sees the IRD's work as 'telling the truth' and using 'facts' in its 'information'. He points to the success of the activities both at home and abroad. However, according to Mayhew, the IRD did not have organised machinery for evaluating the impact of its activities; yet they are said to have had a significant influence (Lashmar and Oliver, 1998). It is clear that the IRD aimed to change public perceptions, and it generated a large amount of material. Lashmar and Oliver (1998) claim that the evidence indicates that the IRD's influence was enormous, although it never produced a classic or worldwide bestseller.

There are different views on the perceived success of the IRD from its own people. Ex-IRD worker Sir Hugh Cortazzi (1994, p. 12) states: 'The real problem I found was I wasn't really sure about the value of the work that I was doing. I think that IRD did some useful things but some of the work that I was dealing with … There was a lot of editorial work putting out propaganda, but some of it was so useless. And there was something called "The Digest" which didn't actually get very far'.

Furthermore, Sir Nicholas Peter Bayne (2016, p. 22), who also worked for the IRD, says 'I felt that they were the most effective weapons but with the others, we were always nervous that someone would let the cat out of the bag about what we were doing'. The IRD was a major department in the FO and in a way, it worked as a knowledge factory by producing materials. Ex-IRD worker John Hutson (1996, p. 11) states in his interview that 'my main memory of IRD was that its size and effectiveness were being questioned at the time'. As the evidence shows, it is difficult to conclude whether the IRD was successful or failed in its operation. There are clearly mixed feelings about the IRD, and they are mainly from the practitioners' side. If the purpose of the operation was to 'change hearts and minds', it is inherently almost impossible to measure the outcomes of the IRD's book activities. The next section explores the role of the intellectual in the IRD's book activities.

5.6 The IRD and Intellectuals

The role of intellectuals in maintaining cultural, economic, and political hegemony places them in a strong position, and their ability to access public discourse to influence or manipulate the public opinion is strongly related to power (Gramsci, 2000; Van Dijk, 1998). Intellectuals, writers, artists, and scholars are an essential channel for public and cultural diplomacy. During the Cold War, when ideological war and competing 'ways of life' were at the centre of foreign policies, intellectuals had a critical function and states had a close relationship with these actors, which helped to shape public attitudes to their respective ideologies (Gilboa, 2001). Writers and their books were a key element for a government wanting to disseminate its messages in the conduct of its public and cultural diplomacy. The IRD maintained a close relationship with intellectuals, writers, and journalists or, in broader terms, those who influenced public opinion. The IRD found its way to expose hostile ideologies through working closely with these opinion makers. The role of intellectuals in the IRD's operations was necessary for matters of culture; hence, in this part of the research, we look closely at this relationship.

In this context, the main question is, how and why were intellectuals involved in the state's book publishing and distribution activities to maintain and reproduce the UK's global power status and its moral and intellectual leadership? Other questions related to the big picture are, whose views were represented? Was the IRD funding a market for historical and political studies and creating full intellectual and academic liberty for its authors? Did the IRD's participation help to increase the impact of what these supposedly independent books would cover? Or did a close relationship help writers to expand their fame? How did the IRD select, approach, and work with intellectuals who had the power and ability to change public opinion and perhaps promote a government agenda? This section will also help us to understand the role of individuals in public and cultural diplomacy. This section starts with the definition of intellectuals, examines Orwell's *Animal Farm* and *1984*, and looks at the work of other intellectuals, including Bertrand Russell and Arthur Koestler.

For Gramsci, hegemony – intellectual and moral leadership of a certain group – shows the efficient organisation of a dominant group's interest within cultural, economic, and political territories. Hegemony, at both the national and international levels requires the existence of intellectuals and institutions; they are among the most crucial elements for maintaining and establishing leadership. As Scott–Smith (2002, p. 66) says, on an international level, 'hegemony relies on more than the apparatus of mass communication – there has to be a transnational network of elite groups and institutions in political and civil society in order to solidify any social-ideological consensus'. These institutions are seen as guarantors that the hegemony of an actor will be sustained, and it is argued that

hegemons construct institutions to furnish legitimacy to their power in front of other key actors on a global stage (Dirzauskaite and Ilinca, 2017).

Intellectuals and private organisations were engaged in the IRD's book publishing activities at both the national and international levels in the service of the interests of the ruling class. These 'state-spirit' intellectuals and organisations, in Gramsci's world, represented the interests and values of the state. Intellectuals fulfilled a substantial role in the IRD's activities, and their books were part of promoting the UK's national image, constructing and promoting narratives of national identity that established the UK as the guardian of Western civilisations against Communism. The role of the intellectuals'/writers' books that were funded or supported by the IRD was vital in distributing these discourses. Governing elites thought books to be a powerful tool to reach opinion makers and influence public opinion. Intellectuals engage with wider audiences and turn into a recognised voice (Ash, 2009). This recognised authority can be part of maintaining and reproducing the power of the state. The function of the intellectuals in the society is a little problematic to define. They can have a significant function in constructing hegemony, power over others, with their ability to shape public opinion. The ability to access public discourse renders them dominant in power relations. Intellectuals are crucial because 'their ideology achieves social consensus by the masses to legitimise and preserve political power and attain or maintain hegemony' (Choi, 2016, p. 46). Particularly in the Cold War era, they had a significant role in defending Western values against Communism, which was an essential element of British identity. The political elites were motivated by the UK's self-perceived role, and they managed to gather the intellectuals around these discourses. The political elites aimed to construct a Western doctrine to fight against the appeal of Communism (Kirby, 2000). The IRD wanted to bond intellectuals from different backgrounds in defence of British national identity and image. Therefore, the defence of Western values against all totalitarian threats was one of the critical narratives of the national identity of the UK. The most remarkable examples of this phenomenon are Orwell's anti-totalitarian fictions, *Animal Farm* and *1984;* the latter was translated into many foreign languages and circulated widely overseas by the IRD, which I will explore in this chapter.

The IRD managed to work closely with the publishing houses and different independent cultural organisations. This is closely related to the ability of the dominant classes to support or establish private institutions that become fundamental to the exercise of state power; this shows the importance of networks of political, ideological, and cultural power – in other words 'elite knowledge networks' (Parmar, 2006, 2019). It is particularly important to identify the IRD's work in conducting state-private networks and thereby distributing, both at home and abroad, the ideas and images of the UK that were constructed by the elites.

In the IRD's terms intellectuals – as opinion makers – were people who 'enable or assist recognised leaders of public opinion … to influence their own following' (Defty, 2004, p. 167). The critical point for the IRD was to influence 'others' both at home and abroad; but this relationship leaves us in a problematic area that is challenging, especially when it comes to the cultural field, as the distance and power relations between the state and the intellectuals generate a major debate.

The dominant groups aim to influence the knowledge, beliefs, and values of the recipients through education, persuasion, instruction, providing information, and other social practices (Van Dijk, 2008). These social practices may be legitimate, such as when writers, journalists, editors – even publishing houses – provide information for their audiences. Nevertheless, the covert relationship between these seemingly independent writers and the state characterises this kind of social practice as illegitimate in that it is a form of communication that is only in the 'interest of one party and against the best interest of the recipients' (Van Dijk, 2008, p. 215). For this study, as I will show further, working closely with well-known prominent writers helped the IRD to validate and spread its messages and gave it a (hidden) voice in public discourse; therefore, intellectuals, as opinion makers, were essential in its operation. In the end, this close relationship served to maintain and reproduce the power that operated for the benefit of the dominant group. Furthermore, this helped to distribute the identity that was (re)constructed and promoted by the political elites.

In times of conflict, working closely with intellectuals to shape public opinion and distribute narratives is the practice of states, and the power of intellectuals as recognised figures in society makes them a target of the authorities. For example, the United States tried to impact and direct the political strategies of the British left, and the Central Intelligence Agency especially targeted left-wing literary intellectuals, youth and women's groups, the intelligentsia, students, trade unions, political parties, specifically the British Labour Party, and the highbrow magazine *Encounter* to boost anti-Communist activities and promote trans-Atlantic harmony (Scott-Smith, 2002; Gienow-Hecht, 2010). There is a good deal of research on the role of *Encounter,* which received support from the IRD and the CIA (see Saunders, 1999; Scott-Smith, 2002; Wilford, 2003; Rubin, 2012). Intellectuals who involved themselves in politics generally received much more critical attention than those who avoided it, and their role as independent keepers of the truth was challenged by their putting their abilities in the service of those in power.

Gramsci was aware of the ideological, communicative, and cultural character of writers, poets, and philosophers and he was conscious of the critical ideological importance of institutions such as presses, publishing houses, and libraries at a time when 'print rather than radio was the chief means of communication between the state apparatuses and the public', and publishing houses and cultural journals somehow acted

as private institutions for the construction of public belief (Holub, 1992, pp. 148–149). They performed a substantial function in commenting, whether critically or not, on the 'communicative processes and relations between the state apparatuses and the public, for designing cultural and philosophical agendas' (ibid.). Therefore, I subscribe to the idea that individual intellectuals who 'represented such institutions and the power inscribed in them, thereby assume[d] a public leadership role' (ibid.). It is for that reason that in this dissertation, an essential strand of research is the role of the intellectuals.

Here it is relevant to ask, as does Bellamy (1997, p. 25), 'Is there, then, an acceptable form of intellectual engagement with politics? Can intellectuals play a distinctive political role without either trimming their ideas in despicable ways or indulging in the sorts of reprehensible behaviour associated with various kinds of elitism?' These are challenging questions to answer but, as I examine next, established writers and public intellectuals (in Gramsci's terms, state-minded writers), such as Orwell and Russell, by allowing the IRD to publish and circulate their works were willing to be part of this massive propaganda operation and their books were some of the most effective weapons for winning the ideological battle in the Cold War. Furthermore, through these books political elites managed to distribute the narratives of national identity.

5.6.1 Orwell's Influence: *Animal Farm*, *1984*, and the IRD

One of the twentieth century's most productive political journalists and influential novelists, Orwell was a prominent cultural figure before and during the Cold War. Orwell is still a meaningful cultural figure through his life and works, and he is the writer who coined the term 'cold war' in his essay 'You and the Atomic Bomb' (1945), in the *London Tribune*. Orwell's two well-known books, *Animal Farm* and *1984*, were attractive to the UK and the USA governments in the conduct of their anti-Communist propaganda. In this section, I focus on *Animal Farm* and *1984* and the messages that make them an attractive tool for the authority.

The efforts of the United States and the UK in spreading Orwell's work to make them available to local cultural conditions derived from their belief in Orwell's excellent propaganda value which would appeal to wider audiences all around the world. According to Fleay and Sanders (2006, p. 62), *Animal Farm* was 'the product of a master propagandist who had indeed fused political and artistic purpose, and who in 1984 described the ultimate possibilities of state control of information in wartime'. For this study, the IRD's interest was not limited to translating Orwell's work for distribution behind the Iron Curtain. British and American government agencies applied *Animal Farm* and *1984* as propaganda in multiple forms, such as a direct adaptation into a cartoon strip and, most notably, the production of a film adaption. These are examples of how cultural products have been and continue to be successfully instrumentalised in disseminating ideology of the state so as to maintain and reproduce its power.

Orwell began work on *Animal Farm* in 1943 wanting to write a satire that he called a fairy tale. *Animal Farm* can be read as telling the story of the Soviet Union in the years after the Bolshevik Revolution, and a child and a cultured adult could understand *Animal Farm* at different levels as the story of the Russian Revolution and its aftermath in the deceptively simple form of a farmyard tale and satirical allegory (Dickstein, 2007; Rossi and Rodden, 2007). It took less than a year to finish the book; however, Orwell faced the problem of finding a publisher given the implied criticism of the Soviet Union.

Most of the English publishing houses, including his usual publisher, the left-wing socialist Victor Gollancz, rejected the book, considering it not to be in the public interest and they did not want to criticise Britain's heroic wartime ally (Rossi and Rodden, 2007; Ash, 2009; Reed, 2013). For example, T. S. Eliot, working as an editor at Faber, rejected the book for political reasons as he doubted Orwell's socialist politics but also thought it was not a good time to attack the Russians (Dickstein, 2007). Another publisher who had rejected the book was The Dial Press in New York, and their reason was the difficulties of selling animal stories (ibid.). Jonathan Cape, of the London publisher Page & Co., was interested in the text at first, but then claimed to have been warned off by a representative of the Ministry of Information (Reed, 2013). Many publishing houses both in the UK and the United States missed the opportunity to be the publishers of one of the most famous books in the history of literature because of its strong message that might irritate the Soviet Union.

Animal Farm was published by Orwell's close friend Fredric Warburg in August 1945, and despite paper shortages, the first edition sold very quickly and then the second printing of 10,000 made the book a big commercial success (Dickstein, 2007; Rossi and Rodden, 2007). The book was published in the United States a year later; it achieved great success, and about half a million copies were sold after the book was selected as a Book of the Month Club choice (Rossi and Rodden, 2007). The book was published in perfect time, as the Cold War was escalating, and helped Orwell develop fame and relax financially after fifteen years of struggling as a writer. The book showed the actual frame of the Soviet regime to the English-speaking West and its publication was a major political event (Ash, 2009; Rossi and Rodden, 2007; Dickstein, 2007).

Animal Farm is the product of a combination of Orwell's talents as a novelist and as a political writer. He explains this in his essay, 'Why I Write' (1946): 'Animal Farm was the first book in which I tried, with full consciousness of what I was doing, fusing political purpose and artistic purpose into one whole'. The book is a significant step forward as political art, and it introduced Orwell to a far broader audience as his writing had previously mostly been published in small journals that were led by the left-wing intelligentsia in London and New York (Dickstein, 2007). This breakthrough led *Animal Farm* to be considered as one of the most widely read books of the twentieth century.

Few books in the history of English literature achieved such an active circulation in so many languages. Among the reasons was that it was framed as a fable, making the text short and easy to read, and this also made the book a favourite text for secondary schools (Dickstein, 2007; Rubin, 2012).

Apart from *Animal Farm, 1984* was another work that received a great deal of attention from the UK and USA authorities. *1984* had been in Orwell's mind for years. With this controversial novel, Orwell wanted to show the threats of what would occur when a revolution was betrayed, and the book modelled the question, 'Can the individual survive in the face of the collective power of the modern state?' (Rossi and Rodden, 2007, p. 9). The book showed how one man, Winston Smith, the main character of the novel, on behalf of everyman, was controlled by the all-powerful forces of the state (Dickstein, 2007; Rossi and Rodden, 2007). Orwell examines what happens if the people are not warned about the way government could be tarnished by those who misuse power. In this dystopia, he drew on his frustrations with the BBC's bureaucracy (where he had worked), his Spanish civil war experiences, and his rising belief that the idea of objective truth was being destabilized by totalitarianism (Reed, 2013; Rossi and Rodden, 2007). Orwell's novels *Animal Farm* and *1984*, with their anti-totalitarian messages, were widely read during the Cold War and with their direct messages, these short books were utilised as major tools against 'the evils of Communism' (Lashmar and Oliver, 1998). The great advantage of these two books was that they did not specifically mention Communism, which made them good tools for anti-Communist propaganda (ibid.).

During the Cold War, *Animal Farm* turned into an instrument of propaganda in the West's crusade to claim the moral high ground and many new translations were created with the help of the USA State Department. The books were distributed where the Soviet influence existed, such as Korea and Ukraine. Also, in 1947, the Voice of America broadcast a radio version to Eastern Europe (Peters, 2006). The publication, distribution, and translation of Orwell's books *1984* and *Animal Farm* by the British and Americans echoed the move of post-war imperial and cultural authority from the UK to the United States (Rubin, 2012). Both countries did not want to miss the chance of using these influential works as they fitted their agenda of combatting Communism and spreading Western democracy and values. Orwell was the most distinguished writer to be used in the IRD's operations, mainly through his influential works. The books had even greater credibility because he was a left-wing writer who had served against Franco in the Spanish Civil War. The efforts of the FO to expand the distribution and reach of *Animal Farm* and *1984* via the IRD exemplify the core operation of the department.

Orwell's relationship with the IRD is a long story. Celia Kirwan, a famous writer who was Arthur Koestler's sister-in-law and a previous editorial assistant at Polemic - a short-lived publication of the anti-Stalinist left – was a friend of Orwell who worked for

the IRD (Wilford, 2003). According to the archival file, Kirwan first met him at Koestler's home in late 1945, and she visited the terminally ill Orwell, as requested by the IRD, in the Cotswolds at a sanatorium in Cranham on 29 March, 1949 (FO 1110/189/PR1135/11/G). She discussed communism with him during the visit. Her trip also had a political purpose, so she told Orwell that she worked for the IRD and the conversation moved around the IRD. The next day, 30 March, 1949, Celia Kirwan wrote,

Yesterday I went to visit George Orwell, who is in a sanatorium in Gloucestershire. I discussed some aspects of our work with him in great confidence, and he was delighted to learn of them, and expressed his wholehearted and enthusiastic approval of our aims. (FO 1110/189/PR1135/11/G)

As the note shows, the visit was positive. The 'confidence', and 'wholehearted and enthusiastic approval' refer to the secret part of the activity and the effort of building the trust between the IRD and Orwell. Orwell's enthusiasm was a good start for the IRD to build its relationship with the writer. The text also indicates the possible satisfaction on the IRD side that receiving a approval from a reputable writer meant, legitimation for their activities. Orwell's approval was very welcome, and the IRD wanted to bring other well-known writers onside to reach a wider audience. Kirwan informed the IRD that Orwell had suggested names of various writers who might be enlisted to write for them, and he promised to think of more in due course and to communicate this to the IRD.

Orwell was too ill to do any more writing himself; he had just completed the final draft of *1984* but suggested several writers and one publisher who could be 'trusted' and whom he believed would support the work of the IRD (FO 1110/189/PR1135/11/G). According to Kirwan's report,

D'Arcy Gillie, the Manchester Guardian Paris correspondent, who he says is a serious opponent of Communism, and an expert on Poland as well as on French politics; C. D. Darlington, the scientist. Mr. Orwell considers that the Lysenko case should be fully documented, and suggested that Darlington might undertake this; Franz Borkenau, the German professor, who wrote a History of the Comintern, and has also written some articles recently in the Observer. (ibid.)

Orwell's answer to an invitation to write something for the IRD was clear. As Kirwan noted, 'he does not like to write "on commission", as he feels he does not do his best work that way' (ibid.). She informed Orwell about the IRD and left some material with him. She would also send him photostats of some of his articles on the theme of Soviet repression of the arts, in the hope that he might become inspired to take them up again when he was better (FO 1110/189/PR1135/G). They discussed a book–publishing project for the IRD, for which Orwell recommended his former publisher Victor Gollancz.

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The IRD's primary motivation in contacting Orwell was not only to ask him to write something for them but also to suggest people 'who would be able to help' them to establish their intellectual network – this effort can be defined as 'elite knowledge networks' as Parmar (2019) exemplifies. This also implies that the IRD was open to a collaboration with different partners to publish their books in order to get wider support and increase the volume of material to publish. It is clear that the IRD's main concern was to make the books more accessible to readers and by considering Gollancz as a publisher the IRD showed that it wanted to work with well-known publishing companies whose 'books always sell well' and Gollancz's success in reaching the mass audience was well known (ibid.). As for the opportunity of giving the books the widest publicity Gollancz was the right candidate to serve the IRD's aim in this sense.

Orwell had worked in the BBC service to India during the war and as a young man had served for two years in the Indian Imperial Police stationed in Burma. Kirwan was aware of his experience. She wanted to hear the best way to achieve the IRD's aims in India and Burma. According to Kirwan, Orwell thought that this would best be done by maintaining the closest possible links with these countries, through trade and the interchange of students and offering far more scholarships to Indian and Pakistani students (FO 1110/189/PR1135/11/G). As Kirwan noted,

> *Whatever was the best way, the worst was undoubtedly broadcasting, since hardly any of the natives had radio sets, and those who did (who were mostly Eurasians) tended only to listen in to local stations. He thought that one plane-load of leaflets probably did more good than six months broadcasting. … Indeed, he did not think that there was a great deal of scope for propaganda in India and Pakistan, where Communism meant something quite different from what it did in Europe – it meant on [t]he whole, opposition to the ruling class.* (ibid.)

The opportunity of meeting Orwell was a success for the IRD as they were willing to use his advice; it is interesting that he considered print to be much more useful than broadcasting. Orwell's involvement with the IRD can be seen as one of the most controversial activities of his career; nevertheless, he was an ideal 'recruit' to the IRD's operation (Rodden and Rossi, 2010; Deery, 1997). It is clear from Kirwan's visit that the IRD wanted to expand the global political impact of Orwell's work, which in a sense represents the narratives of the UK's national identity – the West against totalitarianism. The main concern for the IRD was the distribution of his books in regions where they were not available and convincing him to write something for the IRD.

Kirwan seems to have been a committed staff member of the IRD. She was later to say of the IRD, 'You had to be above board to be working on the unit, but at the time you were not supposed to say what it was all about. I think the work we were doing was a good thing because people were misinformed about Communism in those days in a

big way. And it was about time they got the record right' (Lashmar and Oliver, 1998, p. 96). These comments show that she believed the IRD did the 'good thing' by informing the people about Communism and she considered that what she had done in being secret about the activities of the IRD was an important strategy. The conversation between Orwell and Kirwan similarly demonstrates the IRD's practice in using the personal connections of their officers to convince influential people to support their side. This is also the case of cultural diplomacy: in Arndt's words (2006, p. 95) cultural diplomacy is 'the art of getting the right people together at the right time under the right circumstances with the right supporting materials'. This strategy of the IRD can be tracked within its activities, and the success of the materials was based on this close partnership.

The IRD made outstanding efforts to find a publishing house with known left-wing links by publishing a series of books that would 'appeal to organised labour' and project 'social democracy'; this shows the political elite's discourses around the image of the UK (FO 1110/189/PR1135/11/G). As mentioned above, Orwell recommended the left-wing socialist Victor Gollancz to Kirwan but no deal was made. However, the IRD's effort to use *Animal Farm* and *1984* as a propaganda tool moved in a different arena; the next section investigates this process.

5.6.2 The IRD and the Translations of *Animal Farm*

Orwell's *Animal Farm* was, as we saw above, considered a powerful message against totalitarian regimes. Its propaganda value led the IRD to translate the book into several languages. Translation offers a reliable apparatus to spread ideologies and values in foreign countries and can operate to gain, retain, and even abuse political power. In this section, I analyse two examples – the translation of *Animal Farm* into Russian and then into Arabic. The case of the Russian and Arab translations allows us to understand the effort put in by the IRD to distribute this 'effective' propaganda book. The IRD was aware of the importance of translation to reach the public and import ideas in different languages (Schäffner, 2007). I will start with the Russian translation operation and with *Possev* magazine, which played a central role in this process.

Possev was a Russian émigré weekly social and political review whose editor, Vladimir Puachev, wrote to Orwell on 24 June, 1949, in Russian that it wished to publish *Animal Farm*. *Possev* was managed by a group of Russian refugees, had offices in Frankfurt and London, and attempted to circulate anti-Soviet propaganda amongst the Red Army occupation forces in Germany and Austria. Orwell shared the letter that he received from Puachev with the IRD; he had already given *Possev* clearance to publish *Animal Farm* in the magazine free of charge. Orwell had little concern for money; all he wanted was to publish his book in different languages. *Possev* wanted to publish *Animal Farm* in book form but needed finance. Ukrainian Displaced Persons (DPs) had

organised and published a translation. However, most of the copies of the book never reached the intended recipients as five thousand of them had been detained by the American Military Government in Munich and handed over to officials of the Russian Repatriation Commission (Rubin, 2012). Puachev, in his letter to Orwell, requested assistance in raising money. His letter is in Russian, and a translator in the IRD translated the letter and commented as follows:

> *If Animal Farm does get through to the USSR as Possev claims it would, I am sure it would be most effective and eagerly sought after. We do, of course, know the Possev people who do a good job. Some of the refugees from the Soviet occupation forces have, I believe, commented favourably about its effect among the Soviet occupation forces, but their organization is thought to be weak.* (FO 1110/221/PR3361/33/913)

The IRD officer was in favour of publishing *Animal Farm* in Russian, which would be 'effective', but he has some reservation about *Possev*, despite its reputation of being able to 'do a good job'. Puachev's primary aim was to issue *Animal Farm* through the channels that *Possev* had in Berlin, Vienna, and other towns of the Soviet Occupation zones. It is clear that Puachev tried to convince Orwell by telling him of the great effect of his book in Russian and his desire to publish it:

> *Your book made a very great impression on the Russian reading public and we have received many responses, and in particular requests that this strong satire should be made known on the other side of 'the iron curtain'.* (FO 1110/221/PR3361/33/913)

Nevertheless, if, for some reason, Orwell would not consider conducting negotiations for a Russian-language publication of *Animal Farm*, Puachev asked Orwell to give them the right of conducting such negotiations on his behalf. He justifies his request in his letter:

> *We ask you please to not think that this letter has been sent to you with any mercenary motives, but exclusively in the interests of the cause of combating Bolshevism, which the cause of your book serves so brilliantly.* (FO 1110/221/PR3361/33/913)

Orwell's book was to have an enormous impact on the Russian reading public, and this was the message that the IRD wanted to hear, namely that *Animal Farm* 'serves so brilliantly' in combating Bolshevism. The IRD and *Possev* were aware that the book would play a compelling role in the Russian-speaking world and so in cooperation with Orwell and his connection this operation took on a different shape. Orwell was keen to publish his book in Russia and on 20 July, 1949, about a month after he had received

Possev's letter, Orwell wrote to Leonard Moore, his literary agent, to tell him of the letter from *Possev* and his efforts to get the IRD to coordinate the translation, publication, and circulation of *Animal Farm*:

> *I am also trying to pull a wire at the Foreign Office to see if they will subscribe a bit. I'm afraid it's not likely. They will throw millions down the drain on useless radio propaganda, but not finance books.* (Orwell, 2013, p. 480)

Davison (cited in Orwell, 2013) claims that Orwell's complaint of 'useless radio propaganda' was based on his experience during his two wasted years at the BBC. This also shows both Orwell's proposition to apply the books as propaganda tools rather than 'useless' radio propaganda and that he very much appreciated the effectiveness of the book. Literature also corroborates the application of international radio broadcasting in propaganda and, as Rawnsley (1996) claims, radio made by far its most significant contribution to the Cold War propaganda.

The Russian translation of *Animal Farm*, *Skotskii Khutor*, which was done by M. Kriger and Gleb Struve, first appeared in *Possev* magazine (Nos. 7–25, 1949), and was published as a book in 1950 (Davison, in Orwell, 2013). The book was published in two versions, one on ordinary paper for circulation in Western Europe and one on thin paper for circulation behind the Iron Curtain. It is important to mention that Orwell did not – on principle – request any benefit from his work distributed in Communist-dominated countries (ibid.). Orwell was aware of the power of translation to reach wider audiences; he particularly wanted to reach Russian-speaking audiences as they strongly related with his book. By authorising the distribution of Orwell's work in *Possev*, the IRD rearranged Orwell's relationship with other publishers supported by the government (Rubin, 2012).

We shall now examine examples of how it was possible to publish a translated version of *Animal Farm* in Arabic and how the RIOs react to this case. Another region that was a political priority for the British government was the Middle East; consequently, to publish books with a potent propaganda effect was of considerable importance in that region also. On April 4, 1949, Ernest Main of the British Embassy in Cairo wrote to the head of the IRD, Ralph Murray. His expressed fear was the vulnerability of Saudi Arabian oil workers to Communist propaganda, and he had been 'taken with the relevance of Orwell's fairy story' in *Animal Farm* and mentioned his interest in an Arabic language edition to be circulated in Cairo if this had not been done already:

> *The idea is particularly good for Arabic in view of the fact that both pigs and dogs are unclean animals to Moslems. … Having read it I at once took the views of Egyptian staff and they agreed with me that this could do very well, and most opportunely, be translated into Arabic. They were indeed very enthusiastic over the idea.* (FO 1110/221/PR4001/31/49)

It is clear that the IRD wanted to maximise the effect of Orwell's *Animal Farm* in the Arab world. The book was an excellent opportunity to combat Communism in the region and the fact that Islam considers pigs and dogs to be unclean would, it was hoped, help to create effective anti-Communist propaganda. That the local Egyptian staff were 'indeed very enthusiastic' helped the Cairo officers to convince the IRD to publish the book in Arabic. The excitement of *Animal Farm* and pig is also evidence of how locally specific cultural arguments were used as supportive subtopics whilst promoting the anti-Communist cause.

In the same file there is a discussion about copyright clearance of *Animal Farm* for planned distribution in Egypt and on 4 April, 1949, the IRD official Adam Watson wrote:

> *I think Animal Farm has been done in a number of languages – even Polish. Has it ever been done in Arabic? In any case, the more the merrier. Whatever does transpire, Kirwan might keep Mr Orwell in the picture.* (FO 1110/221/PR920/33/913)

The broader circulation of the *Animal Farm* in different languages would help the IRD to spread its message. The efforts of the IRD to circulate *Animal Farm* shows the dynamic of the IRD and their belief in the potency of Orwell's anti-communism themes; thus 'in any case, the more, the merrier' (ibid.). An information counsellor at the British embassy in Cairo, Rodwick Parkes, wrote to the IRD's Ralph Murray, on 25 October, 1950:

> *It is generally agreed that [Animal Farm] would have excellent propaganda value and wide popular appeal in the Middle East.* (FO 1110/319/PR/48/82/G)

'Excellent propaganda value' and 'popular appeal' are two keywords that emphasise the IRD's approach to Orwell's *Animal Farm* and show how the embassies saw the book as a valuable tool for their propaganda activities and their aim to reach wider audiences.

The IRD's close relationship with the United States is outside the scope of this research (see Defty, 2004 for the US and UK relations). Nevertheless, in this particular case, which relates to *Animal Farm* in Arabic, I want to show a small example of their close relationship. Rodwick Parkes of the British embassy in Cairo had a colleague at the American embassy who suggested that they should cooperate over the publication of *Animal Farm* (FO 1110/319/PR/48/82/G). There were some issues in this collaboration, however. The Americans had access to large stocks of paper which they could use without restriction, but their budgetary control did not allow them to make any cash payments for this type of purpose. The Foreign Office was more relaxed about cash disbursements and so the suggestion was that if the IRD met the cash payments and

the United States provided paper and services, useful and economic results could be achieved (ibid.).

According to the project outline, the IRD would arrange for copyright clearance and it would be responsible for paying (in cash) royalties to the translator for the use of his translation. The US Information Exchange (USIE), the predecessor of the US Information Agency, would provide the paper for text, covers, and illustrations. It would commission an artist to draw the illustrations and design the cover and would engrave and print them. Besides, it would arrange for the printing and binding of the books, and the IRD would provide money for paying the publisher. The USIE, in turn, would arrange for the publisher to distribute the book (ibid.). The archival material shows how the IRD and the US officers were focussed and planned well in this joint operation. The translation of *Animal Farm* demonstrates Gramsci's 'division of labour' as both actors – the UK and the United States – played a significant part in arranging this process.

With the support of the USIE, the IRD found an 'extremely well known' translator, Abbas Hafez, an editor of the Arab News Agency in Cairo, who had translated Winston Churchill's speeches as well as his *War Memoirs* into Arabic (FO 1110/319/PR/48/82/G). That translation was then published by a major Egyptian publisher based in Alexandria, the Al-Ma'arif Publishing House, with which the USIE had done considerable business and who had direct contact with the big bookshops and libraries in Egypt. Al-Ma'arif published the book and circulated it throughout the Middle East, in Beirut, Baghdad, Khartoum, Mecca, Bahrain, Aden, and throughout North Africa (ibid.). The choice of these places was also related to foreign policy as the government wanted to maintain its influence in the region and resist the spread of the idea of Communism among Arab oil workers.

This Cairo case demonstrates the IRD wanted to work with the publishing houses with whom the USIE had direct contact, and this strategy shows the close relationship between the UK and the United States in their propaganda policy. The IRD was careful in its choice of writers and publishers. its goal was working with local translators and publishers, and this enabled the IRD to have a greater understanding of how to place its books in the area and use these networks to spread its message. The Anglo-American relationship played a significant role in combatting totalitarian threats in the defence of Western civilization and values that were embedded with the UK's and the US's national identities. The IRD was careful to avoid creating an affiliation with the material that was distributed and produced. The emphasis on secrecy by the IRD and its American partner was crucial, and this strategy was one of the primary characteristics of their book publishing activities. The IRD believed that if the official sources of the material were concealed the effects of the material would travel more widely, and the books would have a higher chance of being diffused efficiently without the label of officialdom on them.

In February 1955 the IRD produced a small report showing a list of the languages for which the rights to *1984* had been cleared or in which the book was about to be produced, namely Burmese, Chinese, Danish, Dutch, French, German, Finnish, Hebrew, Italian, Japanese, Indonesian, Latvian, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Spanish, and Swedish (FO 1110/738). According to the letter written by the 'Editorial Adviser' in the IRD, on 21 February, 1955, there is good reason to believe that publishing rights to *1984* in Icelandic, Tamil, Malayalam, Kanarese, Telugu, Urdu, and Bengali were cleared by the Americans (FO 1110/738/PR/121/68/G). At the special request of the Colonial Office, the IRD had also cleared the right to distribute the cartoon strip of *Animal Farm* in Cyprus, Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Nigeria, Trinidad, Jamaica, Fiji, British Guiana, and British Honduras (FO 1110/740/PR/124/3/G). As the Orwell case shows, intellectuals can access media and have discursive strategies that allow them to manipulate or influence opinion and this privileged access to public discourse can serve the authority (Van Dijk, 1998). The function of the intellectuals in responding to Communist ideologies and the IRD's effort in publishing their works made these books part of its worldwide operation, especially with the IRD's translation operation. Furthermore, this case reveals the role of individual people in contributing to the image and identity of their nation. The political elites believed that the IRD's activities could foster a more appealing image of the UK than would overt anti-Soviet attacks and so intellectuals/writers were among the principal actors in the process of defining and spreading a particular understanding of national identity.

The IRD was very keen to work with Orwell, and his reciprocal desire was a strong reason for the IRD to be in touch. Orwell was also ready to share the names of 'fellow travellers', that is, unreliable persons who were philosophically sympathetic to Communism, and crypto-Communists, secret supporters of Communism, and maybe Party members. Orwell supplied names of individuals whom he saw as sympathetic to the Soviet Union, and thus the IRD should not approach them to act as cold warriors. When the famous Orwell list was released in 1996, it received a significant amount of public attention. There are plenty of articles and research (see Deery, 1997; Wilford, 2003; Rubin, 2012) about this list.

Orwell's involvement with the IRD can be seen as one of the most controversial activities of his career. The IRD tried to employ Orwell, and he permitted the IRD to circulate his current books. He also offered a list of intellectuals who were supposed to be crypto-Communists and therefore not appropriate for the IRD purposes (Smith, 2010). Nevertheless, Orwell may not have been aware that by handing names to the IRD, he was making those names available for whatever purpose or use by the state; thus, the list was not just a friendly effort to employ writers to represent British interest overseas (Rubin, 2012). This relationship was a cultural and political reaction to the Soviet impact

on European countries and the need to protect their way of life against the Soviet threat; the propaganda value of the book was strong, so this helped the West to attack its 'enemy' and distribute its message because the images and symbols of the British way of life aimed to create a profound impression nationally and internationally.

One should also note that there were benefits for the writers themselves. The British and United States' departments, the IRD, CIA, and others, lifted Orwell's profile in the late 1940s and 1950s despite his tragic early death (Shaw, 2003). It is clear that his books played a long-term role in the Cold War propaganda conflict and demonstrated 'the paramount importance of linguistic issues – including the use and abuse of concepts such as freedom, tyranny, democracy and truth, as well as totalitarianism – within that conflict' (ibid., p. 164). It is hard to track the full extent of Orwell's involvement with the IRD because we only have the two letters that survive in the archives, his correspondence with Kirwan and the correspondence with *Possev*. His relationship with the IRD is murky, and his motivation for collaboration with an agency of the British State in the first place seems to some strange given his political stance. When Orwell's associations with the IRD became sensational news in 2003, it seemed that 'he betrayed his side to the powers; he had changed his side' (Deery, 1997, p. 221). The IRD was established by a Labour government, and Orwell was one of the supporters of the Labour Party. Orwell's opposition to Stalinism and its British intellectual advocates dated from even before the Spanish Civil War in 1936–38 (Rodden and Rossi, 2007). It is clear that Orwell was anti-totalitarian and he was opposed to all kind of tyrannies such as those of Nationalist Spain or Nazi Germany or of the totalitarian Left in Stalinist Russia (ibid.).

Nevertheless, this does not change the fact that Orwell's books served the state in its political campaign. Orwell's books, in a way, supported the interests of the UK and helped to distribute the dominant narrative of the national 'Self', the 'we' (the West, the free world) and its image abroad. Was this instrumental approach something Orwell felt happy with or was it something he would reject if he had lived longer? It is a difficult question to answer. He might well have thought that as the IRD had a secret operation, discreet help to it would not have done any harm and he acted as in accordance with his beliefs. In the next section, I will look at two other very well-known writers, Bertrand Russell and Arthur Koestler, and other intellectuals and their connections with the IRD.

5.6.3 The IRD, State Message, and Intellectuals

The IRD put substantial effort into widening its circle of intellectuals, as it was aware that working closely with writers who had the power to shape public opinion would help to fight against Communism and to promote and protect Western values. Bertrand Russell, who later won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1950, is another excellent example of this intellectual circle with which the IRD was in touch. Russell authored several of the Background Books and was undoubtedly one of the most intellectually

respected authors of the day. Russell had three short political books printed by Batchworth Press in its Background Books series, *Why Communism Must Fail?* (1951), *What Is Freedom?* (1952), and *What Is Democracy?* (1953). The publication of these books was supported by IRD and in this section, I will examine Russell's relationship with the IRD.

On 12 December, 1951, Russell's literary agent Colin Wintle wrote him a letter about two Background Books – *What Is Freedom?* and *What Is Democracy?* Wintle gave Russell extensive requirements as to what would be needed in the publications:

> *Inherent in the discussion would be the contrasts between the freedoms enjoyed outside and those enjoyed inside the Communist world. While the writer should not assume that his readers would have more than a layman's knowledge of politics and philosophy, it would of course be inappropriate to deal with the theme in unmodified blacks and whites, or by an emotional approach. Full allowance should be made for the imperfections of the non-Communist world, but a firm stand taken about absolute standards of individual freedom – a point upon which one could well afford to dogmatise. … Briefly, the editor envisages an essay which would accept the proposition that the prospects of human freedom are better outside Marxism Leninism Stalinism and would develop arguments to show why this is so.* (Bone, 2005)

According to Bone (2005), this curious correspondence shows that 'Russell was privy to Foreign Office material even before the inception of IRD' and he liked a 'close and comfortable connection with the department [IRD]'. This 'close and comfortable connection' can be related to the operation and distribution power of the IRD that would help intellectuals broaden their circle and reach bigger audiences. It is clear that the IRD was keen to sponsor anti-Communist works by well-known independent leftist writers and it is thus understandable that the IRD would be eager to have Russell, a well-known anti-Communist on the political left, as one of their writers (Clontz, 2004). On the other hand, the IRD was very eager to know which writers were not politically reliable, as was discussed earlier with Orwell's unreliable name list. According to Garton Ash, the IRD insiders told him that Russell, unlike some others, knew full well that Background Books was surreptitiously funded by a propaganda wing of the FO (ibid.). Russell later chose to reprint two of these short booklets as component essays in his collection *Fact and Fiction*, which was published in the UK by Allen and Unwin in 1961 and in the United States by Simon and Schuster in 1962 (ibid.).

Clontz (2004) claims Russell compromised himself in two important respects:

> *The first is that he violated his own belief in the paramount importance of the individual being able to make judgments on their merits without societal or*

political pressure, in the full light of evidence that should be freely available to all. By hiding the fact that he had engaged in surreptitious propaganda Russell deeply compromised himself. He also compromised himself by presenting himself as a detached, independent observer of political trends, one who was not beholden to hidden or special interests. In effect, therefore, Russell lied to his readers by not revealing the provenance of the writing of these works.

This is substantial testimony to what happens when the intellectual secretly involves himself with the state and becomes part of its propaganda operation. When writers are power holders, with the ability to influence people's opinion with their cultural product, a close working relationship with them was a significant advantage for the IRD to broadcast its message. As a reader, it is impossible to track these hidden relations; as Clontz emphasises, by not disclosing the background of his work for the IRD Russell lied to his readers. One can argue that intellectuals need to reveal their relationship with authority; this is where Gramsci (2000) comes to the stage and criticises. Does one group, writers, holding power and representing the message/ideology of the authority, thereby damage their intellectual position or do they even fit in this category anymore? Intellectuals have a meaningful cultural and political function in society and their overt or covert involvement with the authority does raise the question of the purposes of intellectual activity. This is also related to the concept of hegemony (Gramsci, 2000), namely, how the ideologies of dominant social groups are maintained and power is shared with the authority.

Bone (2005) points out that in Russell's correspondence with his editors at Background Books, Colin Wintle and Stephen Watts, 'the ideological thrust of the project comes across quite clearly'. Consequently, this was an apparent relationship between the authority and the cultural producer. Russell even received explicit editorial guidelines from Wintle for his book *What Is Freedom?* – namely, that Russell 'should accept the proposition that the prospects of freedom are better outside Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism and develop arguments to show why this is so' (Clontz, 2004). As letters in the Russell Archives at McMaster University revealed, Russell wrote anti-Communist propaganda on explicit instruction from the anti-Communist propaganda machine of a government agency (ibid.). He also indicates that he well recognised the direct ideological nature of the publications of which he was to be a part.

Bertrand Russell's book served as a vital tool for projecting authority and power abroad as did the work of other writers who the IRD supported. Russell's close relationship with the power and permitting his work to be part of the propaganda structure was his choice; nevertheless, this brings up the question of how he fits in the category of intellectual with the choice he made. The IRD's intellectuals were part of a strategy that the authority wanted to control, spreading and protecting the 'British way of life',

'Western democracy', and 'anti-communism' – broadly the UK's national identity. By being part of the discourse and political establishment, they engaged with this political agenda and promoted the ideology of the authority. In other words, they were part of the strategy that aimed to shape public opinion and promote a particular version of the UK's national identity. We have to acknowledge the importance of the intellectual in the maintenance of narratives about the UK's power and role in the early Cold War.

In the next paragraphs, I will consider Arthur Koestler, another controversial figure who had a close relationship with the IRD. Koestler's case provides a noteworthy episode from the archival material. He was one of the influential writers who engaged with anti-propaganda activities and had a substantial part in the IRD's book operation. His book *Darkness at Noon* became one of the vital propaganda books. He occupied an active position in the IRD by being an advisor in their activities. As mentioned above, the IRD's officers were in touch with Koestler and, according to the letter from Ralph Murray from the IRD to C.F.A. Warner:

> *As a first step, I wonder whether Mr. Mayhew would consider speaking to Mr. Gollancz and putting to him that the national interest required the organisation of publications of this sort. We could suggest a number of titles and even authors (Mr. Koestler has personally said he would write something if required) and we could assist any particular writer with background information from the resources of our research, if he wished. I do not think that Mr. Gollancz's conception of his own independence and importance would make it advisable to suggest any greater degree of cooperation between a Department and his firm. He would, for instance, probably like to choose his own authors and subjects, and it would be entirely up to him whether or not there was good business in the project.* (FO 1110/221/PR/505/G)

As the correspondence shows, the IRD put great effort into finding the right publishers and authors for its operation, as we have seen in Section 5.3. The text clearly indicates Koestler's connection with the IRD. He was willing to contribute and 'write something if required'. The correspondence demonstrates one of the IRD's working methods, to 'assist any particular writer with background information from the resources of our research', which shows how the IRD wanted to give any support for a writer who wanted to contribute to the IRD's works.

Bringing more writers to their activities and the different publishing solutions both at home and abroad was difficult for the IRD, as the correspondence shows:

> *If such approach could be made and it was successful, we have little doubt that the foreign rights of the books, if they were as striking as we might be sure Mr. Gollancz would make them, could become politically quite important; moreover,*

in places where sales of them might slacken due to lack of publishing enterprise, we might be able to intervene unobtrusively to cause them to appear in suitable cheap editions. (FO 1110/221/PR/505/G)

The IRD put meaningful effort into finding the right people for its publishing operation, and Koestler was also supportive of this idea both with his writing and in helping the IRD to find suitable publishing outlets. The text shows that the IRD wanted to make the books appeal to the serious reader with their physical appearance; however, this depended on finding a 'publishing enterprise' that would be managing this operation. The IRD was ready to 'intervene unobtrusively' and cause them to appear 'in suitable cheap editions'. Koestler's idea and support for cheap editions came from the 'Left Book Club' type of publication that had originally offered Communist and pro-Soviet propaganda but had broken free and become non-Communist left after 1939. This is also an indication of how the IRD closely followed and tried to create the same effect as the books that were aiding Communist ideology. Besides, it shows how the UK wanted to define 'self', because identity is always the result of a connection between the 'self' and the 'other' (Campbell, 1992). Book publishing efforts on both sides of the Iron Curtain were based on presenting a positive image of their way of life – national self/image.

Making the most of personal connections and networks was a modus operandi for the IRD and the other intelligence agencies – in other words building 'elite knowledge networks' (Parmar, 2019). We have already seen how this helped in the relationship between Orwell and the IRD, and this is also the case with Koestler. He was sent on a tour of the United States with the cooperation of the US Intelligence, and he aimed to set up a network of intellectuals, many of whom had in the past been fellow travellers of Communism, to help the Anglo-American elites fight the Cold War (Meyer and Steinberg, 2004). Koestler set up a working relationship with the CIA, and they focussed together on intellectuals and trade unionists, in other words, the 'non-Communist left' as the State Department described them (ibid.). His sister-in-law, Celia Kirwan, through her work for the IRD and her close relationship with Orwell, made the relationship between the IRD and the authors special and this is also an indication of how personal connections played a unique role in the IRD's operations. This is also related to how cultural diplomacy works, as Arndt (2006) points out, 'if intellect and government intersect in the individual, cultural diplomacy, in particular, begins and ends with people'. Therefore, it is hard to ignore the role of the personal connections of the IRD's officers in the success of the department's activities.

The non-Communist left was considered as the way to the hearts and minds of the intellectuals in Europe, which Koestler was very keen to promote (Pybus, 2001). The IRD recognised the left-wing people and institutions that saw themselves as the centre of power and wished to cooperate with them (Saunders, 1999). The desire of the IRD in

this collaboration was based on two lines: first 'to acquire a proximity to "progressive" groups in order to monitor their activities; second, to dilute the impact of these groups by achieving influence from within or by drawing its members into a parallel – and subtly less radical – forum' (Saunders, 1999, p. 235). Koestler was very keen to publish his books, and he reviewed with the FO the probability of translating and spreading his account of *The God That Failed* in Germany (Lashmar and Oliver, 1998; Wilford, 2003).

Koestler benefited from his close relationship with the IRD and its propaganda campaigns – 50,000 copies of his book *Darkness at Noon*, a powerful fictional representation of Stalinist political terror, were bought by the FO in 1948 and circulated in Germany (Wilford 2003; Meyer and Steinberg, 2004). As Koestler's close involvement with the IRD shows, it is not a question of saying that intellectuals must not be involved in politics, it is rather the question of secrecy and managing this power relation in the background. As Koestler's case shows, the intimate involvement of the intellectual in the IRD's work can be seen as self-interest and the pursuit of self-publicity, since the idea of their work being published and travelling around the world sounds significantly appealing, and it is what most writers wish for. This understanding illustrated an established British governmental view that propaganda was essential but most effective when overt links to its origin were not apparent. The UK, however, as a democracy, desired to ensure that it did not seem to be exercising the same tactics as those of the totalitarian governments it wanted to combat (Smith, 2010). This reveals the political elites' own understanding of 'self' and the image that they wanted to promote, protect, and project against the 'other'. A state reproduces its own identity through daily social practice, and this identity shows its preferences (Hopf, 1998). As this case shows, the function of the intellectuals and their works in (re)constructing national identity was vital, and the predominant discourse of national identity was propagated by the political elites through intellectuals'/writers' books – in other words, national identity promoted through carefully constructed public and cultural diplomacy activities.

In addition to the authors already named that is, Orwell, Russell, and Koestler, who can be considered as big names, the IRD also distributed the work of other second-tier authors. For example, Richard Crossman, a Labour MP and future cabinet minister who had edited *The God that Failed*; Harold Laski, a highly influential left academic, author of *Faith, Reason, and Civilization*; and Ruth Fischer, the author of *Stalin and German Communism* (Rubin, 2012). Additionally, IRD authors like Tosco Fyvel who wrote: *What Is Culture?* (1953), merely framed the IRD research papers to be published as Background Books, in other words, they presented government material as independent studies (Lashmar and Oliver, 1998). I turn now to examine two examples of lesser-known writers that will help to create a clear picture of the IRD's operations and close relationships with intellectual circles. The first case is that of writer and journalist

Brian Crozier and the second is ex-Communist Ruth Fischer, who became an anti-Communist writer.

Intellectuals, as agents of power, had a close relationship with the IRD. In many cases, the IRD directly commissioned Background Books from reliable, confidential connections, frequently with secret service or FO experience, such as Robert Bruce Lockhart, and Christopher Mayhew (Defty, 2004). The IRD also provided source material to commissioned authors such as Brian Crozier, who later served as a consultant for the IRD, when he was working for the *Economist* in the 1960s:

> *Before leaving The Economist, I had already, on contract, transformed a thick folder of IRD documents into a short book called Neo-Colonialism, published some months later by the Bodley Head as one of a series of 'Background Books' edited by Stephen Watts. … The point of the book was to demolish the Communist claim that 'imperialist' companies continued to exploit colonies after independence had been granted. … As a consultant to IRD, I would be required to spend one morning a week at IRD's crumbling quarters in Carlton House Gardens, advising various departments. I would also write occasional research papers.* (Crozier, 1993, pp. 51–52)

As Crozier points out, the IRD wanted to 'demolish the Communist claim' with its publications. With his close relations with the IRD he 'transformed a thick folder of the IRD documents into a short book' and he also did consulting work for the IRD. He was fully aware of the IRD's operations. This also shows how the department worked closely with the influencers – intellectuals and writers. Because they had access to the public discourse well-known authors were one of the vital elements of this strategy to create appeal for audiences.

One of the IRD's publishing strategies was getting in touch with writers who were committed and independent anti-Communists; this type of writer needed only the IRD's logistical help. For example, in the late 1940s, the IRD worked with the ex-Communist leader and current anti-Communist writer Ruth Fischer after her publication in the United States of *Stalin and German Communism*. Fischer had been the general secretary of the German Communist Party until 1926 when she was expelled as a 'Trotskyite' (Jenks, 2006). The IRD helped to publicise the book by arranging for BBC reviews and encouraging their American colleagues to put out a German translation and an abridged edition (ibid.). A few months later, when Fischer wanted to come to London, the IRD arranged for the government to pay her way (ibid.). Fischer's agent was hoping to host a press conference in London and get Fischer on the BBC to talk about Stalin's plans for Germany, and later the IRD hired her to write two anti-Communist pamphlets (ibid.).

Intellectual liberty has been one of the distinctive characters of Western civilization. During the Cold War, in Western rhetoric, the West was the free world,

whereas the Soviet bloc was a 'slave empire' (Barnhisel, 2014). In general, Cold War-era arguments maintained that the social and economic freedoms of the West permitted people to express their fundamental freedom and self-determination (ibid.). Intellectual freedom was portrayed as an essential element of the UK's national identity/image. However, the writers that the IRD worked with were not all in agreement with the message that the department wanted to spread. There were writers critical towards the 'free world' (Jenks, 2006; Smith, 2010). C. M. Woodhouse's *Post-War Britain* (1966), for example, presented the history of the UK after 1945 with some criticism; similarly, Bryan Magee's *The Democratic Revolution* (1964), openly criticised capitalism and communism alike (Smith, 2010). This approach indicates that the IRD's books tolerated criticism of 'self' (the West) and represented the pluralism of Western society. While the IRD expected the books to have unique importance in their work of exposing Communism and openly rejecting Communist theories and methods, it cautioned that some books criticised the 'free world'. Hence the IRD created tables which indicated these critical passages and let the RIOs decide whether offence was likely to be taken or damage done if the books were circulated locally (ibid.).

Western ideas of freedom and individualism were promoted as contrasts to Soviet Russia, where intellectual life was constrained, dishonest, and servile (Barnhisel, 2014). For example, the suspect British left 'were to be taught to disregard Communist propaganda, overcome any "anti-American" prejudice they might harbour, and learn how to like the American allies even more' (Goodman, 1996, p. 349). However, there were many voices on the Labour left that found it difficult to accept that British Labour had allied itself with American capitalism. Furthermore, the Keep Left faction of the Labour Party, which had overcome the old socialist sentimentality about Soviet communism, nevertheless considered Bevin's foreign policy as being disloyal to socialist principles (ibid.). It should be noted that the IRD also worked closely with leading religious figures and writers, particularly with the Church of England. A focus on religious themes demonstrated a contrast between the West and its religious tolerance and the Soviet attitudes (Kirby, 2013; Lashmar and Oliver, 1998). It is clear that intellectuals and political elites saw Western values and democracy as positive aspects of their country's national identity to be promoted. This is greatly related to the narratives that were constructed by the UK's political elites aiming to create a role model for Europe and the rest of the world. It is beyond the scope of this research to offer an investigation into individual books and their message. Also, it is hard to track the extent to which the IRD edited, manipulated, or trimmed the texts, but it is fair to say that the final products that were presented were acceptable for the IRD's aims (Smith, 2010). It is not straightforward to see the IRD's system of control over the material that was written by the authors.

Although the IRD officers themselves may not have directly interfered in the creation of the text of the books that they funded, they would have wanted to make sure that the end products provided material suitable for their purposes, and it is clear that unsuitable material was not subsidised (ibid.). Ex-IRD official Tucker extolled the integrity of the intellectual material created by authors and portrayed the production as being:

> *Entirely their own thoughts. ... All we did was identify an author who obviously we thought had views not dissimilar to our own – but who then took a subject and wrote about it as he would normally.* (Tucker, 1996, p. 6)

There is some evidence that the IRD shaped the intellectual content of material that it subsidised, monitoring the scope of what the contracted books concealed and requesting amendments if some political opinion was not appropriate for the objectives of the series (Smith, 2010). Academics like Lyn Smith (1980, p. 77) claim, 'there is no evidence that writers' views were trimmed to particular political lines' and that, 'rather it was the case that if their independent opinions fitted in with the IRD's requirements, then their output would be used'. Wilford (2003) claims the idea of starting an intellectual front in the Cold War had been rejected by the British government officials and that that method would have to wait for developments by the Americans.

One could argue that the authors with whom the IRD had a close relationship were motivated by self-publicity because being published around the world was an attractive offer. Nevertheless, it is clear that the IRD evaluated the publishers and editors and identified sympathetic writers to be approached for a specific title through its network of contract staff, such as Sheridan and Watts and the editor Michael Goodwin-Bellman (Smith, 2010). The discussion around which books would be produced and distributed indicates a collective effort between the state and the private organisations. Intellectuals play a significant role between the state and civil society (where dominant groups organise and maintain consent). Through these civil societies, the ideologies of hegemonic groups turned into the common sense of society and the interests of the dominant group turned out to be the interest of the nation (Gramsci, 1971). In many cases, the writers were aware that the material they were creating was being developed with the encouragement of the IRD, and so the writers were aware of the desired outcome and the arguments that were expected by the IRD (ibid.). Intellectuals were somehow being subsidised or paid by agencies of a government for specific services, in this case publishing their books. This may demonstrate a problematic relationship with the independent free-minded writers and question their relationship with the power.

The IRD considered intellectuals as one of the active powers that could pass the state's message to mass audiences; the intellectuals' ability to capture the hearts and minds of the public was seen as very valuable. Regarding the relationship between the intellectuals and the IRD, there are two different classes of author – the first were people

who did not know the relationship between the IRD and the publishing house; indeed, they were not aware of the IRD. An example is Bryan Magee, who wrote *The Democratic Revolution* (1964) and was unaware that the IRD was behind the Background Books (Lashmar and Oliver, 1998). The second type were authors like Orwell, Russell, and Koestler, who knew the goals of Background Books and the identity of its patrons.

As the archival material shows, the government exercised its power over different countries by using writers' books for its foreign policy; hence, their independence as intellectuals would have at least been suspect. The IRD's relationship with writers and the British government's encouragement of them to publish books that served the government agenda highlights the uncomfortable nature of the IRD's relation with British publishing houses as this support remained covert. This also opens a discussion about the IRD's position within British intellectual culture during the Cold War. The IRD's relationship with the authors shows that intellectuals have lots to offer when it comes to using culture in foreign policy. Books as weapons to win hearts and minds were taken seriously by the IRD, and it is clear that books assumed a vital position in winning people over to the British way of life and projecting, promoting, and protecting the national identity. The research shows that intellectuals/authors were among the key figures that helped the political elites to craft these discourses into narratives. The IRD's books functioned as a tool for identity promotion, and the close relationship between the political elites and intellectuals shows how national identity was propagated from above and promoted through public and cultural diplomacy activities.

The IRD was a front-line body, in a battle without bullets but with words, to demolish the 'Soviet myth' during the Cold War. Printed books are an attractive instrument of propaganda, and by using Orwell's books, the IRD wanted to progress its foreign policy aim of fighting against communism and the Soviet Union and introducing Western democratic ideals against totalitarian regimes. Approved intellectuals and books aimed to provide foreign and domestic audiences with information about the UK, its culture, people, institutions, and successes. The idea was these materials and famous intellectuals would increase the nation's prestige and image overseas. It is remarkable to see the ability that the British government had in spreading its values in the form of Gramscian cultural hegemony by using books which have a significant impact in changing people's 'hearts and minds'. Also, it is clear that the IRD shaped the intellectual life of the time by funding and controlling the translation, publication, and distribution of books in different regions.

The defence of Western values against all totalitarian threats was one of the key narratives of the national identity of the UK. The West featured individual self-determination of artists and writers and the UK's approach was promoting the superiority of the Western civilisation and values with a strong emphasis on the British way of life.

The IRD's support of books that had a critical approach to capitalism emphasised that Western freedom encouraged a flourishing culture of artists and intellectuals, while the Soviet system was silent and often punished those with creative talent (Hixson, 1998). 'Intellectual' as an identity was closely associated with freedom and the IRD wanted to keep this image; this was an essential aspect of the UK's self-representation as the country did not want to create an image in which there was no intellectual freedom (Scott-Smith, 2002). To display the UK's successes in scientific, professional, technical, and cultural fields was the aim of the political elites and they thought the books could tell the country's story and create a most favourable picture of the country. The IRD wanted to praise free creative individuals and this fitted Western rhetoric against Soviet totalitarianism. Furthermore, publishing Orwell's *Animal Farm* jointly with the United States shows that alliances also contributed to form an identity as the 'special relationship' took a crucial role in defining the West and the 'other', Soviet Russia.

The relationships between writers and their audiences engaging with their cultural product were handled by the IRD, which helped to make the writers who were part of their operation visible and intellectually much more recognisable. Reproduction of a writer's books in different languages and their engagement with audiences abroad were made available by the hand of the IRD, and this created an attractive relationship between the writers and the IRD. The function of books, as a cultural product, and their writers, as cultural producers, were part of a self-presentation that served to maintain and reproduce the power of the state and develop its hegemony. The intellectuals were part of the formulation of a discourse on the British identity in the early Cold War at a time when the UK was losing its global power status and image. National identity was constantly reconstructed through the foreign policy procedure, and as the case of the IRD shows, intellectuals were part of this self-other relationship. Furthermore, the intellectuals took part in the UK's effort to promote the UK's national identity, as Gramsci illustrates; they played their part in the 'division of labour'.

The transmission of ideas and text via printed material, especially books, creates strong evidence for our understanding of the position of the intellectual in foreign policy. The involvement of famous writers such as Orwell, Russell, and Koestler offers excellent evidence for the political and cultural aspects of cultural production during this period. The function of the intellectuals, especially writers, in cultural diplomacy is meaningful because they are among the most 'rewarding participants in intellectual encounter, which often appears to score its greatest success when the dialogue is between writers on opposite sides of a political barrier' (Mitchell, 1986, p. 208). As Arndt (2006) says, cultural diplomacy in particular 'begins and ends with people'; nevertheless, it is the matter of the overt and covert relationships between the authority and intellectuals which helps our understanding of the power relations in culture and foreign policy. In the next chapter, I

investigate the close relationship in the Cold War between the IRD and the official cultural diplomacy branch, the British Council.

5.7 The IRD and the British Council

This section focuses on the British Council's role as the 'chief agency' for UK cultural diplomacy and its interactions with the IRD in the conduct of British foreign policy. It aims to display how the two organisations shared in the crafting of Cold War-era public and cultural diplomacy and highlight their joint efforts to use books as tools to project, promote and protect British national identity. This section is divided into three sub-sections. The first section offers a brief contextual introduction to the BC. The second details how the BC and the IRD propagated the ideas of democracy and the 'British way of life' through books. Finally, the third demonstrates how the IRD used BC libraries in various regions to distribute books.

The British Council: 'Officially Unofficial'

The creation of the BC in 1934 as a new cultural-relations institution was based on the need to produce a powerful ideological message to the fascist powers of Germany and Italy. It was also founded to serve as the UK's new international cultural-relations instrument. The British government had been slow to counter hostile cultural propaganda between the two world wars. It needed to act to withstand the development of state-subsidised propaganda from other countries that sought to damage the UK's political and commercial predominance (Mitchell, 1986; Coombs, 1988; Van Kessel, 2011). By the 1930s, it was apparent that the UK needed an organisation dedicated to promoting the UK as an open, democratic country – to promoting its national identity. The organisation would work to counter fascist propaganda and conduct:

> *British cultural propaganda with other countries on the basis of reciprocity, sending out British speakers abroad and bringing foreign speakers to the UK to lecture here and meet people of similar interests in this country. It will also establish English libraries for the free exchange of learning and ideas.* (Roman, 2016, p. 109)

The BC's first task was clear: take over the cultural commitment of the FO News Department and work to circulate books (Taylor, 1989; Coleman, 2008). Until 1934, the News Department was the UK's only response to the danger presented by the fascist powers, and its work was restricted to the distribution of news and factual responses to the fascist threat (Eastment, 1982). In June 1934, British missions abroad received a memorandum from the FO announcing the establishment of this new body, the British Council for Relations with Other Countries.

The decision to create an entity specially designed to conduct cultural propaganda moved British foreign policy away from more aggressive traditional methods and into a new era, one defined by peacetime propaganda and cultural diplomacy (Black, 1975; Taylor, 1999). The BC was a strong response to aggressive foreign propaganda

against British interests and prestige (Taylor, 1978; Mitchell, 1986; Van Kessel, 2011). The BC's efforts enabled the UK to keep pace in a world full of national propaganda programmes

The BC's primary goal was to develop narrative about the British way of life. The government pursued this strategy to prevent smaller powers in the world from being drawn into extremist camp. In this way, the government hoped to maintain the perception of the UK as a country with power and prestige. By illustrating the attributes of British civilisation and promoting its national identity, the government sought to demonstrate that British society still had much to offer the world (Taylor, 1978). The BC showed that 'British identity was embodied by institutions that were thought to express underlying British principles'; it showcased the 'elitist preference for thinking in terms of civilizational progress' (Van Kessel, 2011, p. 136). The BC was a natural outcome of the increasing importance of cultural foreign policy and is an exemplary illustration of how to coordinate the representation of national culture (Glover, 2011; Van Kessel, 2011). The organisation demonstrates that the construction of national identity and the conduct of foreign policy are closely interwoven.

The BC aimed to make British thought and the British 'way of life' understood internationally. While the organisation was officially non-governmental, it was closely related to the FO from the beginning (Van Kessel, 2011). The BC was led by government representatives; the political and economic instrumentality of its projection of national culture was made abundantly clear to the public (Glover, 2011). The organisation presented the UK as the protector of tradition, of Western democracy and European civilization. It also sought to promote the stability of democratic and liberal European values (Van Kessel, 2011). The BC was a clear signal that, in the early-Cold War era, the UK wanted to preserve its global authority through 'non-governmental' means. This supposedly unaffiliated organisation was used by the IRD to construct and promote a coherent image of Britishness.

The year 1948 marked a new direction for British foreign policy. The IRD became the primary organisation in the fight against the Soviet threat but the BC retained its role and continued to perform valuable work. The new strategy incorporated the IRD's resources and the BC's services to strengthen belief in the British system rather than the Soviet system.

The government's short-term expectation of the collaboration between these two organisations was simply to fight Communism. In the long term, the government wanted these two entities to strongly advocate for the British way of life and Western democracy. While the BC largely operated openly in various regions, the IRD operated covertly. Despite this operational difference, they fought for and supported the same agenda: (re)construct and maintain the British national identity by distributing representations of

the British way of life – its institutions, the rule of law, democracy and anti-totalitarianism. Despite its technical non-governmental status, the BC was the FO's dominant cultural organisation (Lee, 1998). The IRD and the BC shared a role in the UK's Cold War-era cultural diplomacy.

Hegemony is achieved through the spread of a philosophical and moral worldview; ideological and cultural leadership – based on consent – was the dominant motivation for the BC and the IRD. Civil society plays an important part in the establishment of intellectual and moral leadership. Its technically independent position made the BC an attractive organisation for political elites to distribute their narratives. Both the BC and the IRD were situated at the core of the UK's early-Cold War foreign policy. Alongside some other state organisations, they were dominant actors in the promotion of the British way of life. The new world order that emerged after WWII led to evolving discourse; the UK had to find its 'self' in contrast to the 'other' in global power relations. The UK's national identity provided a foundation for its foreign policy. Political elites aimed to establish a great-power identity; they sought to maintain prestige and discursive power among the major global powers. Their strategy to accomplish this aim was rooted in the IRD's cultural efforts through the BC's network.

The UK's efforts to reinforce their model for other states to embrace was a central priority in the new world order. As an international institution, the BC had a crucial function: distribute the hegemonic materials on a global scale. Dominant groups sought to represent their values as universal and make their norms into 'common sense'. Books played a vital role in pushing the necessary narratives. By disseminating hegemony through ideology and philosophy, ruling or dominant social groups garner consent from civil society both at home and abroad. The BC's network and distribution capacity were critical to the IRD's operations.

Over the next few cases, I provide examples illustrating the collaboration between the IRD and the BC from British Embassies and Missions in Helsinki, Tehran, Sofia, Rangoon, Bucharest and Baghdad. These cases show how policy decisions and implementation methods could vary and, more importantly, how the responsibilities of IRD and the BC increasingly overlapped over time. After the new government strategy was presented to UK Embassies around the world, the IRD sought out observations and suggestions from RIOs regarding policy implementation in their countries that could be valuable to the IRD's operations. The IRD's head office received replies from multiple regions.

Helsinki, Finland

One example from Helsinki illustrates the IRD's activities and how they were conducted with the BC's support. On 9 February 1948, the British ambassador to

Finland, Oswald Scutt, wrote that they could appeal to the Finns with the virtues and material advantages of the 'British approach to democracy':

In this the services of the Labour Attaché and, in so far as it can be given without incursion into the political field, the assistance of the British Council should be particularly valuable, but we shall have to work unobtrusively. (FO 1110/1/PR/4/1/913/G)

This text suggests that embassy staff were aware of the BC's potential as a channel through which they could achieve their strategic aims. Ambassador Scutt noted that the policy could be achieved through personal contact, which, with considerable discretion, should be the primary means of disseminating information. Scutt pointed out that the new policy should be one of 'maximum influence, minimum display' and noted that senior staff members should use every contact opportunity – in politics, trade unions, industry, finance and journalism – to work towards this end (FO 1110/1/PR/4/1/913/G). In other words, embassies were to target people of influence in society.

The emphasis on 'assistance of the British Council' demonstrates how the two organisations could cooperate. The translation suggestion from Helsinki – 'both English into Finnish and vice versa' – was another proposition embassy staff thought would help IRD operations. This embassy was strongly in favour of operating through existing channels; consequently, the BC's role was vital, as the organisation was already familiar with cultural products and activities.

According to the embassy's notes, provincial anglophile societies could be of assistance but only as a means of putting across talking points through personal contact. Hence, it was thought to be best for the British Legation in Helsinki to emphasise the advantages of a social-democratic way of life and the weaknesses of the Soviet style (FO 1110/1/PR/4/1/913/G). Reliable statistical material was considered to be of exceptional value if it could illustrate these two points to the public. As Scutt's note shows, the BC was a key component in this strategy, as it shared its contacts and guidance with embassies around the world. As the BC was founded in 1934, it was already active and capable in many regions; its involvement quickly reduced the workload for British embassies.

Tehran, Persia

The British Embassy in Tehran reacted to the new policy in a different way. In their response on 26 February 1948, the ambassador stated that encouraging visits by Persians to the UK was an investment that would produce high returns. As the note shows, embassies relied on the BC's activities and its effective influence in their regions:

Any money spent in increasing the number of British Council scholarships, in extending the scheme for sending Persian artisans to work for short periods in

British industrial concerns and in sending Persian journalists to England would be amply repaid by the results. (FO 1110/2/PR50/1/913/G)

The embassy in Tehran wanted to emphasise the role of students, journalists and artists exchange programmes, which are common mediums of public and cultural diplomacy.

Later, in 1949, the IRD and the BC worked to translate Orwell's *Animal* Farm into Persian (FO 1110/221/PR3361/33/913). This effort is a strong example of the close operational relationship between the two organisations in Tehran. Of course, the British government did not want to give off the impression that it was ordering or sponsoring these overseas book activities for official propaganda purposes; the technically unaffiliated BC was a perfect front organisation for IRD material.

Sofia, Bulgaria

The British Embassy in Sofia wrote to the IRD on 4 March 1948 that it could not carry out anti-Communist propaganda locally. For this, it had to rely primarily on the BC. Nevertheless, embassy staff were aware that they needed to do what they could to promote the British way of life. They used various available publicity agents to do so: a) an information centre and reading room; b) the sale and free distribution of British newspapers and periodicals; c) the distribution of London Press Service Bulletins; d) special book exhibitions in the reading room; e) the encouragement of Bulgarian translations of English books; f) the promotion of British films; g) British Council activities; h) a newly revived English-Speaking League (FO 1110/2/PR32/1/913G). Still, they saw the BC as one of the primary tools for implementing IRD policy; published media was seen as the main instrument in the fight against the Soviet threat in the region. According to the ambassador in Bulgaria, to achieve the IRD's aims, officials needed 'to deal with various aspects of British life and evolution which will strike listeners here by comparison with what they themselves have to put up with' (FO 1110/2/PR32/1/913G). This illustrates how national identity discourse is located between 'self' and 'other'; identity is always known in reference to something else (Campbell, 1992; Hansen, 2006).

Rangoon, Burma

The BC served as a guide whenever the IRD sought to undertake operations in a new region. For example, the IRD held a meeting on 23 March 1948 to discuss anti-Communist publicity policy in Burma, which had just gained independence on 4 January 1948. As noted by R.A. Vining, an IRD official, anti-Communist material should not be officially put out by the embassy. The Soviet Union had recently appointed an ambassador to Rangoon, so the risk of protest against embassy activity was fairly high, as the Burmese 'are very conscious of their sovereignty' and could, in turn, 'put a brake on information activities' (FO 1110/3/PR/82/1/913/G). Consequently, the IRD needed to,

at all costs, avoid identifying 'anti-communism' with 'British imperialism' or 'Anglo-American capitalist exploitation' among the Burmese public. Evidently, it was necessary for the IRD to modify its activities for each country; it needed to adapt to local needs and sensitivities. In other words, narratives of national identity took different shapes to reach different audiences.

The IRD was tasked with investigating suitable publications with help from either the Fabian Society – Britain's oldest political think tank, bearing Labour-party, socialist ideals – or the Bureau of Current Affairs, which had experience publishing in Burma. This shows that the IRD was open to, and aware of the importance of, collaborating with independent, non-government organisations despite its activities being covert. This ties into Parmar's (2019) 'elite knowledge networks' concept, as the IRD aimed to be part of this network. The IRD was conscious of the power of cultural institutions both at home and abroad; thus, it worked to be partners with them, as their networks proved advantageous. These arrangements demonstrate the importance of networks in coordinating public and cultural diplomacy activities.

Communists in Burma circulated a significant amount of propaganda through bookshops, so the IRD wanted to support a local social democratic bookshop. This was strongly related to the IRD's effort to work with local publishing houses, libraries and bookshops. Of course, the BC was very useful in this operation. As was shown in Section 3.1, consent is organised through civil society – access to public discourse is crucial for dominant groups. For example, for the IRD to undertake a campaign focused on cheap, simple literature for popular bookshops and presentations to schools and associations, it needed to employ more translators. To be successful, the IRD needed to fully explain the British way of life and its national philosophy. While finding suitable books for Burma, the IRD had to consult the BC, as it already had quite a stock in the country (FO 1110/3/PR/82/1/913/G). The consultative capacity of the BC was always in the IRD's toolkit.

Bucharest, Romania

Embassy staff in Romania, which had a Communist government at the time, had the same issue as the staff in Burma regarding open propaganda, so they wanted to work closely with the BC. According to notes from P. C. Storey, an IRD official, on 31 March 1948, the embassy indeed realised it could not openly carry out anti-Communist propaganda. The most the staff could do in the country was to continue 'projecting the idea of Western democracy' (FO 1110/3/PR/82/1/913/G). Neither the IRD nor the BC had previously sent lecturers to Romania but this idea was now seen to be worth pursuing. Nevertheless, the BC did not have any allocation in 1948–49 for sending lecturers to Romania. The IRD could arrange to send at least one lecturer by obtaining

the money by virement from some other country; if the IRD decided to ask the BC to send a lecturer to Romania, the IRD would assist the BC with the visa question.

By sending lecturers to Romania, the two organisations worked on the intellectual component of their operations. This policy serves as an excellent example of how intellectuals from the universities played a central role in advancing the government's fight against Communism and promotion of Western democracy. Exchange programmes, an essential element of cultural diplomacy, were used by both organisations. This analysis reveals that where propaganda could not be carried out by local officials, embassy staff in countries like Bulgaria and Romania wanted to use the BC as a channel through which they could enact IRD strategies – cultural organisations can be used to discretely advance state agendas, as their reputations serve as disguises. This analysis also demonstrates the importance of civil society for political elites, as these activities allowed them to advance their ideologies through distribution.

Baghdad, Iraq

The head of the information office at the British Embassy in Baghdad, Morrison, wrote a memorandum in 1948 with his recommendations for anti-Communist propaganda in the Middle East. He advocated for materials in Arabic cheaper than the Penguin or Tauchnitz series; he wanted cheap literature that could be placed 'in the many hole-in-the-wall bookshops' throughout the city. Morrison also pointed to an urgent local need for a colourful magazine. The value of the BC's reading rooms throughout the country depended largely on the amount of Arabic material available to their patrons:

> *If the Iraq Government becomes difficult over our Reading Rooms, could it not be represented to them that they constitute a very real bulwark against the spread of Communism?* (FO 1110/4/PR/138)

The libraries and reading rooms served as tools to spread the narratives of political elites. They were cultural places that reached foreign audiences. By offering IRD books, the BC opened a channel for national projection. This is, again, one way the state established its hegemony and promoted a set of ideas in civil society.

As the multiple cases described above from various embassies show, the IRD's strategy – to reach audiences all over the world – mainly revolved around published material, and the BC was an effective partner in distributing this material. The BC's networks and operational strategies achieved good results in several regions. Embassy staff, as the principal actors behind cultural diplomacy, believed that this strategy would maximise government propaganda efforts.

Collaboration between the BC and the IRD took shape in various ways. The IRD sought to achieve their aims in certain regions by relying on the BC. Therefore, one could argue that the two organisations' activities overlapped, blurring their operational

boundaries. Both entities achieved their aims by considering local cultural differences. Both sought to create tailor-made material for their target audiences in the fight against Communism and the promotion of the British self-image. The following section discusses how the IRD placed its material in the BC's reading rooms.

5.7.1 Books for the Serious Reader

BC locations constituted one of the primary destinations for IRD publications. The two parties collaborated to put the books in BC libraries and embassy reading rooms. This section focuses on publication dissemination, strategies to reach audiences, and the function of BC locations in IRD operations. This analysis looks at two cases: efforts to place books in BC reading rooms in Tel Aviv and efforts to publish materials for children and young adults throughout Africa. As the IRD was concerned about Soviet efforts against Western powers through colonial peoples, books were a significant tool for their overall operations.

In October 1951, the IRD wrote a letter to the British Legation in Tel Aviv asking them about placing anti-Communist books in the BC's library. According to John Wilson, an official at the legation, the BC representatives agreed to the IRD's proposal provided that reasonable discretion was observed. As they did not want the library to be flooded with such books, Wilson wrote that he would be happy if the IRD gave him a few 'suitably selected ones' from time to time (FO 1110/420/PR65/12/G). However, he noted, the books should be 'likely to appeal to an intelligent and educated reader', as the library was used mainly by professionals (ibid.). Wilson remarked that 'obvious propaganda' should undoubtedly be avoided – books like *The God that Failed*, *Animal Farm* or factual accounts of Russia would be suitable for the library (ibid.). This avoidance of obvious propaganda was a main rule of IRD operations; this concern was felt at a high level, especially when targeting the 'intelligent and educated reader'.

Libraries served as critical cultural institutions and the primary book distributors for people abroad. They were viewed as ideal places to publicise the British way of life to foreign populations. UK officials saw the libraries as potential catalysts for democratic thinking, as places where foreign nationals could be shown positive, propagandistic British materials. The BC's role in making books available in various regions was considered a vital one. On 3 December 1951, CF Maclaren, an IRD official, wrote to Wilson in Tel Aviv:

> *We note what you say about avoiding 'obvious propaganda' and agree. But we are a little surprised at the implication that 'Animal Farm' and 'The God that Failed' are not in this category. If the British Council is prepared to put these excellent books on their shelves well and good, but we wonder whether another type of book might be acceptable to them also and might appeal to the serious reader we believe exists in Tel Aviv.* (FO 1110/420/PR65/12/G)

As the text shows, the IRD was keen to put more books in the library because it served as one of the best places to access public discourse and influence public opinion. This strategy brings us to the importance of cultural organisations and how they can distribute strategic narratives and create a favourable image. Wilson replied to Maclaren on 19 December 1951:

> *I have given a copy of the list enclosed with your letter to the British Council Representative and he tells me that he would have no objection to including all the books on the list (…). He proposes to add the books gradually to the library when they arrive so that what we are doing does not become too obvious. This seems very satisfactory and, since the Council Library here is extensively used (it being very difficult for Israelis to obtain foreign books owing to currency restrictions), it should do some good. If later on you want to send any other books of this type to the Council perhaps you could let us have the titles first so that we could check with the Council that they do not have them already and that the books are considered suitable by them.* (FO 1110/420/PR65/12/G)

The IRD knew that its close connection with the BC was beneficial, and the need for books in Tel Aviv was seen as an opportunity for the officers. Consequently, the IRD did not miss the chance to place its books in order to foster a positive image, promote the British national identity and maintain contact with 'serious readers' (ibid.).

Later, in a separate letter, the RIO clarified what he meant about 'obvious propaganda'; the library was primarily used by 'intelligent people of a high standard of education' who were not likely to be impressed – rather, the reverse – by anything crude or clumsy in the way of anti-Soviet propaganda. These readers were only likely to be impressed by highly intelligent and well-informed writing on the subject. This approach is another good illustration of the IRD's efforts to supply propaganda that is appropriate for the local population while remaining covert.

The remainder of this section will focus on the IRD's efforts in Africa, which largely began with a discussion between G. F. N. Reddaway, an IRD officer, and John Morgan, a director at one of the largest and longest-standing publishing houses in the UK, Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd. They discussed how Edward Arnold was producing a series of school textbooks to be used primarily by students in the UK and its dominions aged about 15 and Africans (mainly West Africans) aged about 18 or 19 (FO 1110/870/PR10111/17/G). Morgan then asked the BC, who supported the idea, to suggest book topics that would suit their policy.

Morgan then got together with the BC to choose writers that would be appropriate for this work. Morgan wondered whether the IRD would care to make suggestions for other books in this series. Reddaway pointed out that the propaganda could not be too obtrusive and that the writing should be pretty tight to suit the voracious, but not often

perfectly literate, African populations (FO 1110/870/PR10111/17/G). Reddaway thought the proposal would be worth looking at and noted the impact would be broad. This project demonstrates the power of books in foreign policy to spread desired self-narratives. The project aimed to introduce 'our' stories to Africans – prominent British women, British newspaper customs, British family life – in order to reinforce a positive image of the UK. Books constituted a form of discourse that gave the state an ability to access, influence and manipulate people's ideas and values from a young age.

Rennie, an IRD officer, wrote to the Department's editorial adviser on 23 January 1956 to say that it was difficult to get much IRD prepared material into the Edward Arnold series but that it could be possible to include a book on education – *Other Little Boys and Girls at School* – that describes a typical day in the lives of French, American and, of course, Russian children. He suggested that a similar concept could be developed for 'children's life on the land', contrasting the collective farm labourer in one chapter with farm labourers' children in other countries where parents own their own stock. He admitted, however, that this idea was pretty feeble; it was simply the best he could do (ibid.).

The editorial adviser felt that planting IRD material into the Edward Arnold would not be easy – G. F. N. Reddaway agreed' (ibid.). The field was so wide and the cover was so good, however, that he felt the idea was worth pursuing. Reddaway came up with two potential concepts. First, the IRD could develop something describing the lives of various Britons – policemen, MPs, schoolteachers, small traders, parsons, doctors and trade unionists, among others. These workers would illustrate the principles of British democracy – the policemen would constitute servants of the people representing ideals of social justice; the MPs would illustrate how citizens influence the state; the doctors would represent the NHS; a generous and effective government service; etc. Second, the IRD could supply authors with illustrations of the conflicting and unsatisfactory ideas that shape comparable roles and institutions in Communist societies.

This project exemplifies the IRD's objectives quite well – promote, project and protect the British way of life, Western civilisation and social democracy. It also illustrates how discourse on national identity is strongly tied to conceptions of 'self' and 'other'. Reddaway suggested to follow the late Secretary of State Bevin's political broadcast on account of its emphasis on the importance of the spiritual side of the 'self' for this book series project. Bevin said:

> *Russians are afraid – not of our power or material wealth or productive capacity – that on all this material side of life the Soviet Union was going ahead with great strides – but of the spiritual side.* (FO 1110/870/PR10111/17/G)

This excerpt demonstrates the *topos* of comparison: 'our power or material wealth or productive capacity'. It also illustrates the *topos* of history and pride by promoting a positive representation of the UK with its spiritual power. Reddaway thought that it would be possible to get a good author to write sketches of everyday British life. Emphasising the latent power of and the urgent need for this spiritual side, he came up with different ideas:

> *For example, Daphne du Maurier sold 600.000 copies of 'Come Wind, Come Weather' in 1940 and might be prevailed on to write a similar one for the Cold War – e.g., 'Come War, Come Peace' if suitably approached. It could deal with the West's answer to the all too effective materialism of the Communists and highlight the fact that spiritual apathy here is what lets them undermine industry, science, etc. I.R.D. could produce plenty of material illustrating this termite activity.* (FO 1110/870/PR10111/17/G)

As this text shows, the IRD intended to meet all societal needs – intellectual as well as spiritual – that would help the state maintain and legitimise its ideology and way of life. This passage also demonstrates the *topos* of comparison, as it promotes the West as having the ability to 'answer to the all too effective materialism of the Communist'.

On 26 April 1956, GFN Reddaway discussed the 'possibility of injecting the IRD material' into a series of educational books designed primarily for Africans; he had no doubt that Morgan would go ahead with this project and make a success of it:

> *There seems to me to be every advantage in our presenting the facts – even writing the book or arranging for it to be written. I dare say that we have material available which would need relatively little manipulation* (FO 1110/870/PR10111/17/G)

The operations of both the BC and the IRD fit Null's (2008, p. 49) most basic definition of cultural diplomacy as 'facilitating cultural transmission across an international boundary' – clearly, the BC and the IRD worked to influence foreign publics with cultural appeals. The BC is generally considered as the predominant institution behind British Cold War-era cultural diplomacy; however, the IRD was certainly present in British efforts. As demonstrated, the government's primary aim was to advance the UK's interests by fostering a positive national image that offered something better than that offered by the 'other'. Books played a central role in this aim, sometimes with 'relatively little manipulation'.

As this analysis has shown, the BC occupied an active position in the IRD's propaganda campaign against Communism. There were many similarities between the two organisations' strategies, and their functions increasingly overlapped over time. There is clear evidence that the BC received and distributed propaganda works

produced by the IRD. The BC's methods were often of a different tone than those of the IRD, yet both aimed in the same direction; they both worked to achieve British foreign policy goals with one of the most valuable cultural products: books. Foreign elites and other influential people abroad were the organisations' primary targets. They often helped each other by mutually supplying materials and guidance.

Whether the work of the BC and the IRD can be described as cultural diplomacy is an important question. In the short term, both organisations prioritised the fight against Communism. In the long term, they both served to promote a national identity based around an idea of the 'British way of life'. Both of these objectives constitute public or cultural diplomacy. Of course, the two organisations differed in form. The BC was involved in overt cultural diplomacy, appearing publicly and in an obvious manner; the IRD was involved in covert cultural diplomacy, operating in secret. The following chapter presents a final discussion and overview of this thesis's findings.

Chapter Six

Discussion and Conclusions

In this dissertation, I have demonstrated how books have served as a form of public and cultural diplomacy. In order to develop a theoretical framework linking power relations to the promotion and construction of national identity through public and cultural diplomacy activities, I have applied Gramsci's concept of hegemony based on moral and intellectual leadership. I have proposed that the book-publishing activities of the IRD were a prominent component of the UK's early-Cold War public and cultural diplomacy efforts. In doing so, I have demonstrated how foreign policy preferences were organically and fundamentally connected with elite-constructed conceptions of national identity and that public and cultural diplomacy played a substantial role in projecting, promoting and protecting these conceptions. The evidence in this study has established an empirical link between narratives of national identity and the discourse of political elites in the early years of the Cold War. It has also shown: how these narratives were significant to the country's international relations and its global-power status; how books promoted a favourable national image abroad; how books constituted an effective tool for the political elites to carry out their 'role' as a hegemonic power both at home and abroad; how intellectuals and private organisations were involved in the state's publishing and distribution activities.

This study demonstrates that the UK's early-Cold War foreign policy was dominated by a narrative of exceptionalism that defined the country's self-perceived international importance, its role as the guardian of Western civilisation and values. These narratives of national identity were constructed by political elites who believed the UK had a unique and valuable way of life with much to offer others. These elites managed to distribute their narratives through various mediums, including books, through the IRD, often in partnership with publishing houses. This is a demonstration of how national identities can be promoted to both national and international audiences through public and cultural diplomacy so as to achieve foreign policy goals. Political elites, together with non-state organisations, controlled the UK's 'national projection' to shape and promote the image ('self') of the UK to the 'other'. Book publishing was the most publicly noticeable mass media form for the state and books funded or produced by the IRD displayed a consistent image of the UK. Public diplomacy as a tool of foreign policy was about selling a positive image of the UK and promoting the country's economic, scientific, and cultural resources and the IRD's many books helped to create government to people and government to government communication (Pamment, 2015).

As discussed in Section 5.1, the UK's role as a world power was under threat after WWII. As the country began to lose its empire, it searched for a position in the new international order. This study identified two primary trends in the new foreign policy context. The first was the promotion of the UK as creating and participating in a prosperous world constructed around the principles of Western democracy, free trade, freedom of speech, freedom of religion and European democratic and liberal culture. The second was the goal of countering communist and anti-British propaganda, as Soviet communism was seen as a critical and ongoing danger to Western democracy and British values. The UK government wanted to be sure that their views, values and principles were presented to the world as a model for other nations. These two trends around the concept of 'national projection' would today be known as public and cultural diplomacy. Self-representation aimed at impressing the public was a dominant approach for countries on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The research shows the UK wanted to use its history – with carefully selected narratives – as a vital element of discourses of national identity. This leads to the importance of identity-based underpinning of public and cultural diplomacy activities and a consideration of how these activities work in promoting narratives around national identity.

The Cold War was an ideological struggle between competing ways of life; the UK worked to offer something unique between the offerings of the USA and USSR. The British government sought to project its views throughout the world constructing an attractive paradigm. As was explored in Section 5.2, hegemonic discourses aimed to create a national identity distinct from the fully capitalist or communist ways of life; the political elites saw their model as a potentially universal paradigm that could offer the optimal path forward for the post-WWII international order. This method of national projection supports the idea that constructing and promoting national identity are common objectives that are essential for effectively conducting public and cultural diplomacy (Szondi, 2008). The research suggests identities are shaped by international politics rather than only domestic; some identities are a product of social interactions with other states (Campbell, 1992; Hopf, 2002). Foreign policy is about national identity itself; it is clear that the UK's narratives of great power identity arose from foreign policy circles (Wallace, 1991). Actors use strategic narratives to enhance positive images about the actor itself – such as public diplomacy (Miskimmon et al., 2013). The case shows that to promote national identity through public and cultural diplomacy activities, states need to construct domestic consensus about national identity (Melissen, 2013). This effort was visible with the IRD book publishing and distribution activities within the UK as the country employed a similar approach with the domestic public. The IRD's case demonstrates that the narratives of the dominant groups and their international messages must resonate at home; and to be convincing to foreign people, the projected

image must be rooted in a nation's identity (ibid.). In other words, the IRD's book publishing activities aimed to combat internal 'others', primarily the Communist at home, and also wanted to represent internal 'self' in the domestic sphere (Campbell, 1992). The UK sought to close the gap between discourse of national 'self' and the international image of the country. Carefully crafted narratives promoted through the IRD's books told the story of the UK. The findings from Section 5.4 illustrate how the publishing activities of the IRD aimed to build national cohesion and secure public support for state interests.

In constructing an attractive image of the UK, the IRD shaped a positive national identity and diffused political elite-driven ideologies throughout civil society, ensuring that elite beliefs became what Gramsci termed 'common sense'. The UK was aware that intellectual and moral leadership required a state to establish and protect a world order; therefore, narratives of national identity – Section 5.2 – involving the UK as the guardian of Western civilisation and values show that the focus was not just for the national interest but the British perception of the universal interest. This hegemonic model – moral and intellectual leadership of the UK – was based on promoting a national image that would be attractive and appealing. Political elites wanted to present the UK to foreign publics with a 'true' and 'adequate' picture of British policy, British institutions and the British way of life. The IRD's public and cultural diplomacy effort took the form of enhancing the national image of the UK through unofficial and secret means as the global image of the UK significantly deteriorated after WWII. The elites wanted to project an image of strength, prosperity, and political restraint; therefore, engaging, informing and influencing foreign public opinion became an indispensable component of foreign policy

The UK recognised the American assumption of global hegemony – and its military and economic strength – and sought to preserve some of its own authority by supporting the new superpower. As explored in Section 5.1, this was partially due to a strong sense of its traditions and obligations in foreign policy – the country's aspiration for global leadership is deeply rooted in its self-image and collective memory. Being close to but independent of the USA was the best method to promote British interests, and this became a central element of the UK's foreign policy. The country successfully preserved its role as one of the world's leading powers mainly through its 'special relationship' with the USA. The UK could be said to have successfully exploited American power for British interests. The UK believed in its global civilising mission; linkage with 'the world's greatest democracy' gave it the ability to act as a world leader. The 'Greeks and Romans' analogy portraying British influence over American foreign policy was a central element in the discourses among UK's political elites and in the image they sought to disseminate (Dumbrell, 2006). It is clear that 'we-ness' provided direction for the Anglo-American relationship in terms of what to expect from each other and how to behave (Mattern, 2005). These narratives of 'Anglo-American civilisation' were based on shared history,

faith, language, security and values; most importantly, however, despite having different approaches, they shared a common enemy. This relationship played a significant role in which Western civilization and Christianity were protected from the influences of a godless Communism (Kirby, 2000). This shows that national identity is not entirely formed by contrasts; alliances can also contribute to forming identity (Morin and Paquin, 2018).

Archival materials indicate that foreign policy was inescapably tied to how a nation sees itself. The UK's governing elites argued over how to best distinguish themselves from and define themselves in relation to the 'other', the USSR. The dominant discourse employed by political elites was framed through books distributed throughout civil society. What has been described as the British way of life was based on elites' perceptions of 'who "we" are?' and 'what do "we" do?'. Furthermore, the UK's positive national projection came alongside a negative 'other' that must be rejected; in other words, 'self' needed to fight against 'other', that being the 'evil' of totalitarian communism and the 'evil' of the Soviet regime. The demonization of the 'enemy', as conveyed by the representation of 'us' and 'them', was a strong discourse in the UK during the early years of the Cold War. This discourse enabled political elites to develop a sense of national uniqueness that offered something between the American capitalism and Soviet communism. They distributed carefully constructed narratives of 'us' around freedom, civilisation, values, laws and human rights – often through books. In a sense, they not only imagined a British community but expected to convince foreign publics to reject 'evil' communism and embrace their way of life. This illustrated that the new world order after WWII permitted new discourses to emerge and the UK had to define its 'self' against 'other' in global power relations. In the struggle against the Soviet regime the British state needed to secure mass consent to the shaping of public beliefs and practices.

The IRD case has increased our understanding of the complexities of culture; it has demonstrated the underpinnings of national interest that cannot be defined only in terms of security and economy, but also in terms of identity struggles. This study shows that public and cultural diplomacy have the power to construct, maintain and represent identities and to tell the world 'who we are' (Zaharna, 2010). The IRD used all available modes of communication; through the IRD's activities, the political elites distributed their narratives by using daily discursive practices, including books. Book publishing was one of the most important ways of disseminating representations of national identity as the books were embedded in everyday life. They showed images of the UK and the British way of life in many different forms – cultural, political and economic. The IRD's choice of texts emphasizes a concern that formed around Britishness. These narratives were

distributed to the masses with the aim of promoting British interests and countering Communist and anti-British propaganda.

This study points out the shapers of public and cultural diplomacy need to be concerned about how their activities are perceived (by considering meaning-making) by their targets when promoting and constructing national identity (Bloom, 1993; Clarke, 2016). As Gramsci points out, hegemony is more secure and stable when the discourse of national identity propagated by the elites echoes that of the masses to the point where it becomes common sense (Hopf, 2012). These elites endeavoured to convince publics both at home and abroad of this message. They hoped that the domestic public would coalesce around this identity and that it would foster a positive perception of the UK and help the country achieve its foreign policy aims. This constitutes a complex relationship between elites and the public, as it is hard to know for certain to what extent the public identified with these identities or how audiences perceived the IRD's strategic narratives. The British had undeniably demonstrated an astounding ability to promote narratives of national identity; however, as investigated in Section 5.4, we cannot fully understand what was the success of the IRD's book activities. This research has provided a socio-historical background for the (re)construction of national identity in the early post-war years, allowing for a more comprehensive understanding of the dominance of the UK 'self' and what the political elites meant by the British way of life.

Political elites wanted to disseminate their constructed national identity through various mediums, and mass media was acknowledged to be of the utmost importance. The IRD's case shows how cultural, ideological and political hegemony as a social and political construct maintained itself in civil society through consent and when necessary through force, though the use of force was not the primary mode of operation. Therefore, the IRD saw books as a means to sway public opinion; once a person reads the 'truth', that person would be more inclined to advocate for 'Western democracy' and the 'British way of life'. In other words, the political elites presented their narratives as being universally beneficial – 'our principles offer the best and most efficient way of life'. However, there is no 'certified direct correlation between consuming a cultural product and a change in opinion or behaviour toward the source' (Rawnsley, 2014, p. 172).

Material was carefully selected and adapted to be culturally appropriate for various audiences around the world; the IRD sought to use these books to project the UK's self-positive image. Elites believed that books would allow for understanding between peoples by projecting universal values. Local officials worked to understand targeted populations so that the IRD could more effectively target them specifically. This highlights the importance of there being cultural diplomacy practitioners on the ground (Jora, 2013; Anheier and Isar, 2007). For the officials, access to the overseas elites was essential so that the message of the IRD could spread through these opinion-makers.

With its publication strategy the Department sought to encourage the intellectual elites to become more friendly and sympathetic to the British cause. The IRD's work was based on interacting directly with the people of foreign countries and with their governments. This study demonstrated that the IRD aspired to reach people of influence who could then spread state ideas and messages or, in the Gramscian sense, naturalise them. The IRD officers believed that the right messaging could deliver a favourable portrait of the UK and worked to distribute these strategic narratives through everyday social practices. This effort was at the heart of the UK's foreign policy. Through Background Books and Bellman Books series, as discussed in Section 5.4.2, the government aimed to garner support from the UK public for their foreign policies. In other words, the IRD sought to unite the masses, domestic and foreign, against the Soviet threat and generate consent for state strategies. The findings in Section 5.4.3 reveal previously unknown domestic distribution networks between the IRD and the Readers' Union Book Club, the third oldest book club in the UK, illustrating the IRD's efforts to find publishing houses with significant distribution networks and its success in involving civil society in its dissemination activities.

The efforts of the political elites to develop and deliver narratives through books show how national identities are projected through various forms of communication, which relates to the concept of the nation as an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 2006). The narrative formed around the UK's national identity reflects the dominant ideology of the elites – it was constructed within an imagined community. Furthermore, discourses of national identity present in the IRD's books need a close examination because books as a medium offered a perfect everyday-life culture through which policymakers could promote national images. Books were essential sources of media consumption that, in a way, represented the everyday articulations of these identities (Hopf, 2012). State actors used culture as a tool of foreign policy to accomplish or support their political aims. Culture, through books, represented a network and construction of reality and meaning. Books played a significant role in forming a consensus between the public and elites, between different groups and opposing narratives; therefore, intellectuals, organisations and publishing houses were key actors in the IRD's operations. This secret operation, using seemingly non-state organizations, aimed to foster trust and circulate more accessible and independent material. The IRD did not want to represent itself as an 'other' that engaged in propaganda activities.

Analysis shows that the state wanted to rally people around the idea of the 'British way of life', which is intimately rolled up with concepts of national identity. By using books, the IRD sought to develop a favourable image, which is the core function of public and cultural diplomacy (Mitchell, 1986). The evidence from this study suggests that in cultural diplomacy, which aims to create an understanding between different peoples,

books offer a substantial opportunity to form connections and tell each other stories (Cummings, 2003; Von Flotow, 2007; 2007a; Gienow-Hecht, 2004). They are used in foreign policy to reach a transnational civil society. As a medium, books were one of the most powerful instruments for promoting national interests to global audiences. This study revealed that the IRD not only published books that served its core ideological agenda, but also books that represent the UK's national identity.

As illustrated by our findings, books constitute a powerful tool of communication between nations and peoples (Finn, 2003; Schneider, 2006); they are one of the most successful mediums for transferring experiences and ideas (Mitchell, 1986). Apart from their cultural value, books occupy a vital role in the construction of national identity, they have a vital role in social cohesion, and they create a national reputation (Kurschus, 2015). The IRD was aware of how books serve as a critical bridge between nations; consequently, intellectuals such as Orwell, Russell and Koestler were regarded as crucial resources for its operation. The IRD was also aware that translation offered a robust tool for distributing ideologies and values in foreign countries and so adopted efforts to localise material (Alvarez and Vidal, 1996; Schäffner, 2007; Von Flotow, 2007a; 2007b). The findings in Section 5.6.2 indicate that the IRD was heavily involved in the translation into Russian and Arabic of Orwell's *Animal Farm*, which it considered a perfect form of anti-totalitarian propaganda. Translation activities helped the IRD distribute its message efficiently and surmount geographic and linguistic barriers, showing how translation lies at the heart of any public and cultural diplomacy initiative. Translation plays a significant role in representing national images/identities and various government programmes today promote translation; the study shows the long history of the function of translated books in foreign policy.

This study illustrates the need to link storytelling aspects of international relations with public diplomacy, which is an underappreciated task. This strategic narrative is particularly significant when the aim is to understand how a nation perceives itself and its goals when engaging with foreign publics (Cull, 2010; Pamment, 2014). It is clear that the field of public and cultural diplomacy needs to pay more attention to discourses of national identity and to the institutions involved in its formation. This also demonstrates how significant changes in foreign policy warrant a (re)construction of national identity.

This study has found that the IRD's tactic of working with well-known publishing companies enabled them to distribute their material worldwide. This evidence advances our understanding of the private-public connections in public and cultural diplomacy (Scott-Smith, 2009; Bulumac and Sapunaru, 2012; Figueira, 2015). The close relationships with publishers made them vital partners in the IRD's operations. The IRD learned from non-state organisations, mainly publishing houses, about marketing and public relations – potential writers and which books would receive public attention and

be suitable to publish or distribute. The concealment of relationships with publishing houses demonstrates the intention of the IRD to not reveal its links and thus to keep this channel of persuasion open and secure. The findings show that this close link was a way of maintaining power relations – both parties were benefiting from each other. This brings to mind Gramsci's concept of hegemony in that we see the success of the ruling class in persuading subordinate groups to accept its attitudes, values and beliefs as their own. The state established its hegemony and creates in people particular beliefs and manners through a set of private institutions, which are seen as outside the state. The IRD managed to create a partnership between the state and private agencies to establish tools of consent. This kind of evidence highlights the importance of the role of non-state entities in public and cultural diplomacy.

The IRD took advantage of the distribution capacity of publishing houses (Ampersand, Batchworth, Phoenix and the Bodley Head) to embed values and spread Western and anti-Communist ideas. By using existing networks, the IRD accessed public discourse to distribute dominant values (Van Dijk, 1998; 2008). Publishing houses played a vital role in the promotion of elite-driven narratives. The IRD's work with seemingly independent publishing houses and local bookshops shows the determination of the government to separate its book-publishing activities from the government itself in order to disseminate its message both at home and abroad. The concealment of the fact that material was coming from a government source was an FO practice inherited from the world wars. Findings reveal, however, that the IRD's relationships with non-state actors was not one of absolute control; some non-state actors refused to be part of its operations – as investigated in Section 5.4.

Our findings indicate that the IRD saw book publishing as a matter of 'national interest' with a strong connection to the self-presentation of the UK against the 'others'. The links between the IRD and the publishing houses were found to be beneficial for both sides; publishing houses were eager to use the IRD's network and material capabilities. In a sense, non-state organisations acted as state tools to promote political elites' worldviews to civil society and encourage other states and opinion-makers to do the same (Parmar, 2004; Scott-Smith, 2012). It is impossible to ignore the role of publishing houses as instruments of state action against the 'enemy'. Their role in spreading positive images of the UK using 'normal' channels without disclosing their close relationship with the state indicates the IRD was aware of the power (distribution capacity, access to public discourse, material capability) of the publishing houses. The IRD maintained close relationships with these non-state organisations during its book activities, which speaks to their effectiveness and utility. The UK was aware that to win this ideological battle, the state needed to focus on overseas publics, non-state national and international organisations and rival and allied states.

Public diplomacy has traditionally been seen as state-based communication. The case study shows a complex nexus of state and private entities and offers lessons for our contemporary understanding of public and cultural diplomacy and, in particular, the role of seemingly independent non-state actors. The IRD's case, in a way, stands between traditional and new public diplomacy as the IRD's managed to keep government officials in the background and put forward non-state organisations. However, this shadowy relationship highlights the need to investigate covert public and cultural diplomacy operations in order to reveal 'who is in charge' of these kinds of activities.

The IRD was not a solitary actor in its book-publication activities. It had close relationships with the writers. It was necessary to engage with intellectuals and form partnerships with them. Many writers, including George Orwell and Bertrand Russell, were intimately involved with this operation. In the context of cultural diplomacy, the role of intellectuals is seen as critical and open to various arguments. Intellectuals, having power to influence public opinion were vital to IRD operations. Using Gramsci's (2000) concept, intellectuals play a crucial role between the state and civil society. When ideas are implanted in networks among scholars, practitioners, students, leaders and journalists, their chance to become normalised increases (Scott-Smith, 2009; Parmar, 2019). The findings in Section 5.6 reveal that access to these networks enabled the IRD to refine and distribute its narratives.

The IRD's activities show that promoting national interests requires co-operation between state and private elites. This exemplifies Gramsci's concept of 'state-spirited', which shows how non-state actors served as part of the state; it demonstrates the importance of networking in producing hegemonic results (Parmar, 2012). The relationship between the IRD and non-state actors also exemplifies Gramsci's 'division of labour', in that both actors played a part in constructing and promoting the image and interest of the state (ibid.). This is particularly the case for intellectuals and organisations that were aware of the nature of the IRD's activities (some writers denied knowledge of the IRD's objectives).

The function of these opinion-makers and their ability to impact public discourse through books enabled them to convey what to believe and how to act (Van Dijk, 1998). The IRD's approach was to influence those who can influence others. Intellectuals were concerned about communism's threat to the freedom of intellectual and cultural life. By offering or allowing their cultural products to be used by the state, the intellectuals helped to maintain the state's leadership, fight against communism, and promote and (re)construct national identity (Scott-Smith, 2002; Wilford, 2003; Rubin, 2012). It is clear that there was a mutual benefit for both writers and the state. For intellectuals, it was a way to expand their audience at home and abroad; for the government, it was a way to achieve its aims by instrumentalising one of the most powerful cultural products.

Working closely with prominent writers – 'powerful elite knowledge networks' – enabled the IRD to validate and spread its narratives and gave the state a hidden but powerful voice in public discourse. The IRD's close relationship with intellectuals served to maintain and reproduce its leadership, which operated for the benefit of dominant groups. The role of books in developing or maintaining an 'imagined' British 'community' ties in with the self-representation of an 'us'. The intellectuals had a crucial role in creating these communities. This study shows that making the most of personal connections and networks was a modus operandi for the IRD. Intellectuals helped the IRD establish a coherent worldview and provided a noncoercive means of consent that the state could not otherwise achieve. The research shows that intellectuals, whether intentionally or unintentionally represented the values of the predominant culture and helped to advance the interests of the UK.

The IRD was not alone in its activities; it had a close partnership with the official and overt cultural diplomacy branch, the BC. One of the motivations of this study was to understand the IRD's relationship with the BC. The IRD was strategically important and took on a significant role in (re)constructing the national identity alongside the BC. As the findings display in Section 5.7, the IRD filled the gap left by the BC's absence in some regions. They both used the same narrative of the 'British way of life' and 'Western democracy' being superior to communism.

The BC's overseas libraries were intended as catalysts for democratic thinking and were places where foreign nationals could be shown positive, even propagandistic British materials. The libraries, the IRD thought, were one of the best places to access public discourse and influence public opinion. Therefore, the IRD sought to make use of this channel to distribute material. There is clear evidence that the BC received propaganda works produced by the IRD and that both bodies expected to consider local cultural differences and sensitivities. The BC, alongside other cultural organisations such as publishing houses and libraries, helped develop and maintain British leadership and promote the reconstructed national identity.

Furthermore, the BC allowed the IRD to access its network and to reach a wider audience abroad. As an international organisation with branches all over the world, the BC provided a significant distribution channel for the IRD. The two organisations shared the function of conducting Cold War public and cultural diplomacy. Their main aims were to serve the national interest and develop a positive national image offering something better than what the 'others' offered – books played a central role in these aims. The BC, being a generally open organisation, applied a form of overt cultural diplomacy; the IRD, with its hidden and secret activities and partnerships, conducted covert cultural diplomacy. Together, they facilitated cultural transmission in foreign countries, which is at the heart of cultural diplomacy (Cull, 2008; Aguilar, 1996). Their joint efforts show that

public and cultural diplomacy focuses on identifying what the nation is and how it can be represented to others.

This study has explained the IRD's efforts to project a national image and construct national identity in the early years of the Cold War, between 1948 and 1956. This links with Pamment's (2016) work on contemporary British public diplomacy (begins in 1995) that claims the UK's public diplomacy efforts were oriented around the projection of a modern and coherent British identity. This research reveals that there is a continuity in the UK's public diplomacy approach in that it builds upon and promotes a carefully constructed image of the country's role and national identity. This study shows that the UK's self-conception of its national identity was the product of several strands, including its imperial legacy, history, liberty and the rule of law. The research illustrates how the presentation of national identity through public and cultural diplomacy acts as a means of reproducing the dominant structure of hegemony. The IRD's case suggests there was harmony between the national and international level that aimed to promote a positive and a distinct national identity through public and cultural diplomacy. However, there is little evidence, qualitative or quantitative for judging whether or to what extent these activities succeeded. It is clear, the publishing effort of the IRD served to reconstruct and mend a damaged and challenged image of the UK 'self' in order to make up for the country's handicaps and shortcomings. The UK sought to create a harmony between the discourse of national self and the international image of the country.

The UK's motives were based on (re)constructing and promoting a national identity that would bring about desired foreign policy outcomes. As we saw ontologically, the construction of national identity, which is always in development, aimed for specific outcomes: maintain the UK's global power; protect, promote and project Western civilisation and values; fight against Soviet communism. We found that narrative is key; what makes these strategies remarkable is how political elites construct who we are in the world and how we view one another (Mattern, 2005). This study demonstrates that identities are constructed; our constructivist approach helped us explore how the UK's national identity was formed and allowed us to understand different discursive representations. This research shows that national identities are representations of 'self' based on choices made by political elites and that public and cultural diplomacy play a significant role in carrying these images to domestic and foreign publics.

As the IRD's case shows, there is much to explore in the role of public diplomacy as a tool of foreign policy (Melissen, 2005; Gilboa, 2008; Pamment, 2015). The study also provides an example of how public and cultural diplomacy projects were designed and worked upon both by official and non-official actors. This case shows that images, narratives and information mattered for public and cultural diplomacy, which is about a relationship and telling a nation's story both at home and abroad.

I believe that this study has achieved what it set out to do. Nevertheless, the lack of unofficial documents, such as those from publishing houses and individuals who collaborated with the IRD, indicates a need for more material and the verification of archives if we are to develop a comprehensive understanding of the IRD's efforts in the early years of the Cold War. We must remain aware that we are only seeing what the state is allowing us to see; we do not know what has been shredded or concealed, meaning we are effectively looking at a constructed reality when analysing the archival material. Regardless, archival materials have provided insight into the mind of public and cultural diplomacy actors and their decision-making processes.

The findings of this study have important implications for future practice. It is impossible within the limited space here to tell the entire story of the IRD and its complete function in the FO which is still mostly hidden. The IRD's book-publication activity must be examined through different disciplinary approaches (e.g., cultural studies, diplomatic history, literature, translation studies, book history) related to public and cultural diplomacy. In particular, the representation of British identity and the ideological pattern displayed in the books would be a productive area of research.

Over the last few decades, states have increasingly been launching translation programs to promote literary and intellectual production through national cultural organisations. These activities aim to advance foreign policy objectives. In recent years, foreign and domestic cultural policies that support the book and book culture have become increasingly important. Therefore, revisiting book-publishing activities from the early years of the Cold War is a valuable exercise; the historical perspective shows us that we must be wary of the motivations and impact of these public and cultural diplomacy activities. Books as a form of cultural diplomacy contribute to national prestige, and they have an essential role for a nation to (re)construct and to promote national identity. Nations use the book and the literature to define national identity in order to create attraction and to project their nation and book programmes help to encourage intercultural dialogue and understanding between nations and people.

Archival research is time-consuming; therefore, a future researcher must understand the nature of the material at an early stage. A study of the IRD's book operation from 1956 through to its closure in 1977 would help establish a higher degree of understanding of the function of culture in British foreign policy and narratives of national identity. I have a keen interest in post-doctoral work on the IRD's publishing activities after the Suez Crisis, which will provide a more comprehensive picture of the IRD's operation. There are also other mediums, such as exhibitions, news articles, radio and magazines, that the IRD used in its operations; research into one or more of these other mediums would be productive. As for book publishing, the newly released archives

of publishing houses like Phoenix and The Bodley Head at the University of Reading offer promising research opportunities to detail the role of individual publishing houses.

As a secret government department, the IRD is newsworthy and provides rich material. The recent release of new files from the National Archives revealed the IRD's past efforts to circulate a 'fake' press release to hundreds of newspapers and opinion formers as well as the Department's efforts to influence the international media and persuade Reuters to set up a reporting service in the Middle East (Berg, 2019; Rosenbaum, 2020). In the modern era of misinformation and disinformation, the IRD is certainly worthy of research and investigation.

This research brought exciting news even before it was concluded. I have won two prizes for this research and for the collection of the IRD-funded books that I put together (over 100 so far). The first prize, the 2018 Anthony Davis Prize, was offered by the Senate House Library and the Institute of English Studies at the University of London; the second prize was the 2018 Antiquarian Booksellers' Association (ABA) National Prize for a student book-collector. An exhibition (20 October–23 Nov 2018) in the Senate House Library in London (see Appendix 2) displayed some of these IRD-funded books. It was an excellent opportunity to present these books to a broad audience, as the IRD is not widely known among the public or even among scholars. That is unfortunate, as its involvement with book publishing is a truly fascinating story.

95.934 words

Appendixes

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1	Background Books	Books	Translated Books	Printed-printing	Writer	Author	Publishing-published
2	571	80	151	120	1551	219	19
3	1451	178	381	708	1603	565	42
4	1888	221	551	930	1728	798	78
5	2051	264	569	1027	1835	1271	221
6	2095	312	648	1162	1944	1511	279
7	2096	373	649	1173	1994		284
8		378	672	1403	2057		289
9		394	736	1415	2131		291
10		420	759	1577			294
11		446	761	1586			297
12		486	777	1638			316
13		492	781	1824			332
14		541	868	1838			336
15		573	882	1901			362 AR
16		715	895				403
17		738	902				404
18		834	925				413
19		849	1030				414
20		870	1086				416
21		890	1091				417
22		925	1118				425 A
23		951	1121				426
24		990	1175				428
25		1004	1206				433
26		1031	1260				437
27		1037	1282				442
28		1060	1287				455
29		1175	1339				467
30		1185	1383				468
31		1246	1432				469
32		1287	1511				470
33		1292	1524				471
34		1310	1766				473
35		1318	1767				479
36		1339	1817				481
37		1351	1824				483
38		1372	1845				484
39		1380	1888				491
40		1383	1895				497
41		1391	1901				502
42		1404	1932				503
43		1445	1959				504
44		1451	1966				506
45		1460	1968				507
46		1507	2028				510
47		1526	2033				552
48		1540	2095				553
49		1543	2096				554
50		1627	2103				555
51		1630					557
52		1634					558
53		1676					565
54		1695					573
55		1700					580
56		1716					582
57		1717					585
58		1751					588 Q
59		1760					589 Q

Appendix 1, The image shows an example of key terms that are related FO1110 files numbers such as material related "Background Books" in FO1110/571.

Appendix 2, Secretly Funded Books, The IRD and Book Publishing Exhibition, from the Author's Private Collection at the Senate House Library, 2018.

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