

# Manipulators of dissent

The U.S. is today a garrison society. In past societies, the military may have formed the top levels of the caste system, as in feudalism; they may have dominated important sections of politics, as in Bismarck's Germany; or the citizenry may have been themselves an armed militia, as in the early days of some revolutions

A garrison society is different. Military men, military considerations, military economics, have interpenetrated all levels of society so that it becomes meaningless to speak of influence or dominance. The state comes to resemble a besieged city from which all non-essential citizens have been expelled or rendered impotent.

The actual social structures, even to the most ordinary interpersonal relations, begin to resemble those of the prison, the insane asylum, the army, a ship in a storm. Dissent, protest, parliamentary debate — all cease to have anything to do with public policy but are manipulated from above as safety valves.

## FUTILE ACTIVITY

The more progressive cadres of the authoritarian dictatorship realize that they can rule more efficiently if they allow the intolerable tensions that their rule necessarily builds up to find discharge in futile activity, no matter how violent.

At the same time, they are manufacturing scapegoats for future use as the state of emergency, which is the very life of a garrison society, gets worse. "Worse" in this sense means "better" in theirs, they depend on an ever deepening crisis of general psychosis.

At decisive moments, they can always release the tensions of the docile majority onto the protesting minority. "Get the Comies! Get the Niggers! Get thearty peaceniks! Get the hippies!" Meanwhile, the President sips bourbon with his generals and lac-

keys and watches on television as Peking, Shanghai, Canton send up their mushroom clouds.

## BIG LANDOWNER

Five or more years ago, the Defense Department alone (now only the obvious or juridical aspect of the military establishment) owned more than 35 million acres of real estate — more than Rhode

## Kenneth Rexroth

Island, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maryland, Vermont, New Hampshire combined.

Its assets were greater than those of the five largest corporations combined, with a paid personnel three times as large. Four-fifths of all Federal employees worked directly for the Defense Department. The civilian payroll was twice that of the automobile industry. The annual military budget was greater than that of all the corporations in the country combined.

These statistics precede the hot war in Viet Nam and they do not include innumerable secret operations, much less the CIA. Last spring the feature editor of the leading conservative Japanese newspaper told me that in research for a series on the subject, they had come to the conclusion that there was an absolute minimum of 2500 CIA employees in the Tokyo area alone.

## ACADEMIC AGENTS

Not only are 40 of our leading universities conducting research on biological and chemical warfare, but the military and the CIA make every effort to corrupt into an agent, every scholar and researcher who goes abroad unless he has been security-checked and found "uncooperative" and often, even then.

At home, they are paid handsomely to become intelligence ana-

lysts, technicians, apologists or are simply neutralized. How many of the most rabid radicals, on the other hand, who are agents provocateurs is incalculable.

Trade unions have been completely corrupted, as was obvious from the recent AFL-CIO convention. Today they form the most solid sector of the supporters of the military-industrial dictatorship, the war economy, war and racism. Out of the office of Jay Lovestone, once General Secretary of the Communist Party, goes a network of subversion of foreign trade unionists and a steady flow of gold which has tied the entire trade union movement of many countries to the American juggernaut, and driven the independent labor leaders into exile or underground or into the jungle.

## LEFTIST SELL-OUT

The battery of CIA cultural magazines, Encounter, Preuves, Monat and the others (there is one in almost every country where there are western style intellectuals) peddle the American line under the mask of the defense of culture and freedom. The CIA has found this mask is most convincing if it has a Left Social Democratic or even Independent Communist coloration.

What all this has led to is shown very clearly by the results of what might be called moral plebiscites in the last election — votes on open housing and similar measures, peace petitions like San Francisco's Proposition P and the response to the vicious attacks by Rin-Tin-Tin\* on the aged, the sick, the feeble-minded and the students in California.

About one third of the population in the exceptionally enlightened and liberal city of San Francisco voted against the Viet Nam war, which no morally sane man in control of himself could possibly support.

## AS IN GOOD SAMARITAN

Take a tiny but important example — All Saints Church, famous for performing its obviously

Christian duty to the hippies who have flooded into its parish, lost almost half its members just because the rector and the others were simply being good, as in Good Samaritan.

I think we must face the fact that the morally responsible sector of society has lost control over the indifferent and foolish middle third to the other third who are actively, consciously malevolent. One third is a lot of people — more than the Jacobins or Bolsheviks, more even than the radical intellectuals who founded the USA.

How do the "responsibles" regain control?

GOV.

\* RONALD REAGAN