

The Campaigner

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From
Encada
to
Macondo

the **Campaigner**

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THIS ISSUE

The Great Oil Hoax unleashed by the Rockefeller-controlled oil cartels in October marked a decisive turn in the capitalist depression collapse. Under its cover the drive toward totalitarian rule was launched throughout the advanced sector. Only a united working class movement, like that consolidating in the current organizing explosion around NUWRO can hope to defeat **The Emerging World Order**. . . In **The Case of Ludwig Feuerbach, Part II**, L. Marcus elaborates the critical systematic intellectual flaw of one of the 19th century's greatest thinkers from the standpoint of the "new psychoanalysis". . . In **Italian Recycling: The PCI's Southern Strategy**, Anna Varga and Arthur Petrie present a devastating indictment of the Italian CP's active collaboration in implementing the fascist labor recycling policies in Italy. . . Finally, in what will surely create shock waves in certain quarters, especially among those who read without comprehending our polemic of two years ago entitled "Fidel 'Joins' the Labor Committee," F. Fuebas, Ivan Gutierrez del Arroyo and Llyuba George dispell the last shreds of mythology surrounding the Cuban Revolution. **From Moncada to Macondo: The Circular Orbit of Fidel Castro** presents petit-bourgeois romantics and assorted apologists with not only the impotence but, now, the tragic criminality of the Cuban "model."

NEXT ISSUE

The February **Campaigner** will focus on the extraordinary events of the past month which have put military or semi-military takeovers on the agenda throughout Europe and North America. **Rockefeller's 1984 Plot**, the editorial, will outline the essential features of the attempt by means of the brainwashing torture of several LC members to set up the Labor Committees international tendency as a "pawn" in a much larger operation — to establish a worldwide fascist regime. . . In **On the Track of My Assassins**, Chris White, one of the victims of the CIA brainwashing, will detail the initial process by which "the pawn bit" — the battle for self-consciousness and humanity in the face of CIA crimes that would make the Nazis pale. . . **Coercive Psychology: Capitalism's Monster Science**, by Carol Menzel, is a comprehensive report on the thoroughly anti-human technology of mind-destruction upon which Rockefeller is banking in his gambit to impose fascism from above. . . Finally, we shall include **The Miracles and Martyrdom of St. Antonio Gramsci** by Anna Varga, a searing treatment of the rancid ideological roots of anarcho-syndicalism, a cancer in the working class movement which once more threatens Italian workers with the dubious distinction of being the first to give way to fascist rule.

NEW SOLIDARITY

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20¢

MOP UP WOODCOCK!

The National Executive Committee of the National Caucus of Labor Committees announces that the NCLC will press Operation Mop-Up against the Woodcock-Brother leadership of the United Automobile Workers.

Beginning immediately, we are launching a total political organizing war against the UAW bureaucracy. When we have the forces, we will throw the traitors out of the labor movement forever.

The UAW leadership is now leading the entire wrecked and demoralized American labor movement to accept and self-

forces, we would get rid of these criminals tomorrow morning. We are setting in motion the exact tactical plans by which we will build those forces, and at precisely the first opportunity we will throw them out. This process will take approximately two years.

To organize any fight, any working class defense, now means to organize a revolutionary labor movement to fight capitalist austerity policies with our own program for worldwide expanded reproduction. We are building that labor movement, a "dual union," the political union of employed and un-

rotten and impotent as they are, they still represent the only line of defense workers have. Workers must therefore stay inside and defend the unions as best they can against strike-breaking and union-wrecking coming from the employers and their little helpers in the union bureaucracies.

At the same time auto workers and other employed workers must come out to join the unorganized, unemployed and welfare victims in NUWRO, the alternative labor movement. The employed must join with those "outsiders" who have

Please turn to page 12



Above: UAW President Leonard Woodcock (center) and aides. Below: Troop of another Social-Democratic labor leader, Gustav Noake, prepares to fire on workers' demonstration (Germany, 1928).

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A semi-weekly tabloid report on the state of the world. . . column for column the most powerful working class weapon in the world.

There is no historical precedent for what the world now faces. Against the fascist world order which this generation of capitalist leaders are now beginning to implement, the Nazi crimes and conquests were a small-change operation. Neither the scope of the new fascist order, nor its methods of control, nor its emergence will follow the primitive patterns of previous fascism.

Leading capitalist planners, centered in the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and related institutions, have occupied themselves for the past quarter-century studying, developing, and refining the relatively crude methods of Nazi Germany. Whether in the realm of fascist social organization, economics, or mind-control, they have developed capabilities of which the Nazis could not have dreamed. Hitler, Schacht, Goebbels et al. look like humanitarians compared to the plans for brainwashing and global slave labor now being put into operation by Rockefeller, McNamara, and the CIA.

Rockefeller intends the fascism of the 1970's and 1980's to be a thoroughly professional job — using the most sophisticated technologies of “manpower planning,” “behavior modification,” and “population control.” If he can put it off, he wants it accomplished without all the nastiness associated with hoards of jack-booted brownshirts; he wishes to move directly from crumbling constitutional democracy to social and economic fascism. Where mass fascist movements are required, Rockefeller and the CIA will not hesitate to create and nurture them, but, as the evidence of the CIA's “Operation Orpheus” just uncovered by the Labor Committees indicates, Rockefeller hopes to establish military or semi-military dictatorships directly.

Psychological warfare and brainwashing are the means by which the CIA hopes to destroy the ability of the population to resist fascist economic policies. For it is the implementation of fascist economics without fascist movements — Schacht without the storm-troopers — which is Rockefeller's urgent concern of the moment.

I. THE ROCKEFELLER/McNAMARA PLAN FOR WORLDWIDE SLAVE LABOR

The outlines of the new world order are already becoming clear; it is composed of three principal policies:

- the recycling of human beings in the U.S. and Europe;
- the McNamara slave-labor plan for the under-developed sector;

editorial: the emerging world order

- the complete integration of the Soviet bloc into the capitalist world economy.

If we put together this picture of the capitalists' plans for the world population, we are confronted with a terrifying plan to turn the entire world into one gigantic Auschwitz.*

There is of course nothing inevitable about these insidious schemes, there is nothing inevitable about this barbarism except from the standpoint of capitalism itself. These plans will never reach fruition if we have the will and the determination to stop them. Just as we have already impeded the implementation of slave-labor in the U.S. sector, we can and must in the next period obstruct the capitalist implementation of recycling and slave labor in Western Europe — and perhaps Asia as well. For as we will elaborate further below, we are the only force that stands in the way of Rockefeller's program for world fascism.

* We will concentrate here on the economic side of the new emerging order; readers should be aware of the continuous flow of evidence regarding CIA operations and programmed behavior modification which NCLC Intelligence is uncovering daily; this material is being published constantly in press releases, flyers, and our newspaper New Solidarity. Future issues of The Campaigner will publish more comprehensive studies and analyses of these materials.

McNamara's Vision

During the Nairobi meeting of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) last September, World Bank President Robert McNamara laid out his perspectives for the underdeveloped countries. According to McNamara, the past emphasis on economic growth in the less-developed sector has been misguided: what is now required is an emphasis on making-do with the resources presently existing. Rather than continuing to stress industrial development and growth, labor-intensive development will be central.

McNamara knows that under conditions of world depression, there is no purpose in holding out the promise of industrial development for the peoples of the third world. So instead they will simply be worked to death, under the noble guise of improving the conditions of subsistence farmers and peasants. The substitution of labor-intensive development for capital-intensive investment means no development at all: it means turning the third world into a massive peasant concentration camp in which the peasants become "self-sufficient" and earn their own way — by working themselves to death for 1100 to 1900 calories a day.

In Latin America, the Rockefeller-McNamara plan means that the entire continent will be turned into a Brazil slave-labor hell. In Africa, "African socialism," "cooperative economics," "Ujama" provides the ideological means by which that continent will self-determine its way to collective and cooperative self-destruction. But it is in Asia that the drive for McNamara-plan agricultural development is most advanced.

The planned or already-implemented overthrow of reactionary regimes in Thailand, Korea, and the Philippines by "progressive" forces is a well-planned CIA operation to pave the way for land reform and McNamara-plan implementation. But it is Indonesia which with certain remaining deficiencies is the "showcase" of Asia, just as Brazil is for Latin America.

The 1965 coup and bloodbath in Indonesia, in which an estimated 500,000 Communists were slaughtered, marked a crucial turning point for Asia and the world. After this, Vietnam was in important respects only a mopping-up operation, although the Indochina war soon took on a life of its own apart from the strictly objective interests of the imperialists.

After the '65 coup, a program of "transmigration and cooperative agricultural production" was established, although because of the underlying weaknesses of the Indonesian economy, these programs collapsed by 1970. These programs were completely revamped, and

half of the Indonesian army was sent into the countryside to "help" the farmers with their rice crops. Transmigration has been stepped up, with tens of thousands of unemployed sent to turn the jungles into farmlands (Echoes of Brazil).

In Indonesia, everything is organized in the spirit of cooperation. Peasants cooperate in producing rice, casava, fish and vegetables. Youth cooperate as Pramuka ("scouts") in transmigrating. The All-Indonesian Federation of Workers "faces the employers as a partner" in the words of its leader, and class relations are "relations with the family spirit." Peasants even have their own organization, the Harmonious Association of Indonesian Peasants.

An expert from the International Labour Organization, surveying the situation, remarked that he was "amazed at seeing that on the extremely small wage, Indonesians could still live." It is amazing what cooperation can accomplish. McNamara is quite proud.

To complete the picture of underdeveloped Asia, we should make reference to China. The China model of labor-intensive agriculture and communal production is not at all inconsistent with McNamara's plans. Indeed, Maoist ideology provides an appropriate "radical" cover for the CIA's duping of leftist students into organizing for McNamara-plan operations.

The Detente

The Soviet bloc will not be exempted from the horrors of the new emerging order. The Rockefeller/Brandt policy of detente merely paves the way for the unbridled penetration of capital into the East bloc. The Soviet leadership will make concession after concession to placate the capitalists — but the beast will not be placated. Its appetite is too great; it will not be satisfied until it has gorged itself on the Soviet bloc's primary commodity: its labor power.

The "pilot projects" are Rumania and Yugoslavia. It is Rumania where the "energy crisis" is most severe, where consumption of heating fuel has been slashed by 30% to 50%. This is a country which produces its own oil — for export, of course. Rumania is also the test case for membership in the International Monetary Fund (IMF); other workers' states which follow Rumania's example of austerity imposed on their own workers will also be granted the privilege of having their own economies subject to the "iron discipline" of the capitalist central bankers.

Yugoslavia has long ago sold its own working class into bondage — as a major exporter of labor to Western

Europe. Its "worker-controlled" decentralized economy has also made it particularly suitable for investment projects from the World Bank and its affiliate, the International Financial Corporation.

The general pattern of opening up the East bloc to imperialist penetration involves (1) economic and administrative decentralization, (2) orienting the economies for export to the West, and (3) instituting cooperative agreements and equity participation agreements with capitalist firms, through which capitalists will make direct investments in the workers' states.

But the imperialists will not be satisfied to merely directly exploit the labor within the East bloc. It is the workers states' most precious resource — its workers themselves — which the capitalists crave. Within two years, large numbers of *gastarbeiter* from many Eastern European countries will be working in the West; for when the limits of primitive accumulation through the export of goods are reached — when exports of commodities and raw materials are no longer adequate to meet the demands of debt payments — then the workers themselves will be sent West, following in the footsteps of the earlier generation who marched West under the Nazis. Only this time it is not only German capital but world capitalism which is at stake.

(Poland has already offered 50,000 construction workers to West Germany — at a time of widespread unemployment among construction workers in the BRD.)

The extent to which the East bloc has already mortgaged the reproduction of its own population can be seen in the export of foodstuffs — especially meat and cheese — to Western Europe. Sixty one per cent of the meat production of Eastern Europe is already exported to the West, at prices as low as 27 cents a pound for beef. Poland exports 90 per cent of its meat to the West. When the East bloc worker gets meat (which is only one-half to one-fourth as often as his counterpart in Western Europe) it is more often than not the poorer grades, usually rolled up in a sausage.

Given the bleak present and future of the East bloc worker, is it any wonder that the German Democratic Republic has already arrived at Rockefeller's promised land of Zero Growth? And that the USSR itself will be there before long?

Having carefully laid out his plans for the Third World, McNamara is now stealthily approaching the Second the socialist bloc.

... And in the "First World"

It is in the advanced sector, where the division of labor and organization of economic life is most complex, that we find, appropriately, an infinite variety of schemes for recycling and slave labor.

But first, no picture of the situation of the European working class can be drawn without reference to the critical role of the *gastarbeiter* Europe's modern slave laborers. The road from Nazi Germany is indeed quite direct, for the phenomenon of the foreign "guest" worker has existed without interruption since the days of the early 1940's.

At the end of the Second World War, there were 12 million foreign workers in Germany — approximately the same number existing in Western Europe today. While West Germany is commonly thought of as the land of the *gastarbeiter*, it was not until around 1961 that the BRD needed to import workers. After the war, the BRD contained 10,000,000 refugees from the East. This flow continued until the construction of the Berlin Wall. In the late forties and fifties, about 1.2 million workers left the BRD to work in Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland.

We can take the Southern Italian peasant as the prototype of the postwar *gastarbeiter*. Up until about 1960, the typical Italian *gastarbeiter* might have gone to Belgium to work in the coal mines. During the 1955 recession he might have been replaced there by a North African or a Yugoslav. Meanwhile, Greeks and Spaniards were being imported into his native Italy as seasonal agricultural labor. After 1960, our Italian guest worker was invited to West Germany. In the recession of 1967 he saw 200,000 of his fellow Italians become unemployed and return to Italy, only to be replaced by Moroccans, Tunisians, Koreans, Phillipinos, Nigerians, Indians, Pakistanis, Chileans, Ghanians

... If he was lucky enough to survive this period, he now finds himself increasingly the object of public debate and legal restrictions. He finds his West German employer refusing to hire any more Italians, because unlike Greeks or Spaniards or North Africans, Italian *gastarbeiter* are too likely to return home during holiday periods.

The flow of *gastarbeiter* from Eastern and Southern Europe, from North Africa and Asia, will never be completely cut off, because the *gastarbeiter* are too convenient a club to be used against "greedy" native workers. But when our model *gastarbeiter* is recycled back to Italy, he may find himself working for the same employer — who has decided to take advantage of

certain generous benefits and move his factory to the gastarbeiter's native village.

Recycling in Europe

Recycling in Europe will operate through two other principal mechanisms. In some cases in the interests of efficiency the factories will be relocated directly at the sources of abundant, cheap labor. Or, where this is not feasible, the workers will go to the factories wherever they are needed. As one capitalist spokesman put it: workers must work at the times, the jobs, and the places which they find convenient.

Carlo Donat-Cattin, Italian Minister of the Mezzogiorno and a left Christian-Democrat, explains Europe's problem this way: Europe is too rich at the center and too poor elsewhere. There is an over-concentration of wealth in the area from the Midlands in Britain to the Po Valley. This overconcentration has resulted in the decay of the cities and a decrease in the quality of life. The imbalance between the over-rich central area and the poorer peripheral area must therefore be corrected.

Donat-Cattin has been for years a tireless organizer for Europe's Regional Policy. Within the EEC, the Regional Commission plans to aid in the relocation of industry in Europe's most depressed areas — north Britain, Ireland, southern Italy — where thousands of unemployed, hungry, desperate workers are waiting. But the plan is by no means limited to the EEC countries — Spain, Portugal, Greece, Turkey, north Africa, even the Middle East will be the "beneficiaries" of the capitalist plan to relocate their plants where the cheapest slave labor is readily available.

Those capitalists who choose to remain where they are in the more industrialized sections of Europe will not find their needs neglected. Under the rubrics of "the redeployment of labor," and "social justice," the capitalist states intend to provide a ready pool of cheap, willing labor: including women, youth, pensioners, and the handicapped and disabled. Everyone will get their chance. Sweden possesses the most advanced apparatus for such recycling in the AMS, the National Labor Market Board — which is a centralized apparatus for recycling virtually every conceivable type of cheap labor.

The general principles behind "manpower" recycling programs, in Britain and on the continent, are as follows: (1) Unemployment compensation should be just enough to keep the worker alive, and financed,

preferably, out of wage taxation. (2) Similar wage-tax funds should be used to cover the cost of relocating labor from one place to another. (3) Pensions should be adjusted with emphasis on making older people available for work. (4) Maternity leave, day-care, work-in-the-home, etc., should be designed to get the maximum number of women into the workforce. (5) Almost everyone should be considered employable; only minimum social benefits are necessary. (6) Only bare minimum of training of the work force is necessary; therefore apprenticeship programs and schooling periods should be shortened.

The Common Market's Social Affairs Commission is doing its part to lubricate the recycling process. The commission advocates a social action program which incorporates uniform policies for dismissal of workers from country to country, "assistance" to migrant workers, priorities for handicapped workers, and equality between men and women workers (i.e., the equal right to be recycled).

What the European capitalists are striving for is a centralized manpower apparatus for all of Europe, with standardized hiring and firing practices, uniform social security benefits, etc. Ultimately such an apparatus would serve the same function as Hitler's Social Service Department did, by readily filling the manpower orders of the Krupps and the I.G. Farbens. And those more farsighted capitalists are looking forward to the day when the European recycling apparatus would incorporate the East's Comecon as well as the EEC.

In the U.S.A.

The same sort of centralization of all manpower programs has occurred in the U.S. under the Comprehensive Manpower Act of 1973 — a bill which is promoted as "decentralizing" manpower programs. The bill consolidates all local recycling programs into one federally-monitored program; what is touted as decentralization is that the bill provides for a high degree of local autonomy to insure that local plans are tailored to meet the needs of the individual employers. The bill also provides for a national computerized job bank — similar to that now operating in West Germany — through which employers can have at their fingertips data on millions of workers, enabling them to pick exactly the sort of slave-laborers they need.

In the area of welfare the long-range plan is to separate all welfare recipients into employable and unemployable categories; those who are — by any stretch of the imagination — considered employable

will be put under the jurisdiction of the state employment services rather than welfare departments.

Our organizing — that of the Labor Committee and the North American Unemployed and Welfare Rights Organization (NUWRO) — has already severely damaged the U.S. government's plans for welfare recycling. The original plan was to have welfare recipients themselves administer slave labor through such mechanisms as "client involvement committees." NUWRO — with its relative handfuls of organizers — has made WIN and "client involvement" such bad words in the ghettos and factories that the government has been forced to tread lightly in its initiation and administration of welfare slave labor.

Wherever the government turns to institute slave labor, it finds us: NUWRO in the factories and among the welfare population and RYM (Revolutionary Youth Movement) among ghetto youth, the other primary target of recycling.

The other most important areas of recycling in the U.S. are education and prison work-release.

Our investigations of educational plans have shown that "career education," rather than work-study as such, will be the primary form of recycling of youth. The idea is ultimately to virtually eliminate all academic tracking in primary and secondary education — to make the academic track the slums of public education. All primary and secondary education — and even much of higher education — will be based on vocational training, with students working either part of each school day or part of each school year at their "chosen" field of work.

The U.S. prison population — now estimated at 1.6 million persons — is the subject of far-reaching slave labor plans, concentrated under work-release and pre-trial diversion programs.

The CIA's Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) is the prime mover behind work-release programs in which prisoners are either released from prison for definite hours per day to do factory work, or live in work-release detention facilities in urban areas. In either case, these prisoner-workers will be issued "domestic passports" — identification papers which prescribe where, when, and how they are to travel from their detention facilities to work.

Under the LEAA guidelines, work-release screening teams which include prisoners will prepare a plan of "treatment" for individual prisoners which may include work-release or drug-therapy and other forms of brainwashing. Outside the prison, work-release commissions are being formed which in many cases include government officials, representatives of local

AFL-CIO bodies, and representatives of the National Alliance of Businessmen. That work-release prisoners are prohibited from participating in strikes doesn't seem to bother the local labor bureaucrats who are helping to organize this union-busting force.

Even more vicious are the programs for pre-trial diversion, under which many traditional civil rights — the right to a speedy and fair trial, to right to be considered innocent until proven guilty — are eliminated. An individual who is arrested and incarcerated is offered the "choice" of remaining in jail (if, like most poor people, he can't raise bail), or of taking a job under specified conditions and thereby avoiding jail and a trial. Presently 15 such projects are underway in the U.S., including the pilot Vera Institute program in New York City.

If we take the recent U.S. Supreme Court decision which allows illegally-obtained evidence (i.e., planted) evidence to be used in court, and put this together with the LEAA's work-release and pre-trial diversion programs, at least one means by which concentration camps will be established in the U.S. becomes quite obvious. Any political opponent of the government, or any unemployed person for that matter, could be illegally arrested and then shunted through pre-trial diversion into a slave-labor detention center. All of this is already blueprinted and ready to go in the immediate future under the CIA/LEAA.

We have only touched on the most significant programs through which the capitalists intend to squeeze the life-blood out of the world's working class. The requirements of capitalist survival in the 1970's and 1980's are such that no means is too brutal or too barbaric. It is, after all, the preservation of capitalist property titles which is at stake, and for the sake of those precious scraps of paper eminently reasonable men will do almost anything.

II. THE POLITICS OF RECYCLING

Fascist recycling ultimately requires the direct rule of the capitalist class, without the mediation of popular democratic forms. But the capitalists cannot move immediately to dictatorial rule without certain conditions being fulfilled: the population must be atomized and demoralized, bourgeois governing institutions must be discredited, and working-class organizations must have lost the confidence of significant sections of the class they represent.

In the interim, the capitalists follow a two-sided strategy. First, to hasten the already progressing

disintegration of bourgeois-democratic institutions (*vide* the Rockefeller/CIA move to discredit Nixon through the Watergate scandal). Second, to build popular support for fascist policies, or at least neutralize the opposition.

It is the latter process with which we are most concerned here. While the bourgeoisie may try to organize movements which directly advocate fascist policies, i.e., the Zero Growth movement or the so-called World Development Movement — a social-democratic operation which serves as a mouthpiece for McNamara slave labor in European intellectual and campus circles, this is of secondary importance.

In the transitional period between parliamentary democracy and fascist rule, the capitalists will get the maximum advantage out of mass workers' organizations — where they exist. The Communist Parties, Social Democratic parties, and trade unions are today organizing and implementing recycling, **for the capitalists.**

The Case of the PCI

In chaos-ridden Italy today we can see the cutting edge of the Brandt-Brezhnev policy, under which Communist Parties in collaboration with socialist parties and anyone else who's willing, become the vehicle for organizing the population to submit to recycling and slave labor.

The south of Italy — the Mezzogiorno — is the garbage heap of Europe. It is Europe's poorest region and the source of millions of its *gastarbeiter*. In all of Italy, the average worker eats only one-half the meat of his U.S. brother. Almost three-quarters of all Italian housing lacks a bath; 38% are without inside running water. The median educational level is three years (!). This is for the whole country; in the Mezzogiorno conditions are far, far worse. In Naples, only one-fourth of the population have jobs; the rest live by thievery, prostitution, hustles of various sorts (including kidnapping). The recent cholera epidemic is an adequate reflection of sanitary conditions.

Abject poverty is well known to breed many varieties of criminal behavior. Here we will concentrate on the treachery of the Italian Communist Party.

When the new Rumor government entered office last fall, after the collapse of the Andreotti coalition, Rumor summoned the nation to sacrifice, warning that the country could not "live beyond its means" or continue to "consume limited resources." Three days earlier Lucien Lama, head of the CGIL trade union federation and a PCI member presented the "global proposals" of the three trade union federations (CGIL, UIL, CISL); these

centered on an investment policy for the South which required "sacrificing the privileged working class of the North."

PCI policy explicitly directs that any wage demands of workers must be subordinated to the need for investments in the South, arguing that anything else is "corporativist." "There is no contradiction between development and reforms," says the PCI. But "there is, on the other hand, a great contradiction between the exaltation of individual consumption and the solution to the great problems of agriculture, the South, housing, schools, and sanitation."

The PCI have apparently taken the dictum of West German Social Democrat leader Willy Brandt to heart: that the way to prevent fascism is for the social democracy to carry out fascist economic policy for the capitalists!

With the advent of the "energy crisis," the PCI was presented with great new opportunities for organizing recycling in Italy. Lama informed the capitalists that "the workers intend to do their part, if extra sacrifices are needed . . . to weather the fuel crisis."

Gianni Agnelli, president of Fiat, and Luciana Barca of the PCI recently exchanged ideas about the need for Schachtian economics in the pages of *Corriere della Sera*. Agnelli noted the fall in auto production because of the energy crisis, and said that the only way to avoid massive layoffs was to begin shifting production into the "new infrastructures" which Italy is lacking. He further remarked that "financing could come only from a general lowering in the standard of living."

A few days later, Barca endorsed Agnelli's proposals, with the following elaboration: "We criticize Rumor's austerity because it is not enough to cut consumption, you've also got to find alternatives." "We start from the idea that social consumption has to be seen as a substitute for, rather than an addition to, individual consumption We must have collective consumption."

Pure Nazi economics!

The PCI, along with the PSI and the DC, have undertaken the all-important task of organizing the capitalists for recycling. Giolitti, the PSI Budget Minister, has major responsibility for patiently explaining to the capitalists the new recycling policy of the trade unions for the south. Under the guise of "creating jobs;" the capitalists are told that the unions will fully cooperate in establishing labor-intensive investments in the Mezzogiorno.

The needs of the capitalists in the industrial north are not to be ignored either. Giolitti has also told the capitalists that the unions will trade off increased plant utilization, mobility of the labor force, productivity and

a wage freeze in order to get increased investments in the South.

The head of the militant and left-wing metalworkers union has also made the capitalists an offer they will find difficult to refuse. As a means of increasing "plant utilization," it is suggested that workers will work a six-hour shift, six days a week; also that women and youth can be brought in as part-time workers. The implications of such a scheme are indeed sinister: it is only a hair's-breadth away from instituting a mandatory eight-hour, six or seven days a week. Once the door is opened....

The Italian Communist Party was deeply shaken by the bloody reversals in Chile. What they have concluded is that they must never take power alone, or even only with the PSI; that their "popular unity" coalition must include the Christian Democrats as well. In practical terms, this means that the PCI will earn the respect of the DC by becoming the muscle behind capitalist recycling programs. The PCI, with their enormous influence in the working class, will organize the population to demand austerity and "investments" in the South, and will form the population into participatory "councils" — in the factory, neighborhood, and regional zones — in the north.

To ingratiate themselves to the capitalists, to perhaps earn themselves a short-lived place in the official government, the PCI will take the leading role in turning Italy, especially the Mezzogiorno, into the recycling center — the Brazil — of Europe. But during this period, the capitalists will not need the fascist death squads of Brazil; that will come later. Meanwhile, the PCI promises to ensure that the working class "cooperates."

The Limits of the Brandt-Brezhnev Deal

While a certain faction of the capitalists are quite willing to allow the CP's and SP's to institute austerity and carry out anti-working-class policies, the period of social-democratic rule and the popular front cannot be a permanent state of affairs.

The problem is simply this: how far can a party which is based on the working class go in attacking that class? The better it does its job, the more it undermines itself.

The Scandinavian social democracies already reflect the breakdown process which must occur as the population sees its own living conditions continue to deteriorate. Germany in 1930 and Britain in 1931 illustrate the limits of social-democratic usefulness to the capitalists. At the point where the German Social Democracy or the British Labour Party could no longer

impose further austerity on the working class, their respective governments collapsed.

As the depression crisis deepens, a party which will not fight for workers' state power and control of the economy is no use to the working class; a party which will not ruthlessly attack the working class is of no use to the capitalists. A party which tries to serve both classes eventually is worthless at serving either.

Thus the days of Brandt, or Mitterand, or a possible popular-front coalition government in Italy, are necessarily numbered. Brandt's usefulness to the capitalists is his ability to contain working class anger and rage, but when his actions on behalf of the capitalists only further enrage the workers, then his usefulness to the capitalists is ended. For all their crimes, Brandt and Berlinguer are still leaders of working-class political parties; the capitalists cannot trust them to permanently carry out fascist economic policies.

Rockefeller's Oil Hoax

Rockefeller and his band of international banker and oil barons are not content to rely on Brandt to adequately police the working class; nor are they satisfied to allow the present depression to take its "normal" course.

Since the whole idea of zero economic growth never really caught on among the working class, in spite of its adoption by a number of social democracies, Rockefeller tried a new tactic: consciously and deliberately staging the October War in the Middle East and then the subsequent "oil boycott."

The oil crisis is without question one of the greatest swindles of all time, and at this point the capitalists don't even seem to care who knows it. But meanwhile, the phony "Arab boycott" has served a number of useful functions for the capitalists.

First, it gave the notion of "limited, finite resources" a very practical application, by spreading the word that Americans are too profligate with their resources, and that everyone will have to tighten their belts. Second, it gave the capitalists a ready excuse to institute massive layoffs and various austerity measures. Third, it generally provided a semi-credible cover for the depression-breakdown which is the real cause of shortages and economic collapses.

Fourth, the "Arab" price increases are causing a radical shift in the world capital flows. The price increases amount to a massive surtax on all workers, but particularly those of Western Europe and Japan.

Already, the position of the U.S. dollar has undergone a sharp improvement because of the oil "shortage."

In the long run, the most important consequence is where the money will go. The tens of billions of dollars which are collected from workers (and even capitalists to some extent) will be funnelled into McNamara-plan type investments in the underdeveloped sector. These schemes, which had become common knowledge by the middle of January, were already being openly discussed in late-October and early November in the European financial press.

Apart from its psychological-warfare aspects, the ultimate significance of the Great Oil Crisis of 1973-74 will be that it quite neatly — without the intervention or supervision of any Western government — diverted billions of dollars from working-class incomes into capitalist investments for labor-intensive development of the Third World. At a stroke, Rockefeller was able to put additional billions into his and his colleagues' hands for the purpose of hastening fascist economic looting of the world's population.

Simultaneously, Rockefeller has taken urgent measures to put together a functional political machine in the U.S. Now that his faction's long-term efforts to discredit and finally impeach Nixon are reaching fruition, Rockefeller has resigned from the governorship of New York State in order to pull together his Commission on Critical Choices. This is strictly an organizing venture: Rocky already has his program fully worked out and certainly doesn't need a Commission to develop a program. What he needs is to coalesce the significant political forces within the capitalist class around his program of fascist economics — which is the purpose of the Commission. It is, without question, the nucleus of the next government.

Rocky faces two problems of major proportions. The first, and lesser obstacle, is that he apparently underestimates the risks of trying to impose fascism without a mass fascist movement. He hopes that through the use of psy-war techniques, with massive behavior modification brainwashing, he will be able to turn the population into a bunch of zombies who will work themselves to death and enjoy it. But even a brainwashed zombie can turn on his tormentor, enraged with the knowledge of what he has become and who did it to him. Without a mass fascist movement, which takes the rage of the population and redirects it against a fictitious "enemy," even the most sophisticated techniques of fascist mind-control may not protect Rockefeller from his victims.

How Rockefeller Fascism Will Be Stopped

Rockefeller's most serious problem right now is us . . . the Labor Committees.

There is only one organized force which now stands between the human race and its destruction at the hands of Rockefeller fascism, and that force is us.

If you doubt it, look around, and look carefully. Where is the working-class organization which has not already capitulated to the capitalists, or which else does not merely stand impotently screaming at the capitalists as they proceed to establish the New Order.

Is it in the U.S. or Europe, where the labor movements have already capitulated, and where the major left parties are eagerly appeasing the capitalists by implementing recycling for them? And where the smaller official organizations, if not CIA or KGB-run like British I.S., are merely impotent clowns who frighten no one?

Is it in Latin America where the left has destroyed itself, either by following the foolish "guerrilla" path or by walking into the suicidal "popular unity" trap?

Is it in Asia, where the Indochina revolutionaries were treacherously sold out by both the Soviet Union and the Chinese, left to be picked off piecemeal after their "victory" over the imperialists? And where those that remain elsewhere are duped into supporting the McNamara plan?

Where is the force which can stop the impending destruction? A few years ago it looked as if the Italian CP and its allies might be forced into making a revolution in spite of themselves, but now see how they have become the capitalists most trustworthy policemen within the working class.

The harsh truth is that the responsibility for stopping Rockefeller, for stopping world fascism, yes, even for saving the gains which the working class has made in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, lies with us and us alone. It means that we can and must become a mass, working class party in the United States during 1974, and shortly thereafter in Europe. It seems that we must build cadre organizations in Latin America and Asia during the coming year.

On the one hand: Rockefeller, McNamara, and the CIA. A worldwide Auschwitz slave-labor camp, the destruction of what remains of bourgeois culture and civilization, the abolition of human freedom and creativity through brainwashing and mass-scale behavior modification. A species reduced to automatons, whose minds are destroyed while their bodies are worked to death.

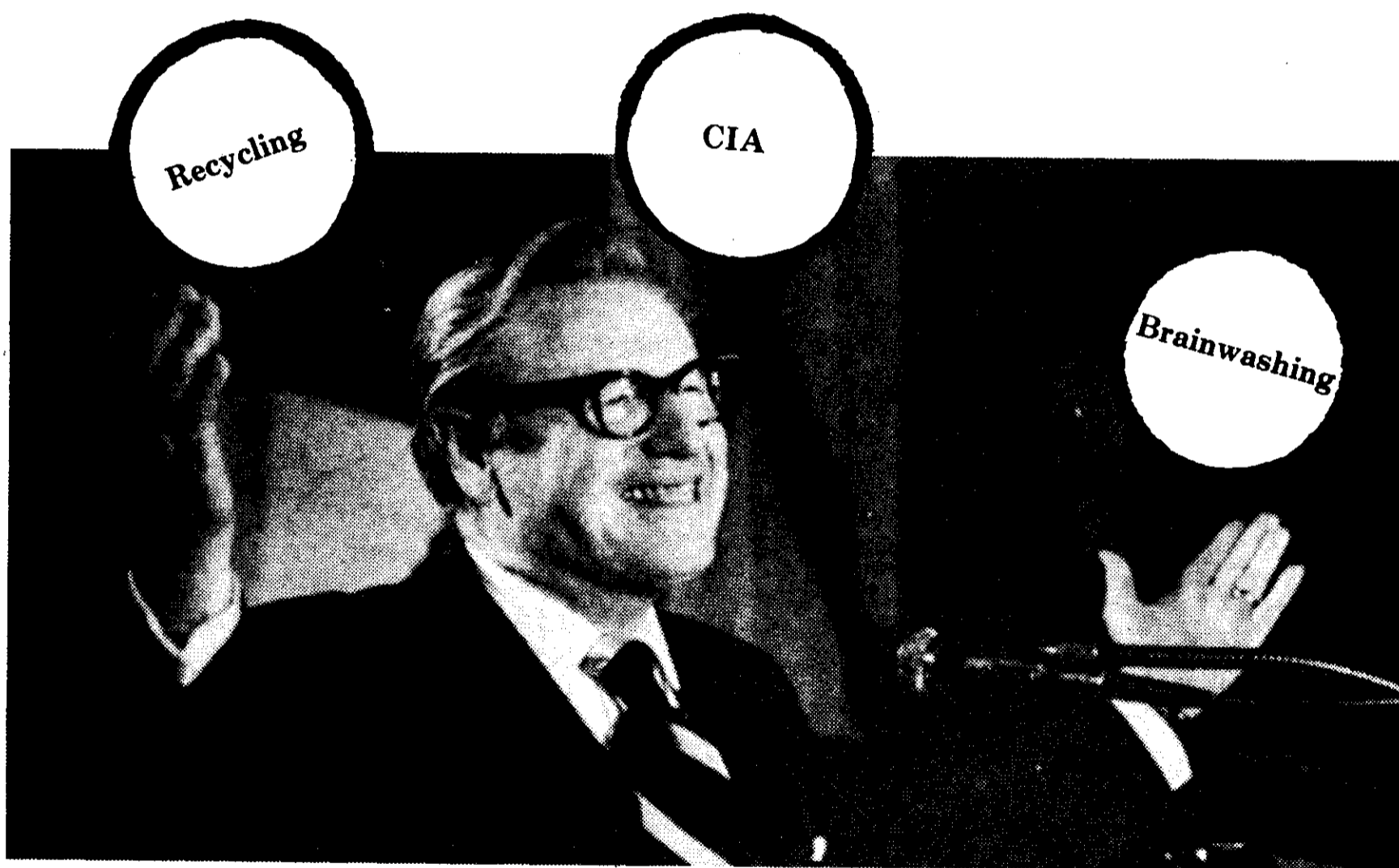
On the other hand: the Labor Committees. The organization of the worldwide working class into a self-conscious unity. A new species of humanity on the march, developing powers and capacities on a mass scale heretofore only glimpsed by the best representatives of the human race.

We are confident we can succeed. Over the past few months we have qualitatively advanced our own in-

tellectual and military capabilities, to the point where we have been able to halt and counterattack against the most advanced capabilities possessed by Rockefeller and the CIA.

The Rockefeller-McNamara Emerging World Order will be stopped. WE will create the New World Order, by creating the New Humanity which will establish it.

HOW MUCH IS IT WORTH TO YOU TO STOP ROCKEFELLER'S PLAN TO DESTROY YOU AND THE HUMAN RACE?



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New York, N.Y. 10001

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the Case of Ludwig Feuerbach part II by L. Marcus

3.

THE CONTRADICTION IN FEUERBACH'S DISCOVERY

The most important conspicuous and direct evidence which **leads toward** identification of his general blunder in epistemology is Feuerbach's failure, **or refusal**, to destroy the self-alienation of the religious man's **Logos** as it is reflected in the form of the Christian Trinity. On this account, having now identified the lurid and indisputable outcome of such merely apparent **tendencies** within earlier chapters, we are equipped to identify such tendencies as the actual blunders they suggested themselves to be. Since it is in those same earlier chapters that Feuerbach sets forth his most important contributions, a retrospective attack on the included blunders provides us the clearest, most direct means for showing the connection between what we have identified as his neurotogenic obsessions and the devastating flaws these introduce to his epistemology.

In the first chapter, "Introduction," he identifies the **essence of religion** as the apotheosis of an essentially human quality which man experiences within himself. This quality he describes as a **feeling** which contem-

plates only itself (and no other objects) through the mediation of self-consciousness. In religious belief, he outlines, man creates an external object to correspond as the idea of a universal for that inwardly experienced, but universal-to-man human self-conscious knowledge.[86]

In that second chapter, "God As A Being Of The Understanding," he contradicts himself, ignoring his emphasis on the self-conscious, self-subsisting human feeling in the preceding chapter, but otherwise correctly insists on the following principle:

Disunion exists only between beings who are at variance, but who ought to be one, who can be one, and who consequently in nature, are one. (87)

and, shortly thereafter, proceeds to the topic of God:

This nature is nothing but the intelligence — the reason or the understanding. God as the antithesis of man, as a being not human, i.e., not personally human, is the objective nature of the understanding.(88)

That is, the objectification as universal, as God, of human reason itself.

Since he has previously equated God with the "oceanic" feeling, and now with universal reason, it would seem to follow, God being both, that the

“oceanic” feeling and universal reason are the same existence. However, he begins to argue that exactly the contrary is the case:

The pure, perfected divine nature is the self-consciousness of the understanding, the consciousness which understanding has of its own perfection;(89)

so far, excellent, but he continues after the semi-colon:

it has no desires, no passions, no wants, and, for that reason, no deficiencies and weaknesses, as the heart does. (emphasis added) (90)

to which he immediately adds the following, most clinically revealing qualification:

Men in whom the intellect predominates, who, with one-sided but all the more characteristic definiteness, embody and personify for us the nature of the understanding, are free from the anguish of the heart, from the passions, the excesses of the man who has strong emotions. (emphasis added) (91)

To which he adds this point of emphasis:

they are not passionately interested in any finite, i.e., particular object; they do not give themselves in pledge; (92)

and, then, three most astonishing — but not clinically incomprehensible — words in apposition to this:

they are free.(93)

Then, a short space beyond:

The understanding is that part of our nature which is neutral, impassible, not to be bribed, not subject to illusions — the pure, passionless light of the intelligence. (94)

After developing the argument in this vein for a while, he sums up the burden of the chapter’s topic:

God as God — as a purely unthinkable being, an object of the intellect — is thus nothing else than the reason in its utmost intensification become objective to itself.(95)

to which he shortly thereafter adds the stipulation:

The understanding is thus the original, primitive being. (96)

But, what of the feeling cited as the primitive essence of religious belief in the preceding chapter?

The contradiction in this development is then exposed more clearly in the third chapter, “God As A Moral Being, Or Law”:

God as God — the infinite, universal, non-anthropomorphic being of the understanding, has no more significance for religion than a fundamental general principle has for a special science; it is merely the ultimate point of support — as it were, the mathematical point of religion.(97)

and therewith begins to add several most self-illumi-

nating expressions of his neurotic obsession:

The first of these might appear to be innocent enough, if we were not already familiar with the falsification of the “Trinity” and “Logos” in later chapters:

The consciousness of human limitation or nothingness which is united with the idea of this being, is by no means a religious consciousness; on the contrary, it characterizes sceptics, materialists, and patheists.” (emphasis added) (98)

The term, “nothingness,” is tell-tale here. Feuerbach’s inability to comprehend Spinoza’s notion of the infinite, and his clumsy effort to see Hegel’s Logos as essentially a form of Schelling’s infinite, are reflections of his own failure to conceive of infinite continuity as negentropy, as the primitive substance of negentropy, determining the necessary existence of predicated particular objects. Hence, he refuses to comprehend the significance of Hegel’s gibe at Schelling’s “night in which all cows are black,” at the **nothingness of Schelling’s infinite**. [99] The genius of Hegel is that his infinite reason is not bare, not undifferentiated linear extension, but a self-subsisting negentropic space-time, which, therefore, is cognitively comprehensible.

Feuerbach continues:

The belief in God — at least in the God of religion — is only lost where, as in scepticism, materialism, and pantheism, the belief in man is lost, at least in man as he is presupposed in religion . . . The vital elements of religion are those which make man an object to man. To deny man is to deny religion. (100)

To avoid unnecessary difficulties for the reader, we should concede that in the foregoing Feuerbach is **subsuming** a valid humanist argument, but in both a muddy fashion and in connection with a principal assertion we shall expose as false. It is true that Christian religion, especially those newer forms of Christian doctrine which appeared during and after the Renaissance, do emphasize a relatively **human** quality man, in opposition to the prevailing **relative** bestialization of individual man in everyday secular practice. In that restricted sense, religion does fundamentally distinguish man for man from the beasts, and Feuerbach’s argument is to that extent approximately well-founded. However, the contextual argument within which he situates this point is a different matter.

He develops his point there:

It certainly is the interest of religion that its object should be distinct from man; but it is also, nay, yet more, its interest that this object should have human attributes. That he should be a distinct being concerns his existence only; but that he should be human concerns his essence.(101)

In itself, this passage is merely ambiguous; it might be correct or wrong, according to context. The intended error is made clear:

A God, therefore, who expresses only the nature of the understanding does not satisfy religion, is not the God of religion.(102)

The problem which Feuerbach creates in this connection is that **he himself has asserted the separation of reason from the fundamental emotion**, thus inventing for his own purposes a feelingless God of pure understanding, **who is certainly not the passionate Jehovah**, perpetually terrifying the prophets with his rages. It is also he himself who asserted that the universal form of the understanding must appear to man as a kind of nothingness on account of its alleged lack of self-differentiation. On this point, he ignores Hegel, uses this ignoring as a premise, and on that premise constructs a "proof" which he then submits as refutation of Hegel's **Logos**! [103] If, in contrast to Feuerbach's assertions, we acknowledge the unity of self-conscious reason and the fundamental emotion, and the negentropic self-differentiation of a rational continuum, then his God of the understanding corresponds to a being whose nature is in exact agreement with the essence of self-conscious man, and whose form of negentropically self-differentiated universal understanding is cognizable as a universality. Such a God may indeed not be the God of religion, but for quite different reasons than Feuerbach submits here.

In general, Feuerbach's argument, even in the opening chapters, is gradually thus accruing a monstrous burden of contradictory rubbish, which he must — speaking formally — either clear away in subsequent development or fall victim to in the form of gross, lurid errors respecting the main issues of his inquiry. If he were saying such things as we cite merely as a matter of detailing clinical evidence of religious beliefs, then he would be obliged to continue doing so in pursuit of an accurate account of such beliefs. In that case, presuming he later analyzed those errors of such belief, it would be silly to attack the author himself for the blunders represented to that purpose. In fact, we already know from our preceding sections' criticism of his neurotogenic treatment of the "Trinity" and "Logos" that he not only does not disassociate himself from those contradictions, but rather exploits them as virtual premises in defending his obsession with the image of the Virgin Mary. Moreover, the contradictions to be examined now are directly connected to the systematic errors of his general epistemology, including those blunders Marx identifies in the "Theses On Feuerbach."

We list the following points of fallacy from the chapters reviewed so far:

- (1) The categorical separation of the "heart" and "head," which otherwise pervades his principal writings of that entire period.
- (2) The cognate (or, "hereditary") fallacy, that a man of reason is so distinguished by "disinterest" in earthly matters, by a lack of passion of goals. Although this is at sharpest odds with the thrust of his denunciation of "kosher" scholarship, he is otherwise systematically committed to this fallacy in respect to the internal elaboration of epistemology.
- (3) The absence of a notion of positive evolution (self-subsisting positive) in respect to reason.
- (4) In general, a wholly contradictory view of his representation of "feeling" (first chapter) on the one hand and "reason" as the **essence** of God on the other.

The Clinical View

There is no **psychoanalytical** mystery in such errors. He is primarily a bourgeois neurotic of relatively extraordinary **self-conscious intelligence**, so extraordinary in the form, substance, and importance of his contributions that he must be generally regarded as one of history's outstanding geniuses. Since he is a bourgeois neurotic as well as a genius, his "agony of self-consciousness" is also correspondingly more acute than ordinary. [104] His own statements cited above must be taken as clinically autobiographical in just that sense. He himself implicitly insists that we interpret his work in just this way: "I am nothing but a **natural philosopher in the domain of the mind**" [105] — which is to say that like Hegel's **Phenomenology**, his book must be regarded as the outcome of a critical exploration of his own mind, a study of his own mental processes through a universalizing mode of investigation of the mental behavior of variously the great thinkers and ordinary people of past and present of the society in which his own mental processes have been developed and are located.

When he writes of **reason**, he is describing his self-conscious self **as he regards this self** empirically, both (and chiefly) within his own mental experience, and as he uses that reflective insight to gain insight into the inner mental life of others. Yet, as he argues repeatedly in various locations, to define something is to distinguish it from something that it is not. What stands, then, in opposition to his self-conscious self **within his own experience of his own inner mental life**? What else

but his infantile Ego? He says just that as he writes: "I [reason] has no desires, no passions, no wants, and for that reason, no deficiencies and weaknesses, as the heart has." (emphasis added) [106] For him, the **reason** is the "head," the **self-conscious self**, counterposed to but enslaved to a common person with the "heart," the infantile Ego. [107] He counterposes the **impotent nobility** of his own reason to the infantile passions of his "mother-image"-dominated Ego.

This is exactly the picture of his own mental life which he demands we recognize as he counterposes the God of reason to a God of religion. By locating the latter in respect to the realm of the "heart" (infantile feeling), he rejects the potency of the God of reason (Jehovah) for the "trinity" of the superstitious witches, in which company all the "unfeeling qualities" of the God of reason are approximated to Feuerbach's own idealized perception of a cruelly cold, unfemininely "rational," earthly father. [108]

How does he reconcile this with the religious feeling he identified in his first chapter? The "oceanic" feeling is as infantile and universal as the universal form of reason excludes (as humanly incomprehensible) from religion on just these grounds of quality:

... feeling is the essential organ of religion, the nature of God is nothing else than an expression of the nature of feeling. (emphasis added) (109)

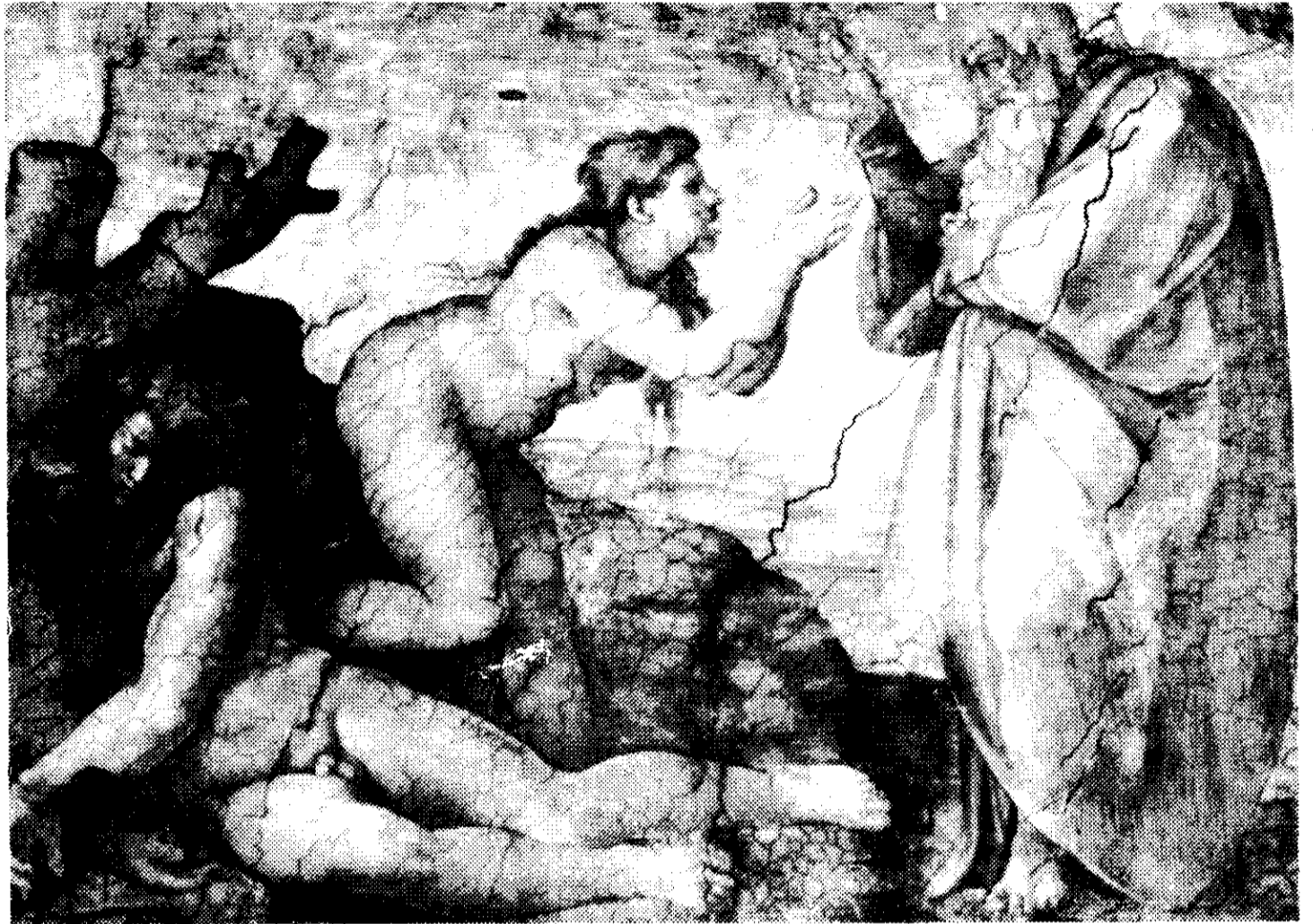
"Nothing else"? But, he himself wrote not many pages later: "The understanding is thus the original primitive being," a being free of the "heart's" defect of feeling!!!! But, in the opening chapter he was as wholly unambiguous on this point as "nothing else" implies:

What, then, makes this feeling religious? A given object? Not at all; for this object is itself a religious one only when it is not an object of the cold understanding or memory, but of feeling. (110)

God is pure, unlimited, free Feeling. (111)

He also situated the cognition of this feeling:

Religion being identical with the distinctive characteristic of man, is then identical with self-consciousness — with the consciousness which man has of his nature. But, religion, expressed generally, is consciousness of



Michelangelo's **Creation of Eve**

the infinite; thus it is and can be **nothing else** than the consciousness which man has of his own — not finite and limited, but infinite nature. (112)

Again, "nothing else"! This time — and we have cited from near the outset of the opening chapter — self-consciousness, the identity and form of universal **reason**, is the quality to which the highest, most primitive truth is attributed. Indeed, all through the opening chapter, or at least the bulk of it, he constantly argues to the effect that the universal feeling and universal reason are the common quality of self-consciousness. Yet, again, that same set of qualities which, in a later chapter, specifies self-conscious reason to be incomprehensible to man, is here repeatedly equated with the unique human power for self-conscious perception of just such qualities!*

Despite the ambiguities, Feuerbach has empirical knowledge of the agreement between self-conscious reason and this special, infinite or "oceanic" feeling, and he properly reports that this feeling is knowable only to self-consciousness. Hence, one might think he ought to be most embarrassed to see himself later asserting that the essence of reason is alien to passion,

* The reader must not be put off by the term, "infinite," in such connections. We shall shortly deal at length with this, and thus wholly demystify that term, which — as we shall demonstrate — has an exact and indispensable scientific meaning, with no connection to the usual infantile usage of the same word in either the pulpit or undergraduate calculus classrooms. We put that clarification to the following section, so that we might not — because of the length and concentrated attention and explication required — lose connection with the immediate point under development.

after he had already reported self-consciousness to be associated with the strongest of passions, or to regard passion as a weakness with respect to reason, when he earlier associated the highest form of self-consciousness with the most intense and virtuous quality of passion!

Parallels to "Neurotic Resistance"

Such a problem of hysterical self-contradiction is not strange to clinical experience of neurotic resistance. Indeed, Feuerbach's later obsessive falsification of his own opening statements is exemplary of the exact substance which represents **outright lying** by the patient. "But, a while ago, you said," the analyst might challenge the subject, to which the subject would reply with a categorical denial. If a tape of the remark were played back then, the patient (unless he or she "came out of it" with such prompting) would in virtually every such case declare that the tape lied, justifying that by the observation that he or she was not responsible to explain how the analyst had rigged his tape machine to effect such falsifications. All the while, the patient's self-conscious self would sit impotently within the head, watching the hysterical Ego putting forth such lies, knowing that the mouth was lying. Later, when self-consciousness was enabled to use the individual's mouth, the patient would almost invariably report such passive knowledge of the Ego's lying: "It was all lies, but I couldn't break through to stop myself from lying."

When the infantile Ego's affiliation to control by the mother-image is most severely challenged, the subject almost invariably suffers an unusual degree of disassociation, reflected by intense outwardly personality changes and more or less direct control by the "mother-image" in place of the usual "power behind the Ego" arrangement. Usually, the facial and bodily expressions, the tone of voice, etc., are either parodies of the patient's mother's attitudes, grimaces, etc., or the patient's own childhood postures, etc., under circumstances in which he or she was being subjected to an unusually intense sort of will-bending effort by the mother or mother-surrogate. The arguments, words, phrases, coming from the patient's mouth are frequently "playbacks" from the subject's experience of the mother's such idiosyncrasies. In subjects under the most intense internal pressures, or more commonly in those with pronounced schizophrenic tendencies, the direct take-over by the mother's personality, or strictly speaking, the mother-image's personality, is total and manifest in the ugliest sort of way.

In such circumstances, the question of "Which of the three of you is speaking?" assumes its eeriest implications: **self-conscious self**, **mother-image-dominated infantile Ego**, or **mother-image herself**. Indeed, it is just such ugly experiences which provide the analyst with his next-to-strongest empirical certainty of the "structure" and dynamics of the bourgeois mental life. (The strongest evidence occurs in depth analysis of the sort associated with digging out a potential psychosis.) In such cases, the analyst concentrates on discriminating between his speaking variously to each of these three; no one who has participated in several such sessions would retain any doubts respecting the organization of bourgeois mental life.

The strongest resistance by neurotics is usually associated (indeed, in the overwhelming number of instances) with the threatened onset of the fundamental emotion. At least, this is obviously the case for application of the writer's methods, which are directed toward early depth analysis. In other cases, the same is necessarily the case, although the weaker expression of the threat may seem to suggest other considerations as primary. At critical junctures in analysis, this involves the most direct opposition of self-conscious self to infantile Ego. (A critical juncture in analysis is a point at which the associative location of a line of recollection leading toward the "unlocking" recollections has been isolated. Since, at that stage of analysis, shame of disclosure itself has ceased to be a more than moderately significant consideration, the fear which blocks recollection is fear of a quality of feeling which the recollection, in the subject's prescience, will bring forth. Indeed, the block becomes a real block after the analyst and subject have agreed on the essential character of the events, etc., which are "hidden" behind the blocking of recollection, so that the subject already knows that any "shameful" aspects of the recollection are already out in the open. The essential block is a fear of a feeling.) The threat of upsurge of recollection of an early-childhood located sense of "oceanic" "love-death" is a threat to the infantile Ego. Hence, since the Ego is defending itself against that feeling by attempting to hold obsessively to some distracting particular idea or negative recollection, it merely appears that the particular ideas are the substance of the blocking; in fact, they are merely devices collateral to the blocking-activity. The essential issue of resistance at such critical junctures (especially) is the attempt of the Ego to retain possession of the "I" of identity, to retain control of the person, against a threatened take-over by the self-conscious self.

The threat might not seem important to observers, since the Ego ordinarily experiences — in exceptional

persons of the sort our experience is chiefly occupied with — a rather frequent takeover of the self by self-consciousness. What is at issue is the ability of the Ego to reassume control from the self-consciousness at the point that any of its special prerogatives are involved: especially various forms of sexual activities, and other ordinary “ego” matters.

Often enough, notably in the case of the Macho’s sexual behavior, for one extreme example, self-consciousness is condemned either to helplessly watch a degrading spectacle it despises, or to be put to sleep and later reawaken to realize what sort of hideous charade has occurred during its slumbers.[113] As the extreme case of habitual sexual self-degradation illustrates most clearly, the upsurge of “mother-love” feeling from the witch ordinarily makes the Ego more powerful than the self-conscious “I,” so that to counteract this dismal habit, the self-conscious self must acquire deliberate control of its characteristic emotions to an extent sufficient to more than override the infantile sexual impulses turned on by the mother-image. The sought alteration of mental life thus requires that the “trick” portending the onset of the witch’s sexual games be recognized (“cathexed”) as a sudden burst of a significant upsurge of the fundamental emotion (not necessarily the “oceanic” quality of that emotion) to counteract the witch at the outset. Once the individual has broken through on the “sexual” tricks of the witch, he or she has acquired the rudimentary form of a general means by which to ultimately eliminate the use of the infantile Ego entirely.

Although all three existences, self-consciousness, Ego, and witch, generally share the mental powers and knowledge of the individual they jointly “possess,” neither the Ego nor its immediate master, the witch, are capable of mustering as powerful an emotion or the creative form of intelligence accessible (or, potentially accessible) to the self-conscious self. Once an educated (accultured) self-conscious intelligence has gained wilful access to its fundamental emotion, it has the power to **begin** “regrowing” the entire mental processes to the effect of virtually eliminating the Ego and totally eliminating the witch. That is the real issue confronting the resisting Ego and witch at critical junctures of analysis.

Any person who has experienced analytical work must have been made aware of the increasing cleverness of the witch as the analysis proceeds. The witch gains some experience of the analyst’s methods and personal capabilities in dealing with her tricks, and learns from such experience to the effect of inventing a few new tricks of her own. Hence, certain kinds of resistance become stronger as the analysis proceeds; if the analyst becomes

better equipped, and has an ally of increased strength in the growing self-consciousness of the subject, the witch, too, is now no raw recruit in this battlefield. Specifically, by the point of analysis at which a critical juncture is reached, the witch is acutely sensible of the nature of the threat to her existence. Once the subject effects a fundamental breakthrough, the alliance of analyst and self-consciousness has gained, the witch knows, the essential conditions for winning the war — if not, therefore, all the ensuing particular battles. The critical juncture, as we have indicated, is defined as the sessions in which subject and analyst have isolated the recollection whose exposure will begin to unlock the basic tangle of the neurosis. Inevitably, since this recollection involves, directly or indirectly, some expression of the fundamental emotion, the witch digs in to fight with every weapon she can muster, including direct, naked takeover of the persona from the Ego.

Feuerbach’s Witch Acts

That is, as we have indicated, approximately the case with the astonishing contradictions in Feuerbach’s book. So long as Feuerbach has not applied his self-consciousness directly to critical-juncture materials through which he would gain total control over himself, away from the infantile Ego (and its witch), his self-consciousness is permitted to express itself without much interference from the witch. What, then, in this psychological setting of the matter, if he successfully locates the human qualities of the individual corresponding to the liturgical Trinity? This would require, as we have stated, a recognition — as Feuerbach himself almost stated in the opening chapter — that Hegel’s Logos need only be modified to acknowledge that it is **both reason and feeling** (fundamental “cathexis”), and that it acts creatively to change the lawful order of the objective world as the mediation of its development as a self-subsisting positive. At this point, the self-conscious “I” would have to be regarded as self-sufficient, and the Ego and its witch-companion recognized as the evil overcome in the “imitation of Christ” in the passion and resurrection. As this danger to the witch develops, the witch intrudes, at first tentatively, and then more forcefully, then in the form of an obsessive takeover which compels the victim, Feuerbach, to boldly write lies, to deny what his self-conscious self argued, without conceding that any such statements had been made.

It is scarcely accidental that Feuerbach should situate such outrageous lying on the premise of his subjugation to the witch herself, invoking exactly the neurotogenic authority of “mother-love” and the image of the earthly

early-nineteenth-century German petit-bourgeois family relations as what he never pretends to be more than an "intuitive" assertion against both Hegel and self-conscious reason itself.

To summarize this: Self-consciousness in the typical bourgeois individual is characterized by practical impotence, respecting the immediate practicalities of the individual's life. In all matters affecting the individual person qua bourgeois individual, qua heteronomic individual, of the otherwise self-consciously reasoning individual, the individual is controlled by the Edo-state identity, the infantile, mother-image-dominated self. Relative to the infantile antics of the Ego, the usual bourgeois individual, however otherwise rational, is impotent; his self-consciousness, if not blocked out entirely during such activities, can only watch helplessly with shame at the "deficiencies, the weaknesses, the heart has."

Thus, the "purity" from passion which Feuerbach assigns to self-conscious reason. His self-conscious is emotionally impotent; it can only reason respecting matters which do not involve the prerogatives of his Ego, the practical "goals," the subjects of infantile passions, of his Ego, his "heart." Although he recognizes cathexis for those judgments of the reason which the Ego elects to employ, he sees the "head" and "heart" as opposites, since his "head" (reason) is one identity, self-consciousness, and his "heart" another, his infantile, witch-dominated Ego.

In particular, with respect to those material objects which are realized as subjects of his infantile Ego's prerogatives, the objects of sexual lust, gluttony, etc., he does not know the actual world in respect to reason, but only in respect to the infantile passion of elated object-possession which is the quality of his "mother-loving" Ego. Hence, he knows material objects only in their "dirty-judaical" form, since that is the only way in which his mother-image permits him to realize such objects. Hence, although his reason demands material objects as moments in a process of realization of higher states of the self-subsisting positive, the **Logos**, self-conscious reason, his mother-image will not permit him to discover such results; whenever a material object of his personal realization confronts him, she turns off his self-consciousness's power to act in the world and transfers control to the infantile Ego. Hence, Feuerbach knows actual material objects only as his Ego can know them, in a "dirty-judaical" fashion.

Hence, having discovered the **Logos** as both feeling and reason at the outset, the moment his mother-image assumes control of his pen, he is determined on no objective so passionately, so obsessively, as to bury that

same **Logos** from sight — even to the extent of bare-faced lying respecting the kernel of his inquiry, the liturgical Trinity.

4.

KARL MARX ON FEUERBACH

We shall now consider the essential identity of our own and Karl Marx's criticisms of Feuerbach, and in that context show exactly where we go beyond Marx in the issues posed.

The special psychoanalytical approach we have employed as the standpoint for our criticism of Feuerbach's book indicates that he was unable to free himself of the neurotic "map" of the universe which is characteristic of the "mother-image"-dominated infantile Ego of capitalist cultures. Hence, in his criticism of religious belief, he commits two principle obsessive blunders, which represent sufficient evidence of the identity of his neurotic problem. Firstly, he waves aside the fundamental emotion (the **Logos**) in favor of the "more substantial" principle of "mother-love" [114]; this itself is characteristic of the "Ego-state" and the clinical correlatives of sexual impotence. [115] Secondly, he continues this same error as a central flaw in his entire epistemology, in the correlated form of an obsessive preoccupation with fixed objects, "reductionism."

Apart from these particular, devastating and vicious flaws in his entire epistemology, he escapes from this infantile outlook at certain critical points in his work. Notably in the opening chapter and partially in the second, his self-conscious psychological standpoint is opposed to the Ego-state of, notably, the sixth chapter. Here, as in sections 32-33 and 58-64 of his **Fundamental Principles**, his connection to his own self-conscious self — and to his father-image of Hegel — is predominant. Clinically, this signifies that he has been able to think and write from a self-conscious standpoint on broad issues, but has regressed to the infantile world-outlook as his studies converge on more immediate matters of life.

He himself asserts such a distinction between the qualities of understanding and Ego-situated "mother-love" in connection with his startling characterization of the aspect of God which corresponds to the apotheosized pure understanding. [116] From the standpoint of man on earth, he asserts, understanding as such is incomprehensible. Man, to Feuerbach, is kept from such quality of understanding by the defeat of his passions, etc. As we have noted in this connection, he thus describes his own self-conscious understanding as impotent (lacking in either passion or objective goal). For Feuerbach, examining his own mental life, the self-conscious understanding is lacking in the impetus (passion) to actuate its

reason as the will of a conscious **identity** with self-conscious real-world goals.

It must be interpolated here, so that the implied point is not left hanging, that in his God of pure understanding Feuerbach has essentially returned to the world-outlook of Kant's **Critique of Practical Reason** on this point. We shall shortly identify and develop the significance of that "hereditary" flaw in Feuerbach's argument.

Marx's "Theses" begin with the problem of the fixed object:

The chief defect of all hitherto existing materialism — that of Feuerbach included, is that the thing, reality, sensuousness, is conceived only in the form of the object or of contemplation, but not as human sensuous activity, practice, not subjectively. (117)

That is, that the thing is either axiomatically regarded as a self-evident object, a **thing in itself**, or that the discreteness of the **appearance** is taken as **reflecting** the existence of a thing-in-itself. (The latter, essentially the standpoint of the Kantian view of human **understanding**.) Feuerbach continues in the error of ignoring the fact that the object is to be understood as a determined feature of human activity, the concept of the discrete object a **necessary but determined** subjective concept derived from human social practice. In short, that the concept of the discrete object does not reflect the axiomatic existence of discrete things-in-themselves behind those subjective appearances.

Hence it happened that the active side, in contradistinction to materialism, was developed by idealism.

So-called "idealism" (N.B., Hegel) takes the subjective side of human existence as its principal subject of inquiry, i.e., psychology, and therewith concentrates on examining the ordering of those mental processes through which ideas are both determined and determined to the end of providing a coherent overview of the world as it is psychologically experienced. "Idealism" thus deals with the lawful processes by which the mind **creates** object-images, etc. "Idealism" thus treats the **active** side of life in respect to its concentration on defining concepts, by study of the way in which concepts are **created** by the mind. To "idealism," the content of an idea is the specific process which **necessarily** creates that idea. Hence, "idealism" enabled man to break through that ingenuous, axiomatic belief in the given discrete object which is the hallmark and essential impotence of materialism.

—but only abstractly, since, of course, idealism does not know real, sensuous activity as such.

The defect of "idealism" is this. Although scientific psychology — in the sense of that science exemplified



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by Hegel's **Phenomenology** — represents reality as reality is reflected entirely within the mental processes, it has the flaw that it does not go outside mental processes to locate the appropriateness of mental laws to the existence of the thinker. Psychology per se fails to examine the quality of mind from the standpoint of the practical determination of the existence of the thinkers through the consequences of wilful action regulated by a certain quality of psychological life as a whole.

Feuerbach wants sensuous objects, really differentiated from thought objects,

The positive achievement of Feuerbach is to locate the significance of psychology-in-general in the measure of its appropriateness to a material practice through which the existence of the thinker is determined.

but he does not conceive human activity itself as objective activity.

In Feuerbach, it is the objects of the "outside world" which are uniquely real, except as he admits (and indeed insists) that corporeal man himself is real in this way. However, he does not — as Marx properly emphasizes here — acknowledge that man's wilful action upon those objects is **the essence of objectivity**. From our standpoint, Feuerbach fails to recognize that objectivity is located, not in the concept of the objects, but in the conceptualization of human (wilful) activity as the substance of objectivity, in respect to which the concept of the object itself is merely a **predicate** of that essential objective **subject-matter**.

Hence, in the *Essence of Christianity*, he regards the theoretical attitude as the only genuinely human attitude,

E.g., Chapter Two: God as the alienated idea of the **incomprehensible-to-man** apotheosis of his own understanding.

while practice is conceived and fixed only in its dirty-judaical form of appearance.

E.g., Chapter Six, in which the Logos is rejected from Feuerbach's Christian "trinity" in favor of the dirty idolatry of Mariolatry.

Hence, he does not grasp the significance of 'revolutionary,' or 'practical-critical,' activity.

In that there is already the essence of Marx's advances over both Hegel and Feuerbach. Here is already stated the essence of Marx's notion of "expanded reproduction," as we otherwise find this same conception of "supra-historical" revolutionary practice and practical-critical activity summed up afresh in the "Freedom"/"Necessity" thesis from the last section of Volume III of **Capital**.

We can immediately adduce that same thesis as the positive principle for which Marx argues even within the bounds of the first of his "Theses On Feuerbach."

Classical materialism locates reality as something existing apart from man's will, and to that effect treats the world of objects **qua** objects as the only reality. To this classical-materialist point of view, man himself is real only as he himself is first located as an object detached from his own will, as an ordinary material body. This materialism then attempts to account for the will itself as a mere epiphenomenon of that world of objects in which the human body is located.

Into this religion intrudes with its ontological paradoxes. The essence of rationalist theology is therefore to entirely accept the classical-materialist view **of the sensuous world**, and to account for the human will as either a **deus ex machina**, or as the interplay of contending spiritual powers from outside the physical world. The essence of all theological argument in this connection is to prove the existence of God by exposing the empirical proofs of the absurdity of the claims of **completeness** for classical materialism.

Kant was the first thinker to make a general systematic attack on both classical materialism and theology from the vantage-point of classical materialism.[118] By focussing on the sensuous aspect of the will in human practice, instead of merely occupying himself with the abstract issue of the origins of a purely abstract "free will," he developed his "fundamental antinomy." Given the sort of mechanical predetermination implicit in the Euler-Lagrange notion of a total universe of lawful mechanistic relations in a present given state, he identified the predicament created for the notion of completeness in such physical science once we recognize that the human will itself becomes a

material cause for succeeding states **of the whole universe** through human **wilful practice**.

In more recent times, emphatically so since the demoralization which has overtaken intellectual life since the end of the First World War, the Kantian antinomy has been brushed aside. This has been permitted chiefly on the basis of the shared imbecility of self-styled philosophers; each being too poor in mental vigor to consider "universals," they have agreed to make no embarrassing references to the fact that this debilitation is indeed a debilitation. As it might once have been argued, "The world is flat! **Everyone here knows that!**" so modern "philosophers" deny their intellectual pauper's certifiability under the pathetic protocol, "There are, we all know, no 'universals.'" At the same time, a specious "scientologists'" sort of supplementary case has also been offered, pretending that the solution to the Kantian antinomy is obtained in the substitution of "probability" for simple cause-effect relations. Obviously, Kant's fundamental antinomy applies as rigorously and comprehensively to a "probabilistic" as to a simple causal form of the **celeste mecanique**. Respecting the cited "philosophers," one is reminded of the undergraduate students who protest that certain topics "are too complicated" to be included in the matters of final examination; as one knows, such students can be most emphatically moralistic — confronting the instructor like a mass of justly-indignant rats in such pleadings. The essence of all such posturing is the superstitious conceit that the universe is obliged — in all decency, no less! — to limit its laws to those which ignorant students — and professors — find agreeable to the puny dimensions of their intellects.

What Marx properly demands, and this also represents his fundamental, original contribution to **all** science, is his seemingly rudimentary proposition: instead of making the world of sensuous **objects** the location of reality, **let us make human sensuous, objective activity itself the unique subject of scientific inquiry**. Instead of locating the reality of human practice in its seeming appropriateness to "self-evident objects," let us demand that the notion of objects be subordinated to the reality of human practice. The continuum of human practice is for Marx the unique, universal subject of all scientific inquiry.

At first, this seems impossible to accomplish. **How shall we judge human practice?** If we adopt the existence of the entire human species as the objective goal of human practice, the apparent difficulty begins to evaporate. The significance of the object **as predicate of the subject**, human social practice in general, is now entirely defined by the momentary significance of that object as the mediation of two successive moments of human practice.

Hence, the neurotic, empiricist absurdity of the little Sraffa book, **The Production of Commodities By Commodities**, in which human practice is degraded to a mere mediation of the self-reproduction of those objects which, as commodities, are distinguished from non-self-reproductive objects only because they are objects of social consumption, i.e., objects distinguished as predicates of human social reproduction!

The last remaining difficulty in the way of making Marx's discovery the entire basis for scientific knowledge is removed once we have located the necessity of negentropic development of human practice itself, as we stated the case in "Beyond Psychoanalysis" and elsewhere.[119] Once we have done two things in this connection, everything else falls into place in a coherent whole.

Firstly, as Marx sums this up in the cited "Freedom"/"Necessity" passage, we have to abstract the general equivalent for an exponential positive value of $S'/(C+V)$ as the general requirement of human practice, the reflection, as an abstraction, of the essence of our **subject, universalizing human social-evolutionary practice**. Hence, Marx's emphasis on "revolutionary."

Secondly, we must comprehend (conceptualize) the determining effect of the material conditions of life on the productive powers of labor, as Marx also emphasizes in the cited "Freedom"/"Necessity" passage. There are no "basic human consumption wants," through which to distinguish "necessities" from "luxuries." Human wants are determined differently according to what society wants from man, according to the required productive powers of man for maintaining the rate of general productive development in accordance with the emerging new needs of human existence.

In this respect, since the "absolute" amounts "C" and "V" of the expression, $S'/(C+V)$ are rising at least as rapidly as the ratio itself must rise, we are required to make this notion immediately the central principle of, firstly, human ecology, and secondly, ecology in general. The biosphere then becomes characterized by rising values of an invariant analogous to exponential positive values of $S'/(C+V)$, a "world-line." Coherence demands that the same principle of "world-line" be extended to the inorganic universe generally, on penalty of worshipping an **elan vital**.

The historical significance of S' in ecology generally as well as in human ecology in particular, is that S' is essentially realized as necessary new qualities of the process which become thus new, determinate, necessary particularities. When we equate ecology to a general thermodynamics, focussing thus on the import of this for the "energy relations" content of ecological evolution, the implicit approach to be introduced to

theoretical hypothesizing in mathematical physics follows.

Marx's shortcoming, his only fundamental shortcoming as a **Marxian theoretician**, is his inability to get beyond his own bare conception of the new scientific principle. This shows up, as we have noted, in his most inappropriate approach to mathematics and mathematical physics, and in the failure of his efforts to develop an elaborated model of expanded reproduction from the pedagogical point of reference of models of simple reproduction. In **Capital** itself, the exact nature of this difficulty is made plain by study of the contradiction between his formal amplifications of models of particular capital, in which he never succeeds in locating expanded reproduction, and his clear conception of that same expanded reproduction in other locations. Noting the order in which the various relevant parts of **Capital** were actually drafted[120], it becomes indisputable that this contradiction in Marx's work does not correspond, essentially, to different periods of his life. He possessed a clear general conception of expanded reproduction both before and after he failed in his attempts to reach the standpoint of expanded reproduction from the starting-point of models of simple reproduction.[121]

The essential significance of the present writer's fundamental contributions of Marxian theory is that this recent addition to Marxian theory as a whole corrects the only significant systematical error in the entire work as otherwise given by Marx. Hence, thus now being enabled to put the entirety of Marxian theory together, as could not be done before this, we are situated to defend Marx's own essential discoveries with an authority and forcefulness of comprehensive elaboration not previously possible. We seem to "read into" the first of the "Theses" the notion of transfinite invariance, etc., as we have summarily identified that above in defending Marx's notion of **human practice**. Yet, at the same time we thus factually add something to the extent to which Marx elaborated his own case, we have added nothing that was not already essential to defense of Marx's argument at the time those "Theses" were first composed.

The most difficult notion which we have to communicate is the concept of a continuity necessarily creating definite individual existences. Admittedly, modern topology implies an approach toward such an overview of true processes, but still lacks the most essential concept through which to realize such a potentiality. This problem identifies thus the essential discovery of Hegel: how to conceptualize a true continuum which did not fall into the Schelling-like "night in which all cows are black." It is no true solution to the problem of conceptualizing true continuity to merely show that a

continuous principle ought to be discovered to be immanent in every individual existence; it is necessary to show that self-existence of true continuity must **necessarily create** individual existence.

We treat that conceptual problem of "true infinity" here for two reasons. Generally — in the general interest respecting various activities actually or imminently in progress, it is necessary to proceed beyond what we have previously published on this core-problem of dialectical method. More immediately, for the tasks of the present paper, the clearer the reader's notion of the form of the **Logos**-concept in Hegel, the more probable his power to comprehend two decisive features of Feuerbach's problem. On the one side, to understand the form of the **Logos**-concept is to locate all of Feuerbach's formal blunders and ignorance in this connection. Otherwise, on the psychoanalytical side, this goes directly to the principal burden of our stated objective. As we show exactly what is involved in the conceptualization of a **Logos** (a "world-line" of true universal, primitive continuity), we show more clearly the exact relationship between Feuerbach's neurosis and his rejection of this concept. We thereby also expose the neurotic basis for "reductionism" generally.

"Infinite In The Finite"

The term, "infinite in the finite," arises from the Spinozan ethic, itself interpreted as a realization of the significance of Descartes' "Perfection" theorem. Once creativity is identified as the essential feature of human existence generally, one side of the problem can be rather directly comprehended. Each creative innovation by an individual, as it is assimilated for general practice by society, becomes a permanent contribution to **all** future humanity, a stepping-stone to the future. Hence, an individual who develops an outpouring of such creative initiatives as his characteristic expression of social identity represents in his existence an infinitely-significant quality for humanity within his finite self.[122]

This creativity does not simply originate with the individual qua individual, but embodies all of the influences acting upon him, and is hence universal in its origins as well as its outcomes. Furthermore, this creativity is not limited to initiating specific discoveries, but also includes the development of cognitive powers for the realization of the discoveries initiated through others.

The modern discovery of the significance of the "division of labor" permits us to recognize that to the extent that individuals are creative either in the form of

discoveries or power to realize discoveries in social practice, every such individual becomes essential for the entire human race. Not merely the future and present humanity, but also the past. It is the continued existence of humanity, an existence which depends upon and is therefore expressed by its development, which realizes the humanity of the past.

Marx's notion of the interconnection and interdependency of man's **universal and cooperative** labor[123], and the modern concept of the individual cadre of the revolutionary-socialist organization, are expressions of this notion of the "infinite in the finite."

Through study of the necessary evolution of the **total** bill of consumption as embodying changes prerequisite to the present and future advances in the quality of productive labor, etc., and through corresponding study of necessary changes in the world-wide process-sheet and raw resources requirements to the same effect, we have both a model of the way in which the realization of surplus value and new scientific conceptions combine to determine new kinds of objects, etc. This also epitomizes the principle to be extended, first, to ecology in general, and ultimately to fundamental "physical science" generally. The notion of the necessary elaboration of individual qualities of objects of consumption as the mediation of advances in the value of the exponential tendency for $S'/(C+V)$ is the heuristic for a fundamental law of the universe, a universe in which primitive continuity mediates its self-subsisting positive development through the determination of specific qualities of individual existence.

In "Beyond Psychoanalysis," we referred to Koehler's chimpanzee experiment in such a connection. We elaborate that notion here.

Koehler "forced" chimpanzees to demonstrate their power to create conceptions by creating a problem and also supplying the elements which had to be conceptualized to solve that problem. This is more or less what man does **for himself** through the development of his productive powers.

Man is constantly creating both more objects of the existing kind and new qualities of objects through production. This greater abundance and variety of such elements represent immediately items which have but to be conceptualized for new concepts of interconnected usage to lead to advances in productive technology generally. Yet, by merely producing these objects, man is exhausting the relatively-finite resources employed in production. Thus, by solving the old problem, man is constantly creating a new task to be solved.

Hence, man situates himself somewhat as Koehler situated his chimpanzees. Man creates for himself both new problems and the elements which, conceptualized

as new Gestalts of social practice, provide the solution to those new problems.

However, the higher his rate of development — i.e., the greater the value of $S'/(C+V)$ — the more rapidly he creates new problems and the more significant the degree of development required — i.e., the greater value of $S'/(C+V)$ which must be realized through new development. It is not difficult to demonstrate, at least in broad terms, that each value for $S'/(C+V)$ corresponds both to a definite division of world-wide labor, necessary division in human social activities, generally, to a definite array of specific individual products as types, and to a specific mode of distribution of those products for human personal and productive consumption. Furthermore, the relationships among these products are also similarly determined, determined in essence by the value of $S'/(C+V)$.

There is a certain practical difficulty in the effort to construct such models from modern capitalist history (in particular). The most notable feature of this difficulty is the lack of correspondence between the actual social-productive relations and their appropriate proportions, etc. However, this is no obstacle to such rough analyses as are sufficient to demonstrate the essential point to be made.

Marx himself elaborated the proof of his labor theory of value and notion of labor power in exactly such general terms, and at the outset of his drafting of *Capital*, no less. This is found in the treatment of the Physiocrats in his *Theories of Surplus Value*. [124] This is treated at some length in *Dialectical Economics* [125], and is also being treated more fulsomely in an ongoing research-pedagogy project of physicists and others whose general objective is the establishment of a new set of fundamental principles for ecology. [126] The current Labor Committee work on the development of food and energy programs to be applied on a world-scale is in substantial part a by-product of that research team's activities.

Briefly, Marx's demonstration was identical with his own and Engels' devastating refutation of the Malthusians. [127] The Physiocrats properly argued that the only productive activity was that which effected an absolute increase in the wealth of the entire society, i.e., an **absolute profit** to society as a whole. However, they arbitrarily located such productive activity in agriculture generally, and located the essence of this quality in nature rather than in special powers of man himself. In short, they defined peasants, miners, and foresters, as virtually indistinguishable from cattle. The carry-over of semi-feudal relations into capitalist modes of agriculture (production for market) was reflected in the notion that the yield of tilled land was comparable

to that of pasture for cattle: putting-out the appropriate number of serfs on this land mediated the realization of its optimal "natural" yield. Once demonstration is made of the effect of industrial development on the increased productivity of agriculture per capita, both of the Physiocrats' essential errors are exposed as fallacies.

Furthermore, in place of the Physiocratic notion of wealth as a mass of specific products, we are obliged to locate the significance of objects consumed by agriculture (especially for manufacturers) in their effects on the increased productivity of agriculture. We must then apply this same standard to agriculture's consumption of its own product, as opposed to the alienation of that product for consumption of manufacturers. In place of "dumb" labor, the essence of production of absolute profit becomes the productive powers of labor. **The independent significance of the object-in-itself evaporates; the object becomes merely a necessary, determined predicate of human revolutionary activity** (development of the self-developing productive forces of society).

Hence, **labor-power**, the implicit expression of the **total** productive forces of society in the individual worker. The labor-power of the individual is the effect on $S'/(C+V)$ for the entire society in the **loss** or addition of that individual worker. His value is not simply the measure of his effect on total production in a general way; rather, the value of his labor-power cannot be located except by considering his productive existence with respect to definite production at a definite place in the entire division of labor of that society.

The "Infinite in the Finite"

Hence, Marx's Thesis V: "Feuerbach, not satisfied with **abstract thinking** [Hegel] appeals to **sensuous contemplation**; but he does not conceive sensuousness as **practical**, human-sensuous activity." The two terms of "**sensuous contemplation**" must be first examined somewhat separately to locate the force of their being placed together in this way. **Sensuous contemplation** is being distinguished from **sensuous practice**.

If Feuerbach had properly corrected Hegel, he would have carried forward the entire form of Hegel's conception of **abstract labor** into its sensuous equivalent, and thus made **sensuous labor**, as a **self-subsisting positive**, the substance of reality. The term, "contemplation," signifies the setting the human sensuous will to act in opposition to the objects of its activity, rather than unifying the will and objects in their primitive actuality as human self-subsisting practice. Hence, to set the objects as existing for man as independent of his will is to degrade man's relationship to those objects to a con-



From Goya's *Disasters of War*

templative one, the viewpoint of a detached "observer of nature" "vulgarly squatting outside the universe."

The essential flaw in Hegel is not in the **form** of conception of the **Logos**, but, as Hegel himself emphasizes repeatedly, his refusal to permit the creative will of the Logos to alter "fixed laws of inorganic nature," his insistence that inorganic nature could not presently have a "history." Hegel's retreat into the "negation of the negation" was the result of his refusal, therefore, to locate advances in thought in the material prerequisites of the existence of the thinker.[128] Thus, he precluded the possibility that man could actually advance his own cognitive powers through wilful advances in the negentropy of nature, precluded the Marxian notion of the successive moments of advancement of cognition as mediated through wilful advances in the momentary organization of the material-world-for-man. To correct Hegel in this respect, it is merely necessary to bring him down to earth in this way, and to locate the development of the Logos not in the metaphysical communication of two spirits, but in the mediation of its successive states through wilful advances in the material preconditions of thinking existence.

It is also necessary to add something else, the notion of a **sensuous Logos, at once passion and understanding.**

Marx On Psychology

Feuerbach's genius, which is manifest so long as his internalized "mother-image" reacts with tolerant boredom to his making self-conscious discoveries, is to

replicate the standpoint of Hegel's **Phenomenology**, i.e., to take his starting-point in the self-conscious knowledge of his own mental processes. In this respect Feuerbach has the following principal accomplishments.

(1) His discovery of "cathexis," that the universal human quality of man is both a universal quality of feeling and a universal quality of understanding. Also, that all particular human knowledge exists only in connection with associated feeling.

However, Feuerbach refuses to regard man's unification of his universal feeling with his universal quality of understanding as comprehensible to sensuous man. His argument for such incomprehensibility is, as we have emphasized, that he defends the infantile, "dirty-judaical" passion for the banalized object as essentially human rather than neurotogenic.

(2) His discovery of the social determination of the primitive existence of each individual's consciousness. (N.B., Theses 32-33 of the **Principles**.)

(3) His location of the determination of the existence of the thinking man, the will to act, in the material prerequisites of **individual** existence. Hence, the appropriate act in the act which produces the material prerequisites of the will to act. **To that extent**, Feuerbach properly junked the "negation of the negation" for a **self-subsisting positive principle**.

(4) Emphasizing what was developed only in a different form in Hegel's work, that individual man's need to existence made him dependent upon acting in concert with (ultimately) all other men.

(5) Recognizing the clinical fact, although confusing two qualities of emotion in this process, that the emotion of "love" was the unique, fundamental quality of human mental life and behavior, and in that respect the **essence** of man.

He blundered in attempting to equate the "oceanic" fundamental emotion with "mother-love," and hence attributing to the fundamental emotion the same banal quality existent in "mother-love." He

made the miserable sentimentality of the "Macho" and "Pappagallo" virtually the essence of the universe.

So, in equating the fundamental emotion to "mother-love," Feuerbach retreated from his accomplishments to the heteronomic standpoint of the infantile Ego and its witch-master.

Marx writes: "Feuerbach resolves the religious essence into the **human** essence." Feuerbach's achievement, notably in the first chapter of the **Essence**. "But," Marx continues, "the human essence is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In its reality it is the ensemble of social relations." What is the **human essence** for Marx but the quality which corresponds to its predicated expression as labor-power; it has the necessary form and content of **human revolutionary practice**, the form of Marx's **sensuous Logos**, the same **Logos** we have defined above.

Feuerbach, who does not enter upon a criticism of this real essence, is consequently compelled:

1. To abstract from the historical process

"historical process" = substance of revolutionary practice.

and to fix the religious sentiment as something by itself and to presuppose an abstract — isolated — human individual.

"Heteronomic" man; **sexually impotent man**, for whom his "feeling" is locked within himself, a feeling which can express itself **only impotently**, as mere objects, in respect to other men. It does not mediate itself actually to the feeling-state of the other person **through** "movement" of the object. It does not see objects themselves as merely predicates of a continuum of human revolutionary practice, but situates each individual in a relationship in mere contemplation of the movement of objects between them. Feuerbach's man is like a chess-player, for whom the essence of chess-play is to conceal his innermost feeling and thoughts from his opponent. (Only in **teaching** chess is there anything essentially human in chess-play; in chess **competition**, the emotion expressed is infantile hatred.) To share one's innermost feeling and thought through a continuity of shared revolutionary practice is the essence of the human feeling which Feuerbach rejects (especially in his defense of "mother-love").

2. The human essence, therefore can with him be comprehended only as 'genus,' as an internal, dumb generality which merely naturally united the many individuals.

"Dumb" here is synonymous with "linear." This is emphasized in Feuerbach's own writings most clearly in his criticisms of Hegel's **Logos**-concept.[129] Feuerbach refuses to see in Hegel's Logos anything significantly more challenged than in the notion of infinity in Schelling. He makes the same blunder with respect to Spinoza. The idea of a **negentropic** primitive universal principle of continuity is beyond Feuerbach. Accordingly, on this point he himself goes back to Schelling to begin his movement toward self-subsisting sensuous existence.

Marx's Theses VII and VIII are his elaborations of further Theses along the lines we have already treated those point. In Thesis IX he goes further, to argue the devastating epistemological point, that the viewpoint which Feuerbach exemplifies in rejecting a dialectical sensuous **Logos** inevitably reflects the heteronomic notion of the individual. "The highest point attained by **contemplative** materialism, that is, materialism which does not understand sensuousness as practical activity, is the contemplation of single individuals in 'civil society.' "

"Civil society" for Marx signifies bourgeois society in particular, the society whose ideology characterizes itself in terms of "social contracts" among autonomous individuals: "nationalism," "local control," "anarcho-syndicalism," and chauvinism in all its various forms of anti-human "intolerance" toward those of different languages, ethnic origins, neighborhoods, families, etc. "The standpoint of the old materialism is 'civil' society; the standpoint of the new is **human** society, or socialized humanity." **Human** here is defined for the individual by location of the sense of personal identity in appropriately modern Spinozan way: the individual who locates his or her identity in self-consciousness of the self-reflexive importance to oneself of contributing to the advancement of the self-development of the entire human species: "socialized humanity."

Marx is plainly not sensible of the significance of the distinction between self-conscious self and infantile Ego as this bears upon "mother-love." However, despite that lack of distinctions, the "Theses" reflect a viewpoint which is pervasive in his writings, on which the following can now be said.[130]

Firstly, generally speaking, Marx is consistently attacking Feuerbach's errors from the standpoint of self-consciousness attacking the infantile Ego. The form of that distinction is readily clear from the formal features of the criticism. However, from the vantage-point of our present psychoanalytical knowledge, it is also apparent that the conceptions he counterposes to Feuerbach's — beginning with the first of the Theses,

are those notions which cannot be conceptualized (in the Hegelian sense of **begreifen**)[131] except by referring within oneself to the fundamental emotion in a definite way. These conceptions can be discovered as **notions of actual existence** and defended systematically as conceptions only when the individual has surpassed the point at which the fundamental emotion overcomes him as the "oceanic" sort of feeling. The experiencing of the emotion has become agreeable rather than merely overwhelming. Hence, on such evidence, we know that Marx's criticism of Feuerbach is the standpoint of a self-consciously creative intellect who has become habituated to locating his sense of "I" in self-consciousness.

That established, we know subsumed features of Marx's internal mental life. We know that he was necessarily aware of the conflict between the self-conscious and Ego-states. He could not have developed notions of the form and content we have identified unless he had successfully combatted the very neurotic problem which Feuerbach reflects most luridly in connection with the "trinity." Consequently, he certainly knew of at least those aspects of the psychodynamics we have outlined which can be more readily brought forward to consciousness.

The reader will undoubtedly tend to underestimate the precise "clinical" significance of the "Theses" on this account. We are lulled into confusing "learning" and "knowledge," for reasons already identified. The accomplishment of a merely consistent circumscription of an idea, thus distinguishing it from other, similarly-circumscribed ideas is usually confused for knowledge. That degree of competence which suffices for passing undergraduate examinations respecting what one has merely learned usually passes for quality of knowledge. Also, we are familiar enough with the conceit of the student, "If I had lived then, I could have readily come up with such an idea." Hence, the reader must tend to overlook the egregious effect of conceptions when they were newly presented, a mistake he would not make if he were accustomed to mastering a field by more directly conceptual methods. In such ways, on such grounds, the reader will tend to regard our "reading into Marx" such exact clinical evidence as at least considerably exaggerated.

As to that problem of the reader's, we are satisfied that we have sufficiently grounded our case. It is merely necessary to emphasize this. The reader must proceed from our identification of the notion of a negentropic primitive continuity, to compare Marx's arguments against Feuerbach's blunders with our own from that standpoint. It is only necessary then to recognize that Marx's conceptions have the same essential episte-

mological quality in this respect that ours do, and the entire psychoanalytical case respecting Marx's mind is implicitly uniquely demonstrated.

5.

THE SCIENCE OF EPISTEMOLOGY

Both the NCLC (U.S.A.) and European Labour Committees have established unified task-forces for "Psychology, Ideology, Epistemology," on the premise that these are so immediately interdependent that no one can have formal professional competence in any one without competence in the other two. We more conveniently identify the three as a whole either by "the new psychoanalysis" or by "epistemology" in that sense. Even if we had not already developed a substantial case for the proper unity of psychoanalysis and ideology as inquiries, the connection between them would be extremely plausible at the outset. The still deeper significance of the interconnection of the first two appears clearly as we demonstrate the direct interdependence of the first and third.

Consider so commonplace a superstition as the plausible but groundless assertion that intelligence, special talent, and other notable behavioral traits are genetically inherited. We are already on the track of this pathology when we consider not only the passionate stubbornness with which such a pathetic view is "axiomatically" asserted, but the anger of near-desperation with which such a silly prejudice is often attacked by educated persons who ought not feel intellectually threatened. More direct evidence is found in the case of individuals who know the overwhelming empirical evidence against "hereditarian" old wives' tales, but who nonetheless report themselves succumbing temporarily to just such "feelings" during each deeper recurrence of neurotic disorders.

A summary of the ordinary experience of individuals progressing in analytical programs makes the problem clear.

In most analytical programs, it is essential that the individual begin early to settle accounts with the parents, in one fashion or another. If possible, to establish a human, adult relationship to existent parents. In any case, to extirpate neurotic myths, etc., concerning childhood and later relationships to the parents. Usually, the initial breakthroughs in this effort cause a dramatic change in the individual's internalized perception of the parents as human beings, and often enough the beginning of mutually-beneficial relationship to the existent parents. This initial accomplishment is accompanied temporarily by significant gains in

the individual's enjoyment of conscious life, a frequent attenuation of psychosomatic afflictions, etc.

This initial period of enthusiastic progress is usually followed by a period of partial regression. Such relapses are frequently associated in the subject's mind with some disappointment respecting the parents. For example, disappointment in the father.

Earlier, the individual had perhaps "felt" that his or her father was an unapproachable wretch of some sort. Then, through analytical sessions, had realized that this was at least partially slanderous and generally unjust. The individual had variously sought to meet with the father, or, if the father were deceased, attempt to reconstruct a more accurate memory of the father with the aid of the mother or other relatives. Or, the individual had merely worked at reconstructing a more appropriate image of the father by working at digging up recollections. At the start, there was significant progress; the individual had recalled incidents of warm feeling for one or both of the parents, etc. Then, the parents had somehow "disappointed" the individual. The exciting initial moments of discovering the real parent had given way to frustration and even anger; in place of the mythical shortcomings of the parent, the individual was now confronted with the real shortcomings.

At that point the individual frequently regresses, "explaining" this renewal of the manifest neurotic behavior by the disappointment.

The parent or parents are **not** therefore the true cause of the individual's relapse. (As with all clinical problems, in this it is essential to avoid being distracted by the reported form of the problem. Always keep in view what the individual is actually accomplishing by neurotic behavior.) On the surface the individual is contending that since his or her parents failed to become such-and-such, or, since they refuse to make giant leaps in development at a given week, the individual himself cannot be expected to make much more progress, either. **Typical:** "No matter which parent I identify with. . ." Precisely in this connection, and in this way, we have exposed the neurotogenic root of the epistemological belief in a genetical determination of personality.

What is the individual's real problem in such an instance? Is it not obvious enough? Is it not absurd that a gifted young adult should exploit the limitations of the parents as an excuse for not realizing his or her own gifts? Is this not analogous to the individual who wilfully drowns in order to carry his identification with his parents ("Who could never learn to swim") to the limit?

The essential flaw in the individual's rationalization is that he is locating his identity in an internalized identification with his parents. He is locating his "I" in his infantile Ego. The individual using his parent's shortcomings to justify clinging to the neurotic pattern — and neurotics are all a stubbornly sly lot when it comes to this! — is not being neurotic **because** the parent fails to provide a better "model;" **the essence of the neurotic mechanism is reflected by the insistence of using the parent as a model.** The parent might be Karl Marx himself, and the son would still be a neurotic; the essential mechanism of neurosis is located in any attachment to any parent in this way. **"Identification" is neurosis.**

What of "transference" in psychoanalysis? Yes, the transference of the patient's capacity for loving a father to the analyst as a "surrogate father" is a useful, **often indispensable** neurotic device, a necessary **phase** of the program. The object — the proper objective — is to transfer the identification-dependency to the analyst as a means of reaching the point at which all such dependencies cease.

The neurotic individual — to employ the strictest scientific criterion for neurosis — is the individual whose actions are regulated by his estimation of what someone will think of him in consequence of a judgment or action. He selects his judgments for the immediate goal of securing favorable opinion of others for himself.

By contrast, the sane, actually-adult individual locates his self-estimation in the search for those judgments which make him useful to the future of humanity, as these decisions variously represent his actions for society and his self-development of the qualities he needs to act appropriately for society. The sane, adult individual locates his identity in his entire society, not as a body of aggregated individuals' opinion, but a society as a process of self-development of future humanity.

This is a point on which Feuerbach becomes a tricky source. His notion of "species-consciousness" is to be regarded, from the way in which he develops it, as an approximation of a sane, adult, Spinozan self-conscious identity. Yet, in other locations, he employs the same term, "species-consciousness," which he has developed in one state of mind (self-consciousness), to express "mother-love," the ideas he expresses from the opposite state of mind, the infantile Ego-state.

To the sane, adult human being, the alienated opinion of him held by persons around him is useful only as a means for accomplishing an historic objective. Apart from that, his judgment cannot be deflected by either adverse "personal opinion" or the desire for "popularity."

The individual whose self-conscious reason is "turned off" by the sight of a large audience, etc., is not only neurotic, but is necessarily acting under a large degree of control by his internalized witch. As long as the individual is neurotically subject to the immediate alienated opinion of himself by others, as an end, he has no means to escape the control of the hard core of ego-ideals associated with the internalized "mother-image." As long as the "I" is located in the infantile Ego, there is no program, psychoanalytical or other, which could liberate the individual from such control of the "I" by the witch's ego-ideals.

Such an attachment to the infantile Ego, associated with a "mother-image" developed under capitalist conditions of life (which, obviously includes the Soviet Union in **this special sense** of the term, "capitalist"), is the dynamic of bourgeois ideology. It is in those circumstances in which the individual is being successively subjected to the most aggressive attacks by the witch that he "feels" that the essential features of his personality are "genetically determined." In the cited example, above, in which one individual is stupidly asserting "inherited personality traits" and the other frantically denying this, the fact is that the first is being totally bestialized and the other is shrieking out protests against the internal threat of a similar takeover by his own witch.

This is exemplary of Marx's point with respect to the ideology of "civil society": the individual who rejects or fails to reach self-conscious-"I" identification is therefore plunged back into an infantile Ego-state, in which the heteronomic view of the self-evidently autonomous individual prevails.

This same infantile Ego-state blocks the individual, however otherwise advanced his scientific education, from conceptualizing the notion of a primitive negentropic continuity. Formally speaking, there are two aspects to this blockage. Immediately, in the Ego-state, the individual is, as we have noted, incapable of conceiving objects as anything but self-evidently discrete objects. In the Ego-state, the possession of the object is an ego-ideal-determined end in itself. The conclusion of the action directed toward the object is the action upon the object itself. The object is the end of the action, and hence **psychopathologically** self-evident. Even if this obsession did not prevent the individual from freeing himself of the pathetic belief in fixed objects, the object-like character of the Ego-identity (as, primarily, an object for the "mother-image") blocks positive notions of continuity. Firstly, because the Ego-state is depressed and overwhelmed by the only referent (the fundamental emotion) which the mind has for a true

continuum. Secondly, for related reasons, since the fundamental emotion can be deliberately applied to a task only from the vantage-point of the self-conscious "I."

This does not signify that the fundamental emotion is simply entirely locked away in neurotics. Under control of the witch, the Ego is permitted to "access" self-consciousness, whose activities always express at least weak surges of the fundamental emotion, as in the elation of "intuitively" seeing new ideas. The essential thing here is the witch's ability to withdraw the tenuous "Feeling of 'I'-ness" from self-consciousness almost at will, to react to onsets of fundamental emotion to reduce the Ego itself almost to a pin-point, and in extreme cases, virtually shut down the Ego to take over the individual directly ("disassociation" phenomena).

In the relatively more powerful processes of a **suitable type of group**, the identification of the individual with the group creates a paradox for the infantile Ego-ideal dynamics, at the same time that the limiting of the group's intra-relations to a scientific perception of joint-action goals effects a constant pressure (at least) toward a shift of the sense of social identity from the Ego to the self-conscious "I." It has the related advantage over individual analysis of undermining the "selfish" situation of the individual's concern with "my problems" by emphasizing the self-therapeutic concentration on empathy, on using one's own self-consciousness to reach and strengthen the self-conscious identification of others. The group collectively provides a strong Ego support for the individual, on one level — creating a paradox for the witch: locating Ego-gratification aiming for self-consciousness.*

* Obviously, the favorable "therapeutic" situation within the Labor Committee is not strictly comparable to the less-advantaged subject outside; the Labor Committee members work in the context of a Spinozan social formulation of identity lacking outside that organization. The individual member accepts the notion of determining social identity in terms of developing a scientific overview of the development of the productive forces on a worldwide scale. This does not presently exist outside the Labor Committee. Even within those organizations, of course, that sense of identity has been significantly internalized as a commitment of this sort with varying degrees of intensity. The man-in-the-street or the poor wretch from such USA groups as the CPUSA or SWP lacks the essential prerequisites for beginning to develop real mental health. The question of shifting the "I" from the Ego to self-consciousness, from the Ego consciousness to the so-called "preconscious" becomes conscious, demands firstly that preliminary scientific education of self-consciousness through which it is able to locate itself as a Spinozan "I" in respect to both a worldwide political working class and the positive, programmatic development of worldwide productive forces. Without the development of that sort of self-consciousness, it is impossible for the adult "I" to "cathexize itself" with the fundamental emotion.

Access To Self-Consciousness

The ordinary neurotic with some creative or semi-creative achievements can readily recognize a certain aspect of the connection between his Ego-states and his **limited** access to self-consciousness.

To employ an illustration of the most general comprehensibility, we cite the experience of that pedagogical horror the student encounters in ordinary U.S. secondary-school geometry classes. The student can perhaps recall — if he has not blocked out that painful experience entirely — that in standard classroom drill he was instructed to spell out every feature of the theorem-proof canonically. By contrast, in those alternative programs (as in certain European secondary schools) which are, literally, less mind-damaging, the student is expected only to identify the solution-concept.

The latter pedagogy limits the student's output to identification of an appropriate insight into the solution. If the U.S. ex-student reflects on the first, the ugly, typical U.S. secondary-school practice, he should be able to recall that there were two phases to "getting an 'A'" on the geometry paper. Firstly, one had to find the solution-concept. This phase of the work was the only part of the task which involved self-conscious mental effort. The second part, the drill of spelling out every detail of a "canonical Q.E.D." was relatively idiot-savant drudgery.

Borrowing computer terminology, the following is the relationship between the two parts of the job. In the hideous U.S. practice, the student's sense of identity was emphatically located in the idiot-savant drudgery aspect of the task, on which the greatest amount of time and strain was expended. However, at a brief point in the process, the student "accessed" his "pre-conscious processes" for an "insight" which became the solution-concept once that bare insight had been "seen" and then projected into a bare conscious image. The insight aspect of the mental activity was a weak association with self-consciousness; the rest was not such an exercise of the student's real (self-conscious) intelligence, but rather an essentially propitiatory ritual, of the sort better performed by a "sycophantic" idiot of a computer than a human being.

The actual and implicit potential use of digital computer systems makes the point in what should be a horrifying fashion. In respect to the creative aspects of self-conscious mentation, no digital computer built at any time in the next billion years would seriously threaten to replace man's essential role. However, in respect to the mechanical drudgery associated with the Ego-state, there is little done in that mode today which

could not be done better through sufficiently cheap, etc., digital computer control.

Epistemology

The general epistemological characterization of the two, opposed states of mind follows readily from this. The form of the characteristic ideas associated with each respective state can be summarily distinguished as follows. The characteristic emotion ("mother-love" = hate, fear, object-elation) of the infantile Ego-state is **linear**, and corresponds to the ideological representation of the primitive form of the universe as a linear system of "discrete variables" in the form of self-evident elementarities. The characteristic emotion of self-consciousness is the fundamental emotion, which is the referent for a primitive negentropy of the sort we have summarily described above.

The fundamental emotion, considered abstractly as a purely mental activity, has the abstract form of Hegel's **Logos**. An attempt to describe the universe as if it were fully contained within a psychology itself premised on the abstract form of the fundamental emotion, would be essentially a replication of Hegel's **Phenomenology**. The correction of Hegel, which results in Marxian dialectics as we have presented it above, is the actual science of reality essentially freed of ideology.

Four Types of World-Outlook

The following, admittedly schematic heuristics afford the reader a useful introductory overview of the connection between psychological states and epistemological qualities of world-outlook.

For this purpose, we distinguish four typical psychological states: (1) **psychotic**, (2) **infantile**, (3) **enlightened**, (4) **self-conscious**, for which the **infantile** and **enlightened** are most closely-related in their epistemological implications. We distinguish these from one another principally by the "location" of the immediate control of social behavior and, secondarily, by the predicated quality of this control. The following table summarizes the distinctions.

Table 2 summarizes the corresponding epistemological distinctions.

Examples of the epistemological viewpoints are given in approximate order of advancement of knowledge by **Table 3**.

In the **psychotic state**, the control of social behavior is held by the witch, who acts as if in the interest of her possession, the Ego. The "arbitrary" nature of ex-

istences and relations to her does not signify that these perceptions are **purely** fictional. They are a mixture of "pure hallucination" and distorted reactions to actual objects and events.

cause and effect rules of relationship are to be arbitrarily superseded under special circumstances — i.e., superstition.

In the **enlightened state**, the control of the social

TABLE 1: Basic Psychological Modes

State	Quality	Definition of "Self"	
		Subject	Predicates
1. Psychotic	disassociation	"witch"	Ego
2. Infantile	"Sincerity of feeling"	Ego	witch
3. Enlightened	rational-philosophical	Ego	dual: witch/ self-consciousness.
4. Self-conscious	Spinozan	self-consciousness	self-consciousness

The **infantile state** is characterized by the absence of self-consciousness, such that all the "ego-ideals" are essentially supplied by the witch, and such that the impulses of the Ego are acted upon out of naive "sincerity of feeling." In this state, there is no self-consciousness of the way in which one's mental processes determine the emotions and goals associated with the Ego. The form of perception of the outer world

practice of the person is situated in the Ego, as in the infantile state. However, self-consciousness is "turned on," as if a predicate of the Ego; the Ego thus reflects on the apparent determination of its own impulses, through a reflexive movement of **passive** self-consciousness. The terms of the problem to be solved are determined by the infantile ego — hence the discrete elementary-mechanistic world-view, but the world is

TABLE 2:

Epistemological Modes		Being	
State	Quality	Existence	Relations
1. Psychotic	Hallucinatory	arbitrary	arbitrary
2. Infantile	Superstitious	fixed obj.	mechanistic + magical
3. Enlightened	Rational	fixed obj.	mechanistic
4. Self-consc.	Evolutionary	determinate objects	negentropic process

(of sensuous practice, actually) is predominantly that of "self-evidently" discrete objects which are related in a mechanistic sense of fixed cause-and-effect connections. However, this is accompanied by a thinly-disguised belief that the permanence of such mechanical

otherwise seen as constantly controlled by law. The predominance of the Ego means the suppression of the fundamental emotion in the way we have indicated above, and hence the means for conceptualizing a positive evolutionary principle is suppressed. The creative

impulse indirectly supplied by the weak employment of the fundamental emotion is regarded as "intuition" (e.g., "pre-consciousness"), and is considered **outside** the system of rational knowledge. The highest expression of this view in philosophy is Kant.

In the model case of Feuerbach, we encounter an individual who belongs predominantly to the Enlightenment outlook, but who, immediately strongly influenced by Kant, also **reflects** an extraordinary degree of self-conscious activity. He is unable to **sustain** direct cognition of the fundamental emotion, and hence cannot employ it as a referent for actual self-subsisting process. Therefore, like Descartes and Schelling before him, he is only able to show the necessity for its existence as a universal principle, but is unable to distinguish its actual "internal" quality. He perceives the universal, primitive qualities in the bad sense, as if **linear** infinities, as was the case with Schelling. He is blinded to the emotion by encountering it.

the sense that the enlightened Ego of such rarer individuals places a premium on the use of self-consciousness. This sort of individual stands in contrast not to the ordinary enlightened case per se. In a case like Feuerbach's the ego-ideal is an internalized image of a synthetic authority-figure, in Feuerbach's case, his image of his existent father. Rather than pandering to the immediate opinion of whatever academics he encounters at that moment, he propitiates the favorable opinion of an abstract, internalized authority.

The two features of Feuerbach's internalized map of the universe which absolutely distinguish him from a self-conscious person are these. Although he locates truth in a universal totality, hence **appearing** to reject the mother-centered parochialist organization of the universe into degrees of inner and alien regions in that way, he makes "mother-love" the essence of that universe. In his preoccupation with the self-evidence of the existent object and his denial of a negentropic self-

TABLE 3:

Infantile	Enlightened		Self-Conscious	
	Equivocal		Equivocal	
Kierkegaard Stirner Bakunin	Fichte	Kant	Descartes Schelling Feuerbach	Spinoza Hegel Marx

In such cases as Feuerbach's we have the following principal directly epistemological features of psychology. The individual seems to determine his social behavior (including abstract judgments) according to a self-conscious notion of universal reality. This is only partly true in the final analysis. His "internal map" of the universe is the neurotic Ego's outlook, in which the mother-image operates as the center of that universe. What he has done in his rational behavior is to identify such rationality with the social success he reports to the internalized mother-image. She appears to reply to his reported such achievements, "That's my bright boy;" the internalized mother-image places a premium on this form of success. In the more advanced case, such as that of Feuerbach, this rationality converges upon the appearance of self-conscious identity, but only in

subsisting principle as the essence of totality, he preserves the essential ontological features of the mother-centered universe. Finally, in his self-situation of knowledge as the contemplative outlook of the mere "explorer of nature," he falls into superstitious faith in a **fixed order of nature**, rejecting the notion of a human existence outside the mother-image-centered view, hence implicitly denying that the existence of man is located in the negentropic (i.e., revolutionary) principle of human self-reproductive practice.

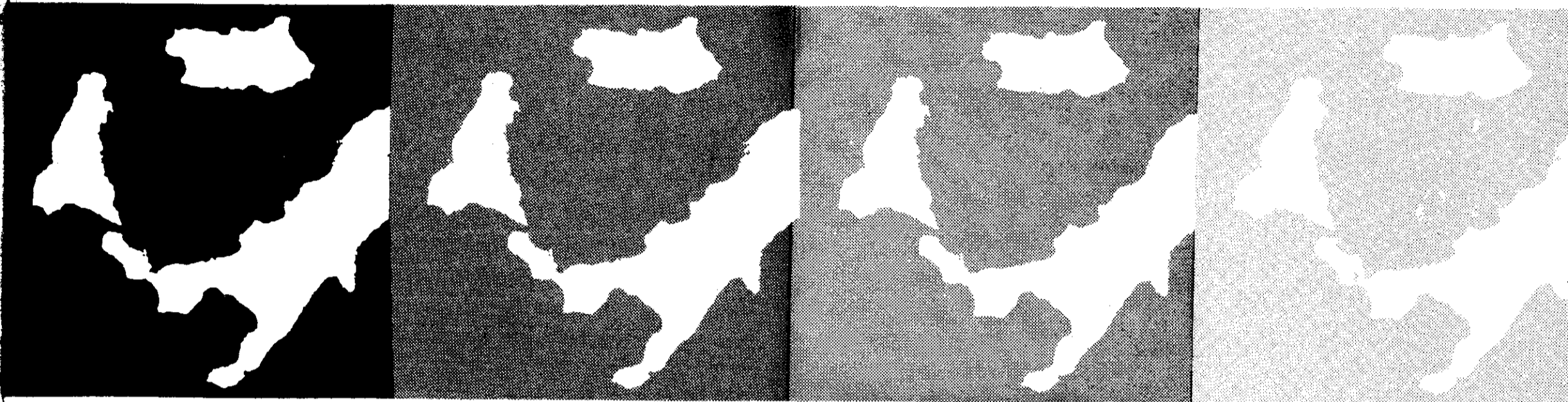
Within these limitations, his principle achievements are of the epistemological form of the initiatives of a self-consciously creative mind, especially his **linear** approximation of a self-subsisting positive and his discovery of the social determination of the primitive quality of human consciousness in each new individual.

Contrary to the "kosher" variety of Left scholars, and contrary to Engels' shallow perception in this matter, Marx did not strictly reject Feuerbach's notion of "love" and "species-consciousness." Marx rejected merely Feuerbach's "dumb" (linear) conception of these qualities. Where Feuerbach attempted to substitute "mother-love" for the "fundamental emotion," Marx "returns" to Feuerbach's raw discovery, which he comprehends in its actual form, as the negentropic

or revolutionary principle of Freedom/Necessity. Where Feuerbach equated "species-consciousness" to a "dumb" sense of universality commonality with men in general, Marx situated that commonality only toward that portion of humanity which implicitly embodied the revolutionary principle (expanded reproduction) in its sensuous practice, the working class as a whole self-conscious of itself as a sensuously self-acting whole.

Footnotes

86. *Essence of Christianity*, N.B., pp. 12-14.
87. *Ibid.*, pp. 33.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
89. *Ibid.*
90. *Ibid.*
91. *Ibid.*
92. *Ibid.*
93. *Ibid.*
94. *Ibid.*
95. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
97. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
98. *Ibid.*
99. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-25. Contrast p. 34-36; Feuerbach desires to attain what he repeatedly rejects.
100. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
101. *Ibid.*
102. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
103. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-25. Cf. pp. 37-43 and *Principles of the Philosophy of the Future*, §§5-7, 9-11, 13-24. Also "Towards A Critique of Hegel's Philosophy," (*Fiery Brook*), pp. 72-84, notably his attack upon the first chapter ("Sense-Certainty") of Hegel's *Phenomenology*, and his careless partial equation of Schelling and Hegel on the very point of their most embittered and actually fundamental difference ("a night in which all cows are black").
104. "The Sexual Impotence of the PSP," pp. 36-37, in *The Campaigner*, Vol. 7, No. 1, November, 1973.
105. *Essence...*, pp. xxxix.
106. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
107. *Principles...*, §§34-36. Cf. §57.
108. *Essence...*, p. 34: "The father, who as a judge, condemns his own son to death because he knows him to be guilty, can do this only as a rational, not as an emotional being." (emphasis added) It is curious that Feuerbach's father, P.J. Anselm Ritter von Feuerbach, was a judge.
109. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
110. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
111. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
112. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
113. "Sexual Impotence," pp. 36-37.
114. *Essence...*, pp. 70-79.
115. "Sexual Impotence," pp. 41-42.
116. *Essence...*, Chap. II.
117. Engels' edition is used throughout.
118. Cf. L. Marcus, "Introduction" to Rosa Luxemburg, *Anti Kritik*, in *The Campaigner*, Vol. 5, No. 1, January, 1972; also *Dialectical Economics*, Chaps. VII-VIII, *passim*.
119. *Dialectical Economics*, *passim*; "The United States of Europe: Their Program And Ours," in *The Campaigner*, Vol. 5, No. 4, Fall, 1972; "Sexual Impotence."
120. Cf. *Editor's Introduction, Theories of Surplus Value*, I, Moscow.
121. "In Defense of Rosa Luxemburg," in *The Campaigner*, Vol. 6, No. 2, Spring, 1973, pp. 21-25.
122. *Essence...*, pp. 2-3, 23-25, 34-43. Cf. Note 103 *supra*.
123. "In Defense of Rosa Luxemburg," pp. 5-16, 21-25.
124. Moscow edition, Vol. I.
125. N.B., Chaps. V-VI.
126. Cf. *New Solidarity*, Vol. IV, *passim*. The published material on food, energy, and related world-wide problems reflects the applied form of on-going fundamental studies.
127. Cf. *Dialectical Economics*, Chaps. V-VI.
128. N.B., *Phenomenology...*, "Observations On Organic Nature," N.Y., 1967; N.B., pp. 315-323, 326; "But organic nature has no history."
129. See Note 103, *supra*.
130. Cf. "Theses...;" Marx overlooks the dichotomy we identify here.
131. I.e., "to seize," or the largely misplaced usage of "to comprehend."



ITALIAN RECYCLING: The PCI's Southern Strategy

by Arthur Petrie and Anna Varga

After less than thirty years, Nazi death-camps economics are on the march again in Europe. As the long shadows of the world depression lengthen across the old continent, trade union and Communist Party officials join with bankers and financiers to plan a final solution for the bankrupt economics of the Common Market. After two world wars, after three decades of ferocious primitive accumulation under the whip of the post-war American empire, the capitalists and their slaves are rapidly coalescing around a European-wide version of the only policy open to any capitalist government in the decade of the 1970's: a Brazilian-type program of recycling and related measures that must necessarily lead directly towards economic collapse — either through a constantly threatening crash of the financial markets, or through the bleeding white of the working population to the point where a day's work becomes a physical impossibility.

It is the immediate implementation of this Brazilian program that provides the overriding concern of every

central bank and finance ministry, of the Brussels Commission and of every other functioning capitalist agency. Only by showing that Brazilian economics can exponentially increase the looting of European workers far beyond the limits of anything tried since 1945 can EEC capitalists avoid a catastrophic crash, which since last spring's monetary tempests is only weeks away at any given point. The day-to-day functioning of capitalism here as elsewhere in the world has entered a qualitatively new phase, with short-run survival depending more and more on sending an increasing number of workers on a one-way trip to inferno.

This time around, however, forced labor, wage cutting and the other elements of Dr. Schacht's fascist program do not appear in the wake of victorious fascist armies. In the Second World Depression it is rather the Socialist and Communist parties and the trade unions they control who are rounding up European workers, stoking the ovens as the wretched servants of the modern-day EEC Krupps. It has been in this year of

1973 that the international Social Democracy has begun a conscious, concerted drive to organize all of European society, including unenlightened capitalists, according to the pitiless discipline of Brazilian fascist-economics. And leading them all have been the Judenraete of the Italian Communist Party (PCI), the pimps of the Brandt-Brezhnev deal, who are now mobilizing the largest "communist" force outside of the Eastern bloc to subject all of Italy, starting with the disease and poverty-ridden Mezzogiorno, to an advanced application of Brazilian economics. They are organizing Italy as the most available and most convenient means to stoke up recycling in all of Europe.

This is the real significance of the cautious optimism emanating out of Milan and Turin towards Brussels, London and New York. The Italian subsector, which in the month of June seemed on the verge of utter chaos with currency, stock market and the credibility of Giulio Andreotti's centrist bonapartism collapsing at equal rates, has gained a new lease on life. The PCI's drive towards recycling has momentarily restored a wary confidence in the immense debt structures of the Italian state, Italian local governments, Italian businesses. Common Market officials, desperately searching for the handles to extend currently planned recycling beyond Gastarbeiter and apprentices towards the whole population, are carefully watching as the PCI and its allies start recycling rolling.

The situation facing the Italian sector towards the middle of 1973 pointed to an immediate collapse of debt and credit structures because of the inability of the country's rulers to offer any credible hope of collecting on the outstanding mass of paper promises to pay. The largest nonfinancial company, the Montedison conglomerate, had posted a whopping 230 billion lire loss in late 1972, and was forced to declare partial bankruptcy by cutting the par value of its stock in half. Total Montedison debts were approaching a fantastic 1,719 billion lire.

The Italian state, whose functionaries make up almost a third of total service-sector employment, was also in an advanced state of bankrupt moribundity. The deficit for 1973 was running at about 7,700 billion lire, an elevated percentage of total outlays. Public administration was in a state of suspended animation, with postal service on the verge of collapse, and more freight building up in railroad storage docks than could be removed by existing manpower. Local and regional debts totalled 10,000 billion lire.

The recognition of this general situation by the international financial community triggered two closely related events: after the Andreotti government had

unsuccessfully tried to defend its currency by instituting a split French-style currency market in January, a combination of the collapse of whatever remained of the international monetary system and profound pessimism about the ability of the Italians to pay off produced a partial collapse of the lira; by mid-June, several dramatic tremors had produced an 18 per cent devaluation, with more on the way. The stock market began to nose-dive at about the same time.

The problem facing any capitalist planner charged with carrying forward this tremendous debt on the basis of sacking Italy is that there is little left to loot. For the last quarter-century Italy, and in particular southern Italy, has played a key role in the primitive accumulation against Europe, primarily through the more than 20 million emigrant workers who left the Mezzogiorno between 1960-1970. Unlike Brazil, Italy has no major natural resources. Its workers have faced the most miserable conditions in the EEC. The average Italian worker eats less than half as much meat as his U.S. counterpart. Three quarters of all housing is more than 20 years old, with 71 per cent lacking a bath, 38 per cent having no interior running water and 29 per cent lacking interior or exterior plumbing. The median educational level has stagnated at three years since the Second World War; only 44 per cent of middle aged workers are skilled, whereas only 32 per cent of workers between 21 and 30 are skilled. In the opening years of the depression these levels declined still further.

Until the early seventies capitalism functioned in Italy through the rapid depopulation of the southern countryside, most recently under the Mansholt plan, to provide fresh peasant recruits for the factories of West Germany, France, Switzerland, Belgium and the northern "industrial triangle" of Milan-Turin-Genoa. As a by-product of this process, land under cultivation in Italy, especially in the south, declined by 1.4 million hectares between 1951 and 1971. By the early seventies, however, it was clear that major changes in this process were at hand. Belgium, Switzerland, the BRD, and other countries set limits either on the total number of foreign workers that could be present within their borders at one time, or on the length of their stay. At the same time, near-bankrupt northern Italian industries joined in the world-wide process of what is known here as "restructuring," the "cutting off of dry limbs": as plants, certain shops and assembly lines were rationalized out of existence to implement cost-cutting and speedup, the ability of the northern cities to absorb more southern immigrants came to an end.

The present situation of the entire south is typified

by Naples, where only one out of four persons has a job, while the rest live by thievery, prostitution and various ghetto-style hustles. The problems of capitalist planners in launching a program of recycling in Italy centers on how to use these lumpenized populations in a way that parallels the notorious Brazilian favelas — as a pool from which superexploited labor may be drawn, and where it may return for periods of “recreation” after stints at man-killing assembly lines.

However, the mere presence of desperate potential workers is not in itself enough. Locating any kind of factory in southern Italy means, as the Brazilian generals found in their drive into the Amazon, infrastructures. Although southern Italy is already equipped with several new four-lane highways, railroads and shipping facilities are presently inadequate for any serious recycling program. (The fragility of such infrastructures was recently underlined by the virtual closing of the key port of Palermo by storm damage.) Water is lacking in much of the south, while sanitary conditions are adequately summarized by the recent cholera epidemic. Electric power is also below what would be required for any substantial number of “new” industries.

In addition to this, “subjective” barriers also stand in the way of recycling. Industrialists are reluctant to commit themselves to the south, where fascist-led mass upsurges, as in Reggio de Calabria and more recently in Naples, have frequently occurred. At the same time, the elephantine Roman bureaucracy puts a forest of red tape between any capitalist and the opportunity to move into the south.

The indispensable ingredient in a political and social situation that is already mature for fascist economics — but where the fascist MSI is presently inadequate — is a powerfully organized force, capable of disciplining the workers of northern and southern Italy, capable of making them accept recycling without Nazi submachine guns or Brazilian death squads, capable of mounting a concerted publicity and propaganda campaign to present recycling as a democratic, egalitarian, progressive measure and thus play on the backward anarchosyndicalist instinct of the Italian worker. Capable of disciplining the centrifugal tendencies of cretinous middle-range capitalists, of forcing them to act for the general interest of the capitalist system, capable, if necessary, of forcing recycling down their throats. This role, with a few variations and additions, is the one today being played by the PCI and its allies, the Italian Socialist Party (PSI), and the three trade union confederations, the PCI-PSI-controlled CGIL, the Catholic SICL, the Republican and Social Democratic

UIL. It is these forces working in coordination with the center-left government of which the PSI is a part, who are presently moving through pilot projects, agitation and persuasion towards the establishment of a full program of Nazi economics in Italy.

The previous center-right Andreotti government had made an attempt to prop up state and corporate debt structures and failed miserably. Having only a paper-thin majority and increasingly necessary support from the fascists to depend on, Andreotti wielded the hatchet to slash the budget, threaten civil servants' jobs and intimidate the organized labor movement. The strong-man approach, lacking the backing from labor and industry, only contributed to exasperating the crisis, and when the monetary tempest hit, Andreotti was dumped.

The Brandt-Brezhnev deal actually determined the nature of the new coalition that took over in July and Prime Minister Mariano Rumor's programmatic address that month echoed the message of the Social Democracy throughout Europe. Parrotting Brandt's January inaugural address, Rumor emphasized the necessity of “sacrifices” to save the nation's economy from ruin, which would result, he said, if Italians continued to “live beyond their means” and consume limited resources. This turn towards a Zero Growth demagogic cover for austerity had been announced just days earlier when Lucian Lama, PCI member and head of the CGIL, presented the three union leagues' joint “global proposal” to the government, before the government had even come into being — which added substance to the PCI propaganda campaign publicizing Andreotti's fall as a “victory of the working class and the popular masses.” Lama proposed that the unions pursue an overall investment policy for the south, “sacrificing the privileged working class of the north.” After years of careful preparation for a north-south propaganda thrust which came into being as a means of channelling mass strike ferment in 1969 into demagogical calls for reforms, the unions, the PCI and the PSI have found themselves in 1973 with an emerging “progressive” formula coherent with the now fully elaborated recycling conception.

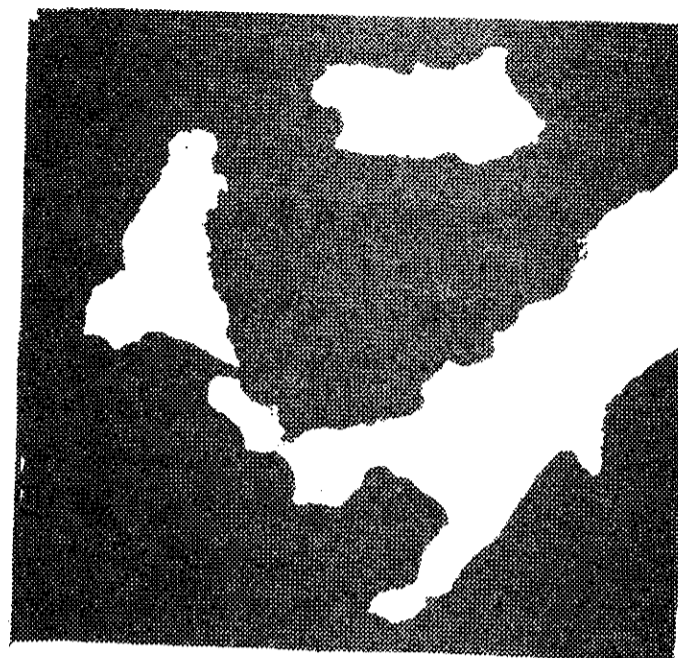
The tone immediately set by the new government was that of urgency and efficiency. To hurriedly put into motion an emergency “100-day” program of urgent measures, an economic “troika” was set up including Colombo (DC) as Finance Minister, Giolitti (PSI) as Budget and Planning Minister and LaMalfa (PRI) at the Treasury. The inclusion of LaMalfa was of crucial factor in transmitting a sense of urgency and decided action; as far back as the Winter of 1971-72, he

had seen a catastrophic future for the economy and repeatedly called for an "emergency government" capable of acting firmly and above all quickly.

The troika lost no time. The "100-day" program imposed a credit freeze, cut credit, and slashed public expenditures. The main thrust of the emergency plans comes through, more than in any detailed recounting of cost-cutting, in the procedural peculiarities followed in setting up the 1974 state budget. Instead of tallying up projected expenditures and revenue to then slash spending (as Andreotti had done), the troika first announced a deficit ceiling and then proceeded to work backwards. Then Giolitti and LaMalfa pulled a constitutional trick out of the hat to "prove" that any rise in state expenditures could occur only if covered by an explicitly identified new source of state revenue (taxes). And in fact, as soon as minor pension increases were allowed, the government upped the price of gasoline with added taxes, bringing it to over \$1.20 a gallon.

The second feature of the plan was the price-freeze gimmick which served more as a psychological tool of terror than a price-controlling mechanism; while prices continued to rise, the population was thrown into dog-eat-dog hysteria as working class consumers were urged to police shopkeepers (who were jailed for illegal rises in some cases) and workers in the factories were again told by the press that wage raises would mean inflation. The reaction of wholesalers was predictably vicious as massive hoarding of basic foodstuffs for speculative gains plunged the country into a war-time climate of empty store shelves. The bread riots in Naples dramatically expressed the panic of a population whose basic diet of bread, pasta and tomatoes is suddenly taken out of reach by world-wide speculation combined with the domestic freeze. It is this climate of fear and hysteria that threatens to feed into acceptance of starvation-level rationing on a large scale.

Differing from Nixon and Heath austerity regimes, the Italian recycling government had no wage freeze with the block on prices. No wage freeze, stated as such, was necessary. The unions had already pledged their support for the government and were providing the ideological cover for the EEC's lowest wages. They did this by playing on the Italian worker's regional chauvinism and profoundly Catholic sense of guilt, humility and suffering. Since most northerners (including southern immigrants) believe they are well-off and hold strong prejudices against the "lazy, idle" southerners, a call for the privileged, hard-working northerners to help their brothers in the south stirs up



guilt feelings, to be allayed by the comforting sense of sacrifice. In such a chauvinistic context, an appeal to "unite north and south" has the progressive overtones of regionalism defeated in favor of radical nationalism. Here too the PCI has been fuelling nationalist sentiment with the dream of autarky, telling the working class it can take care of itself, doesn't need imports (like food) and can take care of distribution and prices through the strengthening of the PCI-network of cooperatives, where the PCI will attempt to keep a few prices down on the very basic foodstuffs making up the worker's average diet.

The biggest problems the PCI and unions had to face in planning the recycling policy was the desire of some workers, particularly in the industrial unions, to have a little more money in times of inflation. In a series of official economic statements both preceding and after the presentation of the government budget, the PCI took care of this obstacle by pushing ZPG ideology within the context of southern investments and categorically labelled wage demands from any other quarter as "corporatist." In early October Unita outlined the official PCI method of budget cutting thus: "Establish a few priorities in economic policy... subordinate everything else to them... make reforms inspired by the need to open up for everyone qualitatively new perspectives in consumption and production." The South, of course, is the single priority. "There is no contradiction between development and reforms," the statement continues; "There is, on the other hand, a contradiction between the exaltation of individual consumption and the solution to the great problems of agriculture, the south, housing, schools, sanitation; and that is because an economy founded on the creation of artificial consumer goods... feeds into corporatist thrusts, and makes expenditures for the south and for reforms seem like added costs or intolerable factors leading to inflation." The ingenuous PCI rank-and-filer is led by such demagoguery to think

that by sacrificing in the north he is somehow giving up capitalism in favor of socialism. To workers asking for what Unita termed "mere monetary demands," the accusation is corporatism; this was the case of the Piaggio workers' strike which Unita boasted was "corporatist" and therefore rightly "isolated" by them and the unions. To prevent such workers from fighting for "mere money" on the industrial union level, the confederations have clinched their authoritative grip over rank-and-file "rebels" by decreeing that they will handle all labor negotiations at all levels and that any single demand will be ruthlessly subordinated to the "grand strategy for reforms and the south."

The other side of the PCI drive to line up the working class for recycling is directed at the most oppressed strata: unemployed, low-wage categories, pensioners. In the early fall the unions met with the government to demand benefits for these layers and launched a national campaign to publicize the meager concessions granted as a working class victory. Unemployed compensation was increased from 65 cents to \$1.30 a day, while pensions went up to \$70.00 a month and compensation for the disabled moved from \$30.00 to \$40.00 a month. Clearly, none of these allowances suffice to keep a productive, healthy human being alive. But that is not the point. The main purpose of the increases for recycling is twofold: on the one hand, these otherwise totally destitute layers are brought into near subsistence levels; on the other, those unemployed who never bothered to sign up at unemployment offices, out of skepticism and disgust at the peanuts offered as compensation, can now be expected to sign up. This will allow the unions and government to gather the necessary basic data and who and where available unemployed, aged, etc. are. A further point is that if, as the unions are demanding, pensions etc. become linked to the "wage dynamics" and to cost-of-living increases (which are being kept low by official lying about the low rate of inflation), then it will be increasingly feasible for pensioners to be shifted into industrial jobs while receiving the same money — much in the way U.S. welfare recipients are forced into slave labor to receive their checks.

Another working class victory touted by the PCI is an insidious bill drawn up by the PCI-PSI-DC and now being put through parliament. Like the measures leading to a census of unemployed, aged, etc., the bill will "control the conditions of labor" of workers forced to do piece-work at home as a result of massive layoffs. The control committees set up regionally and locally will include representatives of the unions, local administrations, employment offices and employers —

just like Mussolini's corporations. In addition the PCI has proposed that at-home workers be organized in a separate union category, which would place them in orderly fashion under the iron discipline of the recycling bosses of the confederations.

In the south, especially in Naples, local PCI bureaucrats have openly proposed the formation of worker-employer committees so as to "broaden working class alliances." While waiting for runaway shops to open their doors to the thousands of unemployed created by the cholera epidemic, Trentin suggested that the government give immediate employment to these people as sanitation workers "as a transitional phase to a steady job" and the PCI demanded that the government allot emergency funds to allow about \$1.75 a day to those unemployed registered as such, for a limited period of six months; both ways to condition newly employed workers to short-term jobs. The stress in all cases cited is unequivocally placed on regimenting the troops of unemployed to be sacrifices to the infernal recycling vortex.

Regardless of the tight grip the PCI has over the working class in order to fully implement recycling at the intensity required by impending capitalist breakdown, the PCI will have to consolidate its rule by being formally included in the government at some near future date. It is to this purpose alone that Enroci Berlinguer, party leader, recently reiterated his party's vow that it would never rule Italy alone or in a left coalition with the PSI. Taking the failure in Chile as a pretext, Berlinguer swore that a PCI-PSI coalition enjoying even a 51 per cent electoral majority would decline to accept the responsibility of running the country without the collaboration of that "third great national current" of the Catholic masses — the DC. The false polemic that arose in the PSI, DC and elsewhere around Berlinguer's late October speech has been aimed uniquely at reinforcing the notion of a full-fledged popular front in working class minds and dispelling whatever hopes or fears may exist that the PCI's Italian road to socialism might mean left-wing politics.

HOW TO ORGANIZE THE CAPITALISTS

The strategy now being employed to get recycling going combines a carrot and stick — for the capitalists. The carrot is being offered by Budget Minister Giolitti, Mezzogiorno Minister Donat-Cattin (left DC) and others who sit on the two interministerial committees that are the main organs of capitalist policy. These are the committee on prices (CIP) and the committee on

planning (CIPE). These committees, especially the second, are liason between local Italian capitalists and the PCI-PSI-union organizers of Italian society. The role of Giolitti in particular has been to communicate the new situation that has emerged on the labor and "investment" front as a result of the new recycling line of the trade union confederations and the mobilization of the government to implement this line. If the industrialists do not see the light after talks with management consultant "comrade" Giolitti, the PCI and unions stand ready to force them into southern recycling with the threat of strikes, press and propaganda campaigns, etc.

As early as December last year, the CGIL-CISL-UIL bureaucrats were pushing for the creation of new "investments" in the south. As part of their egalitarian thrust, they called for investments that would create the largest possible number of jobs for the least expenditure. As the Milan capitalist organ *Corriere della Sera* pointed out, this obviously meant investments that would be labor-intensive, not capital-intensive. Donat-Cattin took up this theme in an important speech made in Rome on September 12, in which he showed how the Cassa per il Mezzogiorno, which he heads as Minister for the Mezzogiorno, would push labor-intensive industry in the south, creating 60,000 new jobs each year. In the past, he complained, investments made by the Cassa per il Mezzogiorno required an expenditure of 80-100 million lire for each job created, including outlays for plants and infrastructures. In the future, said Donat-Cattin, each job in the south must cost no more than 28 million, preferably less.

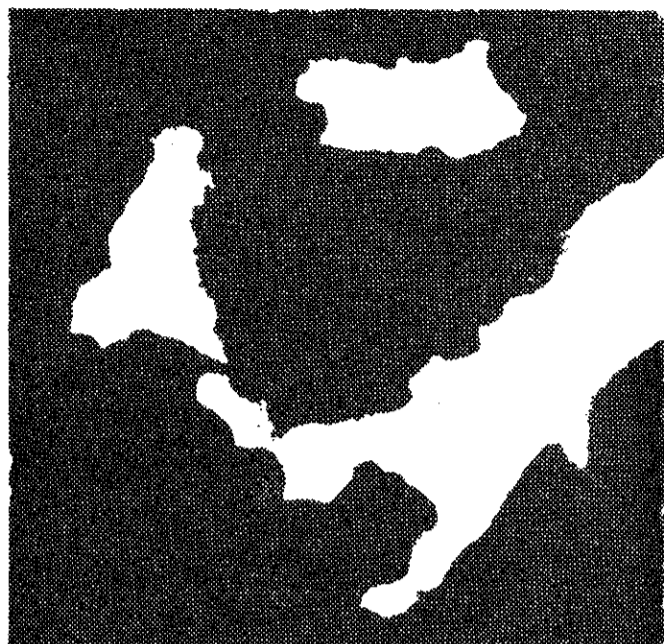
This means that the industrialists in Milan and Turin will be encouraged to ship into the south a part of their productive activity — perhaps just the old machinery that has become available through the speedup-oriented rationalization of their northern plants. Instead of simply junking this equipment, they can ship it to the south, where the government is prepared to reward them with generous enticements. These enticements, as Donat-Cattin explained, are actually rigged to punish large capital investment in the south. To guide capitalists towards "those initiatives that should be mobilized in accordance with our hypothesis of development," the percentage of capital investment that can be figured to get special tax breaks and other allowances will be reduced to 40 per cent of the total, to 30 per cent in the case of larger firms. At the same time, incentives figured on the basis of the number of employees will be increased, through what is called "fiscalization of social contributions" and through direct per-head government grants.

"Fiscalization of social contributions" refers to the government's willingness to pay the social security, health insurance and similar payments of employees of small firms moving in the south directly out of tax money. In addition, Donat-Cattin noted that the state would pay employers from 700,000 to 800,000 lire per year for each job they create and maintain. These two measures mean that even without taking further tax breaks into account, the government will pay the employer substantially more than the new employees are likely to earn.

The government, through the Cassa per il Mezzogiorno, will also provide infrastructure in selected areas where recycling is to be begun at once. Donat-Cattin reported that the Cassa has already disbursed its planned outlays of 7,125 billion lire for the period 1971-75, but that a further 1,000 billion would be made available at once for further investment. For 1976-79, the approximate duration of the final looting of southern Italy, a further 9,100 billion will be made available. To this can be added allowances coming from the Common Market agricultural fund, as well as the 490 billion lire Italy hopes to receive from the Common Market regional development fund.

In the past the Cassa scattered its infrastructural investments all over southern Italy, setting up a dam here, a road there, and so on. This approach will now be replaced by a ruthless concentration on the areas where recycling can be immediately pushed through. The three immediate target areas are the area around Naples, the Apulia-Basilicata region (the heel and instep of the Italian boot) and Calabria (the toe). Together with other investments being planned by ENEL, the state electric power monopoly, and the state railroads, these investments aim at creating enough transport, enough water, enough electricity, etc., to make possible the systematic decimation of the population of these areas. In order to facilitate the terminal looting of Sicily, plans are being aired to construct a bridge or tunnel across the straits of Messina. The emphasis on all these investments is to put them in motion fast, so that the recycling mechanisms can begin to take hold.

With the Cassa and related agencies taking care of the infrastructure, Giolitti during the months of September and October began a series of contacts in northern Italy with Italian and European capitalists designed to propagate and merchandize the concept of recycling. In doing so he was again acting as go-between for the unions and the PCI. On his first trip to Milan in mid-September, he met with the unions first, who presented their demands for recycling, which he



then illustrated to representatives of such local firms as Borletti, Necchi and Franco Tosi, as well as the local branches of Brown Boveri, Worthington, Philips and Michelin.

Giolitti's message to the capitalists was that the new attitude of the unions had created a new atmosphere for both investments in the south and for restructuring in the north. The unions, he told them, were willing to trade off increased plant utilization, increased mobility of the work force, increased productivity, a de facto wage freeze and related measures in the north in exchange for "investments" in the south. In other words, the CGIL-CISL-UIL will accept recycling in the north as the price for starting recycling in the south. The unions understand the difficulties of investing in the south, he said, and are willing to put their control of labor in the factories at the service of the employers — provided these employers locate part of their production in the south.

Within this framework, Giolitti is pushing "development contracts" — joint ventures which unite a northern company and a southern company. Since no capitalists have any intention of expanding their work force in the north, but are on the contrary reducing their work force through rationalization, they are being encouraged to ship their surplus antiquated machinery to the south, where it can be set up in a shed and run by super-exploited southern labor. In return for this the unions will fight any demands for higher wages, pointing out that pay hikes would erode the necessary basis for these "investments." Nor is that all.

As Bruno Trentin, leader of the FIOM metalworkers union, the CGIL affiliate widely thought of as the most militant sector of Italian labor, stated at the end of October, the unions are willing to provide special plant utilization concessions to any capitalist who will invest in the south. (Trentin also was the author of the notion that the government, in order to give emergency employment to newly unemployed after the cholera

epidemic, should issue a decree for a national loan to cover the costs.) At present most auto and other metal plants have two 8-hour shifts for the majority of workers. In the south, however, the unions are prepared to institute three daily shifts of 6 hours each, 6 days a week. It is easy to see how overtime could easily make six hours into eight or more, thus giving the capitalist the opportunity to run his aged equipment flat out at least six days a week. At the same time those firms who move into the south will also receive special consideration for their operations in the north. As Trentin and his UIL colleague Benvenuto announced, this will be done through the increased use of old people, women, students and youth. Since layoffs have hit especially women and youth make up a large part of the never-employed work force, these strata in particular will be ripe for low-wage scab labor. Trentin and Benvenuto want to use these groups to staff part-time work in northern factories, in addition to the already existing two shifts. The parallel to slave-labor programs already underway in the U.S. is obvious. In addition, because of the refusal of the unions to permit any serious wage demands, northern workers will continue to be forced to accept more and more overtime in order to stay alive. Thus the plant utilization rates of decrepit northern factories will also soon approach 100 per cent, 24 hours a day, seven days a week. These industries will be run into the ground, with increasing accidents and fatalities consolidating Italy's first place position among major European countries in on-the-job accidents.

A further notion of how this arrangement will work was given by Giolitti during one of his Milan visits. "Many companies are inclined to transfer an assembly line or a department from the north to the south. Let's assume this takes place. The workers on this line are southerners themselves, and are glad to move back home, but the unions will ask that the employment levels in Milan be kept the same. This means new hirings. Or else the workers choose not to be transferred and become unemployed. But they have the chance to find work in the plant next door, where signs announcing hirings are up." In reality the workers who follow the assembly lines to the south will find speedup and working conditions are more bestial even than what they had known in the north, with a sea of desperate unemployed around them to force them to accept anything the capitalist imposes. Those who remain in the north will find themselves in the same situation, as more plants turn into runaway shops, leaving more unemployed in the north fighting for a job in super-speeded-up factories. Or, as Giolitti put it while

speaking to an audience of PSI members, "In addition to crying about Chile, we have to learn from it. We can't be too rigid about the issues the employers bring up."

As for productivity, the Italian unions are among the most enthusiastic proponents of the infamous "Swedish way" speedup methods. In the textile industry, for example, they are pushing for the transfer of individual piece-work into group piece-work, and billing this as the "overcoming of piece-work." Which all appeals to the anarcho-syndicalist tendencies in the workers anxious to institute "democracy" in the shop. The role of such schemes in Italian recycling is best illustrated by the recent developments of the Pirelli tire company. Pirelli has been running in the red for some years, laying off some workers and offering cash prizes to those who agreed to quit. Now, as *Corriere della Sera* recently reported, Pirelli's perspective is towards smaller losses and an eventual profit. Pirelli can thank the PCI for these developments.

Unions representing Pirelli employees recently agreed to a modified "reorganization plan" for the firm, which committed the company to 100 billion of "investments" over the coming years, of which 40 per cent would be located in the south. The company joined with the union in recognizing that the "reorganization of work" will be rendered necessary by the ongoing rationalization, although Pirelli promised that no worker now employed would be fired. But the central point of the agreement was that Pirelli workers, many of whom have been laid off for varying periods in the recent past, would receive not a single lira in pay increases. *Unita* placed special emphasis on this fact, noting that this was "the first agreement reached on the level of a company or group of companies which had no wage content, but deals exclusively with investments, what is to be produced, and levels of employment." The contract, according to the PCI, "doesn't solve all problems, but is a notable step forward."

The nature of the Pirelli restructuring is made clear by reports of the recent opening of a new Pirelli factory in Battipaglia, south of Salerno. Here 365 workers have been employed at a cost of 7 billion lire. Production began last November and by June had reached 120 tons a month, but is expected to reach 220. The secret of this productivity was revealed by Leopoldo Pirelli, who said that the problem of organizing production had been met with innovation. "With the help of the unions a solution has been found which will allow groups of workers working on the same production line to have a rather high level of autonomy in organizing their own

work." Such "Swedish way" speedup teams are also on the order of the day for Pirelli's northern plants.

The immense Italian state bureaucracy could represent a serious obstacle to recycling. Since approval for a plant project in the south by the Roman authorities has been averaging delays of from 6 months to 5 years, both Donat-Cattin and Giolitti have taken steps to streamline procedures, completely side-stepping Rome as much as possible. Both have set up offices in Milan to deal with prospective recycling investors directly. Troglodyte bureaucratic opposition seems to have found a spokesman in Ciriaco De Mita, Minister for Industry, who is trying to defend the "old ways" and entrenched bureaucratic factions.

As repeated statements by Donat-Cattin, Giolitti and other Ministers show, the existing bureaucracy is totally useless as an instrument of the new policy. The PCI has been loudly campaigning to reduce the number of government agencies, to cut wasteful employment, etc. The PCI knows a way in which the Roman and other bureaucracy can contribute to recycling — not as its administrators, but as its victims. All signs point to increased pressure by the PCI-PSI-union forces to lop off great chunks of the state bureaucracy to be fed into recycling in south and north.

The main problem of the most enlightened bankers and financiers is now how to get the mechanism so far described into motion. Giolitti's talks with industrialists have been aimed at singling out the launching 7 to 8 to 10 pilot projects of small and medium-sized firms in the three main initial target areas of the south. But the PCI knows that much more must be done. Their attacks on government and capitalist for the reluctance of the latter to go into the south with new "investments" reflects, on the one hand, the deadlines set by capitalist debt service payments, and, on the other, the hidebound cretinism of DC politicians and northern managerial strata. "Union policy reflects your interests," explained Giolitti in his Milan talks. The increasingly militant talk about "changing the mechanism of development" in short order that marks the most recent PCI and union statements underlines once more the key role of these groups as the actual motor force behind the introduction of recycling. The pace at which the PCI moves towards formally entering the government will depend on the needs of the bankers and financiers for organizing muscle to force recycling on all of Italian society.

Once the whole mechanism can be gotten off the ground, the PCI will become constantly more active as stokers of the recycling furnaces. Already the unions are planning agitation and propaganda in the south to

demand immediate "investments," in effect to organize the local population for the recycling that will soon open up. In doing so they are basically fulfilling the same role as the Arbeitsaemter set up by the Nazis after the conquest of France, Holland, etc. In the north, the PCI pushes "zone medical councils," part do-it-yourself first aid teams who will care for factory accident victims when there are no doctors to be found, part Nazi-style "preventive medicine" agencies where local volunteers will check recycling candidates for venereal disease, TB and so on, as the medical departments of the Arbeitsaemter did and do. In addition, the PCI is moving to organize the population, especially in the north, into an unending array of Nazi-type social formations, including factory councils, zone factory councils, zone councils set up by municipal governments for neighborhood autogestion, while at the same time pushing the "democratic reform of the state" through new emphasis on the roles of municipal, provincial and regional governments.

Soon the decrepit machine tools, the assembly plants, the runaway shops will begin to flow to the south. Any industry that can run on an abundance of cheap labor can be set up virtually overnight in an unheated shed and run into the ground. Around each new "investment" there will build up a convection current of superexploited labor, policed not by Brazilian guaranteed fund statutes or programs for national integration, but by the PCI and its allies. Speedup can be used to wear down each newly hired worker in six months to a year, after which time he can be fired with the approval of the local PCI Kapo, and sent back into the slums or countryside to recoup on his \$1.30 per day unemployment compensation. Then he can be called back by the unemployment office and offered a different job, this time with more speedup, more Swedish way productivity, lower pay. The PCI and union overseers will explain that it is the duty of all to produce for the sake of the economic recovery of the nation. Many workers will not be so lucky: the hell-plants that international capitalism will set up in southern Italy will become death-traps as aged equipment is run into the ground.

The runaway shops will come not only from northern Italy, but from all over Europe. Whenever a small or medium-sized firm wants to "rationalize" by cutting its

labor costs by half or more, it will be paid by the Italian government for setting up operations on any part of the Italian coast south of Rome. It is however in the northern Italian cities that the PCI will be organizing another phase of recycling. As the runaway shops depart, towns like Milan where there are already 150,000 officially jobless will fill with more and more unemployed. They will be organized by the PCI to take jobs at starvation wages in the plants, eventually calling for a third shift when that is required to "defend employment." In the meantime, the PCI readies the aged, women, students and at-home workers, desperate strata who will work for less, for their scab duties against those previously employed. Soon the convection currents in the south will be matched by those in the north, as Milan and Turin factories begin to "rotate" workers debilitated by speedup, factory conditions and malnutrition. And the Italian convection currents, in the south, in the north, from north to south, will be only the first phase in the process of European recycling that will send workers from West Germany to the Mezzogiorno, from the Mezzogiorno to France, thence to Belgium, Switzerland, Britain, etc.

And where will it all lead? Giolitti and Donat-Cattin, who have studied Brazil very carefully, know precisely where. Donat-Cattin describes recycling as a program of "structural intervention over 5-7 years." The phase of Nazi economics now being launched will last in other words until the end of the present decade — maybe. By that point, the Kapos of the PCI, the Berlinguers and Amendolas, will no longer be able to deliver, because the wealth available through their recycling methods will have been exhausted. Their stewardship of capitalist interests will be brought to a close, just as Allende's was in Chile. And the next phase of capitalist economy in Europe will be modelled, not on the Nazi policies of 1933-36, those the PCI is pushing today, but on the Nazi economics of 1943-45. They will be based on the concentration camp, on the methodical extermination of a population already brought to its knees by the economic measures the PCI and its allies within Italy and in the rest of the world are campaigning for today. In the early twenties, the capitalist world watched anxiously as Mussolini debuted in the fascist experience; today capitalist eyes are again on Italy — on the PCI.

"...opportunities have opened up for young men of ambition and ability from poor families who have neither land nor professional and business connections. These ambitious sons of the working classes have entered the military to seek education and the opportunity for advancement.

This pattern has become almost universal throughout the American republics to the south. The ablest of these young officers have gone abroad for education and are now assuming top positions of leadership in almost all of the military groups in the hemisphere. And while their loyalties are with the armed forces, their emotional ties are often with the people. Increasingly, their concern and dedication is to the eradication of poverty and the improvement of the lot of the oppressed, both in rural and urban areas.

In short, a new type of military man is coming to the fore and often becoming a major force for constructive social change in the American republics. Motivated by increasing impatience with corruption, inefficiency, and a stagnant political order, the new military man is prepared to adapt his authoritarian tradition to the goals of social and economic progress."

— The Rockefeller Report on the Americas, 1969.

"The Peruvian Army...has made it feasible for men coming from the humble ranks of the people to enter the military schools... These circumstances facilitated the tasks of some of the prominent leaders and officers who, headed by General Velasco Alvarado, led the Peruvian Armed Forces to unity with the people, to progressive positions, to anti-oligarchic positions, to popular positions."

— Fidel Castro Ruz, September 28, 1973. Speech commemorating the 13th anniversary of the creation of the Committees to Defend the Revolution, and to Solidarity with The Chilean People and Honoring Salvador Allende. Instituto Cubano del Libro, Havana, 1973.

FROM MONCADA TO MACONDO the circular orbit of fidel castro

by F. Fuebas, Ivan Gutierrez

The whys and hows of Fidel tragically aiding and abetting Nelson Rockefeller and his CIA cronies in the military junta in Peru (which we will document further in the present article) must be ruthlessly exposed, for this is no isolated incident in counterrevolution. The **barbudos** also had a hand in the trapping of the Chilean workers and peasants within the **Unidad Popular**, thus leaving them defenseless against the onslaught of the CIA-led military. Finally, the last nail in the coffin burying any pretense of revolutionary leadership the Cubans had was driven home with their critical support of the fascist ideologue Peron in Argentina. How could they support a man who has been able to make the working class swallow a cut in real wages and a no-strike law — something the **gorilas** were unable to do? How could the Cubans tab Peron as a "progressive," while his death squads assassinate leftists as part of Peron's all-out "war against Marxism"?

Our friends will now say, "But how can you attack Cuba, the last shining beacon of socialism, when we find ourselves in the midst of the foggiest and most treacherous seas in the Latin American continent?" The answer is simple: from the early 1960's until Che's death in 1967 the Cubans, despite vacillations at times, believed in and pushed for continental revolution. Their position was best summed up by Che: "Proletarian internationalism is a duty, but it is also a revolutionary need." [1] Their strategy for revolution, however, was limited to guerrilla warfare, and to this day we do not know how many thousands of invaluable revolutionaries have died uselessly, trying to implement a suicidal strategy **that by itself didn't even win the Cuban socialist revolution.**

Several months after Che's death the perspective of the Cubans began to move imperceptibly but inexorably toward the shamelessly naked positions we men-

tioned above. OLAS (Organization of Latin American Solidarity), the Latin American international that was to usher in the continental revolution, was quietly left to gather dust as Fidel sought salvation in building socialism in Cuba. No longer was the fate of Cuba tied to the success of revolution in Latin America, no longer was internationalism a need as Fidel and Che had stated over and over in their most famous speeches and articles.[2]

Yes, Fidel still pays lip service to revolution in Latin America, but even here the way he does it proves that it is **only** lip service. He remembers every once in a while to follow his paens to counterrevolutionary governments with a few crumbs to the revolutionaries... "This does not in any way exclude the Cuban Revolution's sympathy with and support of those Latin American revolutionaries that struggle against oligarchies and reactionary governments..."[3]

Comrades! Unless we rigorously examine the actual political and economic reality of the Cuban Revolution chiefly characterized by a disastrous admixture of fantasy and bourgeois pragmatism on the part of Fidel and the Cubans, unless we begin to follow new paths out of this examination, the Latin American revolution will be fatally shipwrecked (as it has been in the past) by following the now-tarnished beacon of Cuba.

THE REAL HISTORY OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

Even today, fifteen years after the Cuban revolution, many leftists throughout Latin America still consider it as the definitive proof that a well-organized guerrilla warfare strategy can be victorious. The truth of the matter is otherwise.

The Imperialist Program

Cuba in the 1950's was a stagnant country riddled with corruption and gangsterism. Statistics for sugar production, exports and imports, and education show that the postwar economy barely managed to "attain" the levels of the 1920's. A 1950 World Bank survey described it this way:

...A stagnant and unstable economy with a high level of insecurity creates resistance to improvements in productive efficiency. And ~~the~~ improvements in productive efficiency are the key to creating a more progressive, more stable economy...[This is] the "master" circle of all vicious circles that need to be attacked."[4]

This situation in the economy remained until the revolution. In fact, the 1950's saw Cuba begin to run up

consistent balance of payments deficits, and by 1959 her monetary reserves had dropped to the 1942 level.

This was coupled with unheard-of corruption on the part of the Batista bureaucracy. Large parts of monies that entered Cuba would end up in private Swiss and U.S. bank accounts, or in investments in Florida. Batista and his cohorts had become a parasitic growth that was bleeding the Cuban economy to death, even causing normal imperialist exploitation to suffer. At least \$250 million in short-term assets were held in U.S. banks. Florida had over \$150 million of Cuban investments, among which the most prominent were Batista's.

The situation, however, was not at all unusual. This type of development was quite common in Central and South America. The usual imperialist response was to send the local CIA agent, with the required women and booze or whatever else was deemed necessary, to the barracks looking for another colonel. What followed was a coup by a new strongman or junta that was "determined to wipe out corruption and inefficiency" — and so the process would begin all over again. In fact, the Batista regime followed exactly that kind of pattern. Batista hadn't originated the system of corruption and gangsterism; it was in full force by the time of his coup in 1952.

The 1950 World Bank study quoted above showed that the imperialists were highly unsatisfied with the prevailing corruption of the period, and so Batista was reborn. But by 1957 the situation was much worse and the imperialists needed to rid themselves of Batista — but they certainly didn't want another military dictator or junta. The imperialists had another plan for Cuba and the whole of Latin America.

The 1957-58 recession in the U.S. signalled the end of imperialist prosperity on the basis of domestic investment. From then on massive U.S. investments would be made in Europe and Japan — but farsighted capitalist planners foresaw that this would also stagnate by the end of the 1960's. Therefore, new investment markets would have to be prepared — hence the "Development Decade." [5]

The "Development Decade" schemes required that Latin America be changed. The old looting of natural and human resources would have to be modified. Education, health, transportation, etc. (what is in general referred to as infrastructural development) in small amounts was needed to produce a semi-skilled working class that would make industrial investment profitable. The funds for this type of "social progress," however, could not be thrown away to gangs of thieves such as Batista. New "honest" and "democratic" regimes would be required. This in turn would also

require "land reform," for the corrupt reactionary regimes were almost always closely tied to the latifundists. Furthermore, only by land reform (agricultural production was generally stagnant throughout Latin America) could the new working class be cheaply fed. The raising of the costs of peasant labor would also force the old latifundists to mechanize. It is important to note that this scheme did not have as its aim the splitting up of the old latifundia. The imperialists merely wanted uncultivated (irrigated and unirrigated) land to be used. The exact implementation of this plan was tried in several places — the best examples being the Frei regime from 1964-1970 in Chile, and the present Peruvian junta, which has added still more new wrinkles to the scheme.

This, then was the scenario that Fidel marched into. It was the *New York Times*, the most class-conscious rag of the imperialists, which announced to the world the existence of Fidel and his *barbudos*. This was no mere faux pas on their part, nor was it a capitulation to the prejudices of Herbert Mathews, who interviewed Fidel in the Sierra Maestra. As Mathews has documented, his writing was always brutally censored to fit whichever political line the *New York Times* was peddling at that moment. We **do not**, however, mean to imply that Fidel was in collusion with imperialist circles in the U.S. At no time did Fidel receive funds or in any other way accept the backing of the Development Decade "progressive" capitalists. Nor did the capitalists approach Fidel.

What did occur was that by 1957 the U.S. had "declared" an open hunting season on Batista. Nor was Batista's head the only one on the chopping block. In Venezuela, Perez Jimenez "suffered" the same fate.

As a result military aid to Cuba was drastically cut back. Capital began to leave the country and the comprador class of swine, smelling the winds of change, began to care only for themselves — thus quickly destroying the cohesiveness that any comprador regime requires.

Fidel **did not** defeat the Batista regime with superior military might, nor with massive popular resistance. Proof of this abounds, the most comical being the exchange between Batista's general staff and Batista himself after the revolution. Each gave incontrovertible proof of the others' unwillingness to fight and general betrayal of each other. At the end Fidel had, at most, 2000 armed men in the mountains. The general strikes that were supposed to topple the regime (one to coincide with the Granma landing and the other in 1958) failed. Batista's regime, without U.S. backing, was held together by melting bubble gum and rotting string. All it needed to disintegrate was a slight push.

Fidel and his urban and rural July 26th Movement provided it.

Fidel's Program

Fidel and the July 26th Movement itself did not have the strategy of guerrilla warfare. The 1956 Granma landing in Oriente province was supposed to spark a popular rebellion in this most combative area, at which point a regular war would finish off the dictator. This was consistent with Fidel's method. The 1953 assault on the Moncada barracks was supposed to produce the same results. Both escapades naturally failed except that after the Granma landing Fidel and a few others managed to escape into the mountains — hence guerrilla warfare!

But even the elemental facts of this struggle have been distorted, with the Cubans giving a helping hand. According to them the intellectual vanguard of the working class would be in the countryside with the peasantry joining them to form a shock force. This would begin disintegrating the old regime at which point the working class would make its appearance as a decisive force.[7] The fact was that in Cuba not many peasants joined the guerrillas, and estimates show that at least 80 per cent of the *guerrilleros* came from the universities or other urban areas.[8] Furthermore, Fidel himself saw the Sierra Maestra more as a moral center than a military center; his speeches, declarations and overall survival being an example and a catalyst to a victory in the *llano*. [9]

But what is most crucial is the actual content of Fidel's program for Cuba and the social composition of the July 26th Movement as a whole. The program was based around the 1940 constitution which contained an amalgam of progressive social clauses which had never been implemented. It called for democracy, limiting the rights of the rich and the rights of ownership of land to foreigners. To this Fidel added the nationalization of such concerns as the phone and electric companies, and a fairly tame land reform program. The central axis around which the program revolved was democracy and the immoral character of the Batista regime. In short, it was a bourgeois democratic call to arms against thieves that had dishonored the Cuban nation and the heritage of Marti, a call to arms that wanted to put an end to inhuman treatment of peasants and others. But just like a bourgeois democratic program it didn't even hint that the comprador and the imperialist capitalists would have to be thrown off the island. The basis of all ills would be left untouched.

A few typical quotes from Fidel over **Radio Rebelde** from the Sierra prove our point:

The dictator keeps clamoring that we are Communists; this lie is an attempt to justify their shipments of arms, trying to present themselves as the representatives of democracy, dignity and the most sacred rights of man.

Isn't it evident that, in Cuba, we are waging a battle for the democratic ideals of our continent?

On behalf of the people of Cuba, who are fighting against the arms of Batista, Trujillo and Somoza, we call for aid from the democratic governments of America.[10]

Fidel's *raison d'être* was a strong sense of moral outrage. From student leader to lawyer to head of the July 26th Movement, he was consistent in his bourgeois morality (bourgeois here meaning the ideals of the French Revolution) — always seething against tyranny, censorship and the lack of honor of the Batista forces. All of this was tinged with a strong dose of martyrdom — Latin **machismo**[11]: "...our homeland will be free — or every fighter will have perished."

Fidel had no program to run Cuba, no real program for struggle; but nevertheless succeeded where others had failed. Two reasons for this stand out. In the first place, the imperialists had abandoned Batista and literally opened the door for Fidel and his July 26th Movement. After all, the movement contained innumerable members who could not be classified otherwise than rightwingers who wanted an end to corruption and a return to business-as-usual. Their literature of the period, for example, depicts Fidel, among other things, as a devout Catholic. Fidel would have it no other way. He continually insisted on the unity of the movement — in maintaining a **Popular Front**.[12] Thus, to the imperialists it seemed that their "Development Decade" scheme would have a social force — the democratic comprador bourgeoisie, with latent support from most of the population, ready for business. They even thought, as did most people — including Fidel[13] — that Fidel would only play a minor role in the new administration. Once he was in they found out rather quickly that they could not exert any control — alas, too late. They had gotten badly burned. What took place during 1959 was the equivalent of the Russian "February" — a mass popular "bourgeois" revolution with the masses armed. Cuba, however, was even more advanced — the revolution had a leadership (Fidel) that didn't curtsy to the international bourgeoisie, the old army no longer existed and even the viable social forces of the right were being weeded out one by one from the revolution.

The second major reason for Fidel's success was his own incorruptible character and indomitable will to

win, which quickly made him the supreme leader that few dared to question. But again, it was all based on his sense of morality; his understanding of the economy and the world went no deeper.

The Cuban "October"

Fidel began to implement his program immediately after coming down from the Sierra and almost immediately ran up against the logic of the situation. Even though he offered compensation for the capitalists they wanted no part of Fidel, for he was intent upon effecting bourgeois democratic changes that would make for an independent Cuba, and not just reforms that would update imperialist domination.

Almost immediately he was faced with the task of politically destroying those former supporters who refused to go along.

The Cuban Revolution proved once more the validity of Trotsky's thesis of Permanent Revolution. Essentially, because of imperialism's penetration of every nook and cranny of the world, a revolution in the underdeveloped sector that saw its task as the development of an industrial base and the resultant rising of the standard of living, historically seen as the task of a capitalist revolution led by the bourgeoisie, could now only take place with the dictatorship of the proletariat — with **socialist** tasks being assigned to the backward economy from the beginning. The reason for this was simply that no indigenous independent bourgeoisie in the underdeveloped sector exists in the imperialist epoch. All that exists is a weak servile comprador class whose sole survival depends on imperialism's crumbs and armed might. Moreover, no independent development within imperialism-capitalism is possible; the worldwide division of labor demands a certain role for the colonies. Even when industrialization takes place (as in Brazil) it does not carry the concomitant rise in the standard of living; it merely makes for a more effective colony.

The period of 1959-61 was marked by this type of development. Despite Fidel's avowed bourgeois democratic intentions, he was constantly forced by events to take giant strides to the Left. During Fidel's April, 1959 visit to the U.S. he was still using the slogan "No bread without liberty; no liberty without bread." But during that same visit he met with then-Vice President Nixon, whose intransigence and hostility convinced Fidel that no financial aid from the U.S. would be forthcoming. He was right; Nixon came away from the meeting determined that the only way to deal with the **barbudo** was by overthrowing him — the plans for the Bay of

Pigs began there. By the time of Fidel's September 1960 visit to the United Nations, Eisenhower had already stopped U.S. purchases of Cuban sugar and Che now characterized the revolution as "nationalist and leftist." The Soviet Union had already recognized the Cuban regime and conspicuous hugs were exchanged between Khrushchev and Castro at the U.N. In October of 1960 the "October" Revolution was finalized with Castro nationalizing all U.S. property, 382 major enterprises and banks, thus making a complete break with imperialism.

Nevertheless, not all the credit for this amazing transformation should be given to the U.S. imperialists. Fidel's unwillingness to compromise and his taking the necessary steps at every point stood in bright contrast to similar nationalist revolutions that were sold out — i.e. Egypt and Algeria. And last but not least, the Soviet Union's aid prevented the revolution from being immediately starved and drowned in blood.

Cuba would have been starved within months, the imperialist intention, had she not found a market for her sugar and ways to import capital goods and oil. The significance of this for the Latin American revolution cannot be overstressed. A revolution in any Latin American country cannot survive, regardless of its mass base, if it does not immediately expand to the majority of the continent. But the world has changed. No longer will the Soviet Union bail out a revolution in any country. In fact, it will do its utmost to suppress it — witness Chile. A confluence of events made the Cuban situation exceptional.

Khrushchev had begun ending the Cold War and made the first steps toward peaceful co-existence. His policy included the peaceful competition of the two systems in the "Third" world. What it meant was collaboration with the U.S. in helping implement the "Development Decade." Hence, aid for nationalist "revolutions" was part of the game. The Soviet Union was also faced with a very sticky problem, since it had to defend its left flank against the charge of "revisionism" by China, and therefore avoid messy complications of its attempt to read China out of the Communist movement.

But, nevertheless, aiding and abetting a socialist revolution was out of the question — until the Eisenhower-Khrushchev summit meeting was sabotaged by the U.S. through the U-2 incident. Khrushchev now had to cover his position at home and it was only shortly thereafter that the Soviet Union recognized Cuba — a full year and a half after the revolution.

Today the flirtations of peaceful co-existence have grown into demented orgies of **detente** between the Soviet Union and the United States, **and** China and the

United States. These "Communists" have stood by as socialist territory was bombed to smithereens, then acted by disarming the South Vietnamese revolutionary movement, exposing it to annihilation by the imperialist puppets. No, comrades, let's not look forward to that type of Soviet aid! Rather, we should glance backwards and make sure their agents are not about to stab us in the back!

THE TRIALS AND TRIBULATIONS OF THE SOVIET-CUBAN MARRIAGE

Fidel's lack of a programmatic outlook now bore its rotten fruit. The Bay of Pigs invasion had more than finalized his commitment to socialism; but he, Che and a few others were the sole vanguard. The consciousness of the mass movement was limited to the movement's willingness to go anywhere with Fidel.

The question that desperately needed answering was how to implement socialism. The lack of understanding of the economy of the world among the masses — a lack of class consciousness — meant that the population at large was at that moment incapable of participating in the building of socialism. The July 26th Movement being nothing but a typical petit-bourgeois Popular Front in its overall character meant that its dissolution was a prerequisite for advancing. Fidel understood this and never called for meetings or conventions of it. The revolution, however needed organization, discipline and consciousness; and at that point the only ones capable of providing it, albeit in hideously perverted ways, were of course the Partido Socialista Popular (the Cuban Communist Party). The revolution had not only embraced the Soviet Union out of necessity; but also, out of unnecessary poverty, had to do the same to its local agents.

What is the anomaly of the local Communists participating in a socialist revolution? The black pages of the history of the Latin American Communist movement shine by comparison with the sordid history and moral turpitude of Cuban Communism. A short overview of it is necessary.

In 1933 the PCC (Cuban Communist Party) was busy trying to sell out the anti-Machado revolution in return for a few wage gains. The upsurge, however, continued, so the Communists zagged to the left and formed soviets throughout the island.[14] Machado left the scene and Batista made his entrance into Cuban history, quickly launching a ferocious offensive against the Communists and drowning their soviets in blood. In 1935 Blas Roca, PCC leader, described Batista this



way: "Batista, the national traitor in the pay of the imperialists..." Not long afterwards the Comintern's Popular Front anti-fascist line made its appearance in Cuba. Blas Roca suddenly saw the better side of Batista:

We must remember Batista's social origins. Although he has grown rich, like all the new officers and although he can now be described as a man of property, reactionary and aristocratic circles continue to treat him as a mere sergeant, a man in whom they cannot place their trust. Moreover, his links with the revolutionary movement are still very strong [?!]; he is still friendly with his old messmates — sergeants, corporals, and privates — all of whom remember his oath of loyalty to Cuba.

When Batista returned from a visit to Washington in November 1938, Blas Roca rubbed shoulders with him on the balcony of the presidential palace as Communist-organized masses cheered on. Batista's progressiveness consisted of his faithful response to every pull on the string from Washington, at that time led by the most prominent of anti-fascists — Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

The PCC's collaboration with Batista continued into the 1940 presidential election, which Batista won. In repayment for dog-like fidelity he appointed two PCCers to his cabinet in 1942: Juan Marinello and Carlos Rafael Rodriguez. The PCC's line was not too different from that of other Latin American Communists. They had all been asked to comply with the Comintern, an order which they fulfilled by constantly hailing the U.S. Roca's speeches of the period abound

with pleas for U.S. military presence in Latin America: "We need powerful guns, troops to defend our shores and block the way of the Nazi invaders."

Unlike most Communist parties, the Cubans went further and joined with the CPUSA in Browderite liquidationism. Browder believed the postwar period would mark the end of class struggle; Communism and capitalism would now work harmoniously in developing the world. Hence there was no need for Communist parties — the CPUSA, as a party, was dissolved. Juan Marinello, Blas Roca and Carlos Rafael Rodriguez were the main Browderites in Cuba and they quickly changed the name of the party to the PSP (Partido Socialista Popular). Browderism meant more than a name change and the Cubans quickly showed what it was. In February of 1945, as heads of the CTC (Congress of Cuban Workers) they held a breakfast with the Employers Association. Roca called it a "transcendental act," and they toasted to the "new era in the history of humanity." They quickly published the results in a pamphlet entitled, fittingly enough, **Collaboration Between the Employers and the Workers**.

Stalin didn't quite like Browder's new wrinkle on the face of reformism and Browder was expelled from the Communist movement. The three Cuban musketeers led by Roca and Rodriguez — ever perceptive to changes in line, a quality on which they depended to survive in their posts — quickly reneged their new-found Browderite stance. In the early 1950's the McCarthy period spread to all of Latin America and quickly obliterated the Communists — the Cubans were no exception. By their own estimates, the PSP dwindled from a membership of 87,000 in 1942 to 7,000 in 1959, the latter a figure that was very bloated to say the least.

The only remarkable characteristic of the PSP in the 1950's was their consistent hostility to Fidel. They described the Moncada attack in 1953 as "...a putschist attempt, a desperate form of adventurism, typical of petit-bourgeois circles lacking in principle and implicated gangsterism." While the attack was indeed a "putschist attempt," the rest was pure character assassination — Fidel had distinguished himself as a violent opponent of the corruption and gangsterism then rampant in the "revolutionary" movement. The PSP was merely trying to curry favor from Batista, so that he would not continue to include them in the brutal repression that followed Moncada. The PSP continued its opposition to Fidel and even refused to support the general strike calls of the July 26th Movement. It was not until 1958, when victory for Fidel looked certain, that Rodriguez, having developed his flair for survival into a sixth sense, led the party to support Fidel.

Mother History, if nothing else, is always ironic, for there on the presidential balcony with Fidel in 1960 stood — Blas Roca. The same balcony on which Roca had kissed Batista's feet and god-only-knows-what-else some 20 years before! And there stood Fidel, ever moral but lacking any understanding of Marxian method, having to entrust a large part of his revolution to a gang of imbeciles and philistines whose claim to fame was their total lack of scruples.

The Cuban Road To Socialism?

During the first two years of the revolution the Cuban economy functioned at full capacity, and it seemed to many that socialism was much easier than could ever have been imagined. Cubans had never experienced such prosperity. The Cuban revolution had been spared both a civil war and the sabotage of the economy by the bourgeoisie that usually marks a revolutionary period. The effects of the blockade only began to be felt in late 1961.

Che, who from the beginning was the most vociferous backer — and correctly so — of the tie-up with the Soviet Union, envisaged no problem in the socialist transformation. He felt Cuba would be spared the ravages of Stalinism, which, according to him were merely caused by a backward country and peasantry dependent solely on internal sources of accumulation for industrialisation. Unlike the young Soviet nation, Cuba had no real peasant problem and technical know-how and funds for industrialization were going to be provided by the Eastern bloc on most generous terms. Furthermore, imperialist encirclement was of little consequence since the Soviet Union had placed a nuclear shield around Cuba.

By late 1961 Che's intellectual prowess and revolutionary insight led him to be the first one to recognize a "crisis in production," but he still saw the problem mainly in terms of a lack of administrative ability on the part of the young revolution.[15] Fidel and others saw no such crisis, and in a meeting of economic experts it was calmly announced that Cuba would be another Sweden by the 1970's.

It took the Cuban missile crisis and an assessment of the Soviet aid Cuba received for this illusion to be dispelled. By 1962 it was apparent that the capital goods provided to Cuba were of a much inferior quality and did not at all mesh with the U.S.-stocked Cuban industry. Add to it the problems of transportation, port facilities and the inexperienced administrators, and the "marriage" now assumed Catch-22-like qualities. The

missile crisis made the Cubans realize that the Soviet Union wasn't the most powerful country on earth and that Khrushchev and his cohorts were perfectly willing to sacrifice allies in the interests of "world peace."

Castro's trip to the Soviet Union in 1963 brought about a reconciliation, but it cost the Cubans dearly. The goals of the economy would now be to advance agriculture and its mechanization; industrialization would now proceed very slowly. But even more glaring was the agreement of Fidel and Khrushchev on peaceful co-existence between the Latin American Communist parties and the Fidelistas. Every party would now have the right to make its own decision as to whether the peaceful or guerrilla warfare road to revolution was the most feasible in their respective countries. The Cubans, including Che, limply abided by this agreement, and their pronouncements of the period on guerrilla warfare always had enough ambiguities to show formal adherence to the 1963 pact. Fidel even went so far as to tepidly support the FRAP [16] in the 1964 Chilean elections. When they lost, Fidel, not wanting to be an opportunist and a loser at the same time, called a meeting of all Latin American Communist parties at which he pleaded with them to be open-minded and let experience instead of blind dogma rule their practice. The fight against the "revisionists" had begun. Granted, pleading was not the thunderous opening salvo that would have seemed correct; but then, with Fidel having just finished with a bout of impotence, it would have been highly improper for him to have tooted his horn loudly.

By 1965 Ernesto "Che" Guevara Lynch had become somewhat aware of the realities the revolution confronted. Cuba was underdeveloped, blockaded by the U.S. and the threat of an invasion still loomed as a possibility. The Soviet Union's terms of trade and aid were costly without providing any breakthroughs in development. Furthermore, politically the Soviet Union was the giant protector that could not be trusted. Che's February 1965 speech in Algeria captures the conclusions the Cubans had reached:

How can selling primary products at world market prices be called a 'mutual benefit' when those products cost the underdeveloped countries limitless sweat and suffering, and when they pay world market prices for the machines produced in the great automated factories of today?

If we establish that type of relationship between the two groups of nations, we should agree that the socialist countries are, in a certain way, accomplices of imperialist exploitation.

The socialist countries have the moral duty to liquidate their tacit complicity with the exploiting countries of the West.

In so far as the Soviet Union defending young revolutionary movements, Che was just as realistic:

The ominous attack of North American imperialism against North Vietnam and the Congo should be answered supplying those brother countries with all the instruments of defense that they need, and giving them all our unconditional solidarity.[17]

His blunt statement of what had to be done merely indicated that the Soviet Union was doing the opposite.

Cuba seemed to have only one choice left — to unilaterally foment revolution. Successful revolutions in Latin America now seemed the only way of guaranteeing the Cuban Revolution.

A closer examination into the problems raised by Che in the Algeria speech is necessary. Of primary importance is the question of the import-export relationship of the European socialist countries and the underdeveloped countries such as Cuba.

Sugar represents over 70 per cent of Cuba's external trade, most of it necessarily going to the ruble zone. As we stated before, had Cuba been left alone to fend for itself in the U.S.-controlled world market the Revolution would have been starved. Furthermore, the Soviets, who get most of the sugar, have usually paid prices a small amount above world market prices. Cuba buys oil and heavy capital equipment from the Soviets. However, Cuba must also buy a large amount of capital goods from the West, since the Soviet bloc is itself unable to provide them.

Hence Cuba has a significant foreign debt to the West. For example, in 1967 Cuba had a balance of payments debt to the West of nearly 100 million dollars.

Here is the problem. In the late sixties Cuba had an agreement to provide the Soviet Union with 5 million tons of sugar with approximately another 2 million going to the other workers' states. The rubles received from the sale went to finance Cuban imports from that sector. Cuba also had to sell a certain amount of sugar to Western European countries in order to have the hard currency (dollars) necessary to finance its imports from that sector. For sugar production in Cuba to go above the 7 million mark, however, Cuba would have to make huge new investments in refineries, transportation, etc. or provide more labor in a generally labor-short economy to this already highly labor-intensive industry. Thus Cuba is forced to invest whatever revenues it receives almost exclusively into the sugar sector — just to meet its contractual obligations. Over the last few years, the amount of sugar contracted for by Eastern Europe has been lower than the obviously unrealizable amounts planned for the late 1960's. The drop, however, is not significant enough to break with this pattern.

It's just as Che described it: Cuba has to sell at world market prices which do not at all correlate with the huge amount of human resources that are required to produce sugar in an underdeveloped country, and buy capital goods (from both East and West sectors) at high prices that can hardly be met with Cuba's meager foreign reserves.

Overall there is a tendency for debt service on the credits granted to Cuba from both East and West to exceed the value of capital and consumer goods that are imported. Given the amount of social investments in areas like education, housing and health that define Cuba as a workers' state, the net effect is one of at best having very little funds left over for **expanding** investments in the capital goods sector. In this way Cuba is condemned to perennial underdevelopment.

While Che had inklings of the problem, he never drew as consistent a picture of the problem as we have just done. In 1963, for example, when he already had the view that he expressed in 1965 in Algeria, he could still issue self-consoling statements like the following: "Although rationing is a transitory measure, as time passes an economy planned within one country begins to develop its own internal consistencies independent of the realities of the outside world." Nevertheless, by 1967 Fidel and the Cuban leadership, acknowledging their economic difficulties and the do-nothing attitude of the Soviets and Chinese in the face of the brutal imperialist attack on Vietnam, decided to adopt Che's position and bank their hopes on a continent-wide revolution. The man who was to lead it was, of course, Che.

While Che left Cuba to carry out his task, Fidel prepared the political preconditions in Havana. It seemed that the "peaceful road" would no longer be allowed to co-exist with the Fidelistas. Fidel politically excommunicated the Venezuelan Communist Party from the movement for having deserted the guerrilla warfare road to socialism. In mid-1967 the states met in Havana.

All the Latin American Communist parties were present at the conference except the Brazilian and the Argentinian CP's, which refused to participate, and the Venezuelan CP which was not invited. It was not that the remaining parties had taken up guerrilla warfare; rather they had not crossed Fidel publicly. The exceptions were the Venezuelans who had not only expelled Douglas Bravo, military leader of the guerrillas from the party, but were also suspected of having some role in the capture and murder, by the police, of Fabricio Ojeda, a personal friend of Fidel's and the political leader of the guerrillas.(18) Every other stripe of Leftist was present except the Maoists.

The Conference was presented with the Cuban position on revolution in Latin America.[19] The revolution would be continental in nature, just as the anti-colonial revolution against Spain had tended to take on a continental character. As opposed to the Communist parties and Moscow who insisted on the existence of a progressive national bourgeoisie, the Cubans now stated, "Let us be done with the phantom they call the national bourgeoisie. In Latin America that bourgeoisie has never existed nor can it possibly exist in the future." Considering the history of the continent, the fact that there was no national bourgeoisie and the nature of the U.S. reaction to Vietnam, the revolution would have to be violent — which for the Cubans meant the strategy of guerrilla warfare. Although not explicitly stated, the working class would play a secondary role and the guerrilleros would be both political and military leaders.

The Cuban model of revolution was now on the export market, but as we have pointed out before, it was constructed after the revolution (Cuban) and did not take into account the almost accidental qualities of that Revolution. Yes, it's true Che had on several occasions noted that revolutionaries would not catch the giant to the North sleeping again, and his slogan of creating more Vietnams implicitly accepted the type of huge U.S. military intervention that occurred in the Dominican Republic in 1965. But then, why continue pushing the same line? The Cubans really knew of no other way! It was clear that the Latin American CP's were not going to make the revolution. The Cubans, who had also never understood Marxist method, were left to draw on their own experiences. Their policy was one of merely negating the class conciliationist strategy of the CP's without really formulating a revolutionary program and strategy.

The Cubans themselves by their actions seemed to recognize this. Otherwise, why invite all the CP's to participate in the new movement when they had not and were not about to change their policies? Were they there merely to hear stinging denunciations of their strategy? Why create a new international based on guerrilla warfare and then pass a resolution stating that although guerrilla warfare was the fundamental path to revolution in Latin America it was not necessarily the only one? Why polemicize violently against the CP's and then ask for unity — again excluding the PCV, Fidel's now-favorite target — and pledge that the Cubans would not partake in factional battles that would disrupt that unity? Why assign to the CP's, at best, the role of waterboys to the revolution and simultaneously be dependent on them, as Che was at

that exact moment in Bolivia?

The Cuban conference document stating their position was full of such childishness. It castigated the Latin American CP's but didn't mention any of them by name. It criticized the role of China and the Soviet Union in the international revolutionary movement, but also without naming them. In effect Fidel was still insisting on maintaining the "unity" of the movement — the Popular Front.

The only laudable, if meaningless, feature was a resolution condemning the Soviet Union for aiding reactionary regimes in Latin America, such as Brazil.

Guerrilla Warfare: Tactic or Strategy?

We admit that just saying it didn't work is not a sufficient critique of guerrilla warfare as a strategy; the question demands more treatment. The underlying assumption of its efficacy is stated clearly by Fidel: "In Latin America, you see, all that is needed is a detonator; once it has gone off, the explosion will be so violent that not even armchair theorists will be able to keep out of the battle." (20) The "detonator" theory, in its many different forms, has existed from time immemorial and many, including Lenin, have punched it full of holes, but still it persists. How is it wrong and why does it persist?

The case in Latin America today, as it has been for many years, is one where workers and peasants know their misery, yet there is no revolution; there have been many detonators, yet the "people" continue enduring their misery. The main roadblock to revolution in Latin America then is subjective; bourgeois ideology persists in dominating the lives of the workers and peasants. The role of the revolutionary party is to destroy the slave ideology of the oppressed, destroy their illusions and through program and action provide them the means of creating a new society.

As a matter of fact, the masses themselves periodically explode (self-detonators?), yet there is no revolution. Such was the case in Argentina in 1969 where, led by workers in the city of Cordoba, the working class relived the events of France in 1968. Beginning in 1968 upsurges in strike activity in Chile were instrumental in the coming to power of Allende's Popular Unity (UP) through half of 1971 the Bolivian working class contended for power; and in 1972 the Uruguayan working class fought back tenaciously against ever-mounting austerity. These explosions, however, were mere protests, for nowhere did the working class advance to class-consciousness, to attempt to run society themselves, nor could they have.

The revolutionaries never provided a program for running a socialist society nor did they destroy the masses' illusions about Peronism or about the UP, Frente Amplio in Uruguay, etc.

The proponents of guerrilla warfare as a strategy give up before the struggle begins, they leave the working class and its economist tendencies (the so-called "bread and butter issues only" approach) untouched and under the leadership of class traitors. They see themselves as helpless in changing working class consciousness and head for greener pastures. But if the working class is not class conscious under normal circumstances, the peasantry is worse. Fidel himself recognized it: "But the peasantry is a class which, because of the ignorance in which it has been kept and the isolation in which it lives, requires the revolutionary and political leadership of the working class and the revolutionary intellectuals." [21] This is the classical Leninist proposition, yet Fidel draws the exact opposite conclusion and completely negates the lessons of the 1917 Russian Revolution. Why? Lenin was confident of winning the working class to the Bolsheviks and recognized the necessity of class-wide institutions, the Soviets, even though at the time of the February Revolution every workers' organization was thoroughly dominated by the reformists. Lenin consistently attacked the reformist illusions of the workers and proposed an alternative. The peasantry was not ignored, rather it was seen that without the complete leadership of the working class that overwhelming mass would provide nothing but counterrevolution.

Fidel, not even having the rudimentary understanding of Marxist program Lenin had, has no such confidence in the workers' movement. Instead of denouncing the reformists (in sectors of Latin America led by the CP's) who hold the working class imprisoned, he depends on them for his revolution in the countryside! Hence the tragic irony of Che in the Bolivian Andes (even if he had survived) when the fate of revolution from 1969 through 1973 in the southern half of Latin America was essentially settled in the cities.

This does not mean that peaceful revolution is possible; anyone claiming "peaceful roads" in Latin America (or anywhere else for that matter) is either a cowardly idiot or a conscious traitor... perhaps both! The struggle for power at certain points demands the obliteration of enemy forces and institutions. Whether guerrilla tactics or mass uprisings are required for the continuation of the political struggle is a tactical military question.

The case of the Chilean MIR (Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria) is exemplary. The MIR was a Fidelista ex-guerrilla group that delineated itself from the CP-led Unidad Popular on the basis of their non-belief in peaceful revolution. Yet at no point during the UP's reign of 1970-73 did the MIR launch an armed offensive against the bourgeoisie and its protectors, but rather they were reduced to dying "heroically" at the same time the rest of the UP did. This, even though it was evident beyond a shadow of a doubt by the end of 1972 that the UP's "Peaceful Road" was leading the working class and peasantry to slaughter. The MIR didn't do a thing. Why? The MIR at no point destroyed the illusions the masses had about the UP, at no point did they propose an alternative program. Instead they supported the UP, with their criticisms being reduced to mere chirping from the sidelines. Thus the political preconditions for any kind of victorious armed struggle were never present! It is no accident that the MIR today has the exact same strategy as the UP forces: use all means of struggle for... Democracy!

1968: Socialism In One Island!

Yes, the more I think of it, the more I realize how right Marx was when he said that there can be no real revolution until there is a world revolution. We are not stupid enough to believe that we can build a brave little Communist state in splendid isolation.

— Fidel shortly after the 1967 conference

Che's death spelled the end of Cuban attempts at revolution in Latin America. However, this perspective didn't gradually peter out; it went out with a bang amidst much macho rhetoric, beginning with Fidel's denunciation of the Bolivian Communists (both pro-Peking and Moscow) for having abandoned Che, and the proclamation: "Ever onward to victory." It was followed up by a slap in the face of the Soviets: Fidel sent a lowly diplomatic delegation to the much celebrated 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. The Soviets didn't take it sitting down and by the beginning of 1968 had cut down the quantity of oil being shipped to Cuba. Fidel remained intransigent and many thought a divorce was in the making.

The International Cultural Congress of January 1968 in Havana saw Fidel continue his blasts. "On many occasions the so-called vanguard was found hiding behind the rearguard in the battle against imperialism." And:

It is not one of the least paradoxes of history that, at a time when certain sectors of the clergy have seen fit to become revolutionaries, certain Marxist sectors have turned themselves into a pseudorevolutionary church. I only hope that by drawing attention to this fact I shall not myself be excommunicated, or delivered over to the Holy Inquisition. Nothing is more anti-Marxist than dogma and petrified thought. No one has a monopoly of ideas, and of revolutionary ideas least of all. No one is a repository of all revolutionary truths.[22]

Internally the Cubans had also taken to the offensive with a crackdown on small businesses and the black market; these were followed by several measures to militarize sectors of the labor movement.

Annibal Escalante, one of the leaders of the old PSP, who had already received the wrath of Castro for being a mini-Stalinist in 1962, was now put on trial and sent to jail with several others. Their crime was "micro-factional" activity on behalf of foreign powers — those powers, of course, being the Eastern bloc. The big bang was Fidel's August 2, 1968, speech on Czechoslovakia. In it he correctly recognized the counterrevolutionary nature of the Dubcek regime and therefore saw the necessity of the Soviet invasion. But he also tore apart the Soviet Union for its hypocrisy, for wasn't Dubcek doing many of the things the Soviets themselves were doing? The speech was such a blistering attack on the Soviet Union that Kremlin leaders, who were frantically using every tidbit that lent support to the invasion, never dared to use it.

From that day on Fidel has behaved himself. After Che's death the Cubans did not call any OLAS meetings or in any other way make plans to continue revolution in Latin America; Fidel's attacks on the Soviet Union and the Latin American CP's were merely the venting of impotent rage. After getting rid of it all, what was there to do but to return to the fold?

We are not exaggerating in the least bit. Even in his most vitriolic speeches of this period, as the one at the Cultural Congress which we quoted, it is quite apparent that Fidel was expressing a mere Dionysian mood (violation of "law" for the sake of it), as opposed to the Apollonian (law and order, status quo, formalism) of the Soviet Union and the Communist parties. For nowhere does Fidel propose an alternative; he merely wants anarchistic freedom instead of dogma. No more conclusive proof of this can be found than the fact that during this period, which ended in August 1968, the French general strike occurred, and yet Fidel never commented on it or even expressed perfunctory support for it.

On the tenth anniversary of the revolution in January, 1969, Fidel didn't mention any guerrilleros and now expressed gratitude to the Soviets. Blas Roca

began to reappear at official functions and Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, at the World Congress of Communist Parties in Moscow, declared Cuba's "indefectible solidarity with the USSR." Cuban internal policy had also come full circle — Cuban leader Armando Hart (not even a member of the old PSP) declared in September of 1969:

The Soviet success is explained first and foremost by the extraordinary conditions resulting from the socialization of the means of production, and especially from their collectivization in the late 1920's and the early 1930's.....this experience is a decisive element in teaching us what we ourselves have to do....[23]

In other words, "Socialism In One Island"!

Within this context, the push to produce 10 million tons of sugar in 1970, although conceived of in 1965, now took on frantic proportions, with the likes of Carlos Rafael Rodriguez describing it as a "second liberation." The effort failed, essentially because Cuba did not have the capital goods required. The attempt to make up this deficit by massive mobilizations of labor brought major dislocations to the rest of the economy. The fantasy of making a giant leap towards socialism by accumulating capital internally was more or less shattered.

But the Cubans have never completely understood their economic failures; instead, Fidel blamed himself and the leaders after the 1970 fiasco. The concept of socialism in one island was not sunk, though — it would simply take time!

Fidel's speeches at the recently held trade union conference confirm the fact that every last shred of Che's approaches to socialism have now been abandoned, the last being that moral incentives should predominate and that only the revolutionary consciousness of the masses could increase productivity. Fidel now holds that the Cuban masses were unready for socialism and were merely greedy. Therefore, while the goal of a socialist morality (class consciousness) still remains, material incentives will now be of primary importance.[24] Talk of decentralization has also recently come to the surface. Thus in the internal economic sphere Cuba has come full circle to the early days of the Revolution when Czechoslovakia was seen as the model for Cuba. In the same manner that the barbudos failed to elaborate a positive Marxist program for Latin America, they have inevitably also failed in the domestic economic sphere.

What the Cubans, including Che, have consistently failed to understand except in the most superficial of terms — therefore, easily abandonable — is that socialism in one country can never exist: advanced technology demands a world-wide division of labor!

The detente policies of the Soviet Union are merely a recognition of that fact — relatively finite natural and human resources prevent any further progress in the Soviet economy unless advanced capital goods are imported from the West. But detente is not therefore inevitable, for the opposite policy of socialist revolution in the West and elsewhere would accomplish the same and much more. During their rebellious period the Cubans thought the economic crisis in the Eastern bloc was merely caused by the moral corruption of its leadership, never seeing that while it is true enough that East bloc CP leaders are moral imbeciles, the crisis is objective.

The “errors” of the Cubans cannot simply be overlooked. The Cuban Revolution is now itself endangered, the reasons being quite clear: (a) the world capitalist crisis has imposed new hardships on Cuba in terms of trade with both West and East; (b) the failure to this date to form class-for-itself institutions which would allow the masses to consciously participate in the economy and see the overall problems instead of reacting to hardship through “me-first” bourgeois ideology, and the policies of material incentives and decentralization will raise bourgeois oriented discontent to dangerous levels; and (c) the only way out of this morass would be continental revolution, but the Cubans and Fidel also failed in this sphere and have therefore abandoned it for the immediate future. “We don’t believe that the Latin American revolution is around the corner.”[25] Instead, they have chosen to embrace the “lesser evil” theory and support “progressive” regimes. This policy only enhances the threats to the Revolution. To prove this last point, we will trace the history of Cuban policy towards Latin America.



CUBA IN LATIN AMERICA 1959-1973

As we outlined in other sections of this article, the basic Cuban foreign policy toward Latin America has been **the same** policy of the July 26th movement program at the time of the Moncada attack: To build a popular democratic front against corruption and for national sovereignty.

Our program in the struggle against Batista wasn't a socialist program, **nor could it have been a socialist program, really.** This was because the immediate objectives of our struggle were not yet, nor could they have been, socialist objectives. They would have exceeded the level of political awareness that prevailed in the Cuban society in that **phase**; they would have exceeded the level of possibilities of our people in that **phase**. At the time of the attack on the Moncada, our program wasn't a socialist program. But it was the best social and revolutionary one that our people could set itself at that time.[26]

This was the voice of Fidel answering to Chilean students at the University of Concepcion last December of 1972. In Chile, Fidel identified the attack on the Moncada as the beginning of the revolutionary process in Cuba to rationalize his blunder in supporting Allende's Popular Front government — “...Thinking very objectively, we believe that a revolutionary process has been initiated in this country.”[27]

The greatest difference between Moncada in 1953 and the tragedy of Chile in 1973, is that 1973 is the year that McNamara and the World Bank began the terminal labor-intensive looting of the entire Third World. But Fidel, the pathetic figure, is still set on his 1953 petit-bourgeois dreams with occasional violent fantasies of a Latin American continental revolution (1967-1968). Consistent with his Moncada tradition, he is back at the beginning. Like “Cien Anos de Soledad,” Fidel circles backward from his socialist struggle toward a new “bourgeois democracy,” supporting the latest CIA goals for the most efficient looting of Latin America in the proto-fascist regimes of Peru and Argentina.

The Cuban foreign policy from 1959-1973 has had four basic uneven developments:

(a.) 1959-1962. During this period, the Cubans supported a broad spectrum of Latin American political forces ranging from left-wing democrats to moderate nationalist forces including Quadros in Brazil.

(b.) 1962-1965. An ambiguous policy during this policy was exemplified by the Cubans calling on the one hand for an aggressive, guerrilla warfare strategy, yet on the other hand supporting the Communist Parties of Latin America and left-wing nationalists like the MIR

(Movement of the Revolutionary Left) of Venezuela and Peru.

(c.) 1967-1968. This brief period represents the only real attempt to develop a continent-wide revolutionary coordinating force in Latin America which polemicized against the Communist Parties.

(d.) 1969-1973. This period culminated in Fidel's open support for popular front and CIA regimes.

These uneven developments can be compared to an adolescent facing the adult world. The first three periods of the Cuban foreign policy represent the well-meaning attempts of an adolescent teenager who wants to revolutionize the outside adult world. At the end, realizing his failure he goes back to being a child, acting as his mother would have liked him to act. Fidel was given an open door by the imperialists in the fifties to join the left-wing social democratic forces; instead he pulled off a socialist revolution and ended a tragically inconsistent struggle toward continental revolution by supporting the CIA regimes of Peru, Panama, and Argentina — as "left" social democratic forces are now doing throughout the world.[28]

The 1959-1962 period is best characterized by two examples. The first one is Fidel's trip to Venezuela in January 1959, where he called for the formation of a "democratic bloc" within the OEA (Organization of American States) and suggested that dictatorial governments should be expelled from it (i.e., Somoza, Trujillo, and Stroessner). He also offered aid and sympathy to exiles from these countries, but in April 1969 a group of Panamanians left from a Cuban port to start a guerrilla war, Castro and Che Guevara condemned the invasion and worked with the Panamanian government to destroy it.[29]

This stage ended very quickly as Betancourt, Figueres and Munoz Marin — the "democratic bloc" — began exposing their real function as social democratic agents of imperialism.

During the 1962-65 stage, Cuba confronted the need to develop a continental revolution, which seemed like a real possibility with the beginning of guerrilla warfare in Bolivia, Colombia, Guatemala, Peru and Venezuela. The second aspect of this period is Fidel's illusion that he could force the official Communist Parties of Latin America to support the guerrilla struggle.

The guerrilla warfare developments in Guatemala, Bolivia and Venezuela are sufficient to show the tragedy of guerrilla movements in all of Latin America. The Guatemalan episode exposes Fidel's relations to a guerrilla movement that actually had the potential of going beyond the popular democratic front program and his opportunist stand in relation to the policy of the Communist Parties of Latin America toward factional

opponents, especially the guerrilla groups. Studies of Venezuela and Bolivia expose the best aspect of the opportunist Cuban policy toward the CP's — the polemic against the right-wing majority faction of these reformist parties. In dealing with this aspect, we are partially starting to cover the third period of Cuban foreign policy for the case of Bolivia also represents the only real attempt of the Cubans to start a continental coordinated guerrilla movement — it was the beginning and end of Che's pathetic fantasy whose only reality was its defeat and Che's martyrdom.

The most outstanding document from this period (1962-1965) is the Second Declaration of Havana, which in a rudimentary way motivates the Cuban and Latin American working class and peasantry toward the survival need of a permanent continent-wide revolution — "Cuba and Latin America are part of the world...What is behind the Yanqui hate of the Cuban Revolution?...Not fear of the Cuban Revolution, but fear of the Latin American revolution." [30] The potential of this document was never consummated; Fidel, Che, the MIR and the Tupamaros never took the next step in developing a continent-wide reconstruction program for the development of Latin America.[31]

The Cuban Revolution itself and the Second Declaration of Havana provided the explosive polemics that began the guerrilla warfare. As a matter of fact, the Guatemala MR13 (13th of November Revolutionary Movement) got involved in guerrilla struggle as a protest action by nationalist officers who saw no reason why Guatemala should be used as a spring-board for a U.S.-sponsored invasion of Cuba. By 1963-64, the leadership of MR13 underwent a period of internal transformation, which moved from the CP program of anti-feudal and democratic revolution to a conception of anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist program for a socialist revolution.

At this same juncture, the MR13 came under the influence of the Trotskyist Latin American Bureau of Buenos Aires, a section of the Fourth International run by Posadas. The Posadistas and the MR13 developed their program, "First Declaration of the Sierra de las Minas." [32] Their basic strategy was "Workers, students, peasants, arm yourself!" Instead of formulating a program of expanded reproduction for all Latin America in a worldwide context, they tried to differentiate themselves from the CP by calling for a Guerrilla Conference in which guerrilla representatives from Venezuela, Colombia and Guatemala would participate to form a loose federation of guerrilla groups. This unholy alliance between "Posadistas" and the MR13 only lasted one year and a half.

What did Fidel say about all these developments?

Fidel sided with the CP twice. In December of 1964, the Cubans sponsored a conference of all Latin American Communist Parties, which said in the concluding resolution, "...the conference considers that unity within each party is essential to carry out the revolution in each country. Thus all factionalization of whatever kind of origin should be categorically ended." [33] In January, 1965, at the Tricontinental Conference, Fidel openly sided with right wing Communist parties by not inviting the MR13 to the conference and later, like a little boy throwing a tantrum, slandered Trotskyism for being an agent of imperialism. All of this because "los Posadistas" had formally brought politics out of the left bedroom by exposing the popular front policies of the Communist Parties in Guatemala and South Vietnam, and the peaceful coexistence line of the Soviet Union. [34] Because of this flirtation with the Latin American CP's, Fidel was blinded from seeing the potential revolutionary leadership of the best cadres of the MR13. Not having any political strategy, he amused the butchers of revolutions in Latin America by screaming hysterically, "Trotskyites!" The death of guerrilla Commander Turcios Lima in October of 1966, which coincided with a new major campaign against the guerrillas by the army and the growth of anti-communist organizations, marked the formal death of the guerrilla struggle in Guatemala.

In the Venezuelan and Bolivian guerrilla struggles up until 1967, Fidel committed the same blunders as in Guatemala by trying to support the guerrilla fighters and, at the same time, flirting with the CP's. Fidel did not want to alienate his faithful mother (CP) nor his wild rebellious younger brother (guerrilla groups) from the big popular front. In March of 1967 Fidel began to push for a more aggressive armed struggle, to



polemicize against the right wing leadership of the CP of Venezuela, Guatemala and Bolivia, and against the peaceful coexistence (detente) policy of the CPSU. But these correct moves came not from a principled basis that could provide a consistent strategy for continental revolution, but from Fidel's bourgeois moralistic impulses:

It is not incumbent upon us to decide the problems of strategy or tactics for the Venezuelan revolutionary movement. Nobody has ever asked us to make any decisions on such problems nor have we ever attempted to do so. But we do have an inalienable right, and that is the right to think, the right to have an opinion, the right to express our sympathy and solidarity with the fighters. [35] (Our emphasis — Ed.)

Like in Chile, Fidel remains a "humble goody-goody supporter" — "Therefore, I cannot make an analysis of either the mistakes or the successes of the Government. That is something that is entirely up to the Chileans." [36]

The highest point of Cuban foreign policy is the launching of the "Fifth International" — the OLAS. But the only real hope of OLAS was defeated badly in Bolivia barely one month after its creation. Che's dreams of a continental military struggle moving up through the Andes lasted only eight months. The last cry of this stage is Fidel's speech on the Czechoslovakian events. [37] This speech, although courageous, is just a simple repetition of the same arguments against peaceful coexistence (detente) and the reformist leadership of the CP of Venezuela, Guatemala, and Bolivia.

As Moscow's policy of detente smothered Castro's impotent argument against the deadliness of such "peaceful coexistence," Fidel gave up the polemic and began crawling back to the beginning (1959). But this time he was following Nelson Rockefeller, as outlined in his "Report on the Americas." [38] This is the period of 1969-1973 where Fidel, throwing in the towel, openly supported the CIA-led regime of Peru.

In the first months after General Velasco Alvarado's military coup, the PCC characterized it as a "gorilla military coup" [39], although Fidel later denied this. [40] The PCC also exposed the CIA background of Alvarado Velasco for being the Peruvian representative at the Inter-American Defense Council in Washington, a school for puppet dictators and the instrument of imperialist intervention. (41) It is only when Rockefeller set up the Peruvian Junta to expropriate (without compensation) the International Petroleum Company (IPC) that none other than Minister Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, the Soviet agent in Havana newly returned from a trip to Moscow, began supporting the Peruvian junta as the first step in implementing the Brandt-Brezhnev detente



policy in Latin America. Rodriguez' function at the 13th Conference of the ECLA (Economic Commission on Latin America) of the UN in Peru in April of 1969, was not only to express Cuban supporters for the junta on the IPC controversy, but also to push this line on the Peruvian Communist Party and, consequently, on the rest of the Communist Parties of Latin America.

We are in our capacity as a member of ECLA, exercising our rights as members of the UN, and we have been the recipients of Peruvian hospitality; therefore, we will not take up internal matters of Peru (referring to the PCP characterization of the Peruvian junta as just another military junta). But we do wish to make it clear that Revolutionary Cuba supports Peru in her struggle against the U.S. government's attempts to impose a "Big Stick" policy. We support the struggle of the Peruvian nation for her sovereignty. We are not in a position to judge the developments of the military junta; **it is for the Peruvian people to judge the military junta and its chances for success.**[42] (Our emphasis — Ed.)

Fidel Castro's speech at the beginning of the 10 million ton sugar harvest in July 1969, although supporting Rodriguez's stand on Peru, still tends to support it only if the revolution develops and continues in an anti-imperialist line.[43] But it is a sham. After this the Cubans began playing a "Salvation Army" role toward Peru. Fidel and Dorticos gave blood for the Peruvians after the earthquake and Rodriguez proposed to the Administrative Council of the UN Development program to create an emergency fund to be given to Peru. The Cuban press recently reported "objectively" on the busting of the teachers' strike and the repression against "provocateurs" like the Maoist and Trotskyist groups — but always quoting the Peruvian government officials' press release.

Fidel finally submitted completely to the Rockefeller-inspired military junta at the end of 1972, when he reaffirmed the Peruvian process as an unquestionable revolutionary process. He began to militantly and shamelessly push the Soviet detente policy against incredulous leftists: "Unfortunately, not everybody

understands the Peruvian process. **We do.** We have been following it hopefully, and we have seen it develop. One conclusive proof of the reaffirmation of Peru's sovereignty was her attitude toward Cuba."[44]

Peru represents the highest moment of the **sexual and political impotence** of Fidel and the Cuban foreign policy.

Although there is abundant proof to the contrary, we'll give Fidel the benefit of the doubt and admit the possibility that he has no knowledge of the CIA's running of Peru. His steadfastness in the belief of the Popular Front — July 26th Movement style — plus "friendly" shoves from the Soviets through characters like Rodriguez may have blinded him to reality. The expose of the junta that follows will remove any such doubts. From the publication date of this article on, Fidel will be personally responsible for consciously aiding the CIA if he persists with the present Cuban policy on Peru.

PERU: BRAINCHILD OF THE CIA

The Peruvian junta is not an "autonomous revolutionary force" on the continent, but rather the vehicle of a counterinsurgency experiment, a CIA creation necessary for the implementation of Brazil-type programs of labor-intensivity, co-participation and human recycling.

In the latter part of the 1960's, Rockefeller and his think-tank were already at work conducting studies as to the feasibility of a new "radical-type military regime" for Latin America. Since 1966, CIA man Luigi Einaudi, an expert on military affairs and presently head of the Rand Corporation's social science research, was doing research under the auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation on the uses of "Marxism" by radical nationalists in Latin America, concentrating on Peru.[45]

The Rockefeller plan called for a "radical" military coup which could incorporate civilian, left-nationalist

elements. This is exactly what happened. We cite Einaudi, "...startling amount of shared ground appeared between disenchanted left-wing civilian intellectuals and professionals and military intellectuals and **intelligence specialists**...Most are **strongly anti-communist**." [46] (Our emphasis, Ed.) In 1970 Einaudi looks back upon the first two years of the junta, contentedly noting that both military and civilian elements of the "revolutionary government" stand on "hatred of traditional parties and parliamentary systems" — the raw ingredients on which a fascist movement is based.

The Soviet Union, Cuba and the Peruvian CP have adopted a position of total uncritical support of a military whose officer corps were CIA-trained. They received thorough training at such U.S. military institutions as Fort Gulich, Fort Albrick, etc. in the Panama Canal Zone and at CAEM (Centro de Altos Estudios Militares) in Lima besides other training centers in Latin America, the U.S. and abroad. The officers were not only exposed to the traditional counterinsurgency methods, but also received detailed instructions in fascist-type "National Economic Planning" instilling the values of corporatist ideology in the future junta leaders which prepared them to run the economy in the only way possible for capitalism in the 1970's. Ironically, the Cuban support the government whose army put down guerrillas in the land seizures in Arequipa and Cuzco during the Belaunde regime. They support the same government that has included such unrevolutionary characters as Jorge Grieve, President of Volkswagen in Peru and noted private-enterprise reformer (now serving as advisor to the Ministry of Mines), and Edgardo Seive, vice president of Peru under Belaunde (now president of the Agricultural Bank).

When the junta seized power, the U.S. shrewdly obliged in providing them with a mantle of radicalism over the issue of IPC's (International Petroleum Company) nationalization. CIA agent Ernest Siracusa, attached to the U.S. mission at the time of the takeover, played an instrumental role in generating the fake U.S.-Peruvian "confrontation" over the IPC issue, hysterically denouncing the takeover and requiring that the U.S. invoke the Hickenlooper Amendment. (Incidentally, afterwards in 1969, Siracusa reappeared in Bolivia, performing a similar role there in conjunction with the Gulf Oil expropriation).

The junta's left cover drops immediately upon closer examination of the IPC affair. Rockefeller had already decided to scale down oil operations in Peru prior to the macho nationalization act of the junta, and the country which used to be a net exporter of petroleum and

petroleum products had already become a net importer. Value of petroleum exports in Peru plunged from \$25.3 million in 1950 (13 per cent of total exports) down to \$8.5 million in 1967 (1 per cent of total exports)! Rockefeller's consent to the seeming expropriation without compensation of a little chunk of his World Empire settled the issue of his ever having to pay back the \$690 million in back taxes IDC owed to the Peruvian government — a sum actually amounting to three and a half times the market value of IPC's investment! In general [47], in fact today it is at an all-time high.

Another nationalization move that was applauded enthusiastically by leftists, Cuba and the PCP, was that of the sugar haciendas which were subjected to immediate expropriation under the new agrarian reform law passed in 1969. By supporting this move to turn the sugar haciendas into cooperatives, the CP's collaborated with the CIA-trained junta in the junta's conscious effort to smash sugar unions traditionally controlled by the Apristas. Such a policy had a two-fold purpose: on the one hand, the granting of large credits to these new cooperative estates, saddling them with debt; and, far more important, shattering sugar workers' consciousness as members of a national union, reducing them to a far more swinish, local-control and peasant mentality — the mentality necessary for them to fall victim with little resistance to fascist economic policy.

Cuban and other sources often cite as proof of the "revolutionary" nature of the Peruvian junta the fact that Peru has been boycotted, until recently, by international lending agencies. What was actually taking place was a necessary holding operation as Peru could not afford any drastic increase in the national debt load until the present junta could carry out Rockefeller-RAND policy to create the institutionalized basis (**comunidades industriales**, peasant cooperatives and other local-control type programs) for a continued enlarged looting of Peru. With these programs now well underway, thanks to the CP, new loans and investment are pouring into Peru again. Primitive accumulation in Peru could not go much further under the old set up. Under Belaunde foreign public debt had increased from \$196 million in 1963 to \$847 million by 1968 (70 per cent of which must be paid off over a four-year period beginning in 1970). [48]

The view that Peru was cut off from credits because of Peru's so-called revolutionary stance is a myth peddled to the credulous by Fidel and Company. Fidel pretends not to know the truth, which is that the junta carried out a fiscal policy fully conforming to IMF guidelines. Velasco implemented severe budgetary cuts (i.e. slashed social services expenditures), wage

controls, a tight credit policy was maintained, etc., effecting a drastic decline in the already-miserable level of consumption of the workers and peasants. This was the other side of Velasco's **machismo** — being a good little boy promising never to default on debt payments to the IMF, World Bank and McNamara, and finally being rewarded in loans and credits again by late 1972 and 1973.

During the loan and credit withholding period, Peru was forced to renegotiate the old foreign debt, thereby increasing the total debt to be paid at a later date with higher interest rates.

The criminality of Cuba's complete support of the Peruvian junta stands out most clearly when we examined the most vicious aspects of the junta's program — the **comunidades industriales** and the agrarian reform, programs in which the junta is functioning as the executive arm to implement CIA-McNamara-designed blueprints. Here the fascist economics of the junta come out most clearly. The essence of the agrarian reform is that large-scale capital-intensive and mechanized methods are being replaced by agricultural slave labor in which vast armies of urban and rural under- and unemployed along with peasants are organized into cooperatives for **export-oriented** agricultural projects. The crux of this intensified looting process lies in the fact that each peasant receives a legal title to a share in the co-op, thereby collectively and individually becoming eligible to acquire debt — what is euphemistically called “entering the monetary economy.” Payment of the debt is insured through marginal increases in production brought about by the introduction of new rural labor en masse. Inevitably this is immediately accompanied by radical declines in an already-wretched standard of living. Fidel breaks with the last vestiges of Marxism, confesses his role as Moscow's houseboy in the Caribbean, when he can openly support this scheme. The junta's agrarian reform signifies negative growth of agriculture, i.e. the complete barbarization of Peru's agriculture.[49]

Such recycling schemes into slave labor agricultural projects have been mapped out by a CIA-funded team from the University of Wisconsin, headed by Dr. John Strasma, a “specialist” on the agrarian reform question and in public financing in developing countries. Dr. Strasma was consulted on land reform in Peru in 1964, 1966 and 1968 under the auspices of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB), and is presently advisor to the Office of Tax Research and Development in the Ministry of Economy and Finance in a Ford Foundation project in Peru.[50]

Just as Castro finds himself a co-thinker of Mc-

Namara in the question of agrarian reform in Peru, he had embraced whole-heartedly the Peruvian program necessary for the success of the Rockefeller-sponsored **comunidades industriales**. The **comunidad industrial** concept originated not with the junta, but is an outgrowth of the “fade-out formula” — brainchild of Dr. Paul Rosenstein-Rodan of MIT and Prof. Raymond Vernon of Harvard. Rockefeller's “fade-out formula” provides for fade-out contracts with foreign investors who are assured a “reasonable” profit over a set time span plus guaranteed repatriation of original capital, preparing the investment for eventual transfer to local control.

To replace the strong labor union movement with the **comunidad** concept, the Peruvian government's tactics have been to play on the support given them by the Peruvian Communist Party and the Communist-led CGTP against the larger CTP, controlled largely (70 per cent) by the Apristas. The successful imposition of such co-participation and profit-sharing schemes as formulated through the **comunidades industriales** will mean the organization of the Peruvian working class along fascist lines.

Velasco has already declared that the **comunidades industriales** are the basis for the elimination of class organizations. Such fascist rhetoric can be clearly seen in the following statement made by Velasco on August 13, 1970:

The worker now does not need protection and to be on guard. There are not going to be stoppages and strikes — what for? Both, the capitalists and the workers will benefit. There will be harmony and they will act as if they will be (are in a good family).

The “good family” model is simply the most advanced, the most successful, the “Peruvian model” of co-determination mapped out in the Rockefeller Report on the Americas:

In most hemisphere countries, labor is now excluded from government planning for development. This has caused **widespread frustration** [recall the Cordobazo and other mass strike ferment in the 1967-69 period, Ed.] among labor leaders, who feel their governments show little concern about low wages, poor working conditions, and unemployment. **From the nation's standpoint, labor's lack of involvement in planning means that workers and unions cannot make their maximum contribution to economic development.** [51] (Our emphasis — Ed.)

Velasco and Co. do nothing to disguise their fascist policy. It spells out class death and earmarks Peru as another victim in the Rockefeller policy leading to the Brazilianization of all Latin America at an accelerating pace.

Castro's impotence was more than ever painfully exposed in his support for the Chilean “peaceful road”

to socialism of the Popular Unity. In a letter Fidel sent Allende in July of 1973, a month and a half before the coup, we can see it in its limpest form:

We see now that you are on the delicate question of dialogue with the Christian Democrats...your desire to win time, better the correlation of forces in case the struggle explodes...are laudable propositions. But in case the other party [PDC], whose intentions are hard to appraise from here, insists upon perfidious and irresponsible politics demanding from the UP and the revolution a price which is impossible to pay, which is very probable, don't forget for one second the Chilean working class...at your warning of the revolution in danger it can paralyze the putschists...its strength and combativity can incline the balance [of power] in the capital to your favor even if other circumstances are unfavorable.[52]

At the time of the letter, Allende and the Chilean Communist Party (PCCh) were being blasted by wide sectors of the left, even within the UP for negotiating with the Christian Democratic Party (PDC). Fidel joins them but only by broaching the subject in the most gingerly fashion. "It's probable that they want your head, Salvador, but then from here...who knows? So don't forget the workers." Such lack of backbone! Fidel (as well as the UP) knew very well the closeness of the PDC to the CIA! "Better yet, here is my plan, lose the country and gain a capital!"

It gets better, however, so we'll quote the letter:

Your decision to defend the process with firmness and honor, even at the price of your own life, which we all know you are capable of fulfilling, will sweep to your side all the forces capable of fighting...your firm leadership, exercised with heroism and resolution, constitute the key to the situation.[53]

If one needs to remind a comrade of his courage and honor, well that comrade is not a very good one. But Allende wasn't insulted. In fact, he followed Fidel's advice. Among his last words to his daughter, while he fought for his macho honor were "...dile a Fidel que yo cumplire con mi deber."[54]

But the overall implication of the letter — implication because Fidel is too impotent to say it openly — is "you've messed it up Salvador; but here is your last chance, die for the revolution and victory is assured." Today the whole world knows the results of Fidel's impotent criticisms and macho advice. Fidel, however, is satisfied, for Allende has regained his macho honor:

That is the way to be a revolutionary!
That is the way to be a man!
That is the way a real fighter dies!
That is the way a real defender of the people dies!
That is the way a fighter for socialism dies![55]

What about the workers, peasants and students Allende had shot down for overstepping the bounds of the bourgeois constitution? What about the sailors Allende denounced as counter-revolutionaries and allowed to be tortured for letting the world know that the Navy was planning a coup? What about the thousands that have been killed and the millions that must now endure fascist austerity, all because Allende and the PCCh insisted on reforms when nothing short of revolution would do? Fidel and the Cubans were silent, of course, for their complicity with the UP makes them just as responsible. Instead, Fidel tries to cover his tracks by reciting fantasies, "If every worker had had a rifle...there wouldn't have been a fascist coup."[56] Yes, Fidel, if there was a God, and if he was a socialist, then...

Such contemptible nonsense, such destructive influence that Cuban policy now represents must not be allowed to occupy even the outhouse of the Latin American revolutionary movement! Cuban foreign policy, which today is directed by Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, is the exact carbon copy of Soviet policy, that policy which Fidel and Che once so heartily denounced! Today Fidel has no moral character, not even the bourgeois character he exhibited during the Cuban Revolution. What's left? Nothing, perhaps worse than nothing, for a revolutionary without integrity is a very contemptible animal indeed.

Some unhappy urban guerrilla will now have his last objection, "I just came from a meeting with a Cuban agent who assured me that despite Cuba's public positions they still support us revolutionaries."[57] Comrades, you could not be more mistaken! If you ever get enough strength to begin challenging your local CP, as the MIR did in Chile, they will set you straight. Carlos Rafael Rodriguez made a special trip to Chile to assure there would be no left splits from the UP and to denounce the MIR: "...there is no revolutionary alternative to the government of the UP and President Allende. There only exists reactionary and oligarchic tendencies."[58] Only while you remain small fry will the Cubans egg you on.

Today we can see the results of the Soviet-Cuban marriage. Appropriately, Fidel had the nickname of **el caballo** (the horse) while he was in the mountains, along came the whorish **burra** (donkey) Carlos Rafael Rodriguez (who previously had mated with such lower species as Batista), and the offspring was naturally a mule. The Cuban Revolution today is a mule, it cannot reproduce itself and will itself die, like mules do, unless we make a revolution throughout the advanced sector and Latin America within the next few years.

1. Bertram Silverman, *Man and Socialism in Cuba*, New York, 1973, p. 353.
2. Fidel Castro, *Second Declaration of Havana*, Havana, 1962.
3. *Granma Weekly Review*, Havana, May 13, 1973, p. 3.
4. Hugh Thomas, *Cuba: The Pursuit of Freedom*, New York 1971.
5. L. Marcus, *Third Stage of Imperialism*, New York, 1967.
6. K. S. Karol, *Guerrillas in Power*, New York, 1970, p. 151. We have used Karol's work as a significant source of background material for the present article. It will be remembered that Fidel denounced Karol back in 1970. However, insofar as the history of the PSP and the Cuban revolution, no Cuban or other source has disputed or contradicts, to our knowledge, Karol's version of it. It's only Karol's proposals for solving Cuba's problems that are ridiculous — in fact Karol in the book views the Chinese line as the only real revolutionary line left. It took Mr. Kissinger to dispel this notion, and so we feel that Karol should stick to historical research. In other words we wholeheartedly agree with one of Fidel's charges against Karol — he's an armchair theorist!
7. Fidel, *op. cit.*
8. Karol, *op. cit.*, p. 164.
9. Literally "the plains," to Fidel meaning the cities and towns while he was in the mountains.
10. *Granma, Fidel Over Radio Rebelde*, Havana, March 18, 1973.
11. L. Marcus, "The Sexual Impotence Of The Puerto Rican Socialist Party," *The Campaigner*, Vol.7, No.1, Nov., 1973.
12. F. Fuebas, "The Chilean Popular Front: Autopsy Of a Suicide," *The Campaigner*, Vol. 7, No. 1, Nov., 1973.
13. Herbert L. Mathews, *Fidel Castro*, New York, 1969, p. 136.
14. The history of Cuban communism is fairly well documented, so that we will not footnote the rest of this section. Two sources are Karol, *op. cit.*, and R.J. Alexander, *Communism in Latin America*, New Brunswick, New Jersey. The brief quotes that follow are from the Karol book.
15. Karol, *op. cit.*, p. 217.
16. Theodore Draper, *Castroism: Theory and Practice*, New York, 1965.
17. Ernesto "Che" Guevara Lynch, *Obras Completas*, Havana, pp. 571-582.
18. Karol, *op. cit.*, pp. 373-374.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 364-387.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 387.
21. Castro, *op. cit.*
22. Karol, *op. cit.*, p. 403.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 518.
24. *Latin America*, London, November 23, 1973, Volume VII, No. 47, p. 376.
25. *Granma Weekly Review*, Havana, May 13, 1973, p. 3.
26. *Fidel In Chile*, New York, 1972, pp. 66-67.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
28. N. Syvriotis, *The Campaigner*, Vol. 6, No. 3-4, Sept./Oct., 1973.
29. Richard Gott, *Guerrilla Movements in Latin America*, New York, 1971.
30. Castro, *op. cit.*
31. For approximation of that type of program see editorial in *Boletin Internacional*, Vol. I, No. 2, Nov.-Dec., 1973.
32. Richard Gott, *op. cit.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. Martin Kenner, James Petras, Eds., *Fidel Castro Speaks*, New York, 1969.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Fidel in Chile*, New York, 1972, p. 65.
37. *Speech by Fidel Castro, Analyzing the Events in Czechoslovakia*, Cuban Mission to the U.N., August, 1968.
38. *The Rockefeller Report on the Americas*, Chicago, 1969.
39. *Granma Weekly Review*, Havana, Oct. 20, 1968.
40. *Granma Weekly Review*, Havana, Sept. 26, 1972.
41. *Granma Weekly Review*, Havana, Nov. 3, 1968.
42. *Granma Weekly Review*, Havana, April 16, 1969.
43. *Granma Weekly Review*, Havana, July 15, 1969.
44. *Granma Weekly Review*, Havana, Sept. 26, 1972.
45. Luigi Einaudi, *Changing Contexts of Revolutions in Latin America*, 1966, p. 344; *The Peruvian Military, A Summary Political Analysis*, The Rand Corp., Memorandum RM-6048-RC, Santa Monica, California, May, 1969.
46. *U.S. Foreign Policy and Peru*, Daniel A. Sharp, Ed., special publication of the Institute of Latin American Studies, the University of Texas at Austin, 1972.
47. *The New York Times*, October 31, 1969.
48. Export-Import Bank, Annual Report, 1969.
49. Canasco, Gamaliel, et al., *Movilizacion de Recursos Financieros y Economicos para la Reforma Agraria Peruana*, Washington, D.C., CIDA, 1969; Whyte, William, "El Mito del Campesino Pasivo: la Dinamica del Cambio en el Peru Rural," *Estudios Andinos 1*, La Paz, 1970.
50. Daniel A. Sharp, Ed., *op. cit.*
51. *Rockefeller Report on the Americas*, Chicago, 1969, pp. 116-117.
52. Fidel Castro, *El Mas Alto Ejemplo de Heroismo*, La Habana, 1973, pp. 64-65.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 20 Or, "Tell Fidel I will do my duty."
55. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
57. The Latin American Labor Committees have proof that this is the line that Cuba now feeds its guerrilla friends.
58. *Chile Hoy*, Santiago, No. 46, Semana 27 Abril-3 Mayo, 1973.