

IN THE CITY OF WESTMINSTER MAGISTRATES COURT

BETWEEN:

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

v.

JULIAN PAUL ASSANGE

**Expert Report of Professor Noam Chomsky**

1. I am currently based at the University of Arizona where I am Laureate Professor of Linguistics and the Chair of the Agnese Nelms Haury Program in Environmental and Social Justice.
2. I joined the staff of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1955 and in 1961 was appointed full professor in the Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics (now the Department of Linguistics and Philosophy.) From 1966 to 1976 I held the Ferrari P. Ward Professorship of Modern Languages and Linguistics. In 1976 I was appointed Institute Professor. I am now Emeritus Professor. During the years 1958 to 1959 I was in residence at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, NJ.
3. I have received honorary degrees from many universities, including the University of London, University of Chicago, Loyola University of Chicago, Swarthmore College, Delhi University, Bard College, University of Massachusetts, University of Pennsylvania, Georgetown University, Amherst College, Cambridge University, University of Buenos Aires, McGill University, Universitat Rovira I Virgili, Tarragona, Columbia University, University of Connecticut, Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa, University of Western Ontario, University of Toronto, Harvard University, University of Calcutta, and Universidad Nacional De Colombia.
4. I am a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the National

Academy of Science. In addition, I am a member of other professional and learned societies in the United States and abroad, and am a recipient of the Distinguished Scientific Contribution Award of the American Psychological Association, the Kyoto Prize in Basic Sciences, the Helmholtz Medal, the Dorothy Eldridge Peacemaker Award, the Ben Franklin Medal in Computer and Cognitive Science, and many others awards.

5. I have written and lectured widely on linguistics, philosophy, intellectual history, contemporary issues, international affairs and U.S. foreign policy. My works include: Aspects of the Theory of Syntax; Cartesian Linguistics; Sound Pattern of English (with Morris Halle); Language and Mind; American Power and the New Mandarins; At War with Asia; For Reasons of State; Peace in the Middle East?; Reflections on Language; The Political Economy of Human Rights, Vol. I and II (with E.S. Herman); Rules and Representations; Lectures on Government and Binding; Towards a New Cold War; Radical Priorities; Fateful Triangle; Knowledge of Language; Turning the Tide; Pirates and Emperors; On Power and Ideology; Language and Problems of Knowledge; The Culture of Terrorism; Manufacturing Consent (with E.S. Herman); Necessary Illusions; Deterring Democracy; Year 501; Rethinking Camelot: JFK, the Vietnam War and US Political Culture; Letters from Lexington; World Orders, Old and New; The Minimalist Program; Powers and Prospects; The Common Good; Profit Over People; The New Military Humanism; New Horizons in the Study of Language and Mind; Rogue States; A New Generation Draws the Line; 9-11; Understanding Power; Hegemony or Survival; Hopes and Prospects; What Kind of Creatures are We?; Who Rules the World
6. I have been asked whether Julian Assange's work and actions can be considered as "political", a question I am informed is of significance to the extradition request by the United States for Mr. Assange to be tried for espionage for having played a part in the publication of information that the United States government did not wish to be publically known.
7. I have previously spoken of the subject matter on which I am asked now to comment

in relation to Mr. Assange. The following paragraphs constitute my views. I confirm my assessment that Mr. Assange's opinions and actions should be understood in their relationship to the priorities of government.

8. A Professor of the Science of Government at Harvard University, the distinguished liberal political scientist and government adviser, Samuel Huntington, observed that "the architects of power in the United States must create a force that can be felt but not seen. Power remains strong when it remains in the dark. Exposed to the sunlight it begins to evaporate". He gave some telling examples concerning the real nature of the Cold War. He was discussing US military intervention abroad and he observed that "you may have to sell intervention or other military action in such a way as to create the misimpression that it is a Soviet Union that you're fighting. That's what the United States has been doing ever since the Truman Doctrine" and there are many illustrations of that leading principle.
9. Julian Assange's actions, which have been categorized as criminal, are actions that expose power to sunlight -- actions that may cause power to evaporate if the population grasps the opportunity to become independent citizens of a free society rather than subjects of a master who operates in secret. That is a choice and it's long been understood that the public can cause power to evaporate.
10. The one leading thinker who understood and explained this critical fact was David Hume writing on the First Principles of Government in one of the first modern works of political theory over 250 years ago. His formulation was so clear and pertinent that I'll simply quote it. Hume found "[n]othing more surprising than to see the easiness with which the many are governed by the few and to observe the implicit submission with which men resigned their own sentiments and passions to those of their rulers. When we inquire by what means this wonder is brought about we shall find that as force is always on the side of the governed the governors have nothing to support them but opinion. It is therefore an opinion only that government is founded and this maxim extends to the most despotic and most military governments as well as to the most free

and the most popular.”

11. Actually Hume underestimates the efficacy of violence but his words are particularly appropriate to societies where popular struggle over many years has won a considerable degree of freedom. In such societies, such as ours of course, power really is on the side of the governed and the governors have nothing to support them but opinion. That is one reason why the huge public relations industry is the most immense propaganda agency in human history, a reach that's developed and reached its most sophisticated forms in the most free societies, the United States and Britain. That institution arose about a century ago when elites came to understand that too much freedom had been won for the public to be controlled by force so it would be necessary to control attitudes and opinions. Liberal intellectual elites understood that as well which is why they urged, to give a few quotes, that we must discard “democratic dogmatism about people being the best judges of their own interests.” They are not. They are “ignorant and meddling outsiders” and therefore must be “put in their place” so as not to disturb the “responsible men” who rule by right.
  
12. One device to control the population is to operate in secret so that the ignorant and meddling outsiders will stay in their place, remote from the levers of power which are none of their business. That's the main purpose for classification of internal documents. Anyone who has pored through the archives of released documents has surely come to realize pretty quickly that what is kept secret very rarely has anything at all to do with security, except for the security of the leadership from their domestic enemy, their own population. The practice is so routine that illustration is really quite superfluous. I'll mention only one contemporary case. Consider the global trade agreements, Pacific and Atlantic, in actuality investor rights agreements masquerading under the rubric of free trade. They're negotiated in secret. There's an intention of Stalinist style ratification by Parliament – yes or no - which of course means yes, with no discussion or debate, what's called in the United States “fast-track.” To be accurate they're not negotiated entirely in secret. The facts are known to the corporate lawyers and lobbyists who are writing the details in such a way as to protect the interests of the

constituency that they represent which is, of course, not the public. The public, on the contrary, is an enemy that must be kept in ignorance.

13. Julian Assange's alleged crime in working to expose government secrets is to violate the fundamental principles of government, to lift the veil of secrecy that protects power from scrutiny, keeps it from evaporating -- and again, it is well understood by the powerful that lifting the veil may cause power to evaporate. It may even lead to authentic freedom and democracy if an aroused public comes to understand that force is on the side of the governed and it can be their force if they choose to control their own fate.

14. In my view, Julian Assange, in courageously upholding political beliefs that most of us profess to share, has performed an enormous service to all the people in the world who treasure the values of freedom and democracy and who therefore demand the right to know what their elected representatives are doing. His actions in turn have led him to be pursued in a cruel and intolerable manner.

Signed:

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Ron Clardy". The signature is written in black ink and is positioned to the right of the word "Signed:".

Dated: 12th February 2020