

anarchist fortnightly **Freedom**

APRIL 15 '78

VOLUME 39 No7

15p

CONTEMPT OF COURT

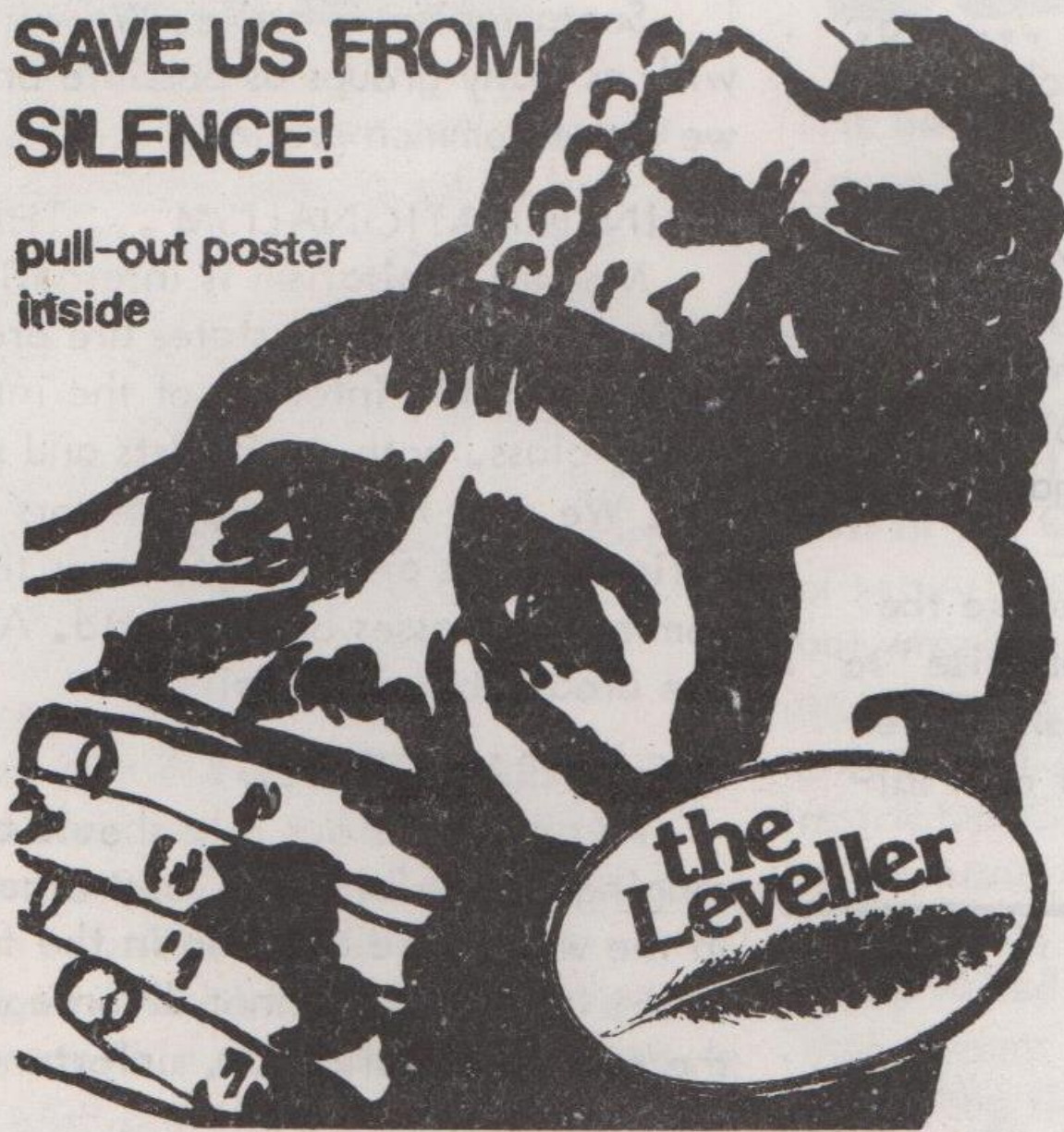
PN gets busted p9-12
peace news
for nonviolent revolution

No. 2067 Friday 7 April 1978

Fortnightly Price 15p

SAVE US FROM
SILENCE!

pull-out poster
inside



TWO LEFT-wing papers have been threatened with contempt of court proceedings in connection with the prosecution of Crispin Aubrey, John Berry and Duncan Campbell under the Official Secrets Act. The three men are accused of discussing details of signals intelligence - the practice of monitoring military signals of foreign countries - and during the committal proceedings last December the prosecution produced an expert witness to give evidence that any discussion of the subject was prejudicial to the safety and interest of the state. To add absurdity to atrocity, his name was kept secret, and he was referred to as 'Colonel B'. The magistrate ordered that his name should not be published, but some journalists worked out that he was 420 864 - Colonel H.A. Johnstone M.B.E., formerly of the Royal Corps of Signals, now of the Army General Staff, attached to the section called DI 24. This item of intelligence was published in Peace News (16/30 December 1977) and The Leveller (January 1978).

During January the two papers were visited by members of the Special Branch and warned of possible prosecution for contempt of court. Since then a dozen other papers (including FREEDOM (18 February) have published the real name of

'Colonel B', but on 21 March the Attorney-General, Sam Silkin, got permission from the High Court to proceed against the two papers and also on five members of the editorial collective of each paper - Albert Beale, Alison de Reybekill, Mike Holderness, Chris Jones and Helen Linton (of Peace News); Dave Clark, Tim Gopsill, Phil Kelly, Russell Southwood and David Thomas (of The Leveller).

The two collectives have issued the following joint statement:

We are unrepentant about the naming of Colonel H.A. Johnstone. We will continue to publicise the name of the mysterious Colonel B and any official secrets we can lay our hands on. This is not mere radical hell-raising; official secrets laws are used to straitjacket the activities of journalists, and impose further limitations on freedom of speech in Britain. If we are in contempt of court for exposing the attempts by the security services to stick spurious spying charges on the two journalists, Aubrey and Campbell, and ex-soldier Berry, then we in turn have nothing but contempt for that court.

Such contempt of court proceedings can lead to unlimited fines for papers and unlimited fines and prison sentences for individuals. The last case of this kind involved Paul Foot and the Socialist Worker, for publishing the names of secret witnesses in the Jane Jones trial, and resulted in fines of several hundred and costs of several thousand pounds. Both Peace News and The Leveller have responded to the prosecution with defiance of this further attempt to suppress freedom of the press and with appeals for solidarity. Several other papers have already repeated their publication of Colonel Johnstone's name, and several left-wing individuals and groups have already begun to raise support all over the country. Assistance may be given to and information obtained from the Peace News/Leveller Defence Fund, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 (telephone 01-837 9795).

We of course have nothing but contempt for this, that or any other court, and we wish Peace News and The Leveller (and our friends on both papers) the very best in the struggle against this ridiculous prosecution. The best way to make sure that whoever loses, the authorities don't win, is to give the widest possible circulation to the identity of Colonel H.A. Johnstone.

FREEDOM COLLECTIVE

MANCHESTER ANARCHIST ORGANISATION

IN the last two years there have been several attempts to form a widely-based anarchist group in Manchester. Unfortunately, for a variety of reasons these attempts never really got off the ground.

As a consequence a small group formed with two specific ideas:

- (i) to get some anarchist action going in Manchester;
- (ii) to develop aims and principles and a structure on which to organise.

Anybody is welcome to join provided they agree with the Aims, Principles and Structure and are prepared to accept responsibility within the group.

If you are interested in joining our organisation, you can contact us:

c/o Jill or Jack
21 Holmfirth Street
Longsight, Manchester 13. Tel: 061-224 3028.

AIMS AND PRINCIPLES

1) WHO WE ARE

The Manchester Anarchist Organisation is a group of people who have got together to fight collectively against the capitalist and patriarchal state and replace it with an anarchist society.

We want to develop anarchism as a living and decisive force in the creation of a political, social and economic revolution. We are neither abstract theorists nor utopian dreamers but activists whose aim is the total overthrow of capitalism in all its forms.

2) INJUSTICES AND DEFINITIONS

What's wrong with the present system ... Capitalism, Patriarchy, the State ... (call it what you will)?

Capitalism is a mode of production based on the exploitation of workers by those who control and own the means of production and who appropriate the surplus created for their own ends.

Patriarchy maintains itself by the oppression of women, reinforced by the nuclear family; all relationships are based on aggressive domination and submission ... men over women, adults over kids, heterosexuals over homosexuals, bosses over workers.

The State is the instrument of our oppression which they use to prevent us taking control of our own lives. To maintain its dominance, it has created a vast array of 'weapons' ranging from social, cultural and ideological brainwashing to sheer brute force.

All three are inextricably linked and in fighting one we must fight them all. Class is an inevitable consequence of this system.

3) OUR ALTERNATIVE

Our aim is the creation of an anarchist society, free of all oppression, classless and stateless, with production and distribution for need not for profit. It will be based and organised on the cooperative basis of community councils, workplace councils etc ... in other words ... DIRECT CONTROL OF OUR OWN LIVES.

4) HOW THIS WILL BE ACHIEVED ... AND HOW IT WON'T

Reforming capitalism can never achieve true socialism. Only the international independent activity of the oppressed can achieve a truly successful revolution. No party can organise it for us. Nor do we see state socialism as the answer to our oppression.

In many ways we participate in our own oppression - just the way they've taught us to. No amount of theory can overcome this submissive attitude. This can only be changed through revolutionary direct action which gives us the confidence and ability to overcome our repression and take control of our own lives. Direct action is the best way to take the struggle forward and keeps the fight in our hands and not in the mouths of leaders and vanguards.

5) OBSTACLES

We have it on good authority that the rulers will not give up easily.

6) MORE OBSTACLES

Social democracy, as in this country for example, has proved to be a successful way of furthering the interests of the ruling class and containing the workers' demands. It provides an excellent vehicle for the use of indirect, rather than overt, ideological brainwashing ... e.g. control of the media, use of the church, bureaucracy and the welfare state.

The leadership and the bureaucracy of the Labour Party and the trade union movement do not act in the interests of the working class because they have been incorporated into the state machinery, and therefore cannot help but consistently sell out the workers' demands, and defuse every situation of conflict.

No elected 'representative' can make the revolution for us though many will 'promise' to do so. Parliamentary democracy is a sham, representatives can only represent their own interests, nobody else's.

7) OUR ORGANISATIONAL PRINCIPLES

(Our) Anarchism cannot be equated with non-organisation or individualism. However, we must ensure that organisation and collective action are a means to our emancipation and not an end in themselves. We must be internally democratic and the means of our organisation must reflect its ends. Real democracy is the self-determination of every aspect of our lives. We accept no leaders and though we recognise we must delegate responsibilities, all posts must be rotated and all delegates accountable and instantly re-callable. The greatest strength comes from collective action so it is important that we organise and cooperate with all those who share our problems and aspirations.

We accept that it is essential for those who share oppression to organise autonomously. However, such oppression cannot be isolated from our overall oppression and we must present a united front against the rulers of the present system.

As anarchists we don't seek power for ourselves - we refuse to be the rulers of any future society. Consequently we shall oppose any group or party which tries to take power for itself on behalf of others during a revolutionary struggle.

Sectarianism is futile. We will cooperate with as many groups as possible on issues where we share common ground.

8) INTERNATIONALISM ... THE ONLY WAY

Modern capitalism is international. The actions of individual states are predominantly dictated by the interests of the international ruling class, both capitalists and state capitalists. We must fight our oppressors on an international basis and work towards the unity of the dominated classes of the world. Anarchism in one area is bound to fail.

9) GENERAL STRATEGY

As anarchists our role should be as wide-ranging as possible. We must organise not only in the workplace but also in the community and in the home. We cannot divorce ourselves from the present situation ... unfortunately. At the

moment, we cannot ignore the existing workers and community organisations, no matter how reactionary they are. We must counter the ruling ideology which exists in these bodies and attempt to support and initiate direct action wherever possible.

10) IMMEDIATE AIMS

Since anarchism can't be created without anarchists, our immediate aim is the stimulation of a large and effective anarchist movement in our area. This can only be done through the action of spreading our ideas and spreading our ideas through revolutionary action. We should offer our support to those who take on our enemies through direct action and build up self-managed resistance, both at work and in the community. Further we should cooperate with other anarchist groups, locally, nationally and internationally, and try to encourage the creation of an organised anarchist movement.



ARTHUR MOYSE

"WHY HAS HE GOT MORE PUDD'N THAN ME "
" BECAUSE HE'S GOT A BRILLIANT MIND. "

VENICE CONFERENCE: AGAINST THE NEW BOSSES

FROM Saturday, 25 March to Monday, 27 (commonly referred to as "Easter weekend" for some reason or other) several things happened in Venice. Firstly, the weather was very nice, not being either too hot or too cold, but bright and sunny. Secondly, the first big influx of this year's tourists arrived. Thirdly, in the main hall of the university's architecture faculty a three day "study conference" was being held on "the new bosses."

On arriving at the station a large black banner was to be seen draped alongside the bridge just outside the station; this, in white and red letters gave details of the conference. Throughout the city, furthermore, lots of posters were to be seen announcing the conference (and mostly undamaged).

The conference was organised by the Centro Studi Libertari, G. Pinelli, in conjunction with the international review of anarchist research, Interrogations. The first day (the Saturday) was mostly dedicated to the purely theoretical aspects of this type of class analysis. One of the papers was given by Luciano Pellicani ("The New Bosses: From Slaves to Masters") who is, in fact, a member of the Socialist Party very sympathetic to many aspects of anarchist and libertarian thought. His paper almost inevitably became the subject of prolonged debate later on in the day. Pellicani gave his reason for not being a revolutionary that "all revolutions have led to the strengthening of the State." Such statements as this and the fact that he is a well-known journalist in Italy guaranteed that many anarchists present strongly contested his political statements and position.

The second day (Sunday) was mostly concerned with papers dealing with specific manifes-

estations of the development of the new ruling class in particular countries. These included Britain (one paper on the NEB and one on housing), the USA (Noam Chomsky's paper on "Intellectuals and the State" - see review), the USSR, China, Italy and so on. The last paper delivered that day was from Claudio Venzani and concerned the role of the Italian Communist Party as regards the armed forces. He showed how the "cold-war" era eradicated the influence which the Party had gained in the officers' ranks as a result of the Resistance, and how the Party had managed to regain that influence in the armed forces with their increase in state power in recent years.

The third day was dedicated to an open debate on "The New Bosses and the Libertarian Project." This part of the conference was hardly organised at all and the self-discipline of the comrades ensured that only one person spoke at any one time (this was also helped by the fact that there was only one microphone!) Given the present political situation in Italy the matter of "armed struggle" came up again and again. Andrea Papi, who spoke early on in the day, rejected the idea that there is one form of struggle (i.e. either the longer route of propaganda, agitation etc., or the more direct methods of armed struggle), saying that both forms are part and parcel of the anarchist movement. The participation of the masses is clearly essential in the revolutionary process but, he warned, "we are not pacifists!"

Attendance at the conference was very good. On several occasions (both on Saturday and Sunday) over 500 people were present and even late in the evenings (about 8.30 pm) when the sessions for that day came to a close, about 200

people were still there. A book will be published (in Italian) in September or October this year containing all the papers given at the conference.

A French translation is also being planned to appear shortly after. The organisers would like to hear from anyone interested in producing an English translation.

SOME CRITICISMS

Too many papers were presented and despite appeals to the authors by the organisers to limit their contributions to about half an hour several papers dragged on for over an hour. The result was that it was very difficult to take in most of the material presented. I personally look forward to seeing these papers in printed form so that I can take things in at my own pace.

Some of the organisers let themselves be fooled completely by a reporter from Corriere della Sera (the largest Italian daily), who pretended to be interviewing them about the conference and asked them a question about the ideological viewpoints presented by the Brigate Rosse as compared to the type of analysis being presented at the conference. The next day an article appeared in the Corriere (Sunday, 26 March) with the title "The Anarchists Condemn the Red Brigades." The organisers announced to the conference that this was a gross misrepresentation of what was said at the interview and the announcement was greeted with applause. A letter has been sent to the Corriere strongly attacking the misrepresentation of the political position of the anarchists and accusing the media of attempting to recuperate even the anarchist movement for the purposes of strengthening state power. But it was too late and all to no avail. I personally feel that the organisers should have been more aware of the possibilities since they know only too well what type of newspaper the Corriere has become.

Finally, the conference still gave no clear indication of what direction anarchist and libertarian struggle should take in the present context of domination by the new technobureaucratic ruling class. Bakunin's insights have been vindicated but the anarchist movement (even in Italy) is still a mere shadow of the movement which existed in Bakunin's day.

N.S.

GREECE

AS WE reported in our last Information Bulletin we expected the appeal trials of the 30 imprisoned Greek comrades to take place at the end of January. In fact these trials took place over a period of weeks during the first couple of weeks in February. We received telephone calls from Athens after the trials were over, which informed us that all our people were released, having won their appeals against the State. We spoke to Christos Konstantinidis and Sylvia Papadopoulou and both were in fine form and high spirits, and they reported that the others were equally well. They informed us that our international solidarity campaign was a major contributory factor in gaining them their freedom. Every letter that was sent to the authorities, to the civil liberties

group, every letter of solidarity to them personally, and all the money that was sent was very important.

In our view this international campaign was a clear indication of the high level of libertarian consciousness and a serious reflection of our sense of solidarity and mutual aid. The degree of sincere concern and work that was undertaken from Boston/New York to San Francisco/Los Angeles, and from Antigonish, Nova Scotia to Vancouver on this continent was indeed impressive. The solidarity work that was undertaken by our people in Feuilles Libres (the libertarian news service), the Anarchist Federation of France, other groups in Paris, Milan, Madrid, Lisbon, London, Glasgow, Hong Kong, was also truly impressive. And

for once all our hard work was fruitful.

Christos and Sylvia went on to inform us that everyone is back to work promoting the idea, and no time is being lost.

Demonstrations were being planned for Toronto, Montreal, Regina, New York, Chicago among other cities should the appeals have been lost.

Reports and articles appeared in the following periodicals and journals: No Limits, Umanita Nova, Front Libertaire, Le Libertaire of Japan, Free Space, Freedom and Our Generation as well as other publications.

We collected little over \$800.00 in our solidarity funds. This does not include the money that was raised and sent from Europe, nor money that some individuals and groups sent directly or by other means from various parts of the world.

Should the reactionary forces of State and Capital move against our sisters and brothers again in the near future you shall be hearing from us.

FREEDOM!

Greek Information Service
c/o Our Generation & Black Rose Books
Montreal, Canada.

PRISON NOTES



CANADA

THE Solitary Confinement Abolition Project in Vancouver report on attempts by the federal authorities in Canada to destroy the growing prison movement there. They ask for urgent help and solidarity on the case of two feminist prison activists who are facing life terms in the wake of a break-out attempt in January by five prisoners from the maximum security B.C. Penitentiary.

According to the Project the charges against Betsy Wood and Gay Hoon "are the most serious and the most arbitrary to confront politically active people on Canada's West Coast in more than a generation. Wood and Hoon, long-time day-care and women's work-place organisers, have been key figures in the campaign to focus attention on the Pen's solitary confinement unit, which prison experts have called one of the most brutal and inhuman in North America."

Despite their record as non-violent activists Betsy Wood and Gay Hoon have been charged with attempted murder (and other offences) in relation to aiding an escape attempt. "The federal authorities have already given signs they intend to use the trial to incite public opinion against the growing Canadian prison movement. For instance, when Wood and Hoon were first brought to court they were denied bail on the grounds that they were a menace to society and would engage in violent activity if they were let out on the street."

The charge of attempted murder carries a maximum life sentence. It was, SCAP report, pinned on them with the explanation that Wood and Hoon bore equal responsibility because one of the prisoners stabbed a guard during the unsuccessful escape attempt. The two women were at the penitentiary visiting area on 28 January when this took place; a reinforced glass partition in the area was smashed with a sledgehammer and the five prisoners came through it, but guards blocked their get-away and 13 visitors, including Betsy and Gay, were taken hostage. "In the longest such siege in Canadian prison history, the ensuing deadlock held firm for a week while negotiations were conducted between the prisoners and police officials, until finally the hostages were released unharmed and the prisoners returned to custody in solitary confinement."

Like San Quentin in California, the BC Pen is notorious in North America for the record of the solitary confinement unit. In 1975 conditions there were revealed in a 21 days of blistering testimony during a lawsuit brought by eight prisoners, including one involved in the present escape attempt, to the Federal Court of Canada. Although according to the judgement exposure to these conditions const-

ituted "cruel and unusual punishment" in violation of the Canadian Bill of Rights, the judge made no order for change save in cosmetic details. The prisoners are kept in cramped cells all day and night except for a half hour of airless, sunless 'recreation' between four concrete walls. There has been a history of beatings, strip searches, intimidation by the guards, contamination of food. Sensory deprivation deprives the prisoners of the ability to talk or read, and despair leads to frequent suicides or suicide attempts.



GAY HOON

For more information, offers of help etc. write to Box 758, Station A, Vancouver, B.C., Canada. Letters of protest condemning the practice of solitary confinement to: Solicitor-General of Canada, Jean-Jacques Blais, and to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, at the Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

W.GERMANY

The anarchist Gefangenengruppe Nürnberg (Nuremberg Prisoners' Group) have taken up the case of Günther Braun, a prisoner charged with house-breaking who died in unclarified circumstances in Nuremberg prison on 10 February. When his mother visited him a few days before his death in the prison hospital she found him covered with wounds and unable to speak. (According to the inquest he died of a "not identifiable illness"; the symptoms, broken teeth, blue patches and blood stains all over his body.) According to the prison administration prison officials carry no responsibility for the mortal injuries; the Gefangenengruppe NBG record "massive doubt" at the authorities' version of the story which was fraught with contradictions (one explanation being the now familiar suicide attempt). The spokesman for the justice authorities in Nuremberg even described the death as the result of "stupor."

The group say that the case of Günther Braun is by no means unique, and are prepared to take on the authorities on the whole question of cruel treatment in Nuremberg prison, on which they have been gathering information. They have organised a petition demanding an immediate enquiry into the unclarified circumstances of Günther's death.

Contact address: Humboldtstr. 88, 8500 Nürnberg.

* * *

About 20 prisoners of the German "anti-imperialist resistance movements", including RAF and 2nd June Movement members, have recommenced a hunger strike broken off in January. The strike, which involves prisoners in Lübeck, Hamburg, Berlin and Cologne and other prisons, is in protest against continuing solitary confinement or social isolation. Since the lifting of the contact ban last October solitary confinement has persisted in some cases while in others the prisoners are allowed to meet only in tiny groups of two or three for a limited number of hours a week; and even this possibility seems to have been won only at the cost of physical health (rejection of food and/or water). The prisoners are demanding the implementation of the Rasch proposals (groups of between 15-20), and transfer to a separate prison where they can be supervised by Amnesty International and the Red Cross. They are demanding an independent international enquiry into the deaths of Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, Jan-Carl Raspe and Ingrid Schubert, and recognition as prisoners of war under the Geneva Convention.

It is still not clear how widely the demand for a separate prison or POW status is supported among the prisoners of the resistance movements. On such matters there is continuing debate among radical prisoners' groups, including anarchists', whose traditional call is for freedom and equal treatment for all prisoners, irrespective of the motives of their actions.



Betsy Wood

SPAIN

There have been angry protests in Spain against the murder in Caravanchol prison of the anarchist CNT member Agustin Rueda Sierra. The prison director has been sacked and the deputy director and some prison guards are facing charges in connection with the murder.

Agustin was one of several CNT members who were imprisoned after the fire at the dance club, the Scala, when four people died. Miguel Angel Rodríguez, José Pérez, Miguel Gallero, Francisco Cañadas, José Cueves, Pilas Alvarez, Teresa Farrés, Maria Coronal, Fernando Simón and Arturo Palma, who are still in pre-trial detention, are to be defended by the CNT and will plead not guilty.*

The Scala tragedy happened after a demonstration in Barcelona against the imprisonment of the theatre director Albert Boadella and a number of actors, and actress, of the company 'Els Joglars' who had been touring Spain with an anti-militarist play on the judicial murder of the Pole Heinz Tchez, garrotted at the same time as the anarchist Puig Antich. Although the play was passed by government censors, when it arrived at the little town of Reus, in the fourth military region, the military were able to make full use of the code of military jurisdiction still operating in Spain to bring charges against Boadella and



members of 'Els Joglars' under articles 317 and 315 for insulting the army.

The case is an interesting and important one, involving as it does a direct challenge by the army to the civil authorities - the first of significance since Franco's death - but one which the civilians seem highly reluctant to take up. A campaign against the repression of the play and its actors is being run by the Sindicat d'Espectacles of the CNT.

While Albert Boadella and one of the actors have managed to escape from prison and seek refuge in Paris, four others remain behind at Modelo and Trinidad prisons, serving a two-year sentence. Their appeals have been turned down, but the case is still being contested by the defence who have brought a charge of falsification of military records against the captain-general of the fourth military region, who initiated the prosecution. This charge is now being investigated in the courts.

* see FREEDOM vol. 39 no. 2 (stop press).

N.IRELAND

Women's groups in Britain, Holland and the Irish Republic have begun an international campaign for the release of Noreen Winchester, the girl who was imprisoned for seven years for killing her father after suffering years of sexual abuse from him. (The case was reported in FREEDOM some weeks ago). Noreen's appeal was rejected on 7 April by the Lord Chief Justice of Northern Ireland (Sir Robert Lowry) on the ground that the sentence was not "manifestly excessive".

BRITAIN

The prison abolition group Radical Alternatives to Prison (RAP), whose continued existence has recently been jeopardised by financial problems, report that prospects for the immediate future are much better than expected, and that they have been encouraged by the solidarity shown them in time of need. RAP have received offers of help in the office and are presently investigating an offer of rented space. Donations, messages, offers of help to: RAP, 15 Blackfriars Lane, London E.C.4. Tel: office hours (01) 248-4793; other times (01) 947-0489. *Gaia*

Solitary Confinement Abolition Project

Box 758, Station A, Vancouver, B.C.



Gay Hoon

Betsy Wood

at the B. C. Penitentiary, New Westminster, B.C.

News in Brief..

Two young anarchists were murdered by fascists in the streets of Leoncavallo in Italy on the evening of 18 March. A couple of hours after two free radios in Milan gave out news of the murder of Lorenzo Janucci and Fausto Tinelli, both aged 19, 3000 people gathered in the streets and the police were ordered to protect the headquarters of the neo-fascist party, the Italian Social Movement (Msi). The following day a general meeting called by various revolutionary groupings was held in the social centre of Leoncavallo to decide what steps to take. A second demonstration was held in Milan, and others took place in other parts of Italy.

- Source: *Monde Libertaire*

Two Australian comrades seek living situation in commune(s) between Sept & Dec 78. If you can offer us space and community for (part of) this time in return for work and other contributions please ring Dianne and Richard on Reading 583666 Ext 385 before April 28th; or write c/o Reading University Anarchists, Clubs Office, Students Union, Whiteknights, Reading, Berkshire.

"One other doctrine of the Mormon cult is their belief that Moronism is a religion of white supremacy" (From "Newcastle Evening Chronicle")

More assurances from the Special Branch. They will make no more attempts "to recruit students as political informers at Paisley College of Technology". Nice to know that one place at least is free from interference.

John McCabe has been squatting for four years in an old army blockhouse above the Cromarty Firth, in Scotland. The technical owner, Daniel K. Ludwig, reportedly the richest man in the world wants him out in order to build a £ 200 million oil refinery. John will have none of this. He thinks that Ludwig only wants the site in order to build himself a penthouse and enjoy the unrivalled view. He is reluctant to move to a similar blockhouse on the far side of the firth as it is open to the North wind. He concedes that he will have to move eventually but adds "I'm not going quickly. I've got miles of barbed wire up here."

LETTERS

CHAPLIN

Comrades

While Dave Godin, in his review of Chaplin (vol. 39, no. 5), criticises the reviews of Chaplin which appeared in the bourgeois media for being 'predictable and cliché-ridden' and, further, that they 'underestimated the immense complexity of Chaplin' he himself gives us a review which is predictable and far from complete.

Predictable in that, writing for an anarchist mag, he goes to great lengths to show that Chaplin was a full-blooded anarchist. (The review which appeared in *Socialist Worker* went to the same lengths to prove Chaplin was a socialist). Even while Dave Godin is doing this he constantly has to apologise that Chaplin didn't quite manage to live up to anarchist ideals - it's sure hard being a star, folks. Of course, I recognise that none of us can live our ideals completely, but it doesn't help if we live a more than comfortable life in Switzerland or accept the arse-licking of the American Dream Machine (and collecting Oscars only takes a couple of days, not a month) or accept an 'honour' from the Great British Class Game, all of which Chaplin did, all of which have NOWT to do with Anarchy.

Dave Godin's review is far from complete in that he overlooks the unavoidable fact that Chaplin was, both in his films and in 'real' life, a prime example of patriarchy. In most of the Chaplin silents I've seen there is invariably a pretty passive woman there to marvel at his antics and, of course, to be conquered in the last reel, to be won over to a blissful monogamous relationship which magically transforms all social evils, makes a 'bad' world 'good'. Perhaps the depths were reached in the scene where Chaplin and the beautiful bewitching gypsy-like 'girl' (such crassness!) are sitting, down and out, outside a house. A couple appear on the doorstep, Mr and Mrs Average. Mr Average is given a kiss on the cheek as he leaves for his daily toil, to earn the bread, while his wife remains to keep the 'family nest' tidy and snug. Chaplin then says to the 'girl', "Wouldn't it be nice if we had a home like that?" The 'girl' gleefully agrees and then we are treated to the spectacle of a fantasy sequence wherein Chaplin returns home from work to a 'lovely', 'homely' home and his wife - the 'girl' - all pretty and apron-ed up serves him with a meal she has ready and piping hot. I remember that when I saw this film not a few women got up and walked out. For me, it ruined the rest of the film and made the final shot - Chaplin and Paulette Goddard walking off into the sunset - something to be quite nauseous about.

In his personal life too, Chaplin had the habit of marrying the 'pretty girls' he himself cast to play opposite him and then fairly quickly getting a divorce. Dave Godin himself gives the game away when he refers to Chaplin's (last) wife as 'his devoted companion Oona'. Put thus, it sounds like a reference to a pet dog.

A review of Chaplin could have, indeed, should have, been critical, challenging and stimulating, but all we got was the obvious and too much deference. This isn't a pity, it's a con. Please, no more guff.

In solidarity,
Ken Willis

Lancs

Confirming Godin's analytical obituary, I think Chaplin actually told the HUAC meeting that called him that he was 'not a communist but more or less an anarchist.' Nevertheless, some of his later positions were disappointing, in result.

L.O.

A

KASSIMIS

Dear FREEDOM

There is a letter in your latest issue (vol. 39 no. 5) that we feel deserves an answer.

It seems to us that Mr Canellidis either has no idea about the anti-authoritarian movement in Greece today or he is deliberately ignoring certain forms of anti-authoritarian struggle, including of course the armed struggle. There is no doubt that Kassimis, on whose murder you reported in issue of March 4, is in fact the first victim of armed guerrilla warfare against the state in Greece.

Perhaps Mr Canellidis is of the brand of coffee-bar anarchist, criticising everybody and conveniently 'excommunicating' (see Pope) whoever does not expect the system to fall by itself. Unfortunately, with all the misfortunes of the anarchist movement in Greece, it is not enough to theorise or criticise; one has to take positive action if one is supposed to fight against authority.

Sorry Mr Canellidis, we do not think that one is an anarchist because one 'labels' oneself so, but because one positively acts so. We do not believe in any ideology that does not reflect the moving reality. You may sit back satisfied you fulfilled your revolutionary duty, like all Stalinists and many others, but it seems that time is neither here nor there for the working class to cease being a working 'class'. As far as we know (statements of the Group that tried to bomb AEG in Athens, several articles in underground magazines and leaflets in Greece and abroad) Kassimis' particular political ideology is not known - except

perhaps to his comrade/wife and his very close friends. Therefore here we do not agree or disagree with his beliefs, Marxist or otherwise, or with the fact that he did not 'label' himself publicly (through the press perhaps?) as anarchist; but we see the Group's action as such and the effect it had in persuading some people that the Greek state is not invulnerable to dynamic libertarian action. The fact that even just a few days ago the police raided homes of anarchists in Thessaloniki and confiscated bombs etc, and that the government is taking tough measures against 'terrorists' in Greece (the first time they admit to the existence of 'terrorists' in Greece; and furthermore the laws that the fascists had passed during the Civil War 1945-49 against the then 'terrorists', the People's Liberation Army, had to become tougher through a 'democratic' government 30 years later) is not irrelevant to what previous revolutionary libertarian groups have done.

In conclusion we hope that Mr Canellidis is not going to take this letter personally. We still think that one has to think twice (even if one is an anarchist and an editor) before one rejects forms of practice, inconvenient sometimes (!) yet enormously contributing to the libertarian struggle.

Fraternally
The (Greek) Autonomous Group
of Leeds

NAPAP

Dear FREEDOM

.... A very important thing I want to tell you about is the charge against Front Libertaire, a publication of the French Libertarian Communist Organisation. At the beginning of October this review included a text from a clandestine brigade called NAPAP: Armed Brigade for Popular Autonomy. As Front Libertaire and the Libertarian Communist Organisation were involved in the Autonomy movement, and as the text was a contribution on violence and revolution - two factors which marked 1977 (Malville, Kalkar, the Stammheim assassinations etc), the review put in the text. On 6 January 1978 it was charged with 'incitation to crime, murder and arson.' Front Libertaire could face having to pay F5 million if it loses the trial.*

We think in the group that this is the best way for the government to destroy the publication and perhaps the organisation.

As the libertarian movement is international I hope you will inform people around you. If you want more information or contacts please write to the:

Organisation Communiste Libertaire
75020 Paris
33 rue des Vignolles.

I think it could be helpful.

Anarchist salutations
Charles

St Brieuc, France

* Further details soon

ANARCHO-CYCLISTS NEWS

A London to Brighton bike rally is being planned for 6th May, leaving Speakers' Corner at 7.30am.

Last year 120 cyclists came and the organisers hope that 500 will be able to make it this year.

The organisers are cyclists and at the end of the line, for anyone who makes it to Brighton, they are arranging a party, theatre events and overnight sleeping space.

They say it is a good opportunity for cyclists to realise that a bike is useful for something other than nipping down to the shops. 60 miles in a day doesn't take too much effort.

The trip itself should be a good laugh, a picnic, a pub crawl and a day by the seaside.

But it is also a demonstration of the bike as a feasible means of transport that doesn't fuck up the air for everyone else. It's quiet as well.

TORNESS

ON 6 and 7 May there will be an anti-nuclear event at Torness, recently announced by the government as the site of one of the two Advanced Gas-Cooled Reactors (AGRs) it wants to build in Britain. The London Greenpeace Group is organising transport from the London area (probably coaches, but a train if enough people want to go) and ask that would-be participants wishing to go up from London send a £2 deposit to Greenpeace (London), 6 Endsleigh Street, London W1.

Torness is just 30 miles from Edinburgh, near the A1 from the border at Berwick, the nearest main town being Dunbar. The plans for the event, which is being organised by the Scottish Campaign to Resist the Atomic Menace (SCRAM) are to assemble at midday on the site of the proposed AGR and then to camp overnight. There will be further events and workshops on the Sunday and the site will be evacuated on Sunday afternoon, although if the proposals are not dropped it is highly likely that a fresh site occupation will take place. SCRAM have pointed out that this is almost the only chance for the British anti-nuclear movement to oppose development which has not already started (i.e. it is a "green fields site") and this, say Greenpeace, could be the chance for the movement here to catch up on other countries, particularly taking as a model the Clamshell Alliance campaign against the Seabrook nuclear plant in the USA.

Participants should take sleeping bags and, if possible, tents. For information about transport from other areas than London, and for more details of the event itself, contact: SCRAM, 2a Ainslie Place, Edinburgh 3 (tel. 031-225 7752).

A nine-day Energy Cycle Bicycle Marathon is taking place to tie up with the national demonstration in London against Windscale on 29th April.

The marathon will set out from Windscale on 20th April, passing through Ambleside, Lancaster, Burnley, Glossop, Derby, Leicester, Bedford, North London, reaching Trafalgar Square on the 29th.

"The journey will be in easy stages," say the organisers, "planned to give stops for refreshment and time for participants to break themselves in. Accommodation and support vehicles are being planned but those who join us will be asked to be as independent as possible."

The aim of the marathon is to raise, and answer, the basic questions of a nuclear future.

For more information about the London to Brighton rally contact Mike, Groundwell Farm, Upper Stratton, Swindon, Wilts. Further details on the Windscale Marathon can be obtained from Tony or John, 32 Bravington Road, London, W9 (01-969 7302), or, during the Cycle, BIT Information Service, 97a, Talbot Road, London, W11 (01-229 8219).

COVENTRY

THE decision made several months ago by the Coventry Libertarians group to begin an alternative paper to serve the Coventry area is now starting to bear fruit. The idea behind the venture was that the paper should act as a forum for the various activities going on in the area and offer an alternative perspective to that of the Coventry Evening Telegraph - one of sensational/unusual events which happen but which ought not to. To produce the paper an open collective was formed. This has now grown, and while its membership is not now restricted to libertarians it has so far managed to maintain a libertarian structure. At one fund raising event held so far, a disco, the group raised £25, but needs at least four times that amount before contemplating the production of the first issue. Towards that goal folk concert is being held on 21 April at the Antelope Motorcycle Club, to be followed by another on 12 May at the same place (watch Contacts page). If any FREEDOM readers have spare cash to devote to this worthy cause, send to:

The Campaign for an Alternative
Coventry Paper
c/o The Wedge Bookshop
13 High Street, Coventry.

WILLY

German comrades inform us of the death in Mülheim hospital on 12 March this year of Willy Huppertz, the anarchist militant who in 1947 was among the founder members of the paper Befreiung. We hope to have a full obituary of Willy in the next issue.

Freedom Press

IN ANGEL ALLEY

84b WHITECHAPEL HIGH ST.

LONDON E.1

PHONE 01 247 9249

SOME FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

MALATESTA, His Life & Ideas, compiled and translated by V. Richards, 309 pp. £2.00 (26p)
COLLECTIVES IN THE SPANISH REVOLUTION, Gaston Leval, 368 pp. Cloth £4 (66p)
Paper £2 (66p)

ABOUT ANARCHISM, what anarchists believe, how anarchists differ, what anarchists want..., Nicolas Walter 25p (9p)

ABC of ANARCHISM, Alexander Berkman (Pts. 2 & 3 of the now out of print 'Communist Anarchism' 50p (12p)

ANARCHY, Errico Malatesta 25p (9p)

BAKUNIN & NECHAEV, Paul Avrich 20p (9p)

HOUSING: An Anarchist Approach, Colin Ward £1.25 (25p)

MAX STIRNER'S EGOISM, a critique by John P. Clark £1.50 (15p)

LESSONS OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION, Vernon Richards cloth £1.50 (54p)

BOOKS FROM FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

(In Angel Alley, 84b, Whitechapel High St., London, E.1).

Please add postage as in brackets. (Items marked * are published in U.S.A. or Canada)

Sacco & Vanzetti

Katherine Anne Porter: The Never-Ending Wrong (on the Sacco & Vanzetti Case). £2.90p (22p)

*WIN. 4th August 1977. Special Sacco & Vanzetti Issue. £0.20p (10p)
Sacco & Vanzetti Postcards (from a design by Ben Shahn). 10 for £0.45p (10p)

*Anthony D'Agostino: Marxism & the Russian Anarchists. £2.00 (36p)

*Bommi Bommi Baumann: How it all began. The Personal Account of a West German Urban Guerilla. £2.00 (22p)

*Michael Palij: The Anarchism of Nestor Makhno 1918-1921. £10.95 (86p)

*Michael Bakunin: The Confession of Michael Bakunin. Translated by Robert C. Howes; with intro. and notes by Lawrence D. Oron. £9.50p (54p)

*G.P. Maximoff: The Political Philosophy of Bakunin. £3.75p (54p)

Martin Spence: National Liberation and State Power: An Anarchist Critique of the MPLA in Angola. £0.20p (7p)

Keith Paton: Alternative Socialism. £0.30p (12p)

*Richard & Anna-Maria Drinnon (Eds): Nowhere at Home: The Letters from Exile of Emma Goldman & Alexander Berkman. £4.95p (54p)

William Godwin: "Caleb Williams" or "Things as they are". Edited by David McCracken. £1.50p (54p)

*John W.F. Dulles: Anarchists and Communists in Brazil 1900-1935. £9.95p (86p)

BOOKSHOP IS OPEN:
Tues.-Fri. 2pm to 6pm.
(Thursdays until 8pm).
Saturdays 10am to 4pm.

FREEDOMS CONTACTS PAGE

WE WELCOME NEWS, REVIEWS, LETTERS, ARTICLES. Latest date for no. 8. (N.B. Latest copy date 24 April for events occurring after 29 April).

NEXT DESPATCHING DATE - Thursday, 27 April. Come and help from 2 pm onwards. Folding session for Review no. 9 is Thursday, 20 April, 6-8 p.m.

Groups

ABERYSTWYTH. Mike Sheehan, Newadd Caerlaan, Victoria Terrace, Aberystwyth.
BELFAST. B.A.C. c/o 52 Broadway, Belfast 12 (correspondence only).
BRISTOL. Anyone interested in forming group contact Bob, Flat 4, 14 Westfield Park, Redland, Bristol.
CAMBRIDGE. Raphael Salkie, Queens College, Cambridge
CORBY. Terry Phillips, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.
DERBY. Anyone interested in forming group contact Andrew Huckerby, 49 Westleigh Ave. Derby, DE3 3BY (tel: 368 678).
EAST ANGLIAN Libertarians, Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex.
EXETER Anarchist Society, Univ. of Exeter, Devonshire House, Stocker Road, Exeter.
LEAMINGTON & Warwick. c/o 42 Bath St, Leamington Spa.
LEEDS. Tony Kearney, 5 Toronto Place, Chapel Allerton, Leeds LS7 4LJ (tel: 624096).
LEICESTER. c/o Blackthorn Books, 74 High-cross Street, Leicester.
NEWCASTLE. Black Jake,

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, NE2.
NOTTINGHAM, c/o Mushroom, 10 Heathcote St (tel: 582506) for activities, or 15 Scotholme Ave., Hyson Green (tel: 708302).
OXFORD. Steve Bushell, Balliol College, Oxford.
PORTSMOUTH. Carolyn Cahm, 2 Chadder-ton Gardens, Pembroke Park, Old Portsmouth.
READING. University Anarchists, c/o Students Union, Univ. of Reading, Whiteknights, Reading.
SHEFFIELD. Anarchist group: Box 1A, 341 Glossop Rd, Sheffield 10 (tel: 667029). Group mts Tuesdays 7.30 for 8pm at 10 Hanover Sq. Sheffield 10. Discussion mts Sunday evngs. fortnightly. Also Student Group (Box 1SG); Black Cross secretariat (Box 1BC); Syndicate of Initiatives (Box 1SB), all at 341 Glossop Rd (tel. as above).
SWANSEA Dan Williams, 24 Derlwyn, Dunvant, Swansea.
THAMES VALLEY. Adele Dawson, Maymeade, 6 Congress Rd., Maidenhead (tel. 062 2974).
WESTON-super-Mare. Martyn Redman, Flat 5, 23 Milton Rd, Weston-super-Mare, Somerset.

LONDON FEDERATION

Anarchist Black Cross, 123 Upper Tollington Park, N.4 (tel. 691 6533).
Anarchy Collective, 29 Grosvenor Ave., N.5. (tel. 359 4794 before 7 pm).
Clapham, 3 Belmont Rd. SW4 (tel. 622 8961).
Dorking Libertarian Group, Howard Fuller, 6 Oak Ridge, Goodway, Dorking, Surrey (tel. 87814).
East London Libertarians, 123 Lathom Road, E.6. (tel. 552 3985).

Freedom, 84B Whitechapel High St. (Angel Alley, E.1. (tel. 247 9249).
Hackney Anarchists, contact Dave 249 7042.
Kingston Anarchists, 13 Denmark Road, Kingston-upon-Thames. (tel. 549 2564).
London Workers Group, Box W, 182 Upper St, N.1. (tel. 249 7042).
Love V Power (write only). Desmond Hunter, 4 Swindon Street, WC1.
S.E. London College, c/o Nick Higman, Students Union, S.L. Coll., Knights Hill, West Norwood. (tel. 670 3774).
Anarchist Communist Association (ACA), c/o 182 Upper Street, London N.1.

KENT ANARCHIST FEDERATION

Ramsgate: Peter Ford, 22 Royal Road.
Sevenoaks: Jim Endesby, 70 Bradbourne Rd.

MIDLANDS ANARCHIST FEDERATION

Change of Secretariat from Nottingham to Sheffield Anarchist Group. Box 1A, 341 Glossop Rd., Sheffield 10 (tel. 667029).

NORTH-WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION, 6 Stockley Ave., Harwood, Bolton, Lancs. (tel. Bolton. 38/516). Mthly mtg., newsletter.

SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION:

Aberdeen: c/o A.P.P., 167 King Street.
Glasgow: C. Baird, 122 Bennerary St., Glasgow G.22 (tel. 336-7895), also for Port Glasgow.

NEW CONTACTS

WILTSHIRE. Comrades in SWINDON wish to start an anarchist group (as well as existing Community Arts Group). Get into touch with Mike, Groundswell Farm, Upper Stratton, Swindon, Wilts.

YORKSHIRE. HIGH BENTHAM. Ask at 'Dragonfly' on Market Day (Wednesday).

Also, other Yorkshire comrades would like to extend their contacts and revive the communications that used to exist among groups in Yorkshire and other areas in the North East. Get into touch with either SHEFFIELD or LEEDS group.

Meetings

ANTI-NUCLEAR ACTIVITIES

READING. Today, Sat. 15 April. Workshop on non-violent techniques for anarchists and libertarians planning to participate in the FOE rally.

If you didn't make it, there is a lunchtime meeting in the university Students Union building on TUESDAY 25 April. Open discussion on nuclear power question.

Details on these and Reading anarchists' anti-nuclear activities from Ms. Sherek, c/o Clubs Office, Students Union, Whiteknights, Reading, Berks., or phone evenings (0734) 662285.

WINDSCALE to LONDON April 20-29th Cycle Marathon. Nine days' journey in easy stages, ending at FOE rally Trafalgar Square.

**Gone with the
WINDSCALE?
who knows??**

ABERYSTWYTH ANARCHIST GROUP

For details of route see news pages or contact Tony or John, 32 Bravington Rd., London W.9 (tel. (01) 969 7302 (or during the marathon, BIT Information Service, 97a Talbot Road, London W.11. (tel. (01) 229 8219).

LONDON Saturday April 29th, Trafalgar Square. Friends of the Earth Rally in Trafalgar Square. Large anarchist present essential (even if you come by 'bus, tube or train).

MAY DAY

LONDON

Sorry no further details as yet.
We believe it is to held in Finsbury Park. (The picnic that is)

SHEFFIELD anarchists will be part of a May Day March. Details from Sheffield group (telephone numbers in Groups Column).

MIDLANDS Anarchist Federation will hold a picnic on Sunday May 13 and welcome comrades from other areas. Details from Sheffield group (see Groups column).

LONDON Solidarity Seminars, to which all libertarian revolutionaries are cordially invited. Saturdays 2 pm in the Drill Hall, 16 Chenies Street, London WC1. Goodge St. tube.
April 29: K.K. 'The British economy today'.
May 20: F.B.: 'The right to be lazy'.

† REGULAR MEETINGS IN NEXT ISSUE

Press Fund

23 March - 5 April

WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. £ 2; J.K.W. 20p;
LONDON SW16: B.P. £ 2; HIGH BENTHAM, Yorks: Anon £ 2; In shop: Anon: £ 1.24.

TOTAL: £ 7.44
Previously acknowledged £ 363.04

TOTAL TO DATE: £ 375.48

COMRADES: Can you help to make the Press Fund larger for the next issue? It is a long time since we called 'Help!' and because these are hard times we kept the subscription rate for this year the same as the last two years. But already in this first quarter costs to us have been nearly £ 300 higher than at this time last year.

Subscribe

SEND THIS FORM to Freedom Press, 84B Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

One year	£ 5.00 (\$10.00)
Six months	£ 2.50 (\$5.00)
Five issues	£ 1.00 (\$2.00)

name

address

Published by Freedom Press, London E.1.
Printed by Women in Print, London SE 17
and Magic Ink, Margate.

INTELLECTUALS AND THE STATE

NOAM
CHOMSKY

The following paper by Noam Chomsky was first given in Leiden, Holland in December 1977. It was also a contribution to the international study conference on the 'New Bosses' organised by Interrogations and held in Venice in March this year.

THERE are two basic questions that I would like to consider in these remarks, the first rather abstract, the second more topical.

First, I would like to discuss the roles that intellectuals often tend to play in modern industrial society, a topic that has been a lively one at least since the Dreyfus affair, when the term "intellectual" came into common usage as a committed group of intellectuals took a prominent stand on an issue of justice. In this context I also want to comment on the engagement of American intellectuals in the ideological battles relating to World War I, when a prominent group of liberal intellectuals including John Dewey, Walter Lippmann and others described themselves as a new class, engaged for the first time in applying intelligence to the design of national policy.

Second, I want to turn to some of the contemporary contributions of the "new class" - specifically, their contribution to constructing the moral and ideological framework that will be appropriate to the tasks of the American state in the "post-Vietnam era." I will try to show that some rather striking features of contemporary ideology can be understood in the terms suggested in the preliminary, more general discussion.

Before proceeding, I would like to enter several caveats. In the second part of this talk I will concentrate on the United States, in part, because I know it better, but also because it is more important in terms of global influence. But much of what I have to say has direct bearing, I think, on other industrial democracies. Furthermore, time being short, I am going to omit many important nuances and draw lines more sharply than the full range of complexity warrants, trying to isolate some "ideal cases" that can serve to organise and facilitate our understanding of more complex phenomena, much as one does in the natural sciences, for example. Though such an effort carries risks, it is indispensable if we hope to proceed beyond a kind of "natural history" to some understanding of what lies behind a confusing range of events, acts and pronouncements. Finally, I will, reluctantly, have to omit the documentation that is certainly required to make a case that I will only sketch in outline. I have tried to do this elsewhere in books and articles.

What are the typical roles of the intelligentsia in modern industrial society? There is a classic analysis of this question in the works of Bakunin, about a century ago. It was he, to my knowledge, who coined the phrase "new class" in refer-

ence to those who were coming to control technical knowledge. In a series of analyses and predictions that may be among the most remarkable within the social sciences, Bakunin warned that the new class will attempt to convert their access to knowledge into power over economic and social life. They will try to create

the reign of scientific intelligence, the most aristocratic, despotic, arrogant and elitist of all regimes. There will be a new class, a new hierarchy of real and counterfeit scientists and scholars, and the world will be divided into a minority ruling in the name of knowledge, and an immense ignorant majority. And then, woe unto the mass of ignorant ones.

Though a passionately committed socialist himself, Bakunin did not spare the socialist movement the force of his critique: "the organisation and the rule of the society by socialist savants", he wrote, "is the worst of all despotic governments." The leaders of the Communist party "will proceed to liberate (mankind) in their own way", concentrating "the reins of government in a strong hand, because the ignorant people require an exceedingly firm guardianship... (the masses will be) under the direct command of the state engineers, who will constitute a new privileged scientific-political estate." They will institute a "barracks regime for the proletariat" under the control of a Red bureaucracy. But surely it is "an outrage against common sense and historical experience" to believe that "even the most intelligent and best-intentioned group of individuals will be capable of becoming the mind, soul and guiding and unifying will of the revolutionary movement and economic organisation of the proletariat of every land."

As for liberal democracy, though preferable to absolutism, still it "serves to conceal the domination of the masses by a handful of privileged elite." Capitalism will develop in the direction of increased state centralisation, while the "sovereign people" will submit to the "intellectual governing minority, who, while claiming to represent the people, unfailingly exploits them." "The people," Bakunin wrote, "will feel no better if the stick with which they are being beaten is labelled 'the people's stick'." Under either evolving system of governance - state socialist or state capitalist - "the shrewd and educated" will gain privileges, "the mercenary-minded... will find a vast field for lucrative, underhanded dealings" and "regimented workingmen and women will sleep, wake, work, and live to the beat of a drum."

A century later, Bakunin's "new class" has become a grim cliché. State centralisation has indeed proceeded in capitalist society, along with and always closely linked to centralisation of ownership and control in the central economic institutions that set the basic conditions for social life. By the turn of the century there were already close links in the United States between corporate ownership and control on the one hand, and university-based programmes in technology and industrial management on the other, a development studied in recent

work by David Noble (*America by Design*). And in more recent times there has been an increasing flow of technical intelligentsia through universities, government, foundations, management, major law firms that represent broad interests of corporate capitalism, and in general through the tightly-linked network of planning and social control. Spokesmen for the new class never tire of telling us how the people rule, while concealing the real workings of power. The real and counterfeit scientists have been responsible for innumerable atrocities themselves and for the legitimization of many others, while wielding the people's stick.

I need not dwell on the performance of Bakunin's Red bureaucracy when they have succeeded in centralising state power in their hands, riding to power on a wave of popular movements that they have proceeded to dismantle and finally destroy.

I might also mention in this connection the penetrating studies of the Dutch Marxist scientist Anton Pannekoek. Writing in the late 1930s and then under the German occupation, he discussed "the social ideals growing up in the minds of the intellectual class now that it feels its increasing importance in the process of production: a well-ordered organisation of production for use under the direction of technical and scientific experts." These ideals, he pointed out, are shared by the intelligentsia in capitalist societies and by communist intellectuals, whose aim is "to bring to power, by means of the fighting force of the workers, a layer of leaders who then establish planned production by means of State-Power." They develop the theory that "the talented energetic minority takes the lead and the incapable majority follows and obeys." Their natural social ideology is some version of state socialism, "a design for reconstructing society on the basis of a working class such as the middle class sees it and knows it under capitalism" - tools of production, submissive, incapable of rational decision. To this mentality, "an economic system where the workers are themselves masters and leaders of their work ... is identical with anarchy and chaos." But state socialism, as conceived by the intellectuals, is a plan of social organisation "entirely different from a true disposal by the producers over production," true socialism, a system in which workers are "masters of the factories, masters of their own labor, to conduct it at their own will."

The emergence of a new class of scientific intelligentsia has been extensively discussed - though with a very different attitude towards the phenomenon described - by Western analysts of "post-industrial society"; for example, Daniel Bell, who believes that "the entire complex of social prestige and social status will be rooted in the intellectual and scientific communities," or John Kenneth Galbraith, who holds that "Power in economic life has over time passed from its ancient association with land to association with capital and then on, in recent times, to the composite of knowledge and skills which comprises the techno-structure." Both have expressed high hopes for the new "educational and scientific estate," Bakunin's "new class," ruling in the name of knowledge. But I must emphasise that Pannekoek did not conclude that since the technical intelligentsia make decisions on behalf of others in capitalist democracy, they therefore hold power.

One may, I think, note a kind of convergence, in this regard at least, between so-called "socialist" and capitalist societies. Lenin proclaimed in 1918 that "Unquestioning submission to a single will is absolutely necessary for the success of labour processes that are based on large-scale machine-industry ... today the Revolution demands, in the interests of socialism, that the masses unquestioningly obey the single will of the leaders of the labour process" (emphasis in original); "there is not the least contradiction between soviet (i.e. socialist) democracy and the use of dictatorial power by a few persons." And two years later: "The transition to practical work is connected with individual authority. This is the system which more than any other assures the best utilisation of human resources."

Consider, in comparison, the following dictum:

Vital decision-making, particularly in policy matters, must remain at the top. God - the Communist commentators to the contrary - is clearly democratic. He distributes brain power universally, but He quite justifiably expects us to do something efficient and constructive with that priceless gift. That is what management is all about. Its medium is human capacity, and its

most fundamental task is to deal with change. It is the gate through which social, political, economic, technological change, indeed change in every dimension, is rationally spread through society ... the real threat to democracy comes not from overmanagement, but from undermanagement. To undermanage reality is not to keep it free. It is simply to let some force other than reason shape reality ... if it is not reason that rules man, then man falls short of his potential.

In short, reason demands submission to centralised management - this is true freedom, the realisation of democracy. Apart from the reference to God, it would be hard to tell whether the quote is from Lenin, or - as indeed is the case - Robert McNamara, a typical example of the scientific and educational estate in state capitalist democracy.

Science has also been called upon to explain the need for submission to the talented leadership of those whom Isaiah Berlin has called "the secular priesthood." For example, Edward Thorndike, one of the founders of experimental psychology and a person with great influence on American schools, solemnly explained in 1939 the following grand discovery of modern science:

It is the great good fortune of mankind that there is a substantial positive correlation between intelligence and morality, including good will towards one's fellows. Consequently our superiors in ability are on the average our benefactors, and it is often safer to trust our interests to them than to ourselves. No group of men can be expected to act one-hundred percent in the interest of mankind, but this group of the ablest men will come nearest to the ideal.

Earlier he had explained that "the argument for democracy is not that it gives power to men without distinction, but that it gives greater freedom for ability and character to attain power."

Think what this means in a capitalist democracy. Some complex of characteristics tends to enhance wealth and power (it also doesn't hurt to have rich parents), including political power, which is closely linked to success in the private economy. This collection of characteristics - some combination of avarice, lack of concern for one's fellows, energy and determination, a certain style of cleverness, etc. - is "nearest to the ideal," because they are our benefactors, given the correlation between intelligence and morality.

Suppose we add a standard assumption that is central to many of the modern justifications for meritocracy, and to much of economic theory as well; people labour only for reward - the natural state for humans is to vegetate. It then follows that talent should be rewarded, for the benefit of all, since otherwise the talented and moral (recall the correlation) will not bestir themselves to act as our benefactors. The message, for the great mass of the population, is straightforward: "You are better off if you are poor - accept powerlessness and poverty, for your own good." One might note the importance of this lesson when other techniques of social control fail, for example, the promise of endless growth, which has served for a long period to induce conformity and obedience.

The secular priesthood has noticed that democracy poses some problems for the realisation of the rule of reason, in which everyone submits willingly to their benefactors. One problem is that in a democracy, the voice of the people is heard. Therefore it is necessary to find ways to ensure that the people's voice speaks the right words. The problem was faced in an interesting essay by the well-known political scientist Harold Lasswell in the early 1930s. He wrote that the rise of democracy - or, as he put it, "the displacement of cultus of simple obedience by democratic assertiveness" - "complicated the problem of eliciting concerted action," a problem perceived early by "military writers." The spread of schooling "did not release the masses from ignorance and superstition but altered the nature of both and compelled the development of a whole new technique of control, largely through propaganda." With the rise of democracy, "propaganda attains eminence as the one means of mass mobilisation which is cheaper than violence, bribery or other possible control techniques." Propaganda, he explained "as a mere tool is no more moral or immoral than a pump handle." It may be employed for good ends or bad. "Propaganda is surely here to stay; the modern world is peculiarly dependent

upon it for the coordination of atomised components in times of crisis and for the conduct of large scale "normal operations". It is "certain that propaganda will in time be viewed with fewer misgivings." He went on to point out that "the modern conception of social management is profoundly affected by the propagandist outlook" in its task of eliciting "concerted action for public ends." The propagandist outlook respects individuality, but

this regard for men in the mass rests upon no democratic dogmatism about men being the best judges of their own interests. The modern propagandist, like the modern psychologist, recognizes that men are often poor judges of their own interests ... With respect to those adjustments which do require mass action the task of the propagandist is that of inventing goal symbols which serve the double function of facilitating adoption and adaptation.

Management must cultivate "sensitiveness to those concentrations of motive which are implicit and available for rapid mobilisation when the appropriate symbol is offered." The modern propagandist "is able and anxious to apply the methods of scientific observation and analysis to the processes of society" and "to direct his creative flashes to final guidance in action," since in creating symbols he is "no phrasemonger but a promoter of overt acts."

It would seem to follow that no moral issue is posed by a benevolent dictatorship, manipulating "men in the mass" by appropriate forms of propaganda. This Leninist idea is a typical doctrine of the "new class" and an example of the convergence of which I spoke earlier.

In fact, in capitalist democracy the pump handle will be operated by those who control the economy, and it comes as little surprise to learn that they have fully comprehended this message, most notably, in the "public relations" industry which has flourished ever since the potential for regimentation was discovered during the first World War. "Public relations," we learn from a leading spokesman for industry, James Selva, "is nothing more than the mass production of personal good manners and good morals." And a vast effort has been expended to ensure that Americans have both - as these are defined by our benefactors, a development that Alex Carty has discussed in important and insightful work.

The leading figure in the public relations field, Edward Bernays, has had interesting things to say about these matters. "Leaders ... of major organized groups ... with the aid of technicians ... who have specialized in utilizing the channels of communication, have been able to accomplish scientifically what we have termed 'the engineering of consent';" he explained in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* in 1947 - at a time when a vast propaganda campaign was undertaken by government and industry, which has not flagged since. The phrase "engineering of consent," Bernays continues,

quite simply means the application of scientific principles and tried practices to the task of getting people to support ideas and programs ... The engineering of consent is the very essence of the democratic process, the freedom to persuade and suggest ... A leader frequently cannot wait for the people to arrive at even general understanding ... democratic leaders must play their part in ... engineering .. consent to socially constructive goals and values.

Once again, it is business and its representatives in government who will, in practice, judge what is "socially constructive." Bernays was honoured a few years later by the American Psychological Association for his contributions to science and society.

Who has this freedom to persuade and to suggest, which is the essence of the democratic process? Evidently it is not evenly distributed - nor should it be, given the correlation between intelligence and morality. An estimate of how the freedom to persuade is distributed appears in the leading business journal *Fortune* in 1949, where it is claimed that "nearly half of the contents of the best newspapers is derived from publicity releases; nearly all the contents of the lesser papers ... are directly or indirectly the work of (Public relations) departments." The editors go on to make the now familiar point that "It is as impossible to imagine a genuine democracy without the science of persuasion as it is to think of a totalitarian state without coercion." Indoctrination is to

democracy what coercion is to dictatorship - naturally, since the stick that beats the people is labelled "the people's stick."

With such insights as these we begin to gain a better picture of one major role of the intelligentsia in capitalist democracy. Contrary to the illusions of the post-industrial theorists, power is not shifting into their hands - though one should not underestimate the significance of the flow of trained manpower from university to government and management for many decades. But the more significant function of the intelligentsia is ideological control. They are, in Gramsci's phrase, "experts in legitimation." They must ensure that beliefs are properly inculcated, beliefs that serve the interests of those with objective power, based ultimately on control of capital, in the state capitalist societies. The well-bred intelligentsia operate the pump handle, conducting mass mobilisation in a way that is, as Lasswell observed, cheaper than violence or bribery and much better suited to the image of democracy.

I have been speaking so far only of those who are sometimes called the "responsible intellectuals," those who associate themselves with external power or even try to share in it or capture it. There are, of course, those who combat it, try to limit it, to undermine and dissolve it, or to clear the way for an effective democracy which, in my view at least, must incorporate the leading principles that Pannekoek outlined. There is a revealing analysis of these several roles in the major publication of the Trilateral Commission, a private organisation of elites of the United States, Western Europe and Japan founded at David Rockefeller's initiative in 1973, which achieved some notoriety when its members captured the posts of President, Vice-President, National Security Adviser, Secretary of State, Defense and Treasury, and a host of lesser offices in the latest US Presidential elections.

This study, called *The Crisis of Democracy*, is the work of scholars from the three trilateral regions. The crisis of democracy to which they refer arises from the fact that during the 1960s, segments of the normally quiescent masses of the population became politically mobilised and began to press their demands, thus creating a crisis, since naturally these demands cannot be met, at least without a significant redistribution of wealth and power, which is not to be contemplated. The trilateral scholars, quite consistently, therefore urge more "moderation in democracy."

The lesson is similar to one offered to the underdeveloped world by another distinguished political scientist, Ithiel de Sola Pool, who explained in 1967 that

In the Congo, in Vietnam, in the Dominican Republic, it is clear that order depends on somehow compelling newly mobilized strata to return to a measure of passivity and defeatism from which they have recently been aroused by the process of modernization. At least temporarily, the maintenance of order requires a lowering of newly acquired aspirations and levels of political activity.

This is not mere dogma, but what "we have learned in the past thirty years of intensive empirical study of contemporary societies." The trilateral scholars are proposing, in essence, that the same lesson be applied at the centre of industrial capitalism as well.

Earlier precedents come to mind at once, for example, medieval attitudes towards the third estate. The "qualities which bring credit to 'this low estate of Frenchmen'" are "humility, diligence, obedience to the king, and docility in bowing 'voluntarily to the pleasure of the lords'" - Huizinga's characterisation, citing the chronicler Chastellain. Correspondingly, on the underdeveloped periphery of modern civilisation the natural state of passivity and defeatism must be restored. And at home, in the version of democracy expounded by the Trilateral analysts, the commoners may petition the state, but with moderation. It is unnecessary for these scholars to stress that other social groups, somewhat better placed, will not temper their demands, though the American contributor does recall, with a trace of nostalgia perhaps, that before the crisis of democracy had erupted "Truman had been able to govern the country with the cooperation of a relatively small number of Wall Street lawyers and bankers", a happy state to which we may return if the commoners cease their indecent clamour.

It is in this context that the Trilateral Commission study turns to the intelligentsia, who, according to their analysis,

come in the familiar two varieties: (1) the "technocratic and policy-oriented intellectuals", responsible, serious and constructive; (2) the "value-oriented intellectuals", a sinister grouping who pose a serious danger to democracy as they "devote themselves to the derogation of leadership, the challenging of authority, and the unmasking and delegitimation of established institutions" - even going so far as to delegitimize the institutions that are responsible for "the indoctrination of the young" - while sowing confusion and stirring dissatisfaction in the minds of the populace.

Speaking of our enemies, we despise the technocratic and policy-oriented intellectuals as "commissars" and "apparatchiks" and honour the value-oriented intellectuals as the 'democratic dissidents'. At home, the values are reversed. Ways must be found to control the value-oriented intellectuals so that democracy can survive, with the citizenry reduced to the apathy and obedience that becomes them, and with the commissars free to conduct the serious work of social management. The intellectual backgrounds of all of this, I have already discussed.

It is interesting that the term "value-oriented" should be used to refer to those who challenge the structure of authority, with the implication that it is improper, offensive and dangerous to be guided by such values as truth and honesty - the trilateral scholars nowhere attempt to show that the value-oriented intellectuals they so fear and disdain are wrong or misguided in their conclusions. It is also striking that subservience to the state and its doctrines is not regarded as "a value", but merely the natural commitment of the intelligentsia, or at least their more honourable representatives.

At the outset I mentioned the Dreyfusards and the liberal American intellectuals who rallied to the state during the first World War. It is fair, I think, to regard these two groups as early variants of the two categories of intellectuals distinguished in the Trilateral Commission study.

Those who denounced the injustice of the state at the time of the Dreyfus affair by no means dominated French intellectual life, as H. F. Wesseling reminds us in a recent study. They typify the "value-oriented intellectuals" who have always been such a trial to their more sober colleagues.

Consider, in contrast, the group of liberal pragmatists in John Dewey's circle during World War I. In December 1916, the editor of the *New Republic* wrote to President Wilson's leading adviser, Colonel House, that their most fervent wish was "to back the President up in his work" and "be the faithful and helpful interpreters of what seems to be one of the greatest enterprises ever undertaken by an American president." At the time, Wilson was calling for "peace without victory" - and a few months later, for victory without peace. By then, his leading enterprise was to guide a divided nation into the European war. The intellectuals proved to be faithful and helpful interpreters of this great enterprise. According to their own estimate, which may be exaggerated, "the effective and decisive work on behalf of the war has been accomplished by... a class which must be comprehensively but loosely described as the 'intellectuals'" (*New Republic*). The nation entered the war "under the influence of a moral verdict reached after the utmost deliberation by the more thoughtful members of the community" - the secular priesthood, the technocratic and policy-oriented intellectuals, the commissars. The latter term is in fact rather apt. The techniques of propaganda described by later scholars were largely developed and applied with much success during World War I and led to the explosive growth of the Public Relations field shortly after - though for accuracy, I should add that "the more thoughtful members of the community" were as much the victims of the highly effective British propaganda machine, with its manufacture of "Hun atrocities", as they were purveyors of war propaganda, proceeding (in their own words) to "impose their will upon a reluctant or indifferent majority."

It would only be fair to commend the BBC for returning the favour in October and November of this year (1977 - eds), with its presentation on the Third Programme of a series entitled "Many Reasons Why: The American Involvement in Vietnam" (see *The Listener* for excerpts). Demonstrating its taste for symmetry, the BBC has concocted an account that is certain to delight the American propaganda services no less than the response of the more thoughtful members of the American intellectual community must have warmed the hearts of such men as Sir Gilbert Parker, who headed the American

section of the British propaganda bureau in World War I, and who was able to gloat about "the permeation of the American Press by British influence" in his secret reports to the British Cabinet.

The services rendered to the state by the academic professions during World War I are surveyed in a recent work by Carol S. Gruber (*Mars and Minerva*). Historians were particularly keen to be mobilised. A National Board for Historical Service (NBHS) was founded by a group of historians "to bring into useful operation, in the present emergency, the intelligence and skill of the historical workers of the country", so that one of them (A.C. McLaughlin) wrote in *The Dial* in May 1917. One of the founders of the NBHS, Frederic L. Paxson, later described its activity as "historical engineering, explaining the issues of the war that we might the better win it" - an early example of "the engineering of consent." The press was also mobilised. An NBHS study of the German press concluded that the "voluntary co-operation of the newspaper publishers of America resulted in a more effective standardization of the information and arguments presented to the American people, than existed under the nominally strict military control exercised in Germany." The main government commission (Creel Commission) established to direct wartime propaganda made effective use of the services of American scholars. Among its achievements was a pamphlet entitled *The German-Bolshevik Conspiracy*, which employed documents generally regarded as forgeries in Europe (and later shown to be forgeries by George Kennan) to "demonstrate" that the Bolsheviks were paid agents of the German General Staff, who had materially aided them in coming to power. In later years too historians were to persist in "historical engineering", in the war against the Bolshevik menace. In his Presidential Address to the American Historical Association in 1949, Conyers Read explained that

we must clearly assume a militant attitude if we are to survive ... Discipline is the essential prerequisite of every effective army whether it march under the Stars and Stripes or under the Hammer and Sickle ... Total war, whether it be hot or cold, enlists everyone and calls upon everyone to assume his part. The historian is no freer from this obligation than the physicist ... This sounds like the advocacy of one form of social control as against another. In short, it is.

The long sorry record has been surveyed, to the present, in an important unread monograph by Jesse Lemisch, entitled *On Active Service in War and Peace*.

Not all of the scholars who lent their services during World War I were acclaimed. Thorstein Veblen, for example, "prepared a report demonstrating that the shortage of farm labor in the Midwest could be met by ending the harassment and persecution of the members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)", Carol Gruber points out, but "he also, however, together with his assistant, was fired for his pains" from his position as statistical expert for the Food Administration.

Then too there were "value-oriented intellectuals" who did not see the light. Randolph Bourne is the best-known case. We may recall how he was dropped by the *New Republic*, and forced out of an editorial position on *The Dial* by John Dewey, one indication of his displeasure over Bourne's penetrating criticism of the liberal intellectuals who were working to sell the war, Bourne felt, in the interests of "an opportunist programme of state-socialism at home" - with the secular priesthood in command - "and a league of benevolently-imperialistic nations abroad."

Clarence Karier, who has discussed this period in very illuminating work, goes on to observe that John Dewey had much contempt for the "pacifists" who, in his words, "wasted rather than invested their potentialities when they turned so vigorously to opposing entrance" into the war instead of working for attainable goals within the growing chauvinist consensus (July 1917). In a more abstract discussion of "force and coercion", Dewey had expressed his view that if pacifists "would change their tune from the intrinsic immorality of the use of coercive force to the comparative inefficiency and stupidity of existing methods of using force, their good intentions would be more fruitful." Continuing, Dewey explained:

Squeamishness about force is the mark not of idealistic but of moonstruck morals The criterion of value lies in the relative efficiency and economy of the expenditure of force as a means to an end. With advance of knowledge, refined, subtle and indirect use of force is always replacing coarse, obvious and direct methods of applying it. This is the explanation to the ordinary feeling against the use of force. What is thought of as brutal, violent, immoral, is a use of physical agencies which are gross, sensational and evident on their own account, in cases where it is possible to employ with greater economy and less waste means which are comparatively imperceptible and refined.

His general point was that "the only question which can be raised about the justification of force is that of comparative efficiency and economy in its use." This in April 1916. A good, sober, pragmatic evaluation, which we have heard in other contexts since, without Dewey's qualifications.

Not surprisingly, Dewey felt that the war had taught valuable lessons in this regard. He wrote that "the one great thing that the war has accomplished, it seems to me, of a permanent sort, is the enforcement of a psychological and educational lesson ... It has proved now that it is possible for human beings to take hold of human affairs and manage them, to see an end which has to be gained, a purpose which must be fulfilled, and deliberately and intelligently to go to work to organize the means, the resources and the methods of accomplishing those results." Now that this lesson had been learned, "The real question with us will be one of effectively discerning whether the intelligent men of the community really want to bring about a better reorganized social order." The war had revealed the possibilities of intelligent administration, and it is now the responsibility of the intelligent men of the community to rise to the occasion, organizing intelligence to the design of a more benign state capitalist order, with the economical and refined use of force to achieve socially desirable ends.

* *

I have so far been discussing the first of my two topics, the roles played by intellectuals, focussing on the role of commissar versus dissident, technocratic and policy-oriented versus value-oriented intellectual. Now I would like to apply these remarks to the contemporary world. First, however, a few general comments, to set the stage, as I see it.

The United States emerged from World War II with unparalleled wealth and power. Quite naturally, state power was employed to construct an international order - extensive, though not all-encompassing - that would satisfy the needs of the masters of the domestic economy. Equally naturally, this is not what one reads in most history books, though the basic facts are, I believe, well-established and the business press is often quite straightforward about the matter. For example, as the Vietnam war came to an end, *Business Week* commented editorially on "the fearful drift of foreign policy": "the international economic structure, under which U.S. companies have flourished since the end of World War II, is in jeopardy," this leading journal of the business community observed. Within this international economic structure, "fuelled initially by the dollars of the Marshall Plan, American business prospered and expanded ... No matter how negative a development, there was always the umbrella of American power to contain it ... The rise of the multinational corporation was the economic expression of this political framework." But now, they fear, "this stable world order for business operations is falling apart," in part because of the American failure in Indochina. I should mention, parenthetically, that analyses along these lines, which are quite accurate, are generally dismissed as "Marxist" under the conventions of American academic scholarship, though not when they appear in business publications.

In general, the postwar global enterprise was a stunning success, though there were reversals, the most dramatic in Southeast Asia. In the course of a "limited war," which proved quite costly, US power declined somewhat relative to its industrial rivals. A major task of the state and its propagandists has been and remains to reconstruct the domestic and international order that was bruised, though never undermined, by the bloody events in Indochina. I will concentrate here only on the reconstruction of the ideological system, since that is the province of the intelligentsia; more central

tasks are delegated elsewhere.

Ruling groups throughout the "First world" of industrial capitalism also have a stake in the reconstitution of American power, and particularly, in ensuring that underdeveloped countries do not strike an independent course but remain subordinated to the needs of the industrial democracies. The rich and powerful of the world require a system of beliefs to justify their dominance, as they enter into "North-South dialogue." To construct and promulgate such a system is the task of the intellectuals - again, the sober and serious among them.

In the United States, the prevailing version of the "White Man's Burden" has been the doctrine, carefully nurtured by the intelligentsia, that the United States, alone among the powers of modern history, is not guided in its international affairs by the perceived material interests of those with domestic power, but rather wanders aimlessly, merely reacting to the initiatives of others, while pursuing abstract moral principles: the Wilsonian principles of freedom and self-determination, democracy, equality, and so on. Responsible controversy proceeds within a narrow spectrum: at one extreme, there are those who laud the United States for its unique benevolence; at the other extreme, we find the "realist" critics - George Kennan and Hans Morgenthau, for example - who deplore the foolishness of American policy and believe that we should not be so obsessively moralistic but should pursue the national interest in a rational way.

The work of the realist critics gives the deepest insight into the dominant ideology, and reveals dramatically the extent of its penetration. In the early 1960s, Hans Morgenthau - who is near the outer limits of responsible criticism, and to his credit, passed beyond them a few years later - could write that the United States has a "transcendent purpose", namely, "the establishment of equality in freedom in America," and indeed throughout the world, since "The arena within which the United States must defend and promote its purpose has become world-wide." "America has become the Rome and Athens of the Western world, the foundation of its lawful order and the fountainhead of its culture," though "America does not know this."

To be sure, Morgenthau recognises certain defects both at home and abroad - in Central America and the Philippines, for example. But he chides those critics who rely on the ample historical record to deny the "transcendent purpose" of America and who claim that the United States is very much like every other power - what is often described (though not by Morgenthau) as a "radical critique," a revealing choice of words. Such critics, according to Morgenthau, are guilty of a simple error of logic: "to reason thus is to confound the abuse of reality with reality itself." It is the unachieved "national purpose," revealed by "the evidence of history as our minds reflect it," which is the reality; the actual historical record is merely the abuse of reality.

The theological overtones are apparent, and Morgenthau is not unaware of them. He remarks that the critics, who mistake the real world for reality, have fallen into "the error of atheism, which denies the validity of religion on similar grounds." The comment is apt. There is indeed something truly religious in the fervour with which responsible American intellectuals have sought to deny plain fact and to secure their dogmas concerning American benevolence, the contemporary version of the "civilizing mission."

But the doctrines of the state religion were not able to survive the war in Vietnam, at least among large parts of the population. The result is an ideological crisis. The institutional foundations for the repeated counterrevolutionary intervention of the postwar years remains unshaken. But the doctrinal system that has served to gain popular support for the crusade against independent development has collapsed. The problem of the day is to reconstruct it. It is a serious problem, since imperial intervention carries costs, both material and moral, which must be borne by the population. I would now like to survey some of the methods by which this problem is being faced by the secular priesthood.

The first task is to rewrite the history of the American war in Vietnam. This is relatively easy, since the press and academic scholarship have consistently held to the required mythical history. According to the myth, the United States intervened, unwisely perhaps, to defend South Vietnam from aggression. Our good motives were transmuted, somehow,

The National Front

A Personal Account — by a young man who was attacked in Harrogate.

"Three friends of mine from the arab world were walking home with me. I was just saying goodbye to them when a young man walked into our circle and said something I couldn't quite catch, he then thumped Mohammed very hard and squarely on the face.

My three friends then ran up the hill like rabbits out of a fired field.

The young man turned to me and said, "You're alright, you're white." It wasn't bravery that left me standing — it was shock that my fellow man could show such outrageous ignorance.

I suppose I could have meekly walked home but that would have given him all the recognition of his power and his authority that he required, so instead I tried to reason with him; "Why?" I asked "did you have to do that?" He's black," was his reply. "Last week my brother got beaten up by sixteen Pakis in Bradford." He then went on to say, "I'm from the national front and we hate Blacks."

I tried to explain that the

people he had just attacked probably weren't even related, either by race or country, to the people who attacked his brother; and, although I didn't condone the actions of those people, surely he could see that the way he was reacting was bound to make a bad situation worse?

The conversation took us over the road to where a crowd of people had assembled. He was joined by a friend. It didn't take me long to discover that I was standing on dangerous ground; he was talking excitedly and expounding the views of the National Front. "But we're living on one earth." I appealed, "We're all part of the human race."

I couldn't believe it — he was hitting me. I tried to make a run for it, but didn't get very far. They were hitting me very hard so I started lashing out with some vague hope of defending myself. What exactly happened from then on is difficult for me to recollect as it was my head that sustained most of the injuries.

I was told later by a reliable eye-witness that the man was hitting me until I fell to the ground. He then started kicking me in the head, at which point his friend decided to join in. The first man got tired, so the second

man continued kicking me until he also got tired, so he propped me up against the wall and hit me in the face. I ended up on the ground again so it was back to the kicking of the head for both of them.

I remained reasonably conscious to the end and somehow made my way home. I vaguely remember crawling along the pavement, trying to pull myself along by wall and hedge.

Later investigation revealed a broken nose and damage to my jaw and cheekbone. It was thought at one point that permanent damage to my eye could be caused by the healing of my cheekbone. However, I healed up okay and though my eye has some small permanent damage I'm thankful that I can still see clearly.

This attack took place on the night of 16th December 1977, a day after John Tyndall, Chairman of the National Front, spoke to a meeting in Harrogate. He covered a number of racist and political points. In reply to a question about the National Front and soccer hooliganism, he replied that he would rather have a nation of football hooligans than a nation of "puffs".

From Harrogate Ferret.

...VIOLENCE

student seriously injured by BNP gang

A student was bashed in the head with a metal fire extinguisher by members of the British National Party, the Leeds-based fascist group. He was also kicked about the head and body. He was put in the intensive care unit of Chapel Allerton Hospital following a brain haemorrhage and an operation to relieve pressure on the brain. Fortunately he is now recovering.

The 19 year old student at Leeds University was only one of a number of students and friends who were beaten up by fascists outside Leeds University Union near midnight on November 5th.

A group of 15-20 fascists chanting "White Power - B.N.P." and "Kill the Commie Students" indiscriminately set about anyone who left the Union building.

The threw stones and bottles and used the heavy fire extinguishers and empty crates as clubs.

Three youths who were walking past were threatened, and tried to escape into the university refectory, where a

Leeds Other Paper 11/11/77

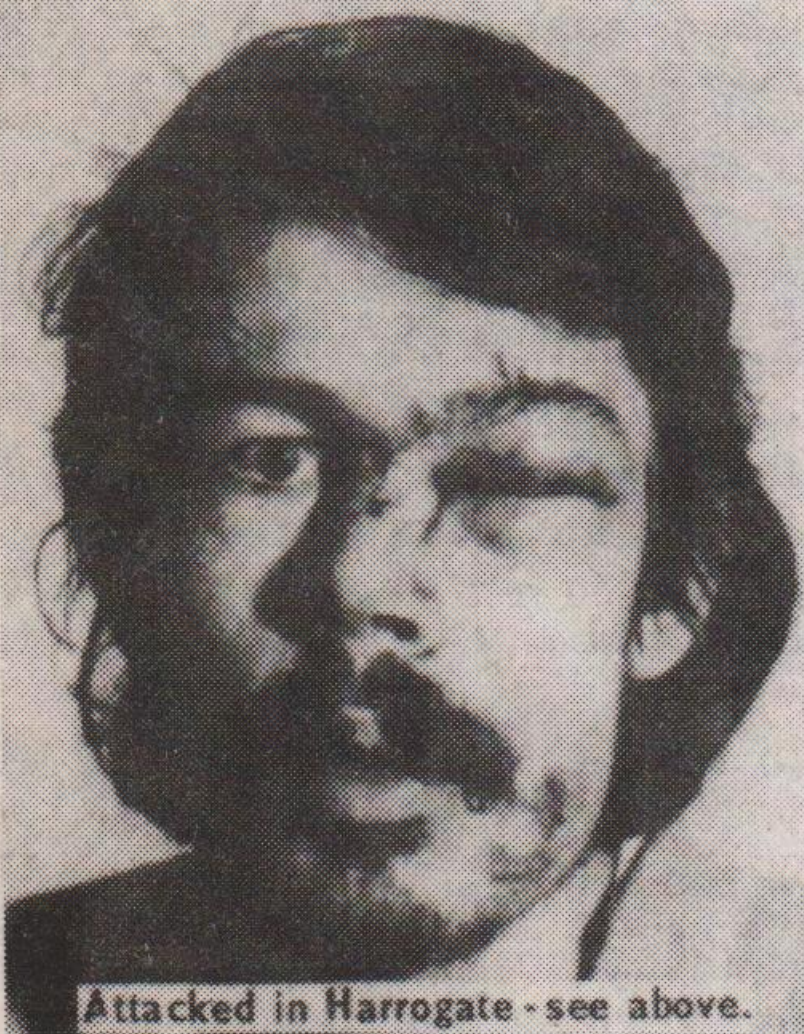


the BNP's version of the swastika

Territorial Army function was taking place. The soldiers on the door wouldn't let them in, and they were punched and kicked as they ran away.

At the same time when the student was having his head smashed open, six soldiers were standing watching on the refectory steps only a few yards away, just watching.

A police official told LOP that they had a description of a man suspected of the assault.



Attacked in Harrogate — see above.

Leeds Other Paper 17/2/78

NF MAN JAILED IN CASE POLICE REJECTED

A SUPPORTER of the National Front was jailed for six months yesterday as the result of a private prosecution brought by university students after the police had decided not to go ahead with the case.

Three other National Front supporters appearing with him at Manchester Crown Court in connection with the disruption of a meeting held in a Manchester University building in November, 1975, to discuss the Prevention of Terrorism Act, were each fined £75.

It is understood that coach loads of National Front supporters were taken to the meeting and that a large number of arrests were made by the police.

They released all but the accused after obtaining identifications and statements from other people at the meeting.

The matter was "thoroughly investigated" by the police and the papers sent to the Director of Public Prosecutions who, it is believed, advised them that the case would not succeed.

The fact that it did throw into question what tests the DPP applies in such cases containing a political element, a solicitor acting for the students said last night.

"The students being responsible for the hall, came to us for advice because the building was damaged. We investigated it in detail and said there was evidence for bringing a prosecution," said the solicitor.

'Not political'

The court heard yesterday that, after shouting abuse at the platform during the meeting, members or sympathisers of the Front began hurling lumps of concrete, bricks and chairs.

Fighting broke out and a woman was knocked to the ground. A man received face wounds which needed 19 stitches and another man received a serious eye injury and a broken arm.

Mr DANIEL BRENNAN, prosecuting, told the jury that it was not a political trial. The charges were brought privately by Man-

Daily Telegraph 14/1/78

chester University Students' Union, which was responsible for the building.

He said the public meeting had been held to discuss the Prevention of Terrorism Act, which had recently been legislated. National Front's sympathisers gathered from Leeds, Liverpool and the Bury area.

Windows smashed

As the meeting began some of the group began shouting to the platform: "You should be exterminated"

Windows were smashed, vending machines turned over and bottles and glasses broken. Damages ran "into hundreds of pounds," said Mr Brennan.

DUNCAN JEFFREY, 20, of Lodge Mill Lane, Rossendale, Lancs; ROGER DUNNE, 32, of Gilbert Street, Ramsbottom, Lancs; FRANK BURDEN, 22, of Gipton Approach, Leeds; and HOWARD HAWKSLEY, 21, of Park Road, Birkenhead, were convicted of threatening behaviour.

Jeffrey was also convicted of affray, disorderly conduct and damaging a window at the hall.

A fifth man, PAUL SPINK, 22, of Easterley Road, Leeds, was found not guilty of offences allegedly committed at the hall and discharged.

Jeffrey was jailed for six months and ordered to pay £200 compensation. The other three defendants were each fined £75.

Judge Basil Gerrard commented: "People in this country are entitled to a free exchange of views. We run this country on democratic lines — not on fascist lines. If you want to be a fascist that's all right by us, but you cannot break the criminal law."

'NF' SHOUTS IN ATTACK ON TEACHER

By GUY RAIS

TWO 15-year-old boys have been suspended from Pimlico comprehensive school, Westminster, following an attack on a Kenyan-born teacher.

The two boys and four other youths not from the school, shouting racist slogans, kicked him and chased him down a street, chanting "National Front, National Front."

The school governors will shortly be holding a meeting to decide whether to expel the two boys, who were due to leave the school at the end of the summer term.

The teacher, aged 25, who was educated in England, made a complaint to the Inner London Education Authority, and took legal advice.

A spokesman for the authority described the incident as "clearly racial." He added that the parents of both boys later apologised to the headmistress.

'Inflammatory words'

The incident occurred as the master was on his way to a bank in Dolphin Square to change a cheque.

Mrs Kathleen Mitchell, the headmistress, said: "As he left school he noticed a group of boys at the entrance. They shouted and swore at him in racially inflammatory words."

"He did not take any notice but as he returned from the bank they set upon him."

"He received a kick from one of the youths and another aimed a punch. As he was running down the street he met another member of the staff and the boys slunk away."

"After the incident the teacher came to see me in a state of considerable outrage and shock. We called the police but they explained the difficulties of bringing a charge of common assault."

Mrs Mitchell described one of the boys involved in the incident, who had expressed sympathies with the National Front, as being of "low average ability."

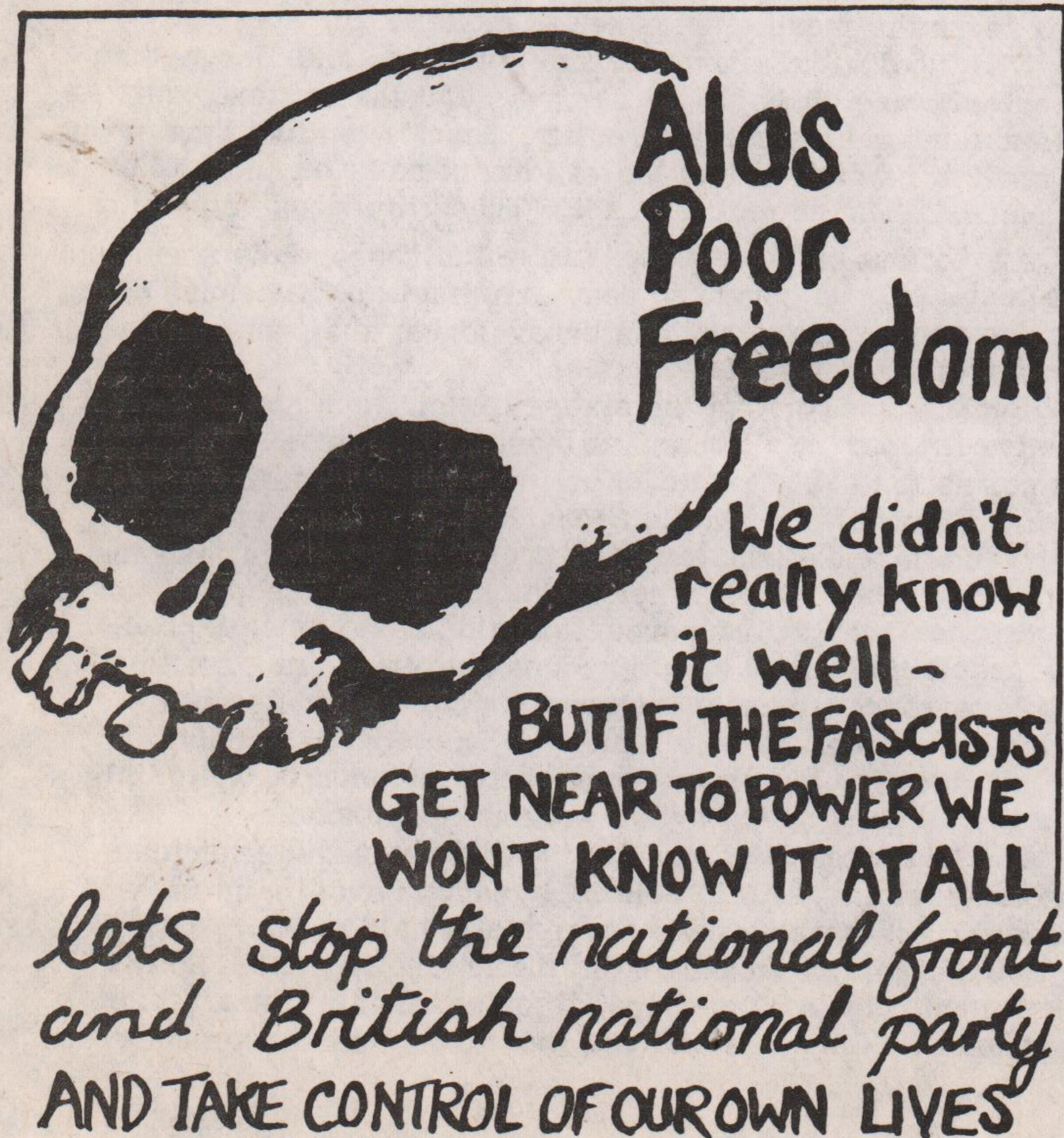
Mr William Tonkin, senior master at the school, responsible for discipline, said: "This was an isolated incident, not related to any other incidents in the school."

"There is no problem of discipline and we are determined not to let this incident affect us. I cannot see any reason to suppose that the National Front have any influence at the school at all."

The school has 1,660 pupils of many nationalities, including some children from the staff of foreign embassies in London.

Earlier this month the National Front launched a campaign aimed at persuading schoolchildren and students to oppose teachers engaged in what the Front said was Marxist indoctrination.

Daily Telegraph 27/1/78



Alas Poor Freedom

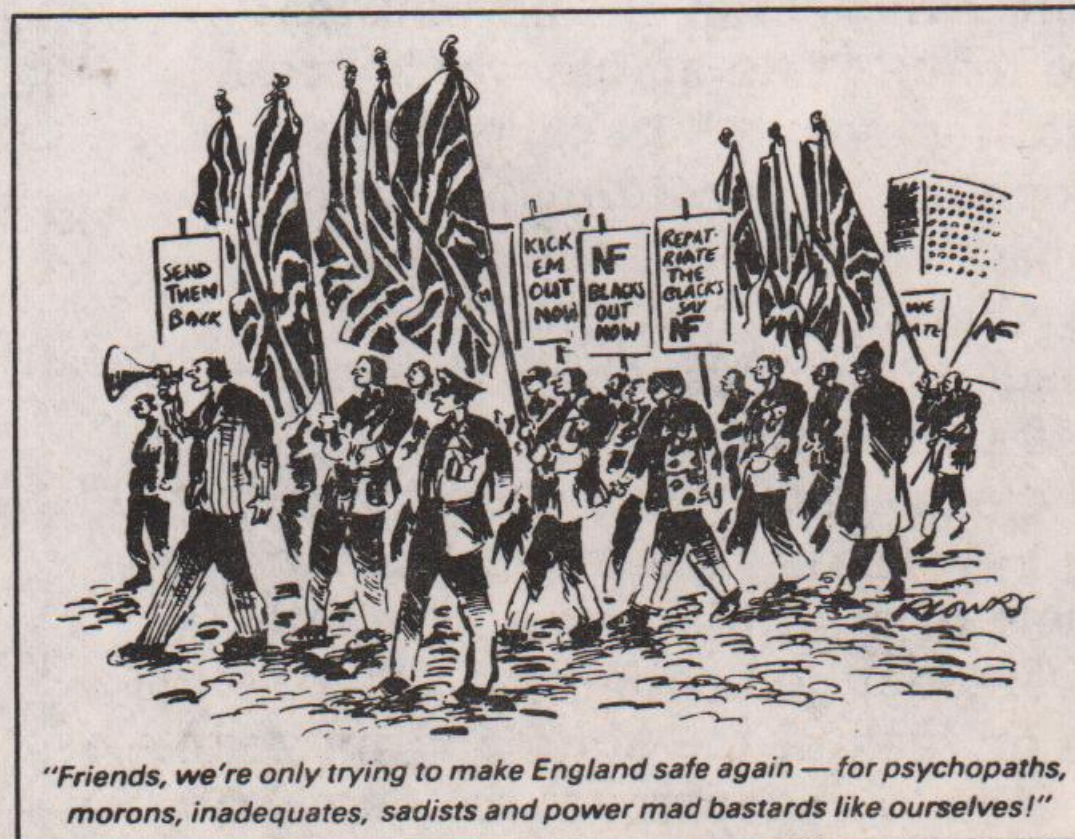
We didn't really know it well - BUT IF THE FASCISTS GET NEAR TO POWER WE WON'T KNOW IT AT ALL

lets stop the national front and British national party AND TAKE CONTROL OF OUR OWN LIVES

Leeds Other Paper 30/4/77



NO National Front thugs in this town



②

These stickers are available in 2 sizes (small - as illustrated) and large) in 3 colours from Box CAM, c/o Cienfuegos Press, Over the Water, Sanday, Orkney, KW17 2BL, Scotland. 100/40p, 300/£1, 1000/£2.50 (large size) postpaid.



into bad policies. Scholars tell us that the United States did not realise that Vietnamese communism was a nationalist movement - planners thought that Ho Chi Minh was an agent of Moscow, or perhaps "Peiping." The fault lies in error, misunderstanding, ignorance, or perhaps an excess of benevolence in undertaking a costly defence of a nation that was unwilling to save itself. This is not the place to review the documentary record, which establishes that top-level planners undertook, consciously and knowingly, to destroy the forces of Vietnamese nationalism, and did so on the basis of calculated and rational imperial strategy. Unable to restore French rule, they launched a war against the largely peasant population of South Vietnam, later extending the aggression to the rest of Indochina, conducting military operations and "nation-building" programmes of indescribable barbarism. But we can be quite sure that the custodians of history will present a different story, and since their position in the propaganda institutions is virtually unchallenged, they will succeed in this endeavour - and indeed, already have, substantially.

A more difficult task is to shift the moral onus of the war to its victims. This seems a rather unpromising enterprise - rather as if the Nazis had attempted to blame the Jews for the crematoria. But undaunted, American propagandists are pursuing this effort too, and with some success. Things have reached the point where an American President can appear on national television and state that we owe no debt to the Vietnamese, because "the destruction was mutual." And there is not a whisper of protest when this monstrous statement, worthy of Hitler or Stalin, is blandly produced in the midst of a discourse on human rights. Not only do we owe them no debt for having murdered and destroyed and ravaged their land, but we now may stand back and sanctimoniously blame them for dying of disease and malnutrition, deploring their cruelty when hundreds die trying to clear unexploded ordnance by hand from fields laid waste by the violence of the American state. The only unresolved issue is the remains of American pilots missing-in-action, not American responsibility to help rebuild what they destroyed. Worse yet, we refuse to allow others to aid them. Recently India tried to send 100 buffaloes to Vietnam to help replenish the herds decimated by American terror. This tiny gift had to be channelled through the Red Cross to avoid American retribution - cancellation of "Food for Peace" aid, in this case. Peasants in Indochina pull ploughs, because the animal herds were destroyed by American bombardment. And the *Washington Post*, which concealed and supported that aggression, publishes photographs of Cambodian peasants pulling ploughs as an illustration of Communist atrocities. In fact, the photographs in this case are probable fabrications of Thai intelligence, so clumsy that they were rejected even by the right-wing English language Thai press - though the European press has been less discriminating in this regard. The *Post* knows this, and knows its account of the source of the photographs to be a falsehood, but will not so much as publish a letter giving the documented facts that it knows to be true, let alone publicly retract its fabrications - one small example of the stream of misrepresentation now disfiguring the American (indeed western) press with regard to postwar developments in Indochina. I have documented a good deal of this elsewhere (see N. Chomsky and E. Herman, *The Nation*, June 25 1977) and will not review it here. The crucial point is the truly obscene character of the attempt to blame the victims, the denial of American responsibility, and the startling success of this campaign.

Another task for the intelligentsia is to reduce the "lessons of the war" to the narrowest possible terms. Again, this is not very difficult, since the intellectuals always tended to construe the issues in an entirely unprincipled fashion. There is a study by a Columbia University sociologist, Charles Kadushin, that gives a good deal of insight into the facts, which are rather different from what is generally assumed. He conducted a careful study of attitudes of a group that he called "the American intellectual elite" in 1970, at the very peak of active opposition to the war, when colleges were closed down in opposition to the invasion of Cambodia and demonstrations swept the country. Much of his study was devoted to the war in Vietnam. The "intellectual elite" opposed the war, almost to a man. But the grounds for their opposition deserve careful attention. Kadushin identified three categories of opposition, on what he called "ideological," "moral," and "pragmatic" grounds. By "ideological" oppos-

ition to the war he refers to the belief that aggression is wrong, even when conducted by the United States. Opposition on "moral" grounds is based on deaths and atrocities: the war is too bloody. "Pragmatic" opposition to the war is grounded on the feeling that we probably can't get away with it: the war is too costly; the enterprise should be liquidated as no longer worthwhile.

There are two points of interest about this analysis. First, the terminology itself. No doubt the group surveyed would have been unanimous in deploring Russian aggression in Czechoslovakia. But on what grounds? Not on "pragmatic" grounds, since it was quite successful and not very costly. Not on "moral" grounds, since casualties were few. Rather, on "ideological" grounds: that is, on grounds that aggression is wrong, even if it is relatively bloodless, costless and successful. But would we ever refer to this as objection on "ideological grounds"? Surely not. It is only when one challenges the divine right of the United States to intervene by force in the internal affairs of others that such sinister terms as "ideological" are invoked.

More interesting, however, is the distribution of responses. Opposition on "ideological" grounds was very limited: I believe I recognised every statement cited in the published study (they were anonymous) as my own; but in any event, few fell into this category. More objected on "moral" grounds. But to an overwhelming degree, objections were "pragmatic." Recall that this survey was taken at the height of popular opposition to the war, when, in contrast to the "intellectual elite," substantial segments of the unwashed masses had come to oppose the war on grounds of principle and even to act on their beliefs, much to the horror of more delicate souls who now explain that their sense of irony and the complexities of history kept them removed from such vulgar display. As for the survey itself, my guess would be that a similar study in Germany in 1944 might have produced comparable results.

Similar attitudes are revealed in the debate over "amnesty" for those referred to as "draft dodgers." The more compassionate feel that they should be granted absolution for their crimes, though others sternly object that they must bear some punishment at least. That the real question is the granting of "amnesty" to those who conducted the war, or the intellectual clique that supported them until it became too costly, is an observation that far transcends the limits of "responsibility," within the reigning doctrinal system. It is commonly alleged that the "draft dodgers," and the student movement on the whole, opposed the war out of fear. They were unwilling to face the terrors of the war. In fact, the leading initiative in the American resistance, which was unprecedented in scale and character, was taken by young men who could have easily escaped combat - not very difficult at the time for privileged groups - but who chose to face great risk, long imprisonment or exile, out of simple moral commitment. Similar comments apply rather generally to desertion, the resistance of the underprivileged. The common claim that student opposition to the war collapsed because of the termination of the draft, though comforting to ideologues, is also false. In fact, certain more "politicised" elements in the student movement had (foolishly in my view) come to regard opposition to the war as relatively unimportant long before the draft was ended; and mass opposition to the war quite closely reflected the degree of overt American involvement, independently of the draft. But the ideological system cannot tolerate the fact that there was a principled opposition to the war, primarily among the young, conducted with great courage, conviction, and considerable effectiveness. Therefore it is necessary to pretend that the serious and meaningful opposition was led by sober-minded intellectuals and heroic politicians, those "thoughtful members of the community" who, like their predecessors, reached a verdict "after the utmost deliberation" and acted with dispatch to restore national policy to its proper channels.

The rewriting of this history too deserves serious attention, more than I can give it here. To illustrate with just one case, consider the current (December 10 1977) issue of the *New Republic*, still more or less the official journal of the liberal intelligentsia. The lead editorial, entitled "The McCarthy Decade," is an ode to Eugene McCarthy, who "changed the landscape of American politics" when he challenged Lyndon Johnson in the 1968 Presidential campaign. The McCarthy campaign, the editors allege, "seeded the political system

with men and women schooled in dissent" and introduced "a streak of unpredictable idealism" into American political life. "The most obvious postscript to the McCarthy campaign was the ending of the Vietnam war," as McCarthy "and his cohort established a consensus on the need to end that war." The editors quote with approval John Kenneth Galbraith's statement on the aforementioned BBC programme that McCarthy is "the man who deserves more credit than anybody else for bringing our involvement in the war to an end," and they proceed to laud McCarthy for his modesty in refusing the mantle of hero. McCarthy, they conclude, "has insured that no President ever will feel again that he can carry on a war unaffected by the moral judgement of the people."

Compare this analysis with the facts. By late 1967, the mass popular movement against the war had reached a remarkable scale. Its great success was that the government had been unable to declare a national mobilisation. The costs of the war were concealed, contributing to an economic crisis which, by 1968, had brought leading business and conservative circles to insist that the effort to subdue the Vietnamese be limited. The Pentagon Papers reveal that by late 1967, the scale and character of popular opposition was causing great concern to planners. The Tet offensive, which shortly after undermined government propaganda claims, enhanced these fears. A Defense Department memorandum expressed the concern that increased force levels would lead to "increased defiance of the draft and growing unrest in the cities," running the risk of "provoking a domestic crisis of unprecedented proportions." Mass popular demonstrations and civil disobedience were a particular concern, so much so that the Joint Chiefs of Staff had to consider whether "sufficient forces would still be available for civil disorder control" if more troops were sent to crush the Vietnamese.

The unanticipated growth of protest and resistance was largely spontaneous. It took place against a background of considerable hostility in the media and the political system, and occasional violence and disruption. One can identify deeply-committed activists - Dave Dillinger, for example - who worked with tireless devotion to arouse and organise the public to oppose American aggression, with its mounting and ever more visible atrocities. There were some, like Benjamin Spock, who supported the young resisters, and even a few who joined them; for example, Father Daniel Berrigan, who offered "our apologies, good friends, for the fracture of good order, the burning of paper instead of children," when he and six others destroyed draft files in Catonsville Maryland. But one will search in vain for the contribution of Eugene McCarthy to "establishing a consensus" against the war or arousing opposition to it. In the difficult early period, he did not even rise to the level of insignificance. There were a few political figures - Ernest Gruening and Wayne Morse, for example - who condemned the escalation of the American war. McCarthy never joined them.

After the Tet offensive of January 1968, it was generally recognised that the United States must shift to a more "capital-intensive" effort, relying on technology rather than manpower. The American expeditionary force was beginning to collapse from within. The American command was coming to learn a familiar lesson of colonial war: a citizen's army cannot be trusted to conduct the inevitable atrocities; such a war must be waged by professional killers. After 1968, the war dragged on for seven long years, with mounting barbarism and major massacres, such as Operation SPEEDY EXPRESS in the Mekong Delta in 1969. Popular opposition peaked in the early 1970s, and continued, despite press efforts to conceal US initiatives, until the very end. Throughout this period too, there was barely a whisper from Eugene McCarthy.

Why then has McCarthy been elevated to the liberal Pantheon? The reason is simple. His brief appearance in 1968 symbolises quite accurately the opposition to the war on the part of the liberal intelligentsia. Riding to national prominence on the wave of mass opposition to the war, McCarthy slipped silently away after failing to gain the Democratic nomination at Chicago in August 1968. He did succeed, briefly, in diverting popular energies to political channels, and came close to gaining political power by exploiting the forces of a movement that he had played no part whatsoever in mobilising. His utter cynicism was revealed with great clarity by his behaviour after he lost the nomination. Had he been even min-

imally serious, he would have made use of his undeserved prestige as a "spokesman" for the peace movement that he had so shamelessly exploited, to press for an end to the American war. But nothing more was heard from McCarthy, who demonstrated by his silence that he cared as little for the issue of the American war as he did for his youthful supporters who were bloodied by police riots in the streets of Chicago as he was attempting to win the Democratic candidacy, through their efforts on his behalf. He is, in short, a proper figure for canonisation by the liberal intelligentsia.

The general attitudes of this group are reflected in the material now being produced on the "lessons of the war." To cite just one of many examples, the well-known Asian specialist Edwin Reischauer of Harvard writes that, "The real lesson of the Vietnam war is the tremendous cost of attempting to control the destiny of a Southeast Asian country against the cross-currents of nationalism. Southeast Asia simply is not open to external control at a cost that would make this a feasible proposition for any outside power."

The clear implication is that if the costs were less, the effort to impose "external control" would be quite legitimate - if exercised by the United States, that is; obviously not by China or Russia. The United States, in short, is once again unique: the obligations of the UN Charter, though part of "the supreme law of the land", do not apply to a state devoted with such selflessness and honour to the Wilsonian principles of freedom and independence.

Reischauer proceeds as well to repeat familiar fantasies about the origins of the American intervention in the alleged belief that Ho Chi Minh was the "front-line agent" of a unified international communism. To him, "the tragedy of U.S. involvement in Vietnam is that this picture was never really correct," not the consequences of this "involvement" for the people of Indochina, a lesser tragedy. As is standard, he chooses to ignore the substantial documentary record which reveals that top-level planners had full awareness of the nationalist commitment of the Viet Minh and that after they had decided on intervention, they sought long and hard, without success, for some evidence to establish what they needed to justify that decision: that Ho Chi Minh was a puppet of outside forces. This documentary record is plainly unacceptable, therefore eliminated from the record of sober scholarship. "Error" and "ignorance", however, are socially neutral categories, and are available for use by critics among the secular priesthood.

The basic ideological institutions are the university-based academic professions and the mass media. I have mentioned the interpretation of the "lessons of the war" -- and it is the standard one -- in respectable academic scholarship. Consider now just one, again quite typical example from the mass media. The NY Times, in its retrospective editorial assessment of the war, observed that there has been "a decade of fierce polemics" in the United States which has "failed to resolve this ongoing quarrel" between two opposed groups: the hawks, who believe that the war could have been waged differently and more successfully, and the doves, "who believe that a viable, non-Communist South Vietnam was always a myth" -- that is, that the American intervention was bound to fail. It is too early to settle this profound question, the Times sagely observes. We must not "try to pre-empt history's role." Rather, "this is a time for humility and for silence and for prayer."

Note that there is a third logically possible position: regardless of the judgement of history on the tactical issue to which the Times limits attention, the United States simply had no legal or moral right to intervene by force in the internal affairs of Vietnam (or Laos, or Cambodia) in the first place. The "complex disagreement" between the hawks and doves, as presented by the Times, is a debate over tactics and their efficacy. It carefully skirts the only question of principle. The "decade of fierce polemics" that the Times surveys -- and which it leaves to the judgement of "Clio, the goddess of history, (who) is cool and slow and elusive in her ways" -- happens to exclude the authentic mass-based peace movement, which rejected the basic assumption of all participants in the debate that the Times surveys.

There is method in this restriction of what is "thinkable": it leaves beyond challenge the basic principle of the state religion, the American right of forceful intervention if only

it can succeed. So committed is the Times to preserving doctrinal purity on this issue that it refused even to print a letter noting that its "spectrum" was rather limited, though it did see fit to publish quite a range of opinion in response to its editorial, including a proposal that we undertake nuclear bombardment. But there must, after all, be some limits in a civilized journal.

As I have documented elsewhere, the position of the Times in this regard was quite typical of the national press. It is a fair generalization that among the organized and articulate intelligentsia, the war was considered to be a mistake by the 1970s at least. The war was generally opposed, but on quite narrow grounds, and within a framework of thinking that tacitly accepted the legitimacy of the exercise of American force. It is interesting, again, that those who advocated obedience to "the supreme law of the land", which clearly excludes such use of force, were regarded as dangerous radicals who must be excluded, as far as possible, from the "fierce polemics" tolerated within the ideological institutions.

These examples illustrate some rather interesting points about propaganda and the intelligentsia. In a totalitarian society, the mechanisms of indoctrination are simple and transparent. The state determines official truth. The technocratic and policy-oriented intellectuals parrot official doctrine, which is easily identified. In a curious way, this practice frees the mind. Internally, at least, one can identify the propaganda message and reject it. Overt expression of such rejection carries a risk -- how serious the risk, and over how broad a range, depends on just how totalitarian and violent the state actually is.

Under capitalist democracy, the situation is considerably more complex. The press and the intellectuals are held to be fiercely independent, hypercritical, antagonistic to the "establishment", in an adversary relation to the state. The Trilateral analysts, for example, describe the press as a new source of national power, dangerously opposed to state authority. Reality is a little different. True, there is criticism, but a careful look will show that it remains within narrow bounds. Basic principles of the state propaganda system are assumed by the critics. In contrast to the totalitarian system, the propaganda apparatus does not merely stake out a position to which all must conform -- or which they may privately oppose. Rather, it seeks to determine and limit the entire spectrum of thought: the official doctrine at one extreme, and the position of its most vocal adversaries, at the other. Over the entire spectrum, the same fundamental assumptions are insinuated, though rarely expressed. They are presupposed, but not asserted. I have already given a few examples. Thus according to the New York Times, the hawks and doves share a commitment to the fundamental unspoken principle that the US has a legitimate right to exercise force and violence, where it chooses to do so. And the "realist" criticism of American foreign policy, which marked the outer limits of respectable controversy until the impact of the student movement forced the doors of academia to open slightly, adopt the basic assumption that US foreign policy is one of benevolence -- misplaced benevolence, the critics say. Across the entire spectrum of debate it is presupposed that the United States, alone in modern history, does act out of a commitment to abstract moral principles rather than rational calculation by ruling groups, concerned for their material interests.

There are many other examples. The democratic system of thought control is seductive and compelling. The more vigorous the debate, the better the system of propaganda is served, since the tacit unspoken assumptions are more forcefully implanted. An independent mind must seek to separate itself from official doctrine -- and from the criticism advanced by its alleged opponents. Not just from the assertions of the propaganda system, but from its tacit presuppositions as well, as expressed by critic and defender. This is a far more difficult task. Any expert in indoctrination will confirm, no doubt, that it is far more effective to constrain all possible thought within a framework of tacit assumption than to try to impose a particular explicit belief with a bludgeon. It may be that some of the spectacular achievements of the American propaganda system, where all of this has been elevated to a high art, are attributable to the method of feigned dissent practiced by the responsible intelligentsia.

A final task of the propaganda system is to restore the faith in our transcendent purpose. It is not enough to demonstrate the evil of our enemies, and to transfer to them the responsibility for the atrocities committed against them. It is also necessary to reestablish our own moral purity. Here, events have proceeded with an almost mythic quality. I do not suggest that it was planned; merely that the propaganda system rose magnificently to the presented occasion.

The drama has unfolded in two acts: Act One may be entitled "Catharsis", Act Two, "Rebirth", or "Spiritual Regeneration."

In Act One the evil was personalized, expelled. Richard Nixon had a point when he claimed that the press was mounting an unfair campaign against him, but he failed to comprehend the role that he was playing in the unfolding drama. In fact, the charges against Nixon were for behavior not too far out of the ordinary, though he erred in choosing his victims among the powerful, a significant deviation from established practice. He was never charged with the serious crimes of his administration: the "secret bombing" of Cambodia, for example. The issue was indeed raised, but it was the secrecy of the bombing, not the bombing itself, that was held to be the crime. Again the crucial tacit assumption: the US, in its majesty, has the right to bomb a defenseless peasant society -- but it is wrong to mislead Congress about the matter. The secrecy of the bombing was indeed remarkable. I have been privately informed by a high military officer who was involved in planning the Cambodian "incursion" in April 1970 that even top commanders were denied photo-reconnaissance intelligence, apparently because the government was unwilling to reveal to these officers the devastation from American bombing in the countryside that they would soon traverse. But any criticism of the Nixon Administration on these grounds remains within the permissible bounds of tactical debate.

We might ask, incidentally, in what sense the bombing was "secret". Actually the bombing was "secret" because the press refused to expose it. Like the bombing of Laos before it, the American attack on neutral Cambodia must have been known to the press. A few days after the Nixon-Kissinger "secret bombing" began, Prince Sihanouk -- whose government was recognized by the United States -- called upon the international press to denounce the American attack on peaceful villages and the murder of defenseless peasants. There was no outcry, because the press was committed to secrecy, exactly as in earlier years, when the peasants of Northern Laos were mercilessly bombed, hundreds of miles from the nearest zone of combat or even supply routes. It was years later, when open season was declared in President Nixon, that the press had the gall to accuse him of having imposed a veil of secrecy over these atrocities -- which are rarely recognized as atrocities, since even now the press prefers to believe that the attacks were directed against North Vietnamese and Vietcong military targets.

In these and other ways, Act One was successfully completed and the evil, now identified and localized, was expunged. Next the curtain rose on Act Two: Rebirth, the discovery of Human Rights, our new transcendent purpose. As historian Arthur Schlesinger explained in the Wall Street Journal, "In effect, human rights is replacing self-determination as the guiding value in American foreign policy."

In a perverse sense he is right. That is, to the exact extent that self-determination was the guiding value in the past -- in the era of Nicaragua and Cuba, Guatemala and Iran, Vietnam and Laos and Cambodia, the Dominican Republic and Chile -- to exactly that extent human rights will be our guiding value tomorrow. The fact that such sentiments can be seriously expressed, and greeted with respect, is itself a remarkable indication of the intellectual and moral degeneration that accompanies the triumph of the awesome propaganda system.

There is much more to say about these achievements, and I have not even mentioned domestic analogues that are certainly required to complete the story. But I think it is fair to say that the secular priesthood, relying on the method of feigned dissent characteristic of democratic propaganda systems, has very largely succeeded, within only a few years, to destroy the historical record and supplant it with a more comfortable story, transferring the moral onus of American aggression to its victims, reducing the "lessons"

of the war to the socially neutral categories of error, ignorance and cost, and reconstructing a suitable doctrine of the civilizing mission of the West, America in the lead.

To appreciate fully the range of these accomplishments, we may conduct a simple Gedankenexperiment along lines already suggested. Imagine that World War II had ended in a stalemate, with the Nazis driven from France and the Low Countries, but remaining a major world power, intact among the ruins. Imagine that a stratum of dissenting intellectuals had emerged, who criticized Hitler for his errors in attempting to wage a two-front war, destroying a valuable source of labour power with the death camps, reacting with too much brutality to the intolerable burdens placed on Germany at Versailles, and so on. How might they have proceeded to reinterpret the contemporary scene Perhaps like this.

First, they would have explained the historic need for German power to be resurrected, perhaps invoking Martin Heidegger's theory that Germany alone can defend the classic values of humanistic civilization from the barbarians of East and West, not to speak of the hordes of Asia and Africa. They might then have turned to the situation in what they would have called "occupied Europe"; say France, calm and peaceful until the Anglo-American invasion of 1944 abetted by Communist-led terrorists within, and now under American occupation -- recall that Eisenhower had "supreme authority" and the "ultimate determination of where, when and how civil administration... shall be exercised by French citizens" under a directive from Roosevelt issued with Churchill's approval. They would have observed with horror that before and during this occupation the terrorists of the resistance carried out a great massacre of collaborators, amounting to a minimum of 30-40,000 murders within a few months according to the assessment of the French historian of the resistance, Robert Aron, basing himself on a detailed analysis of the French gendarmerie, and amounting to no less than seven million killed according to the detailed studies of Pleyber-Granjean, whom Aron calls a "victim of the Liberation". Appalled by these monstrous events, the German dissidents might even have produced a judgement not unlike that of the editor of the *New Republic*, who explained recently that "the American collapse (in Indochina) will read in history as among the ugliest of national crimes" (June 11 1977) -- not what the US did, but its failure to persist, is criminal. Comparably, the Nazi failure to withstand the Anglo-American invasion -- a foreign invasion from abroad, not a general uprising within -- will read in history as the ugliest of crimes, as attested by the millions of helpless victims: we may assume that the "seven million victims" story would have prevailed within the domains of Nazi influence. Continuing, these analysts might have observed with dismay the terrible suffering of the people of France and England -- not to speak of Russia -- in the fierce winter of 1946-7, with production stagnating and the US unwilling even to grant a loan except under conditions that reduce Britain to American vassalage. And so on. Perhaps, as moral men, they might have objected to an annual reenactment of the events at Auschwitz, as indecent, much as some Americans feebly protest the annual reenactment of the Hiroshima bombing by the pilot Enola Gay, most recently, in October 1977 in a Texas air show, before an audience of 20,000 admiring spectators.

What we have witnessed in the United States and the West generally in the past few years is in some ways a grim parody, in the real world, of this invented nightmare. has proceeded with little articulate protest -- again, a testimony to the effectiveness of the institutions of propaganda and ideology and the notable commitment of large segments of the intelligentsia to established power, even as they pretend to combat its excesses.

I mentioned before that ruling groups throughout the First World of industrial capitalism require a system of beliefs that will justify their dominance. The "North-South" conflict will not subside, and new forms of domination will have to be devised to ensure that privileged segments of Western industrial society maintain substantial control over global resources, human and material, and benefit disproportionately from this control. Thus it comes as no surprise that the reconstitution of ideology in the United States finds echoes throughout the industrial world. To cite only one

minor example, Southeast Asia correspondent Martin Woollacott of the *Manchester Guardian* expresses his dismay and astonishment that the Cambodian Marxists who studied in Paris never absorbed the "essential humaneness of French life and thought." How this "humaneness" expressed itself in Indochina under French rule I need not discuss -- those interested might turn to a gripping study by Ngo Vinh Long published by MIT Press in 1973. Nor is there any need to speak of the humaneness of Western imperialism elsewhere, or the humaneness of European civilization itself, culminating in two mass slaughters. I have already mentioned the humaneness of the Paris where these Cambodian Marxists studied as World War II came to a bloody end; and I could have gone on to describe its humaneness a few years before as French authorities were vigorously rounding up Jews for shipment to death camps. But it is an absolute requirement for the Western system of ideology that a vast gulf be established between the civilized West, with its traditional commitment to human dignity, liberty, and self-determination, and the barbaric brutality of those who for some reason -- perhaps defective genes -- fail to appreciate the depth of this historic commitment, so well revealed by America's Asian wars, for example.

Over twenty years ago, a rare study of the political economy of American foreign policy was published, under that title, by a group sponsored by the National Planning Association and the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. They observed, quite accurately, that the primary threat of Communism is the economic transformation of the Communist powers "in ways which reduce their willingness and ability to complement the industrial economies of the West." It is the recognition of this threat that has inspired American counterrevolutionary intervention in the Third World, though the spectre of Russian or Chinese aggression in Western Europe, Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America has been dangled before the public as a more acceptable threat. The problem remains, and will continue to invoke Western antagonism to independent development, which is often led by a state socialist leadership that follows the model of Bakunin's Red bureaucracy. In an era of growing material shortages and resource competition, the "North-South" conflict may lead to new forms of still-unimagined horror, while stagnating economies in the industrial societies, unable to absorb a superfluous class of workers without appropriate skills, will search for ways to implement the proposals of the Trilateral analysts as to how to impose passivity and obedience, in the interests of something called "democracy."

Those who may be concerned about unemployment for intellectuals need not worry too much, I believe. Under circumstances such as these, there should be considerable need and ample opportunity for the secular priesthood.

NOAM CHOMSKY
December 10, 1977



FREEDOM BOOKSHOP
IN ANGEL ALLEY: 84b WHITECHAPEL HIGH
STREET: LONDON E1: PHONE 01-247 9249