

year plan for profitability.

The Socialist Party's new paper is altogether more modest. They have 20,000 subscribers, which is still more than the *Morning Star's* circulation, and will operate with a journalistic staff of just 26. The decision to launch the paper was taken by the party's executive committee and the relationship between editor and party is not clear. Until May the paper can unite around Mitterrand's election campaign but afterwards problems of editorial control will certainly arise. But at least they will be solved on a living paper.

Each day in France, *Le Matin*, which is substantially to the left of either the *Guardian* or the *Daily Mirror*, sells twice the combined weekly sales of British left-wing journals. Anti-press rhetoric is a staple, and generally wholly justified feature of speeches by leaders of the British labour movement. The virulence has not changed much since Rupert Murdoch bought the *Sun* and *News of the World* 12 years ago. Since then the French left have launched and are sustaining three daily newspapers. Isn't it about time the British labour movement learnt to read French? □

should want men gifted as writers, speakers and broadcasters with something of the crusading spirit and a determination to give of their best.

Moral glory must have radiated from the Foreign Office's Whitehall palace as they prick'd the names equal to such noble service. OCPGDT (LISC) would be a government committee like none before. The following names appear on the target list:

Bertrand Russell; Harold Nicholson; Professor Toynbee; Dr Alan Bullock; Michael Foot; Professor William Robson; Professor Trevelyan (probably too old).

These folk 'would be needed both to help us with suggestions about publicity and to engage in publicity themselves along agreed lines by writing articles and books, giving lectures, broadcasting and above all, by spreading the gospel, amongst their own contacts both here and on the continent' (my emphasis). 'The persons chosen should be themselves men with an intellectual appeal for we feel that one part of the job to be done is to influence the intellectuals in this country and on the Continent, although it will be equally important to reach the masses'.

This brave venture would henceforth, it may be assumed, direct the efforts of the intellectual community along the Foreign Office's agreed lines. It would be a daring official *putsch* against silly and unnecessary free thinking intellectuals who weren't thinkily freely along agreed lines, nor rightfully spreading the desirable gospel. Should these souls not be recruited to OCPGDI (LISC), other names were suggested by the adventurous civil servants:-

Dr Michael Oakeshott (Nuffield College); Professor Joan Robinson (London University), heir to Keynes and author of a critique of Marxist economics); Mrs Lindsay (Girton) and Professor Herbert Butterfield.

There were also Professors Charles Webster and D. W. Brogan who 'might be able to help with suggestions although themselves scarcely of the right calibre for the task'.

Last month, after these documents became available, the *New Statesman* canvassed the surviving prospective members of OCPGDI

INTELLIGENCE

The FO and the eggheads

How Whitehall schemed to inveigle Michael Foot, Bertrand Russell and a host of prominent intellectuals into the official propaganda machine. DUNCAN CAMPBELL, with research by ANDY THOMAS, uncovers the plot to unleash OCPGDI (LISC) upon an innocent world.

IT IS 1949. Iron curtains have fallen in the pronouncements of statesmen throughout the world. In London, the Foreign Office has been at work through the long winter preparing the final chapter in their propaganda plans.

They already had a department for sending out official propaganda. They had created a department for writing better propaganda, and added that in. They had just invented the new Information Research Department, dedicated to the circulation of dishonest 'black' propaganda about Britain's foes. Now, according to documents recently revealed at the Public Records Office, was to come the masterstroke.

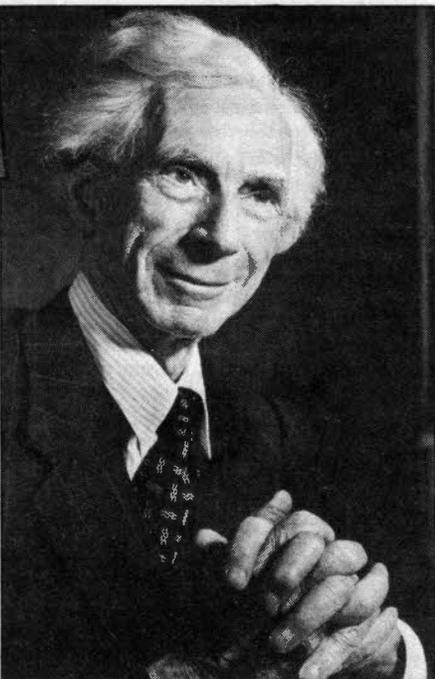
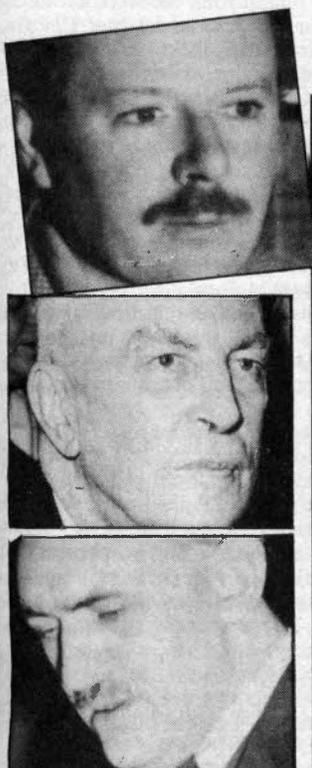
Every colour of propaganda was now being churned out. The cause of the bureaucracy, however, required 'a gap to be filled on the positive side of our information work', R. L. Speight, who headed the Information Policy Department, minuted to Christopher Mayhew, Foreign Office Minister of State.

Speight's idea was a secret committee to promote democratic ideals — 'a body of leading figures working together on their own without evident government sponsorship' but of course 'with the Foreign Office in the background to give advice and guidance'.

It was to be a sort of Official Committee for the Promotion of Great Democratic Ideals (Leading Intellectuals Sub-Committee). The task proposed was onerous:

It is not enough to awaken people to the menace of Communism and help them to find ways to combat it. They must also be convinced that there is a better alternative and that the spiritual and material welfare of the Western World can be more surely promoted by developing and extending our Western democratic way of life . . . it is a task for outside talents of a high order . . . it will be necessary to secure the services of well-known figures in different walks of life. . . We

An intellectual 'hit-list': their 'crusading spirit' was to be harnessed to Whitehall's propaganda machine. Left (descending): Harold Nicholson, Arnold Toynbee, Alan Bullock; centre left Bertrand Russell; centre right Michael Foot; right (descending) William Robson; G. M. Trevelyan; Joan Robinson.



(LISC) to discover what, if anything transpired. The names on this list were, indeed, an unusual selection as many of them would, at one time or another, cheerfully have contributed to the maximum destabilisation of the British Foreign Office and many other organs of government. Michael Oakeshott, for instance, although indeed a conservative, scarcely admits the validity of any government regulation — certainly not intellectual regulation. Professor Oakeshott now writes:

I would have rejected any such suggestion out of hand. . . The project itself seems to me a piece of pure fantasy devised by people hard up for something to fill in the day at the office. And as for the list of names suggested for the promotion of this, or any other, gospel — it is farcical.

Professor Alan Bullock does not now recall that the affair got further than Foreign Office files. 'Common sense seems to have prevailed'.

Professor Joan Robinson was, she now recalls, degrees more inclined towards Joe Stalin than the Foreign Office at the time in question. The characterisation of her work was complete nonsense. She now writes:

I don't think it was necessary for them to set up this organisation.

You can't bribe or twist

Thank God the British Journalist

But seeing what the fellow will do unbribed

There is now no occasion to.*

*Same applies to liberal intellectuals

— a slight adaptation of the well-known saw on our profession.

Michael Foot does not recall being enjoined to the aforesaid liberal intellectual crusade on agreed lines, either.

Once half a dozen of these worthies had signed up, the FO files reveal, there were plans to 'exploit the media of the cinema and stage (with) the co-operation of playwrights and film producers'.

The Permanent Under Secretary then happily added his own suggestions to the intellectual target list:

I would have Birley, Koestler, Barbara Ward, Rev Collins, Denis Healey — rather younger and less orthodox.

As far as the official files go (the nastiest and most embarrassing material stays in the civil service and never makes it to the Public Records Office), this was OCPGDI (LISC)'s penultimate moment. The whole momentous project was submitted to Christopher Mayhew, Minister of State, who wrote:

June 20th 1949: I am very chary. Lyric poems are not usually designed. The people who are on fire with this theme (and they are the only ones who can set others palpitating) do not need help from us. They are impelled eg Koestler, Barbara, Toynbee. Poets too, including even political poets, make bad committee men.

I rather incline to pushing ahead with our pedestrian labours of upsetting the old illusions, which is a job for old lags like us and the FO and letting the poets lay their love to the people whom we disabuse.

Back at the Foreign Office. Cancel the plan. The Minister won't play. So let's go back to the old tricks: infiltrating newspapers, over-throwing foreign leaders. . .

MIDDLE EAST

Crisis over Jews who leave Israel

How many exiles will return?

RIVKA FRIED reports

A BITTER ROW has erupted in Israel over the country's mounting emigration figures. Shmuel Lahis, the Director General of the Jewish Agency — and therefore a senior member of Israel's establishment — has resigned his job, accusing the Begin government of ignoring a problem so serious that 'it could threaten the existence of the state'.

Lahis's action comes two months after a secret 60-page report he had prepared on the subject had been leaked to the press. Lahis's report estimated that up to half-a-million Israelis were living in the United States alone. Lahis argued that emigration should be treated as a national emergency, to be tackled by a special task force headed by a deputy Prime Minister.

As the Jewish Agency is charged with the historic mission of encouraging every Jew to settle in Israel, the resignation of the agency's chief official is a serious matter. An article in *Khamsin*, a radical magazine on the Middle East, points out:

Zionists view Israel as a state with a mission. . . A Zionist state that does not absorb immigrants and whose citizens are leaving is in an acute crisis.

To talk to some of the emigrants considered to have caused this crisis, I visited the Shalom cafe on the Finchley Road in north London. The Shalom is a hangout for Israeli expatriates, its atmosphere reminiscent of the seedy cafes lining the main streets of Jerusalem. The dominant language is Hebrew: dark-haired men huddle in groups drinking Turkish coffee, rubbing their fingers against the winter cold. Many have lived in England for ten years or more, but only one would admit to having left Israel for good. As one veteran put it: 'What, stay here? No way. Never.'

NORMALLY AN outgoing and garrulous lot, Israelis are strangely withdrawn when pressed about their motives for emigrating. The Shalom cafe crowd initially refused to talk to me; at one point I heard the whisper 'Shin Bet' (Israeli secret service) behind my back. In other cases the reaction bordered on paranoia: several leftists and anti-Zionists living in London absolutely declined to be interviewed. One of them questioned my possible 'hostile intentions'. And another, who for obvious reasons will not be named, agreed to meet only after I signed a pledge not to use his name and occupation.

For the most part, however, the reticence stems from the hostility engendered by the stigma of *yerida*, a now-derogatory term for emigration which means descent. Moshe Machover, an anti-Zionist Israeli lecturing at London University, says he believes the entire terminology of emigration and immigration (in this case the Hebrew word is *aliya*, to ascend) is racist. 'It only refers to Jews; the same term is not used in respect to non-Jews. They are simply migrants: an ordinary term which doesn't include a value judgment. But concerning Jews they have an ideological term.'

The reasons for the growing emigration are self-evident: the highest inflation rate in the world, month-long annual stints of army reserve duty, plus the general insecurity and struggle to make ends meet. A recent editorial in the influential newspaper *Ha'aretz* blamed emigration on 'the continuing state of war . . . the declining quality of life, the justifiable feeling that everything here is achieved the hard way.' It also spoke of the 'lack of inspiration from a government of cynical politicians.'

Moshe Machover went even further. 'Paradoxically, the Jewish state was supposedly created as a safe haven for Jews all over the world,' he said. 'But in fact it is the only place where Jews as a community are in real danger, apart from relatively minor inci-

dents that can happen in France or Russia.'

An embassy source in London believes Israelis are torn and confused by the seeming urgency of events.

You're pushed to deal with the most crucial problems of all — the Palestinians. You don't have time; everyone is on your back. It's a total onslaught and you have to make crucial decisions in a matter of days, months. . . People who are leaving are caught in the midst of this confusion. They're saying in a way: 'to hell with it all' . . .

Apart from economic and political considerations, many Sephardic Jews of North African and Arab origins complain of ethnic discrimination in Israel. Danny, an Israeli of Moroccan descent, left Israel 11 years ago. He says he wasn't driven out by discrimination alone, but he's happier in London. 'Here I'm a dirty Jew, like everyone else. There I was a *schvaritze* (a black)'. One government survey has shown that 18 per cent of emigrants gave social inequality as their reason for departing.

The most embarrassing example of this was last October, when about a thousand Israelis accepted King Hassan's invitation and returned to Morocco. The Sephardim say they're treated like third-rate citizens in Israel, and discriminated against socially. One Yemenite living in London told me: 'In 1948, every Sephardic Jew was ready to die for Israel. Today they're not ready any longer.'

POLITICS

Dear Minister, am I British?

The Nationality Bill battle: PHIL COHEN reports from the front line

THE ADDITIONAL British citizens so created, with the right of abode here, would form a pool of considerable size and they would have little or no real connection with the United Kingdom.'

This sentence, part of the explanatory notes sent out by the Home Office to members of Standing Committee F on the controversial British Nationality Bill, has provided the focus for the first major debate between Tory and Labour MPs in the committee's opening session.

In committee room 14 of the Commons, with bright chandeliers illuminating the work of the 24 MPs — 10 Labour, 13 Tory and Ulster Unionist Enoch Powell — Home Office Minister of State Timothy Raison has been trying to convince his opponents that the bill is not racist, sexist or bureaucratic. With him sit Home Office experts near enough to whisper in his ear when he gets in a jam.

The front bench Opposition team of Shadow Home Secretary Roy Hattersley and Home Affairs spokesman John Tilley have no such expertise at hand. Their few advisors cannot speak directly to them but have to pass notes via the Labour whip for the committee, George Morton.

Hattersley complained about this disadvantage to Raison: 'My entire staff is only about one-tenth of what the Minister has in this committee alone,' he said when Raison criticised a Labour amendment as technically faulty.

Clause 1(1) of the Bill, which took up six and a half hours of debate and illustrated the gulf between the parties, abolishes the 700-year-old principle of *ius soli*, whereby any child born in the United Kingdom irrespective of parentage has automatic right to British citizenship. In its place is put *ius sanguinis*, or citizenship by blood.

Raison claims that through increased travel, more and more children are born here of visitors, student or work permit holders and illegal entrants. Even if they leave Britain with their parents, they have gained our citizenship and may one day return and have children creating 'a pool of considerable size.'

'In place of the *ius soli* we have come up with a system well suited to our times — dare I call it the *ius*

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