

When Giants Walked the Land

We Must March My Darlings

by Diana Trilling

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 320 pp., \$10

Reviewed by Bruce Cook

ALTHOUGH her work has appeared over a period of four decades, Diana Trilling is hardly a writer with a large public. To a certain readership, so loyal and intense one is almost tempted to call it a constituency, she is very well known indeed. These readers are the survivors and enthusiasts of the late great literary wars of New York, in which battles were fought across Marxist sectarian lines and the opposing armies were often divided not so much by the degree of their sympathy for the Communist party as by the specifics of when and to what degree individual combatants had broken with it. This was a time, as we all know, when giants walked the land—that is, when they were not pounding away on their giant typewriters, knocking out giant pieces for the *Partisan Review*. In time these writers for *PR*, most of whom were independent Marxist or Trotskyist in political orientation and had gradually softened into so-called liberal anti-Communists, came to dominate the New York literary scene completely. They were tough, demanding, rigorous critics who set such high intellectual standards that together they may well have made the most significant contribution to American culture of any group since Emerson's Concord circle in the 1850s.

The *Partisan Review* crowd included such illustrious names as Philip Rahv, the magazine's cofounder, Alfred Kazin, Dwight Macdonald, Mary McCarthy, Irving Howe, and of course the most illustrious of them all, Lionel Trilling. Diana Trilling was his wife and is now his widow. Her association with the rest, even when

most active, seems always to have been through him. She was more or less an auxiliary member of the group, one related to the Family (as it came to be known) by marriage—an in-law, as it were. She gained a reputation as a literary critic from her reviews in *The Nation* during and just after the war. Subsequently, she continued to write reviews and literary essays occasionally, and edited two D. H. Lawrence anthologies. By the time her earlier collection, *Clarendon Essays*, was issued, however, she had begun to turn away from literature in favor of social subjects, though seldom with very successful results. She had a way of accepting official reports and approved versions quite unquestioningly, which, for me at least, made worthless her essays on the Profumo, Hiss, and Oppenheimer cases in that collection. I may be gifted with hindsight in this, for I read them long after they were first published, but it certainly seems they would have been improved, if greatly altered, by a little healthy skepticism. The social critic's job is to challenge, not to accept.

Social concerns so dominate this second collection, *We Must March My Darlings*, that only three short pieces in it could be considered literary; and they, only marginally. The rest have to do with such determinedly large subjects as the assassination of President Kennedy, women's liberation, and the youth revolution of the Sixties.

She worries away at them in the humorless, somewhat imperious style of a woman who is used to holding forth at dinner parties, going on and on, never using a sentence where a paragraph might possibly do.

Those who hope to find in this new book by Mrs. Trilling some especially juicy bits on Lillian Hellman, or perhaps the inside story on the attempt by Little, Brown to suppress passages in the text [see the box below], are probably going to be disappointed. She does deal with this controversy, but only in a brief introduction and assorted footnotes to a revised essay originally written for a 1967 *Commentary* symposium, "Liberal Anti-Communism Revisited." The Little, Brown affair was given more extensive treatment in *The New York Times*, and, judging from Mrs. Trilling's version, it was reported quite accurately. The important additions supplied here, of course, are the passages that the publisher tried to censor. They are mild

enough and only seriously in error in their assumption that Miss Hellman's short and very personal book would be taken as a definitive history of the McCarthy period. How could Mrs. Trilling think that? Bestseller envy, I suppose.

THE truly startling thing that comes through in this essay has to do with the CIA's international support of anti-Communist intellectuals through its front organization, the Congress for Cultural Freedom. Mrs. Trilling was on the board of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, an affiliate of the congress. In a passage added to the original 1967 essay, she says very plainly, "Even before I came onto the executive board of the American Committee, I was aware, and it was my clear impression that everyone else on the board was aware, that the international body with which we were associated was probably funded by the gov-

Bruce Cook is the author of *The Beat Generation* and *Dalton Trumbo*.

continued

ernment." She goes on to say what nobody until now has admitted: "We strongly suspected that the Fairfield Foundation, which we were told supported the congress, was a filter for State Department or CIA money." On one occasion, when the committee found itself in a financial crisis, Norman Thomas, also a board member, announced at a meeting that he would "call Allen" (Dulles, presumably). He returned a few minutes later and told them their problems had been solved.

I find this shocking. Did the American Committee really think that cultural freedom could be bought and paid for with CIA money? Were people as intelligent as Norman Thomas and Diana Trilling so ignorant of the quid pro quo of politics that they believed money was given by the government with no strings attached? The fact that no pressure was brought to bear on the committee or the Congress for Cultural Freedom does not prove, as Mrs. Trilling seems to think it does, that the government in general and the CIA in particular were more disposed to benignity and openhandedness "in the mid-Fifties and into the Kennedy years." It simply means that during those years the anti-Communist liberal intellectuals who made up the membership of the American Committee did nothing at all to displease their benefactors.

In fact, this attitude of accommodation toward institutional authority, this steady identification with the established order, is the one quality that runs most consistently through the essays in this book. What you get from Diana Trilling is seldom a fresh point of view on a subject, or a radical interpretation of an objective set of facts, but rather a vigorous statement of the predictable neoconservative response. She has a way of casting herself in the role of one of the older generation sitting in judgment on the younger. That,

certainly, is what she is up to in such essays as "Celebrating with Dr. Leary," in which she examines the religious pretensions of the drug culture. "On the Steps of Low Library," her report on the student take-over of Columbia; and "We Must March My Darlings," her look at Radcliffe following its merger with Harvard. Although in the title essay she makes a great display of open-mindedness in her interviews and shows restraint in her comments, there is little doubt from the start what sort of verdict she will hand down. As for the others, well, what chance would you give Timothy Leary and Mark Rudd before such a hanging judge? Exactly.

The only occasions on which she shows a degree of sympathy with the forces of social revolt occur when she writes of women's liberation. In fact, she speaks of herself as "an old-line feminist." Well, perhaps. She certainly takes Freud to task for his condescension toward women. And Norman Mailer's *The Prisoner of Sex* is given stern treatment in a symposium speech for its obfuscation, if poetic, endorsement of biological determinism. However, her attitude—and she communicates it most clearly in "We Must March My Darlings"—seems to be that the real battles of liberation and sexual independence were fought, after all, by her generation, and specifically by women such as herself. This decade's feminists are mere pygmies standing on the shoulders of giants.

Isn't that the way it seems to each successive older generation: If it weren't for us, where would you be? Thus Diana Trilling once again lines up against the young, undercutting them as she offers her support. As in all the rest of these essays, what is most clearly in evidence here is the hectoring tone, the purse-lipped disapproval, the mother-in-law sensibility. Nobody really expects social critics to solve the problems they address. They should, however, do more than nag at them. ©.

continued

Talking with Diana Trilling

SINCE the recent death of her husband, Lionel, Diana Trilling has continued to live in the spacious, comfortable apartment just around the corner from Columbia University, where at one terrible time, as she recounts in *We Must March My Darlings*, she anxiously awaited an onslaught from neighboring Harlem that would never come. But as she freely admits, "I've never been in the business of prophecy," and at the time of the event, the student take-over of Columbia in the spring of 1968, it seemed certain that the center could not hold, and that the world of liberal culture must be coming apart.

Mrs. Trilling's latest collection of essays—ranging as they do from a panegyric to Kennedy ("It's always astonishing to me how abruptly the attitudes in the intellectual community change; one minute *The New York Review of Books* was devoting a memorial issue to him, a year later he was anathema") to the social and sexual adjustments of the students at Radcliffe, her alma mater, at the beginning of the 1970s—spans a decade of bewildering transformations. It was a time, she says, when what she calls "the movements of the culture" were so rapid and fleeting that they seemed to far outpace the normal progression by which a society grows and changes. And although the campuses, and the American political scene in general, seem now to have settled into a mood of deep quietism, "it wouldn't surprise me in the slightest to hear this minute that a new large-scale anarchic sit-in was under way around the corner." Contemporary historical developments, as she stresses in the introduction to her book, "don't last for two minutes," nor do human attitudes. "In my long lifetime I've been fascinated by the process by which people seem able to completely alter their political views overnight, from left-wing radical to Republican, say, without ever seeming to feel called upon to explain the process by which they got from point A to point B." As a prime example she cites Garry Wills, a former writer for the *National Review*, who more recently wrote an introduction to Lillian Hellman's *Scoundrel Time* in which, she says, he castigated the very positions he had once stoutly maintained.

Mrs. Trilling is still faintly bemused by the extent of the brouhaha set off when Little, Brown, the original publishers of *We Must March My Darlings*, declined to publish the book because of critical references in it to Miss Hellman. Those references are there, unexpurgated, in the present edition, and seem hardly strong enough to justify such action. "Lillian said at the time she didn't know what was in the book," Mrs. Trilling comments sharply, "and I believe her. But I didn't hear any protest from her when the publishers decided to censor my book, all the same." One more unhappy aftermath of that story that Mrs. Trilling would like to clear up: she had almost agreed to appear on William Buckley's television show, *Firing Line*, to discuss not any individual, but liberal anti-Communism in general, provided she had a chance to see the questions in advance. She heard nothing more about it for a time. Then, after Buckley had published his long and scathing review of Miss Hellman's book, titled "Who Is the Ugliest of Them All?" his TV people, having apparently accepted Mrs. Trilling's terms, phoned to arrange for her appearance. "But this time I refused because I felt that in titling his review as he had, Mr. Buckley had reduced political polemic to personal insult."

THE Trillings' position of liberal anti-Communism, she finds, is harder and harder to maintain today. "A writer like George Orwell, who to my mind was one of the greatest and most clear-sighted of this century, is completely out of intellectual favor now." Writers and artists who were once only too glad of (and, she avers, well aware of) clandestine support from CIA funds are now vociferous in their disapproval of it.

Many of Mrs. Trilling's attitudes, she fully realizes, are far from fashionable, though once they seemed humane and eminently reasonable to many. She feels, for instance, that "militant lesbianism" has taken over the feminist movement, and blames Masters and Johnson and their teaching in considerable part for it. "No one can begin to say the harm they have done, and I don't see anyone even trying." As for making a college like Radcliffe coeducational, "It once seemed to many of us a proud thing to have a great women's college."

She finds she does not read much contemporary fiction anymore, though for ten years (1940 to 1950) she was fiction editor of *The Nation*. "I still read Mailer, Bellow, and Nabokov, but that's about all. I'm not really a literary person: I'm a political and sociological person. I haven't done a literary essay in ten years, and I don't think I'd even know where to publish one anymore. Where would one publish an essay today on George Eliot, Stendhal, *Madame Bovary*, or *Anna Karenina*?" she asks. "I've always wanted to write about Jane Welch Carlyle—but who would want that?"

She is working on a new book—not a further essay collection—about which she will say nothing more. "But there's such an enormous amount to do after Lionel's death—putting his papers in order, looking at the unpublished material, writing letters. . . ." The Seventies, compared with the Sixties, seem barren of interest to her as material on which to think and write. "What would I write about now? I suppose you could look at these big new sections in *The New York Times*, what they mean in terms of an obsession with consumption; you could talk about the passion for British class dramas on TV, about the cultural influence of women's clothes, perhaps about the strange reactions of audiences at movies. But none of these things seems to be central to the decade in the way that the assassinations, the university riots, the drug scene, were in the Sixties."

But as an old-style liberal convinced, despite frequent evidence to the contrary, of the possibilities for human progress, Mrs. Trilling has a line from her new book that she would be pleased to see taken as the essence of her thinking: "How to activate decency and teach it to stop feeling deficient because of its low quotient of drama is obviously one of the urgent problems of modern society."

8 APR 1974

LASKY, Melvin J.

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Letters to the Editor of the Journal

Encounter and the CIA

Editor, *The Wall Street Journal*:

I have just seen the report in your issue of March 22, according to which I am supposed to have referred to the Congress for Cultural Freedom as a CIA front. I said no such thing. A "front" in common political usage refers to a phony body set up for manipulative purposes. The Congress for Cultural Freedom was never that, although most of its financial support came, as is now well known, from American foundations many of which derived their funds from the CIA. The Congress assembled writers and intellectuals who represented a wide variety of opinion: liberals, socialists, conservatives. Its resolutions—whether in the form of protests against cultural censorship, or in aid programs on behalf of refugee intellectuals—were determined by its own distinguished members. As for *Encounter Magazine* (and also *Der Monat* in Berlin which I edited), its policies—whether under the founders whom you mention, Stephen Spender and Irving Kristol, or subsequently—were always determined by its editors, and the freedom to choose the articles, stories, and poems which *Encounter* published was always absolute and complete. That was the point of cultural freedom.

MELVIN J. LASKY

London

ORG 1 Congress For
Cultural Freedom

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ZITRON, CELIA

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AFL-CIO

Shanker pushing new AFL-CIO cold-war drive

CONGRESS FOR
CULTURAL FREEDOM

By CELIA ZITRON

NEW YORK, Oct. 12 — Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers, is seeking to get the AFL-CIO to sponsor a new cold war movement.

This is the gist of what is described as "a major policy statement" published in the Oct. 7 issue of The New York Teacher, weekly organ of the UFT.

The policy statement was adopted by the Shanker-controlled UFT executive board on Sept. 24 and was referred to the local's parent body, the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO. The AFT, in turn, forwarded mail ballots to its 21-member executive council for their votes.

If approved by the executive council, the policy statement would then be placed by the AFT before the AFL-CIO convention, opening Oct. 18 in Miami Beach. There it is expected that George Meany, AFL-CIO president, and Jay Lovestone, his foreign affairs adviser, would push the matter.

Back Jackson amendment

The 1500-word UFT statement, which repeats every anti-Soviet slander, proposes that the AFL-CIO consider sponsoring a "world-conference on intellectual free-

dom." The statement also endorses the amendment of Sen. Henry Jackson (F-Wash) to block non-discriminatory tariffs on trade with the Soviet Union unless the Soviet Union changes its alleged emigration barriers.

The policy statement would shift the national AFT, which was opposed to the war in Vietnam, to a return to the cold war.

Reflecting the views of Shanker and his right-wing Social Democratic cronies, the statement would have the AFL-CIO take over directly and openly the cold war work of the Central Intelligence Agency. From 1950 to 1967, the CIA secretly supported the Congress for Cultural Freedom, which published magazines in England, West Germany, Austria, France and Italy. The English magazine, Encounter, received an annual subsidy of \$30,000.

Funds revealed

During the exposure of CIA activities in the late '60s, there was testimony that AFL-CIO organizations and related groups received large sums from the CIA. Some of the groups receiving CIA funds channeled through the AFL-CIO included the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the Institute of International Labor Research, the African-American Labor Center and the American Institute for Free Labor Development.

A number of U.S. unions also received CIA funds, the Newspaper Guild as much as a million dollars.

The Meany leadership of the AFL-CIO still carries on its anti-Soviet, pro-war propaganda, not only at home but among workers in Latin-America, Africa, Asia. It has broken with the ICFTU because it considered it insufficiently anti-Communist.

The UFT executive board now proposes that the AFL-CIO also take over the anti-Soviet, pro-war activities among intellectuals.

P-Bonosky, Phillip

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Original Congress for Cultural Freedom

The world-wandering Shepard Stone and his \$50,000

By PHILLIP BONOSKY

A modest announcement in the New York Times of August 27 caught my attention. It stated that . . . the International Association for Cultural Freedom announced the establishment of a fund to help intellectuals who cannot work in their own countries."

Since I knew a number of such intellectuals who had been driven abroad during and since the McCarthyite period, and were still eking out a precarious living, as resident foreigners with uncertain work-permits in France, England, Italy, Mexico, etc., I felt they ought to know about this. I even knew intellectuals who still lived inside the U.S.A. but could no longer work at their professions in TV, the publishing industry, or Hollywood, where they were blacklisted.

The notice in the Times went on to say that a certain Mr. Stone had \$50,000 to give to such intellectuals. And this interested me enough to want to call up Mr. Shepard Stone, whose name only was cited as the man with all the money, and find out from him how I could get some of that money for the people I had in mind.

True, a further section of the news story gave me slight pause. Stone was quoted as saying, ". . . that the suppression of freedom in Czechoslovakia, with its sinister implications for the intellectuals of that country, is new evidence of the need for concrete action among the world community of intellectuals."

Trying to locate Stone

This gave me pause, but not enough so that I couldn't hazard a telephone call, which I did. I must confess, at this point, that the name of Shepard Stone meant nothing to me. What books had he written? In what way was he qualified to come to the aid and succor of writers? How did he get \$50,000 to give away?

The Times told me his office was at the Ford Foundation, which surprised me; but it was. And his secretary told me that he was vacationing in Vermont, and gave me his number to call. When I did, the lady who answered me, No. Mr. Stone was not

there; he was, she said, at the Sheraton-Boston Hotel in Boston, but make sure I asked for Daniel Bell's room, for that, she said, was where Mr. Stone actually was.

When I called the Sheraton-Boston hotel, the woman there said, yes indeed, Mr. Bell was registered there, in Room 2415, in fact, but when she rang the room she got no answer.

Wasting no time wondering why Shepard Stone, a most elusive individual, doesn't tell people where his next stopping-off place is going to be, I did register the fact that the name Daniel Bell (if indeed it was the same Daniel Bell) was certainly known to me as the one-time editor of Fortune Magazine and author of a hopefully-titled book, "The End of Ideology" — by which he meant Marxist ideology, not capitalist.

and asked Robert Seaver, who is of their Publicity Office, where I might find Mr. Stone. "In Paris," he said, "In Paris?" I asked, absolutely amazed by now how peripatetic and hard to nail down, this man Stone is.

It was only then that I learned that Mr. Stone had been connected with the Ford Foundation but had just resigned in order to assume a new job. Which was? As director of the newly-set-up Association of Cultural Freedom, in whose name he had just that morning offered the \$50,000 to deserving intellectuals. And the organization? It was the successor, Mr. Seaver reminded me, of the Congress of Cultural Freedom that had dissolved last year. "You mean," I said, "the one that was exposed as having CIA connections?"

Mr. Seaver didn't know about that; all he knew was that the Ford Foundation had granted it \$1.3 million dollars to do its work, but exercised no control over its policy. Just Mr. Stone, Congress of Cultural Freedom. The Congress of Cultural Freedom, of course, was familiar to me, and subsequent research made it even more familiar.

For years, and particularly during the Cold War and McCarthyite years, it had endlessly launched virulent attacks on all progressive-minded writers and reform to its Cold War line. It had charged them with being Moscow-controlled, as being on the

pay-roll of Moscow, as being agents of a foreign power. And such intellectuals, so charged, had often paid for these accusations by the loss of jobs and livelihood.

The Congress of Cultural Freedom published a string of magazines in a couple dozen countries, chief among them "Encounter", edited by Melvin Lasky and the poet, Stephen Spender. The magazine specialized in supporting anti-Socialist intellectuals inside and outside the Socialist world. It consistently featured polemical articles against socialist ideas and irresponsibly impugned the motives of all socialist intellectuals who didn't toe their anti-Communist line. They claimed to support democracy everywhere, but especially "behind the Iron Curtain." Their general tone was high-brow, cultural, refined — and contemptuous of working-class ideas and attitudes. They were dedicated, only to truth, culture, and intellectual independence, particularly the last.

Then, in mid-1967, the thunderbolt crashed. Starting with revelations published in Ramparts Magazine, the ugly truth began to come out. It seemed that many of the great devotees to truth and intellectual freedom, even of democratic socialism, actually had been knowingly on the pay-roll of the CIA for more than 10 years!

The CIA had poured millions of dollars into the Congress through all those years, and through the Congress into dozens of "independent" cultural organs in all parts of the world. The CIA not only spent money; it also saw to it that its men were placed in key spots in the organization and on the editorial boards of magazine such as "Encounter."

Caught red-handed, the officers of the organization nevertheless put out their cover stories, which were then promptly shot full of holes. Then, with no further pretense possible, one by one in different degrees, they invited part in the role of CIA agents or as their dupes.

his \$50,000

Orig. under Bonosky

October 8 1967

ORG-1 Congr. For. Cult. Freedom

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ORG-1 INTER. Assoc. For
CULTURAL FREEDOM

Stone, Shepard

CIA's Culture Group Renamed

PARIS—In an effort to purge itself of the stigma of CIA subsidies, the Congress of Cultural Freedom has changed its name to the International Association for Cultural Freedom, and has named as its new president a former consultant to the U. S. State Department.

✓ Shepard Stone, the new president, has most recently been director of international affairs for the Ford Foundation. His experience also includes service with the U. S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and as director of public affairs for the U. S. High Commission in Germany. He was for some time on the staff of the N. Y. Times.

Pierre Emmanuel, French poet, was named as director of the Association. Elected to the board of directors were John Kenneth Galbraith, ✓ Edward Shills, ✓ Waldemar Besson, Alan Bullock, ✓ Ignazio Silone, and Manes Sperber. ✓

✓ The group has provided subsidization for a string of magazines, of which the most prominent is the British monthly Encounter. All are anti-communist in policy and follow the U. S. State Department line.

ORF - Congress, Cultural Freedom

London

DEAR SIR: Christopher Lasch's 15-page article on "The Cultural Cold War" (Sept. 11) is much more an expression of his political passions and personal animus than it is an analysis of the real world. Because of its length, which is in inverse relation to its understanding of the situations, motives and organizations to which it refers, its pervasive and tendentious misinterpretations could be corrected only at a length greater than your correspondence columns allow or the intellectual inadequacy of the performance merits.

Nonetheless, your readers might appreciate a few instances of Mr. Lasch's lighthearted irresponsibility in his treatment of the facts as they relate to me personally.

(1) Mr. Lasch writes that in 1947 "Lasky led a walk-out of anti-Communists from a cultural meeting in the Russian sector of Berlin." This is false, I did no such thing, and no such thing happened. The facts are: I was invited as a freelance American journalist to make a brief talk to the first postwar German Writers Congress and I did so. Inasmuch as my theme was the need to resist all forms of censorship anywhere, my talk was (given the Russian venue) controversial and there was vigorous discussion. Full and accurate accounts of the matter were published in *The New York Times* and other easily accessible sources, and a few minutes of research in a library would have enabled anybody to get the facts straight.

(2) Mr. Lasch writes that I, together with certain other persons, "had all been Communists during the thirties." This is false. I have never been a Communist. Doesn't Professor Lasch ever observe any of the elementary rules of evidence for establishing a fact?

(3) Mr. Lasch quotes a sentence from the former CIA official Thomas Braden to the effect that "[an] agent became an editor of *Encounter*." With a disregard for evidence that one hopes doesn't characterize the rest of his historical writings, Mr. Lasch goes on gratuitously to suggest that I might have been such an "agent" who became an editor of *Encounter*. This is false. I have already stated publicly (*London Times*, May 9) that Braden's allegation was untrue. Braden has also publicly explained (and it is characteristic of Lasch's method that he quotes Braden to suggest a point that Braden himself seriously qualified and in effect withdrew) that by an "agent" he also meant "unwitting" persons (*New York Times*, May 8); according to this definition, obviously, half of Europe's intellectuals, lawyers, journalists and trade unionists were "agents" who "worked for the CIA." In 1958, when I became an editor of *Encounter*, at the invitation of the then co-editors, I had no knowledge of the CIA's involvement and was, then as now, nobody's agent. For ten years I had been editing *Der Monat* in Berlin, until 1954 for the USIA, and thereafter (after a brief losing battle with McCarthyism) under a direct Ford Foundation grant. As I have also publicly stated, when I subsequently became aware that some of the grants which various U.S. donors gave to the Congress for Cultural Freedom to help subsidize *Encounter's* publishing deficit were not in fact private but covert governmental funds, I did everything in my power to end this. In 1964, Cecil Harmsworth King and the *Daily Mirror* group in London took over the financial sponsorship of *Encounter*.

(4) Mr. Lasch, trying to demonstrate his untenable thesis that *Encounter* pursued an uncritical political line, writes: "Writers in *Encounter* denounced the Soviet intervention in Hungary without drawing the same conclusions about the Bay of Pigs." This is false. In July, 1961, *Encounter* published a 15,000-word analysis by Theodore Draper criticizing the "perfect failure" of U.S. policy toward Cuba; in the next number Anthony Hartley explained, from a British writer's viewpoint, why the "disastrous adventure" was shocking, illegal and wrong. In July, 1964, *Encounter* published a 9,000-word article by Herbert L. Matthews, entitled "Dissent over Cuba," protesting the perils of non-conformity" in the U.S. and the dangers of dissent which he himself and other friends of Castro's Cuba had experienced. At the time of the Bay of Pigs I co-signed a statement (*Encounter*, July, 1961) criticizing "direct (or, for that matter, 'indirect') U.S. military intervention in Caribbean affairs," calling it "as indefensible as it is tragic." Mr. Lasch is so clearly incompetent in ascertain-

ing elementary facts which are essential to his argument that readers might well reflect on the reliability of his interpretation of much more complex events and attitudes when he has not been responsible enough to document even simpler ones with any degree of accuracy.

(5) Mr. Lasch writes: "Lasky's resignation was . . . rejected by the management of *Encounter*." This is false. No such thing happened. There was no resignation and no rejection. Once again a few simple inquiries would have been sufficient to establish the true facts.

What is true is that *Encounter* (with myself as one of its editors) has continued — as an independent journal of discussion and comment, then as now beholden to no one, uninfluenced by patrons or publishers, its pages open to the widest variety of views, and in which no idea or culture or governmental policy, East or West (including the United States), has been immune from criticism. What it publishes in any monthly number is, and has always been, determined solely by the personal ideas, beliefs and prejudices of its own editors and contributors. *Melvin J. Lasky*

Evanston, Ill.

DEAR SIR:

(1) I was misinformed about the "walk-out," and Mr. Lasky is right that I should have checked this fact, although it has no bearing on the main points raised in my essay.

(2) I am, of course, glad to accept Mr. Lasky's correction but the statement to which he refers was based on H. P. Trevor-Roper's account of the Berlin Congress which appeared in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, July 20, 1950, whose accuracy I had no reason to question.

(3) The article in *The New York Times*, to which Mr. Lasky refers (May 8), reads: "Mr. Braden refused to name the CIA 'agents' in the congress or the magazine, nor would he describe what kind of agents he meant. The agency, he said, used the term 'agent' to describe both 'witting' and 'unwitting' operatives. But the article in *The Saturday Evening Post* clearly implies that the persons involved were 'agents' before they were 'placed' in the congress and 'became an editor' of *Encounter*." I see nothing in this report which entitles the reader to conclude that Braden "in effect withdrew" his earlier statement.

(4) Theodore Draper's article on Cuba criticizes American policy within the framework of cold-war assumptions. Likewise, Anthony Hartley condemned intervention as a failure, and on the curious ground that subversion of another country violated international law unless justified by internal disorder or "an almost unanimous opinion abroad of the undesirable character of a regime"; and he specifically denied any parallel between Cuba and Hungary. "American troops were not used, and the operations failed because of it. Can we imagine a genuinely imperialist regime behaving like this?" As for the Matthews article, the editors printed it with a supporting apologetic introductory note to the effect that although Matthew's views on Cuba had "been frequently criticized in *Encounter*, especially in Theodore Draper's articles," his "account of his opinions and tribulations, especially in the American context, seems to us a document interesting and important enough to publish and to discuss."

(5) Mr. Lasky may not have offered to resign from *Encounter*, as he reported, but the *Times* story (May 9) seems to indicate that he considered resigning, as his colleagues Spender and Kermode were urging. The *Times* says that he "won a vote of confidence today from the magazine's backers and decided to stay on the job." What Mr. Lasky still has not explained is why, when he came to "suspect" that "some of the foundations that were giving money to the Congress for Cultural Freedom . . . were not what they seemed," he did not confide his suspicions to his colleagues. It is hard to understand the reasons for this behavior, which is the exact opposite of what one would have expected. *Christopher Lasch*

Next week, space permitting, we will publish a sampling of the many comments which we have received on Mr. Lasch's article. —The Editors

P. Lasch, Christopher

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*096 - Congress for Cultural Freedom
American Committee for
Cultural Freedom*

Michael Harrington

On the Committee for Cultural Freedom

The recent revelations about secret CIA subsidies has brought to public attention the Congress for Cultural Freedom, an international grouping of intellectuals, and its affiliate in this country, the American Committee for Cultural Freedom. Notably missing in the discussions these last few months has been an effort to analyze politically the role of these groups during the years when the Cold War was at its height. Such an analysis did appear in the pages of DISSENT some twelve years ago; it was written by Michael Harrington; and it seems just as cogent now as it was then. We wish we had the space to reprint the entire article as it appeared in our Spring 1955 issue, but here, completely unchanged, is a significant portion of it.—Ed.

In practice the ACCF has fallen behind Sidney Hook's views on civil liberties. Without implying any "conspiracy" theory of history (or even of intellectual intrigue), one may safely say that it is Hook who has molded the decisive ACCF policies. His *Heresy Yes, Conspiracy No* articles were widely circulated by the Committee, which meant that in effect it endorsed his systematic, explicit efforts to minimize the threat to civil liberties and to attack those European intellectuals who, whatever their own political or intellectual deficiencies, took a dim view of American developments. Under the guidance of Hook and the leadership of Irving Kristol, who supported Hook's general outlook, the American Committee cast its weight not so much in defense of those civil liberties which were steadily being nibbled away, but rather against those few remaining fellow-travelers

who tried to exploit the civil liberties issue.

At times this had an almost comic aspect. When Irving Kristol was executive secretary of the ACCF, one learned to expect from him silence on those issues that were agitating the whole intellectual and academic world, and enraged communiqués on the outrages performed by people like Arthur Miller or Bertrand Russell in exaggerating the danger to civil liberties in the U.S.

Inevitably, this led to more serious problems. In an article by Kristol, which first appeared in *Commentary* and was later circulated under the ACCF imprimatur, one could read such astonishing and appalling statements as "there is one thing the American people know about Senator McCarthy: he, like them, is unequivocally anti-Communist. About the spokesmen for American liberalism, they

feel they know no such thing. And with some justification." This, in the name of defending cultural freedom! As someone remarked, the Committee might better have renamed itself the American Committee for Cultural Accommodation.

We are not, to be sure, dealing with a black-and-white matter. In a number of cases the Committee has acted within the United States in defense of freedom. It protested to Attorney General Brownell on the treatment of Chaplin and Arthur Miller; it was active in the Muhlenberg College case where some Chaplin films were banned; it criticized the procedure of the McCarthy investigation of the *Voice of America*. The Committee also claims to have done good work in ways precluding publicity, and there is no reason to doubt this claim. Currently, it is intervening in the case of Barry Miller, a former member of the Politics Club of the University of Chicago to whom the army refuses an honorable discharge because of his past (anti-Stalinist) associations.

But these activities do not absorb the main attention or interest of the Committee: its leadership is too jaded, too imbued with the sourness of indiscriminate anti-Stalinism to give itself to an active struggle against the dominant trend of contemporary intellectual life in America. What it really cares about most is a struggle against fellow-travelers and "neutralists"—that is, against many European intellectuals; but it fails to see that even in terms of such an objective, it could be effective only if it fought with vigor and passion against the violations of freedom that have mounted up in the U.S., instead of querulously

minimizing their extent and gravity.

One of the crippling assumptions of the Committee has been that it would not intervene in cases where Stalinists or accused Stalinists were involved. It has rested this position on the academic argument, advanced most systematically by Sidney Hook, that Stalinists, being enemies of democracy, have no "right" to democratic privileges and that, consequently, no threat to civil liberties or cultural freedom is involved when they are deprived of these privileges. But the actual problem is not the metaphysical one of whether enemies of democracy (as the Stalinists clearly are) have a "right" to democratic privileges. What matters is that the drive against cultural freedom and civil liberties takes on the guise of anti-Stalinism. Thus, for example, such an outrage as depriving the veteran anti-Stalinist radical Max Shachtman of a passport with which to travel in Europe—a State Department act one may assume the ACCF would not approve of—is made possible or at least much easier by the precedents created in prosecutions and persecutions of the Stalinists. Given such facts, it becomes extremely difficult, if not impossible, to defend civil liberties without clearly defending the civil rights of Stalinists (which has nothing whatever to do with [defending] spies or sabotage). And this the Committee has failed to do.

But it has gone even further. In December 1952 it published a "Memorandum on the Visa Problem." This document was concerned with the entry of foreign intellectuals, trade unionists, etc., into the United States. The cases which gave rise to the Memorandum were, of course, those of

anti-Stalinists. In the course of the analysis, Section 212 (a) (28) of the McCarran Act, which bars visas strictly on the basis of political criteria, is discussed.

In this discussion the Committee assumes as a matter of course that it is perfectly legitimate to bar Stalinists (or members of the Communist party) from visas. There are recommendations for exceptions, for a sophisticated use of criteria, in the case of Stalinist front members, but the assumption is always that the mere holding of Stalinist *opinions* is automatically a sufficient ground for refusing a visa. The Committee objects, on the ground of vagueness, to a definition based on adherence to "economic, international, and governmental doctrines of world Communism or . . . of any other form of totalitarianism." It finds "adequate" criteria for exclusion of those who "advocate or teach or who are members or affiliated with any organization" that advocates or teaches the "violent over-

throw" of the government. Thereby, in effect, the Committee proposes its own version of the Smith Act, and abandons the long-standing and honorable position of American liberalism that such phrases as "violent overthrow," besides being vague and misleading, are insufficient grounds for political discrimination.

This curious defense of cultural freedom is capped with an even more curious statement:

We know that the visa problem was not created by arbitrary malice on the part of Congressmen or State Department officials. It is but one reflection, and not by far the largest, of the stresses and strains which this free country is suffering as a result of its determination to resist Communist totalitarianism.

As a piece of apologetics this statement is fantastic. As a description of reality it is far more accurate with regard to the stresses and strains within the Committee itself than within the United States.

Jack Rader

Midsummer Madness in Quebec

A visitor to Montreal this summer could be pardoned for being distracted from the wonders of Expo by the political antics of Charles de Gaulle.

That de Gaulle did not create the schism between French and British Canada, but came merely to exploit it, was apparent to everyone. While

the central government in Ottawa at first acted as if de Gaulle hardly existed and later seemed to wish only that he would go away, the Quebecers responded with emotional fervor. British Canada kept recalling that the Expo, and indeed even de Gaulle's visit itself, were part of the celebration of Canada's 100th anniversary,

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 1967 Congress for Cultural Freedom

THE CULTURAL COLD WALL

CHRISTOPHER LASCH

Mr. Lasch is in the Department of History, Northwestern University. He is the author of The American Liberals and the Russian Revolution; The New Radicalism in America, 1889-1963: The Intellectual as a Social Type. The article which follows will be included in Towards a New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History, edited by Barton Bernstein, to be published next spring by Pantheon Books.

Political activists in the sixties regard talk with suspicion—not without reason, since much of what is said publicly consists of lies. "May the Baby Jesus open your mind and shut your mouth." You drop out of society, or you try to revolutionize it; what you don't do is try to criticize it: American society is assumed to be impervious to criticism.

If American institutions, American politics and American foreign policy had been exposed to sustained criticism over a long period of time, it might be necessary to conclude that criticism had had no effect. But sustained criticism has barely begun, and it is too early to say that it has made no impression. It is true that the critics have not put an end to the war in Vietnam; but what did they expect? Public discussion for years had taken for granted that "Communist aggression" had to be resisted, even at the risk of nuclear war. It had taken for granted that "freedom" was engaged in a global struggle against Communist slavery, a struggle from which moral men could not hold themselves aloof. Intellectuals, who might have objected to these formulations of the issue, far from objecting to them, helped to give them general currency. Are we to conclude from this experience that thought has no effect on history? On the contrary, it has a radical and immediate effect. It is well known that an interpretation of history, shared by a whole generation, becomes a historical fact in its own right. In the fifties, an interpretation of history that defined the cold war as a struggle for cultural freedom deeply influenced events that followed.

Our situation today derives in part from the bankruptcy of social and political thought over the last five or six decades, and more specifically it derives from the bankruptcy of social and political thought during the fifties. American intellectuals, on a scale that is only now beginning to be understood, lent themselves in that time to purposes having nothing to do with the values they professed—purposes, indeed, that were diametrically opposed to them. This defection of the intellectuals goes a long way toward explaining the poverty of public discussion today.

Press and Academy

There are two kinds of intellectuals in the United States, journalists and academicians. The journalist, strictly conceived, is engaged in an imaginative act: he keeps a journal of contemporary events. Most daily journalism is now mass produced and has become, with honorable exceptions, nothing more than a job. Journalism in the strict sense survives for the most part in periodicals,

politico-literary reviews addressed to a limited readership but capable, nevertheless, of exercising a good deal of influence over the ways in which issues are formulated.

The academician is nowadays a specialist almost by definition, incapable of addressing himself to public questions except as an expert, in which capacity his services are eagerly sought by government. (Those who are unwilling to become experts either do not address themselves to public questions at all or become part-time journalists.) The university is so deeply enmeshed with government that the wonder is not that it has furnished so little criticism of official attitudes but that it has furnished any criticism at all. If the university has emerged as a focus of protest, that is not so much because some teachers (particularly in the arts and humanities) still retain a critical perspective, as because the same universities which function so well as branches of industry and government have proved incapable, by reason of their heavy investment in "research" and their bureaucratized structure, of providing a human environment for their students. The students' dissatisfaction with their own conditions spills over into politics; they see a connection, for instance, between the multi-versity and the technological war in Vietnam. Student protest, in turn, may waken a belated response in some of their teachers.

The other group of intellectuals—the journalists writing for magazines of opinion—live in an environment that has no built-in institutional links with national power; none at least, that are immediately obvious. It was from this quarter, in the fifties, that criticism of the cold war and its effects might have been expected. The defection of the literary intellectuals is not something which the condition of their working lives would have led one to expect; it is thus harder to account for than the defection of the academicians. In order to understand it, one must reconstruct in some detail the events of the early fifties, the period during which the anti-Communist mentality came to dominate the intellectual community; and there is no better way of getting into the pathology of that decade than by investigating the activities of the Congress for Cultural Freedom and its affiliate, the American Committee for Cultural Freedom. Both as symptom and as source, the campaign for "cultural freedom" revealed the degree to which the values held by intellectuals had become indistinguishable from the interests of the modern state—interests which intellectuals now served even while they maintained the illusion of detachment.

From the beginning the Congress for Cultural Freedom had a quasi-official character, even to outward appearances. It was organized in 1950 by Michael Josselson, formerly an officer in the Office of Strategic Services, and Melvin J. Lasky, who had earlier served in the American Information Services and as editor of *Der Monat*, a magazine sponsored by the United States High Commission in Germany. The decision to hold the first meeting of the Congress in West Berlin, an outpost of Western power in Communist East Europe and one of the principal foci and symbols of the cold war, fitted very well the official

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August 11, 1967

Dear Mr. Rusk:

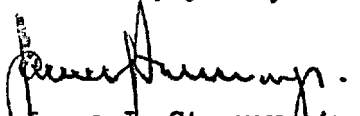
Enclosed with this letter is an advance proof of an article we are publishing early next month. I am sending it to you because I think it will be of particular interest to you.

Written by Christopher Lasch, this piece relates the history of the Congress for Cultural Freedom: its membership, its activities, and its relationships with the CIA and with Encounter magazine.

This story has, of course, been hinted at and given out piecemeal, but has never definitely or completely been told. Here it is.

Whether you find this piece thought-provoking (as I believe you will), or just plain provoking (as may be), your comments and reactions will be of great interest to us, and perhaps to our readers also.

Sincerely yours,


James J. Storrow, Jr.
Publisher

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ADVANCED PROOFS

Christopher Lasch - Galley 1

Political activists in the sixties regard talk with suspicion—no, without reason, since much of what is said is likely to consist of lies. "May the Baby Jesus open your mind and shut your mouth." You drop out of society, or you try to rationalize it; what you don't do is try to criticize it: American society is assumed to be impervious to criticism.

In American institutions, American politics and American foreign policy had been exposed to sustained criticism over a long period of time, it might be necessary to conclude that criticism had had no effect. But sustained criticism has barely begun, and it is too early to say that it has made an impression. It is true that the critics have not put an end to the war in Vietnam; but what did they expect? Public discussion for years had taken for granted that "Communist aggression" had to be resisted, even at the risk of nuclear war. It had taken for granted that "freedom" was engaged in a global struggle against Communist slavery, a struggle from which moral men could not hold themselves aloof. Intellectuals, who might have objected to these formulations of the issue, far from objecting to them, helped to give them general currency. Are we to conclude from this experience that thought has no effect on history? On the contrary, it has a radical and immediate effect. It is well known that an interpretation of history, shared by a whole generation, becomes a historical fact in its own right. In the fifties, an interpretation of history that defined the cold war as a struggle for cultural freedom deeply influenced events that followed.

Our situation today derives in part from the bankruptcy of social and political thought over the last five or six decades—and more specifically [it derives from the bankruptcy of social and political thought] during the fifties. American intellectuals, on a scale that is only now beginning to be understood, lent themselves in that time to purposes having nothing to do with the values they professed—purposes, indeed, that were diametrically opposed to them. This defection of the intellectuals goes a long way toward explaining the poverty of public discussion today.

Press and Academy

There are two kinds of intellectuals in the United States, journalists and academicians. The journalist, strictly conceived, is engaged in an imaginative act: he keeps a journal of contemporary events. Most daily journalism is now mass produced and has become, with honorable exceptions, nothing more than a job. Journalism in the strict sense survives for the most part in periodicals, politico-literary reviews addressed to a limited readership but capable, nevertheless, of exercising a good deal of influence over the ways in which issues are formulated.

The academician is nowadays a specialist almost by definition, incapable of addressing himself to public questions except as an expert, in which capacity his services are eagerly sought by government. (Those who are unwilling to be so used by government, and thus themselves to public, are regarded as "university professors.") The university is the place where the official attitudes of the society are formulated, and it is the place where the official attitudes are often most effectively defended. If the university has emerged as a focus of protest, that is not so much because some teachers (particularly in the

Christopher Lasch - Galley 2

The sponsors of the meeting included Eleanor Roosevelt, Upton Sinclair, the philosophers G. A. Borgese and A. J. Ayer, Walter Reuther, the French writer Suzanne Labin and Dr. Hans Thirring, a Viennese atomic scientist. Delegates attended from twenty-one countries, but the most conspicuous among them were militant anti-Communists (some of them also ex-Communists) from the European continent and from the United States: Arthur Koestler, Franz Borkenau, Lasky, Sidney Hook, James Burnham, James T. Farrell, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. A number of the themes that emerged from their speeches would become polemical staples in the following decade. One was the end of ideology, the assertion that conventional political distinctions had become irrelevant in the face of the need for a united front against Bolshevism. Arthur Koestler announced that "the words 'Socialism' and 'Capitalism,' 'Left' and 'Right' have today become virtually empty of meaning." Sidney Hook looked forward "to the era when references to 'Right,' 'Left,' and 'Center' will vanish from common usage as meaningless." Franz Borkenau made the same point and went on to explain the deeper sense in which ideology could be said to have died. "We are living," he said, in "the last phase of an ebbing revolutionary epoch" in which "the absurdity of the belief in perfect and logical social constructions" had been exposed for all to see. For more than a century utopian "extremes"—visions of total freedom competing with visions of total security—had "increasingly turned the history of the occident into a tragic bedlam." But having observed at first hand the devastating effects of utopianism, particularly in Russia, reasonable men had at last learned the importance of a more modest and pragmatic view of politics.

(References to Borkenau in the following discussion are based on a translation of his prepared address by G. L. Arnold which appeared in *The Nineteenth Century* for November, 1950. Borkenau also delivered an extemporaneous speech which was described by Trevor-Roper in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (July 20, 1950) as follows: "Pouring out his German sentences with hysterical speed and gestures, he screamed that he was a convert from communism and proud of it; that past guilt must be atoned for; that the ex-Communists alone understand communism and the means of resisting it; that communism could only mean perpetual war and civil war; and that it must be destroyed at once by uncompromising frontal attack. And yet, terrible though it was, this fanatical speech was less frightening than the hysterical German applause which greeted it. It was different from any other applause at that congress. It was an echo of Hitler's Nuremberg." Arnold charged that Trevor-Roper's account created "misleading impressions." "No one would have guessed from Mr. Trevor-Roper's report . . . that one of the calmest and weightiest contributions was made by Dr. Borkenau—in writing." In dealing with this latter speech, therefore, we are dealing with what passed for calm and weighty political analysis in 1950.)

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The other group of intellectuals—the journalists writing for magazines of opinion—live in an environment that has no built-in institutional links with national power; none at least, that are immediately obvious. It was from this quarter, in the fifties, that criticism of the cold war and its effects might have been expected. The defection of the literary intellectuals is not something which the condition of their working lives would have led one to expect; it is thus harder to account for than the defection of the academicians. In order to understand it, one must reconstruct in some detail the events of the early fifties, the period during which the anti-Communist mentality came to dominate the intellectual community; and there is no other way of getting into the pathology of that decade than by investigating the activities of the Congress for Cultural Freedom and its affiliate, the American Committee for Cultural Freedom. Both as symptom and as source, the campaign for "cultural freedom" revealed the degree to which the values held by intellectuals had become indistinguishable from the interests of the modern state—interests which intellectuals now served even while they maintained the illusion of detachment.

Politics of Freedom

From the beginning the Congress for Cultural Freedom had a quasi-official character, even to outward appearances. It was organized in 1950 by Michael Josselson, formerly an officer in the Office of Strategic Services, and Melvin J. Lasky, who had earlier served in the American Information Services and as editor of *Der Monat*, a magazine sponsored by the United States High Commission in Germany. The decision to hold the first meeting of the congress in West Berlin, an outpost of Western power in Communist East Europe and one of the principal foci and symbols of the cold war, fitted very well the official American policy of making Berlin a showcase of "freedom." The United Press reported in advance that "the five-day meeting will challenge the alleged freedoms of Soviet-dominated Eastern Europe and attempt to unmask the Soviet Union's and Soviet-sponsored 'peace' demonstrations as purely political maneuvers." H. R. Trevor-Roper, one of the British delegates, noted that "a political tone was set and maintained throughout the congress." Nobody would have objected to a political demonstration, he observed, if it had been avowed as such. The question was whether "it would have obtained all its sponsors or all its delegates if it had been correctly advertised."

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At the same time, the pragmatists who met at Berlin announced that in the present crisis a moral man could not remain aloof from the struggle of competing ideologies. Robert Montgomery, the American film actor, declared that "no artist who has the right to bear that title can be neutral in the battles of our time." Koestler said: "Man stands at a crossroads which only leaves the choice of this way or that." At such moments "the difference between the very clever and the simple in mind narrows almost to the vanishing point"; and only the "professional disease" of the intellectual, his fascination with logical subtleties and his "estrangement from reality," keeps him from seeing the need to choose between slavery and freedom.

An attack on liberal intellectualism, and on liberalism in general, ran through a number of speeches. Borkenau argued that totalitarianism grew dialectically out of liberalism. "The liberal utopia of absolute individual freedom found its counterpart in the Socialist utopia of complete individual security." With liberalism in decline, intellectuals looking for "a ready-made doctrine of salvation and a prefabricated paradise" turned in the twenties and thirties to communism and "permitted themselves to be led by the nose through Russia without noticing anything of the reality." During the Second World War—which Borkenau called "a second edition of the Popular Front"—even experienced politicians allowed themselves to be deceived by Stalin's professions of good faith. "Thus in the course of a quarter century communism ran a course which brought it in contact with every stratum of society, from extreme revolutionaries to ultra-conservatives." But this very pervasiveness, by another turn of Borkenau's dialectic, meant that "the entire body of Occidental society has received an increasingly strong protective inoculation against communism. Every new wave of Communist expansion led to a deepening of the anti-Communist current: from the ineffective opposition of small groups to the rise of an intellectual countercurrent, and finally to the struggle in the arena of world politics."

The attack on liberalism, together with the curious argument that exposure to communism was the only effective form of "inoculation" against it, points to another feature of the anti-Communist mentality as revealed at Berlin: a strong undercurrent of ex-communism, which led Trevor-Roper to describe the whole conference as "an alliance between . . . the ex-Communists among the delegates . . . and the German nationalists in the audience." Borkenau, Koestler, Burnham, Hook, Lasky and Farrell had all been Communists during the thirties, and it requires no special powers of discernment to see that the attack on communism in the fifties expressed itself in formulations that were themselves derived from the cruder sort of Marxist cant. Borkenau's defense of "freedom" for instance, rested not on a concern for institutional safeguards of free thought, let alone for the independence of critical thought from national power, but rather on an assertion of man's capacity to transcend the "narrow materialism" posited, according to Borkenau, by liberalism and socialism alike. The defense of freedom merged imperceptibly with a dogmatic attack on historical determinism. It is significant that Borkenau still regarded Leninism as a "great achievement"; not, however, because Lenin had contributed to the materialist interpretation of society but because Lenin rejected Marx's "fatalism" and converted socialism "into the free act of a determined, ruthless and opportunist elite." Elitism was one of the things that attracted intellectuals to Leninism in the first place.

ADVANCED PROOFS

Christopher Lasch - Galley 3

(more than to orthodox Marxism); and even after they had dissociated themselves from its materialist content, they clung to the congenial view of intellectuals as the vanguard of history and to the crude and simplified dialectic (of which Borkenau's speech is an excellent example, and James Burnham's *The Managerial Revolution* another) which passed for Marxism in left-wing circles of the thirties.

These things not only demonstrate the amazing persistence and tenacity of the Bolshevik habit of mind even among those who now rejected whatever was radical and liberating in Bolshevism; they also suggest the way in which a certain type of anti-Communist intellectual continued to speak from a point of view "alienated" from bourgeois liberalism. Anti-communism, for such men as Koestler and Borkenau, represented a new stage in their running polemic against bourgeois sentimentality and weakness, bourgeois "utopianism" and bourgeois materialism. In denouncing "twenty years of treason" to an alliance between liberals and Communists, the anti-Communist intellectuals put forth their own version of the right-wing ideology that was gaining adherents, in a popular and still crude form, in all the countries of the West, particularly in Germany and the United States. In the fifties, this high-level McCarthyism (as we shall see) sometimes served as a defense of McCarthyism proper. More often it was associated with official efforts to pre-empt a modified McCarthyism while denouncing McCarthy as a demagogue. In both capacities it contributed measurably to the cold war.

First Aid for Britain

The Berlin meetings, meanwhile, broke up in a spirit of rancor which must have alarmed those who had hoped for a "united front" against Bolshevism. A resolution excluding totalitarian sympathizers "from the Republic of the Spirit" was withdrawn ("Professor Hook and Mr. Burnham," according to Trevor-Roper, "protesting to the end"). That the opposition came largely from the English and Scandinavian delegates was significant for two reasons. In the first place, it showed how closely the division of opinion among intellectuals coincided with the distribution of power in the world. In the second place, the reluctance of the British delegates to join a rhetorical crusade against communism seems to have suggested to the officers of the Congress for Cultural Freedom that British intellectuals needed to be approached more energetically than before; if they were not to lapse completely into the heresy of neutralism.

The founding of *Encounter* magazine in 1953, with Lasky and Stephen Spender at its head, was the official answer to the "anti-Americanism," as it was now called, which disfigured the English cultural scene. The editors of *Encounter* addressed themselves with zeal to its destruction.

The new magazine lost no time in establishing its point of view. Its characteristic tone of sure opposition. The very first issue contained a spirited polemic on the Rosenberg case by Leslie Fiedler, whose uncanny instinct for cultural fashions, combined with a gift for racy language ("Come Back to the Raft Ag'in, Huck Honey"), made him a suitable spokesman for cultural freedom in the fifties. Fiedler had already, in "Hiss, Chambers, and

Christopher Lasch - Galley 4

the Congress for Cultural Freedom (except perhaps for *Censorship*, which recently expired), consistently approved the broad lines and even the details of American policy, until the war in Vietnam shattered the cold-war coalition and introduced a new phase of American politics.

Writers in *Encounter* denounced the Soviet intervention in Hungary without drawing the same conclusions about the Bay of Pigs. The magazine published Theodore Draper's diatribes against Castro, which laid a theoretical basis for American intervention by depicting Castro as a Soviet puppet and a menace to the Western Hemisphere. Writers in *Encounter* had little if anything to say about the American coup in Guatemala, the CIA's intervention in Iran, its role in the creation of Diem, or the American support of Trujillo; but these same writers regarded Communist "colonialism" with horror. The plight of the Communist satellites wrung their hearts; that of South Korea and South Vietnam left them unmoved. They denounced racism in the Soviet Union while ignoring it in South Africa and the United States until it was no longer possible to ignore it, at which time (1962) *Encounter* published an issue on the "Negro Crisis," the general tone of which was quite consistent with the optimism then being conveyed by the Kennedy administration.

In 1958, Dwight Macdonald submitted an article to *Encounter*—"America! America!"—in which he wondered whether the intellectuals' rush to rediscover their native land (one of the obsessive concerns of the fifties, at almost every level of cultural life) had not produced a somewhat uncritical acquiescence in the American *imperium*. A magazine devoted to the defense of intellectual freedom might have welcomed a piece of criticism on so timely a subject, all the more timely inasmuch as some of the more prominent of the rediscoverers of America (Leslie Fiedler, for example) had also written for *Encounter*. Instead, the editors asked Macdonald to publish his article elsewhere. In the correspondence that followed, according to Macdonald, "the note sounded more than once . . . [was] that publication of my article might embarrass the congress in its relations with the American foundations which support it." When the incident became public, Nicholas Nabokov, secretary general of the congress, pointed in triumph to the fact that Macdonald's article had eventually appeared in *Tempo Presente*, an Italian periodical sponsored by the congress. That proved, he said, that the Paris headquarters of the congress did not dictate editorial policy to the magazines it supported. But the question was not whether the Paris office dictated to the editors; the question was whether the editors took it upon themselves to avoid displeasing the sponsors, whoever they were, standing behind the Congress for Cultural Freedom. The reference to "American foundations," in their correspondence with Macdonald, seemed to suggest that the editors exercised a degree of self-censorship, partly conscious and partly unconscious, that made any other form of censorship unnecessary. It was possible that they had so completely assimilated the official point of view that they were no longer aware of the way in which their writings had come to serve as rationalizations of "American world power."

Attention to India

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The new magazine lost no time in establishing its point of view and its characteristic tone of ultra-sophistication. The very first issue contained a spirited polemic on the Rosenberg case by Leslie Fiedler, whose uncanny instinct for cultural fashions, combined with a gift for racy language ("Come Back to the Raft Ag'in, Huck Honey"), made him a suitable spokesman for cultural freedom in the fifties. Fiedler had already, in "Hiss, Chambers, and the Age of Innocence," exhorted intellectuals to accept their common guilt in the crimes of Alger Hiss. With an equal disregard for the disputed facts of the case, he now went on to berate sentimentalists who still believed the Rosenbergs to be innocent. "As far as I am concerned, the legal guilt of the Rosenbergs was clearly established at their trial." From the fact of their guilt, Fiedler spun an intricate web of theory intended to show, once again, what a pervasive and deplorable influence Stalinism had exercised, for twenty years, over the life of the mind in America. Then years later it turned out that the central document which had been used to convict the Rosenbergs was a crude forgery.

Even while proclaiming the "end of innocence," Fiedler was performing feats of gullibility that rivaled and even excelled the ones he attacked. Again and again, the professional cold warriors were taken in by just such "evidence" as that which convicted the Rosenbergs—evidence brought forward to prove a Communist conspiracy in the United States and a Communist conspiracy to take over the world; or on the other hand, to prove that, whereas Soviet intellectuals lived under bureaucratic control, American intellectuals arrived at their judgments quite independently of official interference. In the latter context, "innocence," the end of which Fiedler somewhat prematurely celebrated, could hardly go further than that of certain editors of *Encounter*, in the matter of the magazine's financing.

For a group of intellectuals who prided themselves on their realism, skepticism and detachment (qualities they regularly displayed in cogent analyses of the deplorable state of affairs in Russia), the editors of *Encounter* and their contributors showed a surprisingly unshakeable faith in the good intentions of the American Government. It was inconceivable to them that American officials were not somehow immune to the temptations of great power. The defense of "cultural freedom" was wholly entwined, in their minds, with the defense of the "free world" against communism. Criticism of the men who presided over the free world—even mild criticism—tended automatically to exclude itself from their minds as a subject for serious discussion. These men might make occasional mistakes; but there could be no question of their devotion to freedom.

"*Encounter*," wrote Denis Brogan (a frequent contributor) in 1963, "has been the organ of protest against the *trahison des clercs*." Julian Benda's point, in the book from which Brogan took this phrase, was that intellectuals should serve truth, not power. *Encounter's* claim to be the defender of intellectual values in a world dominated by ideology rested, therefore, on its vigorous criticism of all influences tending to undermine critical thought, whether they emanated from the Soviet Union or from the United States. This is indeed the claim that the editors and friends of *Encounter* have made. As we shall see, the cold-war liberals have not hesitated to criticize American popular culture or popular politics, but the question is whether they have criticized the American Government or any other aspect of the world. The fact is that *Encounter*, like other journals sponsored by

spondence with Macdonald, seemed to suggest that the editors exercised a degree of self-censorship, partly conscious and partly unconscious, that made any other form of censorship unnecessary. It was possible that they had so completely assimilated the official point of view that they were no longer aware of the way in which their writings had come to serve as rationalizations of American world power.

Mission to India

The Congress for Cultural Freedom, growing directly out of the postwar power struggle in Europe, centered most of its attention on Europe, as did American foreign policy in the fifties, but it did not neglect the rest of the world. In 1951 it sponsored a large conference in India, attended by such luminaries as Denis de Rougemont, W. H. Auden, Stephen Spender, Ignazio Silone, Louis Fischer, Norman Thomas and of course, James Burnham, without whom, in those early days, no gathering of the congress was complete. The *Times* correspondent understated the case when he wrote that "many of the delegates are said to be former Communists, who have become critics." He noted further: "The meeting has been described as an answer to the 'World Peace Conference' supported by the Soviet Union." (The Berlin conference of the year before, it will be recalled, was also conceived as a response to Soviet "peace propaganda." Its immediate stimulus was a series of peace congresses in East Germany.)

The delegates meeting in India hoped to bring home to the nonaligned nations the immorality of neutralism. Transferred to a non-Western setting, however, the reiteration of this theme, which had gone down so well with the Berliners, led to an "unexpected undertone of dissatisfaction," according to the *Times*. When Denis de Rougemont "compared the present Indian neutrality with that of the lamb that is neutral between the wolf and the shepherd," one of the Indian delegates drew from the fable a moral quite different from the one intended. He pointed out that the shepherd, having saved the lamb from the wolf, "shears the lamb and possibly eats it." Many Indians boycotted the congress because it had been "branded widely as a U.S. propaganda device." The Indian Government took pains to withhold official sanction from the meeting, and insisted that it be held, not as intended in the capital, New Delhi, but in Bombay.

It seemed at times that the Indians did not want to be free. Robert Trumbull, a correspondent of the *Times*, tried to reassure his readers about their "peculiar" point of view. The Indian speakers weren't really neutralists, they were only "manifesting the common Indian oratorical tendency to stray from the real point of the issue in hand." A dispassionate observer might have concluded that they understood the point all too well.

The congress, having in any case suffered a rebuff, made no more direct attacks on neutralism in the Third World. In 1958 it held a conference on the problems of developing nations, but the tone of this meeting differed noticeably from the one in Bombay. (It was on the second of these occasions, incidentally, that Richard Rovere wrote the memorable description of the Congress for Cultural Freedom as "a worthy organization, anti-Communist and generally libertarian in outlook and associated with no government.") The conference, meeting on the isle of Rhodes, produced no notable results. Probably it was not expected to have any. Already the global struggle for cultural freedom seemed to have entered a new phase, in which the crudely propagandist flavor of the Berlin and

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new "sophistication"—about neutralism, for example—that heralded the coming of the New Frontier. A new official style was emerging, faithfully reflected in the Congress for Cultural Freedom—urbane, cool and bureaucratic. The old slogans had become passé (even as the old policies continued). The union of intellect and power deceptively presented itself as an apparent liberalization of official attitudes, an apparent relaxation of American anti-communism. McCarthyism was dead and civilized conversation in great demand. The Congress for Cultural Freedom no longer proselytized; to everyone's delight, it sponsored conversation—bounded, of course, by the limits of rational discourse, the agreed-upon end of ideology but with no other visible strings attached. The congress drew people to Rhodes (a pleasant place to find oneself in the middle of an American winter) and encouraged them to participate in a highly civilized, non-ideological discussion of economic development—a gratifying experience for everybody concerned, all the more so since it made so few demands on the participants. Expansive and tolerant, the congress asked only that intellectuals avail themselves of the increasing opportunities for travel and enlightenment that the defense of freedom made possible.

Home Front: Rancors

Shortly after the founding of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, its more active members set up subsidiaries in various countries. The American Committee for Cultural Freedom was founded in 1951 by Burnham, Farrell, Schlesinger, Hook and others, to hold annual forums on such topics as "The Ex-Communist: His Role in a Democracy" and "Anti-Americanism in Europe"; to "counteract the influence of mendacious Communist propaganda" (for instance, "the Communist assertion that the Rosenbergs were victimized innocents"); to defend academic freedom; and in general "to resist the lengthening shadow of thought-control." The committee had a limited though illustrious membership, never exceeding 600, and it subsisted on grants from the congress and on public contributions. It repeatedly made public appeals for money, even announcing, in 1957, that it was going out of business for lack of funds. It survived; but ever since that time it has been semi-moribund, for reasons that will become clearer in a moment.

Sidney Hook was the first chairman of the ACCF. He was succeeded in 1952 by George S. Counts of Teachers College, Columbia, who was followed in 1954 by Robert Gorham Davis of Smith. James T. Farrell, who took Davis' place in the same year, resigned in 1956 after a quarrel with other members of the committee. Traveling in the Third World, he had come to the conclusion that foreign aid was a waste of money and that the Indians, for instance, believed that their best policy was "to flirt with Communists, insult us and perhaps get more money out of us." In a letter written from Turkey and published in the *Chicago Tribune*, Farrell insisted that American aid should be given on a condition that the recipients join the United States "a truly honest partnership in freedom"; otherwise Americans "should retire to our own shores" and "go it alone."

Diana Trilling, chairman of the executive board of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, attacked Farrell's letter on the ground that it "sullied his long record as a champion of understanding among the free peoples of the world." Anyone expressing such opinions, she said, was "not suited" for the chairmanship of the ACCF. Farrell, in replying, said that "his travels had convinced him that he and other members had been 'wrong' in earlier struggles against Paris office policies." His statement, incidentally, suggests that the Paris office sometimes tried to enforce its own views on subsidiary organizations, in

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phasizing military aid in favor of "development," refraining from attacks on neutralism, and presenting itself as the champion of democratic revolution in the undeveloped world.

The practical result of the change was a partial *détente*, with communism in Europe and a decidedly more aggressive policy in the rest of the world (made possible by that *détente*), of which the most notable products were the Bay of Pigs, the Dominican intervention and the war in Vietnam. The particular brand of anti-communism that flourished in the fifties grew out of the postwar power struggles in Europe and out of traumas of 20th-century history—fascism, Stalinism, the crisis of liberal democracy—all of which had concerned Europe, not Asia. The anti-communism of the sixties focused on the Third World and demanded another kind of rhetoric.

Heresy or Conspiracy

During its active years, however, the ACCF, represented a coalition of liberals and reactionaries who shared a conspiratorial view of communism and who agreed, moreover, that the Communist conspiracy had spread through practically every level of American society. (It is the adherence of liberals to these dogmas that shows how much they had conceded to the right-wing view of history.) Sidney Hook's "Heresy, Yes—Conspiracy, No!" published in *The New York Times Magazine* in 1950-51 and distributed as a pamphlet by the ACCF, set forth the orthodox position and tried to distinguish it (not very successfully) from that of the Right, as well as from "ritualistic liberalism." Heresy—the open expression of dissenting opinions—had to be distinguished, according to Hook, from secret movements seeking to attain their ends "not by normal political or educational processes but by playing outside the rules of the game." This distinction did not lead Hook to conclude that communism, insofar as it was a heresy as opposed to a conspiracy, was entitled to constitutional protection. On the contrary, he argued that communism was a conspiracy by its very nature—a point he sought to establish by quotations from Lenin and Stalin, which purportedly revealed a grand design for world conquest. Since they were members of an international conspiracy—servants of a foreign power—Communists could not expect to enjoy the same liberties enjoyed by other Americans.

The American Committee's official position on academic freedom started from the same premise. "A member of the Communist Party has transgressed the canons of academic responsibility, has engaged his intellect to servility, and is therefore professionally disqualified from performing his functions as scholar and teacher." The committee on academic freedom (Counts, Hook, Arthur O. Lovejoy and Paul R. Hays) characteristically went on to argue that the matter of Communists should be left "in the hands of the colleges, and their faculties." "There is no justification for a Congressional committee to concern itself with the question of academic freedom meant self-determination for the academic community. The full implications of this position will be explored in due time.

"Ritualistic liberals," according to Hook, not only failed to distinguish between heresy and conspiracy, they helped to "weaken the moral case of Western democracy against Communist totalitarianism" by deploring witch hunts. Hook, like many liberals in the ACCF, essentially endorsed James Burnham's contention that this issue was a Communist diversion, conjured up to divide the forces of anti-communism. Talk of witch hunts, he argued, gave the unfortunate impression that America was "on the verge of fascism."

He conceded that some demagogues—he tacitly refrained from naming them—sought to discredit unpopular reforms by unfairly labeling them Communist. But the

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Diana Trilling, chairman of the executive board of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, attacked Farrell's letter on the ground that it "sullied his long record as a champion of understanding among the free peoples of the world." Anyone expressing such opinions, she said, was "not suited" for the chairmanship of the ACCF. Farrell, in resigning, said that "his travels had convinced him that he and other members had been 'wrong' in earlier struggles against Paris office policies." His statement, incidentally, suggests that the Paris office sometimes tried to enforce its own views on subsidiary organizations, in spite of its disclaimers. It also shows—what should already be apparent—that the congress in its early period took an exceptionally hard line on neutralism.

Farrell's resignation, along with other events, signaled the breakdown of the coalition on which the American Committee was based, a coalition of moderate liberals and reactionaries (both groups including a large number of ex-Communists) held together by their mutual obsession with the Communist conspiracy. James Burnham was ousted from the ACCF at about the same time. Earlier Burnham had resigned as a member of the advisory board of *Partisan Review* (which was then and still is sponsored by the committee) in a dispute with the editors over McCarthyism. Burnham approved of McCarthy's actions and held that the attack upon him was a "diversionary" issue created by Communists. William Phillips and Philip Rahv, adopting a favorite slogan of the cold war to their own purposes, announced that there was no room on *Partisan Review* for "neutralism" about McCarthy.

Originally, the ACCF took quite literally the assertion, advanced by Koestler and others at Berlin, that the Communist issue overrode conventional distinctions between Left and Right. Right-wingers like Burnham, Farrell, Ralph de Toledano, John Chamberlain, John Dos Passos, and even Whittaker Chambers consorted with Schlesinger, Hook, Irving Kristol, Daniel Bell and other liberals. In the early fifties, this uneasy alliance worked because the liberals generally took positions that conceded a good deal of ground to the Right, if they were not indistinguishable from those of the Right. But the end of the Korean War and the censure of McCarthy in 1954 created a slightly less oppressive air in which the right-wing rhetoric of the early fifties seemed increasingly inappropriate to political realities. Now that McCarthy was dead as a political force, the liberals courageously attacked him, thereby driving the Right out of the Committee for Cultural Freedom.

The ACCF and its parent, the Congress for Cultural Freedom, had taken shape in a period of the cold war when official anti-communism had not clearly distinguished itself, rhetorically, from the anti-communism of the Right. In a later period official liberalism, having taken over essential features of the rightist world-view, belatedly dissociated itself from the cruder and blatantly reactionary type of anti-communism, and now pursued the same anti-Communist policies in the name of anti-imperialism and progressive change. Once again, the Kennedy administration contributed decisively to the change of style, placing more emphasis on "counterinsurgency" than on military

and Paul H. Hays, characteristically went on to argue that the matter of Communists should be left "in the hands of the colleges and their faculties." "There is no justification for the question." Academic freedom meant self-determination for the academic community. The full implications of this position will be explored in due time.

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He conceded that some demagogues—he tactfully refrained from naming them—sought to discredit unpopular reforms by unfairly labeling them Communist. But the important point was that these activities were not the official policy of "our government," they were the actions of untutored individuals concerning themselves with mat-education, for example, or the federal withholding tax, as evidence of Communist subversion—an absurdity which suggested to Hook, not the inherent absurdity of the anti-Communist ideology but the absurdity of of untutored individuals' concerning themselves with matters best left to experts. "A community has a right to decide whether it wishes to support a medical system or a school system. But it would be absurd to try to settle, by the pressures of the market place, what medical theories should guide medical practice or what educational theories should guide educational practice." Likewise it was absurd to argue that a withholding tax on wages was "a sign of a police state." "There may be relevant arguments against any general or specific form of tax withholding, but they are of a technical economic nature and have absolutely nothing to do with a police state."

Once again, the student of these events is struck by the way in which ex-Communists seem always to have retained the worst of Marx and Lenin and to have discarded the best. The elitism which once glorified intellectuals as a revolutionary *avant-garde* now glorifies them as experts and social technicians. On the other hand, Marx's insistence that political issue be seen in their social context—his insistence, for example, that questions of taxation are not "technical" questions but political questions the solutions to which reflect the type of social organization in which they arise—this social determinism, which makes Marx's ideas potentially so useful as a method of social analysis, has been sloughed off by Hook without a whim. These reflections lead one to the conclusion, once more, that intellectuals were more attracted to Marxism in the first place as an elitist and anti-democratic ideology than as a means of analysis which provided, not answers, but the beginnings of a critical theory of society.

Hook's whole line of argument, with its glorification of experts and its attack on amateurs, reflected one of the dominant values of the modern intellectual—his acute sense of himself as a professional with a vested interest in technical solutions to political problems. Leave education to the educators and taxation to the tax lawyers. Hook's attack on "cultural vigilantism" paralleled the academic interpretation of McCarthyism as a form of populism and a form of anti-intellectualism, except that it did not even go so far as to condemn McCarthyism itself; instead, it focused attention on peripheral issues like progressive education and the withholding tax.

Some liberals, in fact, specifically defended McCarthy.

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Irving Kristol's notorious article in *Commentary* ("Civil Liberties: A Study in Confusion") has been quoted many times to show how scandalously the anti-Communist Left allied itself with the Right. Kristol's article was a scandal, but it was no more a scandal than the apparently more moderate position which condemned unauthorized anti-communism while endorsing the official variety. By defining the issue as "cultural vigilantism," the anti-Communist intellectuals lent themselves to the dominant drive of the modern state—not only to eliminate the private use of violence (vigilantism) but to discredit all criticism which does not come from officially recognized experts ("cultural vigilantism"). The attack of vigilantism played directly into the state's hands. The government had a positive interest in suppressing McCarthy, not because of any solicitude for civil liberties but because McCarthy's unauthorized anti-communism competed with and disrupted official anti-Communist activities like the *Voice of America*. This point was made again and again during the Army-McCarthy hearings. (Indeed the fact that it was the Army that emerged as McCarthy's most powerful antagonist is itself suggestive.) The same point dominated the propaganda of the ACCF: unofficial anti-communism actually weakened the nation in its struggle with communism. "Government agencies," said Hook, "find their work hampered by the private fevers of cultural vigilantism which have arisen like a rash from the anti-Communist mood." "Constant vigilance," he added, "does not require private citizens to usurp the functions of agencies entrusted with the task of detection and exposure."

In effect—though they would have denied it—the intellectuals of the ACCF defined cultural freedom as whatever best served the interests of the United States Government. Vigilantism was bad because it competed with the experts; also because it blackened the image of the United States abroad. When James Wechsler was dropped from a television program, *The New Leader* (a magazine which consistently took the same positions as the ACCF) wrote: "This lends substance to the Communist charge that America is hysteria-ridden." After McCarthy's attack on the *Voice of America*, even Sidney Hook criticized McCarthy because of "the incalculable harm he is doing to the reputation of the United States abroad." The ACCF officially condemned McCarthy's investigation of the *Voice of America*. "The net effect, at this crucial moment, has been to frustrate the very possibility of the United States embarking on a program of psychological warfare against world communism." A few months later, the ACCF announced the appointment of Sol Stein as its executive director. Stein had been a writer and political affairs analyst for the *Voice of America*. He was succeeded in 1956 by Norman Jacobs, chief political commentator of the *Voice of America* and head of its Central Radio Features Branch from 1948 to 1955.

The Sincerity Test

While avoiding a principled attack on McCarthyism, the ACCF kept up a running fire on "anti-anti-communism." (It was characteristic of the period that issues so often presented themselves in this sterile form and that positions were formulated not with regard to the substance of a question but with regard to an attitude or "posture" which it was deemed desirable to hold.) In January, 1953, the ACCF handed down a directive setting out the grounds on which it was permissible to involve oneself in the Rosenberg case. "[The] pre-eminent fact of the Rosenbergs' guilt must be openly acknowledged before any appeal for clemency can be regarded as having been made in good faith. Those who allow the Communists to make use of their name in such a way as to permit

ACCF denied their right to take them. Arthur Miller in 1957 wrote a statement condemning political interference with art in the Soviet Union. The ACCF did not congratulate him; it asked why he had not taken the same position in 1949. The committee also noted that Miller, in any case, had made an unforgivable mistake: he had criticized political interference with art not only in the Soviet Union but in the United States, thereby implying that the two situations were comparable. American incidents, the committee declared, were "episodic violations of the tradition of political and cultural freedom in the United States," whereas "the official government policy" of the USSR was to "impose a 'party line' in all fields of art, culture and science, and enforcing such a line with sanctions ranging from imprisonment to exile to loss of job." Having dutifully rapped Miller's knuckles, the ACCF then went on to make use of his statement by challenging the Soviet Government to circulate it in Russia.

Where the Chips Fell

In 1955 a *New York Times* editorial praised the ACCF for playing a vital role in "the struggle for the loyalty of the world's intellectuals"—in itself a curious way of describing the defense of cultural freedom. The *Times* went on to make the same claim that was so frequently made by the committee itself: "The group's authority to speak for freedom against Communist slavery has been enhanced by its courageous fight against those threatening our own civil liberties from the Right." We have already noted that the committee's quarrel with the Right, even though it finally led to the departure of the right-wing members of the committee, was far from "courageous." Even when it found itself confronted with cultural vigilantism in its most obvious forms, the committee stopped short of an unambiguous defense of intellectual freedom. In 1955, for instance, Muhlenberg College canceled a Charlie Chaplin film festival under pressure from a local post of the American Legion. The ACCF protested that "while it is perfectly clear that Chaplin tends to be pro-Soviet and anti-American in his political attitudes, there is no reason why we should not enjoy his excellent movies, which have nothing to do with Communist totalitarianism." This statement left the disturbing implication that if Chaplin's films could be regarded as political, the ban would have been justified. The assertion that art had nothing to do with politics was the poorest possible ground on which to defend cultural freedom.

But whatever the nature of the ACCF's critique of vigilantism, a better test of its "authority to speak for freedom" would have been its willingness to criticize official activities in the United States—the real parallel to Soviet repression. (In the Soviet Union attacks of vigilantism are doubtless not only not proscribed but encouraged. It is attacks on Soviet officials that are not permitted.) It is worth examining, therefore, the few occasions on which the ACCF expressed even the slightest disapproval of

In March, 1955, the committee criticized a post-office ban on *Pravda* and *Izvestia* as "unreasonable and ineffective in dealing with the Communist conspiracy." A year later the committee deplored the Treasury Department's raid on the office of *The Daily Worker*. "However much we abominate *The Daily Worker*, we must protest even this much interference with the democratic right to publish freely." The ACCF criticized the Agriculture Department's dismissal of Wolf Ladejinsky and the Atomic Energy Commission's persecution of Oppenheimer, in both cases arguing that the victims had established themselves in recent years as impeccably anti-Communist. On one occasion the ACCF attacked the U.S. Information Agency because it had canceled an art show in response

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In 1954, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee sponsored a conference at Princeton, at which Albert Einstein, along with Corliss Lamont, I. F. Stone, Dirk Struik, and others, urged intellectuals not to cooperate with "witch-hunting" Congressional committees. Sol Stein immediately announced that the ACCF opposed any "exploitation" of academic freedom and civil liberties "by persons who are at this late date still sympathetic to the cause of the Soviet Union." Following its usual practice the ACCF proceeded to lay down a standard to which any "sincere" criticism of American life, even of McCarthyism, had to conform. "The test of any group's sincerity is whether it is opposed to threats of freedom anywhere in the world and whether it is concerned about the gross suppression of civil liberties and academic freedom behind the Iron Curtain. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has not met that test." The validity of criticism, in other words, depended not so much on its substance as on its adherence to a prescribed ritual of dissent—a ritual, one can see, which had a special significance for ex-Communists because it required the critic first of all to purge himself by denouncing the crimes of Stalinism, but which invariably served to blunt criticism of the United States.

On another occasion, the ACCF tried to plant with the New York World Telegram and Sun a story, already circulated by The New Leader, that a certain liberal journalist was a "Soviet espionage agent." Sol Stein called the city desk with what he described as a "Junior Alger Hiss" story. The reporter who took the call asked whether the proper place to determine the truth of these charges was not a court of law. Stein replied, in his reporter's words, that "libel suits were a Communist trick to destroy opposition by forcing it to bear the expense of trial." The reporter then asked whether the ACCF was "upholding the right of people to call anyone a Communist without being subject to libel suits." Stein said: "You misunderstand the context of the times. Many reckless charges are being made today. But when the charges are documented, the committee believes you have the right to say someone is following the Communist line without being brought into court." The reporter asked if Stein had any proof that the journalist in question was a Soviet spy. Stein said no, "but we have mountains of material that show he consistently follows the Soviet line."

When they took positions of which the ACCF disapproved, the Communists were Communists, too. When they took positions favorable to the Soviet Union, the

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On the other hand, when 360 citizens petitioned the Supreme Court to repeal the 1950 Internal Security Act (which created the Subversive Activities Control Board), James T. Farrell issued a statement for the ACCF calling the petitions "naive," accusing them of a "whitewash" of the Communist Party, and declaring if freedom were left in their hands "it would have no future."

The infrequency of complaints against American officials, together with the triviality of the issues that called them forth—as contrasted with the issues against which other protested out of their "naivete"—show that the anti-Communist liberals cannot claim to have defended cultural freedom in the United States with the same consistency and vigor with which they defended it in Russia. In the first place, they concerned themselves with the actions of vigilantes at a time when the gravest threat to freedom came from the state. In the second place, even the attack on vigilantism was halfhearted; it was only when McCarthy moved against the Voice of America that the ACCF criticized him at all, and most of the criticism came after McCarthy had already been censured by the Senate. Claiming to be the vanguard of the struggle for cultural freedom, the anti-Communist intellectuals in reality brought up the rear.

Finally, they based their positions (such positions as they took) on grounds that had nothing to do with cultural freedom. They condemned vigilantism on the grounds that it embarrassed the United States abroad and interfered with the government's efforts to root out the Communist conspiracy at home. They criticized interference with art not because they thought that the best art inevitably subverts conventions (including political ones) and is valuable for that very reason but because they believed, on the contrary, that art and politics could be "divorced."* They defended academic freedom for

*The popularity of the "new criticism," with its insistence that a work of art can be understood without any reference to the author's life, was symptomatic of the cultural climate of the fifties.

non-Communists only, and even for non-Communists they defended it on the ground that educators, as experts in a complicated technique, ought to be left alone to manage their own affairs.

In all of this the cold war intellectuals revealed themselves as the servants of bureaucratic power, and it was

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not altogether surprising, years later, to find that the relation of intellectuals to power was even closer than it had seemed at the time.

The Professional and the State

As a group, intellectuals had achieved a semi-official status which assigned them professional responsibility for the machinery of education and for cultural affairs in general. Within this sphere—within the schools, the universities, the theatre, the concert hall and the politico-literary magazines—they had achieved both autonomy and affluence, as the social value of their services became apparent to the government, to corporations and to the foundations.

Professional intellectuals had become indispensable to society and to the state (in ways which neither the intellectuals nor even the state always perceived), partly because of the increasing importance of education—especially the need for trained experts—and partly because the cold war seemed to demand that the United States compete with communism in the cultural sphere as well as in every other. The modern state, among other things, is an engine of propaganda, alternately manufacturing crises and claiming to be the only instrument which can effectively deal with them. This propaganda, in order to be successful, demands the cooperation of writers, teachers and artists not as paid propagandists or state-censored time servers but as “free” intellectuals capable of policing their own jurisdictions and of enforcing acceptable standards of responsibility within the various intellectual professions.

A system like this presupposes two things: a high degree of professional consciousness among intellectuals, and general economic affluence which frees the patrons of intellectual life from the need to account for the money they spend on culture. Once these conditions exist, as they have existed in the United States for some time, intellectuals can be trusted to censor themselves, and crude “political” influence over intellectual life comes to seem passe.

Only when they win acceptance for pure research do intellectuals establish themselves as masters in their own house, free from the nagging public scrutiny that naively expects to see the value of intellectual activity measured in immediate practical applications. This battle having been won, the achievement of “academic freedom” is comparatively easy, since academic freedom presents itself (as we have seen) not as a defense of the necessarily subversive character of good intellectual work but as a prerequisite for pure research. Moreover, the more intellectual purity identifies itself with “value-free” investigations, the more it empties itself of political content and the easier it is for public officials to tolerate it. The “scientific” spirit, spreading from the natural sciences to social studies, tends to drain the latter of their critical potential while at the same time making them ideal instruments of bureaucratic control.

In the Soviet Union, intellectuals are insufficiently professionalized to be able effectively to resist political control. As one would expect in a developing society, a strong commitment to applied knowledge mitigates against the development of “pure” standards which is one of the chief prerequisites of professionalization.

The high status enjoyed by American intellectuals depends on their having convinced their backers in government and industry that “basic research” produces better results in the long run than mindless empiricism. But in order for intellectuals to win this battle it was necessary not only to convince themselves of these things but to overcome a narrowly utilitarian approach to knowledge. The advancement of pure learning on a

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university is free, but it has purged itself of subversive elements. The literary intellectuals are free, but they use their freedom to propagandize for the state.

The freedom of American intellectuals as a professional class blinds them to their freedom. It leads them to confuse the political interests of intellectuals as an official minority with the progress of intellect. Their freedom from overt political control (particularly from “vigilantes”) blinds them to the way in which the “knowledge industry” has been incorporated into the state and the military-industrial complex. Since the state exerts so little censorship over the cultural enterprises it subsidizes—since on the contrary it supports basic research, congresses for cultural freedom, and various liberal organizations—intellectuals do not see that these activities serve the interests of the state, not the interests of the intellect. All they can see is the absence of external censorship; that and that alone proves to their satisfaction that Soviet intellectuals are slaves and American intellectuals free men. Meanwhile their own self-censorship makes them eligible for the official recognition and support that sustain the illusion that the American Government, unlike the Soviet Government, greatly values the life of the mind. The circle of illusion is thus complete; and even the revelation that the campaign for “cultural freedom” was itself the creation and tool of the state has not yet torn away the veil.

The Intellectual Front

That there is no necessary contradiction between the interests of organized intellectuals and the interests of American world power, that the intellectual community can be trusted to police itself and should be left free from annoying pressures from outside, that dissenting opinion within the framework of agreement on cold-war fundamentals not only should be tolerated but can be turned to effective propaganda use abroad—all these things were apparent, in the early fifties, to the more enlightened members of the governmental bureaucracy; but they were far from being universally acknowledged even in the bureaucracy, much less in Congress or in the country as a whole. “Back in the early 1950s,” says Thomas W. Braden, the man who supervised the cultural activities of the CIA, “. . . the idea that Congress would have approved many of our projects was about as likely as the John Birch Society’s approving Medicare.” There was resistance to these projects in the CIA itself. To a man of Braden’s background and inclinations, the idea of supporting liberal and Socialist “fronts” grew naturally out of the logic of the cold war. During the Second World War Braden served with the OSS—next to the Communist movement itself, the most fruitful source, it would appear, of postwar anti-communism (the same people often having served in both). After joining the CIA in 1950, Braden served as president of the California Board of Education. He represented

a new type of bureaucratic equality at home in government and in academic circles; but when in 1950 he proposed that “the CIA ought to take on the Russians by penetrating a battery of international fronts,” his more conventional colleagues made the quaint objection that “this is just another one of those goddamned proposals for getting into everybody’s hair.” Allan Dulles intervened to save the project after it had been voted down by the division chiefs. “Thus began the first centralized effort to combat Communist fronts.”

Before they had finished, the directors of the CIA had infiltrated the National Student Association, the Institute of International Labor Research, the American Newspaper Guild, the American Friends of the Middle East, the National Council of Churches and many other

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The high status enjoyed by American intellectuals depends on their having convinced their backers in government and industry that "basic research" produces better results in the long run than mindless empiricism. But in order for intellectuals to win this battle it was necessary not only to convince themselves of these things but to overcome a narrowly utilitarian approach to knowledge. The advancement of pure learning on a large scale demands that the sponsors of learning be willing to spend large sums of money without hope of immediate return. In advanced capitalism, this requirement happily coincides with the capitalists' need to engage in conspicuous expenditure; hence the dominant role played by "captains of industry" in the professionalization of higher education (with the results described by Veblen in *The Higher Learning in America*).

At a still later stage of development, the same role is played by the foundations and directly by government, both of which need to engage in a form of expenditure (not necessarily conspicuous in all its details) that shares with the conspicuous expenditure of the capitalist a marked indifference to results. Modern bureaucracies are money-spending agencies. The more money a bureaucracy can spend, the larger the budget it can claim. Since the bureaucracy is more interested in its own aggrandizement than in doing a job, the bureaucrat is restrained in his expenditure only by the need to account to some superior and ultimately, perhaps, to the public; but in complicated bureaucracies it is hard for anyone to account for the money, particularly since a state of continual emergency can be invoked to justify secrecy in all the important operations of government. This state of perfect nonaccountability, which is the goal toward which bureaucracies ceaselessly strive, works to the indirect advantage of pure research and of the professionalized intellectuals.

In Soviet Russia, a comparatively undeveloped economy cannot sustain the luxury of unaccounted expenditure, and the bureaucracy is still infected, therefore, by a penny-pinching mentality that begrudges expenditures unless they can be justified in utilitarian terms. This attitude, together with the lack of professional consciousness among intellectuals themselves (many of whom share the belief that knowledge is valuable not for itself but for the social and political uses to which it can be put), is the source of the political interference with knowledge that is so widely deplored in the West. It is obvious that the critical spirit cannot thrive under these conditions. Even art is judged in narrowly utilitarian terms and subjected to autocratic regulation by ignorant bureaucrats.

What needs to be emphasized, however, is that the triumph of academic freedom in the United States, under the special conditions which have brought it about, does not necessarily lead to intellectual independence. It is a serious mistake to confuse the very conditions which have brought about this result have undermined their capacity for independent thought. The American press is free, but it censors itself. The

next to the Communist movement, the most useful source, it would appear, of postwar anti-Communism (the same people often having served in both). A former CIA agent, Braden, was named as president of the California Board of Education. He represented a new type of bureaucrat, equally at home in government and in academic circles; but when in 1950 he proposed that "the CIA ought to take on the Russians by penetrating a battery of international fronts," his more conventional colleagues made the quaint objection that "this is just another one of those goddamned proposals for getting into everybody's hair." Allan Dulles intervened to save the project after it had been voted down by the division chiefs. "Thus began the first centralized effort to combat Communist fronts."

Before they had finished, the directors of the CIA had infiltrated the National Student Association, the Institute of International Labor Research, the American Newspaper Guild, the American Friends of the Middle East, the National Council of Churches and many other worthy organizations. "We . . . placed one agent in a Europe-based organization of intellectuals called the Congress for Cultural Freedom." Braden notes. This "agent" was Michael Josselson, who was born in Russia in 1908, educated in Germany, represented American department stores in Paris in the mid-thirties, came to the United States just before the war, and was naturalized in 1941. During the war Josselson, like Braden, served in the OSS. Afterwards he was sent to Berlin as an officer for cultural affairs in Patton's army. There he met Melvin J. Lasky. In 1947 he and Lasky led a walkout of anti-Communists from a cultural meeting in the Russian sector of Berlin. When they organized the Congress for Cultural Freedom in 1950, Josselson became its executive director—a position he still holds, in spite of the exposure of his connection with the CIA.

"Another agent"—Lasky—"became an editor of *Encounter*." The usefulness of these agents, Braden says, was that they "could not only propose anti-Communist programs to the official leaders of the organizations but they could also suggest ways and means to solve the inevitable budgetary problems. Why not see if the needed money could be obtained from 'American foundations'?" Note that he does not describe the role of the CIA as having been restricted to financing these fronts; its agents were also to promote "anti-Communist programs." When it became public that the Congress for Cultural Freedom had been financed for sixteen years by the CIA, the editors of *Encounter* made a great point of the fact that the congress had never dictated policy to the magazine; but the whole question takes on a different color in light of Braden's disclosure that Lasky himself worked for the CIA. Under these circumstances, it was unnecessary for the congress to dictate policy to *Encounter*; nor would the other editors, ignorant of Lasky's connections, have been aware of any direct intervention by the CIA.

On April 27, 1966, *The New York Times*, in a long article on the CIA, reported that the CIA had supported the Congress for Cultural Freedom and other organizations through a system of dummy foundations and that "*Encounter* magazine . . . was for a long time—though it is not now—one of the indirect beneficiaries of CIA funds." (Rumors to this effect had circulated for years.) The editors of *Encounter*—Stephen Spender, Lasky and Irving Kristol—wrote an extremely disingenuous letter to the *Times* in which they tried to refute the assertion without denying it outright. They asserted—what was a half-truth at best—that the congress had received money from various recognized foundations, including the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations to the smaller ones, publicly listed in the official directories." What was not

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publicly listed was the fact that some of these "smaller ones" received money from the CIA for the express purpose of supporting the Congress for Cultural Freedom. Thus between 1961 and 1966, the CIA through some of its phony foundations (in this case the Tower Fund, the Borden Trust, the Beacon Fund, the Price Fund, the Heights Fund and the Monroe Fund) gave \$430,700 to the Hohlitzelle Foundation, a philanthropical enterprise established by the Dallas millionaire Karl Hohlitzelle, and the Hohlitzelle Foundation obligingly passed along these funds to the Congress for Cultural Freedom. Needless to say, no hint of these transactions appeared in the Lasky-Spender-Kristol letter to the *Times*.

Privately, Lasky went much further and declared categorically that *Encounter* had never received funds from the CIA. (Later he admitted that he had been "insufficiently frank" with his colleagues and friends.) In public, however, the magazine's defense was conducted in language of deliberate ambiguity. Another letter to the *Times*, signed by John K. Galbraith, George Kennan, Robert Oppenheimer and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., completely avoided the question of *Encounter's* financing and argued merely that the magazine's editorial independence proved that it had never been "used" by the CIA. One must ask why these men felt it necessary to make such a guarded statement; and why, since they had to state their position so cautiously, they felt it necessary to make any statement at all. The matter is even more puzzling in view of Galbraith's statement in the *New York World Journal Tribune* (March 13, 1967) that "some years ago," while attending a meeting of the congress in Berlin (he probably refers to a conference held there in 1960), he had been told by a "knowledgeable friend" that the Congress for Cultural Freedom might be receiving support from the CIA. Galbraith says that he "subjected its treasurer to interrogation and found that the poor fellow had been trained in ambiguity but not dissemblance." "I was disturbed," he says, "and I don't think I would have attended any more meetings" if his entrance into government service had not ended his participation. In another interview Galbraith told Ivan Yates of the *London Observer* (May 14, 1967), that he "made a mental note to attend no more meetings of the Congress." Yates asked "how in that case he could possibly have signed the letter to *The New York Times*. He replied that at the time, he had 'very strong suspicions' that the CIA had been financing the Congress. 'I was writing really with reference to *Encounter*, but you could easily persuade me that the letter was much too fulsome.'

Whereas Lasky believes that he was "insufficiently frank," Galbraith allows that he may have been "too fulsome." It is remarkable to what rigorous standards of intellectual honesty the champions of cultural freedom hold themselves. Galbraith's urbanity is imperturbable. The letter was "fulsome" indeed. Moreover, it specifically dealt with the Congress for Cultural Freedom, not *Encounter*, which is a wholly separate organization of the congress, its magazine and its other activities will, we believe, convince the most skeptical that the congress has had no loyalty except an unswerving commitment to cultural freedom. . . . Yet one of the signers of this statement was sufficiently skeptical to have "made a mental note" not to attend any more meetings of the Congress! And he was assuring the still unsuspecting public of the congress' unimpeachable independence long after he had privately reached the conclusion that it was probably being supported by the CIA.

We have heard a great deal about the "credibility gap" that is supposed to have been created by the Johnson

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inability to conceive any reason for opposition to communism except bribery by the CIA." When pressed, he said that "so long as I have been a member of the *Encounter* Trust, *Encounter* has not been the beneficiary, direct or indirect, of CIA funds." (The subsidies to *Encounter*, it is now known, ran from 1953 to 1964, although the congress's connection with the CIA, according to Galbraith, continued until 1966.) Moreover, Schlesinger said, Spender, Lasky and Kristol had revealed "the past sources of *Encounter's* support" and documented "its editorial and political independence." They had, of course, done nothing of the kind. The magazine's editorial independence was not to be taken on the editors' word, and the question of its financing was an issue they had studiously avoided. Why did Schlesinger go out of his way to endorse their evasions? Presumably he knew as much about *Encounter's* relations with the CIA as Galbraith—probably a good deal more. How was cultural freedom served by lending oneself to a deliberate deception?

In its August issue, *Encounter* published a scurrilous attack on O'Brien by "R" (Godonwy Rees). Karl Miller of *The New Statesman* offered O'Brien space to reply, but when Frank Kermod of *Encounter* (who has since resigned as editor, saying that he knew nothing of Lasky's connections) learned of this, he called Miller and threatened to sue *The New Statesman* for libel if O'Brien's piece contained any reference to *Encounter's* relations with the CIA. O'Brien then sued *Encounter* for libel and won a judgment in Ireland.

Throughout this controversy, the editors of *Encounter* have repeatedly pointed to their editorial independence, first in order to deny (by implication) any connection with the CIA, and then when it was impossible any longer to deny that, in order to prove that the CIA, although supporting the magazine, had not tried to dictate its editorial policy—or in Josselson's words, that the money had "never, never" been used "for propaganda and intelligence purposes." Spender, Kristol and Lasky, in their letter to the *Times*, claimed that "we are our own masters and are part of nobody's propaganda." The letter signed by Galbraith and Schlesinger declared that *Encounter* maintained "no loyalty except an unswerving commitment to cultural freedom" and that it had "freely criticized actions and policies of all nations, including the United States." These statements, however, need to be set against Thomas Braden's account of the rules that guided the International Organization of the CIA: "Use legitimate, existing organizations; disguise the extent of American interest; protect the integrity of the organization by not requiring it to support every aspect of official American policy."

These rules do more than shed light on the nature and extent of *Encounter's* editorial freedom. By publishing them at a time when they must surely embarrass the writer concerned, Braden reveals the extent of his contempt for the CIA's kept intellectuals. Whatever the intellectuals may have thought of the relation, the CIA regarded them exactly as the Communists regarded its fronts in the third world. The instruments of its propaganda were the beneficiaries of the CIA have been understandably slow to see this point; it is hard to admit that one has been used and that one's sense of freedom and power is an illusion. Norman Thomas, for instance, admits that he should have known where the money for his Institute of International Labor Relations was coming from, but (like Galbraith, like Thomas Braden himself) what he chiefly regrets is that a worthwhile work has had to come prematurely to an end. The Kaplan Fund, Thomas insists, "never interfered in any way"—which merely means that he was never aware of its interference. He does not see that he was being used, as Stephen Spender puts it in his own

fulsome." It is remarkable that rigorous standards of intellectual honesty the champions of cultural freedom hold themselves. Galbraith's urbanity is indeed fulsome. The letter was fulsome indeed. Moreover, it specifically dealt with the Congress for Cultural Freedom, not with *Encounter*, which it does not even mention by name. The letter states that "examination of the record of the congress, its magazines and its other activities will, we believe, convince the most skeptical that the congress has had no loyalty except an unwavering commitment to cultural freedom. . . ." Yet one of the signers of this statement was sufficiently skeptical to have "made a mental note" not to attend any more meetings of the Congress! And he was assuring the still unsuspecting public of the congress' unimpeachable independence long after he had privately reached the conclusion that it was probably being supported by the CIA.

We have heard a great deal about the "credibility gap" that is supposed to have been created by the Johnson Administration; but what about the credibility of our most eminent intellectuals? As a further indication of the values that prevail among them, when the *Encounter* affair finally became public, Galbraith's principal concern was that a valuable public enterprise was in danger of being discredited. The whole wretched business seemed inescapably to point to the conclusion that cultural freedom had been consistently confused with American propaganda, and that "cultural freedom," as defined by its leading defenders, was—to put it bluntly—a hoax. Yet at precisely the moment when the dimensions of the hoax were fully revealed, Galbraith joined the congress board of directors; and "I intend," he says, "to put some extra effort into its activities. I think this is the right course and I would urge similar effort on behalf of other afflicted but reformed organizations."

What should a "free thinker" do, asks the *Sunday Times* of London, when he finds out that his free thought has been subsidized by a ruthlessly aggressive intelligence agency as part of the international cold war? According to the curious values that prevail in American society, he should make a redoubled effort to salvage the reputation of organizations that have been compromised, it would seem, beyond redemption. Far from "reforming" themselves—even assuming that this was possible—*Encounter* and the Congress for Cultural Freedom have vindicated the very men who led them into disaster. At their meeting in Paris last month, officials of the congress voted to keep Josselson in his post. Lasky's resignation was likewise rejected by the management of *Encounter*.

Ever since *The New York Times* asserted that *Encounter* had been subsidized by the CIA, the congress and its defenders have tried to brazen out the crisis by intimidating their critics—the same tactics that worked so well in the days of the cold war. Arthur Schlesinger leaped into the breach by attacking one of *Encounter's* principal critics, Conor Cruise O'Brien. Following the *Times's* initial disclosures, O'Brien delivered a lecture at New York University, subsequently published in *Book Week*, in which he referred to the *Times* story and went on to observe that "the beauty of the [CIA-*Encounter*] operation . . . was that writers of the first rank, who had no interest at all in serving the power structure, were induced to do so unwittingly," while "the writing specifically required by the power structure" could be done by writers of lesser ability, men skilled in public relations and "who were, as the Belgian tried to say about Molse Tshombe, *comprehensibles*—they could take a hint." In reply, Schlesinger attacked the question of *Encounter's* relations with the CIA by attacking O'Brien's apparent

and extent of *Encounter's* editorial freedom. By publishing them at a time when they must surely embarrass the CIA to some extent, the extent of his contempt for the CIA's kept intellectuals. Whatever the intellectuals may have thought of the relation, the CIA regarded them exactly as the Communist Party regarded its fronts in the thirties and forties—as instruments of its own purpose. Most of the beneficiaries of the CIA have been understandably slow to see this point; it is hard to admit that one has been used and that one's sense of freedom and power is an illusion. Norman Thomas, for instance, admits that he should have known where the money for his Institute of International Labor Relations was coming from, but (like Galbraith, like Thomas Braden himself) what he chiefly regrets is that a worth-while work has had to come prematurely to an end. The Kaplan Fund, Thomas insists, "never interfered in any way"—which merely means that he was never aware of its interference. He does not see that he was being used, as Stephen Spender puts it in his own case, "for quite different purposes" than the ones he thought he was advancing. *He* thought he was working for democratic reform in Latin America, whereas the CIA valued him as a showpiece, an anti-Communist who happened to be a Socialist.

Spender has had the wit to recognize the situation (retrospectively) for what it was. "In reality," he writes, the intellectuals employed by the CIA without their knowledge were "being used for concealed government propaganda." Spender admits that this arrangement made a "mockery" of intellectual freedom. Michael Wood, formerly of the National Students Association, has written even more poignantly of his relations with the world of power. "Those of us who worked for NSA during 1965-66, experienced an unusual sense of personal liberation. While actively involved in many of the insurgent, campus and political movements of the day, we were also able to move freely through the highest echelons of established power." These experiences, Wood says, "gave us a heady feeling and a sense of power beyond our years." But "to learn that it had been bought with so terrible a compromise made me realize how impotent we really were."

Sham Pluralism

What conclusions can be drawn from the history of the cultural cold war? Some of them should be obvious. Thanks to the revelations of the CIA's secret subsidies, it is no longer very novel or startling to say that American officials have committed themselves to fighting fire with fire, and that this strategy is self-defeating because the means corrupt the end. "In our attempts to fight unscrupulous opponents," asks Arthur J. Moore in *Christianity and Crisis*, "have we ended up debauching ourselves?" The history of the cold war makes it clear that the question can only be answered with an emphatic affirmative.

These events, if people consider them seriously and try to confront their implications without flinching, will lead many Americans to question (perhaps for the first time) the cant about American "pluralism," the "open society," etc. Andrew Kopkind puts it very well: "The illusion of dissent was maintained: the CIA supported Socialist cold warriors, Fascist cold warriors, black and white cold warriors. . . . But it was a sham pluralism and it was utterly corrupting." A society which tolerates an illusory dissent is in greater danger, in some respects, than a society in which uniformity is ruthlessly imposed. For twenty years Americans have been told that their country is a democracy, a free society, a Communist peoples

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live in slavery. Now it appears that the very men who were most active in spreading this gospel were themselves the servants ("witting" in some cases, unsuspecting in others) of the secret police. The whole show—the youth congresses, the cultural congresses, the trips abroad, the great glamorous display of American freedom and American civilization and the American standard of living—was all arranged behind the scenes by men who believed, with Thomas Braden, that "the cold war was and is a war, fought with ideas instead of bombs." Men who have never been able to conceive of ideas as anything but instruments of national power were the sponsors of "cultural freedom."

The revelations about the intellectuals and the CIA should also make it easier to understand a point about the relation of intellectuals to power that has been widely misunderstood. In associating themselves with the state in the hope of influencing it, intellectuals deprive themselves of the real influence they could have as men who refuse to judge the validity of ideas by the requirements of national power or any other entrenched interest. Time after time in this century it has been shown that the dream of influencing the state is a delusion. Instead the state corrupts the intellectuals. The state cannot be influenced by the advice of well-meaning intellectuals in the inner councils of government; it can only be resisted. The way to resist it is simply to refuse to put oneself at its service. For intellectuals that does not mean playing at revolution; it does not mean putting on blackface and adopting the speech of the ghetto; it does not mean turning on, tuning in and dropping out; it does not even mean engaging in desperate acts of conscience which show one's willingness to take risks and to undergo physical danger. Masked as a higher selflessness, these acts become self-serving, having as their object not truth or even social change but the promotion of the individual's self-esteem. Moreover they betray, at a deeper level, the same loss of faith which drives others into the service of the men in power—a haunting suspicion that history belongs to men of action and that men of ideas are powerless in a world that has no use for philosophy. It is precisely this belief that has enabled the same men in one lifetime to serve both the Communist Party and the CIA in the delusion that they were helping to make history—only to find, in both cases, that all they had made was a lie. But these defeats—the revelation that the man of action, revolutionist or bureaucrat, scorns the philosopher whom he is able to use—have not led the philosopher to conclude that he should not allow himself to be used; they merely reinforce his self-contempt and make him the ready victim of a new political cause.

The despair of intellect is closely related to the despair of democracy. In our time intellectuals are fascinated by conspiracy and intrigue, even as they celebrate the "free market place of ideas" (itself an expression that already betrays a tendency to regard ideas as commodities). They long to be on the inside of things; they want to share the secrets ordinary people are not permitted to hear. The attractions of power and the satisfactions of making decisions are more important to them than the

and this fact makes it hard to see the continuity between the thirties and forties, on the one hand, and the fifties and sixties on the other. The hyper-Americanism of the latter period seems to be a reaction against the anti-Americanism of the depression years. Both of these intellectuals' disenchantment with democracy and their phenomena, however, spring from the same source, the alienation from intellect itself. Intellectuals associate themselves with the American Government not so much because it represents America as because it represents action, power and conspiracy; and the identification is even easier because the government is itself "alienated"

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In the last twenty years, the elitism of intellectuals has expressed itself as a celebration of American life, and this fact makes it hard to see the continuity between the thirties and forties, on the one hand, and the fifties and sixties on the other. The hyper-Americanism of the latter period seems to be a reaction against the anti-Americanism of the depression years. Both of these intellectuals' disenchantment with democracy and their phenomena, however, spring from the same source, the alienation from intellect itself. Intellectuals associate themselves with the American Government not so much because it represents America as because it represents action, power and conspiracy; and the identification is even easier because the government is itself "alienated" from the people it governs. The defense intellectuals, "cool" and "arrogant," pursue their obscure calculations in a little world bounded by the walls of the Pentagon, sealed off from the difficult reality outside which does not always respond to their formulas and which therefore has to be ignored in arriving at correct solutions to the "problems" of government. At Langley, Va., the CIA turns its back on America and busies itself with its empire abroad; but this empire, which the CIA tries to police, has no relation to the real lives of the people of the world—it is a fantasy of the CIA, in which conspiracy and counter-conspiracy, freedom and Communist slavery, the forces of light and the forces of darkness, are locked in timeless combat. The concrete embodiments of these abstractions have long since ceased to matter. The processes of government have been intellectualized. Albert D. Biderman, the prophet of "social accounting," speaks for the dominant ethos: "With the growth of the complexity of society, immediate experience with its events plays an increasingly smaller role as a source of information and basis of judgment in contrast to symbolically mediated information about these events. . . . Numerical indexes of phenomena are peculiarly fitted to these needs."

Washington belongs to the "future-planners," men who believe that "social accounting" will solve social "problems." Government is a "think tank," an ivory tower, a community of scholars. A member of the RAND Corporation speaks of its "academic freedom" which "allows you to think about what you want to." A civil servant praises the democratic tolerance, the respect for ideas, that prevails in the Defense Department. Herman Kahn, jolly and avuncular, encourages "intellectual diversity"; on his staff at Hudson Institute, a center of learning devoted to the science of systematic destruction, he retains a dedicated pacifist who doubtless thinks of himself as converting the Hudson Institute to universal brotherhood.

Never before have the ruling classes been so solicitous of cultural freedom; but since this freedom no longer has anything to do with "immediate experience and its events," it exists in a decontaminated, valueless void.

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is nothing to indicate that Martin would have done better than North American. but Webb's conflicting stories do not inspire confidence. Nor do his antecedents—his earlier connections with the late Sen. Robert S. Kerr, for example—make him an ideal leader for the balance of the Apollo program.

Worse than anything Webb has done in the past is his commitment to land on the moon before 1970. He seems oblivious to the pleas of responsible scientists and journalists to abandon a fixed deadline and allow future experience to set the pace. Rep. William F. Ryan's suggestion that a high-level Presidential commission be established to review NASA's work, and the schedule to be followed, seems very much in order.

An Insufficiency of Frankness

The latest disclosures about how the CIA bankrolled the Congress for Cultural Freedom—which in turn bankrolled *Encounter*, the Anglo-American monthly—have precipitated a heavy and extensive fallout. Stephen Spender has resigned as a contributing editor of *Encounter*, on the ground that he had been kept in total darkness about the covert CIA connection. Frank Kermode, the co-editor, has also resigned. "I was always assured," he writes, "that there was no truth in the allegations about the CIA funds. On several occasions I gave false assurances about the facts on which I had been led astray." Irving Kristol, a former co-editor, deposes that he, too, was innocent of any knowledge about CIA largess during his stay with the magazine.

Melvin Lasky, the present editor, is, of course, in a somewhat different position. He was one of the three founders of the Congress for Cultural Freedom (Arthur Koestler and Michael Josselson were the others), with funds provided by David Dubinsky's International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (at least that was the immediate source of the initial funds). Mr. Lasky, faced with the

flak the disclosures have generated, concedes that he may have been "insufficiently frank" in briefing his colleagues about the relationship with the CIA.

Indeed, a lack of frankness colors every aspect of what *The Observer* has called "The Encounter Affair." Michael Josselson, who apparently will stay on as executive director of the Congress, admits that he was placed in a position of having to deceive "the people I most respected, admired and liked, and who gave me their trust wholeheartedly." Last year, when *The Nation* (May 16, 1966) commented on the fact—well known even then, although apparently not to the editors of *Encounter*—that the magazine for some years had been indirectly financed by the CIA, we were promptly taken to task by Stephen Spender, Melvin Lasky and Irving Kristol in a letter published in our issue of June 13, 1966, which strongly implied (though on close reading it did not actually charge) that our editorial was defamatory. The tone of the letter was belligerent and threatening.

At the same time, we also received, and published, a similar protestation of innocence and virtue from the Congress for Cultural Freedom, signed by Denis de Rougemont, as chairman of the Executive Committee, and formally attested—no doubt for added emphasis—by Nicholas Nabokov. But to date we have received no letters apologizing for the attempt to mislead us. This pervading insufficiency of frankness tends, as the Congress itself now concedes, "to poison the wells of intellectual discourse." Examining the acrimony which the Braden disclosures in *The Saturday Evening Post* precipitated, we strongly sympathize with Mr. Spender who points out that the revelations of past CIA support have created "a tangle in which one doesn't know what the past is." Perhaps it never happened. Perhaps Tom Braden, who set up the "front" program for the CIA, is mistaken in saying that he named one agent for the Congress and another to edit *Encounter*. Perhaps it was all a multimillion-dollar misunderstanding.

*ORG 1 Congress for Cultural Freedom
P. Lasky, Melvin*

THE TIME-LIFE CAPEK

BRAZIL'S YANKEE NETWORK

ERNEST BLUM

Mr. Blum is a New York financial writer now living and working in Latin America.

For almost two years, Time-Life, Inc., has been the chief target in Brazil of an increasingly vehement protest against the presence of U.S. money and influence in key sectors of the Brazilian press. The legal basis for the indignation rests on Brazil's constitution, which—in both the 1946 and 1967 versions—strictly forbids foreign ownership, even partial ownership, of the nation's communications media. Despite this clear prohibition, Time-Life

has since 1962 pumped more than \$6 million into Rio de Janeiro's leading television station, TV Globo, which is associated with Rio's leading newspaper, *O Globo*. Upon receiving this flood of Time-Life dollars, TV Globo suddenly embarked on an expansionary course, buying up TV and radio stations in the key industrial city of Sao Paulo and in the politically brittle Northeast.

With an eye to further growth, TV Globo has pending applications to set up a thirty-six-station TV and radio chain extending to all the major cities of Brazil and covering 95 per cent of the population. The expansionary program was termed by the head of a Presidential

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POLITICS

D WIGHT MACDONALD

I confess that from August, 1956, to June, 1957, I was on the payroll of the C.I.A., unwittingly and, as they used to say in the National Students Association, unwittingly. Nevertheless, it is a fact that the C.I.A. paid some and perhaps all of my salary as a special advisory editor of *Encounter*, an Anglo-American co-production published in London and then financed by another international co-production, the Congress for Cultural Freedom, whose headquarters were in Paris and which used grants from what seemed to be private American foundations to support a number of intellectual journals like *Encounter* in France, Italy, India, Mexico and other foreign countries and also to underwrite international conferences, congresses and festivals of scholars, artists, musicians, writers and other producers of Culture. I further confess that when I took the *Encounter* job, some of my more radical and less temperate friends, to be tautologous, warned me the foundations were probably fronts—or, as we now say, conduits—for U.S. Government money and that I pooh-poohed their warnings because they were based on nothing more substantial than the fact that the Congress was openly anti-Communist—as, for that matter, was and am I. I confess, finally, that my blindness to what has lately been established was due to a petty-bourgeois prejudice in favor of hard, non-ideological evidence. The rumors persisted and I continued to resist them for the prosaic reason just given. Paul Goodman kept insisting the Congress was subsidized by the C.I.A. or, at best, the State Department, and urging me to do an exposé, which I refused since like the others he seemed to be arguing from logical extrapolation rather than factual knowledge. It wasn't his fault—how could he or any of us uncover the truth about the operations of a top-secret outfit like the C.I.A.? Suspicions continued to be rife, however, and never riper than when I chanced to meet at a party several years ago the executive secretary of a small, obscure foundation which I'd always been given to understand was the chief underwriter of the Congress. With Paul's prodding in mind, I asked him point-blank if Government money was in-

involved. His reaction was not reassuring. After an attempt at bluff evasion—"Come on, Dwight, you can't be serious!"—he burst into what seemed to me rather forced laughter and denied the charge, but with so ambiguous a nuance that I couldn't tell whether he was being serious or whether he was making a disclaimer that any sophisticated person would know to be merely *pro forma*. Still, no proof, in the petty-bourgeois sense. Then in April of 1966 The New York Times ran a series of articles on the C.I.A., one of which contained a sentence stating, without elaboration, that C.I.A. funds had supported the Congress and *Encounter*. This provoked a letter to The Times signed by such liberal notables as J.K. Galbraith, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and the late Robert Oppenheimer endorsing the Congress as a serious and honest enterprise that had always been politically independent. Although I agreed with their endorsement, when Daniel Bell later asked me to add my name, I refused because I thought the letter evaded the real, and awkward, question, raised by The Times: not whether the policy of the Congress had been independent of the C.I.A. but whether the Congress had been financed by it. The Times printed a "correction" that was also evasive, agreeing that the Congress was indeed a splendid and independent organiza-

CIA 2.04.2 General

MAY 22 1967

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CIA 2.04.2
Lovestone, Jay

THE CIA:

What Was So Wrong?

For Thomas Braden, it was roughly like sitting through a James Bond movie with everyone else in the audience rooting for SMERSH. He had suffered in silence through mounting attacks on the Central Intelligence Agency for secretly bankrolling a wide assortment of private American groups abroad—a scheme Braden himself hatched during a 1950-54 hitch with the CIA. "I asked myself what was so wrong with what we did," he said last week. So Braden published his case for the defense—and succeeded mainly in reopening the whole messy *scandale* all over again.

Braden, 49, a sometime spymaster, educator, museum executive, newspaper publisher (of The Oceanside [Calif.] Blade-Tribune) and liberal Democratic politician, mapped his strategy carefully. He wanted maximum impact, so he placed his piece ("I'm Glad the CIA Is Immoral") in The Saturday Evening Post, and he tried to limit himself to cases already mentioned in the press. His choice of a mass magazine heightened the splash, all right—but his insider's standing seemed to confirm links



Braden: One for our side

that had only been rumored between the CIA and a variety of clients ranging from a little magazine in London to big labor in the U.S.

Braden's point was that the CIA and its beneficiaries were simply doing their patriotic duty, "defending the U.S. against a new and extraordinarily successful weapon ... the international Communist front." In the early cold-war years, by his accounting, the Russians were socking \$250 million a year into a miscellany of cultural, labor, student,

unions were sabotaging U.S. aid shipments to Europe and threatening to topple friendly governments. The U.S., by contrast, was squeamish about fighting back covertly—and too paralyzed by McCarthyism to navigate overt subsidies for left-democratic groups through Congress. So Braden sold his plan to CIA chief Allen Dulles: secret subsidies to private organizations—even if they did not "support every aspect of official American policy." His argument: "When an adversary attacks with his weapons disguised as good works, to choose innocence is to choose defeat."

Some entries in the Braden casebook: ■ The CIA funneled money into some anti-Communist union organizing enterprises run by onetime (1927-29) U.S. Communist Party boss Jay Lovestone, then an International Ladies Garment Workers Union staffer, now the AFL-CIO's Director of International Affairs. Braden said he still has a pseudonymous receipt for \$15,000 he once signed over (as "Warren G. Haskins") to one "Norris A. Grambo," a cover name for Lovestone lieutenant Irving Brown. Brown, says Braden, had to have the money "to pay off his strong-arm squads in Mediterranean ports, so that American supplies could be unloaded against the opposition of Communist dock workers."

■ Braden also slipped \$50,000 in \$50 bills to United Auto Workers president Walter Reuther for international operations run by his brother Victor—a particularly vociferous critic of Lovestone's long-rumored ties with the CIA. "Victor Reuther ought to be ashamed of himself" for attacking Lovestone, said Braden, since both men were only performing a patriotic service. And, Braden went on, Reuther performed his with "less than perfect wisdom," banking the \$50,000 in some West German unions that had cash enough and were already anti-Communist.

■ As long rumored, the CIA had funneled money through the European-based Congress for Cultural Freedom to support the Anglo-American intellectual monthly Encounter. Braden not only confirmed the tale but embellished it by saying the CIA had placed one "agent" in the Congress, while another "became an editor of Encounter."

The over-all program was essential to turn back Communism, Braden insisted—but the people he implicated, anti-Communists all, acted nonetheless scandalized. Encounter's four past and present editors—each suspect under Braden's anonymous reference to an "agent" editor—each denied having known for sure about the CIA link until recently, and two of them (poet Stephen Spender and critic Frank Kermode) quit as a gesture to disown it. (Braden later explained

his account had been an "unwitting" agent who was editorially independent but served U.S. ends simply by doing what came naturally.) Lovestone and Brown, too, insisted they never took CIA money, and their boss, AFL-CIO president George Meany, blasted Braden's story as "a damn lie ... Not one penny of CIA money has ever come in to the AFL or the AFL-CIO to my knowledge over the last twenty years." Only Walter Reuther, of all the principals involved, admitted knowingly taking CIA money—and then only once, in an "emergency situation," to his subsequent regret. Reuther added his own postscript—that Braden had tried recruiting brother Victor as a CIA agent and that Victor had "emphatically rejected" the bid. Braden denied that.

'New Flap': And so the attorney for the defense became an exhibit for the prosecution. The CIA was unhappy. (Before publication, said Braden, "they called me to express their sorrow.") So were the newspapers. (The CIA-labor link-up, said The New York Times, "merely underscores the mischief inherent in clandestine ties between unions and an espionage agency, no matter how virtuous the purposes of the relationship.") And so, in the end, was Tom Braden. "I wanted to get across the message of what we set out to do," he said. "I succeeded better than I intended. I really didn't expect to create a new flap."

Brown, Irving
WRG Congress for Cultural Freedom
SOC.4.01.1 Encounter

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P. Hope, Francis
 Encounter

London Diary

FRANCIS HOPE

ORG Congress for Cultural
 Freedom

□ Six years ago I went to work as an editorial assistant on *Encounter*. I asked two Oxford professors, both contributors and friends of the editors, whether there was any truth in the rumours that it was financed by the CIA. None at all, said one; the Congress for Cultural Freedom gets its money from a Middle Western distillery millionaire. It's not so simple, said the other; some of the money does come from sources who in turn get some of their money from the US government, and once the US government is involved, you can never be sure that the CIA isn't somewhere around. Fearing unemployment more than contamination, I took the job. Nobody ever gave me any orders from Washington; indeed hardly anybody gave me any orders, or even any work, at all. The atmosphere of the Congress was always conspiratorial: it reminded me strongly of the organisations described in Koestler's autobiography, with commanders at the centre being ludicrously secretive when there was no need for it, and auxiliaries studiously not looking too closely at whatever might have embarrassed them. Since many of the Congress's luminaries spent the Thirties in just such groups, the continuation of the pattern is hardly surprising. The old cliché that nobody is so communist as the ex-communist holds good. But this is hardly a proof of CIA control. Anti-communists don't have to be bribed to produce militant liberalism.

□ The claim that 'an agent' was made an editor of *Encounter* is another, and far more startling matter. Unfortunately, being an agent can mean many things, from a master-plan and £5,000 a year to the odd lunch and an encouragement to keep up the good work. Would it always be reprehensible for a magazine to accept government help on the second basis, if it was anyway 'travelling the same road' as that government? Not everyone can find virtuous private millionaires, distillers or real-estate tycoons to subsidise them. If *Encounter* has been a biased magazine, as Conor Cruise O'Brien has argued in these pages, it deserves censure whether it was doing so at the CIA's orders, with the CIA's unrecognised support, or on a private overdraft. Lying is more straightforwardly shocking. The magazine will surely survive this storm; but not all of its reputation.

□ I see that Wilson's Strasbourg speech (the embroidery effort) is now being hailed as a significant milestone along his European path, I thought then, and think now, that it was a thoroughly second-rate piece of rhetoric. His handling of questions was another matter; as Monday's *Panorama* confirmed, this sort of verbal slip-practice is the Prime Minister's speciality. But Harold the European orator is a horse that

will not run. For further evidence, compare the style of two European heads of state refusing their countries' leading philosophers any help for the War Crimes Tribunal. Wilson to Russell is classic bureaucratise.

Many other Governments share the view of Her Majesty's Government about the damage your Tribunal could do to the cause of peace. Accordingly I wish to take this opportunity to inform you that Her Majesty's Government have decided in principle to deny facilities to visit Britain to all foreigners who may seek to take part in the International War Crimes Tribunal.

De Gaulle to Sartre, as published last week in *Nouvel Observateur*, is headier stuff.

Ce n'est pas à vous que j'apprendrai que toute justice, dans son principe comme dans son exécution, n'appartient qu'à l'Etat. Sans mettre en cause les mobiles qui inspirent Lord Russell et ses amis, il me faut constater qu'ils ne sont investis d'aucun pouvoir, ni chargés d'aucun mandat international, et qu'ils ne sauraient donc accomplir aucun acte de justice . . .

It just sounds better in French? Get away!

□ Department of escalating headlines: 'Faisal's Unwelcome Visit' (NEW STATESMAN, 5 May), 'A Qualified Welcome for King Faisal' (*Guardian*, 8 May), 'Welcome Guest from a Changing Land' (*The Times*, 9 May). *The Times's* article was peculiarly servile, even by the standards of those pull-out-and-throw-away supplements where the difference between text and advertisement is hard to find. But then some of the advertisements were outstandingly fatuous too. 'Only Saudi Arabian Airlines fly direct to Jeddah.' Wake up, El Al. The Saudi Arabian government has a sharp sense of publicity and offered one national magazine facilities for a visiting reporter in exchange for some free advertising space to surround his story. Unfortunately the story, when it arrived, was too full of liberal claptrap (such as accounts of women being stoned to death) for the deal to go through. The British Government seems resolved, as Brian Rix would say, to stand by its Bedouin. I don't see why the press need follow suit. It's not as if we were controlled by the CIA, or anything.

□ 'Don't bring politics into sport' is a favourite thought-avoidance formula of the Right. Unfortunately the case of South Africa makes it painfully clear just who is dragging in politics in the first place. What is less clear is how much retreat one should demand before one will play with them again. The South Africans were barred from the last Olympic Games but may not have felt it too deeply. When the New Zealand rugby tour was cancelled because the Maori players were 'unacceptable', Nationalist Afrikaners began to worry, since rugby is their religion. Then the MCC shut its door on the next year's cricket tour if Basil d'Oliveira, the Cape Coloured Worcestershire

batsman, was not admitted. Vorster has now withdrawn the ban on d'Oliveira (who has yet to be selected), allowed his Olympic Committee to promise a racially mixed team for the Mexico City Games, and even announced that mixed tennis teams could play in the Republic. So do we encourage this movement towards sanity by re-admitting the South Africans to the international sporting arena, or do we keep them out until something nearer real justice prevails in their internal sporting scene? Just how clear is clean? The International Olympic Committee is to send a commission of inquiry. They will probably rule that not enough has been done; they will probably be right.

□ One shouldn't beef all the time, I suppose. Unlike some of my colleagues, I do at least approve in principle of the government's application for membership of the EEC; and although the Prime Minister's style may leave something to be desired, the substance of his speeches on Europe is more realistic than it was three months ago. In a thin week for good news, I was also glad to read that Lord Gardiner has stirred from his silence to make the right kind of speech on divorce - perhaps the government will now at least allow a little more parliamentary time for discussion of this problem, if it's too much to ask for a positive attitude. The ITA's inquiries on the new contracts are also said to be showing more spirit than was expected. One company, confidently awaiting an easy ride since nobody else had applied for its franchise, arrived with so junior a delegation and so thin a brief that it was sent home without being heard. The ITA might actually justify being called an Authority before the day is over.

□ Television is, as they say, a great educator. There are all sorts of boring books that I would never have looked at if they were not made into gripping soap-operas. I have just ploughed my way through the first volume of *The Forsyte Saga*, and am amazed that anyone could endure it off the small screen. As the little boy in the *New Yorker* cartoon said, confronted with a hand-wound gramophone: 'Boy, they must have been keen on music in those days!' As a forerunner of C. P. Snow, Galsworthy commands a dim attention: that mixture of left-wing goodwill, sensitive clubman's philosophising and schoolgirlish fascination with visible success must be an infallible drug for readers who know they have gained a good slice of the world and want to be reassured that they have hung on to their soul. But if I went any further, the saga would join the formidable list of half-scaled literary hills which sometimes haunt my dreams. I have got stuck *three times* on the same page (133) of *The Ambassadors*. Will someone at least tell me how the story

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01A1.03 Braden, Thomas

Ex-C.I.A. Aide Lists Big Grants to Unions

SAYS A.F.L.-C.I.O. GOT SECRET CASH

Federation Official Denies Receiving Any Funds for Foreign Operations

By MAX FRANKEL
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 7—A former California publisher who says he organized the Central Intelligence Agency's secret links to private groups here and abroad has listed prominent American labor leaders among the recipients of large cash subsidies for their anti-Communist activities.

The publisher, Thomas W. Braden, who headed the C.I.A.'s Division of International Organization from 1951 to 1954, said he personally gave \$50,000 to Walter and Victor Reuther of the United Automobile Workers. He has also described numerous secret subsidies for foreign operations by Jay Lovestone and Irving Brown, who manage international affairs for the A.F.L.-C.I.O.

Walter P. Reuther, in a statement responding to Mr. Braden's assertions, today that on "one occasion" his union had accepted C.I.A. funds to meet an emergency situation. He said also that Mr. Braden had tried to recruit his brother, Victor, as a C.I.A. agent but was turned down. Mr. Braden later denied that he had tried to recruit Victor Reuther as an agent.

The other union officials, as well as their leader, George Meany, who heads the A.F.L.-C.I.O., and Victor Reuther have all recently denounced or denied union links to the intelligence agency.

After Mr. Braden's assertions were distributed to newspapers, Mr. Lovestone, saying that he spoke to Mr. Brown, described them as "completely untrue."

Victor Reuther, reached by The New York Times in Tokyo yesterday, said he found it difficult to comment before he saw the entire Braden statement, but he called a description of it "incredible" and

"ridiculous." Mr. Brown has not been available for comment. Mr. Braden described his activities with the C.I.A. in the current issue of The Saturday Evening Post and answered questions in a telephone interview.

He said he thought he was only confirming what had already been generally disclosed about C.I.A. operations. He did so, he said, to defend the agency against "wild and scurrilous" charges and to suggest to Americans the necessity and value of covert anti-Communist activities.

In developing his argument, he also asserted the following: "The C.I.A. 'placed' an 'agent' in the Congress for Cultural Freedom, an organization of leading European and American intellectuals. 'Another agent became an editor of Encounter,' a London-based intellectual monthly once supported by the congress, he said. These 'agents' suggested programs and projects to the C.I.A. and arranged for agency subsidies that were channeled through real or dummy foundations. Mr. Braden said.

"The C.I.A. gave cash 'along with advice' to other labor leaders, to students, professors and generally to anyone who could help the United States 'in its battle with Communist fronts.'"

"The C.I.A. organized seamen's unions in India and in the Baltic ports of Scandinavian countries; it created wholly controlled organizations, such as the International Committee of Women, and seized control of others, including the World Assembly of Youth, an inactive group based in Dakar that turned out to be in the hands of French intelligence agents.

"To circumvent severe financial or security restrictions of Congress and the rest of the United States Government, the C.I.A. secretly financed some quite innocent cultural activities, including a visit to France by the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1952.

Denial by Editors

A spokesman for the orchestra said he doubted that anyone connected with it ever knew of the agency's support.

A co-editor of Encounter in London and two former editors of the magazine, now in New York, firmly denied Mr. Braden's allegations.

The executive director of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, Michael Josselson, said in Geneva that he was "aware of the matter"—apparently meaning the Braden statements—but could make no comment. The general assembly of the congress is meeting next week to discuss all questions relating to the C.I.A., he said, and will probably authorize some com-

ment thereafter.

The channelling of more than \$1-million to the congress through various foundations was disclosed earlier this year, when newspapers and magazines unraveled an elaborate network of organizations and foundations used to dispense C.I.A. funds to anti-Communist programs abroad. Encounter magazine has also been linked to this network in the last year, but its editors have always implied that they knew nothing about it.

After The New York Times reported a year ago that the magazine had received indirect C.I.A. subsidies, Melvin J. Lasky, its co-editor, and Stephen Spender and Irving Kristol, former editors, wrote to The Times that "we are our own masters and are part of nobody's propaganda."

"Does The Times want the reader to infer that the editorial content or that the past or present editors of Encounter were in any way influenced by the C.I.A.?" they asked.

Mr. Braden refused to name the C.I.A. "agents" in the congress or the magazine, nor would he describe what kind of agents he meant. The agency, he said, used the term "agent" to describe both "witting" and

"unwitting" operatives. But his article in the Saturday Evening Post clearly implies that the persons involved were "agents" before they were "placed" in the congress and "became an editor" of Encounter.

Mr. Lasky, when reached by The Times in London, said that until learning of Mr. Braden's article he had never heard of him. "He called the assertion 'absolutely ridiculous' and

"grievously mistaken."

Mr. Lasky said Mr. Braden may have had intimate knowledge of some of the other things, of which he spoke in the Saturday Evening Post article but he doubted very much that he had direct experience with anything involving Encounter magazine.

Mr. Lasky pointed out that Mr. Braden's experience with the C.I.A. covered only the years 1950 to 1954—a time when Mr. Lasky had not yet joined Encounter.

Encounter was organized in 1953 by Mr. Kristol and Mr. Spender. Mr. Kristol left in 1958 and was replaced as co-editor by Mr. Lasky. In the last few years Mr. Spender has served as a contributing editor, but he resigned yesterday partly as a result of the C.I.A. controversy.

Mr. Kristol issued the following statement:

"I regard the article in the Saturday Evening Post, in so far as it cast doubt upon the integrity of all editors of En-

*SOC. A. O. I Encounter
ORG. Congress for Cul-
tural Freedom
Meany, George*

CIA D.O. I (Hungarian)
ORCI Congress for Cultural Freedom
ORCI Assoc. of Hungarian Emigré Writers

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

G.F.R.

Where Is Lvov?

Where is Lvov? Any schoolboy will tell you. Yet the West-German judiciary doesn't seem to know.

It has spent quite some time preparing to try 15 SS-men on charges of massacring civilians, notably Jews, in the Soviet city of Lvov during the war. The West-German press has given quite a bit of publicity to this trial and especially to the hard work put in by the judges and the prosecution. To find witnesses of nazi atrocities in Lvov, it turns out, the Stuttgart court sent a special mission to the United States and is planning to send another to Israel.

There is nothing wrong of course in looking for witnesses across the ocean. But the obvious place to look for them is surely on the scene of the crime, in other words—in Lvov. That idea, it appears, has never occurred to the Stuttgart judges.

The U.S.S.R. Attorney-General's Office has received no request from Stuttgart for any evidence of nazi atrocities in Lvov. *New Times* learns. And there is plenty of such evidence there. Especially after the Lvov trial last year of a

group of traitors who had helped the SS massacre civilians in that city.

Why haven't the Stuttgart judges made such a request? Perhaps they've forgotten where Lvov is?

GIBRALTAR

Blockade

The Anglo-Spanish dispute over Gibraltar has taken a new turn. On April 12 Madrid announced the prohibition of all flights over the zone in the immediate vicinity of Gibraltar. And so in addition to the virtual land blockade instituted last year, there is now an air blockade.

The airfield at Gibraltar is so situated that no plane can take off or land without flying over Spanish territory. Air communication with this British colony has thus to all intents and purposes been disrupted. The Spanish government appears to be quite determined about the whole thing and has declared that "if we have to use material means to accomplish this purpose they will be used." In other words, it threatens to use force if the British disregard the ban.

The Spanish government's decision

has caused an outburst of indignation in Britain. The *London Daily Telegraph*, for instance, writes that "short of breaking off diplomatic relations with Spain there is no suitable or dignified reply."

In the meantime the British government has announced the postponement of the talks with Spain which were scheduled to begin on April 18, as decided by the United Nations.

Spain, it may be recalled, is demanding the return of Gibraltar which she ceded to Britain early in the 18th century following the War of the Spanish Succession. And Britain is doing her very best to keep this highly important strategic base.

The Spanish government's latest step, says the *London Times*, has brought Anglo-Spanish relations to a breaking point.

HUNGARY

In the CIA's Service

The Budapest *Nepszabadsag* has published some revealing information about the ties between the U.S. intelligence services and Hungarian emigré organizations.

There is an institution in West Berlin masquerading under the name of the Congress for Cultural Freedom. Founded in 1950 with money supplied by the Central Intelligence Agency and the Ford and Rockefeller foundations, it specializes in ideological subversion of socialist countries.

In 1957 the Congress financed the establishment in Paris of the Association of Hungarian Emigré Writers and its *Literary Journal*. "Besides editing," *Nepszabadsag* writes, "the editors of the *Literary Journal* collect information. They get hold of Hungarian citizens visiting Western countries and try to get their answers to subtly contrived questionnaires, and pass on the information to the Americans. The Congress for Cultural Freedom takes great pains to establish contact with Hungarian intellectuals. Visiting specialists are given any books they may choose free of charge. But the booksellers, in the



Every cloud has a silver lining.
Fred Wright in the *Canadian Tribune*

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The Big Fix

Andrew Kopkind

There are still many people—perhaps the majority of the politically sophisticated—who can rationalize CIA's involvement with private organizations as a necessary nastiness of democracy, and even a responsibility of patriotism. It all began in the early days of the cold war. Anti-communist "democrats" kicked the reds out of the Democratic Party, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and the American Veterans Committee. They formed the Americans for Democratic Action and the Liberal Party (in New York) as alternatives to communism for the Left. The National Student Association (NSA) served the same function.

Then the CIA moved in to oversee the students' foreign operations. It set up an anti-communist world student council, devised strategies for attacking the periodic pro-communist "youth festivals," and in the meantime gathered information on tomorrow's foreign cabinet ministers (and opposition leaders) for the CIA's files. But for the most part the foreign activities were inept or insignificant, and their return for American "security" practically nonexistent. What was more important was what the habit of complicity did for American politics. Generations of students were trained in international relations "seminars" conducted each summer by NSA alumni and CIA agents (the two were often synonymous). Those who learned their lessons well were then maneuvered into the top places in the student organization at the annual conference. They were offered power, money, deferment from military service, and the certainty of high status if they accepted the values of pragmatism, presentability, and the cold war.

They would all have golden careers, and they all accepted. They were spies who came in for the gold.

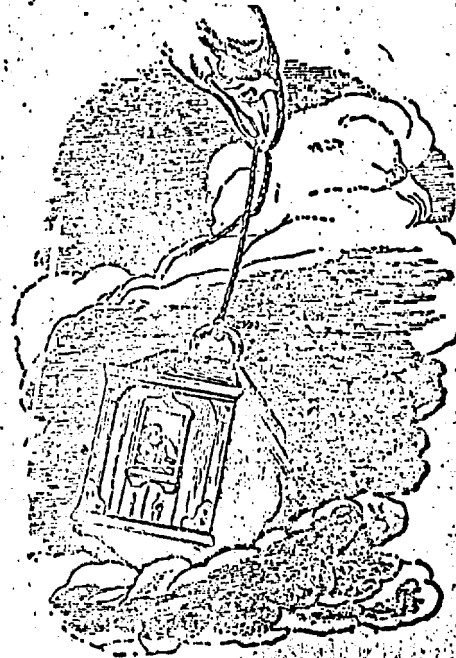
Once complicit, they found to their surprise that the CIA was not the dirty right-wing bomb-planting, wine-poisoning, coup-staging operation they expected. At least their CIA was clean; all during

the Fifties it was, as one "witting" student said, "a haven from McCarthyism." The "agency's" policies were often quite opposed to official State Department policy. The CIA pushed an opening to the left in Italy while the official line was all for closing. CIA operatives worked for anti-colonialists in Africa (they once promoted Patrice Lumumba, of all people) while State was supporting the colonial powers. Administrations in Washington smiled on Latin-American dictators while the CIA plotted their assassination.

Of course, there was another CIA that the liberal students, the intellectuals (in the Congress for Cultural Freedom, among other groups) and the left-wing labor leaders never saw. It was busy overthrowing Arbenz, in Guatemala and Mossadegh in Iran, discredit-

ing policy in the US. Everyone who went abroad for an American organization was, in one way or another, a witness to the theory that the world was torn between communism and democracy, and anything in between was treason. That such an ideology was a grotesque abstraction from the realities of world politics is just now becoming clear. History will show that the origins and the conduct of the Cold War were infinitely complex; there are dirty hands all around the table. But the CIA's primary effort, both at home and abroad, was to perpetuate that ideology. And it did so not by the show of tyranny but by the exploitation of freedom.

Congress for Cultural Freedom



ing (and occasionally bumping off) independent labor officials in Latin America, buying off editors, courts, and governments here and there, and supporting right-wing groups discreetly isolated from the liberals' playthings. But the American Left—the wise and witting ones—had a feeling that there was a friend in the Bureau of Public Roads (the CIA cover building) in Langley, Virginia.

The effect of all this was to destroy all options for independent positions on for-

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ong, Congress for Cultural Freedom

Press Seal Encountered

JUN 12 1966

Cairo Bars Arab Journal,

Charging CIA Link

By Patrick Seale
London Observer

BEIRUT, June 11—A chill wind blows this week over the Arab intellectual scene: Hiwar, perhaps the most independent and fearless periodical in the Arab world, has been banned from entry into Egypt on the charge that it is financed by the CIA.

If other Arab countries follow the Egyptian line—as they are being urged to do—the magazine will be in real trouble and may have to close down.

The bureaucratic thought controllers—the all-powerful “ministries of guidance”—which in so many Arab countries have contributed to the degradation of intellectual life—will have claimed another victim.

Hiwar (dialogue) is an Arab sister of the British magazine Encounter. Published by the Congress for Cultural Freedom, it is edited in Beirut by Tewfiq Sayigh, a young Palestinian poet who in four years of uphill work has created a forum for some of the most vigorous and wide-ranging writing to come out of the Middle East. But hardly an issue appeared without him being exposed to savage attack.

The Arab left accused Hiwar—and its sponsor the Congress—of imperialism and Zionism, while the right charged it with “Bolshevism.” In Saudi Arabia it was thought dangerously radical; in Egypt, suspiciously bourgeois.

It also suffered from the ancient rivalry between Cairo—the self-styled “cultural capital of the world”—and Beirut.

The roots of Hiwar's present more serious trouble may

be traced to the detailed exposure of the CIA. In the New York Times this spring in which it was alleged, among many other charges, that the Congress for Cultural Freedom was financed by American foundations which in turn sometimes acted as fronts for the CIA.

This was enough for the Egyptian press. “Hiwar belongs to the CIA,” screamed a headline in Rose al-Youssef, a prominent state-controlled weekly.

No regard was paid to the many letters to the New York Times denying any connection between the Congress and the CIA. The Egyptian censor seized the May issue of Hiwar before it was put on sale.

The window-dressing was then provided by Egyptian pundit Louis Awad—critic, poet and Shakespearian scholar—who, as literary editor of the Cairo daily, Al-Ahram, acts as a semiofficial arbiter of the cultural scene.

In a statement late last month he invited all Arab writers and readers to boycott Hiwar. He called on Tewfiq Sayigh to quit his post as editor, and he demanded the “liquidation” of all centers of the Congress in the Arab world.

Last week Muhammed Hatem, Egypt's Vice Premier for Information and Guidance, issued an order banning Hiwar from entry into Egypt on the grounds that it was subsidized by the CIA.

Very much disturbed, Tewfiq Sayigh flew to Europe to put the question bluntly to the directors of the Congress: Was there a CIA connection? He was given a categorical denial.

What is distressing about

the Egyptian scene is that it should be liberal thinkers like Awad, himself a contributor to Hiwar, who now call for its boycott.

Victim of Slanders

Awad himself has suffered greatly from rumors and slanders in the Egyptian press. He has been accused of being Western-educated—in some quarters a crime in itself—and of working to undermine the cultural values of Islam.

In many Arab countries today intellectuals stand defenseless against the great power of the state. To displease the authorities is to go hungry when, as in Egypt, newspapers, publishing houses, magazines, theaters, the radio and television are in the hands of the state.

But in compensation of exercising self-censorship, top Egyptian writers are pampered and well-paid. They earn more than doctors, lawyers or engineers.

At 300 or 400 Egyptian pounds a month, they are paid four or five times the salary of a university professor.

Just why the Egyptian authorities should have chosen this moment to move against Hiwar is uncertain. The Congress for Cultural Freedom is well known to be financed by the Ford and other foundations, but so are many Egyptian development projects.

The ban is probably due to the random convergence of a number of forces: the current anti-American temper in the Egyptian capital, the ascendancy of leftists in the press, the cultural chauvinism of some Egyptian intellectuals, the rivalries of Beirut and Cairo and possibly, too, the greater nervousness which overtakes the Arab world in the heat of summer.

*Orig / Congress for
Cultural Freedom*

Letters to the Editor of The Times

Group Denies C.I.A. Influence

To the Editor:

We note with concern the assertion in The Times of April 27 that the Central Intelligence Agency has made indirect contributions to a number of cultural activities, among them the Congress for Cultural Freedom.

The Congress for Cultural Freedom was founded in West Berlin in 1950 by a group of European, Asian and American writers, artists, scholars and scientists determined to affirm the freedom of intellectual inquiry and the autonomy of artistic creation. In the years since, it has drawn financial support from a variety of sources in the United States and Europe in order to support its magazines, seminars and other activities.

At no point in the history of the Congress has any donor sought to interfere with or shape its actions, policies or programs. However, to leave no doubt regarding the Congress's integrity, individuals and organizations who contribute to our activities will be asked to confirm the non-governmental character of their support.

The implications of The Times's suggestion that the Congress has been an instrument of the C.I.A. are deeply unfair to intellectuals around the world who have found in the Congress and its associated activities a chance to write and talk without constraint on the urgent issues and hopes of our age.

DENIS DE ROUGEMONT
Chairman
Executive Committee
NICOLAS NABOKOV
Secretary-General
Congress for Cultural
Freedom

Paris, May 10, 1966

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THE NATION
16 May 1966

Encounter with the CIA

The *Times* survey points out that the Central Intelligence Agency, through various devices, has supported the work of the Congress for Cultural Freedom. It also points out that *Encounter* magazine, a London-based "anti-Communist intellectual monthly," was "for a long time—though it is not now," an indirect beneficiary of CIA largess (funds were channeled through a foundation). There is nothing new in these disclosures; other publications, *The Nation* included, have known the facts for some time but were unable to confirm them (see editorial "Foundations as 'Fronts,'" *The Nation*, September 14, 1964). No doubt it is too much to expect that the Congress for Cultural Freedom and *Encounter* will now offer the public some explanation for their long continued but carefully concealed collaboration with the CIA. How long was *Encounter* subsidized? in what amounts? for what purposes?

The public, of course, will be told that considerations of "national security" and "top secrecy" preclude the possibility of an explanation. But the questions merit an answer all the same. Presumably *Encounter's* subscribers and contributors were not aware (although some of the contents should have placed them on notice) that the magazine was so subsidized. Throughout its history, the Congress for Cultural Freedom has made a practice of denouncing various radical and left-wing groups as "Communist fronts" and the like; but were the prominent intellectuals, the artists and writers, who attended its various assemblies told of the Congress' tie with the CIA? Some weeks ago, the Soviets accused two of their writers of associating with an American "agent" who, it turned out, was connected with *Encounter*. The charge was no doubt preposterous, but are the Soviets to be blamed for being suspicious? The undisclosed acceptance, over a long period, of CIA funds by two organizations avowedly dedicated to "cultural freedom" provides an ironic notation to the cultural history of the cold war.

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