

National Caucus of Labor Committees

\$2



Strategy for Socialism

Volume II

**Zero Growth:
Blueprint for Extinction
United Socialist States of Europe
Philosophy of Socialist Education
New York City School Crisis**

National Caucus of Labor Committees

\$2



Strategy for Socialism

Volume II



**Zero Growth:
Blueprint for Extinction.**
United Socialist States of Europe
Philosophy of Socialist Education
New York City School Crisis

National Caucus of Labor Committees

\$2



Strategy for Socialism

Volume II



**Zero Growth:
Blueprint for Extinction**
United Socialist States of Europe
Philosophy of Socialist Education
New York City School Crisis

Blank Page



Strategy for Socialism Volume II

- 4 BLUEPRINT FOR EXTINCTION
A Critique of the Zero Growth Movement**

- 22 THE UNITED SOCIALIST STATES OF EUROPE**

- 42 THE PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIALIST EDUCATION**

- 60 THE NEW YORK CITY SCHOOL CRISIS**

With this second issue of **Strategy for Socialism**, we continue a series of reprints from **New Solidarity**, **The Campaigner**, and other publications of **The National Caucus of Labor Committees**. The articles in this second volume were chosen because of the necessity of having them reprinted rather than for chronological reasons. In other volumes we plan to print other vital documents not presently available to the public.

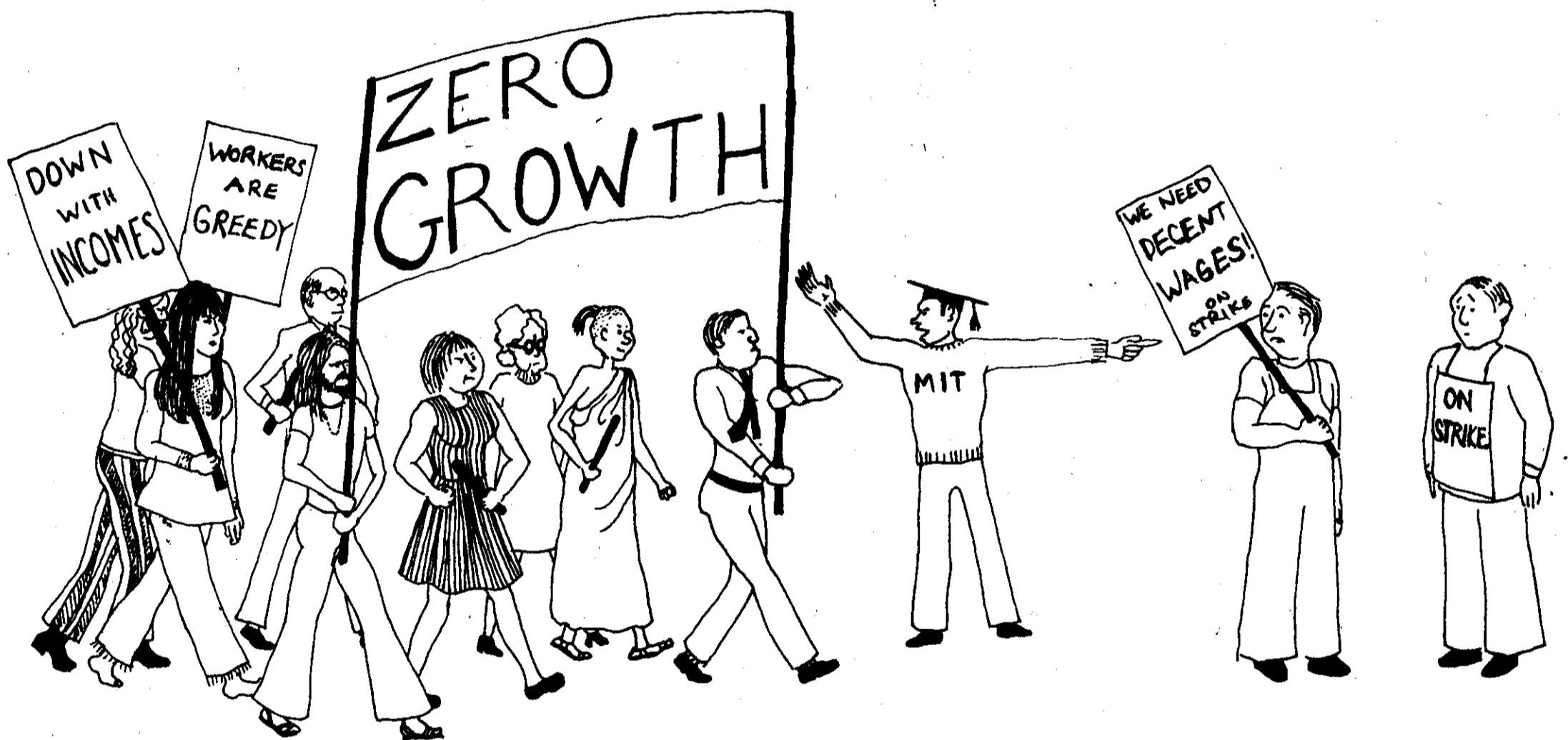
Managing Editor: D. Goldberg
Cover: S. Pettingell

Copyright © 1974 by **The Campaigner**



BLUEPRINT FOR EXTINCTION

A Critique of the Zero Growth Movement



Capitalism's limits to Growth

Originally published in *The Campaigner* Vol. 5, No. 3, May-June 1972.

Under "normal" conditions of capitalist development political democracy and liberalism are the norms of politics and social thought. Liberal ideology insists (among other things) that the answer to social ills lies in continued economic expansion. Today this notion finds itself under vigorous attack.

Indeed at first glance it does appear, superficially, that "economic growth" has produced the hydra of slums, pollution, crowding, resource depletion — in short, the much publicized and all too real "ecology crisis." A closer look reveals that actual economic stagnation rather than purported growth produced the present grim prospects.

Although GNP and capitalist profits have continued to accumulate almost unabated, the U.S. industrial production index indicates that industrial output has stagnated for the last four years at the 1968 level. The capital goods production index, an even more sensitive indicator of real economic growth, is still below the 1967 level. (The qualification must be made here that these figures are merely a conservative reflection of the real depths of stagnation since they include wasteful production such as the military sector; furthermore no consideration is given here to actual production requirements created merely through depreciation with respect to advanced technology.) Meanwhile cancerous, speculative expansion of all forms of credit (the "growth") coincident with this stagnation of real productive output has created the conditions for a classic general breakdown crisis or depression.

The rise in corporate profits reported for the last quarter of 1971 indicates the success of government wage-gouging policies rather than any health of the capitalist economy. Likewise, Hosannas recently heard around the Nixon administration praising improved unemployment and production rates merely reflect a desperate attempt to parlay short-term results of massive inflationary credit extensions into political capital. This is indicated in part by a total GNP inflationary price index rise of 6.2% in the first quarter of this year compared to 1.7% in the last quarter of 1971. Phase II,

and similar austerity measures throughout the advanced capitalist sector, are required to stave off runaway bankruptcies or monetary panic, either of which could now rapidly lead to exacerbated depression conditions.

Austerity policies require for their implementation the breaking of organized labor's resistance. This requires the breaking of the trade unions themselves. It is this reality which has changed the face of politics in the advanced capitalist countries. In the United States sector this change is manifested in the breakup of the Democratic Party-labor-minority-group alliance as the economic conditions permitting such "consensus" politics have eroded.

Naturally enough such "material" assaults on pluralist politics are beginning to expose liberal thought for the mere ideology that it actually is. The universities, chief center for the production of the most advanced ideology, are, obligingly, mounting attacks on the now stale and increasingly useless liberal wisdom. That old liberal humanism was mainly an abstract ethical notion, rather than an understanding of real material men in society, is now revealed by the failure of liberal science to effectively counter the proliferating outright fascist tendencies represented by the likes of Jensen, Herrnstein, Koestler, and Skinner.

But all of this is not without its own rhyme or reason. As we have indicated, ruling circles now require a policy of austerity so that the capitalist economy can be propped up through the transfer of former wage and social service expenditures to profits. No ruling class has ever justified its rule on the basis of its openly declared self-interest. The capitalist class is no exception. The bungling crisis-mongering of the capitalist class must somehow be represented as policy in the interest of society as a whole.

Bourgeois economics is increasingly unable to apply the necessary progressive veneer to the rotting capitalist hulk. Last year's monetary shakeup and the continuing runaway "stagflation" have strained the credibility of any Pollyannaish Keynesianism to the breaking point. The working class find it increasingly hard to swallow the notion that wage increases are responsible for inflation, as the relative success of Nixon's Phase II wage-gouging is producing no let-up in both rising prices and unemployment.

More farsighted elements of the ruling class have been sloshing around in certain academic swamps, searching for a replacement for the failed economics professors. In this process the zero-growth ecologists have been fished out. This is not to suggest that ruling class propaganda requirements have automatically created the necessary innovations. The Zero Growth movement is a unique asset to present capitalist austerity policies, but it is

social and economic forces rather than capitalist propaganda needs per se which have given rise to it. Various embodiments of capitalist "enlightened" self-interest have merely financed and encouraged ideas which have sprung "spontaneously" from the alienated consciousness of the bourgeois scientist contemplating the decay of capitalist society.

The support of the MIT business school's "project on the predicament of mankind" by Italian industrialist Aurelio Peccei's "Club of Rome" and the Volkswagen Foundation is an instructive case in point. Dennis Meadows' "Limits to Growth," the published initial results of the MIT "project," envisions a breakdown of the "world system" within one hundred years, caused by exponentially increasing rates of population, industrial output, and pollution on a world-wide scale.

To achieve this result, "Limits to Growth" extrapolates world population and industrial production rates since 1900 into the future. With the help of a computer program designed by their MIT business school colleague Jay W. Forrester, exponentially-increasing population and industrialization are seen to run up against the supposedly finite store of world natural resources upon which industry depends, the capacity of the biosphere to absorb pollution, and the Malthusian spectre of mass starvation caused by the dwindling supply of arable land.

The MIT group's "solution" to this crisis is to halt economic and population growth, a policy which they call an "equilibrium state." Such a policy is seen as maintaining the population at a stable level through Zero Population Growth (ZPG) by limiting annual births to a level merely sufficient to offset annual deaths. At the same time, economic growth is halted by limiting capital investment to that level required to merely replace depreciated capital.

The question immediately arises, "What interest do prominent industrialists, the Volkswagen corporation, the OECD, and other capitalist interests represented in the Club of Rome, have in halting population and economic growth?" The answer is — none. Is Volkswagen interested in reducing its profits by cutbacks in economic growth; is it interested in losing prospective customers through a cutback in population growth? Obviously not.

The identity of interest between the Zero Growth movement and capitalist policy makers lies not in the latter's intentions to consciously adopt a zero-growth policy. The usefulness of Zero Growth ideology lies rather in the domain of propaganda, with which to break working class resistance to austerity measures, by clothing these measures in the sheepskin of "respectable" social theory.

The Zero Growth movement, seeing industrial production inevitably leading to pollution and exhaustion of what they consider to be finite natural resources, recommends halting population growth and *reducing consumption demand*, as a means to slow down industrial growth and thus "prevent" ecological breakdown. The ruling class (that is, its more prescient members) has been quick to pick up the notion of reduced consumption demand as anti-pollution and conservation measures, in order to produce strike-breaking propaganda. Now the "greed" of striking workers is not only "fueling inflation," it is also "causing pollution and using up non-renewable resources."

We warned against this potential insidious use of the ecology movement two years ago when that "movement" was almost universally lauded as the new savior (see "Ecology Crisis: Who's Polluting Whom," *Campaigner*, May-June, 1970.) The use of ZPG ideology as a cover for attacks on the working class has now moved out of the realm of speculation and into the front lines of class warfare. The *New York Times*, always in the vanguard where attacks on the working class are concerned, joined the fray with an Anthony Lewis column attacking the British coal strikers with arguments gleaned from the British "Blueprint for Survival" ecology tract, which the *Times* had just editorially endorsed on February 4. (*New York Times*, February 14.)

More recently a *Times* editorial entitled "Energy Crisis Ahead" (*New York Times*, April 10) has called for either a "tax on all fuel and power to discourage frivolous (sic) energy consumption..." or "alternatively, the possibility has to be faced that eventually fuel and power may have to be rationed, perhaps by setting an upper limit per person on family electricity consumption." Thus the *Times*, teaming up with Secretary of Interior Rogers C.B. Morton who has asked Congress for power rate hikes, adds fuel to the power utilities' increasingly strident demands for rate price hikes. A *Times* article appearing several weeks earlier (see "We're Running Out of Gas," *New York Times Sunday Magazine*, March 19) had, by the way, shown convincingly that the case for dwindling known reserves of gas and oil has been cooked up by the depletion allowance-bloated oil industry itself.

We do not by any means intend to suggest that the "ecology crisis" does not exist; we do insist that the crisis be seen for what it actually is. We denounce the swinish ideological defense of capitalist economic and social relations that is the unifying element of the so-called "ecology movement," from the "moderate" anti-technology stand of Barry Commoner, to the rabid and hysterical anti-human approach of MIT's Meadows and Forrester.

The ecology crisis is actually subsumed by the general breakdown of capitalist economic relations and therefore only adequately comprehended in such connection. The question of ecological and developmental problems in the Soviet Union as an apparent refutation of this position often arises immediately. To merely indicate the solution here, the Soviet Union and East European economies must be seen for what they actually are: worker state sub-sectors of the world capitalist economy trying to defend their limited existence in a profoundly economically hostile environment. Thus we are actually still dealing with problems of capitalism rather than of socialism (which does not exist in any real sense in the present "worker states.") We here refer readers to E. Preobrazhensky's *New Economics*, and the numerous works by Trotsky and Deutscher concerning this matter. The inherent capitalist tendency toward capital investment stagnation, as a means of self-protection against the devaluation of individual capital assets, mediated through declining consumer demand and apparent capital shortages, is especially exacerbated in the resulting present period of inflationary recession and monetary instability. The crisis is manifested as a general inability of the capitalist class to maintain its collective credit obligations (to itself) on the basis of declining income rates from stagnated real production.

In this situation, any income which can be shifted from actually necessary social reproductive costs to service capitalist debt can be accounted as profit, and thus as a short term "solution" to the immediate problem as it appears to the capitalist class. That this process is an essential feature of capitalism in general can be indicated by the fact that capitalist accounting does not even recognize the problem as it actually exists. To capitalist accounting as well as to its "theoretical" formulation — bourgeois economics — social reproductive costs are generally represented merely as immediate costs of production, the underpayment of same yielding the short term "optimum" result of increased profitability of the individual capital.

This systematic blindness — the "price-earnings" ratio optimizing criterion of capitalist investment — fails to recognize the role of expanded consumption and environmental maintenance as regular requirements of continuously expanding social productivity. Thus in addition to normal or real accumulation of capital a "fictitious accumulation" occurs in the form of wage-gouging, social service cutbacks, "savings" at the expense to mankind of industrial pollution, and the imperialist looting of natural and human resources of the underdeveloped world. Luxemburg properly identified such behavior as the continual "primitive accumulation"

feature of capitalist development which acts to "resolve" the capitalist "realization crisis." This can otherwise be seen as the capitalist practice of attempting to resolve the discrepancies created by the necessity to maintain fictitious accumulation on the premise of stagnating real accumulation, through the intensification of the very fictitious accumulation which is the cause of the problem.

Of course all this "cost-cutting" and fictitious growth actually reduces social productivity, artificially raising the price of all necessary social investments (including pollution control), thus limiting apparent "choice" to either "growth" with pollution or no growth at all. In part the Zero Growth argument for the notion of finite resources falls apart upon consideration of the question of the productivity of labor. As a careful examination of, for example, the Club of Rome's "Limits to Growth" reveals, the "finiteness" of depleted resources appears in their analysis as "unsupportably high costs" of bringing new resources into use (marginal land, low grade ores, etc.), rather than absolute exhaustion.

It is of course capitalist stagnation which makes such costs apparently untenable. By mislocating the problem in some kind of universalized, absolute cost barriers the "ecologists" hide from view the systematic historic untenability of capitalist development. We do not mean to imply, however, that development limited to an extension of a qualitatively unchanging technology will not ultimately exhaust the finite resources appropriate to such development. No computers are necessary to adduce such a result. However, it is precisely on this point that capitalism stands condemned.

Successful human evolution has been characterized by periodic "productive revolutions" where mere quantitative extensions of man's "energy capturing" capacities have led to qualitative transformations of established modes of life, and thus repeatedly saved mankind from apparently "inevitable crises." The revolution which produced the human species as such, the invention of agriculture, the steam engine, nuclear power, all have created the so-called natural resources from previously "useless" nature.

Under the reign of capitalism humanity has produced countless revolutions of productive technology. If this process could continue unabated there would be no real, material basis in need for socialism, but such is not the case. The pressing question of alternatives to the finite supply of fossil fuels, to supply the ever-expanding need of developing humanity for energy, reveals the incapacity of capitalist economy.

It is not surprising that Zero Growth advocates give short shrift to the possibilities for developing a practical

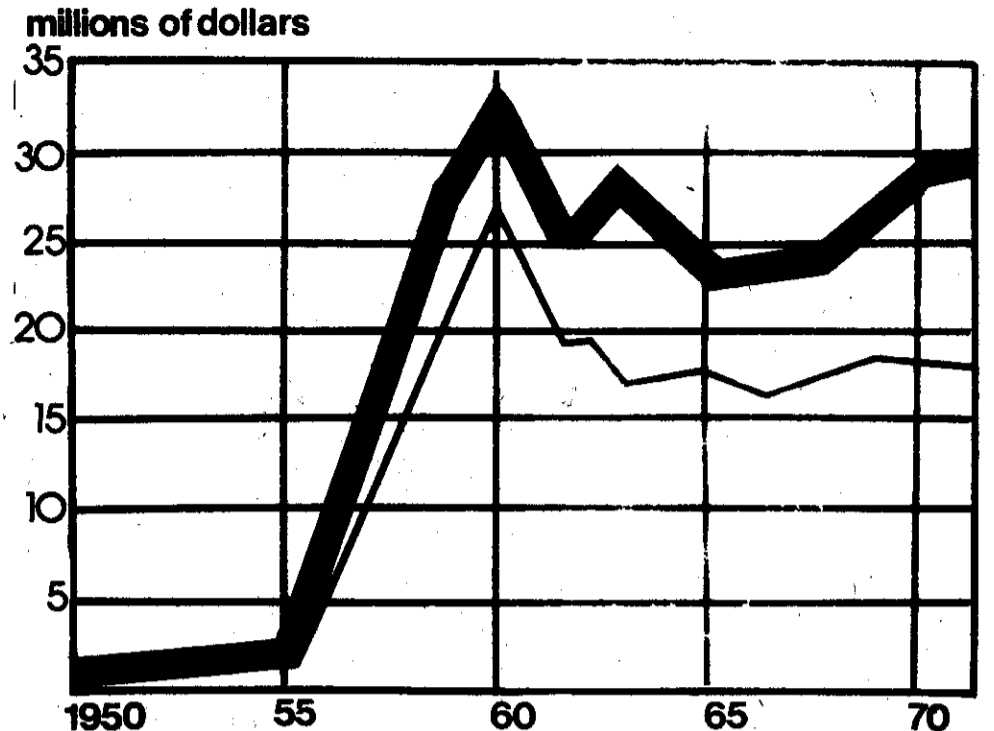
plasma fusion reactor for the production of electrical energy. The fusion of the nuclei within a deuterium (or deuterium-tritium) plasma releases enormous energy but yields no dangerous radio-active waste products. The fuel, deuterium, a "heavy" isotope of hydrogen, is easily separable from sea water and would be virtually inexhaustible, thus virtually eliminating the finite resource problem with respect to fossil fuels and fissionable materials. The great heats generated would provide such great efficiency in heat transfer methods of electricity generation that thermal pollution connected with energy production would cease being problematical. In addition, applications of the process such as the "fusion torch" might make the recycling of industrial materials cheap enough to be almost universal.

Is such a development possible? At present no theoretical obstacles remain to block the realization of this advance (for references on the matter of fusion power see the above cited "Ecology Crisis: Who's Polluting Whom" and "Zero Growth" in *New Solidarity*, April 10-14.) Leading researchers in the field of plasma physics, Eastlund and Gough, have stated that a practical prototype fusion reactor could be created within ten years *if such development were seen as a "national goal."*

Whereas in a rational world the "ecology movement" would jump on such a development and lend all its efforts toward propagandizing the need for development of fusion power, in the "real" world it is not merely that such a development would dissolve the case for Zero Growth that these warriors are mum on the subject. They cannot see the development of fusion power as a real possibility *because it is not on the immediate capitalist investment agenda.* Having limited themselves entirely to the outlook of the actual *capitalist* future, *ZPGers can see no future that does not include stagnation of productive technology.*

While vast expenditures of productive resources will be required to develop fusion power as a practical source of energy, the utility industry, eating itself through government porkbarrels in the form of "welfare" measures, such as "oil depletion allowances" and enormous capital advances by the AEC in the development of fission power, is spending next to nothing on fusion research. The AEC itself has so far spent less than the cost of one Apollo moonshot on fusion power research and the fiscal 1971 budget for such research of \$30 million was \$3 million *less* than the 1960 budget!

Again, it is capitalism and the private property nature of capitalist capitals that is responsible for this stagnation in research development. Capitalist optimizing criteria demand not only that "full value" be milked out



The main obstacle to the development of fusion power is capitalist investment policy. The solid curve shows the annual operating and equipment expenditures for the U.S. fusion program. The thin curve shows these expenditures adjusted for inflation.

of the development of fission power before its replacement, but also that the ancient plant and equipment of the fossil fuel generating plants be maintained at "book value" so that the edifice of the debt structure built on such rotten foundations does not crumble.

The "equilibrium economy" recommended by ZPGers would of course mean that adequate funds required for the realization of fusion power could *never* be generated. Thus, Zero Growth is a well argued case for the extinction of mankind.

Zero Growth unfortunately need no longer be studied from the standpoint of the future through the "creative" capitalist imagination of the ZPG ecologist. In many respects it has already descended upon us. Rather than the utopia predicted for it, it has turned out to be in different aspects both cause and effect of the economic crisis. We have already indicated that capitalist-induced stagnation of industrial output is a primary source of the current economic crisis. This industrial stagnation, rather than moderating existing rates of pollution, makes the serious task of repairing damage done to the environment and prevention of future pollution through the development of pollution control techniques economically impossible under capitalism.

Not only has industrial production stagnated. The population growth rates of the "advanced" industrial countries have been moderating for a considerable period under the influence of both increased productivity and accompanied "cost" of producing labor power. This translates into decreased desire for large families, due to increased costs of education and longer social maturation.

tion times. However, in addition to this moderate long-term trend (which ZPGers blithely ignore), analysis of the 1970 United States Census reveals a sharp downturn in U.S. fertility rates which could rapidly produce Zero Population Growth within a few years!

Doubting readers are invited to read an analysis of the latest U.S. census data by George Grier, titled "The Baby Bust," (Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, 1971.) Entirely on the basis of published U.S. census data, Grier shows that despite the fact that the generally fertile part of the population (15 to 34-year-olds) has grown by 29% in the last ten years, due to the post-war baby boom (this increase was exceeded only in the 1870's and '80's, due to immigration), the under-five population has *decreased* by 15.5% in the same period (by far the largest of such decreases which have only previously occurred in 1920-29 and 1930-39.) Thus as the post-war boom babies have matured to fertile age they have failed to produce the "population boom" that both most authoritative "sources" and ZPG crackpots alike have long been predicting.

Declining fertility rates are responsible for this drastic drop in the under-five population since death rates have in fact been only slowly increasing. The recent decline in fertility rates (that is the number of children actually born per specified population unit) dates from the '57-58 recession, continuing in a long and sharp slide into the present economic crisis. The long slide into the Great Depression after World War I created a similar decline in fertility rates.

This decline has been so steep that if the rate of decline experienced since 1960 continues only *two more years* we could hit the population replacement level — the famous ZPG (see "The Baby Bust," p. 22.) Far from ushering in an era of peace and light this threatening ZPG (and likely actual population *decline*) is a response to profound economic crisis. Families are increasingly, "voluntarily" limiting their size because of social instability, economic necessity, poor educational facilities, and so forth — due to a collapsing economy.

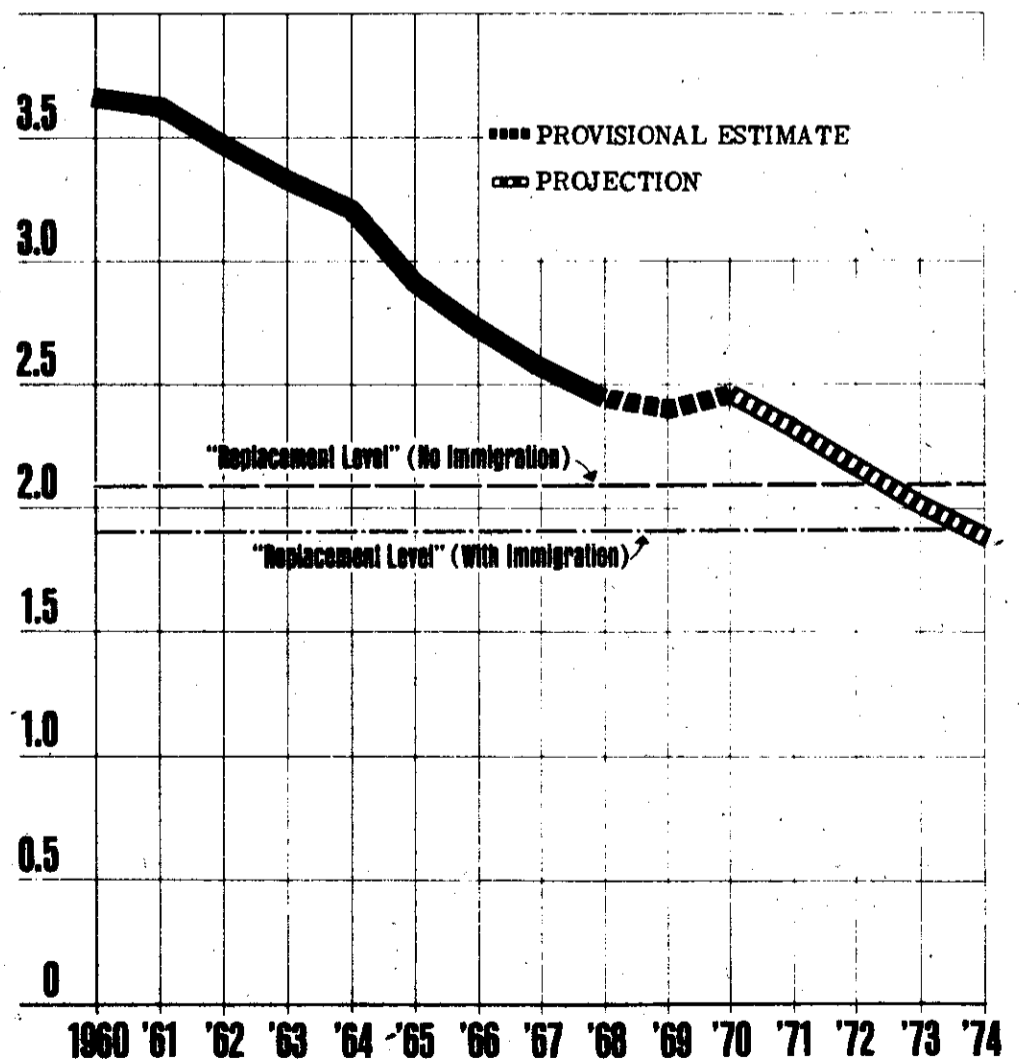
The rather consistent failures of "authoritative" demographers — including the U.S. Census Department — are a striking example of the dismal failure of empiricist method in the social sciences generally. Criticism of the rather naive statistical, computer program systems methods of the Club of Rome's "Limits to Growth" from many scientific quarters should not prevent us from seeing that, in general, "Limits to Growth" is merely a caricature of the best of empiricist methods. Social science's slavish commitment to "objective fact" and "objective trends" among those "facts" in the behaviorist schools, and to pure subjectivity in the "idealist" schools, prevents a real

comprehension of the essential duality of all social processes. It is precisely a comprehension of this duality — the subjectivity of human deliberative processes and actions and the resulting objective consequences for social reproduction — that is required for making any sorts of predictions whatsoever. And the character of such predictions is, therefore, inevitably "political."

The zero growth ecologists, however, are at least consistent with reality in their pessimism as long as they view *capitalist* social and economic relations as the only reality. But they are unwittingly (or not, as the particular case or morality is concerned) projecting *capitalist* relations of production into the future *to predict a crisis which is already upon us*. Not only are they doing that; they are embracing its negative aspects (stagnation of production and population) as a solution, while falsifying and hiding from criticism the actually crippling nature of capitalist "economic growth."

Liberal critics of the "ecology" doomsayers criticize from the point of view of "progressive capitalism." Those who claim that technology and continued "growth" will solve the problem in and of itself are probably more foolish (or deceitful) than their ZPG quack antagonists, in that they utterly fail to see the immediate political threat to human existence generated by impending economic collapse. (*The London*

children per woman



If recent trends continue, the "total fertility rate" will reach the ZPG transition level of 2.1 children per woman by mid-1972.

Economist and *Nature* attacks on "Limits to Growth" must be seen as such.) Under such conditions (we must realize that we have in a sense already reached such conditions) no technological breakthrough nor rapid real economic development necessary to avert crisis is going to take place.

The Nixon Administration's official attitude toward ZPG appears well calculated. While the ZPG movement will be an essential part of the propaganda attack on the working class, it uncomfortably indicates in an indirect way the present crisis of world capitalism. In addition, cretaceous layers of the capitalist class, not possessing much subtlety of thought, tend to take ZPG pronouncements seriously rather than as useful propaganda ("an end to accumulation, what kind of capitalism is that?!"). Thus, a balancing act results. The President's Commission on Population headed by John D. Rockefeller III gives ZPG Inc. rope by endorsing *eventual* ZPG, and Secretary of HEW Elliot Richardson has been running around the country attending ZPG forums and symposia decrying the undemocratic implications of ZPG while endorsing its "ultimate aims."

The official attitude that no crisis actually exists is an echo of the "liberal progressive" view that no crisis exists *for capitalism as such*. The difference being that the former is a canny professional guise and the latter a true conviction.

Is there then any basis for optimism? If human productive forces remain constrained within the stranglehold of capitalism, there is not; however, if socialists use the present conjunctural crisis to wrest control of the economy from the capitalist class there is no reason why both economic and ecological crisis cannot be avoided and the vast unmet needs of mankind be satisfied.

Socialism, not having to maintain fictitious inflated value of past capital investments, will be able to carry out rapid industrialization of the underdeveloped world on the basis of re-industrialization of the stagnated "advanced" economies, and thus will be able to generate the required sufficient social surplus to rapidly improve world-wide living standards, while cleaning up the environment and maintaining it in a productive state. It will also be able to develop technical advances such as fusion power production which will create vast new (previously unexploitable) resources and give us capacities for recycling existing industrial materials.

Such investments will actually vastly increase the productivity of labor on a world scale, making real growth, without the negative aspects epitomized by capitalist accumulation, possible for the first time in human history. Such a transformation is definitely not of the pie-in-the-sky sort envisioned apocalyptically by both

anarcho-"marxist" left sects and ZPGers alike. The tactical approximation of socialist investment policy and the social forces necessary to carry it out in this period, is the political strike-support policy of the NCLC. Both training in actual socialist economics and political organization are accomplished at the same time.

The "ecology movement" as it stands today is a deadly foe of such a policy, since it does not see the potential for human development in squandered capitalist speculative income and the unrealized social capital thus represented. By condemning expanded working class consumption (and thus production) the "ecology movement" becomes an ally of capitalist austerity regimes.

Socialist development will require the creative talents of every scientist to make creative contributions to theory and technology. The socialist movement now requires that Zero Growth *ideology* be exposed as such, so that it is not confused with actual science. Scientists and scientific socialists, both students and teachers alike, who recognize that advances in human knowledge can only be predicated upon the actual material advance of society, must locate their counter-attacks against Zero Growth ideology upon support for working class-for-itself political strike activity.

Ironically, the "Blueprint for Survival," one of the more egregious ZPG tracts, calls for "a Copernican revolution of the mind" to deal with present-day world problems. We could not agree more with that sentiment, but we also recognize that such revolutions of the mind are not the autonomous result of the individual minds of isolated geniuses. To paraphrase Marx, human society only sets tasks for itself that it is capable of solving. Only a society based on continued, expanding material control over nature will produce the genius required to prevent our self-destruction. So-called "equilibrium economy" "no-growth economy" only exists, or could exist, under present conditions of vast material deprivation, as disastrous stagnation. We have evidence enough of this fact as capitalist breakdown repeatedly produces "no-growth economy" for us in periodic depressions. The ZPG movement itself is evidence enough to show that such conditions make "Copernican revolutions" of the mind rare enough indeed.

Just as the question of the material expansion of society is inseparable from that of social relations, the production of human consciousness is also inseparable from the organization of human society. Empiricist method arises from the alienation of man in bourgeois society, which forces the individual to regard his limited domain of experience as the predicate for human knowledge in general.

The recent release of the Einstein papers refreshes our knowledge of how little scientific advance owes to

empiricist "scientific method." That Einstein achieved his revolutionary breakthrough in the comprehension of the material universe on the basis of intuition of whole processes, rather than contemplation upon alienated "experimental conditions," is quite clear. To the call of the ecology freak of the academic or "communal" variety for "ecological conscience," we must counterpose "ecological consciousness," which is nothing but *class-for-itself* consciousness. The political working class *for itself* as the self-conscious producer of human ecology as a whole has an inherent understanding of the necessities of development and the consequently increasing freedom of the human spirit as these forces really exist for man.

Man's relationship to nature is not that of some individual beast to his environment. Man's relationship to nature in general is a mediated connection, in which the individual significantly affects and is affected by his environment through the mediation of the totality of man's social relations. Therefore, the widespread conceit, that isolated man is in "communion" with "natural nature," is a self-deception. Man's self-consciousness, his willful development of himself as an individual *in and for* the totality of human society, is the only form of behavior and achievement which is in "harmony with nature" as nature exists, or could possibly exist, for man.

What distinguishes man from other animals generally, the mere beasts, is the principal fact of human existence. That is the fact, on the one hand, that lower animal species, such as rats, pigeons, and so forth, are governed by forms of behavior which are more or less narrowly fixed by their genetic inheritance and essentially inalterable forms of egg and uterine (and extra-uterine) gestation. Man is fundamentally distinguished from the lower animals by the fact of his historical existence, that he has shifted the focus of evolution of the dominant life-forms from the realm of genetic variations into the realm of more or less deliberately and successfully altering his basic modes of social organization and behavior, a fact which is merely epitomized by the accelerating progress of man's development of his technology from the early Pleistocene beginnings of a "baboon-like" existence. Whenever a group of individuals, deluded by the pathetic conceit that they are "scientists," takes extant modes of behavior and technology, such as those of present-day capitalist society, and projects future human development on the basis of a simple perpetuation of transient modes of individualized behaviors, such as technologies, that "scientist" has defined man, not as man, but as a mere hominid beast. Of course, consistency demands that his such conceptions be applied to himself. Man is not a hominid beast, but the "scientist" who proceeds on such assumptions has thereby

demonstrated the actuality of his own bestialized world-outlook.

It is not accidental that Zero Growth ideology, which is itself a product of persons permeated with the ideology of human bestialization, can propose only intensified bestialization. As long as alienation persists, there have been and will be terminal cases of this ideology as exemplified by Meadows, et al. Ordinarily, such wretched persons are simply an endemic disorder of capitalist society in particular. It is under conditions of great capitalist economic crisis, as in the crisis of Nazi Germany, or the onset of a new monetary breakdown today, that capitalism seizes upon these endemic, most-bestialized tendencies among its academics — Skinner, Jensen, Herrnstein, Meadows, et al. — to thus provide a "scientific" rationale for programs such as the Nazi slave-labor/extermination-camp system, or the ultimately identical programmatic goals of Zero Growth, the "Blueprint for Survival," or the "Limits to Growth."

☆ ☆ ☆

Zero Growth: Extinction for the Human Race on the Time Plan

by Robert Dillon

Originally published in **New Solidarity**,
Vol. III, No 2, April 10-14, 1972.

The "ecology movement's" latest and most heavily publicized attack on economic growth recently arrived in the form of a book entitled *The Limits To Growth* published for the Club of Rome, a group of about 70 technocrats and industrialists who describe themselves as an "invisible college" convened to solve world problems. The authors are a team of MIT systems analysts who used a computer program devised by MIT systems analyst Jay W. Forrester to project current economic and population trends into the future.

The group contends that if present rates of economic and population growth continue, both these rates will fall sharply within the next hundred years or so. They claim that pollution, non-renewable resource depletion, and declining per capita food production will cause a precipitous drop in population and industrial capacity in the relatively near future unless these trends are halted now.

Their basic argument is that the material resources upon which our existence depends are finite. Therefore, exponential increases (that is, accelerated rather than linear increases) in the rate of population and capital growth will rapidly run up against the limited resources and pollution-absorbing capacities of the earth. Simply stated, burgeoning industry and population will soon run out of the raw materials and food necessary to sustain such growth while we simultaneously poison ourselves in the process.

No-Growth Advocacy

As a solution to this apparent dilemma the MIT group propose what they call an equilibrium or no-growth economy and population policy. Such a policy would limit births to the level necessary to merely offset deaths in the world population. In addition, capital investment would be limited to the rate required merely to replace that capital lost through depreciation of fixed capital

stocks.

This equilibrium state is then presumed capable of maintaining human society "far into the future" without reaching the limits imposed by over-pollution and exhausted natural resources. If at first blush this sounds attractive as a solution then ponder the following problem: A large portion of the U.S. population (perhaps one half) presently finds its wages inadequate to prepare its children to play a useful role in society through advanced technology jobs (as if indeed such jobs actually existed in adequate numbers). In addition our hospitals, schools and housing stock are, to put it mildly, inadequate and rapidly deteriorating.

Such are the conditions prevailing in the U.S. today; conditions throughout the world and in the under-developed world in particular are a nightmare by comparison. A no-growth economy would not only force the freezing of all wages and standards of living at their present miserable levels; it would in all likelihood plunge them lower still.

By way of anticipating such objections, the MIT group advocates continued industrial growth until 1995 so that a worldwide standard of living measuring half the current U.S. level may prevail before calling a halt to growth. Since the authors certify themselves as egalitarians, presumably they are also advocating a halving of U.S. and European wage-earners' income! More importantly, it is assumed that a capitalist world economy presently on the brink of depression will still be creating any real growth at all. The U.S. sector of the world capitalist economy has in fact produced a steady fall in real incomes since 1965 and shown an absolute stagnation in industrial output for the last several years.

The report is strewn throughout with impressive looking graphs produced by computer print-outs. The authors claim superiority for their "formal models" over mere "mental models" which do not utilize computers. Actually, a computer is no more capable of producing conceptual knowledge of the world than is a pencil. A computer is merely a highly sophisticated adding and collecting machine. As a recent New York Times review of *The Limits to Growth* stated, "garbage in, garbage out" is an old computer programmer's adage.

Garbage In

Indeed it is precisely in its fundamental assumptions (its garbage input) that the whole zero-growth argument falls apart. The argument that exponential growth will finally be halted by finite resources holds up in neither premise.

First, the method of extrapolating developmental trends into the future on the basis of a limited period

with *no theoretical consideration given to the actual causes of such rates* is nothing less than intellectual charlatantry. The case of the blind man confidently trudging toward the destruction of a cliffside assured of his safety by the fact that each of his previous footfalls has been on solid ground is no more to be pitied than the MIT variety of blindmen.

Their population extrapolations are a case in point. Seen from the perspective of the world as a whole, population has indeed been expanding exponentially; this increase is apparently causally associated with an exponential increase in industrial output. However, when the industrially developed and underdeveloped countries are examined *separately* in this regard, a different picture emerges. The industrially developed countries have actually exhibited a decline in population rates to a linear expansion, while the underdeveloped countries which are generally exhibiting little or no real growth in industrial output have exponentially increasing populations.

The reason for this is the "value" and "cost" of the addition of a new human being to society (in particular to the family) in each case. In the "industrially advanced" countries each new human being is potentially far more productive than in the underdeveloped world; however the "cost of producing" him is correspondingly greater due to increased education and social maturation time. Thus there are strong pressures on the family to employ birth control techniques which will limit their family size, and this reduces birth rates in society as a whole.

The situation in the underdeveloped world is the opposite. Especially since the vicious capitalist looting of the "Third World" throughout this century, jobs are characterized by labor intensity, low wages, and generally low levels of skill or educational requirements. This type of "industry" has absorbed — we should say consumed — millions of children in the "Third World." Thus, although to the average family in the underdeveloped world the "cost" of raising children is actually relatively great compared to his income, each new child rapidly becomes an additional source of family sustenance.

The problem of birth control programs in the underdeveloped world today is that where such methods are available there is no desire or motivation on the part of families to use them. Whether or not such attitudes are "traditional" is beside the point. The point is that such attitudes are actually appropriate to family survival. Such families' daily experience and observation confirm over and over for them the principle that larger families are wealthier families.

Thus the population problem in such areas is not how

do we supply birth control techniques, but rather how to offer incentive for their use which will not destroy families by lowering their already miserable income. The answer, strangely enough, is industrialization! The real need is for high-wage, highly capitalized productive jobs which will produce the desperately wanting material values for the underdeveloped world. The more likely conclusion to draw from all this is that the only real solution to the world population problem is the most rapid, balanced *worldwide* industrial development.

Thus the abstract statistical method of the MIT report, alienated from any real theoretical concern with actual social and economic causes of behavior, consistently produces conclusions which are opposite from reality. Most telling on this point is that the book itself actually contains all the statistical information needed to indicate the above point.

Exhausted Resources?

In addition to the demonstrably false method of arbitrary projection of theoretically unanalyzed growth rates into the future, the second major premise of the MIT report, namely the finiteness of natural resources, also crumbles upon investigation.

Had the MIT group been around at the later Paleolithic (end of the Old Stone Age) period of man's history, they no doubt would have confidently predicted (on the basis of the latest methods of pebble counting) the end of the human race due to the combination of climatic changes and man's own success as a hunter, which was then causing the rapid extinction of large grazing animal species upon which he depended for survival. Nevertheless man did survive. He invented agriculture and on the basis of this invention his population increased by a factor of 60 in the Near East site of this invention within about six millenia.

In a similar vein the London *Economist* chided the author of *Limits*; "They would have predicted the downfall of urban civilization in the 19th century by statistically proving that London was inexorably drowning itself in horse manure as the horse carriage multiplied beyond control."

Resources are not finite. The reason is that they are a product of man's civilization, of his transformation of nature into his own subjective or active purposeful life-process. Man is continually creating new natural resources by inventing new processes of transforming nature to his purpose. Despite this dominant trend of human history the MIT group claim that we have now reached the end of the line.

Energy Breakthrough

In this connection it is significant that the authors have made only one brief and indirect reference to the most promising new scientific and technological breakthrough to appear since the steam engine — fusion power — and in the process they have deliberately confused it with the dangerous and highly polluting nuclear fission process. Fusion reactions create immense energy by fusing or joining two light nuclei atoms. The process reduces their mass, producing energy plus the harmless (non-radioactive) by-product of a nucleus, a proton or a helium isotope depending on the process and the fuel used.

The most likely fuel for this process is deuterium, a "heavy" isotope of hydrogen (an atom of hydrogen with an "extra" neutron added to the single proton nucleus). Deuterium is easily separated from sea water. This "resource" is essentially unlimited. William Gough and Bernard Eastlund, the two most prominent publicists of recent advances in fusion research, have estimated that the supply of usable deuterium is essentially "infinite" with a lower limit of at least 2.7 billion years (see "The Prospects of Fusion Power," *Scientific American*, Feb. 1971).

Since the process of separating deuterium from sea water is easy and cheap, fusion power will present mankind with essentially unlimited amounts of energy.

The fusion process produces such great heats that thermal or heat pollution due to inefficient heat transfer will cease to be a major problem. These heats can be used to ionize all waste products and convert them cheaply and directly back to their original constituent elements thus making a total recycling economy feasible. This can solve both the material resource shortages and a great deal of pollution problems at one blow. In addition, since agricultural productivity is actually a function of the additional energy applied to the process — the "capitalization" of agriculture — the presence of almost limitless energy will solve the world's food problems.

Is fusion power a real possibility? At present there are no longer any theoretical obstacles to its production. The only present obstacle is a lack of funds available to make the process a technical reality.

Ironically, the steady-state equilibrium economy would ensure that resources remain finite by failing to produce the surplus social wealth necessary to develop new technology such as fusion power. Eastlund and Gough estimate that if fusion power were seen as a national goal a practical prototype reactor could be developed in as little as ten years. A no growth economy

can *never* produce such breakthroughs, since it cannot generate enough surplus value required to realize scientific discoveries. It thus would doom human existence — perhaps just a little further into the future than the MIT group is presently looking — but nevertheless doom us to ultimate extinction.

Current Stagnation

But the MIT group is actually correct in claiming as they do that no technical inventions *alone* can solve the problems created by human development. However, they render themselves incapable of seeing the real problem of present "development" by regarding "social and economic factors" as external to the implicit assumptions of their "formal model" (see p. 46 of *The Limits to Growth*).

The stagnation of fusion power research is a case in point demonstrating that it is actually capitalist-induced stagnation which is now preventing real growth on a worldwide scale. In the U.S. there are almost no "private funds" (i.e. capitalist profits) going into fusion research; and annual Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) funds for this research — \$30 million in 1971 — have dropped \$3 million since 1960. Total expenditures on fusion research have been less than the cost of one Apollo moonshot.

The reason for this is that vast government pork-barrels to private utility companies (through the AEC) have built up enormous existing interests in fission reactors. Effective fusion power would render fission reactors obsolete, thus threatening the whole credit structure build upon existing power plants.

In a similar manner world food production is presently constrained by high prices through price supports and "land retirement subsidies," in order to maintain the liquidity of large food production and distribution empires, commodity speculators, and land mortgages.

The reason why the MIT group fails to see the potential development of fusion power is indicative of a basic flaw in their approach. They cannot perceive fusion power around the bend because it is not on the capitalist investment agenda. Throughout their analysis, where they think they are indicting economic growth or industrial investment for human use, they are actually blaming, and in a sense accurately portraying, capitalist degeneration or involuted growth — and they are extrapolating it into the future.

Capitalism necessarily pollutes because individual capitalists reckon pollution as cost-cutting. Thus capitalism as a whole has no mechanism for regarding environmental maintenance and improvement as the real constant capital costs which these maintenance activities actually represent. By initially *underestimating* the

actual social costs of production, capitalism ends up overvaluing such costs when faced with the job of cleaning up its own mess.

In a similar manner, investment in military hardware and speculative finance are also seen as actual capital "investments" rather than the actual wasteful deductions from social surplus that they are. These systematic expenditures are rapidly increasing the price of capital and thus strangling actual real investment. What the authors of *The Limits to Growth* have obscured in their work is that capitalist hegemony over world production resources is robbing humanity of its ability to solve our problems.

By mere extrapolation of the direction of capitalist relations of production, the *Limits* authors rightly foresee disaster. But by hiding the premise of capitalist relations and calling for a halt to "growth" as such, they have created a potent propaganda tool for the capitalist class.

Doesn't almost every capitalist know that a recession is here and he will cut production? Each cut measurably reduces the standard of living of the world's population — and now a group of ultra-respectable scientists discovers that this is a good thing! In the sense that science is nothing more than the abstract systematic form of the knowledge appropriate to progressive human development, the zero-growth movement adherents have ceased earning the right to be called scientists no matter what their academic qualifications may be.

☆ ☆ ☆

The Economic Crisis Spurs Growth of No-Growth Mov't

by John Ascher

Originally published in **New Solidarity**, Vol. III, No. 3, April 17-21, 1972.

While the August 15, 1971 monetary shakeup stripped Samuelson and bourgeois economists generally of their serendipity and their sheepskins, the void created by this exposure has sent the bourgeoisie scrambling after new propaganda talent. The contest is one analagous to Alfred Krupp's turn of the century essay contest on "What can we learn from the principles of Darwinism for application to inner political development and the laws of the state?" The zero growth theorists have won a first prize, now being delivered in the form of fat commissions for "no growth" research.

The Club of Rome, the most prominent supporters of the "academic" zero growth movement, is offering generous research and publication grants to the zero growth academics. The zero growth systems dynamics group culled from the Alfred P. Sloan School of (business) Management of MIT has been the first grateful recipient.

The Club of Rome, according to its own self-description, does not "seek to express any single ideological, political or national point of view." Nevertheless the group's founder, Dr. Aurelio Peccei, is a prominent industrial manager who just happens to own Europe's largest industrial management firm—Italconsult. This "man of vision" is also affiliated with Fiat and Olivetti, where his presumably "non-political" vision includes strike-breaking and wage-gouging techniques as well as "the present and future predicament of man."

The "varied backgrounds" of the Club of Rome membership include Alexander King, scientific director of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and considerable profits from Volkswagen Co. contributed through their tax dodge, the Volkswagen Foundation.

Perhaps it is just coincidence that has led the Club of Rome-sponsored MIT business management-zero growth group to conclude that the "traditional"

consumption demand attitude is the evil genius of the pollution and resources crises? Perhaps it is coincidence that strike-breaking, wage cutting and social service cutbacks "logically" follow from this point of view? Perhaps Jay Forrester, professor of Business Management at MIT (inventor of the computer program upon which Dennis Meadows' *The Limits To Growth* is based) has not been influenced by all the "cost-cutting" techniques that a successful businessman (or, as in his case, teacher of businessmen) must assimilate? Who are we, mere "ideological" non-business-connected mortals, to point any accusing fingers?

While the actual "scientific" methods of Dr. Meadows and the Club of Rome have been shown to bear as much relation to actual science as bourgeois economics to reality, the task remains to demonstrate the immediate usefulness of such ideology to the present austerity measures of the ruling class.

Despite the anxiety of a section of the bourgeoisie at prohibitions on investment proposed by the over-zealous academics, the ruling class has agreed on the usefulness of zero growth ideology. As inflation continues to rise rapidly despite increased joblessness and depressed wages, the wage-push theory of inflation is ripe to be replaced. The "consumption pollutes" theory will enter the vanguard of the propaganda assault against workers' living standards.

OVERCOMING DIFFERENCES

The anxiety of certain capitalist layers has manifested itself in the London *Economist* and a recent *New York Times Book Review*, which have sharply criticized the Club of Rome study for ignoring the role of technological revolutions in overcoming previous ecological crises.

What the *Economist* is reacting to is the following: the emergence of no growth ideology signifies a scrapping of the bourgeois notion of "progress." In a nutshell these theories discredit the government's lie that no crisis actually exists, and that present austerity measures are temporary programs which will result in a rapid recovery. The economics of the solution offered by the zero growth ecologists is likewise unpalatable, the oft-mentioned "equilibrium" smelling too much like a depression. Nonetheless, the zero growth ideology is useful to the extent that it uses its "depression psychology" to break strikes and impose austerity.

The practicality of this "new" strikebreaking device was captured by Anthony Lewis in a *New York Times* column of Feb. 14, entitled "End of An Ideology," aimed at the British coal miners' strike:

The implications of the miners' strike are especially acute if we think of a future without the idea of economic growth. Until now we have told ourselves we can keep on giving everyone larger shares of the economic pie because the pie as a whole will grow. That has allowed us to avoid the really hard questions of social justice.

Lewis went on:

But that illusion is coming to an end. Politicians do not admit it yet, but some day soon people will be aware that the upward curve of production will have to be stopped if we want to avoid a natural calamity on earth. Human beings will still be able to yearn for more education, more leisure, more beauty — but not rationally for more things.

The same point was made in the Feb. 4 *New York Times* editorial on the *Blueprint for Survival*, the British zero growth program:

Even within a single nation, could such a program be initiated without setting off bitter struggles about the degree of sacrifice to be demanded of different groups? The current bickering in this country over the minor dislocations caused by wage and price controls provides a basis for pessimism. Nevertheless, there may still be time — but not much — to face up to the reality that a finite earth has finite resources and therefore cannot be subjected to endlessly escalating demands and drains.

The Limits to Growth as well as the *Blueprint for Survival* and similar efforts by Jay W. Forrester are the "intellectual" guts of the preceding argument, "scientifically" showing that expectations for decent living standards are obsolete because of nature's finiteness and the approaching limits of industrial growth. By attributing the finitude of industrial growth to man's relationship to nature generally, the ecologists are able to blame capitalists' economic problems on the preordained course of nature. "Progress" is the ecology scapegoat, rather than the inability of capitalists to repay nature what has been used. In this view strikes and other defensive struggles become irrational acts on the part of "shortsighted" individuals and groups.

Mayor of the Future — Jay W. Forrester

While the "limits to industrial growth" argument adds another ideological weapon to the capitalist arsenal for breaking strikes, Jay W. Forrester has prepared plans for prosecuting an intensified program of urban decay.

The Club of Rome study, the *Limits to Growth*, is based directly on Forrester's "systems dynamics" computer techniques, developed in the 50's by Forrester

as "industrial dynamics." The first application of this technique to social problems emerged when Forrester's work converged with that of the former "businessmen's" Mayor of Boston, John F. Collins. The first results of this collusion are published in *Urban Dynamics*.

In *Urban Dynamics* the problem of the cities is posed by Forrester in the following terms: What is the best method for molding each city as an economic unit in itself into a self-subsisting and export-generating unit? To effect such a denial of world economic interdependence, Forrester saw intervention into the "normal" process of deterioration of the cities as necessary.

Examining current programs for "revival" of the cities, such as welfare and low-cost housing construction, Forrester concludes that any "direct action" programs are superficial and in fact detrimental. He claims that such efforts inevitably create the following chain reaction: As poor people are directly aided, this increases the all-important variable "attractiveness" which tends to draw "underemployed" and "misfits," in Forrester's terms, into the city. The resulting slum conditions and increase in slum dwellers gives that section of the population more "political power," causing an increase in taxes for more social services, low cost housing, etc. Perhaps newspaper accounts of cuts in services are only fables? The demands of the poor make the city a leech rather than the self-subsisting economic unit Forrester has in mind. He writes

People are the fundamental generator of municipal expenditure. People require transportation. People use schools. People demand city services. Unless the people are economically able to support these services and politically responsible for authorizing them, the urban system is sure to be self-defeating.

Hence, in Forrester's view, we must eliminate demanding people—by one means or another.

Forrester devises a rather simple plan for solving the crises of the cities. Clear the land of slums for industry and remove the "politically irresponsible" (those demanding decent wages and housing?); decrease the amount of available low-cost housing, as a permanent solution to the "misfit problem"; and increase the opportunities for industry to expand. To accomplish this, Forrester encourages further revision in the tax structure in favor of industries. "The tax structure tends to penalize those who can contribute most to the well-being of the city, while favoring those who generate costs to the city," he laments. People should pay for the "irresponsibility" of being poor.

Forrester's "new" tax structure would remove rent

ceilings, on the one hand, while simultaneously placing a tax on the structure determined by the level of income of the dweller, "assessing the residential tax more nearly in proportion to the city costs generated by the different classes of the population . . ." Forrester knows well how to chop down trees to clear the land, although he has not yet formulated his final solution for the "dead wood" problem.

A new attitude has to be taken towards industry, Forrester contends. "Industry has been perceived as a politically impotent sector of the city onto which to load rising demands for revenue. But industry has retaliatory power. It can leave, and it does." To General Motors workers at the Frigidaire plant in Dayton, given the choice between a pay cut or a closed plant and no job, the "runaway shop" ruse is not new. Forrester's proposals, however, put the speedup and wage cuts imposed by Dayton's businessmen to shame.

Forrester's plan, while providing a "rational" cover for cuts in city services, increased taxes on workers, and higher rents, nonetheless includes attracting industry to the rotting cities, to provide more jobs. He realizes that investment into new production cannot be guaranteed and "solves" this dilemma by proposing greater zoning restrictions on housing construction, and a tax on plants according to space occupied, replacing the depreciation allowances.

Don't get him wrong, Forrester thinks it would also be nice if industries paid high wages. But the major task remains, despite the occasional wild rantings, to reduce the "attractiveness" of the city to poor people by decreasing services and available housing, and to make them "useful" to whatever industry the cities can attract.

WORLD DYNAMICS

Beyond *Urban Dynamics*, Forrester begins to develop his world model, which is the basis of the Club of Rome study. Forrester's own *World Dynamics* contains the major assumptions and results of the Limits to Growth study, urging a restriction of industrialization and population growth. He prophesies:

Rising pressures are necessary to hasten the day when population is stabilized. Pressures can be increased by reducing food production, reducing health services, and reducing industrialization.

Obviously Forrester has made a major break from *Urban Dynamics*, where increased industrialization was part of its solution to the urban crisis. The way Forrester resolves this contradictory turnabout in his own views is somewhat incredible. He rewrites history.

"The Quality of Life" variable, according to Forrester's history graph, peaks around the year 1960. "It has declined very little by the year 1970," says Forrester. He continues:

Is this reasonable? How can one explain an historical maximum in quality of life at a time when the world shows rising social unrest? The two become consistent if we compare expectations with reality.

Forrester then "shows" how during the 1930's as the quality of life rose, expectations rose at the same rapid rate. (Evidently no Great Depression occurred.) However, as the actual quality of life began to peak, expectations did not. Continues Forrester:

The sense of disappointment is explained by Edward Banfield in arguing that although cities are actually in better condition than ever before in history, yet they fall the furthest short of what we expect them to be.

The urban crisis is solved! We have rats and roaches only in our heads!

More Forrestian city planning:

What does this mean? Instead of automatically accepting the need for new towns and the desirability of locating new industry in rural areas, we should consider confining our cities. If it were possible to prohibit the encroachment by housing and industry into even a simple additional area of farm and forest, the resulting social pressures would hasten the day when we stabilize population.

Barbed wire, anyone?

Forrester's systems models are a thin veil for capitalist austerity policies, policies pioneered by the industrial concentration camps of the Nazi era and slated to become more than academic as capitalism falls apart.

The capitalist "solution" to economic crisis and imminent depression demands increasing attacks against the wages and services of every sector of the working class. The ruling class will attempt to mobilize the entire population, including the working class, against any section of that class which attempts to defend its standard of living in this period. As a weapon in the capitalist arsenal the zero growth ideology portrays every legitimate demand arising from any sector of the class for increased consumption or employment as a threat to "humanity."

Thus despite the fraudulent "scientific" character of the zero growth school the appropriateness of these ideas to ruling class austerity policies assures such "scientists" of financial support and widespread publicity. In

capitalist society, especially as in the present period of profound malaise created by the frightening portents of depression, science and scientists, as long as they continue to identify their interests with those of capitalism and the capitalist class, are no more immune from prostitution than are liberal politicians.

☆ ☆ ☆

Strategy for Socialism Vol. I

Socialism or Fascism
Toward a Dialectics of Art
Centrism as a Social Phenomenon
The New Left, Local Control, and Fascism

Order now from **The Campaigner**, Box 1972, GPO, New York, New York, 10001

TWO DOLLARS

Zero Growth: the Political Economy of Fascism

by R. Rose

Originally published in **New Solidarity**,
Vol. III, No. 5, May 1-5, 1972.

Over two centuries ago, Jonathan Swift described the travels of his hero Gulliver to the land of Laputa. From Laputa, Gulliver makes a side trip to the Grand Academy, where he observes diverse "learned gentlemen" at work for "science." One is trying to melt down ice into gunpowder. Another has just written a dissertation on how to measure the malleability of fire. A third is seeking to extract sunbeams from cucumbers.

The "Go-Go" research in today's higher institutions of Laputan learning is not always so benign. Grand Academicians have recently shifted their attention from cucumbers to wage-earners and welfare victims. And what they seek to extract is not sunbeams. According to *The Limits to Growth*, future society will have to impose catastrophic reductions in standard of living — a 50 per cent cut for the population of North America.

Eat Less and Enjoy It More

True, the authors of *The Limits to Growth* assure us of the joy of improved "quality" of life to make up for liberating ourselves from dirty materialistic "quantity." Furthermore, the report enthuses, we have the joy of embracing our material "restrictions" as "self-imposed." Surely it is better, say the authors, for man himself to "choose his limits and stop when he pleases." Otherwise, they continue, the problem can only be solved "by instituting counterpressures." These, we are candidly informed, "will probably not be entirely pleasant."

What kind of "counterpressures"? we may ask nervously. "The details are not yet specified," says the report. Continuing, we read:

"Such policies as reducing the birth rate and diverting capital from production of material goods, by whatever means they might be implemented, seem unnatural and unimaginable, because they have not, in most people's experience, been tried, or even seriously suggested."

But wait. The policy of "diverting capital from production of material goods" is not so novel and "unimaginable" as the authors pretend. It was systematic U.S. government policy during the Depression, for example. Despite millions of hungry people, the "liberal" Roosevelt government paid farmers to destroy animals and other farm produce so as to decrease supply and thereby drive up prices.

German capitalists at that time, being in an even tighter situation, resorted to more drastic measures. To implement zero production growth — that is to protect the capitalist market from over-supply — they passed laws requiring compulsory cartel arrangements, forbidding additional plant construction. At the same time Hitler appointed as his specialist in "reducing the birth rate" Heinrich Himmler, who explained Nazi Zero Population Growth policy as follows:

Among the 10 million Jews in Europe there are, I figure, at least 2-3 million men and women who are fit enough to work. Considering the extraordinary difficulties the labor problem presents us with, I hold the view that those 2-3 million should be specially selected and preserved. This can, however, only be done if at the same time they are rendered incapable of propagating...Castration by X-ray, however, is not only relatively cheap, but can also be performed on many thousands in the shortest time.

Phase Three's ABC

Today the *entire* world capitalist economy, including the U.S., faces in the immediate future the kind of catastrophic bankruptcy that impelled German capital to support measures such as Himmler's. As the U.S. and other economies collapse, even the present alltooeffective Phase Two type measures for looting incomes of workers, welfare recipients, etc., are not sufficient to prevent a collapse of bonds, mortgages, and other capitalist paper. But the drastic looting measures the capitalists require can only be implemented if they can successfully crush their major obstacle, the organized labor movement.

Being themselves a tiny minority of the population, the only way the capitalists can break the working class's trade union defense organizations is to create their own mass forces around some immediately opportune form of anti-working class program, no matter how muddled — and for successful fascist recruiting purposes, the more muddled the better. If successful in recruiting such forces and if the trade unions and left groups are sufficiently demoralized, this movement, the fascist

movement, will then seize power and smash its antagonists.

Ask Not If But How

The Zero Growth movement — with its apologies for stagnation of “material” production; for a society unable to productively employ, or even biologically maintain, an expanding population; and for a society of “consumer socialism,” i.e., the socialization of existing misery — such a movement qualifies most excellently to serve to gather around it demoralized white-collar and other “middle” class persons.

Perhaps dimly conscious of this potential, the authors of *The Limits to Growth* write, “We believe that an unexpectedly large number of men and women of all ages and conditions will be eager to discuss not *if* but *how* we can create this new future.”

In this assessment, the authors of *The Limits to Growth* are quite correct — unless something is done to stop this Brave New Future. Let us see why.

It Is What It Eats

Fascist movements take on in an uncritical way whatever is “in the air” around them. A rich environment of rot exists in which such movements can thrive here. The Nazi movement grew by cramming its belly full of the rot surrounding it — the anti-semitic, “folk” movement that existed for decades in Germany and had already won the hearts of university professors and students by the time Hitler came to power in 1933.

In American universities there is a spate of proposals by Himmlerite “scientists” who are now discovering new final solutions to the “surplus people” problem of welfare. According to Roger A. Freeman of Stanford University — formerly a special assistant to President Nixon — welfare mothers should be bribed with a cash bonus to submit to sterilization. The children they already have had should be put in “well-run” government institutions. He hints at what his idea of a “well-run” government institution might be, as he moralizes: “He who does not work, neither does he eat.”

Dr. Rolf Harmsen, a biology professor at Queen’s University in Kingston, Ontario, proposes that the sterilization should be psychic rather than physical, i.e., the “Clockwork Orange” method. An article in *The Montreal Star* paraphrases him as saying, “The problem of overpopulation could be eased by brainwashing people to dislike sex or by training people to hate children.” Dr. Harmsen is also president of Kingston Zero Population Growth movement.

Harvard’s Horrors

Other Himmlerite academics have offered their help in implementing the “anti-consumption,” i.e., reduced living standard, provisions of the Zero Growth movement. Professor B.F. Skinner recently stated that his conditioning techniques for laboratory rats could be usefully applied to humans to reduce their consumption, which he described as a “must” for Americans.

His Harvard colleague, Professor Banfield, says in the *New York Times* that there wouldn’t be any use in expanding production in order to replace present slums or otherwise improve the standard of living of “lower class people” because a “lower class” adult “who has been lazy and improvident all of his life is not going to change very much no matter what happens.” This person “lives from moment to moment” and “his bodily needs (especially for sex) and his taste for ‘action’ take precedence over everything else. The slum is his natural habitat. He does not care how dirty and dilapidated his housing is.”

Anarchy — Soul of Capitalism

At present, considerable sectors of American university intellectual life not only tolerate these vicious frauds as though they were possible sciences of man; but worse, such anti-scientific gibberings are actually the ruling ideas that prevail in many university departments and scientific disciplines. Their coherence with the Zero Growth movement on essential questions such as limiting population and reducing useful production and productive consumption, provide a milieu of intellectual decay which would enable the Zero Growth movement to grow at an exponential rate under suitable conditions of economic collapse.

At such a time, capitalism can only maintain its gravely threatened property titles at the cost of the living standards and ultimately the lives of the majority of the population. Since capitalism as an anarchist society raises individuals from childhood on to its image of “Me first — the hell with everyone else,” the “instinctual” response of victims of capitalist collapse is to look for a scapegoat whose throat they can cut to save their own job, wage levels, free tuition, etc.

Choosing Who’s To Grow and Who’s To Go

During periods of what is euphemistically called capitalist stability, this anarchy is mediated through democratic forms. During a collapse, however, Malthusian jungle law tends to become the prevailing norm, especially in the absence of a competent socialist move-

ment. Individuals and local control groups sharpen their knives to struggle over the ever-decreasing portion of real wealth which the capitalist order deigns to concede to the lower classes. Then come demagogues, "experts," and other riff-raff who pontificate, as do the authors of *The Limits To Growth*, that when "a society recognizes that it cannot maximize everything for everyone, it must begin to make choices."

In this climate, proto-Nazi professors come forward, such as Harvard's Herrnstein, who "prove" that blacks and workers are genetically inferior. These are the theories that will be useful to capitalist society when it "begins to make choices."

From Brown-Nose To ...

Such ideas as Herrnstein's become increasingly attractive to a desperate population of white collar, unemployed, etc., who see the trade-union-organized section of the population at least managing to defend its actual physical existence during the breakdown crisis, while they, the unorganized, are even more vulnerable to runaway inflation, outright income gouging and layoffs. They tend to become susceptible to pro-capitalist propaganda which blames the crisis on "the greedy union workers who are robbing the middle class person with strikes that cause price increases, or who ruin the environment with their consumption," and similar nonsense.

Zero Growth movements, because of their pseudo-scientific aura and other professorial underpinnings will tend to begin on university campuses. Here the Grand Academic mouthpieces reside and around them the necessary cliques of their dutiful students. The brown-nose students who can sit without rebellion through the lectures of a "Doctor" Banfield have taken the first step toward becoming brown-shirts.

Vigorous intellectual confrontation by socialist, as well as other honest students and faculty, will quickly send these idiots scurrying back to their cucumber patches and astrology books. Students will come to realize that without jobs they too could become a "cost-reducible" surplus population. If the Zero Growth movement is destroyed as a cadre school for fascist organizers, it will be unable to spread its pollution beyond the campus, where it would otherwise incite hysteria among declassed and intermediate layers of the population.

Indeed there are many features of the Zero Growth movement's program which already cohere with prevailing silly notions held by petit bourgeois persons — and are therefore of the utmost danger.

The concept of an "equilibrium society," for example, rings favorably with the petit bourgeois person such as

the shopkeeper or professional, for whom "disequilibrium," "progress," history itself means being thrown down into the suffering mass of wage laborers or worse.

Similarly, the notion of sacrificing "quantity for quality" also sits well with the petit bourgeois person. Has the professional person not always, virtuous fellow that he is, practiced Zero Population Growth with his family of one or two children, eschewing quantity in favor of quality. He asks: Why do these people not restrain themselves like me? Here I am paying rising taxes for their welfare. They're driving me under. Something needs to be done to get them off my back.

To the declassed hippy, the holistic or universal pretensions of the Zero Growth movement have an appeal. Unable to make head or tail of the incoherent trivia mouthed by his professors, he has been looking for some time now for a short cut to the center of the universe. He tries drugs, scientology, the Orient, and now along come these cats who have got their things together about the whole earth. Dig it!

That the Zero Growth movement sports a certain anti-capitalist facade is also for its purposes an indispensable virtue. It seems to talk about human needs "objectively," as though one could be objective without talking about existing social relations.

During the breakdown crisis of the First Depression the natural solution for German capitalism — which had lost its few colonies during the First World War — was a national national-imperialist one. *The Nazi movement, cultivating itself within the deep-rooted jungle of German Volkisch or "people's" counter-culture* — celebrated the notion that superior German "blood" would go out and conquer the "soil" of inferior foreigners.

Today, since capital has essentially internationalized itself under U.S. tutelage, an optimal fascist movement from the capitalist point of view would be one that has a universal form and potentiality — a Whole Earth movement — to cannibalize population, industrial resources, and incomes. The Zero Growth movement offers itself as a cadre school for beginning such efforts among technocratic layers in the advanced capitalist countries — on university campuses and among the college-educated middle classes generally.

Even before Hitler came to power in Nazi Germany, the faculty and student bodies of the universities had already gone over to the Nazis. Today an even larger proportion of the total North American population attends the universities. How much more important, then, that we stop the universities from becoming a recruiting ground for anti-working-class activity.

Bulletin International

PUBLIE PAR FRACTION OUVRIERE INTERNATIONALE / EUROPEAN LABOUR COMMITTEES

Les Etats-Unis Socialistes D'Europe: Leur Programme et le Nôtre

La Reconstruction
Socialiste de l'Europe

Mars/Avril 1974 5F

Il Bollettino Internazionale

PUBBLICATO DALL'INTERNATIONAL CAUCUS OF LABOR COMMITTEES (Comitati Operai Internazionali)

- Perché il Cremlino ha paura di noi
- Gli Stati Uniti Socialisti d'Europa:
Il nostro programma e il loro
- L'autocannibalismo del capitale in
Europa
- Controllo operaio o socialismo?
Scambi con la «Quarta Internazionale»

SETTEMBRE-OTTOBRE 1972

Numero unico in attesa di registrazione

THE UNITED SOCIALIST STATES OF EUROPE

by Lyn Marcus

Originally published in The Campaigner Vol. 5. No. 4., Fall, 1972.

INTERNATIONALES BULLETIN

5

herausgegeben von den
EUROPEAN LABOR COMMITTEES
(Europäische Arbeiterfraktionen)

Chilenische Lehren

Sozialistische Perspektive
für Europa

A. Schmidt der Sinnliche

Volksfront - Böll

DM 3,-

ὄργανο τοῦ Διεθνoῦς Συμβουλίου
Ἑργατικῶν Ἐπιτροπῶν

ΕΠΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΗ

Ιουνιος 1973

No. 11

It is most instructive to trace the manic-depressive responses of most academic economists to the bouncing ball motion of the international monetary system as it alternately falls into a new liquidity crisis, then rebounds for a brief "recovery," and then descends still lower into its next collapse. Each moment the economy has thus plunged into some new ominous threat, beginning with the British panic of November 1967, they themselves are precipitated for the moment into dark despair. The instant the short-lived rebound occurs, the same economists are rocketed into the giddiest of psychedelic euphorias. Such well-deserved tortures are the suitable purgatory-existence of those who have insisted that the "built-in stabilizers" assured it could never happen again.

Meanwhile, no such disorientation exists among the leading financiers. Unlike the academic babblers, these well-placed officials are annoyed but not profoundly shaken by the fact they are prepared to accept: that the capitalist system is moving into a Second Great Depression. That this is indeed their state of mind is manifest by the fact that the leading circles are already debating the program for a new capitalist order to emerge, after the collapse, in the late 1970s. Leaving the petit-bourgeois academic economists and minor parliamentary figures to man the built-in stabilizer pumps of the sinking Bretton Woods system, the leading bankers and selected top-most officials have already taken to the life-boats, so to speak, and are paddling vigorously toward a new fascist world order visible on the other side of the present economic squalls.

Sicco Mansholt, chief executive officer of the European Common Market, is one of the paddlers, as befits his rank among the privileged strata of the big bourgeoisie. Mansholt, like his peers, John D. Rockefeller 3rd of the U.S. Commission on Population Growth[1], and Aurelio Peccei of the notorious "Club of Rome"[2], has abandoned the capitalist world of the past quarter-century for the resurrected order of Krupp, Speer, and Himmler to be founded during the late 1970s, the new world of "Zero Population Growth,"[3]

Exactly what Messers Mansholt, Rockefeller, and Peccei intend is exemplified by two widely circulated, and widely endorsed, documents put into currency during the early months of the present year. The first of these two is a draft entitled "Blueprint for Survival," published in the January edition of the British periodical, *The Ecologist*, and boisterously endorsed by the editorial columns of the Feb. 4 New York Times, under the sponsorship of the "Club of Rome" by a group of wretched MIT professors, entitled *The Limits of Growth*.

In practice, both of the proposals may be fairly described as the equivalent of President Nixon's "Phase Four" attack on labor, extended to the capitalist world as a whole. Both propose to extend the recent and present U.S. and European programs of wage-gouging and unemployment to major and permanent reductions in the consumption levels of all wage-earners. It is absolutely no exaggeration to report that the recommended reductions in wage-levels proposed by the *Limits of Growth* are comparable only to the reductions of workers' incomes imposed upon the French and other workers by Hitler during the 1943-45 period! If one attributes consistency to the intent of the authors of this proposal, then its calculations would justify "remedies" like those of the Nazi 1943-45 "final solution to the Slavic question."

We have dealt with the reasons for such programs elsewhere, as we have demonstrated why the next and final stage of capitalism can only be an imitation of the Nazi economy on a world-scale.[4] The point here is to emphasize that the big bourgeoisie are rapidly developing and propagating their program for the world to follow the presently developing new depression, whereas, the leading organizations of the socialist movement have, in practice, no program at all!

THE ITALIAN MODEL

The situation about to confront all Europe in the years just ahead (and North America, as well) is being previewed in the rapid growth of the Italian Social Movement(MSI) in Italy.

We would not dispute the fact that the condition of the European working class has significantly improved over that of the 1943-48 period, and perhaps over that of the employed workers of the 1930's. However, as Nikos Syvriotis illustrates in his article in May-June 1972 *Campaigner*[5], the condition of that class as a whole has

relatively stagnated or even deteriorated (if we account for new needs) over that of the best years of the 1920's and the pre-1914 period. In addition to the poor quality of mere nourishment and housing of German workers, the deterioration of French workers' life which has accelerated since the "heavy franc" fell on their backs, and, above all, in no sector of industrialized Europe is the reality of postwar capitalists' prosperity more clearly exposed than in the Italian Messogiorno. It is a permissible hyperbole to report that the ruined condition of Southern Italy seems to represent all of the decay accumulated since the collapse of the Roman Empire.

During the period of industrial expansion of the late 1950s and early 1960s, the social explosive charge of the Messogiorno was kept from expressing itself in a general detonation in two interrelated ways. Although economic miracles never reached much below the level of the pulpit in those regions, employment opportunities elsewhere, created by industrial expansion in the north and in West Germany bled off some of the sharpest impulses for manifestly organized discontent. At the same time, the capitalists' prosperity of Europe permitted the Italian capitalists to increase the amount of hand-to-mouth-existence employment in the notoriously large and complex Italian governmental apparatus. In these and related ways, the unrelieved misery of the lumpenized Messogiorno (and other impoverished regions) was more veiled and pacified than actually ameliorated.

By 1969, the slowing rate of general European capitalist expansion of industrial employment, and pressure on the lira, forced a cutback in the rate of expansion of safety-valve programs, turning the lumpenized regions of Italy into a virtual pressure-cooker of neo-fascist "populist" ferment, a development celebrated by the notorious Calabrian riots — over government jobs.

Meanwhile, during this same recent period, the Communist Party of Italy reacted, not by proposing a socialist alternative, but by seeking "peaceful coexistence" with the doomed parliamentary system, thus committing itself to a common destiny with a virtual corpse. To the extent that the CPI occasionally took to the streets in pursuit of its followers, it merely participated in the growing chaos and despair, without proposing a remedy to the growing anarchy and demoralization. By now, that party has certainly convinced the majority of the Italian workers that it has absolutely no intention of offering a working-class government alternative, so, in due course, the Italian workers will either flock to or tolerate the one party which is willing to seize power from a faltering parliamentary corpse, the MSI.

This is inevitable, unless a new revolutionary leadership quickly emerges on the Italian scene. Parliamentary regimes — and, thus, the circumstances for

continuing socialists' parliamentary opportunist games — depend upon relative capitalists' prosperity. Under those special conditions, the various bourgeois parliamentary parties can maintain the affiliation of fragmented working-class and petit-bourgeois populations through doled token concessions to each small, parochialist interest-group formation rallied around the party's neighborhood offices. Such concessions not only secure the continued sheep-like attachment of the small constituency groups to bourgeois parliamentary rations, but the perpetuation of this rations-system institutionalizes the fragmentation of the masses as an impotent herd of petty "self-interest" groups... thus preventing the masses from being mobilized into a mass, class-interest-force. This latter condition is of inestimable cash value to the bourgeoisie, wherefore the capitalists' impassioned attachment to democracy *under conditions of prosperity*.

Remove the material basis for this system of parliamentary rationing of "goodies," and the very material basis of the parliamentary system itself promptly collapses. At that juncture, when the sheep-like neighborhood "constituencies" are denied their accustomed parliamentary rations, they may become most unsheep-like, provided there exists a vanguard leadership to mobilize them into a mass force around their class interests. Lacking a working-class party of those qualities (or, the same thing, possessing the leadership of a CPI!), the soon-demoralized and fragmented population becomes the easy prey for whatever radical-populist dealer in enraged sheep — e.g., fascist demagogues — appear to herd them into the directions of bonapartism and fascism.

Thus, it is possible — and necessary — to draw two curves for Italy. One curve, descending at an accelerating rate, represents the combined progress of the economic situation, the parliamentary system, and the PCI's credibility. The other curve, ascending at an accelerating rate, represents the fascist and proto-fascist ferment typified by the MSI. At the juncture of these two curves, Italy will receive from its capitalist masters either a temporary "Bruning" regime, or be turned over immediately to the supervision of a new Mussolini.

Although the economic and social deterioration of the German "economic miracle" has by no means reached the state of decay being pioneered in Italy, we need merely examine the conditions underlying the recent parliamentary crises of Herr Brandt to trace the movement of Germany into an Italian direction — a development foreseen with considerable delight by the fascist split-off from the NDP. In Britain, we are confronted with the emergence of a Northern, English-speaking Messogiorno in the Midlands, Scotland, Ulster

and Wales, with British workers advised to pack their bags to join the Gastarbeiter. In France, we are nauseated by the hideous posture of the PCF, now joining the chauvinistic chorus against those malignant "foreign workers" occupying good Frenchmen's jobs. Unless a new force of working-class leadership intervenes throughout Europe, the present situation and impulses seen in today's Italy are the immediate future working-class history of all Europe, the conditions for the emergence of the fascist regimes suitable to implement

STATE OF THE LEFT

In face of such developments, the leading socialist organizations of Europe, the Communist and Unified Secretariat [6] parties, are to be regarded as a comitragic imitation of the old Second International. In a period in which the U.S.-led and U.S.-dominated European capitalists are uniting their resources in the emerging enlargements of the Common Market, in which NATO exists as a supra-national counter-revolutionary force poised against the workers' movement in each nation, and in which all European basic industry is immediately interdependent, these "socialist" parties represent a contemptible, programless agglomeration of loosely-confederated autonomous, national organizations.

From the standpoint of the simplest facts of basic European industrial development today, only a cretin in political economy could suggest that workers' economies could possibly be established, even as a viable temporary institution, in any single European nation. Only a cretin in tactics would suggest defeating NATO counter-revolutionary forces in his own national sector without the concerted support of the working-class forces of every European nation. Only a political imbecile, indeed, would consider himself a revolutionary socialist unless he were practically engaged in constructing an international party committed to establishing a United Socialist States of Europe — an international party which qualifies as such by a supra-national standard of individual membership. Yet, as we have indicated, none of these relatively left-hegemonic "socialist" parties today proposes such a form of centralized, international organization, nor a serious program for such a United Socialist States of Europe.

In short, with the entire capitalist economy bouncing into general collapse, with the leading bourgeoisie already beginning to propagandize for a fascist program for the late 1970's, and with one nation of Europe already tottering in the direction of early fascist take-

over, none of the left-hegemonic socialist parties of Europe seriously proposes the form of organization, program, strategy, or propaganda work absolutely essential to prevent fascist takeovers during the present decade!

It is, of course, a truism, that many years, perhaps even more than a decade, is required to build a left-hegemonic socialist organization. That would be true now if it were actually necessary to start from "zero." Happily, our situation is more analogous to that of the Luxemburg faction in the Germany of 1918.

From the end of 1918 to 1923, despite Zinoviev's repeated interventions and recurring ultra-left disorders like those of the KAPD, the KPD was built to an organization which was fully qualified *in numbers and hegemony* to have made a successful German socialist revolution in 1923. Unfortunately, Zinoviev and Stalin developed "cold feet" at the very instant the German workers could have seized power, and called off what would have been a victorious German socialist revolution. Had Trotsky, for example, been directly in charge of the Communist International Executive Committee during the 1920-23 period, instead of a centrist such as Zinoviev, KPD recruitment from the SPD and USPD had created a sufficient vanguard force to seize victory.

Throughout Europe today, in addition to the invaluable young potential cadres who have yet to be recruited to any socialist organization, there are large and decisive strata of viable cadres within the various Communist and Trotskyist groups, who need only to be won over to building a new international party to put the United Socialist States of Europe within our grasp. That is the only perspective worth considering by anyone who considers himself a serious revolutionary; any other perspective is crap.

There is little latitude, considering the precious few years available and the essential steps of preparatory development of organization and peripheries, for major blunders or procrastination. We can afford no Zinovievs, no "March Actions." We can not permit the luxury of again, yet again, testing from within the viability of a Communist party which has proven itself incapable of improvement during the better part of a half-century! Every action must be undertaken and gauged with scientific precision and Lenin-like organizational ruthlessness. Those qualities assumed, we have the potential for establishing a United Socialist States of Europe during the 1970's — just barely the margin

within which to seize that victory before the alternative fascist ruin of humanity eliminates any "second chance."

THE SCIENCE OF PROGRAM

Those prefatory observations now provide the setting for the kind of scientific treatment of the conception of *program* which is the principal topic of this writing. This or that long-standing "tradition," this or that organization's or individual's prejudices, or "need to be given time to think it through," are unfortunately not luxuries we can afford. Since we must start from an absolutely correct conception of program, and have no time to wait for slow thinkers to catch up, we — the initiating revolutionary intelligentsia — must get the matter right, with scientific precision, at once, and proceed. In certain tactical matters, we can and will compromise; in the matter of programmatic *conception*, once that has been settled for us from the standpoint of science, absolutely no compromises can be permitted.

The way in which we present the following summary of our argument for a distinct notion of program is admittedly not addressed to the "average militant worker," whoever that worker may prove to be. At this instant, as we have said before [7], everything else depends upon organization of the revolutionary intelligentsia as an initiating cadre-force. It is to the revolutionary intelligentsia that these remarks are addressed. After we have assembled our own forces, or in propaganda publications addressed to the working-class vanguard itself, we shall restate these same ideas more slowly, more step-by-step, in the forms of pedagogy agreeable to working people generally. At this moment, we have certain business to settle — and quickly — with the revolutionary intelligentsia. It is from that standpoint that this is written.

As for the "esoteric" cast our writing may therefore seem to acquire — notably in the eyes of academic imbeciles and Unified Secretariat or DKP centrists — no matter. Marx, too, had to suffer the criticisms of such *knoten*. As he stated his irritation on this subject to Engels, in a letter of July 18, 1877:

"It would certainly be very pleasant if a really scientific specialist journal were to be published. It would provide an opportunity for criticisms or counter-criticisms in which we could discuss theoretical points, expose the utter ignorance of professors and lecturers and at the same time enlighten the minds of the general public — working-class or bourgeois. But Weide's periodical *cannot* possibly be anything but sham-scientific; the same half-educated *knoten* and dilettante literary

men who make Neue Welt, Vorwaerts, etc., unsafe, necessarily form the majority of his collaborators. Ruthlessness — the first condition of all criticism — is impossible in such company; besides which constant attention has to be paid to making things easily comprehensible, i.e., exposition for the ignorant. Imagine a journal of chemistry where the reader's ignorance of chemistry is constantly assumed as the fundamental presupposition ..."

The scientific issue to which we address particular emphasis here, has been sharply pointed up by growing and increasingly embittered debate between our own political tendency and a half-a-dozen "socialist" tendencies rooted variously in Europe and North America. We have insisted that socialist program must be addressed principally to the concrete historic tasks of socialist expanded reproduction which will confront us in the developing conjunctural crisis, and that day-to-day economic and other programmatic proposals should be the approximation of those "maximum" demands which advances the current struggle toward the tasks of socialist power.

For example, our U.S. organization, the National Caucus of Labor Committees, has circulated since the Summer of 1970 a draft program entitled "Emergency Reconstruction Program," which proposes an interconnected set of economic and organizational proposals to the working-class movement. The organizational proposals represent concrete measures appropriate to the U.S.A. today, to advance the class from its particular forms of trade-union and other extant organization to a class-for-itself form of self-organization of the type otherwise described as the "soviet" or "united class front" form, identifying this as the political form of class organization for workers' state power. We merely identify that aspect of the program so that no reader will imagine that the draft involves only economic proposals.

The economic section of the draft program takes as its starting-point two general premises. Firstly, that the material standard of living necessary for all U.S. working-class families, necessary to produce a working-class of sufficient technological potential for modern forms of productive technology, lies between \$7,500 and \$15,000 per year in respect to existing U.S. forms of working-class needs, tax structures, prices, etc. Production to meet those consumption needs for the entire class (employed and unemployed) is the first premise of economic reconstruction.

The second premise is that the fact that at between \$70 and \$90 billions of annual gross domestic public and private investment in plant and equipment during the last part of the 1960's, the rate of obsolescence of

existing plant and equipment has increased. Thus, in addition to accelerating material decay of the U.S. cities and towns, the basic productive capacity of the U.S. is also decaying — in net, although by no means as hideously or profoundly as that of Great Britain. Since a major portion of the productive capacity devoted to military-aerospace production, up to approximately \$80 billions, represents Department I, or means of production-creating-type capacity, the conversion of this present massive waste to production of capital goods is the key to passing over from decay to actual net expanded production in the U.S.A. — and is actually the key margin of extant capitalist world productive capacity which must be salvaged to turn the entire world economy around and put it on the basis of net expanded reproduction — *reversing a half-century of imperialist decay*.

In addition to detailing the administrative procedures by which the workers' soviets take over the banking and other financial institutions as the means of directly nationalizing all means of production, etc., the program details a number of major priorities for socialist accumulation over and above the immediate consumption needs of the working-class population. These include, of course, immediate emphasis on thermo-nuclear fusion technology, a technology which must be mastered as quickly as possible to provide sufficient raw energy sources to meet the urgent needs of the world population as a whole.

There are other priority prescriptions which need not be listed in detail here, priorities which are immediately obvious enough to anyone familiar with the U.S. However, there is one further specification of priorities which is of notable importance for Europeans: the importance of extension of computer applications to what is called "optical page reading," the use of computer systems to eliminate the *copying* of typewritten and handwritten forms by human beings, which could reduce the number of necessary clerical and related administrative jobs in the U.S.A. by about 10 millions.

The importance of this particular priority is located both in the enormous amount of social waste produced by capitalist administrative practices, and, more important, the fact that these millions of "paper-pushers," now engaged in useless and even parasitical employments, represent one of the world's largest available reservoirs of educated labor-power. If we can rapidly augment the available productive labor-force in the U.S. itself by up to ten millions beyond the productive employment of about 8 millions of so-called "under-employed," [8] we can obtain, for the world's socialist economy, the most efficient utilization of available potential labor-power for generating the

greatest net rate of output of capital goods for development of Europe and the sector below the Tropic of Cancer.

From a socialist standpoint, the world we propose to take over from the capitalists suffers from a terrifying shortage of capital goods. There is, for example, no conceivable solution, with existing power-production technology alone, to ever raising the standard of existence of the entire world's population even to the level of a miserable Italian worker. Without fusion technology, the situation of the world's population would be hopeless. Even with fusion power technology, there are other massive capital-goods shortages, which must be solved as a precondition for lifting the majority of the world's proletarians out of their present misery. The most critical concentrations of the productive potential for this capital accumulation are in, obviously, the advanced capitalist sector, and most emphatically in the U.S.A. itself. Since the U.S.A. has the largest mass of most advanced potential labor-power in the world, because of the much-higher than European general standard of U.S. working-class education, etc., the most rapid rate of accumulation in the U.S.A. under socialism is the fundamental responsibility of the U.S. working class not only to its own needs, but to the needs of the human race generally.

It is this emphasis on the class-for-itself and socialist accumulation which has drawn special rage from the centrists and gauchistes.

The most consistent form of criticism to this effect is obtained from an anarcho-syndicalist sect in the U.S.A. which calls itself the International Socialists — a name probably chosen because the group involved is neither internationalist nor socialist.[9] Because the group wishes to profess itself "Marxist," it has abandoned its earlier ridicule of the term, "class-for-itself," since it discovered, to its embarrassment, that Karl Marx and others actually used that "offensive" terminology; now, they relegate the existence of a class-for-itself to the Greek Kalends, and declare its advocacy in the real world an "elitist," probably "Stalinist" affront to the chauvinistic sentimentalities of pro-capitalist militant trade unionists. Their attacks on the economic features of the program are a real howler; they argue: the Labor Committees propose to continue accumulation under socialism; accumulation is exploitation; the Labor Committee is proposing "state capitalism," the exploitative society based on accumulation of the Soviet Union! The I.S. demands for each local group of employed workers, the "undiminished proceeds of its own labor." [10] Whence the unemployed obtain the capital for their productive employment, the I.S. does not indicate.

The I.S. view more or less puts the gauchiste view into articulate language, which is perhaps the principal usefulness of the I.S.'s existence.

For the moment, the U.S. Socialist Workers Party is nominally the co-thinker branch of the Unified Secretariat tendency in that country. This organization, which has recently rejected the conception of a working class almost entirely, in favor of a Populist multi-constituency (women, blacks, Hispanics, Indians, Chinese, homosexuals, etc., each with its own "national" aspirations and demands) makes no observations on the economic aspects of the program, but denounces Marx's notion of the "class-for-itself" as "racist" and "sexist." In the December 1970 issue of the SWP's monthly journal, the *International Socialist Review*, the chief spokesman for the Unified Secretariat, Ernest Mandel, published several criticisms of the draft program of the Labor Committee, including the charge that Marx's espousal of the "class for itself" was one of Marx's childish aberrations abandoned by the "mature Marx," thus obviously asserting that the "mature Marx," like Mandel himself, had joined the faction of Proudhon.[11]

The Communist Party limits its attacks to the program's emphasis on independent working-class political action (in favor of the CP's old Menshevik retreat program of the "Peoples' Anti-Monopoly Coalition"), and refers to the economic features of the program only by occasionally paying it the compliment of plagiarizing bits and pieces of economic demands.

In general, this opposition reflects the fag-end of worn-out "Leninist" traditions from the 1930's and 1940's, traditions of collections of more or less static demands, laundry lists of various social demands supplemented by casual references to "nationalization" and static re-distribution demands. What they vigorously — even violently — denounce is the notion that socialist program must be based on dynamic demands, based on a combination of specifications of a working-class incomes policy and policies of socialist accumulation, policies of socialist expanded reproduction.

This difference over programmatic conceptions within the socialist movement can be argued effectively on two levels. We shall merely outline the first sort of argument, and then turn to concentrate our attention on the more theoretically challenging issues posed by the second line of argument.

We know that a certain level of education, other socially-necessary leisure forms, and material consumption is necessary to raise the level of potential labor-power of a working-class population to that demanded by the general application of the most modern

technology. There are systematic reasons why this is the case, which we shall not explore here, but reserve for other locations. For the moment, it is sufficient to emphasize that mere statistical study of the problem tends to prove the case. What we know in even this mere empirical fashion is that a working class population living below a certain standard of education and consumption is incapable, as a whole, of generally competently performing certain technologically advanced kinds of productive jobs. Capitalist students of the matter locate this problem within the realm of "infra-structure."

For example, in the ghetto populations in the U.S.A., approximately fifteen per cent (for sake of discussion) of Black oppressed working-class strata do rise out of the immediate conditions of educational and consumption deprivation to be assimilated into the main bodies of skilled and semi-skilled wage-earners; the overwhelming majority do not. Although a small fraction of such oppressed populations do — amazingly — rise above their immediate circumstances to seize the level of working-class culture around them in the less-oppressed strata, the brutal fact remains that the overwhelming majority do not. If we wish to transform the overwhelming majority of ghetto-oppression victims into modern labor-power, we must first provide them with the quality of education and general working-class household consumption characteristic of the quality of labor power we wish them to become.

A similar observation applies in Europe, not only to the most oppressed strata of Gastarbeiter, etc., but also the native young "apprentices" of, for example, Germany and England. Since modern technology requires more advanced labor-power, the level of material culture (education, consumption) of the families of apprentices and the apprentices themselves represents a de facto cannibalization of that section of the working-class forces. Without lifting their income and education levels to those of modern labor-power, these apprentices and their children are being pre-condemned to tomorrow's human technological scrap-heap.

On such premises, working-class program must begin from the starting-point of the quality of general education and standards of material consumption needed for the quality of labor-power modern productive technology will confront us with *tomorrow*.

It is very fine to argue against this: Well, we will simply make wage-income a maximum. That is a nonsense-argument. The possibility of tomorrow's existence depends upon the maximum possible rate of general accumulation — otherwise the industrial and ecological decay of Great Britain today becomes the image of your future "socialist paradise" of un-

diminished gluttonies. Using capitalist language, the level of material consumption of the working-class is a quantity which must be simultaneously minimized and maximized. It must be minimized for the most rapid development of the productive forces — a development upon which the possibility of higher rates of leisure tomorrow depends. Yet, the level of consumption and education must not fail to rise to that necessary to produce the quality of improved labor-power tomorrow's technology will demand.

(We turn to Marx's statement on the general problem in due course.)

We know, in general, to be concrete, that the equivalent of two years technical university education is the minimum prerequisite, beneath which young workers are not qualified for employment in modern technology. A "Paleozoic" policy of specific-skills apprenticeship is criminal idiocy in a period in which imminent rapid successions of changes in specific technologies demand a labor-force which is "modularly" pre-qualified to shift rapidly from one skill to another several times during a working life-time immediately ahead. This demands not only formal education, but conditions of child-rearing in the home (such as a personal room for the child's own private play and study activities) which foster the child's developing powers of protracted intellectual problem-solving attention-span, etc., as opposed to the stultifying obedience-training which is the condition of the young working-class child's upbringing under conditions of home life of the most low-waged workers.

(It is only infantile petit-bourgeois "socialists" who rhapsodize on the simple proletarian virtues of the poorer worker's bestialized existence and homelife.)

We agree only so far with the prophets of the "ecology crisis." There is an "ecology crisis" threatening humanity for two interconnected *capitalist* reasons. Firstly, as the capitalists generally obtain higher profits by polluting than by not polluting, and higher profits by looting nature than improving nature for future production and existence, the perpetuation of capitalism does threaten to destroy humanity in filth and impoverishment of resources.

Yet, as Engels was the first to point out, in refutation of Malthus [12] by this standard, the world was already over-populated when only one man existed. Engels exaggerates, of course, but the point is nonetheless valid. Every mode of "technology" represented by each stage of human cultural evolution involves "technologies" addressed to specific kinds of natural resources. These are relatively finite, relative to both the extent of such *available* resources, and to the particular technology involving their use. Thus, the longer a society persists in

any one mode, and the more successfully it expands, the more rapidly and thoroughly it exhausts that finite potential. Humanity has solved this potential ecological crisis repeatedly, by developing new technologies, through which new kinds of resources become resources, and through which old resources became transformed in form of exploitation — as by development of agricultural revolutions.

In general, any society which does not accumulate to the end of transforming its technology, etc., is doomed to an "ecological crisis" begging the extinction, not of man, but of that outlived mode of human society.

To the extent that a potential ecological crisis does exist, the problems to be enumerated under that heading each correspond to a failure of capitalism to respond to this by developing and applying an appropriate new technology. The outstanding, most fundamental example of this today is capitalism's failure to proceed with the development and application of thermonuclear fusion technology, without whose development life on earth would, indeed, soon become most precarious. For just that reason, it becomes the historic alternative to capitalist stagnation, not only in general, but in respect to very concrete forms of new technologies.

Therefore, the socialist program that does not address itself immediately to the dynamic problems of working-class consumption and general accumulation epitomized in these remarks is no socialist program at all.

THEIR "SOCIALIST" PROGRAM

The kinds of "socialist" programs generally offered by other socialist tendencies are, at best, imitations of those one would reasonably expect for revolutionary groups in some semi-colonial sector. This, despite the leading Bolsheviks' repeated warnings that the Russian program of 1917 was absolutely not a suitable model in these respects for the advanced capitalist sector.

In the semi-colonial sector, the question of expanded reproduction can not be posed as a national or regional task, since the mass of tangible capital goods on which such programs must depend can be obtained only from the advanced capitalist sector. The colonial revolution properly focuses, as a colonial socialist revolution, on immediate amelioration of the material suffering of the population, through stopping the outflow of wealth to imperialist debt-service payments and other forms of foreign capitalist looting. A *limited*, in itself progressive development of the liberated colonial nation's economy can of course occur, and absolutely should occur, but this depends principally upon either imported capital from the advanced capitalist sector — for which the liberated nation must pay a painful premium — or from

the limited resources for aid of the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe.

Socialist revolutions in such colonial countries are socialist revolutions in their institution of workers' economy forms of class relations, etc., but, otherwise, they are not economically socialist revolutions in themselves. They are socialist revolutions in the sense that they represent, properly speaking, a gaining of strategic ground in a worldwide, on-going class war between the proletariat and the capitalists. It is sheer idiocy, bordering on criminal idiocy, to speak of "socialism in one country" in such connections, a mere foolish fable with which old Mensheviks frighten their credulous grandchildren. The development of the productive forces to modern forms within any national sector of the world depends immediately and inescapably on the international division of labor established by the dominant capitalist sector today.

This applies to the Soviet Union most clearly, when we consider how immediately and extensively the rate of growth within the U.S.S.R. depends upon the terms of trade with the imperialist sector for Soviet exports with which to purchase essential capital imports. The burden of imperialist debt-service on Yugoslavia, and the Soviet looting of Eastern Europe to offset the pressures of imperialist encirclement of the U.S.S.R. itself, are the most obvious manifestations of this brutal economic reality.

This is, incidentally but not so incidentally, one of the important facts of life overlooked by revolutionary Cuba's fair-weather admirers.

In the advanced sector, we face the concentration of the productive capacities on which the entire world's successful expanded reproduction depends. The absolute criminality of ignoring this distinction is highlighted the instant we consider how much of the wealth ostensibly produced in the advanced sector depends upon cheaply-bought looted resources from the underdeveloped sector for these commodities? The old imperialist prices? Or prices which permit the working-class involved in their production to reproduce itself as a modern working-class labor-power? If so, the prices of those commodities will seem to become very dear. We can compensate for such costliness of such essential imports either by tightening the belts of the working-class in Europe, or by advancing the colonial sector sufficient capital to rapidly increase productivity and thus cheapen its social cost of producing those exports.

To make short of further treatment of this argument, when we shift our focus from the immediate struggles within the underdeveloped sector to the advanced sector, the role of socialist accumulation, socialist expanded reproduction on a world scale, immediately becomes the paramount, practical programmatic consideration.

THE "PSYCHOLOGICAL" IMPORTANCE

In addition to such obvious, practical reasons for emphasizing socialist expanded reproduction in our program for a United Socialist States of Europe, there is an equally powerful and important "psychological" reason. So far, we have been arguing from the standpoint of the expert economic planner — perhaps, one might accuse us, the standpoint of an extraordinarily enlightened Soviet bureaucrat. Our critics might argue that our notion of program consists of our moral superiority to most would-be bureaucrats, on the count that we intend to reveal to the working class how fine a management we represent for their economy, etc. That bureaucratic viewpoint is not our conception of socialist society.

Although experts will be needed, especially at the beginning, socialist society signifies to us that the collective working class, a class-for-itself, actively, deliberately *formulates* its economic policies. Indeed, the program of economic development we submit to the working class is submitted to them for their discussion, debate, and modifications in particular policies, not as an unchangeable *fait accompli*. Thus, if we now confess that we "permit" the working class to change each specific feature of our draft program in that way, what remains of the program but its conception? Here, the real, political significance of the program emerges — or must be searched out.

Here, we are compelled to turn our attention to the absolute fundamentals of all Marxian method, as first summarized — as a finished view — in *The German Ideology*, and later reiterated in the concluding section of Volume III of *Capital*. [13] The point to be made here is that a certain form of program submitted as propaganda and agitation by a vanguard, is a complementary essential subjective ingredient, together with the objective task of creating *united class front*, or *soviet* forms of class organization, for transforming the working class from a mere, bourgeoisified class-in-itself to a class-for-itself. [14]

We now summarize the theoretical basis for both Marx's notion of the class for itself and the notion of program as an indispensable aspect of the class for itself. It is upon the rock of these two, interrelated conceptions that the entire science of revolution depends.

Marx's most electrifying accomplishment in the opening pages of *The German Ideology*, at least so to the serious thinker who had previously mastered Kant, Hegel, and Feuerbach, is that at last humanity, through Marx's efforts, has achieved a lasting definition of the two most essential conceptions of all human knowledge of *man* and *human knowledge* itself.

For sake of brevity, we shall not do more than footnote the references from *The German Ideology* here, we we develop Marx's discoveries in our own choice of pedagogy.

It is useful to begin this point by noting those conceptions of Man and Science which prevail in educated bourgeois circles. Virtually no tendency in educated bourgeois thought, most cultural anthropology included, offers a definition of man which is anything more than a collection of mere descriptive phrases. The most notorious of these is the old say, "Man is a tool-making animal," or some such childish prattling. The attempts to define the notion of Science are similarly afflicted.

Marx solves both by situating their common definition on a single premise: *human historical existence*. We shall now reproduce his proof of those definitions here. The relevance of this to our general topic will be clear soon enough.

Man is absolutely distinguished from all of the lower beasts by his historical existence.[15] Precisely, Man appears in a rudimentary form of himself in the early Pleistocene, a point at which his ecological population-potential was certainly no greater than the order of a few million individuals, the culture and population-potential of a gifted baboon. Over the succeeding period, especially over the most recent 12,000-15,000 years, Man's ecological population-potential has grown, at a generally accelerating rate, to the point of a present population-potential of several billions.

Part of the initial progress may prove to be creditable to gradual genetic advances in proto-hominids during the earliest Pleistocene; we are not concerned here to consider that one way or another, except to acknowledge some indications of that possibility. Such speculations — or facts — as may be appropriate to judge, are irrelevant to the point directly at hand. It is as his modern biological type that man has secured his most spectacular advances, not through biological variation, but through deliberate (if not necessarily conscious) improvements in his mode of organized social practice and subsumed technologies.

This is in absolute contrast to the development of dominant forms among the lower beasts, in which the successful superceding of ecological limits by the dominant species occurs only through biological variations. Thus, whereas, in the lower beasts, the mode of species-reproduction is more or less fixed in range of variations by biological inheritance, in man the most sweeping changes in his characteristic species-reproductive behavior have occurred by deliberation. It is such supercession of previous, lower forms of human species-evolution by human noetic deliberation which absolutely distinguishes man from the lower beasts.

This same process of deliberate alteration of the mode of human species-reproduction is the sole basis for what we may rightly distinguish as *human* knowledge or science. As man deliberately alters his mode of species-reproduction, he thus directly tests all the laws of the material universe as those laws are implicitly embodied in his relationship to nature. If the alteration in mode results in an increased population at a higher quality of reproductive powers, then that result itself conclusively demonstrates that the deliberative process corresponds appropriately to the fundamental laws of the universe. This historical fact becomes the basis for human knowledge as man begins to reflect on the historical relationship between his *noetic* deliberative powers and the results of those evolution-determining processes on his potential for species-existence. *Science*, thus defined, is historical self-consciousness of the noetic deliberative processes by which man has accomplished what we rightly identify as his historical progress from lower to higher levels of species-reproductive potential.

Putting temporarily to one side the fascinating basis for Ionian and Hellenic scientific accomplishments, the stagnation of that science indicates special problems which put the subject of ancient systematic knowledge beyond our immediate concern of inquiry. It is sufficient to insist here that it is no accident that the general, if generally vague idea of science should have emerged in the form it has developed under capitalism, since capitalism is the first form of society in which rapid advances in the technology of social reproduction are directly subsumed within the mode of production itself.[16]

This phenomenon is not accidentally reflected in the internal life of the mathematical sciences, in the guise of the paradoxes treated comprehensively by Georg Cantor, and only less comprehensively by Russell and Goedel.[17] Russell's "barber" and Cantor's noetic "metaphysic" are the same Being. The attempt to account for the creative concept-formation which actually connects one fixed set of formal conceptions of science to another invariably compels the most reflective modern thinker to confront just such seeming paradoxes. From the standpoint of formal logic, mathematical or otherwise, these paradoxes are quite real and insoluble. This is the case since the actually mechanistic ontological assumptions embedded in the axiomatic assumptions of any formal logic can recognize only fixed constructs, and not the non-particulate noetic processes in which new constructs are synthesized. This "barber," this apparent "metaphysic," inescapably leering out between the interstices of any formal-logical schema, is no mystery if the problem is properly considered. Our "barber" is the noetic process which is the unifying *subject* for the particular *predicates* of human

social evolution, the same noetic distinguishing quality of humanity as humanity which subsumes all creative synthesis.

The "metaphysical" predicament of formal mathematical schema is no actual metaphysic. It is essentially a demonstration that no possible digital computer could simulate human intelligence.

It is in just such a connection that the unique historical importance of Immanuel Kant emerges, Kant as the necessary forerunner or Karl Marx.

The development of modern science begins with Kepler, who discovered the concept of a rational physical universe in a higher conceptual form than his useful bowdlerizer, Newton, expressing a point-of-view that was not to clearly re-emerge in physical science until Einstein (although, to a lesser degree in Kant). By reducing Kepler's magnificent equations to their most alienated form, Newton contributed one branch of the development from Kepler and Descartes leading into the near-perfection of the mechanistic worldview in Lagrange and others of the Kantian period. However, by the very fact of this perfection of the ideal of a celeste mecanique, the mechanistic view demonstrated its devastating fallacies.

As for Kepler, the rationality of the astronomical realm of inclusive universality, so, for Marx, the necessary rationality appropriate to the universality of human history, is decisive in settling this perplexing question. The fact that human progress, measurable in increasing orders of human ecological population-potential, a progress not dependent upon bestial modifications in biological types, suffices to demonstrate that the noetic processes of human deliberation, man's evolving actions on nature in his own behalf, is no illusion. This itself demonstrates that there does indeed exist some reality which Kant *mistook* for "Free Will."

Although Kant failed to free himself from the capitalist, i.e., anarchist, conceptions perpetuated by his *degenerate epigoni* (Fichte, Fries, Stirner, the existentialists), he recognized what modern pragmatists and empiricists have forgotten: the fatal antinomy of attempting to directly reconcile the particularity of the individual (anarchist) will or the pathological particularity of individualized experience with the real universality (infinity) of anthropology-ecology. [18] He recognized that the point of view of the modern pragmatist, empiricist, and (ugh!) positivist, is, in his precise terminology for such disorders, *pathological* [19] Truth could exist only in respect to the *universal* outcome of the individual act. Indeed, despite his contrary aims, Kant's attempt to make anarchist man sensible of the universal consequences of the act for man as a whole (the categorical imperative) through the ruse

of the "negation of the negation," leads to results as pathological as also occur in Hegel's degeneration to the viewpoint of the "negation of the negation." [20] Yet, Kant did an invaluable service to man, through the mediation of his successors, Hegel, Feuerbach, and Marx, by correctly posing the terms of the problem to be solved by those successors.

Marx actually solves the Kantian predicament of Praxis by locating "Free Will of man in historical material necessity. That is, the noetic or free aspect of the human will is not one of freedom from natural law, not "freedom" in the pathological or anarchist sense. Human freedom is nothing but that historical fact of noetic deliberation which has subsumed advances in technology and socialized practice, in bringing man from a baboon-like hominid beginning to capitalism and to the objective potential for human society, socialism. Freedom is man's power to master the fundamental laws of the universe by practically comprehending them. Man is Maxwell's Demon, who knows his demonical powers as his ability to generate negative entropy as the material basis for creating not only more Demons like himself, but Demons of greater such demonical powers than his own. [22]

BESTIAL IDEOLOGIES

It is instructive at this point to contrast such conceptions of *human nature* with the notions exhibited by certain academics, such as the behaviorists, or the bestialized quacks who drafted the "Blueprint for Survival" and Limits to Growth.

Whenever some unfortunate student of psychology is subjected to the nonsensical behaviorist's assertion that human behavior is that of a more sophisticated laboratory rat or pigeon, we confront a "psychological science" which has hysterically denied everything that fundamentally distinguishes man from the lower beasts. Worse, a conception of psychology, or of any aspect of human behavior, which tolerates such hysterical assumptions necessarily reflects a literally bestial conception of man.

In particular, the behaviorist psychologist thereby denies the very existence of the subject, the *human Mind*, which he has purported to investigate, and has thereby degraded the members of his classroom to the students of Herr Doktor Eisenbart.

The same bestial ideology permeates the Limits of Growth.

Although the two reactionary professors from MIT responsible for this document, Dennis Meadows and Jay Forrester, are celebrated faculty members at one of the world's most prestigious educational institutions, the

fact remains that any competent industrial engineering student could readily expose them as frauds. The use of linear equations for describing existing technologies to project human consumption and production for a century ahead would rightly earn a flunking grade in any self-respecting bourgeois engineering course! The great show of using computers for such exercises (no doubt to overawe credulous children) adds precisely nothing to the merit of such enterprises.

This sophomoric folly of two MIT professors is not simply an obvious bit of professional incompetence; like the more exotic symptoms of neurotic disturbances, this blunder has an ideological root. The notion is human behavior as fixed represents the application of the notion of bestial behavior to man. Thus, the bestial outcome for man of the Limits of Growth proposals represents not simply a professional imbecility, but the consistent outcome of applying the two professors' bestial ideology to a human problem.

It is not accidental that professors Meadows and Forrester, with the support of the Volkswagen proprietors, should be agreed on their bestial ideology. The most immediate expression of alienation under capitalism is the degradation of the human individual, notably the manual laborer and assembly-line worker to the bestialization of routinized wage-labor. The workers' mind, his noetic potential, all his human qualities that distinguish him from a clever mere beast, have been destroyed insofar as his foreman, his public school education, his favorite newspapers, etc., can accomplish this bestialization. He is not a human being, but only a plumber, only a metal worker, only an apprentice, etc. He is, for the capitalist employer, a trained beast. It is not surprising that the intellectual "Kapos" of the Volkswagen firm, MIT professors Meadows and Forrester, should treat these same workers as mere beasts in their computer programs.

What bestializes the worker? Is it the fact that he performs rather routinized forms of labor? No, that, as productive labor, however routine, is a necessary part of his *human* existence, however passionately we socialists are determined to radically change production to eliminate all the mindless routine from it. The bestialization of labor-power is located in the fact that capitalism denies the worker any other basis than a *learned* skill for his social identity. What is essentially human in the development of the necessary productive process, science, the determination of policies regulating the application of technology, etc., are "none of his business." He is bestialized because he is conditioned to esteem himself as almost a mere unintellectual beast, as a mere "practical man," who leaves intellectual questions to the professors and administrators.

Then, having thus discovered that the worker is bestialized by being denied participation in the affairs of science and technological productive policy-making, we encounter some wretched professed "socialist," who insists that it is "petit-bourgeois, anti-proletarian" thinking to propose to take up policy questions of science and technology with "practical" workers. It is the denial to the worker of his human right to locate his social identity in his positive contribution to formulating the policies of expanded reproduction, of new technology, etc., which bestialize the worker — which make him an anti-socialist, an "anti-intellectual" mere trade union militant, etc. A billion silly words of chattering by a million petit-bourgeois "socialist" and gauchiste scribblers will not change the actual meaning of the term, alienation, to mean anything but the workers' denial of direct control, through his centralized class policy-making processes, over applied scientific policy.

It is regrettable that perhaps a generation under socialism will probably be required before even a substantial proportion of workers develop conceptual grasp of the internal life of scientific work. In the meantime, the worker can secure immediate access to control over the application of science, in terms of programs of expanded socialist reproduction which reflect science in terms of the predicates of its socialized realization in this way. The worker can at least choose to demand of the physicists how many years and how much funding they require to make thermonuclear fusion technology applicable, can choose to realize the need, etc.

MARX'S "MATURE" VIEW

What does the "mature Marx" say to refute Ernest Mandel's lying representation of his view? From the last section of Vol. III of *Capital*, we extract:

...the realm of freedom does not commence until the point is passed where labor under the compulsion of necessity and of external utility is required. In the very nature of things, it lies beyond the sphere of material production in the strict meaning of the term. Just as the savage must wrestle with nature, in order to satisfy his wants, in order to maintain his life and reproduce it, so civilized man has to do it, and he must do it in all forms of society and under all possible modes of production. With his development the realm of natural necessity expands, because his wants increase; but at the same time the forces of production increase, by which these wants are satisfied. *The freedom in this field can not consist of anything else but of the fact that socialized man, the associated producers, regulate their interchange with nature rationally, bring it under their common control, instead of being ruled by it as by some blind power: that they accomplish their task with the*

least expenditure of energy and under conditions most adequate to their human nature and most worthy of it. But it always remains a realm of necessity. Beyond it always remain a realm of necessity. Beyond it begins that development of human power, which is its own end, the true realm of freedom, which, however, can flourish only upon that realm of necessity as its basis. The shortening of the working day is its fundamental premise.[23]

Or, referring to our development of the notion of self-expanding use-value elsewhere [24], the increased value of the exponential tendency expression for $S/(C+V)$ is the epitome of human freedom, when that expression corresponds to a deliberately, planned expanded reproduction.

Socialist program under capitalism necessarily includes several features. In addition to the principal feature of such program, it must include appropriate policies of self-defense of the material rights and conditions of life of the working class and its potential allies; it must also emphasize the concrete policies and perspectives for fusing a fragmented working class (class-in-itself) into a class-for-itself (i.e., united class front). Its central feature remains that of the initial program of expanded reproduction to be launched by the united class front at the next, explicitly identified opportunity for the establishment of workers' state power.

Such a program could not be a "laundry list" of vague generalities and timeless tactical recipes handed down from generation to generation within the socialist organizations and literature of capitalist society. Program must be different in all its main concrete features for each new emerging conjunctural crisis. Each new period of capitalist development, and failure to develop, confronts the working class as a whole with new concrete problems of economic development, new technologies, a new arrangement of existing productive forces. In each new period, the socialist movement defines itself as posing a concrete set of policies of working-class planned expanded reproduction to the policies of development and non-development of the productive forces inherent in the present and imminent forms of capitalist rule.

For example, today, there can be no international party, which does not place the development and application of thermonuclear fusion technology at the center and foundation of its socialist program. For, no other basis but this new technology will it be possible to raise the material conditions of life and reproductive powers of the proletarians below the Tropic of Cancer to even the level of Western Europe. Thus, the thermonuclear fusion policies are presently a leading, concrete feature of socialist program — if it is, actually,

socialist program and not some dusty heirloom — where this would not have been the case during the last period (pre-1944) of preparations for a new opportunity to establish workers' power in the advanced capitalist sector.

Socialist program can be developed in varying degrees of specificity and detail, according to the resources of the organized socialist movement for accomplishing this. It can be, like the NCLC's "Emergency Reconstruction Program" of 1970, a statement of basic policies and developmental priorities, or, with a larger organization, etc., these same policies might be elaborated in greater statistical detail. That is significant, but not fundamental. It is merely essential that the socialist program be oriented to the impending opportunity for the establishment of working-class power, and that it specify the operating policies for expanded reproduction which the united class front will apply at the moment of assuming such power.

Once that feature of socialist program is settled for each new period of struggle, the program must, of course, be amplified in other respects. In order to institute the socialist program of expanded reproduction, which is the core of program in each such period, it is, of course, indispensable to first assume state power. Thus, starting backward, so to speak, from the moment of assumption of power, the socialist program of expanded reproduction must be amplified to provide policies and perspectives for the process of mobilizing the working class and its allies as a conscious united class front for the assumption of power on the basis of expanded reproduction policies.

Program, thus developed, provides three indispensable things for the movement. In its policies for the workers' government, program identifies the special historic tasks of workers' power, thus presenting such power as the alternative to capitalist oppression and decay. It answers the question, Why Socialism Must Be Established, in terms of the leading concrete problems of life confronting the working class in the specific period of capitalist development. Its second principal feature, is, of course, to provide a guide to action for the movement as a whole, not only policies governing the conduct of socialist organizations, but policies recommended to working-class forces not yet committed to the socialist struggle as such. Thirdly, and most importantly, socialist program provides the class fighters with their indispensable historic human identity, by locating the historic importance of their mental and practical contributions to the struggle. Socialist program lifts individual man from the mental condition of bestialized (alienated) man, the isolated individual, the member of the parochialized (bestialized) small "interest group,"

and locates his existence as a positive contribution to the future historic existence of the human race as a whole.

DIALECTICS VERSUS LOGIC

This feature of program is the solution to the otherwise "metaphysical" appearance of the notion of dialectical method to alienated individuals under capitalism.

When we locate the *primitive* substance of humanity in the *noetic* processes of human mentation and practice, the formal logician, etc., shrieks "metaphysics," "vitalism," or, perhaps, "idealistic Hegelianizing." Yet, contrary to all his shrieks of protest on this account, the empirical fact of historical human existence, man's emergence from the Pleistocene, etc., all demonstrate absolutely that the noetic element is the primitive substance of human nature.

This source of perplexity for the logician is not limited to the disputes between the Marxian and empiricist worldviews. The proof of the existence of an apparent "metaphysical" determination of human knowledge, given by Georg Cantor [25], Bertrand Russell's "barber," etc., are simply proofs that whenever the most impassioned and consistent logical minds attempt to explain human knowledge in terms of a logic, those investigators, if they are honest, must acknowledge that nowhere in the logical interpretation of human knowledge can the fact, the origin of knowledge itself be located. Knowledge, the creation of the construct of thought, is not logically determined or determinable.

The fault of logic lies not in some insuperable flaw in man's capacity for rational understanding of himself or his universe, but in the prejudice inherent in alienated forms of social relations, the prejudice which impels the logicians, for example to hysterically insist on locating the primitive form of materiality, reality, in "elementary particles" of one sort or another. The alienation of self by capitalist social relations, in particular, expresses itself as alienation in the neurotic prejudice that the human self is a self-evident particularity within a world of fixed (bestialized) relations to fixed (bestialized) objects. The idea, the simple truth, that the primitive form of reality, of materiality, is locatable only in *processes* (not things), escapes them. As we have said, and say now again, the source of this neurotic difficulty of bourgeois thinkers (in particular) is not the subject of their inquiries, but the effects of alienation upon the functioning of their mental apparatus of inquiry.

That is also to say that ordinary workers, as well as bourgeois thinkers, are similarly afflicted. Workers also cannot comprehend process immediately as process. Program provides the bridge from alienated, bestialized

views of a fixed and particularate false-reality, by expressing the notion of process in terms of reality as it appears to them. In socialist program of expanded reproduction, we are obviously describing a succession of discrete states, a process of getting from A (capitalism today) to B to C. That the increasing values of the expression $S' / (C + V)$, are in fact obtainable, is explicitly demonstrated by the facts of available technology. Thus, the programmatic application of existing technology to transforming the social-productive relations in this (negentropic) fashion is comprehensible to the workers.

This is much the same ruse — albeit a legitimate ruse — employed by the creative scientist. The great thinker, such as Cantor, Reimann, Einstein, et al., finds it impossible to represent *the actual process* of creative mentation by which he achieves new concretized view of subject-matters both before and after the process of creative mentation has occurred.

What program accomplishes, thus, is the deliberate locating of the noetic process of human development, by "measuring" human behavior collectively in terms of those criteria (the negentropy of human social-reproductive relations) which must immediately express the fruitful outcome of such mentation and practice. If the direct comprehension of the noetic process remains inaccessible, we have nonetheless concretely situated human existence on the basis of that which distinguishes man from the lower beasts — for the first time!

THE CLASS FOR ITSELF

The "Maoist" gauchiste repeatedly reveals the unwashed secret of his own petit-bourgeois ideology when he imagines himself being most deferential toward the workers. He reveals himself a badly disguised Stalinist, as he opposes discussing anything more intellectual than sports events, local shop problems, or simple-minded political slogans with the worker — or, indeed, permitting anyone else to do so. For, if concrete workers are not to master the intellectual business of comprehending theoretical economics, only a non-working-class bureaucracy is left to perform such tasks for management of the workers' economy! In the same vein, the gauchiste assumes that it is "petit-bourgeois" or "elitist" to attempt to teach the workers anything, program included, since the workers will, in his view, spontaneously create their own program, since the proletarians have "proletarian consciousness," know what is good for themselves, etc. Yet, on the basis of what the worker knows, he usually votes for his enemy's political parties and candidates. If the worker rises

slightly above such crass stupidity toward his obvious class interest, we find him marching faithfully for decades in the train of such "socialist" parties as the PCF, which has repeatedly sold him out (e.g., 1934-37, 1944-45, 1968) at every testing. The gauchiste proposes to leave such native *wisdom* of the workers uncorrupted by outside interference from a revolutionary intelligentsia!

The gauchiste thus exhibits himself as the bearer of the same bourgeois ideology as the Communist Party bureaucrat or trade-union bureaucrat, who are, after all, only cynical gauchistes. The gauchiste makes a virtue of the workers' ignorance, bestialization, self-betrays, etc. The cynical Communist or trade-union bureaucrat also admires and wishes to preserve the same wretched qualities in workers, thereby to keep the workers in their useful mental condition as a certain sort of political commodity.

Nor is there really such a gulf between the gauchiste and Monsignore Ernest Mandel, the famous Proudhonist priest of the Unified Secretariat. Mandel, denouncing Marx's conception of the *class-for-itself* [25], steals from Herbert Marcuse the explanation that the apparatus of propagation of bourgeois ideology merely imposes alien consciousness upon the working class. Mandel, after plagiarizing Marcuse, resorts to the usual protective arguments of the eclectic thief; he insists that he has not really stolen Marcuse's ideas, because Mandel's view is "dialectical" and "dynamic," where Marcuse's is "static." [26] He agrees with Marcuse in insisting that the bourgeois idealization of the workers is merely a lid pressed down on the workers' consciousnesses through bourgeois control of the press, schools, etc., but, he, Mandel, foresees the "dynamic" solution, that the workers becoming angered in large numbers, summon the energy to suddenly throw off the weight of his manhole cover of bourgeois ideology, etc., and thus reveal and assert the "proletarian consciousness" simmering underneath all the time.

Having stated that view, Mandel denounces Karl Marx for Marx's attack on Proudhon and Proudhon-like conceptions such as Mandel's own. [27] Marx, correcting both Kant and Hegel on this point, but recognizing the germ of essential truth in their views, located the bourgeois ideology of the workers not in some bourgeois manhole cover pressing down upon their "proletarian brains." Marx recognized that the fragmented working class, divided into narrow, localized self-interest groups, naturally "secreted" a *pathological* worldview, a reactionary anti-working-class ideology. This pathological view, intrinsic to such workers, does not arise from bourgeois control of the press, radio, TV, etc., but from the fact that the working class, as a mere

class-in-itself, not only does not know the existence of a universal class interest, a universal class *praxis*, but rather that each local group of workers sets itself in *heteronomic* [28] antagonism to the interests of the class as a whole.

Thus, trade unions, as narrow self-interest groups, set themselves and their own notion of immediate self-interest, in opposition to the immediate interests of the unorganized, the unemployed, the leadership of the PCF, for example, blocks with the French bourgeoisie against the nasty, foreign competition of workers in other countries. The leadership of the PCF attempts to rally French workers to throw "foreign workers" employed in France out of their jobs, etc., etc.

Mandel, whether because of stupidity or hysteria, lies about Marx's notion of the distinctions between the class-in-itself and the class-for-itself. Mandel writes: "The category of 'the class-in-itself' are linked to the objective class concept in the sociology of Marx, where a social layer is determined by its objective position in the process of production *independent* of its state of consciousness." [29] On the contrary, for Marx, it is fundamental dialectical sociology that Being *determines* consciousness, that the class-in-itself, or fragmented, *heteronomic* praxis and social organization of the working class determines a corresponding ideology, or false consciousness, corresponding to the pathological conception of parochialist self-interest. Indeed, all the important figures of German Critical Philosophy, Kant, Hegel, Feuerbach, and Marx situate that conception of ideology, of Being determining consciousness, at the very kernel of their entire worldview.

Mandel continues his lying: "It is well known that the young Marx — in the Communist Manifesto and in his political writings of 1850-52, for instance — had put forward a subjective concept of the class according to which the working class becomes a class only through its struggle, i.e., by reaching a minimum degree of class consciousness. Bukharin, in connection with a formula from *The Poverty of Philosophy*, calls this concept the concept of the 'class-in-itself.'" [30] On the contrary, as we have noted, the distinction between Being-for-itself and Being-in-itself is not some chance formulation to be picked out of Marx's attack on Proudhon's 1847 class-in-itself ideology; that distinction is the summation of the entire Hegelian, Feuerbachian, and Marxian dialectical methods, respectively. In Hegel, it is always Being-for-itself; in Feuerbach, "species-consciousness," the Being-for-itself opposed to the false consciousness of heteronomic parochialism, such as religious belief; in Marx, who replaces "the dumb generality" of Feuerbach's all inclusive undifferentiated "species" with

the *class-for-itself*, the premise of the class-for-itself persists as the fundamental of Marx's views from the 1843 attack on Hegel's Science of Logic and Philosophy of Right, through to such passages from Volume III of Capital as we have cited above! [31]

Mandel, then associates his own wretched views with the traditions of the socialist movement: "This objective concept of the class" (Mandel's enthusiasm for the class-in-itself) "remains fundamental for Lenin's ideas on organization, as it did for Engels and the German Social Democracy under the influence of Engels, Babel and Kautsky." [32] Mandel makes a factional amalgam of himself, Lenin, Engels, Bebel, and Kautsky! Here, indeed, is a fine homogeneous collection of predicates of a Marxian viewpoint! And, to add actual criminal slander to muddling of that sort, in passing Mandel attributes the ideology of the primeval centrist faction (Bebel, Ebert, Kautsky) to the beneficent influence of Engels!

It happens that Lenin, contrary to Mandel's views, recognized from the 1905-06 Russian experience that the Bolshevik faction had been mistaken, and the left-Mensheviks, headed by L. Trotsky, correct, on the decisive role of the Russian soviets. Indeed, the following year, Lenin blocked with Luxemburg to put forth a joint resolution in the proceedings of the Second International on the basis of this concurrence. Nor are Lenin's writings on the Russian soviets throughout his later life the limit of the evidence on this point. The concept of the "united class front," Luxemburg's own (1918-19) concrete development of her "soviet" conception (The Mass Strike), and carried out under Paul Levi's leadership to establish the VKPD from the beginning of the tiny Spartakusbund of 1919, was enthusiastically appropriated by Lenin during the Second, Third Congresses of the Communist International. For the edification of the miserable Monsignor Mandel, who professes to be the last word on Trotsky's contributions, this same conception of the identity of the three terms, soviet, united class front, class-for-itself, was not only repeatedly underlined by Trotsky in his 1929-33 writings on Germany (especially), but as a result of Trotsky's direct influence on the International Left Opposition, the specific term, *class-for-itself*, not accidentally, receives large attention in the pages of such leading Trotskyist publications of the early 1930's as the U.S. Militant!

The division in the struggle between the reformist-centrist and revolutionary factions in the pre-1914 SPD was over the same issue. Luxemburg, leader of the revolutionary faction, insisted that the workers in the trade-union organizations could be transformed to a state of class consciousness only by uniting themselves

(in "soviet" or "class-for-itself" forms) with the unorganized, unemployed, most oppressed, etc. The centrists, led by the Bebel-Ebert-Legien bloc, and given a "theoretical" defense by Kautsky, counterposed the centrist conception of "constructivism," which Mandel has appropriated from Kautsky, et al. in a more vulgar form in the Unified Secretariat's strategy of "local workers' control." Indeed, the entire left-wing leadership of the newly formed Communist International, Luxemburg, Lenin, Trotsky representing the three principal merging tendencies involved, distinguished themselves absolutely from the reformists and centrists of the Second International and USPD on exactly that point, as they also distinguished themselves sharply and bitterly from the ultra-left version of the same centrist conceptions offered by Bordiga, Pannekok, the KAPD, etc.

To transform the bourgeoisified working class, which is obviously to include those communists who support such leaders as the spokesmen for the PCF, from a mere collection of enraged sheep to a class with class consciousness, it is first indispensable for us today, as it was for the founders of the Communist International, and for Marx himself, to found the uniting fragmented class forces, across national boundaries, across divisions between employed and unemployed, between organized and unorganized, into united workers' fronts, or sometimes called united class fronts, we radically change the state of Being of the working class, we reorder social relations within the class, dissolving the exclusivity of parochialized formations in favor of the conscious interdependency of social relations within the class on the broadest scale. In this way, the pathological consciousness, the heteronomic ideologies, of the class-in-itself are *potentially* overcome by situating the social basis of the workers' material self-interest in the broadest formations of his entire class. The heteronomic and parochial has been objectively superseded by that which converges upon a universal class self-interest, a universal class self-organization.

This changed form of class social relations does not in itself produce active class consciousness; it creates an active potential for class consciousness. To become the basis for actual class consciousness, socialist program of expanded reproduction is required. From the crude empirical overview of what occurs during mass upheavals, the revolutionary socialist suddenly finds that those same ideas, program, which the majority of the working class ridiculed only weeks or so before are now being taken up and embraced by rapidly increased numbers of workers. This amiable change in the situation does not occur because the program has suddenly been improved, because skilled orators have

suddenly appeared, etc., but because the Being of the class forces is undergoing a qualitative change from that of a class-in-itself toward that of a class-for-itself. The program was rejected yesterday because it did not coincide with that appeased sensible, reasonable to the worker's notion of his self-interest, the self-interest of the class-in-itself. He enthusiastically embraces those same programs today, because his nature has changed his Being is tending to become that of the class-for-itself, so that he now assimilates socialist program as something suddenly appropriate to his emerging new human nature.

Mandel, in opposition to this Marxian view, proposes that "local workers' control" is the focus of emerging class consciousness, just as Proudhon opposed Marx in a similar fashion a century and a quarter earlier. Or, to be exact, Mandel joins the faction of Proudhon not merely because of the influence of Proudhon, Andre Gorz, or the unmournable Renard, but because he shares Proudhon's, Gorz's, Renard's miserable petit-bourgeois world outlook.

This distinction between class-in-itself and class-for-itself has a precise economic correlative. The class-in-itself view in economic theory is expressed by the gauchistes, anarchosyndicalists generally, and the "Third Camp" groups most emphatically. For these wretched anarchists and pseudo-socialists, the class struggle is defined as the effort of the local producers in each firm, etc., to establish control over "the undiminished proceeds" of their locally-created value-production. The "Third Camper" — and anarchist — for this reason regard any society based on socialized accumulation as an exploitative society, and use precisely that argument to justify their lie that the U.S.S.R. is "state capitalist." All pseudo-socialists who share that petit-bourgeois outlook to one degree or another inevitably regard the economic demands of socialist program as properly restricted to local economic demands morally premised on the presumed autarky of localized value-creation by the workers gathered around some local "point of production."

The economic programmatic view which corresponds to the social form of the class-for-itself (soviets, united class fronts) can be deduced even, to a certain preliminary extent, from the standpoint of bourgeois economist and industrial engineering.

Bourgeois analysis of production employs three principal statistical devices: the *process sheet*, which analyzes the different qualities of labor-power and means of production required, as various points of production of a commodity in a particular kind of manufacturing facility; the *Bill of Materials*, which lists the required proportions of materials, semi-finished

parts, supplies, for the production of that commodity; and the *Bill of Consumption*, which analyzes wage earners' (for example) consumption into proportionalities, each corresponding either to categories of commodities required, or particular commodities.

If we then start from the bill of consumption for any group of workers in any sector of Europe, and attempt to determine the actual content of the production of the material basis for such individual existence, we have the following type of result. For each commodity in the bill of consumption we locate a typical manufacturing facility. In addition to the specific labor-power involved in the detailed process sheet, that same process sheet identifies various machinery, equipment, etc., which are the material prerequisites, as Fixed Capital, of that production. Each of these machines, etc., is produced by another manufacturing unit, often in another national sector. The bill of materials, similarly traces the contents of production to other manufacturing units, mines, plantations, etc., in turn has its own process sheet and bills of materials, which must be traced out to additional plants, mines, plantations, etc. Before we have made more than a few successive steps behind the workers' consumption (his individual material existence) we have gone several times around the world, have touched upon the activities of a large part of the world's proletarians, and the populations which produce those proletarians from working-class households, peasant families, etc.

Thus, the reality of the individual workers' material self-interest in any local part of the world is located in the universality of the activities of the world's proletarians and their potential allies as a whole.

This is not merely a static interest. We cannot maintain this material self-interest of the particular worker in France, Germany, Italy, etc., either by fixing the technology of production (ecological problems, power shortages, etc.) or by attempting to create national autarkies. The more advanced production becomes, thus cheapening the cost of production in terms of average required labor time, the more complex become the process sheets, especially in respect to Fixed Capital. It would be impossible to obtain production in terms of modern technology on the population scale of even a large capitalist nation, such as the U.S.A., or an integrated Common Market; the historic achievement of capitalist development in this respect is that it has utilized the scale of the world's proletarian population, as well as natural resources of differing qualities of richness around the world, etc., to enlarge the scale of the world division of labor, thus making modern technology possible — which is why, for example, "socialism in one country," such as the U.S.S.R. is

impossible! To attempt to constrict the scale of production to large national or regional subsectors of present production would mean to turn back the clock of technology to a large degree, driving down the material standard of living of workers in every country.

Therefore, the universal interest expressed by a network of bills of consumption, process sheets and bills of material is an active interest. The possibility of improving, or even maintaining the existing standard of living for workers in any sector demands further expansion of production, to include modern production by the present unemployed and "underemployed." It demands raising the standard of education and level of consumption of workers around the world, in order to create the material conditions for their employment in modern technology. Only by increasing the efficiency of production through such universalized expanded reproduction can we actually reduce the general size of the working day and achieve the qualities of increased freedom for workers — as the cited passage from Marx's *Capital* emphasizes. [33]

The worker is thus able to comprehend his class interest, which is his interest in socialist expanded reproduction, only to the extent that his socially determined consciousness raises him above the class-in-itself heteronomy of nationalism, trade-union narrowness, etc., and provides him with a Being (Being-for-itself) which corresponds to the practical expression (international socialism) of his universalized class interest.

As the person of Karl Marx epitomizes for the socialist movement as a whole, and as Lenin was essentially correct on this point in his "What Is To Be Done?," where he opposed the "economist" or class-in-itself point of view, socialism or actual class consciousness is not spontaneously generated by the working class "in struggle." Socialism begins, as it began with Marx, as the development of theory and program by a

revolutionary intelligentsia. This initiating cadre creates the beginning of an international working-class party by concentrating on every possible opportunity to broaden the form of self-organization of every working-class struggle to include united-front alliances of employed with unemployed, organized with unorganized. As these fortunate tendencies toward a class-for-itself form of Being are realized, even sometimes in the smallest, most fragile and momentary alliances within the class forces, a certain section of the class forces — a tiny vanguard stratum, to begin with — undergoes a change in its consciousness, developing a potential for class consciousness. It is socialist program, especially the socialist programmatic perspective of expanded socialist production, which transforms potential class consciousness.

What we must do, as we seek to establish the rudiments of a new international party, is to go beyond the preliminary specifications of such a program, beyond the quality of precision of the NCLC's July 1970 "Emergency Reconstruction Program," for all Europe, emphasizing immediately the leading capitalist regions of Europe. Knowing that the historic tasks of the movement must be realized during the 1970's, with the development of the productive forces in more or less their present state, we must develop and present our program of expanded reproduction for a socialist Common Market, a United Socialist States of Europe.

Such a program, even our present commitment to produce it, absolutely distinguishes our tendency as an historic alternative to the imminently fascist program of the big bourgeoisie ("Zero Population Growth") and the wretched centrism of the Communist and Unified Secretariat Parties. It is by rallying the best cadres of all Europe to such a programmatic orientation that we shall proceed — with barely enough time to accomplish this — to establish a new, hegemonic international party.

Footnotes

1. The Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, established by Act of Congress, March 1970
2. The "Club of Rome" is an international capitalists' research foundation, funded by the Volkswagen firm and assorted Italian financiers, among others. It is headed by Dr. Peccei, otherwise noted for his position at the head of Italconsult, Europe's largest industrial management consulting firm.
3. Mansholt's endorsement of the "Zero Population Growth" campaign, while partially a demagogic cover for present European capitalist unemployment and wage austerity programs, identifies his programmatic views with those elaborated in the "Blueprint for Survival," *Limits of Growth*, and assorted related documents. Stripped of their pseudo-scientific "ecology" demagogy, the programs thus endorsed by Mansholt correspond exactly to the step-by-step

development of the Nazi regime, from Schacht's wage austerity of 1933-37 into the slave-labor-extermination-camp programs of profitable depopulation of Slavic and Jewish-settled regions during the 1943-45 period.

4. Cf. *Socialism or Fascism*, National Caucus of Labor Committees, New York, N.Y., Nov. 1971.
5. *European Auto-Cannibalism*.
6. The "Unified Secretariat" refers to the gaggle of centrist groups associated with the leadership of Ernest Mandel, most notably the Ligue Communiste of France, and a "co-thinker" group, the Socialist Workers' Party of the U.S.A. It is rumored that a split is brewing between Mandel and the SWP. The SWP is opposed to the support of "guerillaism" by Livio Maitan and other European Mandelian spokesmen, as it is also opposed to Mandel's securing rights to intervene

in the program policies of the SWP. In turn, the European leadership of the Unified Secretariat is more than annoyed at the embarrassment the SWP could create for the Ligue Communiste and other parties in Europe. It is reported that observers from the Ligue Communiste came close to vomiting publicly while attending the recent conference of the Young Socialists Alliance (SWP youth group) in Houston. Despite the petit-bourgeois centrist tendency dominating the Secretariat parties in Europe, in Europe it is necessary to make at least a serious pretense of having a working-class orientation. This point is accentuated by the fact that the SWP modifies Mandel's "local workers' control" to a mere "local control," and backs this change by frequently mobilizing scabbing and other strikebreaking activities is the numerically largest centrist tendency after the Communist parties themselves.

7. "The End of the Dollar Empire," *Internationales Bulletin*, Vol. 1, No. 1, passim.
8. As a result of long-standing falsification of unemployment statistics in the USA by the U.S. government and pro-capitalist academics, the highly visible growth of actual unemployment to more than double the reported figure has caused even bourgeois circles to create a new statistic, called "under-employment."
9. The I.S. (U.S.A.) is technically presumed to have very loose solidarity with the I.S. (G.B.). The similarities are essentially located in the nominal posture by both groups, that the U.S.S.R. is "state capitalist," and the fact that both are an unprincipled amalgam of opportunists of quite different political views huddled together for bodily warmth. The I.S. (U.S.A.) rejects socialism in any sense that that term has been used in the socialist movement, denying most emphatically the possible existence of programs expressing a common class interest unifying employed, unemployed, organized, unorganized. This anarchist opposition to program compels the group to reject, on the same grounds, any actual internationalist practices.
10. See Marx, "Critique of the Gotha Programme."
11. See discussion of Mandel's attack on Marx, below.
12. 1844.
13. N.B., "The Trinitarian Formula, III" passim; see below for excerpt from this.
14. Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*: "Economic conditions had first transformed the mass of the people of the country into workers. The combination of capital has created for this mass a common situation, common interests. This mass is thus already a class as against capital, but not yet for itself. In the struggle, of which we have noted only a few phases, this mass becomes united, and constitutes itself as a class for itself. The interests it defends become class interests. But the struggle of class against class is a political struggle." p. 173, Moscow English-language edition.
15. *The German Ideology*, "Feuerbach," passim.
16. Ibid.
17. G. Cantor, *Grundlagen einer allgemeinen Mannigfaltigkeitslehre* (Leipzig, 1833), in Georg Cantor, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Hildesheim, 1962. Another approach to the same problem is developed out of Christian Ehrenfels by Wolfgang Kohler and Max Wertheimer in the notion of the noetic function of insight in human concept-creation. Ehrenfels' (and Kohler's and Wertheimer's) approach is explicitly Kantian, of course — classical, actual Kantianism, not the bowdlerized nonsense of the neo-Kantian epigoni of Fries which flourishes in certain

German intellectual circles. Of course, it is most unsatisfactory to leave matters with Cantor's "metaphysic," etc.; the point is to recognize the ways in which the fact of the noetic character of actual human mentation is empirically manifest within mathematical science, empirical psychology, etc.

18. Compare Kant's and Feuerbach's usage of the notion of anthropology, with special reference to Kant on this in his *Critique of Practical Reason*.
19. Kant, *Critique of Practical Reason*, passim.
20. This point is systematically treated in L. Marcus, *Dialectical Economics*, New York, 1972. Hegel's inability to locate progress in man's practical advances in the "negative entropy" of nature (i.e., in the *Phenomenology*) compels him to set the evolutionary process of human mentation apart from the material basis, resulting in the pathological "double negation" to which Marx refers at length in the concluding chapter of the 1844 Manuscripts. Lacking a positive basis in praxis for determining the objectivity of human knowledge from the standpoint of changes in material universality, Hegel could not develop a true "hylozoic monism." Thus, attempting to resolve the heteronomy of Being-in-itself within the subjective realm alone, Hegel situated himself in a predicament analogous to that of Kant's attempt to resolve a similar problem in the *Critique of Practical Reason*. This, the "negation of the negation" becomes the hallmark of the later Hegel, expressing its inevitable implications in the attribution of historical necessity to every parasite of the Prussian state.
21. That man's positive negentropic changes in nature for higher material reproductive powers of man determines the existence of man the practical thinker, man who arrives at practice through thought-noetic thought. Thus, the higher negentropy of the human social-reproductive process *as a whole*, resulting from the universalized consequences of attempted negentropic changes in nature by man, closes the "loop," providing a positive rather than an Hegelian or Kantian "negation of the negation" means of determining the "reality, the this-sidedness" of the processes of noetic mentation involved.
22. Cf. Ludwig Boltzmann, *Vorlesungen uber Gastheorie*; Max Planck, *A Survey of Physics*.
23. From the first section, "Feuerbach," of *The German Ideology*, the following excerpts emphasize the absolute consistency of views of the "young" and "mature" Marx on the associated points.
On the class-for-itself principles underlined in the excerpt from Vol. III of *Capital*, we extract the essence of the treatment with the following on the material-social basis for the notion of alienation:
"...This development of the productive forces (which itself implies the actual empirical existence of men in their *world-historical* instead of local being)...finally has put *world-historical* empirically universal individuals in place of local ones." (p. 46 Moscow English edition)

"...the real intellectual wealth of the individual depends entirely on the wealth of his real connections. Only then will the separate individuals be liberated from the various national and local barriers, be brought into practical connection with the material and intellectual production of the whole world and be put in a position to acquire the

capacity to enjoy this all-sided production of the whole earth (the creations of man). *All-round* dependence, this natural form of the *world-historical* cooperation of individuals, will be transformed by this communist revolution into the control and conscious mastery of these powers, which, born of the action of man on one another, have till now over-awed and governed men as powers completely alien to them." (p. 49, *ibid.*)

"Modern universal intercourse can be controlled by individuals, therefore, only when controlled by all.

"This appropriation is further determined by the manner in which it must be effected. It can be effected only through a union, which by the character of the proletariat itself can again only be a universal one...

"Only at this stage does self-activity coincide with material life...The transformation of labor into self-activity corresponds to the transformation of the earlier limited intercourse into the intercourse of individuals as such. With the appropriation of the total productive forces through united individuals, private property comes to an end." (p. 84, *ibid.*)

"...the individuals must appropriate the existing totality of productive forces, not only to achieve self-activity, but also, merely to safeguard their very existence. This

appropriation is first determined by the object to be appropriated, the productive forces, which have been developed to a totality and which only exist within a universal character corresponding to the productive forces and the intercourse." (p. 83, *ibid.*)

These excerpts merely highlight that view permeating the entire "Feuerbach" section. Obviously, comparing the section from which we excerpted the passage from Vol. III of *Capital* with the "Feuerbach" section, only liars and incurable idiots could identify any opposing view with Marx or sustain the myth of a dichotomy between an "early" and "mature" Marx.

24. Cf. L. Marcus, "Why It Had To Happen," *Internationales Bulletin*, Vol. 1, No. 1.
25. See Note 17.
26. Ernest Mandel, "The Leninist Theory of Organization," *International Socialist Review*, New York, December 1970.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Kant, *Critique of Practical Reason*. Kant's *pathological* and *heteronomic* correspond to the qualities of mere **Being-in-itself** or a mere **class-in-itself** for Hegel and Marx, respectively.
29. Mandel, *op. cit.*
30. *Ibid.*
31. Note 23.
32. Mandel, *op. cit.*
33. Note 23.

God's power of thinking

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIALIST
EDUCATION (From an Advanced Standpoint)

by Lyn Marcus

Originally published in 1969 as a pamphlet.

his realized
power of
action.

The New York Labor Committee, in collaboration with the International Socialists and others, is now taking the lead in behalf of the right of all working-class youth to free and meaningful higher education.[1] This campaign has several obvious features which compel us to denounce as fraud and sterile tokenism the present plan for "Open Admissions" advanced by the New York City Board of Higher Education.

First, The BHE plan adopts the purely-abstract principle of "Open Admissions" but, in fact, does not provide the funds and costly, concrete added facilities and other measures absolutely necessary to make "Open Admissions" a reality.

Second, the BHE plan also accepts the lie about black youth's education made famous by Kenneth ("Pork-chop") Clark in his widely read *Dark Ghetto*. Clark lies, saying that the material conditions of life facing black youth are not significant in their academic performance. Clark says that "racist" attitudes held by teachers are, in essence, the only significant obstacle to black children's learning. The Labor Committee rejects Clark's lie and rejects the implicit acceptance of that same lie in the BHE's present plan. There can be no significant improvement in the academic success of ghetto *and white* poor unless improved academic opportunities are accompanied by significant improvements in the job-opportunities and other conditions of life confronting these students. The *tokenism* of the BHE plan means mainly a dilution of educational quality for both black and white students and the exacerbation of the already-sickening racial conflict among white and black youth.

Since the program being urged by the Labor Committee and its co-workers cannot be won without a strong political movement behind it, our work for this program contributes one further essential thing to the success of white and black working-class youth under a real Open Admissions program. Real Open Admissions will not exist unless a political movement among black and white poor youth (among others!) makes it come into existence. Therefore, the leading layer of students who win a real higher education in this way will be politically motivated to make higher education an effective instrument for their work in reconstruction of the whole society.

In sum, then, the program being pushed by the Labor Committee, IS and others accomplishes the following three things for successful higher education. First, it demands real four-year college opportunities, not

tokenist, ghettoized "community college" education diluted for "losers." Second, it provides the material conditions of life and job opportunities necessary to make higher education relevant to the expanded university student population. Third, the struggle for Open Admissions instills among a leading layer of these same youth the necessary *political* confidence and motivation to assure their academic success.

This brings us to consideration of a fourth problem, the subject of this article. It would seem, considering only the three main points discussed above, that the Labor Committee and its allies are demanding for black and white poor youth the same *corrupt* higher education that present university students are "benefitting" from today. That, of course, is not the case.

We could say, in this connection, that the third feature of the Open Admissions program we propose will tend to solve this fourth problem. Politically-motivated and organized masses of youth will absolutely not tolerate the academic babbling and sterile drill-and-grill which passes for higher education in so many of our liberal arts programs (particularly today). This is absolutely true, but to leave the question with so general, so unexplicit an answer is a cop-out.

It happens, in this connection, that Karl Marx has already provided the unique basis for a general solution to the sterility of what passes for the best quality of higher education today. Thus, we have the capacity and obligation to develop that solution now.

This indictment of higher education is not an egregious contribution of the Labor Committees. The best summary of one non-Marxist view on this subject is obtained from Lawrence S. Kubie, "The Fostering of Creative Scientific Productivity," (*Daedalus*, Spring, 1962). Kubie there considers the fact that so many of our best-educated academic and professional "authorities" either emerge from their doctoral dissertation-writing with their creative powers entirely destroyed or so on thereafter become crippled or inert to much the same effect. Kubie rejects the question: Why does education fail to produce more creative intellects? He proposes the alternative question: By what remarkable means do so many of our most gifted young people manage to go through higher education without total destruction of their creative faculties?

Kubie locates the worst manifestation of a generally bankrupt higher educational practice in "drill and grill," a hideous concomitant of "uniform examinations" and bemused students faithfully copying an instructor's drivelling into their notebooks for later memorization. "Bioning up for the Regents" in New York secondary-school academic tracks properly suggests: The destruction of the minds of the young

through higher education does not begin in our universities. Nor is this a flaw of education in particular; contemporary education simply concentrates in its policies the same mind-destroying practices otherwise cultivated in the family and neighborhood from infancy.

Proceeding from the starting-point afforded by Karl Marx, especially in his 1844-46 writings, we shall demonstrate the validity of such above-cited general conclusions, proceeding simultaneously toward systematic demonstration of the necessary solution. In this process we are compelled to seem *abstract*. For the reader who finds this a source of difficulty, we warn: Your discomfort is not a premise for challenging our approach. Our case here is self-reflexive: that this should seem unduly abstract to you only demonstrates the criminal damage done to your own mind by the social processes under examination here. If we are unwilling to encounter the problem on this "level" of abstraction, the human race is thereby condemned to continue in its present misery.

Whether or not educators profess to have a philosophy, the implicit philosophy of *most* educational practice is a form of philosophical empiricism commonly known as behaviorism. In that form — behaviorism — the present issue of educational method is scarcely new with either the Labor Committees or L.A. Kubie. A German psychologist, Wolfgang Koehler, demonstrated in his famous *Mentality of Apes* the intellectual bankruptcy of all behaviorist sociology and psychology. The chimpanzee, by fitting two pieces of bamboo together to make a stick long enough to reach a banana, or the chimpanzee piling boxes upon one another to reach objects on the ceiling, etc., had invented a "tool" by means other than learning. He argued on such grounds that the ability of a rat or other animal to "learn" to solve a maze-problem had nothing to do with intelligence. Many other thinkers have similarly attacked the pseudo-scientific character, the elementary fallacies of wild statistical approaches to psychology and sociology. Disputes over the same general problem respecting educational policy in particular have raged since Dewey's ventures into this particular field.

Another approach to actually the very same problem has been developed in the field of mathematics: Goedel's paradox (Cf. Ernest Nagel and James R. Newman, *Goedel's Proof*, New York, 1958), which demonstrates the non-existence of mathematical *proof*, by definition. So-called mathematical "proofs" are merely *heuristic procedures*, and do not represent the slightest demonstration of "positive knowledge." The same problem arises in connection with Heisenberg's discussion of "indeterminacy", on which "official Marxist philosophies" have expended so many nonsense-

arguments. (Respecting the arguments of his self-styled Marxist critics, Heisenberg actually presents a systematic Hegelian-dialectical interpretation of the "indeterminacy" problem.)

The same view, or more precisely, a coherent view, is fundamental to Sigmund Freud, after whom Kubie appropriately develops his own analysis of the matter which emphasizes Freud's conception of psychophysical parallelism. Emile Durkheim's *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (Swain tr., New York, 1961) is a cohering development of the same point.

Twentieth century thinkers such as Koehler, Goedel, Freud, Durkheim, Kubie, et al., have all attacked this problem in various ways, but in each case in a characteristically twentieth-century one-sided fashion. The same problem was more fundamentally, comprehensively and exhaustively explored by Immanuel Kant (*Critique of Pure Reason*) and Hegel, as the central question of the "Self" of German Critical Philosophy. It is within that latter context, German Critical Philosophy, that Ludwig Feuerbach, during 1841-43 (*Essence of Christianity, Theses . . . , Principles of a Philosophy of the Future*) accomplished a complete revolution in all philosophy and social sciences, establishing the methodological basis on which Karl Marx founded his own subsequent revolution in world-outlook.

Immanuel Kant defined the problem summarily in the preface to the first edition of his *Critique of Pure Reason* and restated the same point with greater care but less felicity in the preface to his second edition of that work. Human knowledge, Kant observed, had the following two-fold predicament. First, in the progress of experimental method, especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, man had attained great rigor in purifying the working-conceptions and methods which practice forewarns him he dare not discard. Yet, when he attempts to reconcile the validated conceptions from several specialized domains, conceptions which experimental tests fail to disprove, he discovers that these conceptions imply different fundamental laws of the material universe and human knowledge in general. Whenever man attempts to explain the processes of mentation by which he solves such paradoxes, he, by definition, verges onto domains of investigation in which his existing conceptions and methods fail him. Thus, his efforts to understand his own reason plunge him into darkness and contradiction.

Hegel attempts a simple illustration of the problem involved. Compare, Hegel suggests, in his *Science of Logic*, the conception of grammar in the view of a student who knows only his native language with the conception of grammar for a student who has mastered

several languages. It is evident that certain aspects of the process of human mentation solve, by creating new conceptions, the paradoxes of universal coherence arising from creating new conceptions, the juxtaposition of conceptions and methods experimentally appropriate to more limited domains of practice. Just as Kohler's chimpanzee invents tools, it might seem without benefit of experience or formal learning.

If we, properly, assume only a single axiomatic basis for human knowledge, that the *universe is coherent*, then the knowledge attained by such "inventive faculties" is true in contrast to the relative falsehood of experimentally-validated concrete knowledge of more specialized domains. Thus, for Hegel, truth is known to man not by experiment as such, not by experience, not by learning, but through those faculties of mentation which create new conceptions at precisely the point that experimentally based knowledge fails absolutely. Furthermore, to go to the main, single, great discovery of Hegel, truth exists only in the whole overview of man's history and universe, attained by just such *dialectical* processes of mentation. This, in contrast to the *falseness* of particular experimental knowledge as such.

(The term, dialectical, reflects Hegel's (and Kant's) acknowledged debt to Plato's *Parmenides*, in which a crude approximation of this same method was classically represented).

Dull-witted students and professors have viciously misinterpreted this fundamental discovery of Hegel's. The cretins of philosophical academia and dillettantes of the popular survey course stupidly imagine this to be an argument for "armchair" hypothesizing. On the contrary, the validity of a dialectical conception is not the hypothesis, but that the new dialectically developed conception corresponds to a coherent experimental-factual entirety, thus replacing the previous conceptions valid only for a parochial practice respecting fragmented or compartmentalized portions of that entirety.

The historic setting which gives Kant and Hegel their qualitative significance over mere Platonism is the preceding development of the experimental method. Pre-eighteenth century science did not know rigorous experimental practice and therefore could not distinguish between paradoxes which were simply products of slovenly thinking and those paradoxes which represented the limits of formal, experimental investigation.

Comparing Hegel's (and Kant's) contributions with Goedel's paradox, the actual implications of the Hegelian discovery come into more immediate, more meaningful focus. *All* real human conceptions are the product of a *dialectical* process. This would imply, peering ahead to certain positive policy statements to be made in this article, that the proper method of education must, at every

turn, attempt to *force* the student to create concepts dialectically rather than simply learn the authority of nominal conceptions identified artificially by textbook and instructor. The education must be a process in which we force the student to develop his or her dialectical processes of mentation by creating apparently-insoluble paradoxes for his existing conceptions and experimental exertions. We must constantly create mental crises in students, constantly cause "breakdowns" in their existing conceptions and methods. Always in pursuit of a greater relative coherence.

However, as we shall see, this is not a problem which can be solved within the domain of educational procedure *as such*.

To return to Kubie's thesis again, before going on to the substance of our investigation here, Kubie identifies the problem of dialectical mentation thus: he attributes the noetic process of mentation, the creative concept-forming processes of mentation to what he terms, after Freud, the *pre-conscious* processes. To a person of metaphysical bias, this would seem to imply a "faculty" situated "outside" conscious thought. It actually means a different aspect of the same process we "see" as conscious thought, a more inclusive view of the process of deliberative mentation; it signifies the "unlighted" phases of the process preceding the conscious articulation of a new conception.

We should interpolate a parenthetical warning here. This definition of "pre-consciousness", which is another way of identifying processes otherwise defined by Marx's method, does not imply that pre-conscious processes are unknowable, that the unlighted aspects of mentation can not be illuminated for some appropriate form of conscious reflection. The darkness of the "pre-conscious" phase of mentation is itself a product and symptom of (in particular) the systematic destruction of the human mental potential by capitalist social relations.

What Kubie's treatment of the problem demands of us, a most useful demand, is that we distinguish, at least by implication, between the "formal structure" of conscious reasoning — which is axiomatically incapable of producing new knowledge — and the qualitatively different "structure" of the "pre-conscious" processes which create the "elements" of conscious thought. The explicit solution dictated by employment of Marx's method is otherwise implicit in the progress of (for example) formal scientific thought.

The Paradox of Formalism

As our representations thus far would imply, Goedel's discovery is in no sense new with Goedel or with Bertrand Russell and A.N. Whitehead. Goedel, by limiting his

focus, and with the conviction made possible by the accomplishments of his immediate predecessors, has merely contributed a more elegant representation of the problem in a one-sided way.

All formal logics, which are immediately copies of formal communication and copies of our reflection on our conscious states as we know our conscious state, are based in the final analysis upon two axiomatic assumptions. These axioms are inescapably mutually devastating; one can not possibly exist in the same universe as the other. Yet all formal reasoning depends upon them. (Again, Kant's predicament of formal reasoning!)

The first axiom-type assumes the *self-evidence* of the individual mental (object-like) construct. Self-evidence signifying that the object's existence does not depend upon its *effective* relationship with other objects. In mechanistic or metaphysical materialism — the same thing — this means the belief in the *elementarity* of some indivisible material thing, such as a *quantum*, etc., that the universe is built up from aggregations of such self-evident elementarities. (This is, of course, the ontological absurdity upon which Soviet "marxism" constructs its foolish "explanation" of dialectical materialism.)

The second axiom-type assumes that for every unique aggregation of such elementarities there exists some specific set of notions of effective relationship (either *cause-and-effect* or *correlation*), which permits such aggregations of mental constructs to be employed as working-models of reality outside the head of the contemplator.

It ought to be obvious that if the relationships are effective, the entities involved cannot be self-evident. (Cf. Heisenberg's "indeterminacy" as well as Goedel's paradox).

It should be immediately evident on these grounds that Goedel's paradox immediately demonstrates the absurdity of "scientific" statistical sociology and psychology. That most so-called "experimental" psychology and sociology are bankrupt by definition.

This point is made sharper by considering the implications of Durkheim's *Suicide* in this light. Is Durkheim actually, despite his Saint-Simonian positivistic bias, licensing statistical sociology, as it is practiced today, by the arguments of his book? The wild men of statistical sociology would see in Durkheim an argument for the position that a "suicide-tendency" is a self-evident "factor," etc., in the behavior of a society. It is obvious from *Elementary Forms* . . . that Durkheim means exactly the opposite. As Fisher's treatment of the "null hypothesis" (e.g. *Design of Experiments* etc.) ought to have warned many of our reckless, mechanistic academics in the "social sciences," statistics, quantitative models, merely array events in terms of existing categories, existing conception. Any statistical peculiarity of a process is not

in itself a conception, (as the mechanistic wild ones argue); it is the statement of a problem demanding a dialectical solution, or of the offices of what less rigorous observers loosely term "creative insight."

Returning to the suggestion made just before this present topic, if it is obvious, on the immediately foregoing grounds, that the "pre-conscious" processes can not be like the conscious processes, how does the progress of science suggest even by implication the "nature" of the noetic process.

Dialectics in physical science, in mathematical science, is located quite differently than "official Marxist dialecticians" would have us believe. Dialectics is located in the process of attempting to introduce coherence into physical science, to introduce a holistic view of physical processes. Or, the general progress, through Gauss, Riemann, Maxwell, Einstein, et al toward a solution to the "generalized field" problem. This development has been associated with the emphasis on a correlated trend in the development and usage of mathematical apparatus — e.g. the "tensor." What the trend involves, apart from the continual overtones of metaphysics arising from mathematical formalism, is an attempt to impose upon formal mathematics the process-conceptions which are situated in the "pre-conscious" processes of the creative, scientific intellect; to define *things* as merely *determined* particularities within a determining *universal* process.

Against this sort of suggestive material as evidence, we have the contrary suggestions arising from the way in which the leading thinkers involved have reduced their conceptual innovations to "lawful" form, to the level of formal argument necessary to "convince" their more stultified academic and professional peers. The most commonplace and fundamental error of the student of such seminal writings is his outrageous assumption that the manner in which a new discovery is *formally* represented (for social currency among a peer-group's scientists, etc.) is a representation of the explicit kinds of processes by which the thus-"proven" discovery has been "synthesized" by its creator. They have mistaken the mere formalism, the consistent ideology of formal relations among professionals, for the actual process of scientific thought itself. It is certainly not possible for this writer to estimate how destructive a delusion that has been in the ranks of our most educated professionals. Destructive, and most viciously so it is, and there is abundant evidence of the extent to which this delusion flourishes among that layer.

What the unfortunate student attempts to do, because of the pervasiveness of this very delusion, is to "become creative" by extirpating from his mentation all activities which he would not wish to display on paper as orderly

formal proof. It is difficult to determine how much this "professional" disease turns professionals into apparently "anal" personalities and to what extent this same "norm" tends to limit professionals to persons with pronounced "anal" tendencies. The notorious cretinism among so many mathematicians and scientists generally in fields where social insight is demanded is hardly accidental.[2] Almost no one is less human than a really fanatic "logician," although there are certainly equally dismal types among the "principled" rigid formalists in all professions.

In sum, on this particular point, pre-conscious or dialectical processes of mentation may be contrasted with formal logic, etc., as a "domain" of process-conceptions of whole processes in which the particularity, including the particular conception introduced to consciousness, is a *determined* feature of a determining holistic process. Or, what Hegel identifies as *determinate being*.

Hegel's Fallacy

Hegel committed, after accomplishing the great discoveries of the sort already indicated, a two-fold fallacy in developing his *Science of Logic*. Most fundamentally, he committed the elementary blunder of taking abstract psychology itself, the Logos as self-evident. He continued this error and compounded it by attempting to represent the dialectical process itself (the "pre-conscious" abstractly conceived) in formal terms. Thus, except as a most provocative heuristic exercise, the conception of a *Science of Logic* is an absurdity.

Neither Marx nor Hegel is to be blamed for the foolishness with which the Soviet and other "official Marxists" have concocted their silly chimeras as a matter of rationalizing their dismal social practice and the structure of their sterile social formations they call "parties." The fault of Hegel's Logic as it has been employed by "official Marxists" is simply that its absurdities are, to a certain extent, agreeable to the malicious purpose of the "official dialectical materialists." [3]

At this stage of the writing it should be considered a simple matter to get the delusions of the Marxologists out of our way. What chimerical "dialectical materialism" does is to superimpose a bowdlerized version of Hegel's formal logic onto the "body" of metaphysical, mechanistic materialism. (The most outrageous example of this obtained from the writings of Mao Tse Tung (*On Contradiction*), which situates "dialectical logic" as a *metaphysical property* of the elementary thing.)

To return now to the main thread of our development. It was precisely that two-fold error of Hegel which both Ludwig Feuerbach and Karl Marx devastatingly criti-

cized and rejected. For both Feuerbach and Marx, the human psychology was a *social product*. For Feuerbach approximately and Marx absolutely, human knowledge was *not a formal question* but a practical social question. It is precisely on this point that all "official Marxist" organizations have rejected Marx's so-called "early writings" and absolutely bowdlerized and otherwise reified all of his so-called "mature writings," *Capital* included.

Feuerbach's Dialectic

Feuerbach made two fundamental contributions to humanity. The first is located in his method of treatment of religion. The second is his discovery of the practical basis for the human individual Self.

Where classical "rationalism" regarded religious belief as an alien intrusion, and falsely-imagined that atheism sufficed to make man "rational," Feuerbach, while not relinquishing the fact of the falseness of religious belief regarded it as a *necessary delusion*, originating the methodological devices later replicated by Sigmund Freud and Emile Durkheim. The secret of Christianity was not located in the historical existence of Christ, the issue of the existence of God, etc., but in the practical needs, in the daily life of the credulous. This treatment of Christianity (*The Essence of Christianity*) was by no means a criticism of religion, not a topic dedicated to the titillation of theologians. It was a masterpiece, using Christianity as the prototype of ideology, of solving the problem of *ideology in general*.

Initially, the question of ideology (such as religious belief) is not posed as a question of ideology at all. It is the essence of a delusion that the deluded person not know he is deluded (Freud). Ideology initially presents itself to its victims as simply the natural way of thinking, or, to shift ground in a necessary way, it is the way in which he interprets and responds to his experience in regulating his actions on society and nature. If such hegemonic beliefs correspond, *in effect*, to appropriate human response to man's practical circumstances (however false his interpretations of those circumstances in his abstract conceptions), then a society dominated by such beliefs survives. If such beliefs do not correspond to the exigencies of social practice, then man ultimately ceases to occupy his own contemplations.

The question of the falseness of ideology is thus re-situated, entirely away from the domain in which the atheists attempt to locate it. The falseness of an ideology which has more or less successfully guided the social practice of a society can not be discovered except as its practice adversely affects the continued existence of that

society. This implies the intervention of some qualitative change in the practical circumstances of existence of that society.

This returns us to Hegel's enduring contributions — quite apart from his Logic as such. The problem here is one of formal *alienation*. The falseness of ideology is located in its particularity, that it is *appropriate* (to employ Freud's relevant concept) only to a specific society, or to some specific social formation within that society: the falseness of alienation is the falseness of the determinate relative to the determining whole process.

Lest this point not be immediately evident to all readers as thus far stated, *Alienation*, in Hegel, signifies the falseness of the "elementary" thing, or the falseness of limited experience relative to the whole process which coherently determines limited experience. The crude illustration is available from the fable of the "Blind men and the elephant." Each of the blind men, touching a different part of the elephant, characterized the whole elephant in terms of the trunk, or a tusk, or his trunk, his tail, etc. Such fallacy of composition crudely illustrates alienation.

Or, *knowledge is a practical question*: truth is a practical question, not an academic question. Truth can be obtained only by examining man's history more extensively and obtaining coherence respecting the paradoxical implications of each part of history by dialectical processes of conception formation which demonstrably subsume ever-broader ranges of human history in a coherent way.

We shall return most emphatically to this problem soon enough.

The second point may be today developed as follows.

If we analyze the simplest commodities, on which individual material existence in the U.S. today depends, we discover, by tracing out the antecedent stages of production and distribution of each element required for the production of each such commodity, that the totality of different kinds of products and services which make up individual consumption, and therefore individual material existence, depend actually upon a world-wide, interdependent network of productive and related necessary activities — a network which depends upon a population of not less than two billion persons.

Man does not exist, individually, for himself in some direct action-response relationship to nature. He is not external, in the same sense, to the rest of his society. He exists, that is, the relationship between his actions and his own means of continued existence, on the basis of a

mediating relationship of society-as-a-whole "between" the two halves of his existence — between his actions and his means of continued material individual existence. He wields the power of his society over nature through acts of communication and through "moral" behavior which, on close inspection, has an overwhelmingly *propitiatory* "content." However much we may attempt to explain isolated human behavior by artificially abstracting its practical content from its social context, man does not "know" the actual practical content of his action, he knows the "moral" content of those actions. He acts not because such responses work (in the abstract non-social sense), but because his ideology convinces him that they work, as his "culture" governs his interpretation of his circumstances and actions.

Thus man individually exists by *propitiating* his society in a systematic way. He commands the productive forces of his whole society by acting upon his society's compulsions to oblige him, obligations which conventional thought reifies as notions of "right" and "privilege". He must, so to speak, act upon his society's "sense of obligation" to him. His notion of Self is his internalization of the process-conception of his own identity within society, of his power to command social forces in terms of what are formally reified as his actual and potential "rights" and "privileges". Or, to summarize Feuerbach's point in this matter: the individual Self, Self-consciousness, in the internalization of society's "consciousness" of the individual in a practical sense.

Dull and shallow minds read into this, as they project into Freud's psychophysical parallelism, some sort of metaphysics. "Aha!" they nod to one another, as philistine fools are accustomed to do when confronted with serious thought, "Feuerbach and Marx are actually mystics, imposing some metaphysical principle on man in place of hard, real, physical biological processes." This interpretation supplied by fools is only another clinical expression of formalism, of their metaphysical, mechanistic conceptions of real processes.

What this analysis specifies, as Freud's own explorations tend to conclude, is that the biological process correlated with thought-activity are qualitatively altered in a way not specifically-determined by genetic heritages during, especially, the first several months after birth: that, in effect, a newborn child is not yet human. Genetically, this transformation depends upon the evolution of man from his presocietal and societal ancestors, into an organism susceptible to such an appropriate transformation of the biological material

during the first months of growth and development of the human organism after birth. The human consciousness is not, in any sense, an epiphenomenon of the "physical brain", but qualitative developments of the raw, infantile biological "mental-perceptual process" (usage, after Freud) during, especially, the first weeks and months of life after birth.

Thus, the concept advanced variously by Feuerbach, Marx, Freud, Durkheim, that *human psychology is a social product*, signifies that only incompetent results can be secured by attempting a biological interpretation of consciousness. It signifies that, within the limits of the biological organism's general appropriateness, and condition of continued organic appropriateness, to the socially-determined processes of thought-activity, the science of psychology can entirely disregard biology. That is, psychology properly ignores biology up to the point that there is a genetic, traumatic, chemical, etc., disturbance of the biological process which psychology, by definition, must take for granted. Biology, in attempting to explore the "chemistry of thought," may attempt to unravel the processes which determine such appropriateness, may attempt to define the qualitative biological development occurring in the transformation-development of an infant into an incipient human being, and may attempt to isolate, for example, chemical correlatives of certain psychological dysfunctions, etc., but the fundamental ground on which psychology is to be analyzed (at this stage of development of physical science) is otherwise entirely outside the province of existing biological science.

Or, to restate the point formally: biology is alienated, is ideology, is false knowledge, as it attempts to intrude upon the domain of psychology. Until biology can cease to be merely biology, and dissolve itself into sociology, this inescapable incompetence of the biologist must persist.

It should not be astonishing, then, that on such grounds Marx dwelt in writing at some length his expressions of contempt for the metaphysical explanation of human behavior advanced by the mechanistic philosophers, such as Hobbes — that the "materialist basis for a science of human behavior was individual greed." The essence of human individual behavior is the maintenance of the individual's social identity, in whose pursuit he will often enough abandon all acquisitions and even commit suicide or fling himself to biological destruction upon the battlefield in the service of his society. Greed exists, as one diseased form of the central principle of social identity, as cancer is a special case of the reproductive functions otherwise peculiar to healthy tissue.

Knowledge, contrary to the mechanistic materialists, is not an epiphenomenon of the "physical brain" nor a product of the synthesis of human individual experience as individual experience with the instinctual (i.e. metaphysical) "essence" of individual material greed. Knowledge is a social product determined in the individual by the appropriate social practice of his society.

Marx Versus Feuerbach

Feuerbach, after a devastating refutation of Hegel's silly "negation of the negation," accomplished a third intellectual tour de force, one of the most exciting passages of all efforts at a dialectical solution to the problems of elementary formalism — a solution on the grounds of necessity. This conception is today known (in English-language translations of Feuerbach and Marx) as the "self-subsisting positive" (*Theses . . . , Principles of a Philosophy of the Future*). Another term for this same concept, in more modern usages (e.g. Bertrand Russell), would be that of a *general self-reflexive process-conception*, whose possibility of existence all modern logicians and related professionals deny. It not only exists, but its existence can be rigorously demonstrated. Together with the two previously-described conceptions introduced by Feuerbach, this forms the kernel of Marx's dialectical method.

It were better, for the sake of the reader's head, to pass over the process by which Feuerbach defined this conception and rather demonstrate the point from the standpoint offered by Marx in the first section, "Feuerbach," of his *The German Ideology*.

Marx develops it thus.

The only premise for human knowledge (Cf., *Essence of Christianity*) is man's production of the material means of his own existence. The implications of that are encountered by way of the following successive approximations.

The first approximation of successful production of man by man's activities is a simple increase in the population at the same improved "level" of material existence.

However, secondly, man's existence, as he produced his means of existence, depends upon his productive relationship to himself (society's relationship to itself) in terms of natural, man-improved and man depleted means of existence. Thus, the more successfully a society expands its population in any fixed mode, the more rapidly it exhausts the basis for continued successful expansion in that same mode.

It is, a point more relevant than incidental here, just this conception of the problem of human knowledge which yields, in first approximation, Marx's specific-to-capitalism-socialism categories of *surplus value, variable capital, and constant capital*. As follows.

The first condition of continued reproduction of society is the maintenance of the producers (and those persons auxiliary to the producers) at a material standard of living appropriate to that technology and productivity. Thus, in every society there is a conception of this analogous to the concept of *variable capital* in a capitalist or socialist society.

The second condition is that society maintain the man-improved nature being depleted by production in a state of equi-potential for continued such production: the analogy of *constant capital*.

These social costs represent, necessarily, definite proportions of the whole productive activity of a society, leaving a "residue," or social surplus, potentially available for expanding the population and its productive forces.

Letting variable capital be represented by 'v', constant capital by 'c', and social surplus by 's', and letting these represent proportionalities of the total productive forces of a society *rather* than quantities of individual labor-time, we have the first approximation of Marx's economics:

$$\frac{S}{C + V}$$

or what is called the "rate of profit" in *Capital*. This, at first glance, seems to be the negative-entropy or "free-energy" ratio, simply expressed for a society. It thus approximates, in *Capital*, the abstract value of capital-in-general.

Thus far, the reader who has merely assimilated the immediate previous summary knows more *Marxian* economics than Lenin, to say nothing of Ernest Mandel, and has assimilated more real knowledge of the subject of economics than any of the professors of economics in any university today. For example, Lenin (*Development of Capitalism in Russia, Imperialism*) reveals an astonishing ignorance of just those ABC's of Marx's economics. The contemporary self-styled "Trotskyist" mandarin, Mandel, rejects the notion that Value in Marx means the determination of the cited categories in terms of the capitalist system as a whole. Mandel ignorantly follows Ricardo's practice, which was utterly devastated by Marx (*Theories of Surplus Value, Part II, Moscow, 1968*), of assuming that Value is determined by aggregations of *particular, concrete* Labor-time—as if the whole basis of the dialectical method from Hegel through Marx is not the systematic rejection of the *particular, concrete* on the grounds we have already cited

above. As for those pitiful wretches, the economics professors, the less said the kinder.

However, this summary above, does not yet present Marx's actual conception of value. An important point, not a digression, since Marx's Law of Value is a particular, if rather one-sided, representation of the "self-subsisting positive."

Development would seem to be represented, resorting to the simplest-possible formal heurism, by a positive value for the first derivative (with respect to relative time) of the "rate of profit." The obvious precondition for *development*, as distinct from simple growth.

However, the nature of the "boundary condition" already cited, the relative finiteness of natural and man-improved means of production of a certain quality, means that improvements in nature and technology cannot be limited to simply restoring the equi-potential of the means of production; to master relatively-marginal resources, to maintain the continuous development of society, every movement in development must be accompanied by "advanced outlays" for mastery of the marginal resources at a resulting ever-lower average social cost of "constant capital." Thus, to produce an actual constant rate of development, the apparent, empirical rate of development must be of a higher order of magnitude than the "first derivative". The "second derivative", respecting empirical relations in the social division of society's labor *as a whole*, is the simplest heuristic, formal representation of Marx's Law of Value.

What may be easily overlooked, viciously overlooked, in the foregoing so far, is the peculiarities of this "mathematical expression." The elements of the expression yielding Value are not "independent variables," but *determined magnitudes*, determined by the whole process which we have employed them to represent. Here we encounter a rather vicious conceptual difficulty in the formal scheme of representation we have been compelled to employ.

The material needs of concrete, particular labor are not located in examining the technological requirements of the particular employment of labor. The material needs of labor involve not only maintaining the worker in his present occupation, but providing a technological and general material level of existence for the future. Not only to equip that worker for the more-technologically-advanced production which may be required of him by changed production in society tomorrow, but to provide his family with the material level of existence, etc., necessary to qualify his children for the kinds of employment society will require of them tomorrow.

Once these needs are determined, the relative social cost of fulfilling those needs is a function of the society as a whole, not the relationship of the biological-individual worker to material objects. An individual marginal-utility concept is an obvious wild absurdity: the social Value of the worker is not only determined by society, but by the rate of development of the whole society. The cost of the needs represented by the worker so defined is also a function of the rate of development of the whole society, as are constant capital costs, etc.

Thus, the terms of the "equation" are themselves a function of the "solution" of the equation! Two points should be immediately obvious. First, that no formal representation of the "Law of Value" can be more than an heuristic device imposed by the corrupted mental state of people in this society, as well as previous societies. Second, that the actual conception which we have attempted to crudely, formally represent in this way is actually a self-reflexive conception, or a reflection of the "self-subsisting positive."

At this juncture the writer and the reader share a dialectical problem. In order to communicate, identify Marx's only developed representation of the "self-subsisting positive," exemplified in the form of the Law of Value, we have employed largely formal means of representation, taking the empirical statement of the problems involved up to the limits of formal description and analysis. Now, it depends upon the reader's dialectical processes, his pre-conscious, his creative processes, to create the actual conception of the Law of Value for himself. The reader can get not one step further until he has accomplished that — although he may struggle, through various thought-experiments, to digest his conceptual predicament, to thus stimulate the noetic processes, to bludgeon them into disgorging the required tool, the new conception which is the reader's mastery of the Law of Value as a conception.

Not just any conception which seems to relieve that mental anxiety. As we stated previously whether the innovated conception is that required must be proven. Proven by applying this new conception to an appropriate array of problems on an appropriately-extended scale. Does this conception lead to effective solution of problems where previous solutions failed? Does this conception satisfy in practice the problems of coherence which could not be previously solved for lack of it?

It is on just this point that Marx is separated qualitatively from Feuerbach. Although Feuerbach stipulated the "self-subsisting positive" as an abstraction, relegating this to the philosophy of the future, his own conceptions remained "static." That is, Feuerbach never grasped the actual notion of

development, of the actual "self-subsisting positive" as the active feature of present relations. This tendency toward staticism in Feuerbach is the topic of Marx's "Theses on Feuerbach."

The same relationship between Marx and Feuerbach pertains in principle to Marx vis-a-vis Freud and Durkheim. While neither Freud nor Durkheim, despite the latter's impressive treatment of the Kantian aesthetic question, attained the level of world-outlook and profound insights of Feuerbach, they must be regarded, in our present focus, as only slightly-inferior replications of Feuerbach, with narrower outlooks. It is a Feuerbachian "staticism" which fatally cripples Freud and leads Durkheim, at least formally, into the sterility of his Solidary thesis, by which Durkheim rationalizes his reactionary, chauvinistic tendencies.

Problems of Politics

We now have developed, in summary, the apparatus necessary to begin formulating the basis for a socialist educational policy.

The problem of alienation in capitalist society in general is rather directly shown to be the real, social basis for the reactionary educational policies and bankrupt courses which we must aim at extirpating under a socialist "open admissions" policy.

For illustration, let us consider a current problem of some political urgency. We encounter the practical problem which Kant, Hegel and Feuerbach attempted to solve, and which Marx uniquely solved, in the instance of the ongoing campaign to obtain added employment for black construction workers in predominantly-white skilled construction-craft unions. This exemplifies the concrete form of alienation, and the problem of dialectical knowledge.

Black workers have fallen prey to the leadership of behind-the-scenes Nixon Administration and other ruling-class operators presently organizing the attacks of black workers on the white craft unions, the so-called "Philadelphia Plan" which both the Nixon Administration and the liberal Democrats, with heavy banker and construction corporation support, are attempting to see implemented, with the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, and the "porkchop cultural nationalists" moving into this operation.

Why is this so? Because, limiting oneself to the facts of the "black experience," up to the turn of the present century, black carpenters and bricklayers were heavily represented in these trades, from which they have been systematically excluded by the racist craft-union policies instituted under the late Samuel Gompers and supported by the right-wing, racist Victor Berger — leadership of

the old Socialist Party of the pre-1919 period. Black experience, compartmentalized black experience as black experience, says that the white workers are the "enemy." So, black experience says "bust the lily-white skilled worker job trust in construction," with the support of any allies, including slumlord bankers and construction financiers.

On the other side of the division, in the other compartment, the white skilled construction worker is presently faced with declining real wages and shrinking employment opportunities. His experience teaches him that black militants are trying to put him on the unemployment lines, to carry the poverty of the black ghetto back to his own wife and children. He correctly concludes: my job must be protected, and musters his anger to the point of becoming, instead of an actual or potential white chauvinist, an active racist out to bust some black heads.

Both analyses are "correct." Both sides are "right," if we accept the absurd notion that either white or black construction workers know their real needs and interests on the basis of limited experience of white craftsmen as white craftsmen, or black oppressed only as black oppressed.

The truth lies in the whole. Both the white craft-unionists and the black militants are tragically wrong. The fact is that we urgently require at least two and a half million new housing units in the nation, plus new school buildings, medical facilities, new productive plant, etc. Combining all present white construction workers and all black workers seeking such employment, there are still not enough such persons to meet this construction need — a very urgent material need which happens to go to the guts of the problems of life of black workers as well as white. It is only by combining the problems of life of both antagonistic sections of the working class, and viewing this in terms of the society as a whole, that truth emerges. Truth, contrary to the antagonism to "outsiders" by trade-union militants and black trade-union militants and black militants, always lies outside their narrow experience and knowledge based on the experience and notions of self-interest of narrowly-defined sections, social formations within the working class and its allies.

Dialectics in social practice means the fusion of the compartmentalized, and therefore antagonistic, fragments of the working-class and its allies into common institutions to replace local trade-unions and local minority-group fractions, or local student-radical groups. The dialectical method in abstraction, as in abstract knowledge, is the correlative of the fusion of the working-class and its social allies from a fragmented

(alienated) state into a unified organization — the *class-for-itself*.

The false beliefs and misguided actions of parochialist, fragmented social formations of white union militants, black militants and radical students today are a precise correlative for the parallel results of the compartmentalization of knowledge in academic specializations. In both situations, specialized knowledge is indispensable and usually serves rather effectively as a guide to practice in the simplest day-to-day problems of life under ordinary circumstances.

This, however, merely identifies the dominant, "natural," "spontaneous," "common sense" beliefs of such groupings, whether fragmented social formations of the working class and its potential allies, or the fragmentation of formal professions, as pure ideology. The delusions of most working people and the most precious sophistications of academics, to the very extent that they seem to meet life's needs, are the same kind of delusions characteristic of all societies' dominant religious beliefs. This coincides not only with the method introduced by Feuerbach, demonstrating the validity of that method (in *The Essence of Christianity*) but, obviously by no accident, coincides with the systematic characterization of modern scientific knowledge as ideology in Emile Durkheim's *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*.

We have actually confronted ourselves with two elementary problems to be solved here. First, to identify the systematic basis for connecting political and social prejudices of fragmented groups with the elementary problems of academic knowledge. Second, to deal with the contradiction between the advancement of society through an ever-more-complex specialization in the division of labor and the fact that truth lies only in the whole.

On the first: The connection between the political-social and academic manifestations of false-knowledge based on compartmentalization. This reflects the nature of all consciousness as a matter of the internalization of Man's power over that through which he mediates his own existence, his social relations to society as a whole. Whether by strikes, political demonstrations, etc., or by reciting mathematical "proofs," the operative feature of the social act, the "act of knowledge," is command of social forces.

The alienation of the individual workers' mental condition (for example) may be studied in a two-faceted way. On the one side of the viewing, the worker is denied a positive social relationship to society's productive forces as a whole. He is fragmented not only by reactionary nationalism, but within even the entirety of his own class within each nation, is fragmented by the

alienated form of local trade-union and other local-interest social formations. Thus, his relationship to the social productive forces is situated as follows. He, as an alienated individual, first propitiates not only his employer and his employer's agents, but also, immediately his craft or department group of other workers in his shop within his union, or local caucuses of workers of his outlook within his union. His relationship to other fragments of society and his own class is not direct, but mediated through the mediating role of his local-interest group in larger bodies in its local group interest.

The fetishism of money and things is the archetypical expression of his alienation. He sees in money, which is but a mediating, propitiating instrument by which he exerts power over shopkeepers, etc., and which exerts power over him, an entity with metaphysical powers of its own. He falsely imagines, because of the fragmentation of the social-productive process, that he has "earned" this power by variously, his individual meritorious activities, by his skill at poker, by luck in some gambling pool, or by his power to "con" other persons and groups. He does not see money's real content, does not recognize the social basis for awarding him this power over material and related things, things which are actually the determinate expression of the social-productive forces of his entire society, of the productive activities of "outsiders." He seeks to "get more of this power," at the expense of weaker interest groups, even other sections of his own class — the objective basis, in alienation, for such hideous manifestations as racist divisions within the ranks of the working class.

Thus, by the social alienation thus summarily identified, the individual's and local group's social practice is alienated practice.

Since consciousness, whose active contents are most immediately expressed in the view of conscious deliberations as imminent communication or "moral," propitiation is limited to "abstractions" of actual social practice. So, the "contents" of consciousness recognize only the existing (fragmented) social relations. The hostility of local groups of militant trade-unionists, the hostility of black militants, to so-called "outsiders" expresses this sickness, this alienation peculiar to our society, "Let my group decide for itself," as if the victim of an affliction were axiomatically best qualified to be the healer, as if the dead axiomatically were the most-qualified morticians. This "spontaneous" attitude of hostility toward "outsiders" — under normal conditions of stabilized capitalized economic, political and social circumstances — is the "censor" — so to speak — which draws the curtain of consciousness on the actual dialectical processes of human intelligence, which "defends" consciousness against "seeing" the holistic

human situation, holistic practical relationships of the human situation.

The darkness of the preconscious processes, from the vantage-point of alienated consciousness today, reflects not an inherent biological or psychological difficulty of the human species in general. It reflects the present organization of social relations, and the absence of forms of social practice and communication appropriate to the direct relationship of the individual worker (for example) to the whole of his class's and that class's allies' organic unity in social productive relations on a world scale.

Therefore, an educational policy which aims at reducing and ultimately removing that curtain of darkness from the creative faculty must cohere with corresponding changes in the social relationship of man-to-man in everyday life. Education can succeed, in the terms we have prescribed, only when it is the highest conscious function of a mass revolutionary movement which sees in education every man's (and woman's) mastery, appropriation of the means of knowledge and production for solution of the human task as a whole in terms of the productive forces as a whole. Education can succeed only as an "epiphenomenon" of significant forces of student radicals, organized and unorganized workers, farmers, and their allies, organized in approximation of what Marx specifies as a class-for-itself social formation.

On the second: The principle of dialectical coherence does not imply the desirability of the fusion of a simple, undifferentiated mass of humanity into a homogenous unity of "samenesses." It is the division of labor, the increasing complexity of the whole social process, which coincides with the increase of man's power over his universe, his ability to maintain individual human existence. The pursuit of the "simple life," the atavistic, reactionary utopianism of the anarchists, et al., is practically anti-human. Such tendencies as anarchism represent the characteristic cancer of capitalist alienation of the mind in operation. To the extent that such people acknowledge the problem of dialectical coherence, they reject the dialectic except as a metaphysical device by which to arrive at a simple mechanistic formulation: a society of simple, undifferentiated samenesses, a herd of human cattle purebred to the point of uniformity.

To put the problem into popular terms: The task is to increase the complexity of our practical life, the intensity of our specialization, without losing, as we have done in capitalist society, the immediate, direct relationship of the individual specialist to the whole process. The individual specialist and specialized practice must be self-consciously located as an indispensable part of the whole in terms of a systematic, necessary, *determined* relationship to the whole.

It is useful to contrast two views of the development of formal mathematics here. One view, of the most rabid idealists and formalists, contends that mathematics is a process of the unfolding of certain elementary principles by sheer mental chess-play. The other, exemplified by the view of Felix Klein, is that so-called fundamental mathematics and applied mathematics are two aspects of the same process. Klein's view corresponds to the dialectical. It is as specialization and its experimentally-based knowledge create new paradoxes of coherence that the noetic "faculty" is bludgeoned into discovering new conceptions which solve those problems of coherence. Thus the progress of the most abstract science is a practical outcome of applied science, which depends directly, if not mechanically, for its progress on advance in applied science.

Both of these are resolved by returning to the point we advertised to this treatment just above. If all human knowledge is only socialized knowledge of social practice, what of man's knowledge of the "material universe" apart from "man the observer"?

We have already identified the basis for rejecting such an abstract physical science as a delusion. Man does not exist in individual relationship to nature, and formal knowledge, such as existing formal mathematical procedure, cannot possibly create the new conceptions of pure science by itself. Knowledge exists only as human knowledge, as dialectical knowledge, new conceptions attained in response to the paradoxes of coherence arising from human practice.

Is our physical-scientific knowledge then unreal in some sense? Is man condemned, by virtue of the very principles of his existence and knowledge, not to ever know the "real universe" at any future time, let alone today?

On the contrary, physical-scientific knowledge is real knowledge of the real universe today. The fallacy of this science is merely the way in which our scientific knowledge is identified and interpreted. Man assumes that the formalistic description of his knowledge is his actual knowledge, as we have shown. Man also assumes, respecting so-called "physical science," that such knowledge is individual experimental knowledge. A matter of misplaced concreteness.

Now focussing our attention again on the "self-subsisting positive." It is sufficient to consider the problem at hand from the vantage point of our clumsy heuristic, one-sided representation: "The second derivative, with respect to relative time, of the 'rate of profit.'" If this developmental requirement is the condition for continued human existence, then the *appropriateness* of science, as the most abstract expression of human social practice, is located in the actual

and manifest practical potentials of science to produce a solution to the production of human existence which satisfies the "self-subsisting positive." The explosive development of man's technology during the past century and a half, the period of the reign of physical science — more than adequate to satisfy the self-subsisting positive, were the application not aborted by capitalist social relations — signifies that this same science represents a mastery of the most fundamental laws of a coherent material universe to the same extent that its implied applications through social practice represent man's accelerating mastery of his own production of his material means of existence.

Respecting so-called physical science itself (usage after J. Clerk Maxwell, from his invaluable little elementary text, *Matter and Motion*), its fallacies arise in connection with the continued burden of mechanistic traditions — traditions which continue to plague it, despite the modern movement away from "elementarity" to holistic conceptions of processes, because of the metaphysical connotations of formal mathematical procedures. The solution of this continuing problem is necessarily a dialectical solution, a problem of developing new conceptions and communicating those conceptions in order to produce a new kind of "mathematical practice" in which the notion of the "independent variable" is no longer employed, in which structures of whole processes determine particularities and the notion of particularate magnitude, rather than attempting to define whole processes from the starting point of axiomatic assumption of particularate magnitude. Since that revolution in science has not yet been accomplished concretely, we can only postulate the necessity of its development while remaining unable to demonstrate a conception which does not exist to the extent of more than preliminary explorations beyond the domain of geometries. Physical science is simply real knowledge expressed in the corrupted form of ideology, in which the dominant correlative of that ideology, formalism, corrupts knowledge with misplaced concreteness and turns the necessary systematic representation of real knowledge absolutely upside-down. To go beyond that, for present pursuits, would lead to no more than provocative and perhaps-productive speculations.

The dialectical method itself dictates that we now compensate for the connotations of this line of example by focusing on a topic which seems initially opposite to mathematical science: music.

There is no more dialectical experience, in the sense of a mental experience, than intensive involvement with the creative performance of great music, the aspect of music which absolutely cannot be located within the formal aspects of musicianship. Nor within the techniques of

instrumentalism or the written pages of the score, nor the formalities of composition.

It is axiomatic to all competent musicians that no composition worth rendering can be adequately represented by precise respect for the values of the written score. As in mathematical representation of the new conceptions introduced by a creative intellect, the formalities of the written score are only the false, ideological aspect of formal communication among real musicians.

What is music, and why is it so important to humanity? Why should music be one of the leading occupations of truly creative intellects? The formalities of music may be usefully, heuristically likened to the role of grammar and other formalities of oral and written "composition" in language. The formal side of communication is only one side of the process, a side which by itself reveals very little of the process of communication. In spoken language it is the *prosody* of speech — not simply accents and so forth, but the musical values introduced to the enunciation of terms and phrases — which must be comprehended to "evaluate" speech. In both oral and written communication of any substance, the conveyance of meaning depends on various 'rhetorical devices,' which are called the usages of 'ambiguity' — simile, metaphor, etc. — because they defy a formal-logical interpretation. It is not accidental that the classical (Hellenic) dialectic emerged as an outgrowth of "rhetoric." Music in general arises from emphasis on the prosodic aspect of oral communication, especially the use of this emphasis on prosody over explicit (formal) statement to concentrate attention on the ironies of the literal communication. The continued development of this emphasis is music.

[4]

What the great musician, as composer and/or performer, brings to the process of making music is a kind of threefold dialectical activity. He not only reconciles the sterile paradoxes of the literal, formal composition into a conception of the whole performance as a process-statement of a single creative conception; he resolves such contradictions from the standpoint of human experience, resolving the paradoxes of composition with the ironies of the human condition. [5] The result is a statement about man, one step abstracted 'above' the focus of poetry — in which the 'art song' serves as a kind of Rosetta Stone between poetry and music generally.

The musician's grasp and performance of great music is more unlike the formalities of the composition than the understanding of the great mathematical physicists is unlike the formalities of ideological "mathematical proofs." The auditor who actually participates in this

process is engaged in a similar "preconscious" activity, resolving the particularities of the performance itself.

To round this out, we should consider briefly two misguided tendencies in musical practice today.

The first is the "cult of spontaneity." It must be conceded that improvisation is an indispensable *student's* activity in every field of creative work. By freeing himself from formalities as such in this way, the student — and every creative person remains a student for as long as he remains creative — is demonstrating to himself or herself certain creative insights, satisfying himself which insights are meaningful and which are trash to be discarded. . . . which kinds of combinations of the particularities of performance are meaningful and which trash. But spontaneity in itself and for itself is the perpetual moral and intellectual masturbation of the would-be musician without the capacity to say anything positive through music. Real music is the polished statement of an impassioned conviction respecting humanity.

In music as in any other field, the musician may be impassioned and have only bad things to say. He may, for example, celebrate alienated sensuality for itself. Otherwise, a prototype of the musical schlemiel is the dead but still performing jazz musician who makes his subsistence doing "old licks" in the name of improvisation, never attaining more than circus-like musical effects.

Far far sicker in every respect than the aborted musicians, the improvisers-for-the-sake-of-improvisation, are those unfortunates preoccupied with the possibility of mathematically-lawful composition. This moral disease emerged with considerable force among young musicians of the postwar period, of the sort who purported, for example, to see in Beethoven's music only the formalities of his composition. Webern and other withered talents of the musical hagiolatry are the celebrated models of this modern school. Not only does this preoccupation with formalism leave all the music entirely out of "music" as a paid or unpaid profession, it reflects the pitiable condition of the proponent's own mental and moral state. Musicians who are morally tone-deaf!

In general, as in all academic fields and other areas in which the normative features of the process of communicable demonstration — the mere chess-play of communication — are mistaken for the creative activity thus manifested, the central problem is one of expressed alienation denying life and placing the alienated formalities of fragmented profession, craft-union activity and such above reality.

It is not accidental (as Shelley writes of poets in *In*

Defense of Poetry) that great art has invariably reflected great social upward movements of whole peoples. A period of philistine reaction among a people can produce — as has the past quarter-century, as has the twentieth century generally — accomplished craftsmen, in the formal sense of craftsmanship. But the artists appropriate to a population without a revolutionary soul of its own must, with the rarest exceptions, reflect the abortion of these dialectical processes which are real art, must reflect in their 'art' the degraded philistinism of their outlook on man. Such a period of history of any people is a period of engineers, not creative scientists, of craftsmen (at best), not artists.

Our educational policy coincides with our general policies for society's reconstruction. That is, socialist society is not a nation whose economy is run by a knowledgeable elite bureaucracy 'in the interests of the masses.' It is a society in which the masses of the people themselves not only choose among alternative development policies proposed by "experts," but systematically formulate and administer those policies. A truly sovereign people is one which has sovereign competence: knowledge of the best policies of development for society as a whole. The purpose of socialist educational policy is not only to provide the population with the specialized competence necessary for the most rapid development, but above all to provide each person with the technical competence to decide matters of national economic policy. Without such an educational program there can be no truly sovereign people, no true socialist democracy.

For present purposes we shall overlook the specifics of educational activities needed for specialized competence and concentrate on those policies pertaining to the qualification of students as economic policymakers. Thus, in matters of these latter specifics, we are principally occupied with that general curriculum which has to be added, rather than with those items which would be beneficially relegated to educational museums.

The already-manifest emphasis on "economics" does not imply anything resembling the scope and content of present academic "economics" programs. Economics in general education means a humanistic basis for all education, a comprehension of the individual's relation to the world-wide social-productive forces through which he actually mediates his own individual material existence. Consequently, the individual's relationship to the human beings whose differentiated productive and related activities are represented by the social-productive forces as a whole. Not only why, in this view, the interests and development of individual lives of all those other human beings are identical, in the practical sense, with his or her individual interests, but also why he, as an

individual within that social process, is important to all those other human beings and how he may enhance his contribution to humanity. That is, to provide the student with a rational understanding of his own identity to replace the sick, religious conception of identity which pervades under capitalist social relations today.

To illustrate the sort of course-content which could be included in New York City university curricula today in pursuit of that objective: Every student should enjoy a general economics course of the sort which can be readily developed with existing kinds of instructors and textbook material to provide each student with an understanding of humanity. The courses most akin to this new curriculum today would be "industrial engineering." That is, using skilled industrial engineering instructors and people competent to be pressed into such occupations, to show each student how the basic material necessities of life are produced. Not so much, for initial general courses, the detailed technology of that production as such, but that each stage of production of these commodities involves a division of labor in that stage of production (process-sheet), materials produced at other stages of production (bills of materials), and plant, machinery, etc. (fixed capital requirements) also produced by other "firms." The basic course would trace the successive stages of production of each of these "components" back in time and show — as we indicated earlier in this article — how virtually the whole human population plays a necessary role in the production of that array of material things necessary to each individual life in the U.S. today.

After developing the static aspects of this worldwide relatedness, the course must acquaint the student with the active side of this network's development, i.e., that the improvement in the material conditions of life of the most oppressed individuals in that network is the necessary and effective means for improving his productivity and thereby cheapening the social cost of production of the things on which every person's life depends. That a stable progression toward a better life for each individual depends on the most rapid possible continual improvement in the material conditions of life and production of every individual in this network.

That general background established, the course should survey the positive role played by various specialties in actual production and necessary social services. What occupations do as specialties for humanity as a whole, which new occupations are urgently needed, which occupations ought to be reduced or discontinued in the interests of human development as a whole.

An example of the methodological problems encountered in this aspect of a general course in "The

Economics of Humanity," the significance of the medical profession.

If one asked a body of college undergraduates today what the role of the medical profession was in the general interests of humanity, the typical, wrong, alienated answer would be along the following lines: "Oh everybody knows that. Doctors are necessary for treatment of the sick." That is, the student would attempt to locate the social role of the medical profession in the relationship of concrete medical practice to isolated individuals. The student would not immediately suspect (today) that the real significance of the medical profession lies not in individual treatment but in the relationship of medicine as a whole to the population as a whole.

What is overlooked is the effect on the productivity and technological development of the whole society by the effects of aggregate medical practice in producing longevity. The real contribution of the medical profession is increasing the likelihood of longevity of the population as a whole. The society whose average life-expectancy for surviving infants was 30-odd years could not possibly afford to dispense with menial child labor, would be compelled to forego advanced education for all but a few; no technological development on a twentieth-century level, etc., etc.

This is not to lose sight of the small group and individual within the whole of the medical question. The significance of the small group and individual in society is, rather, *determinate*, and by no means particular or self-evident in itself. Pose it this way: What is the significance of ensuring that whole sections of specialized skills are not wiped out by disease, etc., or that the contribution of individuals to society as a whole not be aborted by avoidable death? These apparent particularities of the matter are rationally discovered only by locating the meaning of the determinate within the whole.

Thus, to distinguish by this method which occupations are necessary and which ought to be reduced or eliminated in the general social interest. Among necessary occupations to distinguish necessary non-productive services and administrative functions from actually productive occupations — occupations which actually directly produce the material means of production and existence and those which provide essential services to those involved in production. To identify the new specializations which must be brought into being, those existing specializations which have to be augmented, etc.

For example, even most self-styled Marxists today have not the slightest insight into Marx's definition of productive labor-power. Using Marx's criterion,

society's reproduction of its existence, it is immediately evident that increasing the number and proportion of the so-called "operatives" (using Dept. of Labor or Commerce nomenclature) is a direct, means of increasing output of means of production and existence. Increasing the numbers of doctors, necessary administrators, teachers et al. indefinitely will not produce any such direct "functional" corresponding increase in real means of production and existence. These non-working-class essential specializations are determined magnitudes, determined by the sheer size of the working class proper and the technology of labor-power. To put the matter in the crudest formal terms, the number of doctors, engineers, etc. required is a "function of" the number of productive workers employed and the technology of that productive labor-power. The special significance of the working class is thus (again resorting to crude formalism) its distinct, rigorously defined **role as** the parameter of social reproduction under either capitalism or socialism, in respect to which, given a certain technology, the required numbers of other specialities are a dependent magnitude.

On the basis of such general introductory curricula, the student's continued education in this direction should have the following threefold aspects. **First:** more advanced education along the same lines. **Second:** his classroom time should be interwoven with **work assignments** selected to give his continued education a **task-oriented focus**. **Third:** as he will tend to specialize his emphasis at different stages of his education, education must provide a violent correction for the narrow point of view specialization tends to inculcate. Education must systematically destroy craft ideology, show how foolish is the view of reality developed within the compartmentalized bounds of specialization. For example, in the matter of housing construction, foolish results must accrue if New York neighborhood housing programs are not designed subject to correction on the higher level of both regional planning from Maine through Georgia and within the context of national resources and priorities for all undertakings of society.

Universities must be the home offices of student bodies as bodies of revolutionaries. Scientists, doctors, et al. must become revolutionaries revolutionizing the human condition through their developing mastery of task-oriented knowledge. A month in the field, from time to time, as a construction worker, a medical orderly, an assembly-line worker, etc., should be the norm of education. Students must also participate in the most menial and oppressive jobs society offers, so that they may hate those oppressive conditions enough to place priority on changing them.

By natural extension, socialist universities must become centers of continuing education for all the population, rather than production lines for stamping out youth as so-called educated products. Universities must cease to be the surrogate parents of the pupal stage between secondary-school larva and the high-flying (?) adults. In a socialist society meeting the elementary requirements of socialist educational policy, the university will become the center of life for the entire population.

With the emphasis on task-oriented "Economics of Humanism" as the basic requisite of all higher education, this central activity of universities will become the center of motion of university intellectual life. Without directly dictating any specific changes in the content of other educational programs of universities, the influence of the "Humanistic Economics" program will totally revolutionize all other departments of knowledge continuously, far, far better than any preconceived and necessarily arbitrary transformation by political ukase.

Granted the miserable, lisping historiographies which prevail in various university history departments. We can today safely stipulate that the so-called "revisionist school" of academic historiography is morally and intellectually bankrupt. Decree such nonsense out of the academy? Better: students who have mastered a "Humanistic Economics" will send such unfortunate historians fleeing from the university in tears, students who will be qualified to determine for themselves how to study history. The insidious, molecular revolution is the means by which we propose to cleanse the university of pompous fools and junk-peddlers. (We warn those who wish to continue teaching, so that they may be given sufficient time, beginning now, to mend their practice.)

The grade and degree system? Meaningless in socialist educational policy as it is destructive of the minds of youth in capitalist educational policy. Do we need to certify various grades of academic meat as variously "Prime," "Choice," "Good," "Commercial," "Canners"? In socialist educational policy the students do not "graduate from a university." As more and more of his time is spent on "field assignments" in his speciality of that time of his life, he simply, naturally, shifts his allocation of time from the class-room to the practice in the field of which his task-oriented university field-assignments have already made him an integral part. What does he have to do with such sterile pieces of paper as references, transcripts, and the like? Task-oriented education establishes him as a *known* practitioner in the field of his choice. Furthermore, the university, evolving into a center of life for the entire population, keeps him constantly in contact with every "speciality" in society, permitting him, through the mediation of joint-

"discipline" undertakings, to shift his field of emphasis as only a tiny minority of our most gifted professionals already tend to do today. His "degree" his "honors," his "grades," are no more than his effective practice as a functioning member of his society.

What Must be Extirpated

During, especially, the past half-century, and with a vengeance since World War II, there has been a galloping growth in the process of bureaucratization of life in all "departments." It is hardly remarkable, therefore, that this affliction should have exacerbated the determined, generally-poisonous role of the educational administrator, the resident Judas of the teaching profession.

The function of the college or public school administrator, as all bureaucrats, is to maintain certain normative outward features of pedagogy and curriculum. This is somewhat concealed at first glance, in certain instances, by the apparent positive role of some administrators in improving methods of instruction among teachers. Like all ideological practice, these contributions by some administrators are appropriate to improvement of the results of teaching activity, *according* to the prevailing norms established by the administrative bureaucracies. That is, this aspect of supervision contributes to the effective normative practice of teaching at the expense of virtually any real education, at the expense, *generally*, of the students' comprehension of the subject-matter. Teachers who succeed in facilitating comprehension among a layer of their students accomplish this by slyly circumventing the administrator's "normative" curriculum and pedagogical instructions, by protecting their "egregious" classroom practices from the vantage-point of tenure and maintaining a student-level of grade-performance which makes their replacement (as mavericks) a difficult undertaking by administrators, who are, above all, concerned with such normative performance, or more rarely, by strong teacher groups which collectively undermine the pedagogical policy-making of these administrators from a position of power.

This aspect of education we intend, without hesitation, to extirpate the instant the movement has the political power to accomplish this. Teaching practice must be a matter of policy-making, collectively, by students and teachers, within a political movement which establishes the task-oriented goals of education, a situation in which teachers exert hegemony mainly by their authority as effective educators who grasp not only the material they are teaching but the problems of the student in assimilating the concepts to be presented.

Such a transformation is most unlikely to come from the ranks of teachers as an autonomous force. By the time the teacher confronts the student on the secondary-school or university level, the student himself has come to view education as primarily as a game in which the score is the principal goal and the scorekeepers can be somewhat manipulated. Thus, in both secondary schools and universities, the impassioned serious educator is compelled to pursue mind-destroying pedagogical practices not only because of the pressures of administration in general, but under pressure for the same sort of performance by the majority of students themselves. This difficulty is not attributable to merely the malignant effects of pre-school and elementary-school "conditioning." It is the kind of education that parents demand — *no education can be worse than that prescribed by local committees of parents!* A revolution in education would have to occur over the massed bodies of the "enemy," enemies who include the majorities of present administrators and parents. Under the present circumstances so identified, the teacher is not likely to launch a struggle for sane educational policies — neither administrators, students nor parents — with the fewest exceptions, are interested in perpetuating anything but the mind-destroying curriculum and academic practices which must themselves be destroyed. The prerequisite for a struggle for meaningful education is a fundamental

change in both students and large numbers of their parents.

It is for such reasons that the course taken by the Labor Committees and their present co-workers is the only competent means for introducing the slightest beneficial changes in education today. All ad hoc approaches to education must fail — must as "local control" or school decentralization programs have usually been accompanied by an actual worsening (e.g. New York's Ocean Hill-Brownsville district) in the educational methods employed, the introduction of innovations (e.g. teaching-machine and similar wild-behaviorist techniques) which represent, by contrast with previous bad-enough methods, a real experiment in "educational genocide" against the young. The struggle for education cannot succeed except as this is an included feature of a socialist mass-based revolutionary movement which transforms the philosophical world-outlook of masses of students, parents and teachers in a class-for-itself way. Meaningful education can be established only as a subsumed feature of the socialist reconstruction of society as a whole. Thus, the struggle for real "Open Admissions" in New York City is the mandatory course for all serious educators, students and parents, for all serious revolutionaries especially. "Open Admissions" is an integral task of the movement for socialist reconstruction.

☆ ☆ ☆

1. Cf. program jointly adopted by the working-group of members of the Labor Committee, Independent Socialists and other in the City University work.

2. An excellent example in the late John von Neumann's participation in writing *The Theory of Games and Economic Behavior*, (Princeton, 1953) While the authors reflect, in passages to this effect, some awareness of the dangers of a non-holistic mathematical approach, the devastating, vicious conceptual error of the undertaking is the discarding of the real problem of economics as a "pseudo-problem" (2,2.3, p. 11). It should already be clear to us why Neumann would participate in such a blunder: he withdraws from the mandatory course of further study on grounds of denying the existence of "self-reflexiveness," which determines statements of the form: "A guiding principle cannot be formulated by the requirement of maximizing two (or more) functions at once." This is a correct statement from the standpoint of formal mathematical procedures, but also reflects precisely the point at which formal mathematical procedures succumb to metaphysical impotence.

This blunder leads, by way of passing references to may valuable (by themselves) methodological side-issues, to the Neumann-Morgenstern "Conceptual Structure of the Axiomatic Treatment of Numerical Utilities" (3,5, esp. pp. 24-5), whose fundamental conception that of the formal arrangement of "utilities," is the devastating flaw in everything that follows.

However, the *Theory of Games* is not merely an absurdity; it is an ideology. Because the author's conceptions of "religious" practice by victims of capitalist social relations, the absurdity of the *Theory of Games* is the absurdity of that system of practical behavior and contemplations which von Neumann and Morgenstern attempt to reduce to mathematical consistency, at least in the sense of innovations which preserve the "permanence" of the formal axiomatic structure of

mathematics itself. Thus, this theory seems to agree with microscopic market relations in a system of paper values, property titles, in which the cancerous disorder of individual greed is the reified interpretation of dominant "economic behavior." The fallacy lies in the incompetence of prevailing capitalist belief in property-titles, which does not distinguish between fictitious and real values.

Thus, the devastating errors of formalism in mathematical practice and the ideological epiphenomena of bourgeois social relations converge on correlated results. The conception of elementarity in formal mathematical and logical practice and the alienated concept and practice of the individual and fragmented social formation in bourgeois society are simply two interdependent aspects of the same problems of alienation.

3. Herbert Marcuse, *Reason and Revolution* (New York, 1954) commits the same essential methodological errors, although in an enormously less-reckless fashion by standards of scholarship. The usual "official Marxist" "explanation" of dialectical materialism bears the tool-marks of the party hack; Marcuse falls prey to the same sterile metaphysical reifications in a more scholarly fashion, leaving the chips of Germanic "thoroughness" about his artifact. The implications of Marcuse's elementary blunders in this book are shown in a more flagrant and vicious fashion in his *Eros and Civilization*, and his pitiful *One-Dimensional Man*.

4. Comment enough on those who attempt to assess the "lied" or opera on the basis of a literal reading of a libretto.

5. E.g. Beethoven's treatment of the trivial theme of Diabelli, one of the most brilliant illustrations of this point.



THE NEW YORK CITY SCHOOL CRISIS
by Lyn Marcus and Tony Perlmán

Originally published during the 1968 — 69 N.Y. teachers strike as a Campaigner supplement

The public knows the Central Intelligence Agency through its failures. A U-2 episode, the "Bay of Pigs" fiasco, CIA agents forced to skulk off campus when their presence has been highlighted by SDS radicals. But, we know that the puppet-masters of counterinsurgency and political murder sometimes grin and slap their thighs in delight. There are such matters as the overthrow of the Iranian and Guatemalan governments, the murder of Lumumba, the butchery of hundreds of thousands of Indonesians. The domestic counterinsurgency networks, which operate under at least a dozen fronts, has its successes too. The Bundy's and their ilk must certainly have broken out the champagne when they succeeded in pitting the organized poverty movement and most black militants in New York City against one of the largest of the city's unions, the United Federation of Teachers. Giggling must have rippled around CIA headquarters as even the city's radical movement began retailing the official line that the New York teachers' strike was "racist."

In this article we have assigned ourselves several related tasks. The narrowest of our aims is to show that the immediate issue of the New York teachers' strike, the Ocean Hill-Brownsville demonstration project incidents, is the result of a particularly clever "CIA-type" plot engineered by the Ford Foundation and visibly directed by its black "Uncle Toms" — Dr. Kenneth Clark, Rhody McCoy, Milton Galamison, and other "militants." We have to expose the diabolical scheme that Ford Foundation braintrusters have concocted for suppressing the revolutionary threats of the black ghetto; while the authors of "Black Power" headlines fade into yesterday's headlines, domestic counterinsurgency agencies, like the Ford Foundation, have successfully coopted that slogan, and have turned it into a weapon against black people, a weapon ultimately more effective than bombs, MACE, and bayonets.

Apart from its intrinsic importance, the New York City teachers' strike is a suitable vehicle for exposing this counterinsurgency trap and the new breed of Uncle Toms being turned out to ensure the continued enslavement of oppressed minorities in this country. We have thereby incurred the responsibility for sometimes digressing from the main subject of the strike itself to take up the issues of education involved in the strike and in the particular CIA scheme under study. That defines our undertaking. This is not only a study of the

New York City teachers' strike as such, but is also a case study of the new counterinsurgency strategy being directed against the uprising of the oppressed in this nation.

Along with this analysis, we shall attempt to show the alternative open to the black community and to the "white" trade unions (in this case, the teachers) that they have been pitted against. We will contend that the unions and students must take the initiative to bring unity between white and black working people — to create a movement around the material needs of both, which can squarely defeat the "divide and conquer" strategy of the ruling class, and prevent the smashing of both movements.

STRATEGIC SITUATION OF THE U.S. ECONOMY

Two decades of post-war imperialist prosperity have run out of economic "miracles." It is in response to this situation — further described below — that the ruling class has selected the counterinsurgency strategy obvious in the precipitation of the teachers' strike.

The overwhelming facts of life, which cannot escape frequent repetition, are these. One and one half billion persons living below the Tropic of Cancer suffer, on the average, absolutely worse conditions of life than their fathers of 1946. In the U.S. itself, half the population lives below the material standard of living required by productive labor up to today's technological standards.

Using West European standards, we may say that the poverty of the semi-colonial sector is approximately \$25 trillion annually, in means of existence and production. In the U.S. itself, approximately \$3 trillion in capital expenditures would be required to eradicate poverty and accumulated obsolescence and other rot. Against this, adjusting the U.S. Gross National Product for inflation, war production, bureaucratic "lard" and other waste, the real annual product is probably in the order of not more than \$400 billion — a vast distance from the amount necessary to even reduce the present impoverishment of the 1.5 billion below the Tropic of Cancer.

This is complicated by the general economic downturn in Western capitalism in the advanced sector since about 1964-65. That is not to say that the Western sector is by any means in a depression — yet. Rather, to the extent that historic analogies have any accuracy, that we are in a period like that in the U.S. economy between 1926-29. The beginning of the downswing toward a probable new bust may be efficiently dated to coincide with the West German and Japanese recessions of the 1964-65 period.

The economic sequelae of 1965 are typified by the following. A series of financial crises on the world

market, several times verging on an explosive repetition of the 1931 "bust." An abrupt decline in the general rate of *real* investment, that is, investment of the type which expands the scale of productive employment. A decline (since 1965) in real wages of even U.S. organized labor. The impulsion of the capitalist state to stabilize its economic situation by resorting to increasing wage taxation, a development which has done much to energize the Wallace vote among northern industrial workers.

The static character of the U.S. economy means that the reaction of working people to the economic crisis leads to more and more confrontations with the government. The mounting upsurges of trade unionists against taxes and inflation, with the highest strike incidence in twenty years in this country, must meet a vacillating, but still substantial, "wage guidelines" programs against wages. The virtual bankruptcy of government treasuries, at all levels, creates especially sharp confrontations with both the burgeoning mass of government employees and the oppressed masses looking to remedies from the "welfare system."

It is foolish to imagine that the ruling class is preparing for this contingency with nothing but production orders to the arsenals. Just as we are preparing eagerly to build a vanguard movement and to intervene, so the ruling circles have agencies which are not sitting idly by. These agencies, for which the Ford Foundation provides a typical front, are just as busily intervening in today's radical movement as we *would like to be*.

With our necessarily-sharpened sensibilities of the "algebra" of mass and mass vanguard movement, we ought to be able to see the enemy's agencies' options in this situation. Defining their alternatives, we then discover, unhappily, that they are following exactly the course we would imagine to represent their best option.

The main line of the "CIA-type" strategy is obvious. As sociologist Emile Durkheim might have said, the imminent political upsurge, the radicalism of the respective white and black sections of the ruled, is a "social fact," which can neither be decreed out of existence, talked out of existence by demagoguery, nor even eradicated by brute police force. The tendency toward radicalism among various sectors of the population is, to be more exact, a product of material circumstances which the ruling class is now unable to change. Thus, the only real option of the rulers is to use the radicalized energy of the masses against the masses themselves. In sum, to divert the restive energies of the black oppressed against white workers (e.g., teachers), and to promote a racist reaction against blacks among those sectors of the population which would otherwise tend to ally them-

selves with the most oppressed.

That policy is spelled out in some detail in the "Kerner Report": the problems of the black oppressed, the Kerner Report insists, must be solved at the expense of "white America." The schemes advanced for this purpose in that document (as also by the late Robert Kennedy) make it clear that "white America" is just another word for white working people. Rockefeller's Urban Development Corporation scheme is just such a device. The Ford Foundation's sponsorship of school decentralization, the detonator of the 1968 NYC school crisis, is another.

Two Cases from Student Movement Experiences

Naive radicals imagine that all imperialist agents are designed along "Colonel Blimp" lines; for example, former Columbia University president, Grayson Kirk, whose available literary efforts do not bespeak a particularly subtle mind. But, a bumbling Grayson Kirk can be replaced by a slickster-specialist, such as Andrew Cordier or Mayor Lindsay — both of whom make selective concessions of power in order to split their opposition. Another example of a slickster is CCNY's president, Dr. Buell Gallagher. It is of some bearing on our present inquiry to record the diabolical fashion in which Gallagher outmaneuvered student radicals on his campus.

During the 1967-68 school term at City College in New York, a group of PLPers, hippies and others launched a poorly-focused local-issue struggle against the plan to install temporary huts on the south campus lawn. To crush this struggle, a member of the Gallagher administration, Dean Ballard, wrote the campus black group, the Onyx Society, "explaining" that the PL-hippie group's action was interfering with a SEEK (poverty) program which would benefit from the construction. As a result, the Onyx Society wrote a leaflet attacking the PL-hippie group as racist. This is typical of the way in which counterinsurgency specialists, like President Gallagher and Mayor Lindsay, use black militant groups as dupes against any poorly-led struggles of white workers, radical students, and others.

The strength of the Columbia strike, from the beginning, was the tenuous but decisive connection of campus insurgents to the black movement. Subsequent reports leave us no doubt that the campus and the City Hall administrations were acutely aware of that point at the time. Enter, then, Kenneth Clark, to play on the separatist sensibilities of the black militants in Hamilton Hall, attempting to cut the fragile links between those militants and the rest of the strike.

A similar bit of nasty skullduggery by counterinsurgency specialists occurred during the course of the April 1968 Columbia Strike. It is not surprising that the

professional strikebreaker in this instance should turn out to be Dr. Kenneth Clark, a participant in the writing of the racist Kerner Report and a prominent figure in the design of the Bundy school-decentralization report.

The strength of the Columbia strike, from the beginning, was the tenuous but decisive connection of campus insurgents to the black movement. Subsequent reports leave us in no doubt that the campus and City Hall administrations were acutely aware of that point at the time. Enter, then, Kenneth Clark, to play on the separatist sensibilities of the black militants in Hamilton Hall, attempting to cut the fragile links between those militants and the rest of the strike.

This not only weakened the strike in a material way, but ultimately contributed to the degeneration of the main body of the strike movement. Had the student strikers been linked to significant masses of oppressed black and Spanish-speaking militants, the importance of maintaining that alliance would have diminished the dangerous tendency toward adventurism and silly "militant" displays into which one section of the strike movement lapsed. The student forces tended to become ingrown, desperate, and to lose their momentary outward-looking seriousness, degenerating into clownish anarchism, which put the strike into the sorry disarray of September. A student struggle cannot mature into a serious movement unless it is organically connected to the material struggles of the working people, or some section of the working people, at least. How well Clark and other strikebreakers understood that sociological law, we cannot say at this point. They clearly understand, in any case, the simple power relationships involved.

It should not be thought, however, that Clark was occupied simply in attempting to weaken or break a "white student" strike. On the contrary, Clark's present assignment is, as we shall see, plainly to prevent actual revolutionary influences from penetrating into the masses of black militants. Clark's real assignment was not to weaken the "white student" strike so much as to try to prevent black militant students in Hamilton Hall from developing into a serious radical leadership force. To be exact, Clark's assignment was twofold.

CLARK AND THE BUNDY REPORT

It is perhaps impossible for us presently to determine how much Dr. Clark is either a dupe or conscious "CIA" Uncle Tom. It is uncertain whether Clark designed his original proposal with its counterinsurgency potential in mind, or whether his masters simply selected his proposal from among others as the one best suited to their malevolent purposes.

In any case, so far as Clark, Rhody McCoy, and other principals of the school crisis are concerned, we have no need to impute sophisticated motives to them; like most

Toms, of the old breed or the new, they do not necessarily have evil intentions. Their misfortune is not that they lack sincerity, but the malignant implications of what they may sincerely believe. What immediately concerns us is Clark's analysis — the rationale for the Bundy report — and those of its qualities which recommend it to Clark's CIA chiefs.

The Ford "School Decentralization Project," which Clark's Ford-sponsored organization MARC helped develop, uses the findings of *Dark Ghetto* (1965) to justify its counterinsurgency features. It starts from the premise that

... these children, by and large, do not learn because they are not being taught effectively, and they are not being taught because those who are charged with the responsibility of teaching them do not believe that they can learn, and do not act toward them in ways which help them to learn. (p. 131)

With this rationale, the plan lays the groundwork for attacks on "white racist teachers." It also derives the proposal for local control of hiring and firing practices — a proposal which concomitantly divides black (and Spanish-speaking) oppressed into a number of petty fiefdoms, competing for teachers *and* funds.

The genius of decentralized local community school boards is this. If the oppressed in New York City, for example, were to organize on a mass basis around the issue of education, the result could be massive economic demands on the City budget. By fragmenting the community into a collection of local boards, the Bundy method sets one section of the black community against the others as competitors for the shrinking "concession pie" of funds. The CIA tactic here is obvious. First, to chop up a potentially unified mass into competing local interest groups which can, in the long run, be handled one at a time by City Hall. Secondly, to take the steam out of black militancy in much the same way apparent on the campuses, where powers to police themselves and certain subordinate powers — not real powers over fundamental matters in education, the ability to determine the content and direction of education.

Apart from that, the key to the "decentralization" proposals of Bundy and his black mouthpieces remains the thrust of blaming black children's poor education on "white teachers." Irrelevant and dull course content, the unbearable housing and poverty of the ghetto — these are overlooked. In *Black Ghetto*, Clark says blatantly:

Statistical studies...in Harlem schools show a very tenuous link between environment and performance. (p. 133)

Blaming the teachers goes far beyond mere propaganda. In the Ocean Hill-Brownsville incident last spring, we witnessed a clear attempt to accomplish two things. First to break the job security rights of union members: the initial step toward undermining the rights

of government employees *as a whole*. The current cutbacks in education money and increases in available teachers, have given NYC teachers a tight market — an unheard of situation. This fact ensured the teachers' strong reaction to McCoy's move. City Hall, in short, was using a "black militant" camouflage as a means for introducing a union-busting precedent which could not have been attempted by a "white" school board.

The objective is not only to undermine the strength of government employees' unions. The tactic sponsored by the Ford Foundation and Mayor Lindsay inevitably produces a racist conflict between blacks and whites in the labor movement generally, since the white working majority is indispensable to winning long-term gains for black oppressed, the government uses confrontations of this sort to weaken both the unions and ultimately the organizations of oppressed black and Spanish-speaking groups.

The scheme is not entirely new. What the CIA agencies are doing in today's ghettos is almost exactly paralleled by the British government's sponsorship of Hindu-versus-Moslem communalism in India. That is, to abort the otherwise inevitable victories of two sections of the working population by setting one section against the other. It's an old and dirty game — playing Anglo-Saxons against the Irish, Irish and Anglo-Saxon against the Italians and Eastern European immigrants, and black against white.

KENNETH CLARK'S FRAUD

Consciously or not, what Clark and other high-salaried new-breed Uncle Toms do is to play on the prejudices and self-consoling delusions of certain black parents. Clark in particular states on the basis of various narrow studies that white teachers are *the* cause of ghetto youths' lack of educational accomplishment. In the mouths of black parents (many of whom, it seems, are not yet convinced, as shown by a lack of numbers behind the Governing Board) this is simply a naive, if dangerous, prejudice. In the mouth of Bundy, Lindsay, perhaps even Clark, it is a deliberate fraud.

The following picture of the actual situation in the schools is far from complete. But it is based on first-hand knowledge of developments in certain key ghetto schools, and thus suffices, at least, to reveal some of the facts that Clark's research covers up.

Clark's studies of the achievements of ghetto children deal largely with primary education and the teaching of reading. He shows how IQs and reading tests indicate a decrease in competence the longer a child is in school. This he ascribes almost entirely to teachers' attitudes. While, of course, a child's relationship with his teacher does influence his attitude toward school, educational

content and direction are more important determinants of motivation. Young children find education irrelevant to problems at home; they see their older brothers and sisters "fail" despite attendance at school. Why, then, when one adds obstacles of class size, congestion at home and often hunger, should they try hard to learn?

Black high school students have even less reason to be motivated. They may be roughly divided into three general groups. A small, significant fraction who are "making it" by white middle-class standards. A middle group of likeable "groovy" youth, who generally manage to more or less get by, who may or may not become dropouts. A third layer of youth lumpenized and "gangsterized" by the conditions of ghetto life. *Neither of the latter two groups has any real interest in trying to get an education from the existing school system by the time they reach their teens.* "Man," says the groovy teenager, "stop tryin' to twist my mind." "White bitch," says the representative of the third, gangsterized group to his white woman teacher. These two ever-so-commonly-heard phrases typify the attitudes of two large sectors of black youth toward the educational process.

It should be underlined in this connection that neither black parents nor teachers in white or really integrated schools evidence any knowledge of the teaching and classroom conditions or actual student roles in hard-core ghetto high schools and junior highs. Most evidence indicates in particular that the black parents of students in hard-core ghetto schools sustain deep illusions about how much their children want to learn and the relevance of current education.

In this respect black parents are very much like any other parents. Whether in an Ivy League University like Columbia or a black ghetto high school, the real aspirations and attitudes of students tend to be at odds with those of their parents. It is, therefore, the gravest mistake to imagine that even black parents are qualified to report accurately on what their children privately believe. Black parents generally expect the schools to whip, beat, cajole, drill, etc. their children by means into becoming successful, respectable members of this society. By the time a black ghetto youth reaches his teens, he has often given up on his parents' desperate illusions. *He knows* that the average black youth will have to "make it" on welfare, taking dead-end jobs or simply hustling. The groovy youth or his lumpenized brother responds: who needs an education for that?

It is this fact that the Clarks, Whitney Youngs, CORE et al. are covering up. Prophets of Nixon-Ford Foundation "black capitalism," they are being very well paid to sow illusions, wholesaling the empty promise that every black ghetto child is somehow destined to become a "black capitalist." What this means from the counter-

insurgent point of view is that \$17,000-\$30,000 jobs will be passed out to established black ghetto leaders and decent job opportunities to an upper stratum of black youth who actually make it in the existing educational system. The point is to buy out and corrupt the black intelligentsia, and thus to strip the mass of black oppressed of effective leaders. The mass of black and Spanish-speaking oppressed will be left under ghetto conditions to console themselves by admiring the new generation of Booker T. Washington. There is nothing in "black power" proposals or any similar proposals which will really touch the problems affecting ghetto youth.

What the Clarks refuse to admit is that the most fundamental problems of ghetto education lie *outside* the school system. Ghetto conditions of life are the basis for the *particular* sicknesses of ghetto schools. Without adding 4 million new productive jobs a year, a large group of dark-skinned and white American poor are inevitably going to be shoved into rural or urban ghettos. Without massive construction of good low-rent housing, the ghetto will go on being there. Contrary to the Clarks, black children are bright enough to know that education isn't going to qualify them to get jobs that don't exist. For such reasons alone, the "community control" of education is a cruel farce being imposed on desperate black and Spanish-speaking oppressed.

Is there, however, any truth to the charge that ghetto school white teachers tend to be racist, or are simply "preying upon black children" as "an easy way to make a living?" There are a few racists, of course. There are other teachers whose remarks might seem racist to people who don't recognize the terror which the gangster element inflicts on teachers in junior and senior ghetto-area high schools. For the most part, classroom conditions are intolerable and a large section of the students have no interest in classroom subjects. These working conditions are reflected in teacher attitudes; anyone who imagines that talking about "the disruptive child" is necessarily racist exposes himself as incompetent to speak further on the subject.

Because these conditions are so bad, the average teacher in a ghetto school tends to be neither less qualified, less experienced, or both, than the average teacher in an integrated or "white middle-class" school. Some qualified teachers stay on year after year out of dedication; others are unwilling to give up and admit defeat in the face of extraordinary difficulties; some stay to hold on to established positions. Other well-qualified teachers enter ghetto schools deliberately on the naive presumption that ghetto children are simply waiting for qualified educators to awaken their native capacity to learn; this exaggerated confidence does lead to some tiny

successes. It is true, however, that ghetto schools could not be staffed without a considerable floating population of teachers, who, for reason of inexperience, lack of tenure, etc., have no other immediate educational employment opportunities in the public school system. As ghetto high school youth themselves have often told teachers they liked: "Why do you waste your time teaching in a school like this?" In short, a ghetto high school is hell for both teachers and students.

To find out about the ghetto schools, one should talk to the teachers *and* the children, not the parents. An honest investigation makes it obvious that any competent revolt against the rottenness of ghetto schools would come from an alliance of students and teachers, in which the former would, incidentally, be revolting against the oppressive delusions of many parents.

IDEOLOGY OF EDUCATION

As Paul Rockwell indicates in the "Columbia Statement," the ideology and much of the structure of higher educational institutions flows from the character of the university as a "sanctioning institution for the capitalist class. The emphasis on developing real creative skills in the university is in about the same miserable proportion as real (non-military) research activities in the economy as a whole. For the most part, higher education is what Lawrence Kubie calls a swamp of "drill and grill." ("The Fostering of Creative Scientific Productivity," *Daedalus*, vol. 91, no. 2, 1962.) It is a vast Skinner-box whose certified victims have been conditioned to fit into niches in the corporation, government and university as disciplined cogs in a machine. So we have the result described by Kubie: the remarkable thing about our centers of higher learning is not that they produce so few truly creative individuals, but that so many gifted young intellectuals manage to survive the stultifying processes of university education.

The same applies to white so-called "middle-class" schools. There the teacher, however devoted to education as a process, is helpless but to de-emphasize real education in favor of the "drill and grill" which prepares the student for his Regents or other uniform examinations. Somewhere in the process between the ages of five and sixteen, the natural potential of the child for creative problem-solving is lost or aborted. There is no time for developing the kind of knowledge which depends upon the demonstrability of hypotheses; knowledge is reduced to what certified authorities say, truth is degraded to passing a test in which the acceptable answer is so often the wrong answer, and truth, even in the same subject, varies from text to text and course to course.

We take second place to no one in recognizing the

dehumanizing character of this ideology, this corruption of the educational process. This in our view is the sort of education which produces the Eichmanns of modern society. Real knowledge can only be based on human values; truth is what has enabled the human race to develop and survive, what will solve the problems of our society as a whole. Truth is the individual's inner responsibility to the human race, to develop solutions to problems which advance the human condition. Our educational system systematically supplants this inner authority, this inner responsibility to humanity, with the official, external authority. Learning has been reduced to procedure, techniques, and practice in carrying out the orders imposed by the sanctioning authority from above.

The central feature of the educational process today is expressed by the grading system. This does not advance the individual's creative problem-solving, but measures his obedient response to authority. It makes no difference that the learning so imparted may often be demonstrable and relevant. The Skinner-box character of the educational system, reflected in this way, warns us that much "learning" is gained through systematic destruction of the student's humanity.

We recognize that these evils cannot be corrected by patent-medicine solutions. Any attempt to effectively revolutionize education by mere changes of form have invariably been aborted or degraded if they were not simply dismal chimeras at the instant of conception. Improvements in technique, yes, but fundamental corrections of the basic flaws, no. Education cannot be divorced from the society of which it is a part. Any changes of form, however, valid in abstraction, have either been crushed by the hostility of empowered institutions or simply withered on arid ground. Education can be changed only by also changing the social context of education, by eliminating the bureaucratic forms of employment for which millions demand university education's preparation, and so forth.

IDEOLOGY OF THE GHETTO CLASSROOM

The patent-medicine offered by Clark and his employers reminds us that the most vicious lie is a half-truth. Clark and others emphasize the point that there is an ideological aspect of the existing ghetto schools which attempts to impose a belief in one's own natural inferiority on ghetto children. This is true. Unfortunately, Clark's proposal will do nothing but impose that same vicious ideology in a new disguise.

Most teachers know that certain ghetto students in special programs have frequently mastered in weeks the same material they flunked twice in a school year. For example, some of the high school algebra, general math

and geometry courses are incredibly diluted, particularly those designed for slow-track ghetto under-achievers. Most ghetto secondary education is pretty watery intellectual gruel. In this way, slow track ghetto courses inevitably institutionalize under-achievement constantly widening the discrepancy between those who are "making it" and the certain prospects of welfare and dead-end jobs.

A large part of the immediate learning difficulties of these students is due to their sharply limited reading abilities and associated vocabulary-assimilation problems. These impediments are encouraged by the conditions of ghetto life, exacerbated by the relatively small proportions of "middle class" in the ghetto and by the efforts of black who "make it" to quickly establish a maximum separation between themselves and deep-ghetto victims. This problem is particularly acute for those children who are already estranged from the educational process by lack of credible "upward-mobile" life goals.

For these children, the onpour of vocabulary requirements in courses inevitably tends to deepen their sense of estrangement from the mainstream of our society's economic and social life. The whole process — courses attuned to ghetto under-achievers, extraneous vocabulary requirements to screen out most ghetto children from the academic track, absolutely fabulous fail-ratios in ghetto academic courses — all combine to certify the ghetto under-achiever as a social failure in his own eyes. He is warned against attempting to "compete" in the "white world."

This is the inevitable underside of the Regents system, but also the inevitable effect on the ideology of the ghetto classroom of the conditions of ghetto life. This is the corollary, in the northern ghetto, of the "separate but equal" practice of the Southern, overtly-segregationist school system. In some degree, the practice of rubbing failure in black children's faces is a reflection of conscious policy — what other construction can be put on ghetto school shop courses attuned to the automotive and shop practice of industry of two decades or more ago? In the main, the oppression flows from the conditions of ghetto life. There is no possible remedy within the school system taken by itself.

Clark and others are trying to solve this problem by drawing on the contradictory sentiment for "black power" which has emerged in the black community since about 1963: contradictory because "black power" has a positive as well as a negative side. Its positive side is simply that people cannot fight effectively for their rights unless they have the requisite morale and self-respect. The process in which groups of black unite, thus

overcoming in part their sense of utter helplessness, finding in their own organizations a source of individual moral strength, etc. is necessary. It must, of course, be supported and some of its backward side-manifestations tolerated. The other, negative side of "black power" is expressed in the sick forms of "black nationalism" which, underneath the now-mandatory scowl and "anti-whitey" jive, are (as the late Lincoln Rockwell and present James Buckley instinctively recognize), the old Uncle Tomism in a new disguise.

Jim Crow and Crow-Jim have never been far apart. The oppressor has always sought to attribute special qualities to the oppressed. To relegate the black oppressed to the status of an underclass with its own subculture, its own businesses, its own stupefying self-satisfaction. Uncle Tomism, whether Booker T. Washington's or that of today's "black power" advocates with \$17,000 "establishment" jobs, has always been represented in the past century by those black leaders who have attempted to institutionalize the black oppressed as an underclass *with its own special culture*, as isolated from the source of wealth as the whole working population.

What the Clarks and their co-thinkers envisage in black "community control" of education proceeds along the lines of that Uncle Tom philosophy and can, under the existing objective conditions, do nothing much more for the mass of ghetto victims than to institutionalize their oppressed condition. They reveal that fact, and their consciousness or near-consciousness of the actual futility of "community control" of education, by limiting their generalship of the struggle at this instant to using black militants (and many white radical dupes) as a weapon against the labor movement. The attack on teachers, which has been stage-managed from the start by Clark's office at MARC reveals that Clark and his co-thinkers do not intend to attack the real issues of ghetto life but to divert ghetto militancy away from those issues to other phony issues, like "white racist teachers."

SHANKER'S UFT MISLEADERSHIP

The way in which "community control" has been disguised by the Ford Foundation, sponsored and directed by the Ford Foundation, Lindsay's role, the way in which the present crisis was engineered by McCoy et al., all attest to the fact that this is a conscious conspiracy by CIA-type agencies to simultaneously co-opt black militancy and to use black militancy as a weapon against the labor movement — as strikebreakers and union-busters. Admittedly, the black parents and others in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville experimental school district may have their own legitimate aspirations. Of course, no man can be duped except by playing upon his

aspirations, just as the honest militants in the "community control" project (now relatively few) are mainly unaware of the implications of their fight.

This past May, Rhody McCoy, unit administrator of the Ford Foundation, pre-emptorily fired nineteen teachers on grounds of their personal political beliefs and dismissed 100 more who left the schools in protest against the dismissal. Admittedly, as McCoy himself has noted, school officials regularly victimize hundreds of New York City school teachers because of the teachers' political beliefs or for any variety of administrative caprices. But, unlike McCoy, school officials do this dirty work very quietly, without fanfare, any open charges. The union usually looks the other way, and the school administration carefully does nothing to *openly challenge* the rights of union members, or the integrity of the union's contractual and other basic rights. What McCoy did was different; he did not attempt to maneuver unwanted teachers out in the usual quiet fashion; he forced the issue, abruptly throwing out nineteen teachers in a body in the most public fashion without a shred of evidence to support his actions. This was a erate, direct challenge to the union to either fight or to give up its members' most basic rights throughout the entire school system.

This maneuver was made in part to get headlines for the Ford Foundation project; it was an attempt to make the community control project a racial issue, to channelize black militancy in the city into the struggle for "community control" of schools, and to force a break between the black movement and one of its more important potential trade-union allies, the UFT.

The UFT Shanker leadership fell flat on its face into the trap prepared for it by the Ford Foundation. It responded to this complex issue as if the Ocean Hill-Brownsville governing board were an ordinary employer. On the face of it, there was nothing wrong with that reaction in simple trade-union terms. Rhody McCoy is, black or white, a boss engaging in the most high-handed sort of union-busting tactics. But braintruster Clark, Mayor Lindsay and the School Board were not going to let Shanker succeed in that course. Lindsay and McCoy, in various ways, took a number of steps to make this a racial issue, to make the fight for "community control" a racial issue.

Indications from around the union are that most UFT members recognized the real, immediate issue for exactly what it was: the city administration using a black community organization as a front in a campaign to wreck, or at least enormously weaken, the union. There is no honest basis for contending that the union members were wrong in supporting the strike or even in voting for

it in the first place; they were short-sighted. Despite the endemic racism one might expect anyway, and recent enraged reactions to filthy anti-Semitic statements by some of McCoy's supporters, there is absolutely no evidence of a racist sentiment behind the strike vote *as a whole*. Even the radical organizations (Socialist Workers Party, Progressive Labor Party, etc.) who have publicly called the strike "racist" know better. These radicals are taking the obvious opportunist course, trading their principles for the gate-receipts their organizations hope to pick up from black militants. Shanker's appeal to traditionally white opposition (though many black parents are with them) to "mob rule" certainly encourages the charge that the union is racist. But the racial issue was first cooked up in the offices of the Ford Foundation group stage-managing the whole affair.

Shanker's fatal strategic mistake was his failure to undercut McCoy politically. Shanker did not consistently denounce McCoy as a tool for the Ford Foundation and did not attempt to expose McCoy by proposing to discuss with the community separately, did not attempt to split community people away from McCoy. He did nothing to put the union in the position of an *ally* of black ghetto people. Worse, as the struggle intensified, he put the union in the position of being an ally of the central school board and later of Mayor Lindsay, demanding that they use the police, etc., to repress the community, instead of limiting the demands to closing the affected schools. These actions, similar as they are to reactions to black "riots" — which this certainly was not — fed the charge of racism. By such mistakes, Shanker et al. strengthened the hand of Lindsay and the Ford Foundation puppet-masters over the Ocean Hill-Brownsville militants, and also brought a larger number of active black militants and others into the camp of the CIA dupes.

Shanker could not have acted other than he did. If, in one sense, he has made a grave strategic mistake, his nature did not permit him to act otherwise. The UFT has no serious record of struggles on behalf of the ghetto. It does not struggle seriously for adequate low-rent housing, for a citywide \$100 weekly minimum wage, for urgently needed productive jobs for ghetto victims. During last year's strike there was no evidence that the union leadership had gone to ghetto parents' groups on the "disruptive child" issue, stating the need for substantial increases in remedial education programs for disturbed children, etc., and really staging a fight for adequate facilities of this sort. The pattern of the Shanker leadership has been to lobby in Albany, to wheel-and-deal at City Hall.

The Shanker leadership has never shown an inclination to mobilize mass political support among the

union's natural allies. It has never seriously considered independent political action by union members and their allies to replace Democratic, Republican and Liberal politicians. Shanker has mainly played the old craft-union game of maneuvering for a piece of the "concession pie" setting the union into competition with other government employees' unions and other groups, rather than seeking to establish a common programmatic struggle in the interests of both the UFT and its natural allies.

Let there be no hint of devil-theory in this. Simply replacing Shanker is no answer at all. Shanker's backwardness and strategic errors reflect the backwardness of the union membership as a whole. Without changing the programmatic outlook and eliminating craft-union "professional" narrowness among a majority of the union members, a simple change at the top would be no real change at all. It is easy to pick up the cry of "Throw the bums out," and to ignore the fact that "bums" stay in elected office because they are supported or at least tolerated by a majority of the members. Shanker's errors are a reflection of the need to re-educate the unions' rank and file.

A REAL SOLUTION

If we grant that contemporary "middle-class" education represents a desirable norm (which the authors of this article do not), even that goal cannot be realized for ghetto children generally without several accomplishments outside as well as within the school system. These "inside" changes include such obvious measures as improved school physical plant; profound changes in curricula and conditions of instruction; smaller class size; and less course load for individual teachers. Contrary to the Kenneth Clarks, they must also include a number of "outside" measures which will qualitatively change the motivation of most ghetto school children.

An educational process geared to future college education or even meaningful employment of high school graduates is inevitably a dirty joke to the ordinary ghetto teenager who knows the realities of ghetto life and the kind of employment opportunities his older brothers and sisters have already found. Unless education is tied to a process of getting out of the ghetto (as it is now for the minority of black and Spanish-speaking achievers in the school system) the "groovy" kids will keep saying, "Don't twist my mind." Unless there is a credible start on low-rent housing to replace slums, and 100,000 new productive jobs at trade union-level wages in New York City, no improved education program is going to be credible enough to motivate the layer of ghetto children who must be reached. That is not all.

Some indication of the direction which must be taken by teachers and others involved was demonstrated in last spring's massive anti-war demonstration by New York senior and junior high school youth, organized with the assistance of a number of teachers. Some of the same students in that demonstration supported the Columbia Strike and later led high school strikes of their own. If this potential force of teenagers can begin to organize itself around meaningful struggles for decent ghetto housing and decent jobs, as well as school conditions, and if at least some teachers begin to take part in that work, these youths' outlook on education and life as a whole will be radically changed. These students must begin to see themselves as part of a potent, organized force capable of overcoming ghetto conditions. Such a political change in their world-outlook is the first and most essential condition for improved education.

In that respect, education is just another aspect of the main problem of our society. In the U.S. alone, we have the physical means to invest an additional \$100 billion a year to create about 4 million new productive jobs a year. This would yield a 20-25 per cent real annual growth (as contrasted with a present tendency toward stagnation in rates of production of real, tangible values.) That approach represents the only solution to the present \$3 trillion capital deficit, expressed in poverty and obsolescence, in the U.S. economy itself; and represents a way of realizing our potential for assisting the "underdeveloped" nations to overcome their annual \$25 trillion deficit by means of existence and production.

What is wanting is not the objective potential to solve our problems, but large, organized bodies of people mobilized around such objectives. What befogs the vision and dulls the spirit is our isolation from one another; if we see the objective possibility, we do not see large bodies of people in organized motion for the alternatives. Because we see no organized force capable of bringing about necessary policy changes, we do not believe those changes are possible. To clear the eye and lift the spirit of ghetto youth, we must help him to build those organizations and alliances which make a meaningful future credible to him.

Abstractly speaking, that should be the United Federation of Teachers' main policy right now. In fact, the UFT leadership has virtually restricted itself to a classical craft-union policy. Unfortunately, most teachers in the UFT do not yet see any alternative to the Shanker-Cogen approach. So, when we speak of real solutions now, we must think in terms of a few teachers who are ready to be working along indicated lines within and outside the UFT itself. Obviously such teachers are some distance from being able to swing UFT

policy and lack working relations with numbers of ghetto youth.

This means that the UFT should be in the forefront of the struggle for a \$100 minimum weekly-wage in New York City, in the struggle for at least 50,000 new low-rent housing units a year in this city, in the struggle to force government to provide about 100,000 new productive jobs in construction and in other fields related to the urgent material needs of this city. The UFT should be grinding-in the point that without the prospect of a decent future, without the prospect of meaningful employment, and without decent material conditions of life at home, all schemes for improved ghetto education are a cruel farce.

At present, since conditions do not yet exist to compel the UFT to follow such a course, groups of teachers and others must begin to set the example, while simultaneously working to bring more union members to their point of view.

We must emphasize that the old AFL-CIO trade-union tradition is as ineffective today as the AFL tradition was during the thirties' rise of industrial unionism and the CIO. In any period of crisis, such as this, the mandatory course for the organized labor movement is to break out purely self-interested narrowness, to ally itself directly with the unorganized and oppressed outside the old union movement proper. It is by these united struggles on material issues for common benefit, not by brotherly sympathy, that "racism" can be defeated. Local 1199 in this city has taken steps in that direction, although in a very limited and timorous way. The organized labor movement does not, for obvious business reasons, follow this course, i.e., in David Dubinsky's garment center "plantation," where many high school youth work summers and part-time for scab wages while unions look the other way, where mothers and fathers of ghetto students eke out existence by welfare supplements to their miserable wages.

A fighting teachers' union must fight for the housing and employment conditions of the students' families and high school graduates. The immediate, concrete alternative is for caucuses of teachers to take a lead in that work, to "tune into" the task of organizing the unorganized and the oppressed today as the industrial union movement's pioneers did in the thirties. Only by breaking out of the trap of narrow "professional" craft unionism can teachers begin to solve the problems of teachers and of education.

That approach will make possible a response from ghetto high school youth; it is an alliance of teachers' caucuses and organized high school student bodies that affords the unique path to improved education. Not

parents and teachers, but teachers and students; it is the students' rebellion against the illusions of most of their parents which will prove decisive in bringing about the situation we require.

BROADER LESSONS OF THE STRIKE

Stokely Carmichael never made a bigger blunder than on the day he announced that President Johnson could not co-opt the "Black Power" slogan. The latest reading shows that candidate James Buckley of the racist-conservative New York Conservative Party has joined the ranks of Republicans, Democrats, old-line Uncle Toms, "CIA" agents, and outright white racists who have endorsed CORE's and other militants' versions of "Black Power." George Wallace is certainly not far behind with his own gospel of "local control."

In the hands of "CIA"-funders, "Black Power" has taken on the same poisonous color of communalism which the British imperialists so effectively and so long exploited in India in subsidizing the most reactionary Moslem and Hindu political groups. Britain set one group of Indians against another, and thus prevented the "liberated" Indian subcontinent of 1947 from escaping the economic shackles of the old imperialism. It is now plainly "CIA" policy, whether through the Ford Foundation or Office of Economic Opportunity, to buy up established and tired-from-the-struggle black militants at salaries up to and above \$17,000. These agencies give the bought-out ex-militants not only large salaries, but substantial budgets, to pass jobs and favors about among their friends — and thus co-opt most of the active militants into the CIA machinery. This mixture is

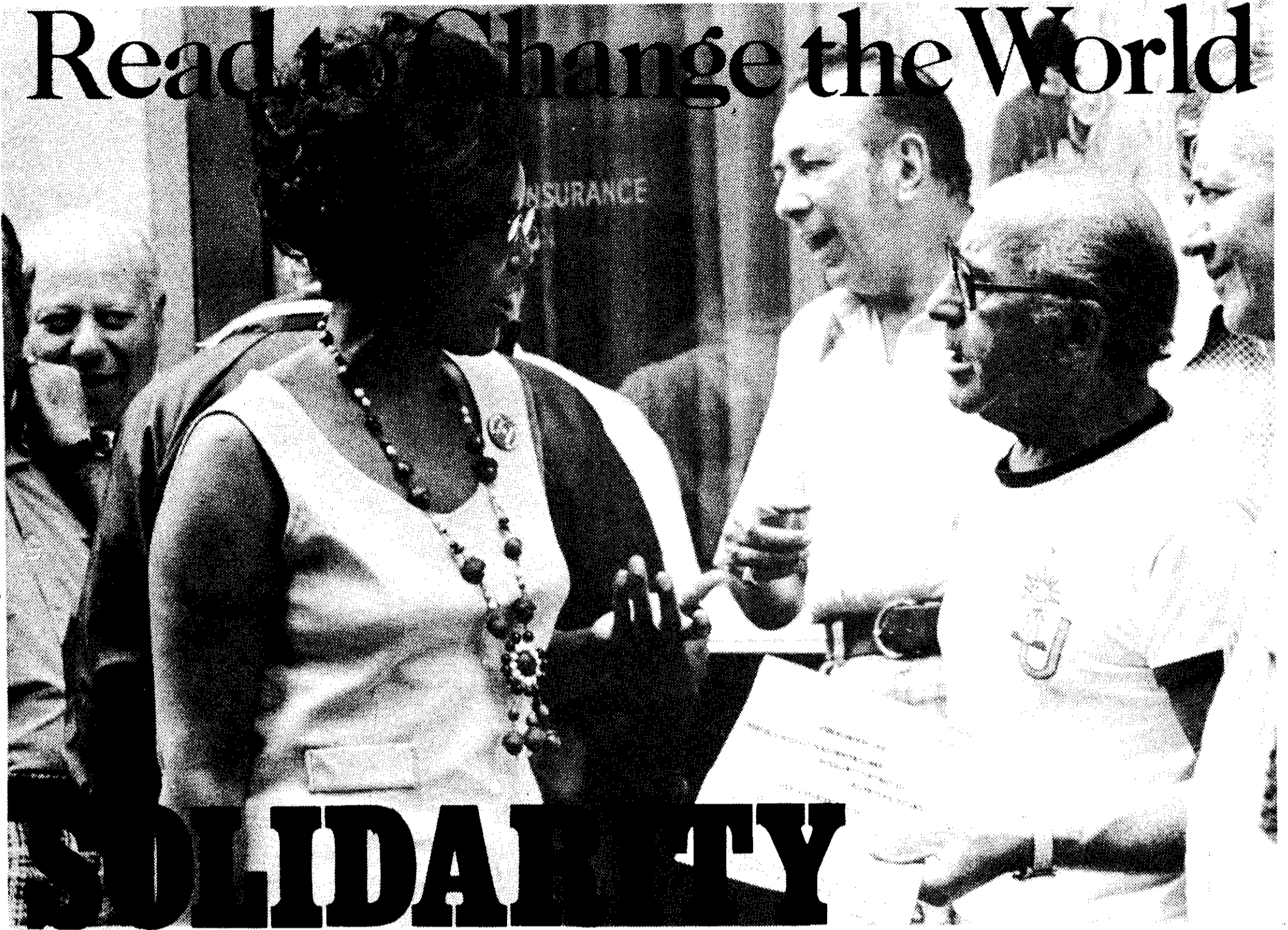
enriched by old-line Uncle Toms, such as Dr. Kenneth Clark, and given direction from above by the same gang that otherwise plans "Bay of Pigs" invasions, or weighs the carrot of black corruption against the stick of IDA-researched riot-suppressing weaponry. As Hitler offered the "rich Jew" to the small shopkeepers and slum victims of Germany, the modern CIA agency, like the Ford Foundation, offers the demoralized ex-Civil Rights militant the same "Jew" — in the person of the teacher — and, in general, the white trade unionist.

If the "CIA" agencies succeed in this vicious enterprise, it is almost inevitable that the American form of fascism will emerge within the next decade of crisis in this country. The key, if not exclusive, task facing us is to defeat schemes like the Ocean Hill-Brownsville conspiracy without separating ourselves from the larger mass of ghetto victims. To many liberals and radicals, this duty is unfortunately interpreted to mean supporting black militants in any strategy foisted upon them by the CIA agents.

It is, on the one hand, indispensable to denounce the kind of "black power" and "community control" which Dr. Kenneth Clark, McCoy, and Galamison dispense for what they are — diabolical schemes to perpetrate the oppression of the black ghetto by substituting new illusions for the worn-out old. At the same time, we must establish our connection with our oppressed allies not by pandering to their mistaken opinions but by proposing and fighting for real alternatives which, unlike Dr. Clark's quack-medicine, are in the real, long-range interest of black and Spanish-speaking children and their parents.

✧ ✧ ✧

Read to Change the World



The ONLY working class newspaper.

2 issues per week — 8 pages, 16 pages

50 issues for \$10.00

10 issues for \$2.00

50 foreign (airmail) for \$30.00

Campaigner

The theoretical journal of revolutionary ideas.

1 year (11 issues) — U.S.A. \$10.00; Europe (airmail) \$18.00.

Make checks payable to NCLC, Box 1972, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001.