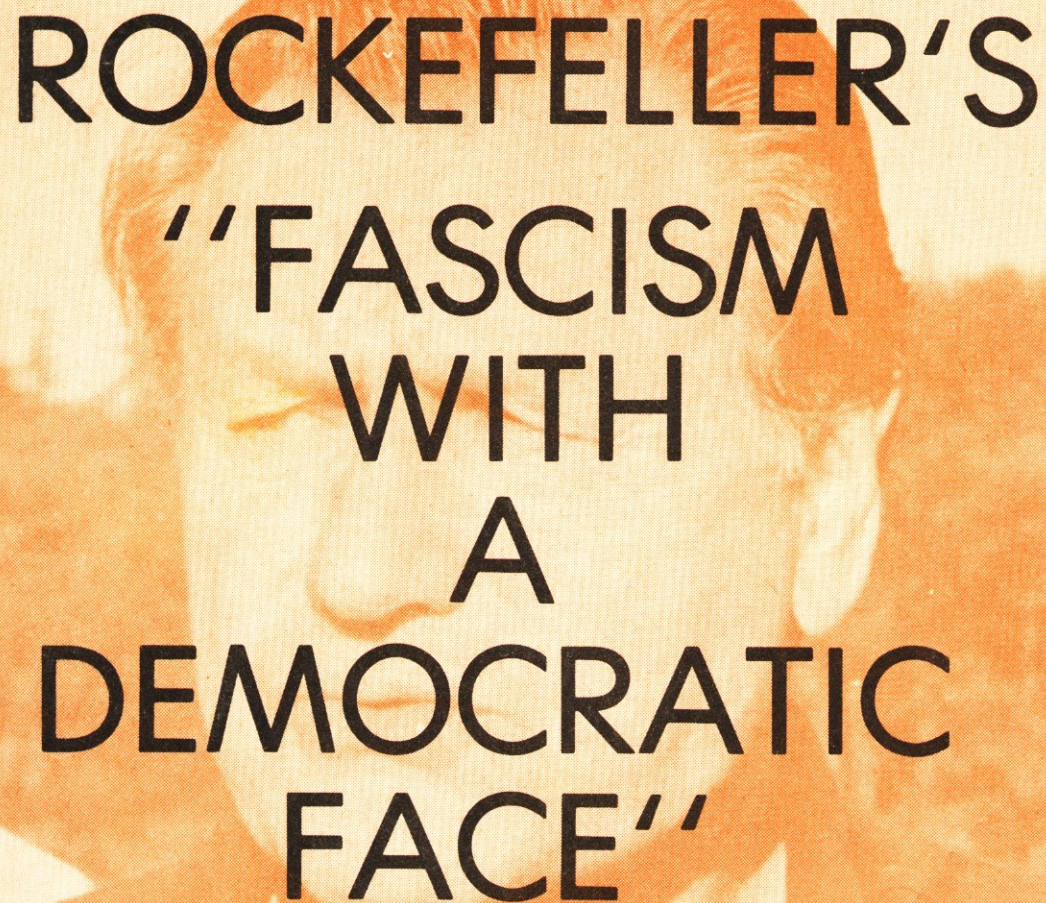


the Campaigner

Journal of the National Caucus of Labor Committees

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Foreword: "Either Red or Dead"

by Lyn Marcus

The world is now being pushed toward a new form of organization modelled ultimately on the most hideous features of the Nazi Third Reich. If the Rockefeller-headed supranational agencies succeed in realizing their stated tactical goals for the Winter of 1974-75 and later months of 1975, a majority of the human race will be deprived immediately of all basis for hope of a civilized personal life as most of us understand that term. The probable included consequence of the Rockefellers' projected "new world order" is thermonuclear holocaust **no later than** the early 1980s. If, improbably, such war is avoided, the 1990 situation of humanity still would not be much better than if the worst kind of thermonuclear holocaust had occurred.

This threat confronts us with two principal analytical tasks. Although the rudimentary principles permeating the Rockefellers' designs for fascism are identical with those adopted by the financiers behind Hitler, the Rockefeller model includes major added features beyond anything projected by Mussolini or the Nazi planners. Secondly, the strategic situation and problems before us are radically different than those posed by Italian and German fascism.

The urgent task of resolving these two kinds of novelties is complicated by the fact that, apart from the Labor Committees themselves, no institutionalized body of investigation — academic liberal or socialist — has competently analyzed the older forms of fascism. Rosa Luxemburg's 1913-16 analysis of imminent threats of "military economy" did represent an astonishingly precise forecast of fascist **economic** order, but that fruitful line of investigation was repudiated foolishly by social-democrats and Bolsheviks alike, in favor of the bowdlerized "vulgar Marxism" which still passes for theoretical competence in most of the socialist organizations of today.

The common feature of both the Hitler and the Rockefeller models of fascism is centered around a shared commitment to the **primitive accumulation** strategies of Nazi finance minister Hjalmar Schacht. Once one has mastered the significance of Schachtian economic policies, one directly understands all the main features of both Nazi and Rockefeller policies. Concerning "zero growth," "anti-inflation" austerity, military aggression, looting of occupied territories, and the death-camp system, there are no differences between Nazi policies and those of the Rockefellers.

The principal specific distinctions are in political forms. The Nazi model was based on German nationalism; the Rockefeller model is based on supranational, not national financier blocs, and originates as a world system, rather than as a program of world conquest developed by a

national fascist system. This aspect of Rockefeller fascism was still difficult for many to grasp as recently as the Winter of 1973-74; it is becoming obvious. The second distinction, which represents a more sophisticated problem for the layman's understanding, is the Rees-Lewin innovations in Nazism, which replaces the emphasis upon the jack-booted SS system with a superficial parody of democratic institutions. It is the Rees-Lewin innovation which determines the most important strategic and tactical distinctions of Rockefellers' fascist thrust.

Except for the second type of political distinction, the typical militant worker of North America and continental Western Europe has demonstrated that he has no lack of the intellectual powers to understand the imminence and nature of the Rockefeller fascist threat. It has also been demonstrated that he is capable of understanding the more sophisticated, psychological aspects of the Rockefeller program, although with somewhat greater effort required for this. The same qualification has been demonstrated for most of the center and left faction leaders of the European continental social-democracy, who have often privately confirmed the essential accuracy of our analysis from the standpoint of their direct knowledge. Communist Party officials are generally more reluctant to understand, but because of fear-prompted hysteria rather than relative lack of knowledge or intellectual powers.

In sum, counterposing the Rockefeller thrust for fascist world order to the intellectual and mass resources of the workers' movement, we have still a period of a few months during which we can begin to sabotage the Rockefeller drive, and a relatively short period beyond that — not later than 1976-77 — in which to crush the Rockefeller forces forever. Provided that we realize those working-class potentials, we still have barely enough time to save the human race from the virtual extinction that otherwise confronts it during the next decade.

The "Allende Syndrome"

The greatest danger to humanity, apart from the Rockefellers themselves, is a suicidal syndrome within the workers' movement, a pattern of suicidal psychosis usefully identified as the "Allende model." Essentially, at the time of the first election of Salvador Allende to the Chilean presidency, the existing correlation of forces did not permit the Rockefeller interests to launch the sort of military-police bloodbath later enacted during September, 1973. As a result of Allende's bungling administration, the conditions for coup were created, and the bloodbath occurred. The German social-democracy, the Socialist Party of Italy, the Communist Party of Italy, the Communist Party of France, and even the leadership of the Soviet Union itself, are presently committed to repeating that tragic pattern — with analogous inevitable consequences.

In Italy and in Germany today, as in Allende's Chile, the mass-based working-class parties' leaders are governed principally by fear that they will "provoke" the financiers to launch a military-police bloodbath and dictatorship. Out of this fear of "provocation," the parties' leaders hysterically limit their struggles to "demanding" what they regard as the least unfavorable terms **within the framework of the austerity demands advanced by the financiers.**

In Italy, for example, the most right-wing current within the Communist Party, the "Cloaca Maxima" ("big

sewer") current of Giorgio Amendola, has the upper hand at the moment of this writing. Amendola is the co-sponsor, together with the representatives of the ex-Nazi and Rockefeller ally, the Fiat empire's Gianni Agnelli, of a scheme to "save" the Italian economy by eliminating the "parasites" of the state bureaucracy. Presumably, Agnelli will be induced by this tactic to lessen the intensity of his austerity measures against the industrial workers.

In reality, this proposal does not involve a constructive rationalization of the Italian bureaucracy from a socialist standpoint, but is simply a crude drastic cut in social services for all Italian workers and the lumpenization of a mass of Communist and Socialist parties' potential supporters into a raving fascist horde.

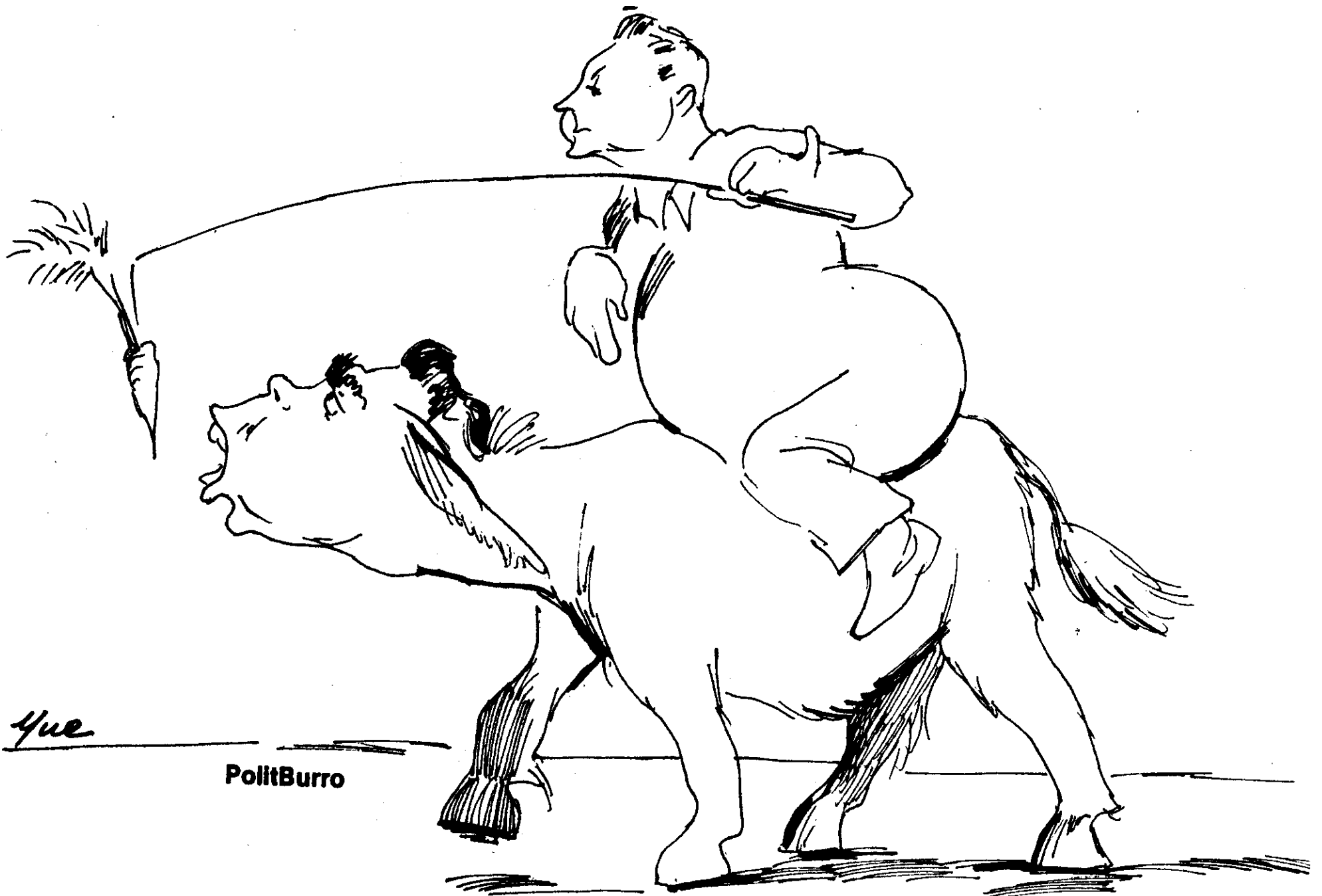
Meanwhile, the PSI's and PCI's "fears of provocations" cause them generally to demoralize the workers and other supporters, so creating the preconditions for the fascist takeover. In disgusting irony, the Amendola gang warns that this repetition of Allende's suicidal policies must be strictly followed **in order to avoid the fate of Allende!**

In West Germany, the fearful left wing of the SPD so far follows an analogous policy. Each threat prompts them to react by clinging to the right-wing SPD faction (the self-styled "sewer workers" faction). We must not lose any allies, they warn hysterically. The sewer faction, in turn, warns that the liberal allies of the SPD must be cultivated at all costs. So, to placate the sewer faction, the left wing of the SPD is induced to hysterically placate the Free Democratic Party (FDP). Since the FDP, in turn, is placating its own right-wing sections, which are indistinguishable variously from the Christian Democracy and the Christian Social Union of neo-fascist Strauss, one sees where the policies of the SPD left-wing end up.

The powerful German working class base of the SPD is demoralized by such whorish antics, which impels the cringing left leaders to placate the right-wing forces all the more desperately. The potential social allies of the SPD are disgusted by this display of impotence, and accordingly vote directly for the FDP and CDU, rather than dealing at discount through would-be SPD brokers of FDP-CDU-CSU politics.

The blunders of the Soviet leadership are necessarily on a somewhat grander scale. Since the Cuban Missile Crisis and increasingly since the escalation of the CIA-Pentagon War in Vietnam, the Soviet leadership has become the most faithful adherent of RAND Corporation-Hudson Institute "strategic doctrine." Referring to its control of the U.S. thermonuclear establishment, the Rockefeller forces propose that war can be avoided so long as the Soviets are informed and respond appropriately concerning the outer limits of what the "U.S." considers a provocation of its thermonuclear potential. "We are mad, you see," the Rockefellers warn the Soviets, "and will destroy the world in radioactive holocaust if we consider ourselves unduly provoked." The Rockefellers continue: "You socialists, by contrast, are sane. You have compunctions concerning the survival of the human race, where we do not. Therefore, it is your responsibility to be the sane person in this strategic game, which you accomplish by staying within the bounds of the 'game-limits' which we madmen define."

The Soviets agree to play **this losing game**, although with certain "hard bargaining" stipulations which they imagine to represent an effective defense of the bloc itself. They maintain an impressive counterpunch capability, thus raising the "threshold" value for thermonuclear



confrontation. Their game is essentially premised on nation-politics, while Rockefellers' is premised on gaining the world. The Soviets are playing against a rigged game, which they must ultimately lose as long as they play within the terms defined by the Rockefellers. In particular, since October, 1973, the Soviet leadership has lost — in large part, given away outright — the major part of its former strategic assets outside the Soviet bloc itself!

The Soviets, otherwise, cling to the bastion of "Mother Russia" and Eastern Europe, hoping that somehow, in the long run, this hideous uproar in the "outside world" will go away of its own volition. Everything for them, otherwise, is a rear-guard delaying action, giving away the world up to their doorsteps, piece by piece, ostensibly trading for time against the hour the nightmare will hopefully evaporate. They, too, are victims of the tragic "Allende syndrome."

This apparently poses the problem as follows. The Labor Committees understand the problem and have, presumably, a strategic "doctrine" capable of stopping the Rockefellers. Despite the fact that the Labor Committees' analyses, predictions, and other activities are now a collateral tactical consideration at the highest levels of a number of governments, all the mass-based working class organizations are in the hands of either outright traitors, such as Woodcock, Abel, Loderer, and so forth, or terrified creatures such as the cited Communist and left-wing social-democratic spokesmen. What are we accomplishing in the end except to win the overwhelming admiration of whatever future generations appear beyond this holocaust?

There is no need to dwell on that misleading argument. Granted: to say the very least, most of the top and second level leaders of working-class organizations are either traitors or are simply way behind the militant strata of rank-and-file members in manifest intelligence and combative temperament. Granted: it would be idiotic to respond to that discrepancy by desperate adventures intended to "electrify" the masses into motion. There are other, scientifically valid methods and techniques for pushing aside presently hegemonic misleaders and creating quickly the much-needed quality of replacement head for the body of those organizations.

ABCs of Psychology

It has been conventional wisdom in the socialist movement that long years in the bureaucracy imparts a petit-bourgeois sociology of outlook to former rank-and-file leaders. On the proverbial "average," this is a fair description of the case. Otherwise, like most common-sense truisms, it is a useless tool for treatment of serious problems.

There is no necessary fatal connection between being in a leading position over periods of years and petit-bourgeois tendencies. On the contrary, responsibility for representing large numbers of workers and the advantage of overview which leadership affords ought to be the circumstances for developing the active intelligence and a more profound insight into the workers' interests than a rank-and-file status would ordinarily facilitate. As long as the leader sees himself as the elected commander of a working-class force he is responsible for effectively deploying to its best interest, nothing but good will usually occur for experience in an official position.

The difficulty occurs when official positions become an ordinary career, when the post becomes a "job" rather than a **leadership** profession. When such a shift occurs, the union becomes for the bureaucrat not an instrument of its members, but a kind of "business" interest significantly independent of the workers' interests. In such a self-imposed bureaucratic environment the former rank-and-file spokesman acquires a psychological outlook which **in the extreme** we recognize as paranoia. This paranoid tendency, or germ of a paranoid tendency, is what we ordinarily recognize as having the "smell" of a petit-bourgeois outlook.

There is no exaggeration in attributing clinical psychological significance of that sort to the bureaucratic mentality. Brief consideration of the basic principles involved aids us considerably in understanding the problem, and in locating the clues for the kind of tactic we must follow to save the human race.

The basic difference between mental health and mental disease is the distinction between reality and fantasy. It might be imagined that the sanest person is one who works with his hands, since he is obliged to prove constantly that the mental processes guiding his hands are in appropriate correspondence to whatever laws of nature determine the actual results obtained. There is the germ of truth in that, but to the extent that we attribute sanity to **isolated** hand-work, we make a fundamental blunder in interpretation of the point. Without explaining here exactly why that is necessarily the case, the question of reality is a social question of **ideas, concepts**. Ideas, concepts are intrinsically social. Hence, to go directly to the point at issue, it is those persons who develop concepts in connection with policies of **cooperative** changes in nature who are most advantageously situated to directly compare the mental processes by which they develop ideas in a social context with the empirical results of the resulting proposals for cooperative work.

Consequently, on the average, it is skilled and semi-skilled industrial workers who represent the relatively sanest **broad** stratum in capitalist society.

At the other extreme among those daily involved in socialized activity, we encounter the individual whose goal is to realize what we may call **ego-advantages** (more personal income, promotion, increased status, more job security, etc.) through verbal and related manipulations of others. Lies, purely invented "facts," and so forth are effective tools to that end. To the extent that these succeed in apparently assisting him toward his ego-goals, they become as psychologically "real" to him as a law of nature becomes to the scientist. The stricter definition of this is that his mental processes are biased in favor of **propitiatory-associative rituals**, a mental disorder which belongs strictly within the etiological as well as symptomatic criteria of paranoia.

Sanity, the appropriate perception of real connections in the world, involves the thinker's assuming personal responsibility for the consequences of his concepts in respect to **those persons who act upon them in connection with lawfully determined processes**. The immediate, active principle involved in making such mental connections to reality is termed **sensuousness**. Sanity is a habit of rejecting the mental disease of **playing with ideas for show of verbiage**, and the habit of regarding every idea as either one with practical consequences or not worth having. The tendency to place a premium on being heard to say the thing that will please, impress, etc., is the germ of fantasy, insanity.

Once the bureaucrat disassociates himself from constantly "feeling" the implied consequences of his proposals and ideas for the working class he is presumed to represent, he has cut himself off from his **sensuous** connection to political reality. He is launched on the road leading through petit-bourgeois mental outlooks in the direction of paranoid-schizophrenia.

In the case of the petit-bourgeoisified right-wing leader of the Communist Party of Italy (PCI), he has ceased to see the PCI as an instrument of the international working class, and instead regards the PCI as a national institution which prospers to the extent it maintains its gate-receipts through a client relationship to a large number of Italian workers. He is consequently paranoid to a significant extent.

This means that the rank-and-file leaders leap way ahead of the bureaucrats under conditions of sharply changed circumstances. The rank-and-file leader who must react more immediately to tests of reality, is forced to develop new conceptions which correspond to the changed circumstances. The bureaucrat, whose view of the world is relatively paranoid, sees changes predominantly in terms of their effects in his relationships to bureaucrats of other proprietary institutions, such as corporations, banks, capitalist parties, etc.

Continuing with the Italian example, the petit-bourgeois bureaucrat sees bargaining over the form which austerity should take as a realm in which he secures careerist's success by "winning" one form of austerity over another. The rank-and-file leader, by contrast, is forced to recognize any austerity sanely as a defeat. What is "acceptable" to the careerist PCI bureaucrat is absolutely not so quickly "acceptable" to the saner CGIL union representative in the plant.

The conventional wisdom on this subject is that the bureaucrats will act positively in such circumstances only when the rank-and-file forces "burn their tails." In ordinary trade-union situations under capitalist prosperity that truism usually works fairly well. It is not adequate for circumstances of crisis. Under circumstances such as the present world situation, it is necessary to absolutely dump all trade-union and socialist leaders who do not respond to the first pressure of the rank-and-file **by moving ahead of the rank-and-file.**

In a conjunctural situation like the present crisis, the only course is to concentrate on those secondary bureaucrats and rank-and-file leaders who will more immediately respond to the first clear presentation of a programmatic strategy appropriate to the situation. This stratum must quickly and absolutely replace the existing leadership. However, this will not occur until those new leaders are convinced that they have the aggregate personal qualifications for the role they are about to assume. This is absolutely the key to the present situation.

The Tactic

During the past ten months, the International Caucus of Labor Committees has put the existing trade-union and socialist top leaderships to a conclusive test, generally before the eyes and ears of a substantial plurality of secondary leaders and rank-and-file strata. For ten months, the rank-and-file has seen the Labor Committee analysis confirmed repeatedly on the most urgent issues of the period ... has seen the present leaders discredit themselves by insanely rejecting the ICLC analysis and program.



The Communist parties support each others "National Road to Socialism"

Recently, this process has reached a turning-point. In key parts of North America and Western Europe, secondary leaders and rank-and-file vanguards from the labor unions and socialist organizations have begun to move toward us **with the full understanding that this step almost certainly means an out-and-out factional power-struggle against the present leaderships of those organizations.** Furthermore, this new quality of movement by that potential new leadership is accompanied by a significant supporting movement among larger numbers of rank-and-filers around them.

The **potential** objective correlation of forces for such factional power struggles is overwhelmingly in our favor. Whether that potential is realized or not is primarily a matter of the **subjective** preparations. The question, whether the emerging potential new top leadership of labor and socialist organizations will actually move effectively to take that power, will be determined by the extent to which that layer considers itself intellectually equipped to assume such leading positions. If it is so qualified, and if it understands that it has such qualifications, the broad masses will support them in waves.

Broadly speaking, the Labor Committees have published and have in continued circulation ample analytical and programmatic materials through which to quickly qualify this emerging new leadership for its tasks. What is also wanted is a single statement, a kind of draft resolution

such as this present one, which provides a unifying focus for that existing material. This will facilitate the form of rounded strategic discussion among those leaders and their immediate supporters through which they can quickly assemble themselves as a factional striking force to assume leadership of those organizations — or of mass-based factional split-offs which quickly replace the old organizations.

This process itself will slow down the Rockefeller drive. The centrists will be caught between their sycophantish terror of the Rockefellers, on the one side, and fear of the fire burning under their seats from factional ferment in their base. Their capitulation to the Rockefellers will slow down — which is our immediate objective. Meanwhile, we shall be quickly moving toward consolidating leadership of the North American and Western European workers' movement in the kind of programmatic united front we have proposed. The initial factional struggles by the new vanguard force will remoralize broader layers of workers, augmenting our forces, which will moralize still broader layers.

We have little time. We must move ruthlessly. If we do, this tactic provides us with means and time enough to win.

This Resolution

Except for a few key points, the required documented support for the arguments made in the following resolution has either been provided in materials already in circulation, or, in a handful of instances, will have been put into circulation at the time this draft is being published. Since a number of the crucial points of this analysis are still new to workers, we are compelled to include more explanation for those matters than would ordinarily be included in a policy statement. We have minimized the amount of writing required here by referring the reader to the topical bibliography of supporting documentation provided at the end.

Although some aspects of the analysis are unavoidably advanced, except for two of these cases there is nothing which cannot be competently grasped in entirety by the average intelligent worker through a reasonable amount of concentration. In the two cases which are perhaps an exception to that, namely the basic concepts of psychology and a connected notion termed "negentropy," we have done two things. We have concentrated on presenting the concept so that it may be understood competently for purposes of practical use, and have indicated the nature of the more advanced scientific substantiation — for purposes of reference and verification.

We conclude this foreword with the following piece of advice to the reader. In the course of developing the various points which have to be brought together as a single idea at the end, we are compelled, at most points to take a brief side-road excursion into the immediate subtopic. The reader's grasp of the material will be helped if he bears in mind that none of these side-roads are really detours. What we are aiming for — and this has been kept in mind at each moment of drafting and editing this document — is a statement of our proposed strategic conception of the way to stop Rockefeller and save humanity in the immediate months ahead. Under such circumstances "theoretical" absolutely does not mean "academic."

Part I

The General Strategic Situation

The capitalist system is currently plunging toward the depth-phase of the worst depression in its history. The so-called "Great Depression" of the 1930s was a relatively mild affair by comparison with the monstrous situation looming before us.

The only approximately comparable collapse in modern European history is the so-called "Great Crisis" which ravaged most of the continent from approximately 1560 through approximately 1660, which brought to an end the so-called "medieval" culture of the thirteenth through sixteenth century Renaissance. The emergence of modern capitalism, springing from roots best developed in the Low Countries and England, rescued humanity from that earlier disaster. Unless humanity is rescued from the present capitalist collapse by the establishment of workers' governments in North America and Western Europe during the several years immediately ahead, humanity itself may be virtually extinct by as soon as 1985 or 1990.

The current phase of the depression is shaped in many crucial respects by the willful machinations of supranational agencies headed by the Rockefeller brothers. The Rockefellers' so-called "October Revolution" of 1973, a 400 per cent rise in world market oil prices directed to bankrupting and "restructuring" most of the world, is the immediate trigger and cause for the present form of this crisis. Yet, on a deeper level of analysis, the Rockefellers acted only in response to the inevitability of some form of the economic collapse at about this time. In a very narrow sense, the Rockefellers willfully caused the present misery. To be more exact, they acted to cause the inevitable collapse to occur in a form which was to their overwhelming special advantage.

The Depression Itself

From the broader analytical standpoint of theoretical economics, the present crisis should be defined as the collapse phase of a world depression which began during the 1964-66 wave of recessions. From late 1967 through August, 1971, the capitalist monetary system experienced a rapid sequence of liquidity crises, which culminated in the collapse of the post-war Bretton Woods monetary system during August, 1971. The effort to keep the capitalist economy afloat by patch-work means after that collapse exacerbated the illiquidity of the economy, with accelerating rates of inflation. By late 1972 and early 1973, the effort to maintain the values of both debts and equities under conditions of galloping increases in debt-equity ratios throughout the system, already threatened to bring the system to the point of an inflationary explosion. The failure of the U.S. to adopt temporary stabilizing agreements around S.D.R.'s during the January, 1973

monetary conferences ensured that the collapse phase of the on-going depression was then imminent.

The significance of the 1964-66 recessions was highlighted by the interruption of the "economic miracles" of Japan and West Germany. Among the larger sub-sectors of the industrialized sector outside the U.S. itself, the Japanese and West German economies were characterized by a distinctively high ratio of their total industrial output committed to export. Other, but smaller industrialized sub-sectors were in an analogous situation, but because of their smaller scale of impact on the world market were not subject to the same degree of attention as the Japanese and West German economic sub-sectors.

For the economist who knew or should have known the history of the 1919-31 period, the German and Japanese recessions of 1964-66 had an ominous significance analogous to that of the German crisis of 1928-29.

During the 1919-31 period all Europe was constantly on the verge of plunging into a deep depression, carrying the relatively more robust U.S. sector with it. The word for that period was the "dying man of Europe." This continually threatened collapse was forestalled until 1931 by U.S. manipulations of the inter-Allied war debt, manipulations which depended chiefly upon U.S. aid to Weimar Germany during the 1923-28 period.

The French economy of the 1920s enjoyed a period of apparent relative prosperity for three main reasons. Generally, the relative economic backwardness of French industrial development was a short-term stabilizing consideration. However, the main props to the constantly tottering value of the franc were the Versailles recovery of Alsace-Lorraine and, more importantly, continued payments of massive war reparations by the Weimar economy. If the war reparations payments ceased, as they threatened to cease repeatedly, the franc would collapse, Europe would collapse, and the U.S. sector would be dragged in after them.

During 1923 (especially) the U.S. stepped in with the political support of Great Britain, to quiet a revolutionary situation in Germany and to provide the Weimar economy with a new fiscal base and supply of credit. This credit provided Germany with an internal industrial boom, based on a high ratio of export commodities, during the 1923-28 period. The high export ratio, intrinsic to the structure of German industrial production, permitted Germany to pay its war reparations, created a modest internal market in Germany, which Britain in particular could enjoy, and enabled the former allied governments to maintain the integrity of their currencies and also their war-debt debt-service obligations (on an adjusted basis) to the U.S. economy.

It is crude but more or less true that during the 1923-28 period especially, U.S. credit extensions to Weimar exports permitted Germany to maintain a level of trade with trade-hungry Britain (for example), and more importantly enabled Weimar to meet its war reparations payments to France. That the resulting liquidity of the pound and franc, among other affected currencies, enabled Europe to maintain the integrity of its debt-service obligations to the U.S. That this, in turn, propped up the U.S. dollar, and made possible the continued extension of U.S. credit.

Rising debt-equity ratios, notably in the U.S. sector itself, created dangerous inflationary pressures against the U.S. credit-structure. This began to assume threatened-crisis proportions during 1927-28, causing a contraction in the liquidity-base for further U.S. credit-

expansion. The reduced availability of credit needed to finance industrial exports in world trade hit directly at Germany, since approximately one-third of domestic industrial production depended upon such exports. The severe German recession of 1928-29 — rather than the 1929 "Black Tuesday" so memorable to today's descendants of U.S. 1920s speculators — was the uncorking of the world economy which led into the 1931 monetary collapse. The entire precariously-balanced structure of artificial integrity of debts and currencies collapsed in approximately the way one would expect from the act of pulling the keystone out of an archway.

Similarly, the mere fact of the 1964-66 recessions in the Japanese and German economies implied that the debt-equity ratios in the capitalist world's monetary system had reached the point that continued cheap-credit-based industrial expansion was drawing toward its end. Internal analysis of the immediate causes of those recessions, highlighted by the threatened collapse of Krupp, confirmed the diagnosis. The U.S. sub-sector itself was able to mask the effects of this on its internal economy only because of the tens of billions of dollars of increased military spending made politically possible by escalation of the CIA's outstanding private wars in Southeast Asia. Then-Chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve System, William McChesney Martin, emphasized the point during his famous Columbia University "Then, as now ..." address, comparing the world economic situation of that time with the onset of the Great Depression.

These mid-1960s illiquidity pressures acted directly against the most vulnerable sub-sector of the monetary system, the British pound sterling.

During the 1939-45 period, the U.S. financiers had bled Britain of many of its world-wide assets, and had generally kept the pound at a depressed value through manipulation of British reserve positions for this purpose throughout the war. With this managed advantage and other bargaining strengths, the U.S. representatives defeated the British Bretton Woods proposals prepared by Lord Keynes, and set up arrangements under which the British pound and other currencies were then and later pegged at a discounted par value relative to the U.S. dollar. With this arrangement, the pre-war role of the British pound as a reserve currency was partially maintained. As a result, the pound acted, especially through London financial market activities, as a mediating agency and buffer for the more essential reserve currency role of the U.S. dollar.

This arrangement meant that under the pressures of a developing world monetary crisis, the initial impact of that crisis would be absorbed by the pound. Up to a point, the par value of the dollar as the basic world reserve currency would be protected through U.S. support action to stabilize the pound during periods it was under attack. As long as the dollar was able and willing to defend the viability of the British pound as an auxiliary reserve currency, the par valuation of the dollar could be maintained, and on that basis the Bretton Woods international monetary system as a whole could be protected from threats to its integrity.

As a result of the developments of the 1964-66 period, this arrangement broke down. The illiquidity pressures accumulated in the world market proved too great to permit the dollar to save the value of the pound without threatening the par value of the dollar itself. By November, 1967 the overtly-prolonged efforts to stave off these effects had been virtually exhausted. No solution

was possible any longer within the terms of existing monetary and political institutions. At that juncture, the pound was devalued, and the reserve role of sterling virtually ended.

Technically speaking, the devaluation of the pound had been postponed too long. The result of the devaluation of the pound was a direct attack on the dollar itself. By February of 1968, the dollar, now the world's sole and unbuffered reserve currency, was threatened with devaluation. In fact, the entire post-war monetary system was at a potential point of collapse. Such a collapse would have meant an immediate descent into the sort of potential monetary anarchy which characterized the period following the later August 1971 dissolution of the Bretton Woods gold-parity arrangements.

A February, 1968 meeting of monetary officials in Switzerland made a last-ditch effort to put the lid on the crisis. On the Monday following that weekend meeting, all monetary hell broke loose. Financial markets were shut down during that week — to prevent the threatened collapse from occurring. That early March weekend, at an emergency meeting in Washington, D.C., the same monetary officials convened again. The artificially-pegged gold transactions among central bankers were separated from gold-trading on the world market, in order to preserve an artificially, politically-enforced par value for the dollar.

This arrangement led, inevitably, to a series of revaluations of major currencies. The system was saved from collapse for a while by a restrictive credit policy initiated during the last months of the U.S. Johnson Administration and continued by the Nixon Administration until Summer, 1970. The collapse of the Penn Central Corporation and the threatened chain-reaction collapse of other major corporations caused the Nixon Administration to abandon tight-money policies. The resumption of relatively expansive monetary policies set off the beginnings of an inflationary explosion under conditions of relative industrial stagnation (so-called "stagflation"). This detonated the accumulated mass of illiquidity pressures. Within approximately nine months of "reflation" in the U.S. sector, the impending collapse of the monetary system was signalled by massive pressures for up-valuation of the West German mark.

That up-valuation failed, inevitably, to stop the avalanche. The galloping dollar crisis of early August, 1971 reached the point, by the middle of the second week of that month, that the monetary system was shut down on an emergency basis to prevent absolute monetary catastrophe. The catastrophe was postponed by dissolving the Bretton Woods monetary system, on August 15-16, 1971.

This would not have succeeded in significantly delaying the general collapse had it not been accompanied by draconian wage-austerity measures of the type of the U.S. Phases 1, 2, and 3 conducted by the Nixon Administration. Holding down wage increases to well below the current rate of general inflation had the effect of a significant general reduction in real incomes of wage-earners and of those living on fixed incomes other than wages. These measures, combined with a reduction in services — as had been proposed by then New York State Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller at the beginning of 1968 — provided a significant increase in profits to financiers under conditions of general stagnation in industrial production. If the U.S. trade-union leadership had not capitulated to

Phases 1, 2 and 3, the crisis-phase of the depression would have occurred during either the Fall of 1971 or not later than the early to middle months of 1972.

During this period, the crisis was relatively less acute in several other industrialized sub-sectors, especially Western continental Europe and Japan. There were special and entirely episodic reasons for this, but the main reason was the relative cheapness of high-quality West German, Japanese and other industrialized sectors' export goods, caused by the much lower standard of real incomes of workers in those sectors. As long as the U.S. sector continued to expand credit for world trade to maintain capital values and economic institutions at home, a large portion of this monetary expansion would be involved in dollar-denominations of letters of credit, acceptances, and so forth for world-market trade of German, Japanese and other cheap labor sub-sectors of world industrial production. However, despite the short-term greater relative stability of those foreign industrial currencies, in those sectors too the stability of the capitalists' world monetary system demanded imposition of wage-austerity and speedup programs modelled on the U.S. Phase 1, 2 and 3.

The importance of speedup programs should not be underestimated. In Great Britain, new techniques for speedup had been in increasing usage since the 1960 agreement between Exxon's management at Fawley and the Transport Workers' Union (later to be headed by Jack Jones). This agreement was known thereafter as the "Fawley Blue Book" agreement. Matched by the work of

1974: Subsisting on austerity rations, Italian workers line up, hoping to salvage lost lire from collapsed bank.



Eric Trist of the Rockefeller-sponsored Tavistock Institute in the British coal fields, the Fawley formula became the model for smuggling in fascist models of union-busting and speedup agreements throughout first British and then other sectors.

The complicity of the I.W. Abel bureaucracy of the United Steelworkers of America in imposing such (literally) fascist models of speedup ("productivity") programs on the members of that union is only one of the more conspicuous examples of the widespread introduction of Tavistockian formulas of combined "soft" brainwashing and speedup for super-profit ratios. In a growing number of instances throughout the 1971-73 period, the amount of additional profit obtained through introducing approximations of such fascist "productivity" programs provided a greater source of added profits than the more obvious swindles of wage-ceilings below inflationary rates.

However, this margin of outright theft from blood, sweat and bone was not adequate to do more than ameliorate and delay the collapse. The debt-equity ratios soared, and continued efforts to maintain the values of stocks, mortgages and bonded indebtedness unleashed an accelerating rate of inflation during 1972 and 1973.

The last chance to create the basis for significantly prolonged monetary semi-stability was passed over during January, 1973. In a manifestation of almost psychotic irresponsibility (from a capitalist standpoint), the Nixon Administration sabotaged the planned conference, long scheduled for that time, at which a

American workers on soup line. Last depression destroyed one generation. Current depression threatens human race.



flexible system of controls around Special Drawing Rights was to have been instituted. That astonishing folly and the failure to make attempts to undo the damage within a reasonable period of weeks, ensured that the capitalist economy as a whole was headed for very early collapse into what economic historians might term a "1932-33" phase.

It was under these conditions that the Rockefeller-dominated supranational agencies openly conspired, throughout the Spring and Summer of 1973 to rig a massive increase in OPEC countries petroleum prices. By the end of the Summer the 400 per cent increase in OPEC prices had been agreed, with the signing of formal agreements to that effect scheduled to occur during the middle of the then-newest Arab-Israeli war!

The 400 per cent increase in OPEC oil prices inevitably detonated the overripe collapse. The collapse would have occurred even without the oil hoax during no later than the 1974-75 period. The Rockefeller-rigged "October Revolution" of 1973 triggered a crisis that was admittedly about to occur in any case, but gave that crisis a form which ensured that everyone but the Rockefeller-dominated inner circle of supranational financiers would bear almost the entirety of the burden.

The Oil Hoax

Because Western Europe and Japan obtain approximately ninety per cent of their industrial and related energy resources from OPEC countries, the 400 per cent rise in oil prices had two general, interconnected effects on these sectors. In general, the increased price of oil abruptly switched all of these nations from a (predominantly) profitable balance of payments position into a drastic loss position on national account. Since these cost effects were proportionately largest on those sub-sectors with the highest rates of industrialization per capita (i.e., the highest per capita consumption of energy in production), the trick ensured that even the strongest industrial sub-sectors (e.g., Germany and Japan) would not be able to resist a Rockefeller takeover.

Although the U.S. produces approximately 70 per cent of its petroleum consumption domestically, the rise in the OPEC prices meant a corresponding rise in world-market prices of petroleum, from which U.S. domestic producers would benefit. Although U.S. industry and household consumption would be looted by the oil hoax to much the same effect as the European and Japanese, the U.S. monetary sub-sector would enjoy a sudden reversal of its former position relative to major European and Japanese currencies.

The general effect on the "Third World" was an intentional disaster. Although the per capita oil consumption of this sector is far less than the industrialized sector, the effects on its industrial sector were more than comparable and the effects on the national balance of payments crisis absolutely disastrous. Only sub-sectors which were already enjoying the "benefits" of fascist economic programs of exploitation of their labor force — with Brazil in the lead — could tolerate this looting of their national revenues by the Rockefeller interests.

The most disastrous effects have been on food production.

The most important variable cost and productivity factors in ratios of food production per manhour and per hectare (given existing income standards and skills of factors in ratios of food production per man-hour and per hectare (giving existing income standards and skills of farm labor) are fertilizers, irrigation, and farm equipment. There is a virtually direct correlation between cost of fertilizers generally and energy prices, and an obvious connection between energy prices and uses and costs of production of irrigation and equipment. The general effect of the Rockefellers' oil hoax in this connection was to create the conditions for reduced agricultural output and mass, genocidal starvation and plague conditions throughout those poorest sections of the earth designated as a "Fourth World" by top Rockefeller agencies.

This aspect of the oil hoax is part of what leading Rockefeller supranational agencies have recently, publicly termed a "food triage." **Triage** is borrowed from the most painful experience of emergency medical practice under conditions of military and other massive catastrophes in which available physicians and facilities are inadequate to provide emergency services to all victims. **Triage** identifies the policy of neglecting (simply allowing to die) one class of victims in order to provide services to other classes of victims. According to published official policy statements of Rockefeller agencies, approximately one billion of the world's population has been marked out for genocidal triage through starvation, plague, and related holocausts under the present "restructuring" programs. The effects of the oil hoax on agricultural production and on development programs generally ensured that little of the world's wealth would be "wasted" on maintaining that approximately billion of the earth's population marked out for elimination through "triage."

In general, the added OPEC oil revenues did not and could not go to provide added income for the population of the OPEC countries (excepting, most notably, Iraq, which has had a longstanding development policy for its internal economy on the basis of petroleum revenues). One does not imagine Faisal of Saudi Arabia sharing his personal fortune with his subjects! In any case, a major portion of the revenues went directly into OPEC petroleum corporations, or directly into the coffers of the Rockefeller-led notorious "Seven Sisters." The margin of increased revenues obtained through the 400 per cent rise went directly into the control of supranational financiers, related interests and their partners, headed by the Rockefeller brothers.

In effect, the oil hoax concentrated in the hands of the Rockefellers and their coalition allies not only all of the capitalists' world's current net profit accumulations (on national account), but dug still deeper. The rigged oil prices, and the complementary rigging of usurious costs for all loans, not only skimmed off the net absolute profits of the capitalist world, but dug deeply into the accumulated capital of much of that world.

This massive concentration of "petro-dollars" gave the Rockefeller-headed coalitions massive lending power at the same time that all financial institutions outside that privileged coalition are being bled of their equity base, and dependent for their own existence on loans from Rockefeller-controlled combines at Rockefeller-dictated terms. In sum, the control of this massive concentration of looted capital enabled the Rockefeller-dominated interests to squeeze out control over those other financial interests which they did not simply push into bankruptcy.

Except to the degree that massive speedup and real wage reductions enable the financiers to offset the deflationary losses with superprofits squeezed out in that way, there is nothing in the Rockefeller tactic which in any way prevents the depression from hitting the world with the force it would have struck otherwise. What the Rockefellers have done is to rig the way in which the collapse occurs so that their interests are substantially insulated from the deflation, and the burden of collapse therefore simply falls with redoubled fury upon everyone else.

We emphasize the point that this present depression began during the 1964-66 period. Other economists, who incidentally lack our proven authority as experts on this history, might date the depression as beginning at a later date. Some would pick the 1967-68 pound-dollar crises as the beginning. Others would date it from August, 1971 on the basis of similarities to September, 1931. Others would date it as beginning or about to begin during June-July, 1974. Some jackasses, running around with the ill-deserved reputation of being economic experts, will still insist that either no depression exists or even that a depression is not probable!

Apart from the jackasses, the reason for different opinions of others concerning the beginning of a depression involves their attempt to distinguish between serious disorders and the point at which the occurrence of a depression can no longer be prevented. Their form of argument is reasonable. One should not say we are in a depression if it is possible to resume relative prosperity by some appropriate action before the collapse occurs. For such reasons, the term, depression, should be used only when the process has passed the stage at which a collapse-phase can be prevented. The economist who rejects 1964-66, 1968, or 1971 as the date for the beginning of the present depression is essentially arguing that there was still opportunity to prevent the depression either up to 1968, up to 1971, or up to the present time. We pick 1964-66 because we insist that all subsequent economic developments, from that time onwards, were governed by an underlying, **unstoppable** movement into a new depression.



Rockettes

Fascist Economics

The fact that the depression was inevitable from 1964-1966 onwards, and that it is now hitting us with increasing force, does not mean that the ruling financiers have no alternatives by which they might attempt to survive this depression with their control of the economy intact. In fact, the Rockefeller interests have an explicitly-stated plan by which they profess they will be able to accomplish that result. The plan is often termed "restructuring the world society," which is a euphemism for a form of fascist world economy characterized by features more hideous than anything proposed by the most criminal of the Nazis.

The question might be posed, if the Rockefellers were able to put this "restructuring" plan into effect, so that they not only took over the world but enjoyed prosperity for their investments, would that not be a form of capitalist recovery? Would that not mean that Rockefeller was in the process of getting the world out of the depression before that collapse hit with full force? Perhaps there will be no real depression, after all?

The counter-argument we have just identified is far worse than sheer nonsense; it is criminal nonsense.

A depression is a savage deflation of large masses of capital (debts and equities), associated with a correlated drop in levels of the scale and value of production. A depression is characterized by a collapse in the levels of production and usually a subsequent intra-depression period of marginal growth, relative to "bottom" levels, an uptake which does not reach the levels of net increase in absolute wealth characteristic of the preceding period of relative prosperity. That is exactly what is occurring, what will continue to occur — at best — until Rockefeller is stopped. What will occur under continued Rockefeller rule beyond that will be, as we have said, the most catastrophic depression in the history of capitalism.

A few ABCs of economic science make the crucial issues clearer.

Since the eighteenth century physiocrats, it has been understood by all competent or approximately competent economists that the total real profits of all capitalists can not exceed what is called the "absolute profit" of the society as a whole. The term, absolute profit, signifies that the total mass of wealth existing after production is greater than the total mass of society's wealth prior to that production. Since a capitalist economy is interdependent as a whole, it is impossible to determine whether wealth has been increased or decreased except by examining the actual useful wealth of the whole society. Absolute profit is a primary datum defined as the net gain in total wealth resulting from the total production of that society.

The meaning of the term, wealth, is relative. What represents wealth to a society is determined by its mode of production. Iron ore, for example, is not wealth to a stone-age culture; stone axes are not wealth to an industrial mode of production. Wealth is more exactly defined as representing a useful proportion of the range of material things necessary for either production itself or for the maintenance of households whose members are the source of productive labor, or of services essential to production. In first approximation, the measure of increased wealth is a society's ability to maintain an increased population at an equal or improved standard of

consumption and an expanded general rate of social productivity achieved through advances in productive technology.

This expansion in quantity and quality of a society's existence occurs through the consumption of the margin of increased total wealth corresponding to absolute profit.

In short, a "zero growth" capitalist society is one in which the available rate of real profits for capitalists is a net zero or less. In other words, a depression is a condition of zero or negative rates of growth in the economy relative to the preceding period of relative prosperity.

The longer-term possibility of continued growth and real prosperity for a capitalist society depends upon the fruitful reinvestment of that margin of increased wealth corresponding to absolute profit. Surplus product is consumed as wage incomes of more productive labor or as raw materials, machinery, and so forth of expanded production. At the same time, this "reinvestment" of absolute wealth as expanded production is the main way in which technological advances are introduced to production as a whole.

This system works for capitalists for the following reasons. If the technology of production is such that the amount of wealth produced is greater than the net wealth consumed as costs of production, the technological mode of production is obviously inherently profitable. Also appropriate advances in technology mean increased profitability in these same terms. Therefore, if the capitalists invest the added wealth in expanded production, the profitability of that new production will be approximately as great as the old production. If technological advances are incorporated in this expansion of production, the rate of profitability of new production will be greater than that of old production. So, as long as capitalist investment occurs only at the real value of current production, and as long as capitalists invest all their profit-income in useful expanded production, emphasizing more advanced technologies, it would seem that the capitalist system could profitably expand indefinitely.

In reality a capitalist economy does not operate in strict accord with those necessary conditions. Only a workers' economy operates strictly according to those principles of industrial production which we have just described. A capitalist economy operates immediately on the basis of several interconnected forms of over-valuation of the property-titles to existing investments. As a result of this, the price of stocks, debt-instruments, and commodities is grossly overstated, and the capitalists' bookkeeping lists and reinvests paper profits for which no real wealth exists. Therefore the mass of capitalists' investments expand more rapidly than useful production, such that the amount of profit required to maintain the value of existing stocks, bonds, mortgages, and so forth far exceeds the capability of existing production to generate profits for that purpose.

In the business cycle as a whole, this contradiction between capitalists' investments and real values is postponed in effect by monetary (credit) expansion. The principal consequence of the credit expansion used to cover up the discrepancy in values during a period of prosperity is a growing accumulation of debt. Since an increasing proportion of this debt represents the capitalization of profits for which real values never existed, the cancerous growth of this debt, through re-financing its turnover, creates a massive increase in what

are termed debt-equity ratios. This massive debt-equity ratio signifies, essentially, that the amount of current debt-service to be paid (on account of the entire debt) is growing at an expanding rate relative to the growth of profits from useful production (since equities tend to increase approximately in proportion to the growth of production and commerce).

That is the essential, immediate cause of all depressions, including the present one.

Under extreme conditions, in which the traditional methods of recovery from depressions are no longer possible, the result of a depression must be variously, an end to capitalism in the form of a workers' government, or a total collapse of society, or a fascist economy. Either society repudiates the mass of debt which is the cause of the problem, or the society flounders in a state of perpetual collapse, or the institution of a fascist economy enables the dominant capitalists to enjoy a relative prosperity on the basis of shrinking the world's production and population as a whole.

That is the essence of Rockefeller's "restructuring" program:

1. Accumulate the bulk of the world's capital in Rockefeller hands (the oil hoax, etc.).

2. Define a group of development projects within various regions of the world, and control the flow of capital and investment mainly into these projects which the Rockefellers control, permitting the various investments outside of those "development projects" to waste away or collapse into extinction.

3. Reduce the real incomes of the world's working class at a spiralling rate, while also drastically increasing the rates of speedup toward those levels which are literally and deliberately homicidal.

4. By reducing total world production, make possible homicidal rates of speedup, by recycling the existing industrial populations in successive waves in and out of the remaining mines and plants, gradually bringing a significant proportion of total industrial labor to extinction in a process analogous to that developed by the Nazi SS for Krupp, I.G. Farben, et al.

5. Mark out large sectors of the world and its population (outside the development projects areas) for extinction, squeezing out as much wealth from them as slave-labor (labor-intensive) conditions will permit, while they are reduced as a whole to the point of extermination through starvation, plague, and related forms of general genocidal holocaust.

6. Reduce the world's population to between two and two-and-a-half billions through genocide by approximately 1990, at which point the depression period will begin to be ended through the introduction of controlled thermonuclear fusion technology.

In short, the profits of the Rockefeller interests are intended to be maintained under conditions of general **negative growth**, by systematically converting the looting of natural resources and the systematic extermination of billions of human beings into profits. It is the economic equivalent of cannibalism as a way of continuing society. Inevitably, such economic cannibalism must be the circumstance for massive practice of actual cannibalism.

We did not exaggerate in insisting that those **Rockefeller spokesmen** who argue that there will be no depression are guilty of **criminal nonsense**. What they mean by that criminal assertion, as they themselves explain, is that the present "restructuring" programs

being pushed by the liberal politicians and others will transform a depression into an orgy of profitable fascist cannibalism on a world scale.



Dr. Schacht Spins his Web.

The Nazi Parallel

Economically, there is no difference in principle between Nelson A. Rockefeller and Adolf Hitler. The notable differences between them are only moral and political, on which counts Hitler is far less criminal than Rockefeller. Economically, the Rockefeller's "restructuring" proposals are identical with those of Nazi finance minister Hjalmar Schacht.

Convert a depression-wracked capitalist economy into a **profitable form of depression** by forced full-employment under conditions of massive speedup and constantly reduced real incomes in the form of wages and social services. Emphasize labor-intensive methods of employment outside the narrowing technologically-advanced industrial basis, so that the ratio of labor-intensive to capital-intensive employment in the economy is enormously increased. The effect of this is to lower social productivity by increasing **apparent** economic productivity from a profit/capital standpoint. Concentrate all liquid forms of capital for the investments of the inner circle of financiers.

This process leads, as was empirically demonstrated from the Nazi economy during 1936-37, to the point at which the speedup rates and reduced real incomes of workers begin to sharply reduce their social productivity, toward the point that the capitalist form of profitability of this labor begins to be worsened. Attempts to live off accumulated fixed capital investments, and within pre-existing types of natural resources, also impel the fascist economy toward collapse of its own cannibalistic practices.

Beyond that point, the fascist economy can be maintained only to the extent that the acceleration of primitive accumulation against labor, plant and resources is stopped, and the source of primitive accumulation income becomes, with increasing emphasis, populations and areas outside the "home" fascist economic base. On this account, the Nazi financiers had no alternative (in their terms) but to embark on the conquest of neighboring countries. Their 1942-1945 slave-labor/death-camp system was an inevitable outgrowth of Schachtian economics. There is no possible way in which the policies of a Schacht or Rockefeller can be perpetuated without resort to massive slave-labor and genocide, continuing this process to its hideous end. That end is the breakdown of the fascist economy caused by the destruction of the last vestige of civilization within even the narrow ranks of the surviving remnants, accompanied by an inevitable ecological holocaust.

The important purely secondary differences in economic program between Hitler and Rockefeller are entirely premised in the fact that the Rockefellers have already subjugated the entire capitalist world to their ruling cabal of supranational, interlocked financial, political, and military-police agencies. They begin their fascist system with Western Europe, North America, and the entire sector below the Tropic of Cancer already under their political and financial subjugation. However, after an extremely short time, even that domain will be inadequate. For exactly the same reasons as Adolf Hitler before them, they too will be impelled to conquer and loot Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and the People's Republic of China.

It Won't Work, But

If we were living in the more advanced culture of some distant planet, unable to reach the earth directly but able to observe its affairs from afar, we would predict with scientific certainty that the Rockefellers — even if they successfully subjugated the entire world during the 1970s — would not make it to their target date of 1990. The fascist "restructuring" programs the Rockefellers are launching would lead to the collapse of society somewhere during the 1985-1990 period. Since we, and billions of other human beings, would be the victims of such a holocaust, we are not situated to gloat over the incontestable stupidity of the Rockefellers and their agents on this account. Even so, they are criminally stupid. The world they propose to construct would soon collapse on account of criminal stupidities in its design.

So, if some of you are self-degraded scoundrels, victims of the "Bettelheim syndrome," do not imagine that you or your children are going to survive by the contemptible trick of offering to support the Rockefellers in this hideous affair.

No man in his right mind would wish a highly placed position in the Rockefeller apparatus, on grounds of the Rockefeller brothers' psychological profile alone. With the Rockefeller brothers, "loyalty" is a quality which exists for them only as something demanded of subordinates. No amount of service to those scoundrels will stop one of them from cutting a subordinate's throat the moment they are either irritated by that person — however irrationally — or the instant it appears to be expedient to toss a long-time loyal retainer, and former beneficiary of their patronage, to the wolves.

Apart from that moral imbecility characteristic of the Rockefeller clan, in the society Rockefeller is attempting to construct there will be almost no survivors. By 1980 — if society did not go up in radioactive holocaust before then — the world would be a hellhole for all but the tiniest number of privileged few. By 1985 to 1990, there would be no society worth the name anywhere.

On the basis of our close study of the theoretical arguments used by the most advanced professionals upon whom the Rockefellers have depended for their design of the "restructured" world, we know that the professional sources upon which the Rockefellers have drawn concerning the productivity of labor and industry and the principles of ecology are fundamentally incompetent concerning the areas involved. Firstly, the assumptions concerning the productivity of labor under the kind of recycling and "productivity" programs adopted by Rockefeller-allied agencies would result in a catastrophic collapse in the productivity of labor (even from a capitalist standpoint) within less than a decade. Secondly, there are elementary principles of ecology which directly affect the operation of the kind of scheme which the Rockefellers have projected. Approximately a decade of the Rockefeller program would bring the onset of an ecological holocaust.

Concerning the effects of primitive accumulation on the social productivity potential of labor, we are pointing to a problem analogous to that which frightened the top Nazis beginning approximately 1936. Three years of speedup and austerity measures had so undermined the productive potential of the German working class that even the top Nazis were alarmed. A few more years of intensifying the super-exploitation of German labor at the same rate and the Nazi economy would have been on the verge of collapse. Only the looting of other sections of Europe saved the Nazis from the collapse which would have occurred by the mid-1940s even without the war.

The programs being initiated by the Rockefeller-allied agencies are more diabolical, and therefore provide employers with a potential for speedup rates beyond anything the Nazis were able to effect. The incorporation of brainwashing and Eric Trist-type social controls means that workers victimized in this way can be induced to work themselves literally to death, like the proverbial race-horse. The effect of these programs, both psychologically and physically, is to severely impair and ultimately virtually destroy the cognitive qualities of mind upon which the potential social productivity of labor as labor-power depends.

This would be of little concern to the Rockefellers if modern society could be held together by emphasis on the sort of labor-intensive "gung ho" projects identified with the backward Peoples' Republic of China. Even a fascist economy characterized by massive uses of slave-labor and semi-slave-labor in labor-intensive employments requires a large number of industrial cadres of skilled and semi-skilled qualities to maintain the variety of industries and specific operations without which the process-sheet of modern technology can not be maintained.

The programs being pushed in the U.S. by such Tavistock and other fascist brainwashing specialists as Eric Trist will converge on the following sort of result. Up to a point certain rates of increase of economic productivity of labor will appear to be successfully obtained. Then, one morning — after everything Rockefeller and his agents developed seemed to be proceeding so agreeably — the

Population



Zero Growth Propaganda poster: bestializing view of human reproduction. The message — "human society is a herd of filthy pigs."

workers are transformed into a mass of cognitively helpless psychotics or semi-psychotics. That day, skilled and semi-skilled production stops and cannot be restarted.

The variety of professed ecologists upon which the Rockefellers have drawn have constructed models which are based on the explicit or at least implicit assumption that man is in symbiotic competition with a "natural ecology" existing apart from man. That is deadly nonsense. Man is an integral part of the ecology of the world's biosphere as a whole, to the point that if the rate of economic expansion of society is "zeroed" or turned into contraction the biosphere as a whole must quickly undergo degeneration, producing literal ecological holocaust. Ten years of the "restructuring" scheme proposed by the Rockefeller interests should be more than adequate time to set off the sort of destructive ecological chain-reaction indicated by such a program.

There is one dismal alternative to such collapse within the terms of the Rockefeller "restructuring" scheme. Unless Rockefeller succeeds in subverting and occupying the Soviet Union by approximately the end of the present decade, a thermonuclear disaster is inevitable no later than the early 1980's, if not during the present decade. In that eventuality, which is extremely probable but not certain, society would not have to wait until the last half of the 1980's to witness the end of civilized existence.

Given these circumstances, anyone who argues that we are in too weak a position to oppose Rockefellers' drive, who proposes that there can be detente with the Rockefellers, or who imagines that we shall simply have to put up with this fascist system for the sake of future generations is in effect a criminal fool. If we do not slow down, and so effectively sabotage the Rockefeller drive during the current months, and do not end the Rockefellers' power permanently with a few years, there is no future for you, your children, and no new generation at all beyond the next decade.

The question is not **whether** to fight Rockefeller at all costs — **no matter what the risk**. If fighting Rockefeller meant risking thermonuclear holocaust, one must not flinch from that contingency. **If it ever came to that, the human race would have a far better chance for future existence after a thermonuclear war than by tolerating Rockefeller's "restructuring" in order to avoid such a war.** Fortunately, if enough of us act effectively and soon enough, there is a strategic alternative probably effective for crushing Rockefeller permanently before only the thermonuclear alternative stands in his way. If you are human, you will join us, and soon; if you oppose us in this, you are morally not a human being.

Psychological Warfare

The uninformed man-in-the-street mistakenly believes that contemporary U.S. military strategy is **obviously** premised on the techniques for delivering and targeting thermonuclear missiles. Thermonuclear warfare capability is, in fact, a very high order of secondary consideration in present imperialist strategic doctrine, but for reasons which ought to be obvious, it is not and could not be the most fundamental aspect of that doctrine. The cornerstone of all contemporary imperialist strategic doctrine, including thermonuclear doctrine, is **psychological warfare**. It could not be otherwise.

Since some time in the 1950s, the Soviet Union has had sufficient thermonuclear counterpunch capability to eliminate any real advantage to the U.S. from this standpoint in itself. At the present time, as for some time past, at the appearance of a NATO missile flight on its warning system, the Soviet military automatically launches a full first strike in reply before the first U.S. missile hits Soviet terrain. **No matter what penalty the U.S.S.R. suffers, the U.S. ceases to exist as a functioning nation.** This simplified illustration of the matter defines what is usually termed "mutually assured destruction" or MAD.

At this point, given the present circumstances of relative technological parity between the U.S. and U.S.S.R., both nations will be able to match one another's technological advances automatically to the extent that one will never be able to launch an attack on the other without being destroyed itself. Any effort to find a technological military-hardware loophole in that perpetual balance of "overkill" capacity is of the same general order of ignorant folly as attempting to square the circle or trisect the angle with ruler and compass.

That is the fixed, unalterable fact from which strategic doctrine begins.

That does not mean that top Rockefeller planners will not continue to spend large sums in developing new systems. This will be done by those who know in advance that none of these expenditures can qualitatively alter the basic balance of mutual destruction. However, because the Soviet economy is relatively marginally weaker than the imperialist economy as a whole, continued NATO hardware developments force the Soviet Bloc to divert massive portions of its social surplus away from economic development into compensating military hardware systems and counter-systems. As Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger recently emphasized in connection with the projected B-1 strategic bomber: It won't work, but its existence will force the Soviet Union to waste large sums in maintaining the obvious and quite effective counter-systems against the otherwise obsolete technology of bomber deployment.

That economic warfare aspect of the matter acknowledged, the fact remains that the MAD balance will persist. Strategic doctrine therefore begins by seeking a means for successful attack on the Soviet Union by intermediate means other than military hardware, by means entirely outside the development and deployment of hardware. Just to emphasize this, the missile-carrying nuclear-powered submarine fleet is typical of the auxiliary modes of deployment, and by no means the last possible word in such alternatives. It goes on and on, and the result remains essentially the same. **Military technology by itself cannot produce the basis for a strategic doctrine.**

The solution, from the Rockefeller "think-tank" standpoint, lies in searching for political and related strategies and tactics through which to create the **psychological** conditions under which NATO can launch a **limited strike** against the U.S.S.R. **without significant risk of a Soviet counterpunch.** For example, the so-called "conceptual breakthrough" advertised by Defense Secretary Schlesinger. Not so incidentally, there is an opposite **and more effective** strategic political loophole in the Rockefeller thermonuclear shield from the other side.

There are two sets of scenarios under which a "conceptual breakthrough" strategic doctrine might lead to a successful Rockefeller conquest of the Soviet bloc. Both versions of the Rockefeller strategy are premised on the same principles already exhibited in Soviet vulnerability to the "Allende syndrome."

The first version assumes that the Rockefellers still regard the nuclear destruction of the U.S. as an unacceptable penalty for destroying the Soviet Union. This version involves the lesser likelihood of a Rockefeller thermonuclear war, but does not exclude it. The second version, which would become increasingly appropriate after approximately 1980, is based on the assumption that the Rockefellers are freely willing to accept the virtual total destruction of the U.S. as a region they have already written off for this purpose. Under the second condition, thermonuclear war threats against the Soviet Union become extremely probable.

The relevant illustrations of the "conceptual breakthrough" doctrine are the Cuban Missile Crisis and the testing of Soviet and Chinese responses during the later escalation phases of the War in Southeast Asia. Following the example of "brinkmanship" set by President Kennedy in the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Rockefellers convince the Soviet leadership that the imperialists are committed to launching thermonuclear attack on the Soviet Union in immediate, automatic response to any action for which they choose to hold the Soviets accountable under this penalty. It is the game of "chicken" for total stakes.

Once the Soviet leadership repeatedly backs down under successive such overt or discreetly implied threats, the "hot line" tactic is pushed. In every crisis situation, the U.S. advises the Soviet leadership in advance of those limits of action by the Soviets, Vietnamese, Cubans, Iraqis, or other direct or implicit Soviet allies up to which the U.S. will not launch a thermonuclear attack. To the extent that the Soviets accept the limits as drawn by the Rockefeller agencies, the U.S. thus limits the tactical game to those terms of conflict which are ultimately to the Rockefellers' decisive strategic advantage.

Through a series of such negotiations and world developments, the Soviet strategic position is cumulatively weakened to the effect that the Rockefellers secure a qualitative advantage up to the point of ability to launch a limited nuclear strike against the U.S.S.R. itself with an acceptable risk premised on the assumption that the Soviets would accept immediate "hot line" negotiations at the moment of the launching of that strike rather than releasing a full counterpunch.

A second version, which may be used as an alternative to the first or subsumed within the first, is to induce the Soviet Union to accept a set of rules of thermonuclear warfare — a treaty with one's opponent concerning legal and illegal counter-tactics of thermonuclear warfare! — through which the U.S. can launch a marginally decisive

attack against a marginally decisive portion of Soviet counterpunch and economic strength, but to which the Soviets fail to respond as a condition for avoiding a full-scale NATO escalation of thermonuclear assault. This is the gist of the Schlesinger "conceptual breakthrough" tactic.

The second general version of strategic doctrine presumes that the "restructuring" program now under way has progressed to the point that a major portion of Rockefeller investments and essential, "relocated" industrial cadres have been dispersed throughout the "development project" foci of the various politically distinct regions of the capitalist world outside the U.S. Under these circumstances Rockefeller can implicitly arrange a two-nation war between the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., sacrificing part of the world, the U.S. and U.S.S.R., to ensure his unchallenged control over the surviving portions. (The Rockefeller-controlled reorganized Europe, as spelled out at and following the October, 1974 Bellagio, Italy conference, is part of that pattern.)

This version not only provides Rockefeller with a more feasible basis for launching an all-out thermonuclear attack on the U.S.S.R., but provides him with a more powerful strategic position from which to force the Soviet leadership to total capitulation along lines of a "conceptual breakthrough" doctrine.

The Rockefellers approach such questions more or less precisely from the vantage-point of Haushoferian "geopolitics," as did the Nazis before them. Their general strategy is one of "geo-political" control of the entire world outside the Soviet bloc, as an approach to isolating the Soviet bloc, while thrusting to penetrate it — through Bechtel and other economic development project concessions — and ultimately crush such a termite-ridden interior with the nutcrackers of threatened attacks simultaneously from all other parts of the world.

These aversive aspects of strategic doctrine will not do the job by themselves. The problem is analogous to the backroom efforts of a police-interrogation team to crack a suspect or unwilling potential witness. The recommended routine, as specified in basic U.S. psychological warfare manuals, is what is termed a "Mutt and Jeff" act, or, in the traditional language of U.S. police buffs, a "hard cop/soft cop" routine. The frequent success of such tactics is explained from the standpoint of psychoanalysis's knowledge of the psychodynamics of psychosis and semi-psychosis; the same methods, applied in a more sophisticated and extensive form, are the basis for brainwashing by aversive behavioral modification techniques. A steady application of a uniformly aversive pressure will often fail to produce "cooperation" in cases where a "Mutt and Jeff" act will succeed in a fairly short time.

The way to induce cooperation in a controlled aversive environment is to provide the victim with what appears to his befogged mind as a solution to the problem his torture represents for him. A person in authority who appears less hostile, and therefore a possible "new friend." Some pleasurable object — even as trivial as a cigarette or glass of beer — can be used to complementary similar effect. The pathetic little pleasurable thing, because it is the available form of relief from torture provided by the apparent rules of the aversive game, becomes a goal toward which the victim yearns, even connives to gain, under conditions of resumed pressure. Two or three puffs

on a cigarette, given as a "reward" for something which, however irrationally and inexplicably, appears to "please" the torturers, typifies what may become passionately-sought goals by the victim. He will begin to make "little" concessions, initially insignificant, to obtain just another two or three puffs.

By varying the pattern, so that the terrified victim's fogged mind loses the overview of the process to which he is being subjected, the effectiveness of the process is increased. Periods of frequent and intensive interrogation are mixed with periods of being left neglected (silent treatment) in a cell. Hours of sleep and waking, lapsed time between meals, order of types of meals (breakfast, lunch, dinner), and so forth are deliberately scrambled. He loses his sense of reality, of the real outside world. The controllers of his aversive environment now begin to determine what is psychologically reality for him. The presence of the apparently potential "new friend," the moments when one of the pathetic pleasurable objects are enjoyed, become reality for him. He loses conscious perception of the wrongness of the controlled aversive environment, and **psychopathologically** redefines reality as those kinds of his own behavior which lead to momentary possession of the desired gratifying objects in that environment.

If this process succeeds and continues with sufficient length (or frequency), over a period ranging from weeks to several months, a state of induced semi-psychosis, clinically related to the form of paranoid-schizophrenic disorder occurring in certain "combat fatigue" cases (for example), appears. The victim's sense of reality is impaired to the extent of virtually destroying his capacity for higher orders of cognitive functions. He "reasons" in a paranoid form of propitiatory-associative strings of sentences and phrases, extremely suggestible, greedily accumulating "edited" bits and inverted parodies of bits of remembered and heard phrases as his growing storehouse of patter. The patter has one essential objective: propitiating what is imagined to be the potentially "friendly" aspect of the aversive environment.

Such a sophisticated "Mutt and Jeff" routine constitutes the most fundamental aspect of Rockefeller strategic doctrine toward the Soviet bloc. Especially since the Cuban Missile Crisis affair, the Soviet leadership has been systematically "soft" brainwashed by the Rockefeller agencies. With respect to the Soviet leadership itself, the well-known "Oblomov syndrome" radiating from Russian peasant life into the Soviet bureaucracy has been intensively studied, beginning with Tavistock specialist Bion and others at RAND, and those specific forms of neurotic susceptibilities of Soviet leaders have been exploited to the fullest extent. Many of the involuted actions of the Rockefeller agencies, apparently senselessly inconsistent from a naive objective standpoint, are deployed for the principal purpose of keeping the Soviet leadership psychologically unbalanced according to the terms of the basic psychological warfare profile developed by RAND Corporation and allied agencies.

The most characteristic "Jeff" feature of the Rockefeller "Mutt and Jeff" act against the Soviet leadership is the repeated offering of some marginally offsetting advantage to the Soviet Union or Communist parties as pathetic compensation for a drastic set-back to the strategic position of the Soviets or some particular Communist Party. A friendly reception by the fascist

regime of Peru; offering the Communist Party of Italy a powerful position in an impotent government, while driving austerity down upon Italy, and demoralizing the base of the PCI. Permitting the socialist and Communist parties of Portugal to participate in an impotent government which is fully controlled by the fascist military-police force pulling strings and generally containing all potential threats from behind the scenes. Permitting the now-harmless-Greek Communists to come out into the open in an analogous circumstance. Holding out the promise of detente while tearing the Soviet strategic position in the capitalist world to shreds. In each of these aversive situations and actual Soviet or Communist defeats on important issues, the Rockefellers provide the victim — the Communists — the equivalent of three puffs on a cigarette, some token concession which in fact is no concession at all.

This is the kernel of Rockefeller's strategic doctrine.

The Background

The emphasis on psychological warfare as the fundamental content of Rockefeller military doctrine is no exception to Rockefeller strategic and tactical doctrines generally. Although a large number of specialists (including some Nazis) made particular contributions to Anglo-American psychological warfare techniques from World War II onwards, it is rather exact to state that all the essential political differences between Nazi society and Rockefeller's version of fascist society are derived from the work of teams headed by two hideous, explicitly fascist psychologists, both Rockefeller proteges, Dr. Kurt Lewin and Brigadier Dr. John Rawlings Rees.

Rees, chief honcho of the Tavistock Clinic of the 1930s, founder of the post-war Tavistock Institute and founder of the World Federation of Mental Health was, until his long overdue death in 1969, the top Rockefeller political intelligence operative in the world throughout the post-war period. The Rockefeller-sponsored London Tavistock Institute is the "mother" agency for most of the post-war Anglo-American intelligence and "dirty tricks" apparatus, and still performs a key coordinating role for the entire Anglo-American dirty-tricks establishment and its NATO and other subsidiaries. There is no vile or murderous practice in espionage, labor-busting, brainwashing, riot and terrorism-provoking technology which does not have its origins and principal other guiding conceptions in the Tavistock Institute circles.

Rees, who among his other accomplishments brainwashed Rudolf Hess, is the principal architect of the development of the fascist political model which the Rockefeller agencies are now in the process of deploying. His essential conception was as follows. Rees projected that the military and secret police apparatus of the Anglo-American establishment should be developed as the "mother" of civilian government of the future. To this end, he proposed, it should combine the more successful features of the Nazi military and SS models with the general body of experience accumulated by the British establishment, especially the colonial services.

With this long-term objective for the military and political police agencies in view, he proposed that the necessary process of development should be catalyzed by psychiatrists and psychologists. These professionals should be mobilized and directed as the political "shock troops" of future capitalist rule. They should be retained

in consultative capacity by government agencies and corporations, their developmental studies and pilot projects funded largely through assistance by private foundations. In this capacity, they should advise political rulers and shape political techniques of social control according to expert psychiatric knowledge and techniques.

In addition to these "staff" assignments, these psychiatrists and psychologists should function in a "line" capacity as de facto thought-control police, through the establishment of "community health clinics" which would impose behavior modification treatment on members of those communities, whether those persons desired or did not desire such treatment, irrespective of any legal due process safeguards concerning enforced behavioral modification (brainwashing).

The conceptions explicitly set forth by Rees during as early as the later years of World War II encompass all but one of the hideous internal political features of modern Rockefeller models of fascism. Lewin added the rest.

The proposals of Kurt Lewin were either identical or complementary to those made by Rees. Lewin's most distinctive and significant proposal, also made during the period of World War II and its immediate aftermath, was his conception of **fascism with a democratic face**. He proposed that through the use of what amounted to small group self-brainwashing techniques, a more efficient form of fascist dictatorship could be established. The ratio and visibility of a horde of jackbooted enforcers characteristic of the Nazi regime, could be reduced by creating fascist forms of small self-administering "community groups." The result, whose resemblance to the Gregor Strasser model of Nazism was not a coincidental aspect of Lewin's proposal, would be a more efficient form of fascist regime with the superficial appearance of special democratic forms.

The Sociological Scheme

The small group operates exactly like a brainwashing group, particularly if established within a controlled aversive environment. Its smallness precludes its attempting to exert any meaningful influence on the major issues of material consumption, leisure, political institutions, and so forth. Consequently, it is compelled to limit its deliberations to secondary issues, to alternatives as defined in the limits for demands established by the aversive authority controlling the larger environment.

By setting numerous such small groups into competitive contiguity, and making all gains contingent on winning these at the expense of the contiguous groups, a **self-policing fascist social order** could be established. It was merely necessary to atomize the subject population, setting race against race, language-group against language-group, women's "self-interest" groups against men as "oppressors," subdivide these by professional category, skill-category, recreational-interest category, and so on, and to further subdivide the entire hodge-podge into small "territorial" community "self-interest" groups. In effect, the ideology of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration's own "Symbionese Liberation Army" or the "Weather Underground."

In support of their special parochialist "community interest," all of these groups could be mobilized against mass political and trade-union organization (in the interests of fascist "local community control"). Like the

Symbionese Liberation Army, the "communitarian" fascist grouplets would be united only against "collectivism" in favor of fascist models of micro-syndicalism. In short, a sickening parody of the Mussolini and left-wing Nazi factions' corporatist ideology. However, on "specific issues" each group would be a hermetic self-interest in competition with contiguous groups. A fascist psychologist's "perfection" of the Nazi union-busting NSBO.

In more advanced versions of this same fascist sociology, the nuclear family itself would be broken down, and communities of males, females and children would form a "collective family," in which each member was a "proletarianized unit-monad" forming psychopathological interchangeable psychosexual relationships with the other persons (and inevitably, fauna) within the fascist community's "extended family" grouping. A society of brainwashed zombies, content to subsist on the brink of starvation, performing sado-masochistic acts of sodomy within the "family" and among its guests as freely as members of a healthy society exchange handshakes.

Such ideas of fascist counter-cultural "communes" and "collectives" existed among the lumpenized petit-bourgeois bohemians of Weimar — from whom much of the SA and SS was recruited — but the Lewinites and Tavistockians have drawn these sorts of dionysian sodomic "volks-gemeinschaft" out to a psychodynamic theoretical working model.

This represented the general form of "democratic" institutions which normally would provide the face of the Rockefeller model of fascist society.

By situating Lewin's sociological conceptions of fascist "local community control" within the broader framework of Rees's projections, we have immediately all the essential political characteristics of the Rockefellers' fascist model.

Their Program

Given the training of military, psychiatric and other hard-core fascist cadres, the establishment of a fascist political order would proceed, according to the Rees-Lewin model, in the following normal steps.

STEP ONE: Break down the existing democratic-constitutional institutions. Two principal forms of insurgency would be deployed in tandem to accomplish the principal prerequisites for a military-police takeover. The military and police forces would be reorganized for "civic action" and civic government duties (e.g., the U.S. Law Enforcement Assistance Administration). At the same time existing mass institutions would be destroyed by rag-tag forms of organized "spontaneous" insurgency. "Local community control groups" would be deployed to destroy existing broad-based political institutions and trade unions.

Among these recruits to fascist community control, gangs and counter-gangs of terrorists would propagate crime and mutual terroristic confrontations. In some instances, these terrorists would be gangs of white racists and gangs of racial minorities, both under the control and direction of behind-the-scene intelligence (e.g., CIA or MI5) operatives. In other cases, they would be gangs of brainwashed zombies, often deployed from the same brainwashing centers, some as nominal fascists, some as nominal "ultra-leftists," tossing bombs, effecting kidnappings, carrying out random senseless homicides.

This programmed insurgency of gangs and countergangs, mixed with doses of police-controlled terrorist gangs, create the political conditions in which the majority of the population can be duped into demanding various degrees of military and police government.

STEP TWO: Establish a military-police state. For example, the Pinochet terrorist dictatorship in Chile, the Greek junta, the Salazar dictatorship in Portugal, etc. A bloody regime to boot out the uncontrollable cadres of liberal, socialist and labor organizations, an "Operation Phoenix," killing off enough to destroy entirely the infrastructure of any future effective political opposition to a "democratic" fascist regime.

STEP THREE: Kick out the most tarnished elements of the repressive regime that has outlived its special usefulness. The Rockefeller-controlled military-police apparatus purges itself of tarnished elements of the dictatorship, and appoints a "democratic" civilian government, perhaps including a few assorted harmless relics from among the paper celebrities of former mass-based socialist parties and labor organizations.

Now, fascism with a democratic face is established. The military-police apparatus has unchallengeable force waiting constantly in the background. The appointed "democratic" government can now function only within the limits defined for it by representatives of the Rockefeller supranational agencies. Any degree of austerity and speed-up can be imposed, provided that the demand is presented in the form of a set of alternatives from which the subjects must democratically choose — within the limits determined by the amount of austerity demanded.

By organizing various combinations of atomized community constituencies in behalf of each of the various alternatives, the population's attention is fixed on the

immediate issue of winning its preferred alternative. The majority "democratically" chooses one of the alternatives. At the next round, the alignment of groups behind alternatives is varied, so that stable political constituencies do not emerge through consistent association around a series of alternatives.

Within that framework, beginning with merely intensive austerity demands of the sort immediately expected under depression conditions, the noose of fascist organization, ideology, and slave-labor austerity can be tightened by successive steps of conditioning, up to the point of proliferation and subsequent breakdown of the "dionysiac" community forms themselves.

Fascist Psychological Warfare Generally

The fascist psychological warfare technology of the Rockefellers' Anglo-American establishment subsumes the following principal specialized forms of application.

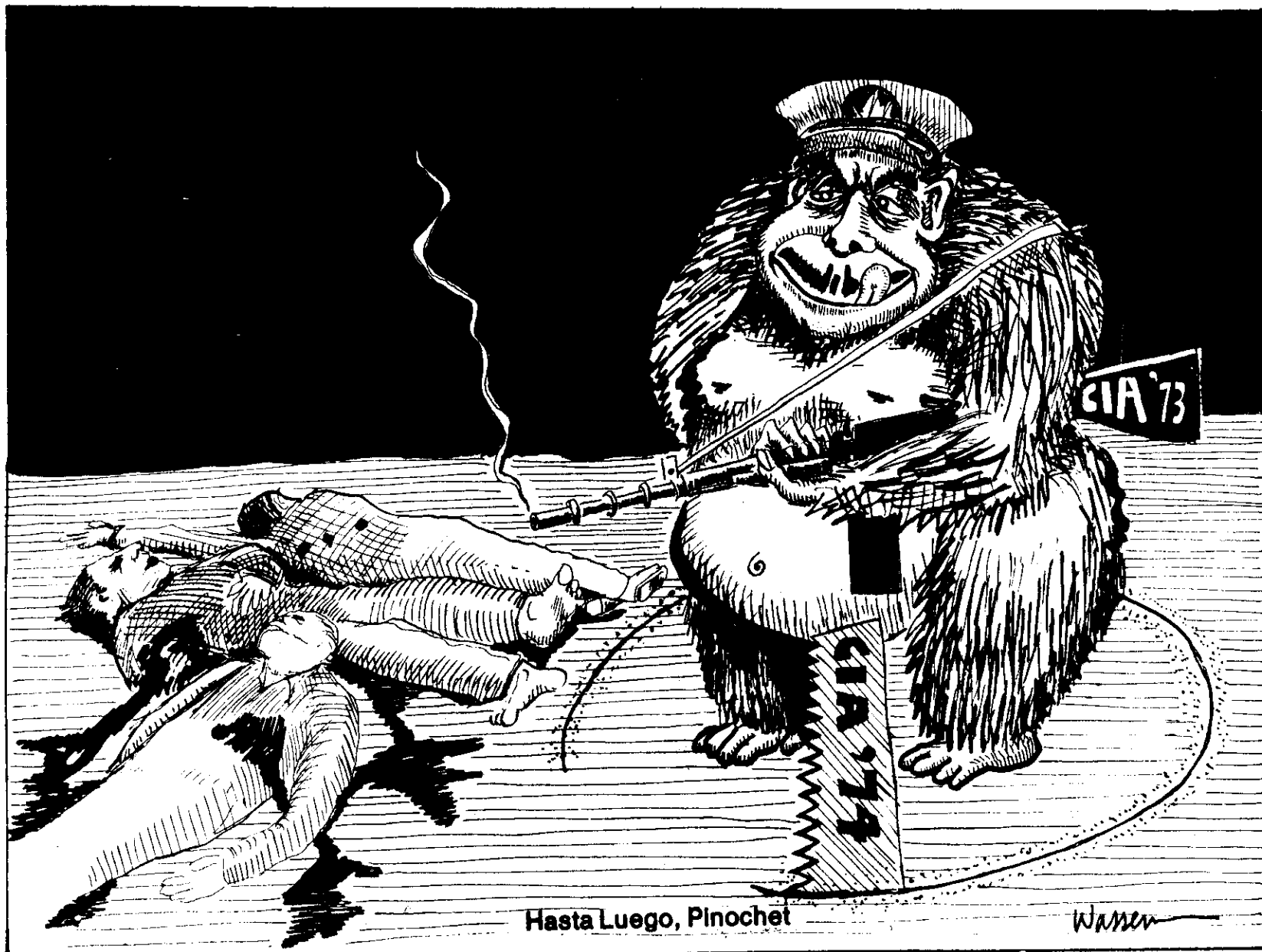
***Military-political strategy**

***The fascist psychosociology of Rees and Lewin:** "local community control" within an environment controlled by "civic action"-oriented military-police forces. "Small group" psychology and subsumed sodomic "commune" forms of "extended family" as the emerging replacement for the nuclear family.

***Outright brainwashing:** "hard" (highly specialized clinical) and "soft" "transactional therapy" conditioning and behavioral modification.

***Applications of task-oriented "leaderless group" techniques of "soft" brainwashing to induce escalation of labor intensity in production up to suicidal paces.**

***Derived techniques of insurgency-counterinsurgency as methods for effecting a fascist takeover.**



Hasta Luego, Pinochet

Part 2:

The

Essential

Theory

The predicament of the majority of today's workers, as they themselves describe it, is essentially identical to the predicament of Shakespeare's Hamlet:

"To be, or not to be..."

The doubts of an unexperienced future alternative often impel the terrorized worker to cling to whatever shards of his old life the existing, capitalist order permits him to temporarily retain. To threatened loss of everything for which he might hope, he responds with Hamlet's doubt: "Is it necessarily going to be that way?" "Is it absolutely certain that we must...?" "How do we know...?"

Whenever the tasks before us go beyond our experience, we must either foresee the unknown territory of the future with the certainty that only science can provide us, or we are condemned to choose among blind commitments, vacillating thrashing-about, and passive acquiescence to whatever may be imposed upon us by others. Fortunately, the kind and degree of scientific knowledge required by the workers' movement today is largely within the reasonably accessible comprehension of the literate skilled or semi-skilled industrial worker. Obviously, the communication and assimilation of such knowledge is a decisive strategic aspect of world history at this present juncture.

We are not suggesting that this scientific knowledge is common-sensical, obvious, or inferior to, for example, the so-called advanced mathematical sciences. On the contrary, the body of scientific knowledge upon which we draw here is at least as advanced and profound as any other in existence. Nor does that imply that we propose to circulate it in some vulgarized form. The kind of scientific certainty required by the workers' movement generally involves conceptions and proofs which depend on little more than basic principles.

Although advanced applications of this science demand the equivalent of broadly-based and extended education and professional practice, the basic principles are within the reach of the industrial worker who has supplemented the equivalent of a U.S. high school education with a mature approach to general information concerning his society and its technology. The conceptions to be mastered are not self-evident by any means; they are not derived from everyday common-sense assumptions. They can, however, be mastered with the application of intelligence, concentration, patience, aided by discussion among those in the process of assimilating them.

It would be self-contradictory and silly to propose, on the one hand, that industrial workers assemble themselves to assume the duty of determining the policies of production and development on a world-scale and also

to presume that those same workers have neither the time nor motivation to master the basic principles upon which their competence to govern depends! Only a silly trade-union or socialist party bureaucrat would argue that this is not true.

What we present in this section depends chiefly on stated conceptions which can be mastered by the literate industrial worker. In only one, recurring, feature are we obliged to go beyond that. That is in connection with the conception we term **negentropy**. Where that conception must be represented, two things have been done. For the sake of the reader with the appropriate specialized knowledge, the terms of reference are specified through which he can reconstruct the idea for himself on this basis. At the same time, especially for the literate worker who lacks such education, the concept is described so that it may be distinctly recognized by the layman. In this way, the demonstration of the application of the concept is placed within the common reach of both the specialist and layman.

Economics and Human Ecology

The direct connection between Hitler's and the Rockefellers' versions of fascism is shown by comparing the situation of 1932 Weimar Germany to that of the Rockefeller-dominated super-imperialism presently embracing the entire capitalist world. A summary of the ABCs of political economy supplies the necessary background.

A capitalist economy is an interconnection of two overlapping processes. Capitalist property-titles, or **capital**, are immediately part of a monetary process. In this aspect of the capitalist economy we encounter prices of ordinary commodities and of stocks, bonds, bills of exchange and wage-labor. The connected or underlying process is a realm of **social reproduction**. In this process, the implicit measure of everything is **labor-power**. This process requires summary description.

Capitalist society divides its essential population into four classes. There are two essential producing classes, workers and farmers, and two essential nonproductive classes, capitalist and petit-bourgeois (small businessmen, officials, clerks, military personnel, police, salesmen, professionals). According to the social mode of reproduction of individuals associated with that phase of development of technology, each of the two productive classes is analyzed in four respects. There are those classed as young by virtue of the prevailing mode and term of maturation of new individuals. There are, at the other extreme, persons whose productive roles have ceased or diminished by reason of age. The age-interval between these two includes persons who are either productive (workers or farm operatives), or whose activities are entirely or partially occupied within the household, and non-essential non-productives. In this way, acknowledging exceptions to the foregoing broad definitions, the total population of each productive class yields a modal percentile who are productive. Similarly, the households of the capitalist and petit-bourgeois classes have analogous modal actuarial characteristics for each phase of the society's technological development.

The output of productive labor is divided into three principal categories, of which one, **social surplus**, is subdivided into two sub-categories. Part of the total material output of production is consumed as the means of existence of the entire population of the two productive

classes. The necessary magnitude of this consumption is determined by the material and cultural requirements of households producing the quality of labor-power required by technology. Another portion of the total output is consumed to maintain the productive equi-potential of man-altered nature (farmer's fields and pastures, livestock herds, equipment, etc., industrial plant, equipment, machines, tools, raw materials, and other means of production). These two categories of output are the prime social costs of social reproduction. If they are not fully met, the society must decay — because of deterioration of the quality of labor and/or of means of production. The residue of output after meeting those two prime costs is social surplus. Out of the total social surplus is paid the incomes of the petit-bourgeois class, the personal consumption of the capitalists, military and police "capital" expenditures, office buildings, office equipment, government, and so forth. This deduction is termed **capitalists' consumption**. The residue after this deduction is **net social surplus**.

As these costs and outputs become largely but not entirely coextensive with categories of purchase and sale under capitalism, capitalist society's expenditures for consumption of the households of productive classes becomes **V** or Variable Capital, purchases for maintenance of means of production becomes **C** or Constant Capital, capitalists' consumption expenditures are designated conveniently as **d**, the monetary analog for social surplus is **S** or Surplus Value, and net Surplus Value is **S'**.

The margin of **net social surplus** or net Surplus Value is the margin of expansion of the society or economy, according to which aspect of the twofold process we are considering. In the terms of the social-reproductive process, the net social surplus represents additional means of consumption and additional means of production available in excess of the prime costs of production. The allocation of net social surplus as the basis for expanded production is uniquely the basis for the quantitative expansion and qualitative (technological) development of the society, capitalist, socialist, or any other form.

Since every form of technology defines certain aspects of man-altered nature as resources, and since such resources are **relatively finite** for a given technology, the mere continuation of a society would lead to an inevitable ecological crisis. This collapse is prevented by technological development, which increases the efficiency of extraction from resources and defines new kinds of resources. Therefore, although the social-reproductive efficiency of a capitalist society is measurable in the form, $S'/(C+V)$, at each moment, if the value of the ratio were fixed for a mode of technology over extended periods, the society would be headed into ecological disaster. Furthermore, advances in technology demand secular rises in household incomes (relative to earlier costs) as a means of improving quality of labor-power, and new uses of resources are increasing in cost (by standard of former technologies and productive efficiencies).

Consequently, measuring the ratio in social-reproductive (rather than monetary) terms, the development of society must be characterized by an exponential tendency for a rise in the value of the ratio $S'/(C+V)$. The effect of this **characteristic** rise is to devalue previously produced output in respect to more efficient present production.

Numerous educated simpletons — like the late Walter Reuther — have grossly misinterpreted those basic points

in the following way. Consequently, they have been unable to competently define the most essential features of a capitalist economy, including the meaning of the term, "national economy." They argue that since the amount of money put into circulation does not exceed $C+V+d$, that the capitalist economy can not "buy back" the margin of total output, S' . That frequently-met simpleton's argument is known as "underconsumptionism." No such problem exists; to imagine that it does is to ignore the most common everyday feature of capitalist economy, the capitalist credit-monetary process.

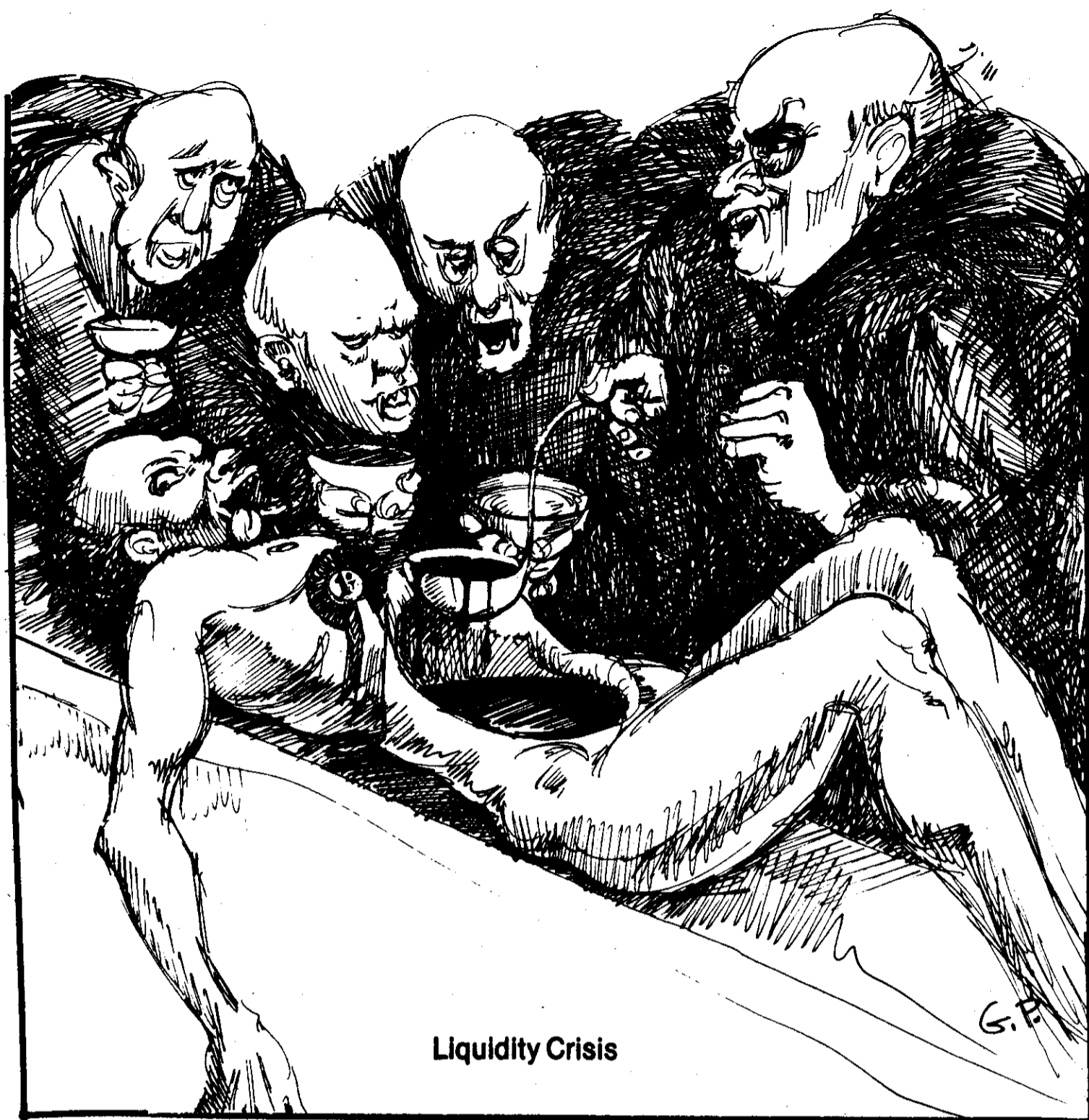
To make short work of it: the capitalist financial markets issue credit for the sale of S' . The investment of S' in the form of wages and means of production for expanded production yields a profit. Out of this addition to the total mass of profit, the borrower pays the debt-service on the credit issued. This entire process represents an expansion of the money-supply, by expanding the base, $C+V+d$.

The key point to be made concerning "national economy" is that the financial market which supplies the bulk of the credit required for general expansion is premised on trading in a discount market for state debt. The essential source of credit for a capitalist financial market is the ability of the state to contract debt against its power to collect revenues, and the power of the state to use this debt to fund projects which are directly or indirectly the principal porkbarrels of the financiers. Hence, the symbiotic relationship of a nation's debts, currencies, and revenues to the principal financial markets is the basis for a credit-monetary system. Since the rate at which S' can be realized by sale is broadly determined as a whole by the rate of expansion of the money-supply, the central financial markets and prevailing rate of profit in that economy are interdependent.

There is one further feature of a capitalist economy which is essential to understanding the "national economy" notion: the interconnection of "Fixed Capital" and a characteristic phenomenon termed **primitive accumulation**.

The elements of expenditure and income, C, V, d , represent what is termed Circulating Capital, since they are payment for the costs (productive and non-productive) which the monetary process treats as embodied in the sale of the commodity. But the entire means of production also involves plant, equipment, machines, and so forth which are values left over as capitalist's values (investments) after the current moment of production. Let us designate this magnitude of Fixed Capital after current cumulative amortization as F' . The apparent efficient formula for determining the capitalists' rate of profit on current production would be the monetary form, $S'/(C+V+F')$, rather than the social-reproductive $S'/(C+V)$.

This distinction would involve no significant problem but for the effects of ecology and technological advances. Advances in the efficiency of production wipe out (discount) parts of the historic values of depreciated Fixed Capital. Let us term the magnitude of this discount **x**. It would be approximately true, for purposes of illustration only, to state that a five per cent increase in general productivity would cause a five percent discount in the value of total outstanding undepreciated Fixed Capital. To the extent that such an illustration holds, if the bookkeeping value of total Fixed Capital equalled $C+V$, a five per cent real increase in social-reproductive efficiency — $S'/(C+V)$ — would appear in capitalists'



Liquidity Crisis

terms — $(S'-x)/(C+V+F')$ — to be a zero increase. If the bookkeeping value of total Fixed Capital exceeded that of $C+V$, then the effect of an actual increase in social productivity would be an apparent decline in the capitalists' rate of profit!

This contradiction in capitalist accumulation is termed "the tendency for the rate of profit to decline."

However, presume that the capitalists prevent such a decline by simply increasing the total prices of commodities by x . To do this it is merely necessary to increase the supply of credit sufficiently to cover the magnitude $S'+x$ rather than S' by itself.

But, capitalists will then accumulate this exaggerated amount of profit, $(S+x)$, as added capital. Exactly! Furthermore, interest, profit, or both will be charged on the fictitious increment to capital. Furthermore, since there exists no real value (wage-commodities or means of production) backing up this investment of x (in terms of the social-reproductive relationships), the debt created by issuing credit for the circulation and capitalization of x can never be repaid from real production in that economy. This means that the unresolved debt partially originating in the capitalization of x (and also sheer speculations) must cause a self-aggravating increase in the ratio of debts to productive equities throughout the continued expansion of a capitalist economy.

If the capitalist economy were a "closed model" with respect to monetary and social-reproductive values, an industrial expansion cycle would reach its point of deflationary collapse and never rise again! Obviously, capitalism has had numerous depressions and has generally arisen from them — at least on a world scale — up to the present conjuncture. This simple historical fact reflects the fact that a capitalist economy is not closed. It offsets the fictitious values accumulated substantially —

if never entirely — by looting real value from outside the domain of capitalist production or, alternatively, by cannibalizing portions of C and V from capitalist production itself. This source of compensating profit, rent and debt service income, wealth from outside the S' of capitalist social-reproductive metaequilibrium, is termed primitive accumulation.

A few of the most characteristic major sources of capitalist primitive accumulation are sufficient illustration for present purposes. Ravaging of natural resources without compensating for this by developing alternative resources for future needs. Paying subsistence wages, through which employed wage-earners are maintained as individuals, but unable to reproduce labor-power of the same quality through support of a family at an appropriate cultural level. The super-exploitation of masses of Irish immigrants in the U.S. from the late 1840s through middle 1860s is the paradigm for this looting of that and later waves of individual immigrants. Looting of the section of agriculture which lies outside capitalist circulation. Looting of colonies. Looting of other capitalist economies.

It is the last type of primitive accumulation which is most relevant to showing the direct connection between the Nazi and Rockefeller forms of fascism.

If one capitalist nation profits by looting wealth from another, this is, at first glance, mere cannibalism of capitalists by capitalists, which adds nothing to the profitability of capitalism as a whole, but on the contrary reduces the profitability of world capitalism as a whole. The real solution of this paradox is the concept of "national economy."

Even accounting for a significant rate of international capital investment, an economy based on a distinct

national debt and currency operates approximately as a separate universe. The equilibrium rate of apparent profitability prevailing throughout the national economy is, as we have indicated, immediately determined by the rate of credit-expansion prevailing in the financial market as a whole. The ability of the financial markets to sustain such credit-expansion depends rather sensitively on the relative liquidity of aggregate debt and equity holdings which are the mediating support for credit-issuance.

Therefore, to the extent that one national economy loots real wealth totally or marginally from another, its relative liquidity is increased at the expense of the relative liquidity of the other. That monetary system is therefore able to generate a higher rate of credit than the looted one, even to the point of exporting the margin of loot as investment credit with which to buy up portions of the looted economy at relative bargain prices. One set of national capitalists can buy out the industries of the looted nation with the looted nation's own pilfered capital! It is analogous, in the final instance, to the illustrative case of the thieves who purchase a bankrupt plant with the payrolls they have stolen from it.

(Capitalism, in general, can be described as a "fun system.")

When such national monetary systems are extended to embrace colonies and semi-colonies with exported debts, the national economy becomes an imperialism, and the world enters into the form of "interimperialist rivalries" which began approximately 1870 and ended with the First World War.

The symbiotic (or parasitical) relationship between the dominant financiers and the state debt results in the functioning of the principal national currency of that economy as a reserve currency. By the same token, at the point that the reserve currency of one national sector provides the overwhelming supply of credit for world trade and internal expansion among other sectors, the period of "national economies" has ended and a virtual super-imperialism has been established. Today, for example, the rate of profit and value of national currencies in every sector of the capitalist world is directly or indirectly determined almost in entirety by the role of the U.S. dollar and emerging "Petro-dollar" in controlling the credit issued against the profitable margin of production of every other sector.

This thrust for a dollar super-imperialism has been characteristic of the capitalist world since the First World War. During the early 1920s, there was a virtual state of economic warfare between the U.S. and Great Britain in consequence of U.S. thrusts for takeover of the world market. During 1923-28 Weimar Germany was a virtual economic satrapy of the U.S. and most of the rest of Europe, including Great Britain, being impelled toward similar status. As we have already noted, the Great Depression interrupted that process.

In the international economic anarchy resulting from the onset of the Great Depression, colony-less Weimar Germany was cast almost hermetically upon its own resources, lacking the sources of external looting through which to buffer its disaster-stricken monetary system. The Schachtian austerity proposals of 1928 and onwards were the initial effort to resolve this problem — through national "auto-cannibalism" principally directed against the real incomes and working conditions of German workers. As we have noted, this "auto-cannibalism" so sapped the war-weakened Germany economy, over both the 1928-1932 austerity periods and the initial, 1933-1936

phase of the Nazi economy, that the ability to maintain the industrial economy was being acutely threatened by this depletion of labor-power and means of production. The expansion policies of the Nazi regime were the first inevitable consequence of the 1936-1937 crisis, and inevitably followed by the genocidal slave-labor looting policies of the 1942-1945 period.

Today, the situation of the Rockefeller-dominated super-imperialism is analogous.

First, as we have emphasized, the policies of the Rockefellers are not only Schachtian (modelled on those of Nazi finance minister Hjalmar Schacht), but the imitation is deliberate. Every feature of the Rockefeller austerity policies is cannibalistic primitive accumulation.

- "Zero Growth" means that S' is not realized. Hence, in terms of social-reproductive metaequilibrium, the rate of absolute profit throughout the capitalist system as a whole is set at zero or below by policy.

- This means that all capitalist profits are relative, obtained by non-payment of the costs essential to maintaining production, employment, and consumption on its present level. This means that the total profits of capitalism under "Zero Growth" are derived entirely from a deliberate contraction and decay of world production. (i.e., general auto-cannibalism)

- This means that the major source of all profits must be from a drastic destruction of mind, flesh, and bone of workers generally.

- As the Nazi economy demonstrates, production would collapse if skilled and semi-skilled industrial cadres were looted of real incomes at the same rate as the population in general. Therefore, the rate of genocidal practices against a minority of workers will be offset by redoubled looting of the flesh and bones of the majority. This means differential cannibalism against the total labor force, as was the case with the Nazi's use of slave labor and death camps during the 1942-45 period. It means wholesale genocide against a major portion of the world's population, in order to reduce the cost of maintaining "useless eaters," required to expand the gross magnitude of profits under conditions of accelerating contraction of the total industrial and agricultural base.

"Final Collapse"

If this is indeed the form of restructured capitalist world to which the ruling financiers are driven by the present conjuncture, then the failure to defeat the Rockefellers significantly during the coming months means the end of the human race within the next decade or so. This poses the challenge, either we establish workers' governments throughout the advanced capitalist sector during the very early future — meaning that we deploy for nothing but that result now — or the human race will be virtually wiped out under Rockefellers' fascism as the **final collapse of capitalism**. There is no rational doubt that that is exactly the situation before us.

As we have indicated before, there are rigorous proofs that during a decade or so of continued Rockefeller "zero growth" policies, a critical point must be reached at which a general ecological holocaust chain-reaction occurs as a consequence of the failure of society to continue industrial expansion and technological advances. The collapse of the Rockefellers' "new world order," which must occur of fascism's own weight during approximately the latter part of the 1980s (barring probable thermonuclear war before then), will not be the collapse

of a political-economic system around a population of two billion or more. The collapse of Rockefellers' fascism would be caused not by the system's superstructural political-economic contradictions as such, but by the general collapse of the human population's ability to continue producing the means for its own bare existence. What would survive would be atomized gangs of psychotic cannibals, converging to a level of total world population perhaps as low as the hundreds of millions, scavenging from the wreckage of the collapsed civilization. At best several generations of the survivors would be needed to re-establish a semblance of civilization, provided the by-product effects of ecological holocaust did not engender new varieties of plagues and related phenomena which made human life on earth virtually impossible.

We emphasize that there is not the slightest exaggeration in these fears. The Rockefellers and their advisors have no manifest perception of the sort of disastrous processes with which they are toying. The cowardly individuals who secretly submit to the Rockefellers in private belief that in that way they will "somehow survive" are not only execrably immoral wretches, but utterly stupid fools besides.

We have reemphasized the point, that the scheme the Rockefeller interests have chosen leads quickly toward the virtual extinction of the human race. This implies a second, related question, whether the Rockefellers' choice is therefore stupid from the standpoint of the best long-term interests of capitalism. Would it be possible for the capitalists to develop (at least some hypothetical group of capitalists) a different alternative which did not lead to such collapse? If the Rockefeller approach leads inevitably to collapse, does this mean that there is no capitalist alternative but collapse?

It is not difficult to settle this second question beyond reasonable doubt.

Although the arguments of the Rockefeller-promoted "ecology freaks" are deliberately exaggerated on this point (just as the inevitability of acute food shortages is also, similarly exaggerated for the same political motives), it is broadly true that the possibility of expanded industrial development throughout the entire world's population is limited by threatened relative shortages of various essential resources. In itself, there is nothing unusual or particularly alarming in that problem, since society has faced such difficulties repeatedly throughout the past ten thousand years or so. This "ecological problem" merely reemphasizes the already established principal that the basis for successful continued human existence and development must emphasize broadly new qualities of technological development.

We are doubly correct in seeking an hypothetical capitalists' alternative to Rockefeller's fascism in that direction. Not only is technological development indicated by the present objective situation, but any alternative which did not have this feature would fall obviously into the same class of contraction toward final collapse as the Rockefellers'.

The appropriate mode of qualitative technological advance is already firmly established. There is no doubt that controlled thermonuclear fusion technology is the essential core of the next technological revolution available to mankind. (That should be broadly obvious even at this point of the presentation; we shall develop a more rigorous proof of the point later on.) Despite widespread willful sabotage of thermonuclear research, as well as scientific research and development generally, progress

in this field has brought us to the point that the following results are in reach. If the several indicated fruitful lines of development of experimental working models of controlled thermonuclear fusion power production were simultaneously pursued in an approach analogous to the war-time "Manhattan Project" development of the atomic bomb, we are assured of successful experimental models during the present decade and the accelerating deployment of operating fusion power plants during the 1980s.

This would require the equivalent of not less than \$20 billion a year expenditure at the beginning, and up to approximately \$100 billion a year estimated as the program developed. It would also require massive auxiliary research and development and engineering, and a crash program in the recruitment and training of physicists, currently in acutely short supply in the world relative to technological-development needs generally. Those magnitudes of expenditure should not be a major problem objectively speaking, since the infantile "Project Independence" and related programs being pushed as slave-labor projects by the Rockefellers are doomed to run into outlays on the same order of magnitude.

Three broad classes of benefits would be obtained from such a fusion program. The scheduled availability of alternate (fusion) energy sources during the 1980s would permit present full utilization of existing forms of energy resources to the full extent required by interim programs of industrial development of the world economy. The imminent relative cheapness and abundance of fusion-derived electrical energy would mean a qualitative increase in the ratios of power throughput per capita in production and households, and thus make possible a whole range of technological advances in production. Fusion is not only a massive energy source, but also represents an entire new productive technology in its own right, completely redefining the nature and scale of expanded "natural resources" to the extent of eliminating all the ecological constraints as presently defined.

If we could eliminate the crisis-problems of present capitalists' valuations of Fixed Capital and debt, any program oriented along the indicated lines would provide capitalism with the basis for an explosive expansion. Exactly the opposite of the Rockefellers' fascist model. In any case, whether capitalist or socialist, this is obviously the kernel of the program for any political regime which would serve human interests during the period ahead. Is there any means by which a group of capitalists more rational than the psychotic Rockefellers' cabal might adopt and implement such an alternative program?

A crash fusion development program is one which could not "pay off" for a period ranging from approximately 1975 into the early 1980s. The full costs would have to be borne by government. This could be accomplished in part by diverting expenditures and facilities from military programs — which neither Laurance Rockefeller nor James R. Schlesinger would like very much. A substantial part of the costs would have to be raised as revenues over and above present taxes and profits. Worse, from a capitalist standpoint, although the capitalist economy's situation would be marginally improved by the gigantic fusion development "pork barrel," the basic causes of the present depression would persist and worsen generally over a seven to eight year period unless something else were done as well. That something else would have to be the implementation of the indicated interim government-funded industrial expansion and development program,



Rockefeller economic programs would annihilate human species dooming Earth as a dead planet. "The Triumph of Death," Bruegel, 1568.

on a scale comparable to and probably greater in cost than the fusion development program.

These sums could be raised readily without wage-austerity measures or any cuts in social services. However, to do so would require a capital-intensive full-employment program throughout the advanced sector. This is where the crunch would hit the capitalists. To carry out such a combined development program would demand an eight-to-ten-year moratorium on debt-service payments throughout the system. This would represent a *de facto* expropriation of all the world's top financial circles. Technically, such a move is feasible, by declaring the capitalist system bankrupt (which, in fact, it is) and suspending payment on its accumulated debts during a ten-year period of "financial reorganization." (Under certain circumstances, a workers' government might employ such capitalist-legalistic devices to facilitate the establishment of a workers' economy.)

Who would support such a move? Perhaps a few individual financiers — but out of humanitarian, not capitalist, considerations. It would be supported by certain industrial management strata, by smaller firms, retail shopkeepers, and other smaller capitalists and petit-bourgeois strata whose pro-capitalist orientation is toward current production and distribution rather than financial interests. These strata are to a large degree the representatives of the small firms which a workers' government probably would maintain in continued independent operation for a period under a workers' economy, to simplify the administrative problems of economic planning of the major part of the economy. It is pure fan-

tasy to imagine that the non-financier-linked capitalist and petit-bourgeois strata could put such a program across as a program of capitalist government. It is far more reasonable they would support a labor party which established a workers' economy on the basis of such a program.

In general, at this point it is not necessary to explore the question in greater depth. The notion that capitalism would adopt the alternative, viable form of development is purely hypothetical. Capitalists individually might support it, but as human individuals, not as capitalists. If such a program were tentatively considered by capitalists, this would be only an effort to neutralize the threat represented by a powerful workers' movement advancing such a program.

If the argument appears to be more one of probability than conclusive certainty, the region of residual ambiguity in the argument correlates entirely with the assumption that the power of the Rockefeller-led forces has been so weakened, almost to the vanishing point, that state power is lying on the ground for any significant political force which chooses to pick it up. Excluding a massive socialist conversion among the top Rockefeller-headed circles, the possibility of a viable development of society depends entirely upon the establishment of workers' governments throughout the advanced capitalist sector.

To all practical intents, excluding socialist transformation, capitalist society is plunging toward final collapse, the virtual extinction of humanity.

Human Ecology

Since the profession of political economy is defined as the study of the interconnections of a capitalist monetary and social-reproductive process, the termination of the capitalist monetary process extinguishes axiomatically the subject-matter of that profession. At that point, only the social-reproductive process (as it has been developed under capitalism) remains for scrutiny. Then, political economy becomes a branch of archaeology, and its former place in the study of current affairs is superseded by the profession of **human ecology**.

In the preceding development, we outlined a basis for discerning capitalism's ultimate boundaries of potential existence, in its dependence upon marginal sources of primitive accumulation, its intrinsic and increasing dependence upon wealth extracted from outside the metaequilibrium of the capitalist social-reproductive process. This demonstrates that capitalism depends upon something external to itself, something upon whose limits it converges. This, as Karl Marx and Rosa Luxemburg properly emphasized, is sufficient proof that capitalism has an historically delimited existence, and that its indefinite extension must lead to a final collapse, a "common ruin of the contending classes."

The historically delimited character of capitalism, that its existence is temporary and conditional upon wealth created outside its processes, shows that political economy is not a hermetically isolated branch of inquiry, but is a specific, subsumed aspect of a broader science. The immediate representation of that broader science must be the subject-matter which survives the elimination of the capitalist monetary process, the underlying social-reproductive process common to both capitalism and its successor. For unique reasons, this abstraction of the social-reproduction process from its occurrence within a capitalist setting, leads directly to the establishment of the new, broader science, **human ecology**.

It is abstractly possible to interpret all of the objective aspects of social reproduction under capitalism (products, hours of labor-power, and so forth) in terms of successive layers of mathematical (tensor) expressions, for which the characteristic is approximately given by $S'/(C+V)$. This cannot be competently undertaken if we consider the social-reproductive process in terms of aggregations of such elements. Analysis succeeds only if the approximate model indicated identifies the entire society as a totality as the primary unit of investigation, and if the parameter employed is the self-expansion of that unit. From this standpoint, one can conceive of appropriate models, which operate on the principle of the path of maximum **negentropy**.

This argument will probably appear unduly sophisticated and queer to the layman at first reading. We explain the reason for the difficult points and offer an illustration which will enable a layman to form a mental picture of the kind of idea involved.

Under capitalist development, the world economy has become interconnected to such an extent that the overwhelming majority of the world's population is explicitly or implicitly involved in the production and

circulation of everything produced and consumed in any part of the world. This is demonstrated in two steps. Through tracing the connections among process sheets and bills of materials for every commodity in the consumption of any workers' family in — for example — the U.S., similarly, tracing out the process sheets for each preceding step of production of every piece of equipment and each material consumed in that production, we describe an interconnected worldwide network of production. By examining the large environment in which each part of that production occurs, we show that the overwhelming majority of the households and ecology in that region have a significant bearing on that production. Taking the entire population involved and its production and consumption together, this society forms an interdependent universality. Every improvement in the mode and social efficiency of production in any part of that network reduces the necessary social costs and increases the potential rate of development throughout the universal. Similarly, any deterioration in part of the whole is a deterioration of the development of the whole.

For reasons which should be obvious from that account, it is quite pointless to analyze such a universal as if it were a totality of its individual parts. Any analysis which violated that is essentially gibberish, of little practical use to anyone. It is essential to consider this whole as a primary unit.

The layman obviously wonders how it is possible to analyze the expansion of something which grows from unity to unity. Imagine a group of spherical shells of increasing diameter, one inside the other around a common center. Now imagine a line drawn from that center in any direction cutting through each of these shells. Now, let the movement from the center outward measure the characteristic impulse, exponential increases in the impulse-value of $S'/(C+V)$. Expansion (self-reproduction) of the whole economy would be represented as a leap from a shell of smaller size to one of the next larger size. The volume contained within each shell would be understood to represent the total energy of the society as a process. If the shells are placed at "equal distances" from one another along the diameter-ray, the fact that the volume between successive shells increased as we moved outward would be a proper part of our illustration, and would correspond to the increasing negentropy of each displacement as development progressed along the ray from the center. In each instant, the surface of the shell would be a universal, whose only possible value is consequently unity.

Although this pedagogic model is enormously oversimplified, it is a fair compromise between the needs of the layman and the requirements of the specialist. This conception, adduced from the analysis of capitalist development, we will soon show to be the required paradigm for the development of the wanted basic conceptions of human ecology.*

At this point, we restate what we have developed so far and proceed from that to the point which represents a transition into the domain of human ecology as such.

The historically limited character of capitalist society is shown by the fact that its expansion depends marginally upon the looting of increasing masses of wealth from

*It is necessary to introduce a parenthetical warning to the reader at about this point. It should not be assumed from anything we have said that the "economies" of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union operate independently of political economy. Bukharin and others attempted to create such a schema on the basis of such an assumption. That blunder was quickly exposed by E. Preobrazhensky and also demolished in life at about this time.

It is absurd to attempt to compare the Soviet economy and the capitalist economy in the U.S. or some Western European nation as if they were purely independent systems. The Soviet economy, although it has enormously reduced the discrepancy in development between 1917 Russia and the most advanced capitalist development is still marginally backward in development relative to the advanced capitalist sector, and in its internal development is subject to the relations with the capitalist-dominated world market.



Capitalist Growth

outside the capitalist owned metaequilibrium processes of social reproduction. Once it is demonstrated that the mass of such looting required increases more rapidly than the development of the resources, it is proven that capitalism has an intrinsic limit of this kind. As capitalist development converges upon that limit, the possibility of its continuation as a system depends upon the cannibalization of its internal sources (social reproduction) of wealth. This cannibalization necessarily occurs through the depletion of Variable and Constant Capitals together: the rate of expansion has become negative.

The form which capitalism must assume under auto-cannibalistic primitive accumulation is broadly analogous to the thermodynamical models for certain forms of cancer. The basis for profitability of capitalism under conditions of expansion is **absolute profit**. The margin of absolute increase in the total wealth of society is in approximate direct proportion to the margin of capitalists' profits and accumulation. In the auto-cannibalistic phase, the reverse predominates. The margin of contraction of the quantity and quality of human existence as a whole is the source of the margin on which profits and continued capitalist accumulation are premised.

As the auto-cannibalism proceeds, it becomes less efficient. At the beginning a relatively large proportion of the destroyed wealth is converted into capitalist profit. As

the contraction proceeds, the yield-ratio is lowered: continually a smaller proportion of the wealth burned up by contraction is converted into profits. Conversely, as this ratio declines, the rate at which the population and means of production are destroyed must be accelerated to maintain a constant rate of profit.

We introduce a heuristic device whose appropriateness will be better understood during a later portion of this present discussion.

As the pedagogical model of concentric spheres implies, during the advance of social-reproductive development, society's relative "temperature" increases. The mass and rate of free energy embodied in the society rises to successively higher levels. As capitalism attempts to obtain wealth by negative development, the efficiency of the auto-cannibalistic "burning process" is greatest at the beginning. This is similar to the phenomenon of relatively greatest efficiencies of turbines operating at very high pressures at very high temperatures of superheated steam.

As the contraction proceeds, the effective temperature of society falls. The efficiency of auto-cannibalistic accumulation falls, in a manner analogous to the effects of lowering the pressure and temperature at which turbines are operated. More fuel must be burned to secure the same number of kilowatts of usable electrical output; more of society's stored-up wealth (population, means of production) must be destroyed at each successive point to maintain the same rate of capitalists' profits.

We have indicated that the per capita rate of required primitive accumulation increases as the development of capitalist society advances, because of the effects of increasing the ratio of Fixed to Circulating Capitals. It is obvious that the combined increase in energy equivalent per capita and increasing numbers of persons grows at an accelerating rate relative to mineral resources and other biological sources of negentropy of the biosphere as a whole. To restate this, the mass of energy represented by society always represents an implicitly measureable portion of the energy represented by the biosphere as a whole. This ratio accelerates twofoldly with capitalist development (in particular) so that even in the case where per capita magnitude of primitive accumulation is constant or even slightly declining, the very fact of primitive accumulation would define an historic limit for capitalist development. In fact, the problems arising from the contradictions focused principally on Fixed Capital force the per capita rate of primitive accumulation to accelerate in terms of absolute energy equivalents.

During this period, there is development within those aspects of the biosphere not directly included in the capitalist social-reproductive process. Those rates of replenishment are much less than, and constantly falling further behind, the rates of primitive accumulation demanded by capitalist development. Therefore, the point at which capitalist development overtakes the limits of possible continued progressive development is rigorously if not exactly predetermined.

This problem of capitalism is not inherent to social reproduction generally. The present fact of controlled thermonuclear fusion technology is sufficient to

Therefore, the Soviet economy is compelled to constantly consider the capitalist valuation of its capital import needs and available exports. These direct connections to the world market are marginal relative to Soviet production as a whole, but when the margin is recognized in its true proportions as an aspect of Soviet surplus, and the significance of that portion of surplus for Soviet development is acknowledged, the more appropriate understanding emerges. In sum, although the Soviet internal economy is approximately free of

the law of political economy, even its internal development must respond to the effect of the penetration of political economic processes by means of world-market relations.

The case in which political economy ceases is necessarily restricted to the condition in which the dominant sector of the world production ceases to be capitalist.

demonstrate that in practice the solution for the ecological problem exists immediately, provided that the prime costs of maintaining the means of production are extended in definition to include the costs of developing the biosphere as a whole. The negentropic rates of social reproduction clearly implicit in fusion technology conclusively show that this augmentation of "constant capital" costs is not only feasible but can occur with accompanying leaps in the impulse-values associated with the social-reproductive interpretation of $S'/(C+V)$.

Hence, the elimination of the capitalist monetary superstructure immediately redefines the form of necessary willful ordering of social reproduction. Henceforth, the entire biosphere must be included within the definition of means of production and consumption. The demonstrated feasibility of meeting that task (e.g., fusion power) establishes the existence of the applied science of human ecology, and establishes human ecology's essential form and role as the science which supersedes political economy.

Labor Committee specialists have elaborated the principles necessary for scientific ecology in several other locations. Therefore, we merely summarize as much of that here as is essential to our immediate purposes.

For purposes of approximation and definition, we can regard all other sources of energy but solar radiation as relatively fixed, and competently define all the concepts associated with the biosphere in terms of the conversion of solar energy into biological and biologically-useful forms. Although the generally-accepted notion of the term "energy" is fundamentally false, we can use that commonplace notion for certain useful approximations without incurring the consequences of the implicit errors involved. We use that generally-accepted, crude conception of energy to develop a series of pedagogical models of ecology. The successive development of such models leads us to the point at which the error can be more immediately identified, and we can then restate the notions of energy and ecology in terms which are relatively free of such errors.

Essentially, our pedagogical model begins with the total amount of energy in solar radiation impinging upon the earth each day.* Of this total daily radiation, a certain net amount is radiated into solar space, and a certain net amount is accumulated by the earth. These ratios of net accumulation are not fixed, but depend upon various earthly processes, including the activities of the biosphere as a whole.

At that point of our development of the subject-matter, our attention is usefully focussed entirely on the total mass of living processes on the earth's surface. We consider the solar energy "economy" of the biosphere in three successive steps of approximation. First, we can implicitly measure the total amount of energy embodied in the totality of living processes from one epoch of comparison to the next. Next, we can compare this in terms of the rate of increase of that accumulated captured solar energy from one epoch to the next. Finally, noting the evolution of the biosphere generally, we are properly obliged to measure the impulses for exponential increases in the rate of growth of the biosphere.

There are several obvious aspects of the biosphere's existence which demand evolution.

There is the relationship of the biosphere to the inorganic conditions upon which its processes immediately depend ("inorganic" resources). **The fact that piving processes are of an intrinsic form analogous to the $S'/(C+V)$ free-energy expression signifies that their very successful expansion brings them toward a point at which the relatively finite bounds of resources will turn them auto-cannibalistic unless they evolve to higher forms.** A biological form which had a "zero growth" thermodynamic characteristic could not reproduce or perpetuate itself as a biological form. Hence, a free energy expression analogous to $S'/(C+V)$ "free energy," "V" = maintaining preconditions of reproduction, and "C" = maintaining the thermodynamical base of its own existence as such), is characteristic of all forms of life. An ecology in a "zero" free-energy state — $(000.00)/(C+V)$ — cannot exist. The "000.00" value exists only hypothetically as a boundary condition between reproduction and decay. The value of the exponential expression must be either positive or negative. Hence, the parameter of gross increase must be superseded by the rate-of-growth parameter. Furthermore, since the condition of continued existence is development (evolution), the appropriate characteristic parameter of the biosphere must be reflected as an exponential impulse-tendency for rising free energy (i.e., evolution).

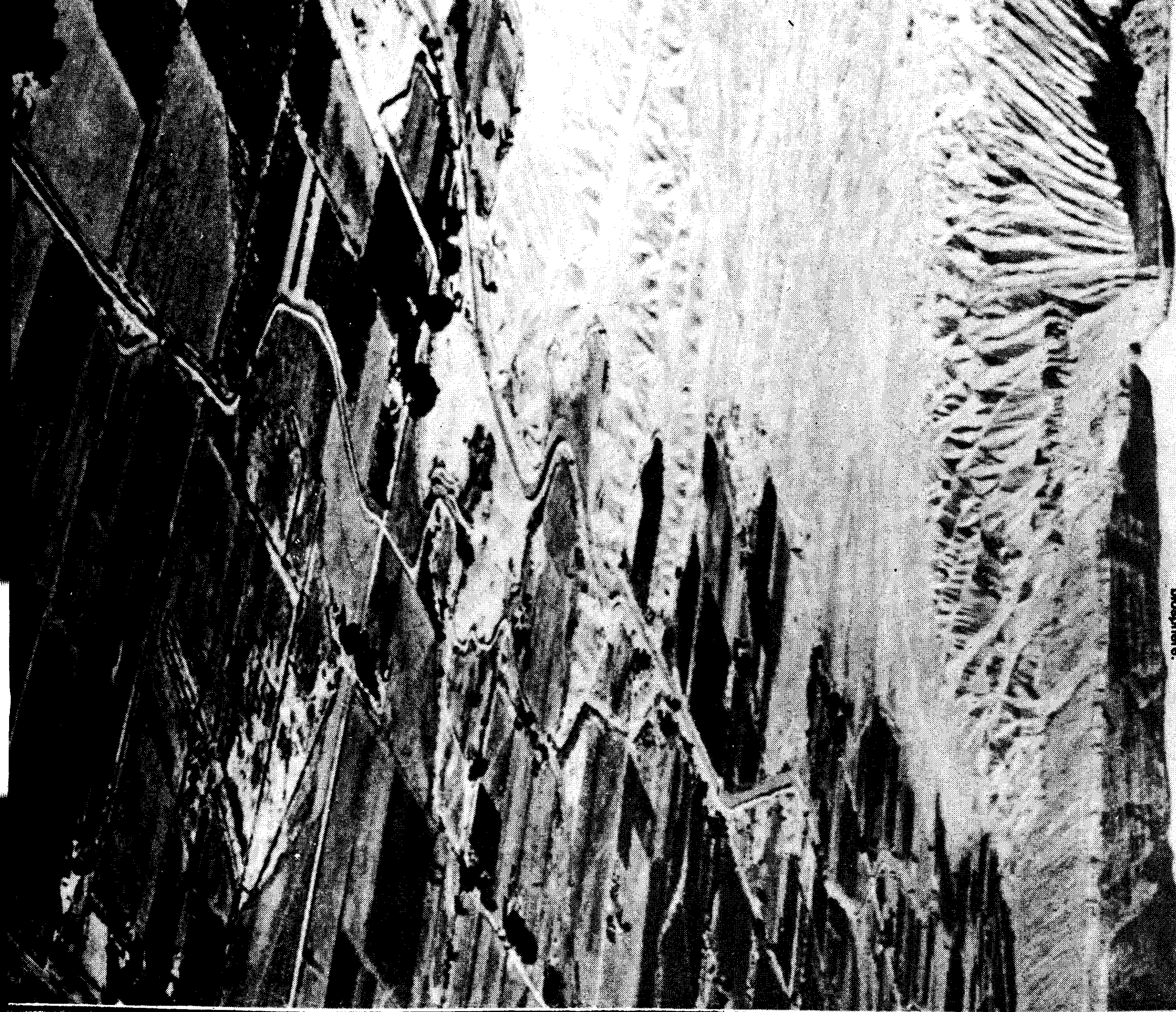
The source of this free energy is solar radiation. The fundamental activity of the biosphere is not the conversion of earthly inorganic resources into biological material, but the conversion of solar radiation into living matter through the mediation of the necessary inorganic materials used. The increased efficiency of biological processes for inorganic resources is a subsumed, if necessary, feature of the primary activity of biological evolution. The primary feature is the increased rate of capture of useful solar radiation by the biosphere as a whole. This means that for each kilocalorie of existing biological processes, the number of kilocalories of additional solar energy captured as new biological material must increase through evolution.

So far, our development of the subject is only the necessary thermodynamical interpretation of the empirical evidence as previously developed by Oparin, et al., since the 1920s.

For example, the argument that increasing the amount of energy throughput of human activities on earth must cause disastrous effects such as the overheating of the atmosphere is simply nonsense. It is desirable and essential to increase the total amount of energy. It is merely necessary to convert increases in free energy into useful biological and related "materials." For example, by irrigating the Sahara (through fusion conversion of sea water, etc.) and increasing the mass of biological material there, the heating of the atmosphere by solar radiation is reduced. In principle, our approach to controlling the maximum temperature of the earth's surface must be that of "refrigeration," in which the absorption aspect of the refrigeration process is the conversion of free energy into biological and biologically-useful captured forms.

In formal terms, the failure among a majority of the

*Under socialism, later in this century, we will begin to change that condition, capturing solar radiation in nearby space, and channelling this captured energy for human use. Solar energy capturing at the crust of the earth is generally a foolish approach to this effort, on several grounds.



Fusion power-based agriculture will cultivate the desert, qualitatively raising the negentropic value for the entire biosphere.

less-gifted biologists and professed ecologists thus far to competently interpret these processes centers upon their continued acceptance of various versions of the crude and false Darwinian conception of evolutionary processes. Essentially, the approach associated with the Darwinian outlook situates evolutionary change in the individual member of the species or variety, using what is crudely described as "individual competitive advantage" as a mistaken explanation of the processes of selection operating to cause evolution in general.

The fallacy of the Darwin approach has been recognized among biologists and ecologists since at least the 1920s. Beginning that decade, biology was advanced significantly by the influence of a group identified with the "holistic" outlook. The gist of their anti-Darwinian approach to evolution is that variations in individual species' behavior and characteristics have a chain-reaction effect upon the entire ecology. As a result of this chain-reaction, the special conditions for the existence of the entire variety or species are ultimately (and fairly rapidly) affected. The holists recognized that something deeper was involved in the reciprocal relationship between the entire species and the entire ecology. We state the general form of our own solution to this problem, which admittedly goes further than most holists have gone so far. Despite that fact, our solution is not only entirely substantiated, but is uniquely correct.

Using the concentric spheres pedagogical model for the biosphere generally, the existence of any ecology corresponds to a general degree of advancement (a spherical surface) of the free energy expression for the biosphere generally. The distribution of a complex of species in certain approximate proportions is a reflection of that level (or specific concentric sphere) of the evolutionary process generally. Lower or raise the negentropic characteristic value and the ecology is qualitatively altered. Different arrays of species prevail. To the extent that some of the same species survive the raising or lowering of the negentropic value, they prevail in different proportions, etc.

In these terms, the appearance of a new variety or species, or a significant shift in the reproductive characteristics of a species or variety within the ecology affect the value of the negentropic function for the whole ecology. The result of a slight lowering or raising of that function's value is to cause the proliferation, reduction, vanishing, of certain existing species and varieties, and the appearance of different species and varieties. These determine the preconditions for the existence of any species which contributed to the shift, acting to determine its consequent proliferation, etc.

The issue is not "competition." Competition interprets an ecology in mechanistic terms of isolated individual members of species. "Competition" reflects tertiary features of the process, which are not decisive for determining the range of types of species and varieties and certain proportions. They affect the immediate appropriateness of a particular species or variety as the suitable type to fill the predetermined slot. It is the determination of the "slots," which corresponds to the distribution of kinds and relative populations of interacting species, which is decisive.

The existence of a new species is the mediation of the processes by which an entire ecology and ultimately the

entire biosphere evolves higher characteristic negentropic functional values. Although, as we have indicated, such conclusions are approximated among the most advanced holistic biologists and ecologists, there are special methodological problems — which we shall shortly identify — which have prevented them from conclusively reaching conclusions which should have been obvious from the evidence.

Human Ecology

The ignorant "ecology freaks" act out their tantrums on the stated or implicit assumption that man is in "competition" with ecology. These unfortunates define ecology as pertaining to life apart from human activities, and often regard the solution to ecological problems as being a lowering of the thermodynamic levels of human activity — essentially looking backwards toward such various "happier days" as feudalism or even stone-age societies.

It is feasible, as Labor Committee specialists have demonstrated this fact in other locations, to show that the energy content of the biosphere has increased fabulously since the development of society, and that generally the rate of growth of the biosphere to higher qualities has increased as the advance of society has been realized through technological advances.

During the Pleistocene period, man had the ecological population potential of a gifted baboon, from which his population has increased at a generally accelerating rate to approximately four billion today. This has been made possible principally by increasing the viability of the aspects of nature upon which human existence depends. In thermodynamic terms, the total amount of solar energy and inorganic resources converted into useful reproduction of the biosphere as a whole (including man himself) has been fabulously advanced. In each instance ecological catastrophe appears to threaten today, the cause of this is usually directly the result of man's failure to pursue established normal developmental practices for maintaining his environment in the form most useful to his existence.

There is no intrinsic "competition" between man and the biosphere of which he is a hegemonic part. Quite the contrary. The phenomena of "ecological crises" which we witness today are accounted for primarily by the dysfunctional primitive accumulation characteristic of capitalist development, and are not intrinsic to the industrial expansion and technological development otherwise characteristic of the social-reproductive process.

The development of society has brought us to the point, during the past ten thousand years, that human social-reproductive processes have taken over the biosphere to the extent that the very existence of that biosphere depends essentially on its willful maintenance and development as a part of social-reproductive processes. The notion that the ecology would prosper if man were to abandon it to freely resume some hypothetical "wild, natural" state is a simpleton's absurdity. Pull man out of the ecology, and a disastrous ecological collapse would quickly ensue.

Man has transformed the biosphere from a pre-human lower level of negentropic values to higher forms. In this process the earth has been transformed from a lower level

of existence as a wild state into a higher level as man's garden. The higher state of the ecological processes represented by that garden could not have developed without man, and cannot maintain themselves without appropriate human activity. Remove the gardener or reduce his gardening activities to a level below that required, and the garden will deteriorate. To remove man or reduce his role is to deprive the biosphere of the key species on which the balance of ecology depends.

The problem is not maintaining the garden in some fixed present state. The present ecology as a whole is subject to the same essential principle as the first phases of the development of the biosphere. The free energy characteristic of living forms demands that the process of further development must continue or the ecology must turn into an auto-cannibalistic phase. Since the only means by which the ecology generally is able to effect the necessary progress is its human agency, a reduction in the negentropic activities of mankind (such as putting society into a "zero" state of negative, auto-cannibalistic reproduction) must result in a corresponding onset of auto-cannibalistic processes in the biosphere generally.

The general way in which ecological auto-cannibalism occurs is well known. It is broadly analogous to the heuristic outline we gave for economic auto-cannibalism. The weakening of the conditions for the maintaining of higher forms of life in the ecology shifts the ecological values to emphasize the proliferation of relatively primitive forms

John D. Rockefeller Family Planning



which mediate the obliteration of the thermodynamically doomed higher species. The actions of insects, fungi, bacteria, and viruses as lower forms performing this mediating entropic function of auto-cannibalism are generally known, the elaboration of that here would be more entertaining than essential.

The essential point is that for thermodynamic auto-cannibalism, the process of decay is not a matter of the appearance of just one mode of auto-cannibalism. The action of the initial mode is to reduce the thermodynamic value of the ecology as a whole, lowering the "temperature," and shifting the mode to a lower, less efficient form of auto-destruction, and then to another. Like the economic model for fascist economy, the process of ecological auto-cannibalism is a chain-reaction.

We shall return to that, after developing essential groundwork concerning evolution and negentropy.

Social Evolution

The concept, **social reproduction**, indicates that the elementary fact under consideration is the unitary historical existence of mankind as a species. The contrary approach, which we reject as unscientific and a useless superstition, would be to consider the human species (or any species) as a mere collection of biological individuals. Social reproduction considers a number of facets of the human species' existence simultaneously, bringing all these facets of the problem together to form a single elementary idea. Once we have mastered that idea in such a fashion, all the basic principles of human ecology, its evolutionary characteristic, fall quickly into place.

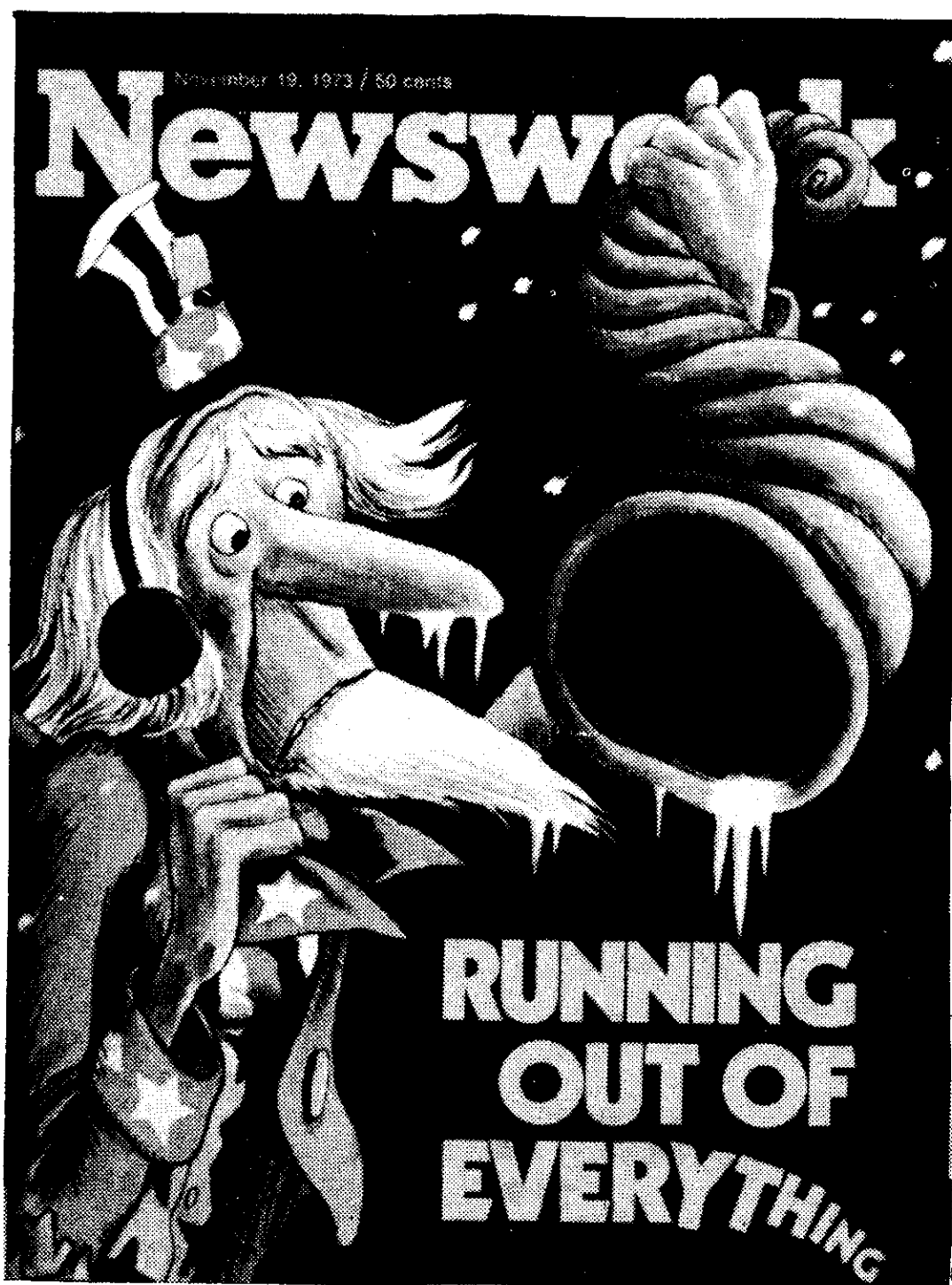
Once we acknowledge that human existence involves our species' dependence upon definite per capita levels of consumption, we have hit upon the main thread of analysis of the problem. Once we have eliminated the idealized special case, in which our ancestors existed by simply collecting food from nature, all subsequent forms of existence of our species as a whole depend increasingly upon **man's deliberate production of his material means of existence as a species.**

Once we have acknowledged man's production of his means of existence — or, at least, an increasing and indispensable portion of that consumption, we can no longer consider human needs as simply biologically genetically determined.

First, as man begins to produce his means of existence, he depends upon the fecundity of nature for certain kinds of things which represent "raw materials" for that **mode of reproduction** and that mode's implicit or explicit technology. This fecundity of nature is not defined solely in terms of the amount of any such resource on the earth, a certain continent, or even a certain region. The density and mode of dispersion of available such resources of all necessary kinds is also an integral feature of the problem of exhaustion of his "environment."

Second, even the continued existence of a static population in any fixed mode of production of its means of existence usually represents a process of exhaustion of what are relatively finite natural resources for such a culture.

In any case, since it is we — modern man — who must consider these problems, we have no special interest in considering exceptional cases in which man appears to



have been able to exist in a fixed cultural mode over indefinite periods. Since today's existence of the human race as a whole is the result of accelerating technological developments, especially over approximately the span of the past ten thousand years, our existence today is actually a product of such development. The academic hypothesis, that the human race might have continued to exist hypothetically in a more primitive state with world populations of several millions or even tens of millions, is to be viewed ironically, as an argument which has been created in those universities which modern civilization has made possible. We might return to a simpler agrarian form of culture if we first killed off at least eighty percent of the present U.S. population... but this fantasy-achievement would occur not in reality, but only in a homicidal nightmare.

The question confronting sane, intelligent people is, first, what conditions make necessary continued forward technological developments in our culture? The general answer to this should be obvious: the exhaustion of the natural resources associated with a pre-existing technology force man to develop new technologies in which old kinds of resources can be made more productive for man and new kinds of resources defined and developed.

This progressive development can be usefully interpreted from the standpoint of the crude pedagogical interpretation of "energy" relationships we have employed thus far. The most primitive development of agriculture,

for example, represents an increase in the amount of available useful energy per capita in production. The simplest metal tools or baked brick or pottery similarly represent the embodiment of captured energy. Successful innovation have what is crudely termed a metastable basis for their perpetuation in their beneficial effects. These beneficial effects can be interpreted thermodynamically: the throughput of useful energy in consumption is increased, and the free energy function of social reproduction is also increased per capita.

The thermodynamic revolutions in production and scientific knowledge of the nineteenth century represent in a more developed and concentrated form the same basic principles otherwise characteristic of the entirety of preceding human development.

This is by no means a complete or self-evident arrangement in merely the terms we have described it thus far.

The varieties of man's productive practice represented, on a generally ascending scale of intellectual content, by human progress are not instinctually determined nor are they learned by the experience of individuals in isolation. They are socially invented and transmitted.

In general, progress demands several kinds of increase in the apparent cost of reproducing a productive individual. First, the period required to produce a mature, productive individual is increased — at least as a general tendency of social evolution. Individuals of more advanced productive potentiality require more years to develop than members of less developed cultures and strata. At the same time, the absolute costs per year of developing such individuals, in thermodynamic terms, are also increased.

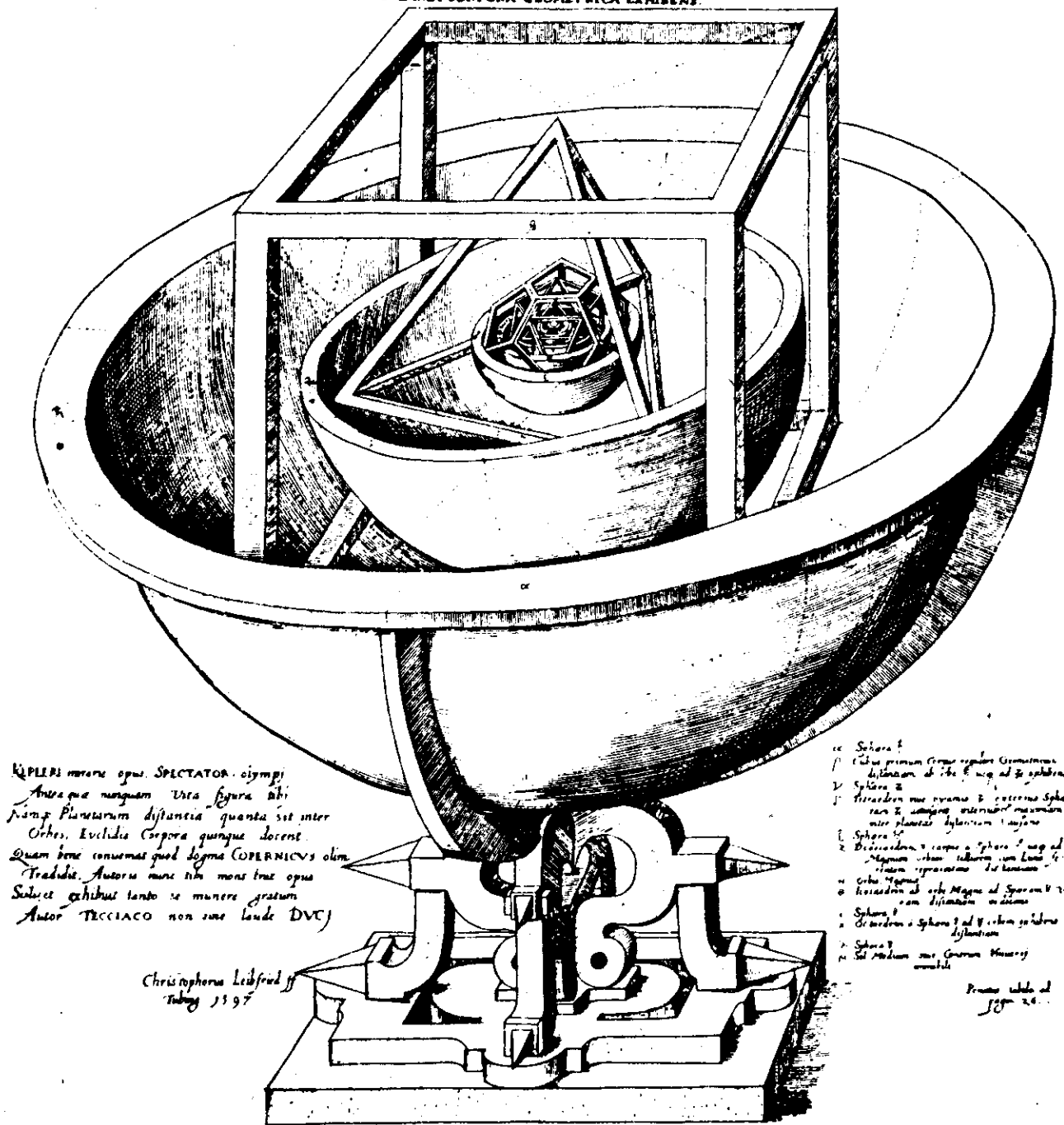
At the same time, an increasing absolute expenditure (in thermodynamic terms) must be incurred to maintain the means of production in the state required for that mode of production.

At this point, juxtapose the partial conclusions reached into a single conception before proceeding further.

Obviously, not every invention which might be made at any point is a useful solution to the problem of technological progress. Not only must the amount of useful energy per capita be increased by inventions, but we have to compare such an increase with two offsetting increases in cost of production. First, the cost of labor per capita is increased doubly: the ratio of productive workers from the entire population is reduced, in tendency, as by increasing the years for child-rearing, and the rate of consumption by each individual is absolutely increased in energy equivalents. Second, there is generally an increase in the absolute cost (energy equivalent) of maintaining the means of production. If we designate the cost of labor from households by its equivalent for a capitalist economy ($V = \text{Variable Capital}$) and the cost of maintaining means of production in a similar fashion ($C = \text{Constant Capital}$), and the residue after meeting those prime social costs as S or social surplus, we have again the now-familiar expression, $S'/(C+V)$. The invention which satisfies **necessity for development** must at least maintain the value of that free energy expression, which it cannot accomplish unless the innovation has the universal content (as a reflexive chain-reaction) of an impulse for an exponential increase in that ratio.

Except to the extent that any society exists by looting

Like all great creative intellects, Johannes Kepler generated his hypotheses from the principle of coherence — between the “internal” mind and the “external” universe. Kepler’s model of the solar system (1595) premised that the planetary orbits were circumscribed around the five regular solids of Euclidian geometry: an octahedron, an icosahedron, a dodecahedron, a tetrahedron, and a cube.



nature without developing an equivalent resource, or that one section of society exists by looting another, exponential expressions for an increase in the impulse-value of the ratio $S'/(C+V)$ are ultimately in correspondence with what we shall term a trans-invariant or “world-line” for human progress. Those innovations which satisfy that invariant or characteristic requirement have the effect of representing evolutionary solutions for the perpetuation of human existence. They have, therefore, the immediate content-value of free energy expressions satisfying positive exponential values for functions of $S'/(C+V)$. These innovations satisfy the requirement of negentropy, and satisfy the rigorous definition of what we otherwise term freedom.

This takes us as far as we can proceed in defining any ecology objectively until we have considered human ecology subjectively. We sum up the notions we have obtained to the end of defining our practical use of the terms, negentropy, necessity, and freedom. Using the concentric spheres pedagogical model, negentropy is identified by its association with the characteristic symbolized as the diameter-ray radiated from the common center of the concentric spherical surfaces. Each sphere’s surface, as a relative universality, defines the interrelations among the components of a phase of development of an ecology or society. The entire volume enclosed by that surface, including the common center, represents the free energy content of that society or ecology. Since failure to develop must lead to auto-cannibalistic catastrophe, the combination of the “lawful” interrelations among the phases of the surface and the necessity of further development represent, together, the

notion of necessity. Freedom is embodied in the specific innovations which move the development to the next higher surface, which has the magnitude of the spatial displacement defined by translation from the lower to higher sphere.

Thus, necessity determines freedom which determines new necessity. It must be borne in mind that the pedagogical model we have used is an excellent pedagogical model, but is not in itself a direct representation of the actuality. We shall make this clearer shortly.

“Human Nature”

This poses the issue: what is the source of the innovations representing progress (freedom), and what is the significance of that for the interpretation we have given for the exponential function of $S'/(C+V)$ as a characteristic or invariant? (More precisely, as we shall define it, a trans-invariant.)

The source of inventions is obviously the special capability of the human mind to create new conceptions outside the scope of learning from experience: true invention. The example of invention developed by the psychologist Wolfgang Koehler is most useful.

A chimpanzee is given a banana out of his reach, and is also given pieces of bamboo, none of which are long enough to enable him to reach the bananas. However, the pieces scattered in the chimpanzee’s cage are susceptible of being inserted into one another to make a pole which is sufficiently long. Or, the chimpanzee is given a scattering of boxes which can be piled upon one another to place the bananas or some other favorite fruit within his reach. If

we can be certain that the chimpanzee has not learned such methods of solving the problem, his performing such a task for the first time represents a true invention. Experience may have provided him with knowledge of the ingredients of his solution, but not the actual method of solution, the method of forming those elements into a "tool."

It is not "hitting upon" a solution by trial and error or serendipity that represents invention in the sense of **creative thinking**. Invention is rigorously defined as the synthesizing of a method for solving a class of problems not previously solved in an analogous way to the knowledge of the inventor.

The significance of such true inventions is that they are synthesized in the mind without a cause for their formulation in successful experimenting or imitation. The mind knows, with probable certainty (e.g., hypothesis), that the method will work before the first experience of its use.

This is an essential principle of all scientific knowledge. The ignorant person often assumes that scientific knowledge is acquired by the accumulation of experiment and other "practical" experiences. Even informed empiricists know that that is a myth.

In effect, statistical results of experiment prove absolutely nothing. The statement, "proven by experiment," is ordinarily nonsense. In only one very special kind of experiment, termed a "unique experiment" by the mathematician G. Riemann, does experimental demonstration prove that any hypothesis is even conditionally true. In ordinary scientific experiment, such as the typical laboratory exercise, what we actually accomplish is the attempt to demonstrate that an hypothesis is probably **unworkable**. If, on the contrary, the hypothetical predictions are borne out with less than 2 percent inconsistency (actually, more elaborated statistical measures would be required), we would tend to consider the hypothesis as **workable**.

The source of scientific knowledge is not ordinarily empirical proof. The source of the knowledge is within the generating of a hypothesis which has been found **workable**; it is the development of the mind and its **creative powers**. The knowledge is located not in isolable experience as such, but in the mental processes which created the hypothesis, and in the development of those mental processes. One might say in a careless way of speaking off-hand that an experiment had proven an hypothesis, or that theories were products of such experimental "proofs," but any student who made such a response in a design of experiments examination deserves to flunk the entire course.

The other, special kind of experiment which actually proves an hypothesis, the so-called "unique experiment," is illustrated by the case of the Michelson-Morley study of the velocity of light. Once Einstein, Minkowski, and a few other gifted minds applied the lessons of non-Euclidean geometries to this experiment, they properly concluded that our entire universe was necessarily of a definite form in which only definite kinds of laws were possible. A paradox in Einstein's formulation of general relativity showed that his definition of the universe was **inadequate**, but only a fool would be caught reasserting that Einstein was not proven correct as far as he progressed.

The experiment, in brief, used the property of interference of light waves to compare the effects of reflecting light simultaneously in North-South and East-West directions. If the velocity of light had behaved as it should in a Newtonian interpretation of the universe, there should have been a difference in effects between the reflections in the direction of the earth's orbital and rotational motion (East-West) and North-South. The fact that there was no perceptible difference signified either that there was some defect in the design or conduct of the experiment or that our universe is not Newtonian.

Once the experiment was verified and certain other knowledge was taken into account, the demonstrated constant speed of light uniquely defined the possible **alternative geometries** of our universe in which this could occur in that way. For each of the alternative geometries, the basic forms of fundamental physical laws are determined. The conclusions Einstein reached were shown to be **inadequate**, but insofar as they progressed were demonstrated to be correct against all alternative interpretations. Einstein's hypotheses were proven a positive advance of knowledge by **unique experiment**.

A unique experiment, in general terms, is one which tests for the occurrence of a single characteristic incident. To accomplish this, the experiment must be designed to select a kind of event which can not possibly occur unless the general conclusions of the hypothesis are all true. In general, these kinds of events must necessarily be a reflection of constant characteristics of the entire process under consideration. They must not occur unless the process has that characteristic, and must always occur in the process which has that characteristic.

A synonym for unique experiment would be **universal experiment**. In ordinary experiment, the investigators isolate a small aspect of the universe, a process or collection, and treat it as if it were approximately a self-contained affair. The primary concern of the ordinary experiment is to discover what sorts of hypotheses prove workable in terms of the so-called internal relationships among the aspects of that arbitrarily restricted process or collection. So-called external relations are taken into consideration only to the extent they bear directly as "factors" on the analysis of the abstracted internal relations. **The unique or universal experiment selects the universe as the primary context of investigation, and defines experimental hypotheses accordingly.**

The basis for this is provided by first considering the idea of different kinds of universes and universals, for the purpose of determining how the internal laws of affecting certain kinds of phenomena must vary according to the kind of universe in which they occur. Since the adoption of the universe as the primary datum axiomatically demands rejecting the existence of self-evidently discrete particles as primary, etc., the universe must be interpreted from the standpoint of continuity rather than as a matter of collections of discrete things. To express the point crudely for the purposes of illustration, the idea of a universe demands that lines determine points, surfaces determine lines, hypersurfaces determine surfaces, and so forth, instead of a line being determined primarily by points and so forth. The approach to developing the needed hypotheses requires redefining geometry (i.e., continuities) with the qualification that

the axiomatic structure of Euclidean and analogous "logical geometries" must be abandoned.

The ordinary ideas of space and time are discarded as arbitrary and superstitious. Instead of measuring actual events against a backdrop of pre-existing, "pure" space and "pure" time, we reject the notion that abstract space and time have any existence, without matter, even a mental one. Matter, space, time must be regarded as aspects of a continuous hyper-geometry for which no external axiomatic standards, "factors," of absolutes exist. Instead of using arbitrary external yardsticks of mass, space, and time, we treat these as necessary phenomena determined by the internal geometry of the universe as a whole. Mass, space, and time are defined by "internal mapping" of the relations within the universe.

Those features of such internal relations which are unvarying for all possible internal mappings in a definite kind of universe are the characteristic or invariant features. These features, because of their necessary universality for all internal relations in particular, are hyper-geometric analogs for all the fundamental laws which exist as universal laws within an actual universe which agrees with such a geometry.

Instead of attempting to locate fundamental laws by analysis of the simplest aspects of experience, by indefinite reduction, the approach employed in the unique or universal experiment is exactly the opposite. We employ the kind of thinking involved in the general idea of hyper-or meta-geometries to define alternative kinds of universes which might coincide with our own. On the basis of determining the kinds of universal laws characteristic of relationships which prevail in each such type of universe, we design experimental tests whose results must decisively discriminate those shadings of difference in similar phenomena which distinguish one such universe from another.

The experimental proof which enables us to determine the kind of geometry our universe represents directly enables us to determine the kind of universal laws which exist throughout that universe. Once we have determined the kinds of universal laws which exist, we can design further unique experiments which enable us to explore that universe in greater detail.

The genius of Einstein's discovery of his special theory of relativity was in recognizing that the Michelson-Morley experiment demanded the kind of approach to physics we have just broadly described. Many nineteenth century mathematicians and physicists had contributed to preparing the background for that discovery, but the most directly relevant accomplishments were made chiefly by G. Riemann, G. Cantor, and Felix Klein on the basis elaborated by Riemann. Einstein's initial achievement in relativity was to establish the explicit connection between the most advanced 19th century theoretical mathematics and experimental physics. As a result of the explosive impact of his initial achievement, the more general implications were quickly grasped, leading to the efforts to apply the Riemannian approach to scientific knowledge more comprehensively, the so-called general theory of relativity.

The included fallacy — the fundamental inadequacy — in the development of general relativity has the most direct bearing on the problems we are considering in this

resolution. If we assume, as is the case, that each of the shells in our concentric spheres illustration is actually a symbolic representation of an entire hyper-geometry, and that the successive shells represent successive universes of relatively more advanced such geometries, we make the connection required. In general relativity, the fallacy is that the universe as a whole is interpreted in terms of a state which is symbolically analogous to one of our shells. There is nothing merely conjectural or clever in the argument that this is the problem of relativity. By the same standards upon which general relativity premises its conditional achievements — unique experiment — we are able to rigorously prove our case.

The following summary discussion may require background beyond the present education of most readers, but it is essential to identify those points here, since points of this sort can not be simply asserted without identifying the basis of competent demonstration. As we have indicated before in forewarning the reader of this special point, our approach is to identify the necessary points for the reference of the appropriate minority of readers while also making our elucidation descriptively comprehensible for the layman.

We shall complete this brief excursion and then return to the issue of the nature and content of human invention to apply the indispensable points we have explicated here for that purpose.

Relativity

The now-traditional approach to the problem of general relativity can progress only to a certain point of approximation. At that point the results obtained are generally correct beyond competent dispute as far as they proceed, but further progress is blocked. At first, the difficulty appears to be some inadequacy in the formulations, which hopefully might be remedied by more ingenious constructions effected by the same general approach in the existing relativity model. More careful reflection warns that no such simple sort of solution is possible. The gap reflects devastating paradoxes in the construction.

The formulation as given is susceptible to immediate interpretation in two irreconcilable ways. Either one chooses the standpoint of axiomatic continuity, the proper standpoint for a universal process, or one adopts the opposite approach, treating the universe as if it were composed of self-evidently discrete quanta subject to fundamental (universal) relations which are the relatively metaphysical locus of continuity. It is useful to redefine those problems from the standpoint of historical epistemology. The fallacy of the first interpretation, axiomatic simple continuity, is broadly identical with the blunders committed by the philosopher Joseph Schelling ("a night in which all cows are black"). The alternative interpretation, elementary quanta as primary, leads to the more disastrous fallacies of the Fichte-Kant variety. The epistemological problem of dualism of discreteness and continuity is not original to relativity with Einstein et al.; the difficulty was specified by Riemann himself.

The difficulty of resolving these paradoxes, of overcoming the paradoxical dualism of continuity and discreteness, is essentially situated in the assumption that our universe can be defined as restricted to any one geometry, as inherently limited to a single characteristic

or invariant value. As one supersedes such restricted assumptions, by seeking to interpret our universe as an evolving array of nested universal geometries — as symbolized by the concentric spheres, the solution immediately appears in a germ-form.

This problem is not new since relativity or even nineteenth century mathematics. The neo-platonic titans of the later Renaissance (e.g., Ficino) attempted to interpret the demonstrated fact of human progress (human "perfectability") from the standpoint of an assumed perfect being (e.g., God). By attempting to elaborate such a notion of development, as converging upon a fixed order of utopian perfection, the inherent fallacy of that latter assumption was exhibited in the following theological guise.

If one assumed that the deity had created the universe according to perfect universal laws, then given complete knowledge of those laws and of the state of the universe at any instant, the deity must be implicitly capable of predicting all future events and states of the universe on the basis alone: omniscience, or at least potential, implicit omniscience. If one assumed the deity to have retained the same powers through which he developed (created) the universe and its perfected laws, the deity must be free to change particular events and states of will. Yet, the instant the deity exercises such a potency, the laws of the universe are altered, so that the deity's omniscience has vanished. In order to be omniscient he must have effectively predetermined every intervention he might subsequently effect, consequently precluding further wilful free intervention (potency) after the instant of creation. The assumption of a universe of fixed universal laws reduces all processes (and persons) within that universe (including the hypothetical deity) to impotent, moved objects, in which neither God nor man can exercise a free practical will.

Hence, the demonstration that man can create new conceptions and alter the state of the universe by efficient action in behalf of those creations is in itself sufficient proof (unique evidence) that the universe does not have fixed universal laws. The demonstration we have given for that conclusion, stated and restated in various locations in our published writings, represents a **unique experiment**, which by necessary hylozoic implication defines the kind of geometries from which the actual geometries of our universe must necessarily be found. When this evidence is applied to the paradoxical expression of general relativity, the more adequate approach to understanding our universe and its fundamental laws immediately begins to emerge.

This approach impels us to reexamine the implications of the work of G. Riemann from the standpoint exemplified in the leading features of the 1883 *Grundlagen* of Georg Cantor. That is, we reorient the interpretation of Cantor's best accomplishments in that 1883 writing as conceptual application of Riemannian geometry. On that basis we employ the approach variously developed and implicit in Riemann's work for the elaboration of the kinds of universes which satisfy the specifications of unique experimental knowledge of the evolution of society.

There can be no competent dispute raised against this statement of the task. The laws of human behavior are necessarily laws of biological processes generally, which

in turn are necessarily laws of the universe in which life occurs.

It could be objected that this does not supply us with the reforms in mathematical physics which we have implicitly demanded. That objection is well taken, but represents no defect in what we have otherwise accomplished. The determination of certain necessary knowledge concerning relativity from the standpoint of unique experimental knowledge in connection with social evolution does not provide us with a new epistemological standpoint, a standpoint which makes possible the development of appropriate unique experimental hypotheses concerning physics.

The hypotheses and experiments must be developed as preconditions to such actual elaborations of physics, but the want of that is no defect in the progress we are actually able to effect up to that point.

The following general statements follow.

All universes of fixed universal characteristics are merely open-ended epochs of an evolving universe. The determinate fundamental laws appropriate to internal analysis of characteristic relations within each such epoch can not be logically complete. Only a set of principles subsuming the ordered evolution of the universe to higher geometries and altered characteristics can correspond to the kind of universe in which man has shown himself to actually exist.

The essential distinction is most effectively located in the replacement of a characteristic based on simple extension by a characteristic of the form of self-developing extension, such as the exponential expression for rising values of the characteristic ratio, $S'/(C+V)$.

The traditional approach to such formulations, wherever they are encountered from nature, involves the fundamental blunder of assuming that the ostensibly composite form of the expression situates the relatively more fundamental aspects of process in phenomena which do not require composite expressions of their identification. Despite the infallible demonstrations that every effort to reject apparent composites on this premise leads fatally to insoluble paradoxes, the practice has persisted.

The understanding of this point is assisted by situating the treatment of perfection by Descartes within two overlapping settings. On the one side, the problem which Descartes attempted to resolve had been presented to him in the form efficiently described by Ficino, et. al. On the other side, the implications of Descartes' can be critically assessed from the standpoint of our present approach to the work of Cantor and Riemann. Although we have repeatedly stated this in other available locations, it is of such direct relevance to the present topic that we summarize it agains here.

The Cartesian statement of cogito ergo sum can be situated symbolically as follows. Let x stand for the general case of all forms of knowledge based on experience as known through a definite state of fixed comprehension of the essential ordering of events in a universe (fixed understanding, as in the Kantian case). Using subscripts, x_i , for which $i=1,2,3 \dots n \dots$, the ordering of particular knowledge of things by experience exists in the form "I think that 'x' exists," the x 's exist as predicates of a subject "I." Hence, "I" is a relatively primary universality (transfinite) with respect to all



Art and geometry are combined in the figure of Melancholia I, by Albrecht Durer. Creative genius sits blocked by inability to break through to a higher realm of discovery.

particular knowledge collectively, and if some x_i is actual, the universal "I," has a superior quality of actuality to any x_i .

"Perfection" follows. Instead of x_i , x_{ij} , for which $j = 1, 2, 3, \dots, n, \dots$. j signifies successive epochs in the development of practical knowledge of x_i , superseding the fixed understanding by layers of advancing understanding. Then, increasing practical knowledge is implied by statements of the form, $(x_{ij}+1)/x_{ij}$. Such statements can be formally construed in two irreconcilable ways. Either we regard increasing knowledge as defined by the formal-logical "ratio" of successive advances, as discrete phenomena, or we locate increasing knowledge in the process connecting successive states of knowledge (a transfinite). The latter is Descartes' intention, as is partially elaborated by Spinoza.

The concepts of "I" of Descartes' *cogito ergo sum* and the location of the primary ontological reality of existence in the process of the linking successive epochs of progress in knowledge are **transfinite, universals** in the sense that

Georg Cantor's 1883 work provides an approximation of the significance of such conceptions. It is useful to regard the determination of "I" in the first instance as a simple such universal. It is now self-subsistent; it is not a primary universal, since it could not perpetuate its own existence. It is necessarily determined by higher processes, a higher order of universality. The universal, perfection of knowledge, is the higher order of universal in respect to the development of the first concrete universal from one value to a higher state. This second universal accounts for the first, but can not account for its own existence. Hence, a still higher order of universal is required.

Hegel's self-developing and existence through the determination of the discrete quantum of action, approximately satisfies the requirements left unresolved by Descartes and Spinoza, and meets the specifications negatively defined by Kant. The extension of Hegel's self-developing universal to subsume a material universe of successively higher geometries would and does essentially satisfy the requirement.

Negative Entropy

The concept of **negentropy** as we employ it has certain similarities with the ordinary usage of the term, "negative entropy." It subsumes the phenomena commonly associated with negative entropy, but is not epistemologically identical with those connotations.

In a closed system of discrete magnitudes whose ultimate constituents are simple energy, expressions of the form $S'/(C+V)$ can be adduced. However, as Newton and Leibniz were among the first to recognize, in such a closed system, the value of the ratio must tend to decline. Newton and Leibniz emphasized that if the universe were of this form, it would run down, and its continued functioning would demand outside intervention to restore it to a higher positive value of the function. Hence the discussion of "God's clock" by Newton and Leibniz. A universe composed of elementary particles of simple energy would need to be "wound up" periodically or it would run down (as all of S' was converted into C and V).

There are various ways of interpreting this phenomenon. The crudest attempt to illustrate it is the example of the gas within a perfectly insulated container. In the initial state of the enclosed gas, some molecules have higher kinetic energies ("temperatures") than others. The difference between the high-temperature and lower temperature molecules represents the margin for potential work by the system, which "ideally" results in the gradual averaging of the range of temperatures of all the molecules, such that no more available work can be extracted significantly from the system. That process illustrates what is termed entropy.

The late Norbert Wiener illustrated a contrary phenomenon, using a pedagogical device attributed to James Clark Maxwell, called "Maxwell's Demon." Assume an enclosed gas system in a state close to maximum entropy. Divide the container into two halves by a barrier which is a perfect insulator. In this barrier construct a small door large enough to permit the movement of one molecule from one side to another in either direction. Let the door slide open and shut with virtually no friction, and be operated by a tiny demon.

On both sides of the barrier, some molecules will rise slightly above and fall slightly below the average kinetic energies through collisions, even though the deviations may be very slight from the average generally. The demon acts to sort these into A and B compartments by admitting only slow molecules from A into B and only faster molecules from B into A. The temperature of B, such that work could be obtained on the basis of the difference between A and B. That is a crude illustration of **negative entropy**.

This sort of illustration is developed further by Wiener and others to describe what is termed "information theory." We have numerous manifestations of systems in which the direction of development is toward "negative entropy." In all these instances, there is a **structural feature of the process** which acts in effect somewhat like the hypothetical Maxwell's demon to cause a result which would be extremely improbable in the hypothetical undifferentiated space of an ideal enclosed container. Since at first glance, this distinction can not be accounted for as material, and since communication and structured

control processes in society's productive technology are the practical matters to which such inquiries have been generally applied, the statistical interpretation of the connection between information and process control has developed over the past decades as the view of negative entropy from the standpoint of "information theory."

The entire field of "information theory" smells richly of ripe metaphysics. That opinion is entirely justified. The aging Werner Heisenberg has performed a certain kind of service by conceding the appropriate connections between such metaphysics and the infantile misinterpretation of Immanuel Kant associated with the early 19th century Fries and Fries's unfortunate **New Critique of Reason**.

Putting aside the specious philosophizing of the positivistic cranks in that field, the paradoxical situation is a fruitful item for consideration. Is the universe fundamentally **simple energy** or **probabilistic structure**? Can the notion of energy be considered as independent of the geometry of process? Obviously, the notion of such independence, even the relative ontological independence of co-factors, is an absurdity. The organization of the universe, its internal geometry, and its thermodynamical quality are one and the same thing.

The characteristic expressions of the form of functions of $S'/(C+V)$ are to be considered as reflecting a **trans-invariant**. Each small interval of the value of that trans-invariant represents an invariant, a characteristic of an epoch of the universe which reflects a definite geometry and associated universal principles of internal relations of that universe. The increase in the value of that trans-invariant occurs through adding essential new degrees of freedom to the process, which generate a "structural" transformation of the universal process, which become characteristic of a higher value of functions of $S'/(C+V)$ and their analogues.

The impulse-value of $S'/(C+V)$ — or, strictly, as expressible in terms of characteristic formulations analogous to $S'/(C+V)$ is **negentropy**.

This is no speculation. This is precisely the internal history of the development of society in general and the conspicuous feature of the elaboration of the division of labor in capitalist development. The conception we have outlined is immediately premised on the characteristic empirical evidence of political economy's social-reproductive process, and its broader social application similarly demonstrated to the point that the evidence is at least conclusive to this effect.

The entirety of human progress has been premised upon innovations in conception of technology and social organization. For reasons indicated, the inventions and sets of inventions which have that effect must necessarily have the thermodynamic content of increments in the impulse-value of functions analogous to $S'/(C+V)$.

This social evolution absolutely distinguishes the human species from mere hominids. It qualitatively distinguishes biological man in society from his nearest genetical relatives existing in groups such as those of gorillas, chimpanzees and baboons. This distinction is necessarily the basis for defining "human nature." Man is absolutely distinguished from other animals by his technological-social evolution. Through this development he secularly advances the negentropy of the entire biosphere and raises the negentropic values of his repro-

ductive functions in a way approximated only by biological species-differentiation among lower forms of life.

Hence, it is the creative aspects of human mentation which represent human nature.

This also defines man as the only species capable of knowledge. By wilfully altering his mode and quality of social reproduction in the direction of increasing negentropy man is testing the fundamental laws of his universe as those laws are implicitly reflected in determining the successful outcome of his deliberations for progressive change. Furthermore the successful increase in the population potentials of the species from millions to billions through this process demonstrates that the principles which can be abstracted as the common feature of such realized intellectual progress are in fact reflections of the fundamental laws of the universe.

Yet, the same kind of result can be adduced, as **human knowledge of that process**, from the much slower rates of negentropic evolution of the biosphere from "inorganic" processes. Hence, the principles of genetic and related evolution cannot be of the random-selection type vulgarly assumed to be the case, but must be negentropically oriented in terms of the totality of the ecologies in which they occur. Corollary to this, the individual species-member focus of the classical Darwinian false model of evolutionary development is obviously a result of the arbitrary intrusion of the mechanistic methods of crude Newtonian physics into the domain of holistic biological processes, must represent a rudimentary fallacy of composition.

Since, furthermore, the process of advance of human knowledge admits the adducing of no common principle but this, the fundamental laws of the universe, including biological processes, must necessarily be appropriate to the sort of negentropy we have identified. Hence, a **unique experimental proof** of the concepts we have described.

The general form of human development is reflected as an increase in the negentropy of the social-reproductive process subsuming an increase in the implicit mass of energy per capita in production and personal consumption. The implicit "structure" of created new conceptions is a reflection of the implied increase in negentropy in crude energy terms and a cohering elaboration of **the geometry of the society and its practice**.

Hence, the principled significance of controlled thermonuclear fusion technology as expressing the need for exponential increases in per capita crude energy throughput in production and personal consumption.

As we have developed the point elsewhere, the increased personal consumption and increased per capita has an obvious relationship to continued human progress and existence. The process of explicitly assimilating the product of a more advanced productive process as the basis for personal existence provides man with a more advanced "structure" of social-reproductive relations as the implicit conceptual basis of its mental activity. The mere fact of more advanced consumption increases the general cognitive powers of the population. The emphasis on leisure, as a greater proportion of personal life for developing intellectual powers, for increased concentration-span in problem-solving, is also implicitly obvious. The possibility of innovating and assimilating conceptions representing advances beyond a given negen-

tropic state demands the practical assimilation of the advances upon which further development is to be premised.

The necessary increase in negentropy in production as such is obvious from the standpoint of relative depletion of resources as defined by a previously prevailing mode of technology.

Furthermore, the increase in the mass rate of throughput of society (per capita) relative to the universe about it accelerates the rate at which society consumes the newly defined resources at each phase. Hence, the rate of growth must increase, to compensate for that increased rate of depletion of new kinds of resources and technologies.

Negative Growth

It should be obvious enough to permit omitting explanation here that an ecology cannot drop to thermodynamically lower states by simply reversing the successive steps of preceding development. The special conditions upon which preceding development was premised have been permanently used up. Life must be brought down to lower states of momentary equilibrium value, but not on the basis of resources which were largely exhausted during the ascending phase.

The only sufficient resource of the ecology during the descending phase is the "burning up" of forms associated with the higher levels of negentropy. This is accomplished largely by the increased role of parasites which are more relatively stable under those conditions just because they represent substantially lower forms of life. Insects, fungi, bacteria, and viruses are the prototypes of parasitical and saprophytical forms which are uniquely appropriate species to emerge into dominant roles within the ecology under such conditions.

The ordinary experience of such parasites and saprophytes under conditions of agricultural development provides the layman with an accessible example of the problem. The development of standard types of crops and livestock produced under concentrated conditions creates a culture medium in which parasites and saprophytes proliferate according to the favorable conditions so created. The growth of a crop of a distinct type in the same regions year after year creates a forcing medium of culture for the development of dangerous parasites. The history of the evolution of the boll weevil into a virulent parasite is exemplary. These entropic threats to every advance in negentropy are overcome by continued development of technology, but are always emerging afresh in new forms to force us to accelerate our technology still further.

The instant we cease development, such menacing parasites and saprophytes of all lower phyla encounter the conditions favorable to their conquest of the biosphere. To the extent they lower the negentropy of the biosphere, they create a lower level of conditions favoring new types of parasites and saprophytes, lowering the negentropy of the biosphere still further, and so forth and so on. The outbreaks of new varieties of plagues under conditions of general exhaustion and malnutrition of a concentrated population is one aspect of this — a phenomenon already being observed in locations such as

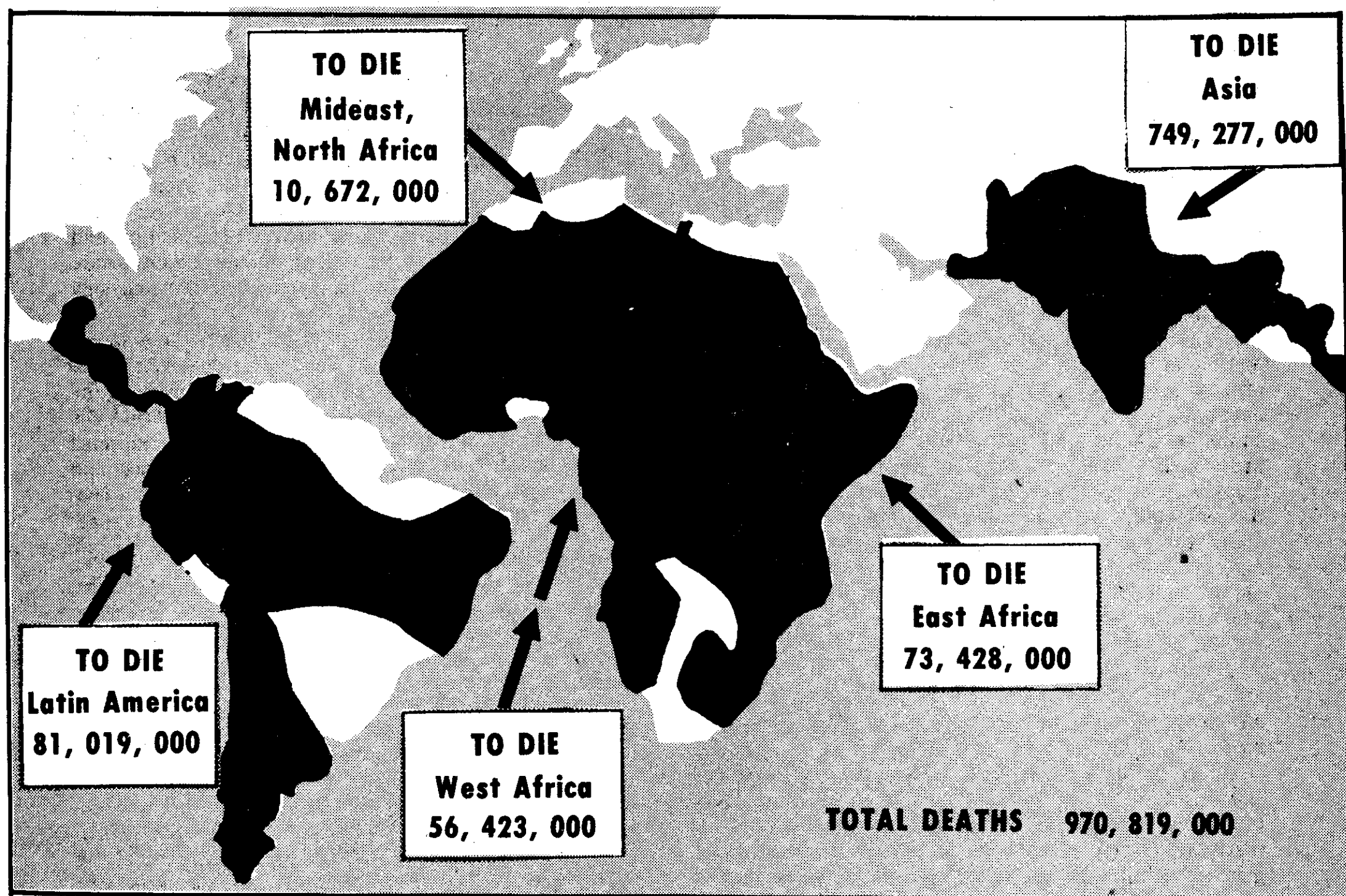
Brazil where the effects of the Rockefeller Schachtian economic policies are somewhat matured.

Obviously, no amount of ingenuity and effort in vaccine development and so forth can stop the onrush of such plagues. Particular varieties might be halted, but the general proliferation of new plagues would continue as long as the thermodynamic conditions of ecological entropy were maintained. Man, beast, and essential vegetation would be subjected to a holocaust of chain-reactions in proliferation of such parasitical processes, as long as the Rockefellers' policy persisted.

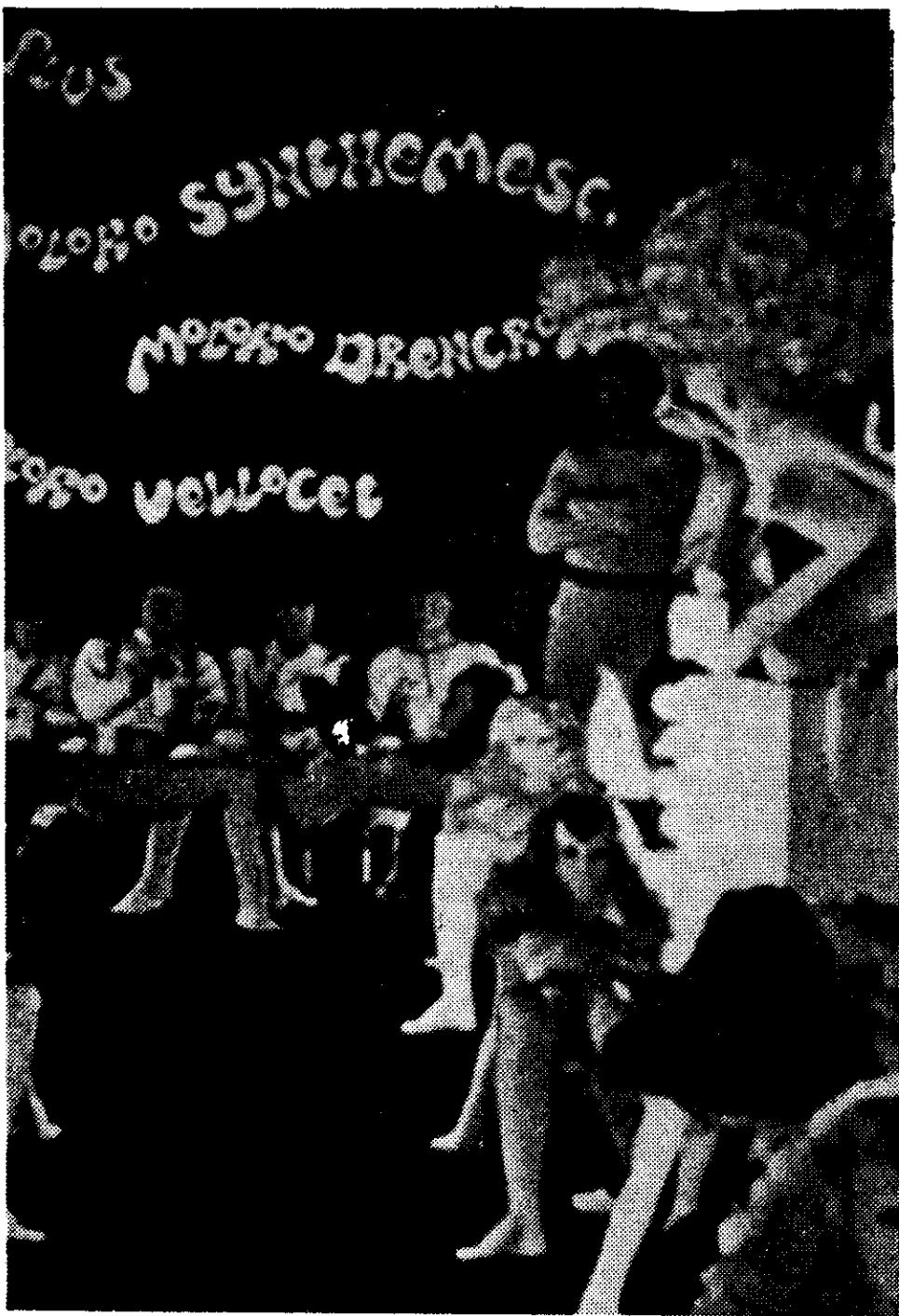
At the same time, the effect of speed-up, lowered nutrition, reduced leisure, and rampant increases in psychosis and semi-psychosis would reach critical points at which further massive breakdowns in the capacity of labor for

efficient employment in modern technology would virtually cease. This might be partially offset by massive use of labor-intensive (more primitive) forms over capital-intensive forms, but there is an irreducible minimum of capital-intensive labor employment in absolute scale below which the interdependent structure of the economy collapses. Once that absolute minimum is reached, the economy collapses absolutely.

The intersection of a collapse of the productive capabilities of labor in this way with an ecological holocaust would represent a point at which the virtual extinction of life on earth ensues. Hence, the intellectual ignorance of top Rockefeller-associated specialists concerning such problems represents the most hideous outbreak of criminal stupidity in the history of our species.



Rockefeller-directed mass murder.



Assault on the mind: brainwashing scene from Stanley Kubrick's proto-fascist "Clockwork Orange."

Part 3:

Fascism's Rape Of the Mind

We have shown that the professed austerity and recycling programs of the Rockefeller-led agencies are leading toward virtual destruction of human existence before 1990. If the probable thermonuclear war were avoided by Soviet capitulation to fascist occupation, human existence would approach its end no later than the middle of the 1980s. Insects, fungi, bacteria, and viruses would throw up proliferations of plagues attacking not only man and his crops but the very existence of the biosphere itself. The most optimistic view of AD 1990 under the Rockefeller's program would be the reduction of earth's population to no more than a few hundred millions of psychotic cannibals, scavenging a wretched subsistence from the wreckage of the collapsed civilization. More probably, unstoppable waves of plague would render human life virtually extinct for generations to come.

Consequently, a person who henceforth supports or even tolerates the Trilateral Commission, the Club of Rome, and associated top fascist agencies must either be judged criminally insane or the term insanity itself loses any useful objective meaning.

The leading fascist planners associated with the Rockefeller family have recognized that fact for at least 30 years. It was approximately 30 years ago that Kurt Lewin and Brigadier General Dr. John Rawlings Rees proposed developing methods of political control based upon driving the majority of the human population toward psychosis. They proposed this to render the population submissive under the Schachtian economic world order, which Rockefeller-linked agencies were plotting to install at some point in the decades immediately ahead. Since that time, the various forms of psychological warfare developed by Lewin, Rees, their collaborators, and students have been the central feature of the activities of a world-wide set of interlocking "think tanks" and special "commissions."

The significance of George Orwell's famous novel *Nineteen-Eighty-Four* is that its writing was inspired by a commitment to a further world order which existed among top, Rockefeller family-dominated Anglo-American political intelligence agencies by the late 1940s. Like numerous well-known top trade-union officials and celebrated social-democratic political and "cultural" figures, Orwell was an intelligence operative for the Anglo-American CIA-SIS services. This employment brought him into privileged association with other operatives directly connected with the London Tavistock Institute. Several of these latter persons known to have served with Orwell were directly involved in developing key fascist sociological and psychological schemes, which had already been adopted off the Tavistock drawing boards by the late 1940s. His novel directly reflects such insider's information.

A similar observation applies to the recent film "Clockwork Orange." Every exotic feature of that filmscript, the brainwashing, the psychotic terrorism, sado-masochistic cults, and so forth, are already being deployed on a large scale by Tavistock-connected Anglo-American agencies. The political concentration camps of Northern Ireland are only one example of the large-scale use of brainwashing to turn former political activists into zombie-operatives for the Anglo-American intelligence services. The Symbionese Liberation Army in the U.S., the Baader-Meinhof gang in the German Federal Republic, the "Japanese Red Army," the "Black September" gang of the British SIS's Libyan division, the Italian "Red Brigades," and so forth and so on are better-known examples.

Worse, in U.S. industries, programs launched by joint action of government, corporations, and trade-union leaders already have the short-term capacity and stated purpose of brainwashing 10 per cent of the U.S. industrial labor force. (It is no exaggeration to term such Rockefeller labor lieutenants as Leonard Woodcock, Irving Bluestone, I.W. Abel, Eugen Loderer, and so forth as fascists. Not only are they directly and deliberately involved in pushing brainwashing programs against union members, but they are consciously pushing traditionally fascist corporatist policies as well as fully supporting the most hideous real-incomes-reduction and super speedup programs of the Rockefellers.)

Only an imbecile could argue sincerely that the Rockefeller agencies could not go so far as to push a

majority of the population into a state of psychosis by brainwashing. Those agencies are already engaged in that undertaking. Furthermore, lest one doubt their capacity to carry out such intent, consider the progress of another facet of their programs: "food triage."

Out of an area of approximately 800 million population marked for mass genocide (the so-called "Fourth World" of McNamara's World Bank program), in India alone it is estimated that approximately 22 to 30 million deaths have occurred during 1974 as a direct result of the Rockefeller starvation-plague program for reducing the world population (to between 2 and 2.5 billion by 1990). Public figures on the hideous genocide in the sub-Sahara region are withheld so far. Central America, also set aside for mass genocide, is another case. Bangladesh may lose half its population through the Rockefeller program of **food-production cutbacks** over the 1974-75 period. By the fall of 1975 the Rockefeller agencies' programs will have deliberately exterminated more human beings than the Nazi regime; and that is merely the beginning.

Reducing a majority of the surviving human population to a state approaching psychosis is a relatively mild offense compared to the deliberate extermination of approximately half the human race during a decade and a half or less!

Anglo-American psychological warfare technology is based on an accumulation of experimental knowledge of techniques for inducing psychotic and semi-psychotic states in normally neurotic persons and groups. Early studies focused on the way in which so-called "war neuroses" might be deliberately induced as a method of brainwashing; they drew upon criminal misuse of psychiatric experience generally; and they seized with fascination on the apparent successes of the Chinese Peoples' Republic in developing coercive methods of behavior modification. Through such studies a more or less consistent interpretation was developed covering a broad range of subsumed fields of psychological warfare, ranging from practices like the World War II "Strategic Bombing Survey" through criminal misuse of controlled news media down to individual brainwashing as such.

The work of Rockefeller family protege Kurt Lewin performs a key role within the general psychological warfare schema. Lewin was a professor from Germany whose academic opportunities under the Nazis were curtailed by the fact that he was both a "left-wing" variety of fascist ideologue and a Jew. His significant contribution to psycho-sociology can be readily summed up without consequent distortion.

Whereas most fascist ideologues had proposed organizational forms like Lewin's as the objective of their "revolution," Lewin was the first to emphasize the converse, that the imposition of fascist-like forms of small-group organization and corporatist "structural reforms" could induce fascist ideology in a subject population. Hence, in his view, once the subject-population had been herded into fascist schema such as "local community control" and corporatist employee-employer-government "co-determination"-type "structural reforms," the empty forms of democratic deliberation within such institutions could produce a relatively stable sort of fascist regime with a relative minimum of coercive police institutions needed.

Although a few amoral eccentrics, such as Tavistock's R.D. Laing, and some renegade or credulous psychoanalysts have contributed the rudiments of a systematic approach to the psychology of brainwashing,

most Anglo-American psychological warfare techniques are merely mechanistic refinements of such outright "sledge hammer" brainwashing techniques as those of the Chinese or of French "para" Algerian-war interrogation teams. In general, they represent the accumulated results of a massive hit-or-miss effort to add compactness and efficiency to crude "Mutt and Jeff" variations of outright prison basement torture-room tactics.

These techniques would succeed with most individuals held — as individuals — within a controlled environment. However, the very crudity of the methods is such that they could not succeed as mass-application techniques against a population which possessed even a modest approximation of scientific knowledge concerning the human mind. A large population, reasonably informed concerning the ABCs of psychology, would recognize the efforts to create a controlled environment and would quickly develop effective countermeasures to destroy such an environment — limiting the success of psychological warfare techniques to cases of captured isolated individuals.

For that reason, it is essential that the Labor Committees and others continue and accelerate recent advances in the field of scientific psychology as an important practical feature of the inoculation of the general population against the psywar games of humanity's enemies. It is similarly essential that considerable attention be given to outlining essential points in this draft resolution.

For reference, we now outline a somewhat expanded version of the listing we presented in the opening section of this draft. The specific topics of Anglo-American psychological warfare with which we must be familiar are as follows:

1. **Strategic military-political doctrine.** The essential points to be made have already been noted.

2. **"Area Population Psychological Studies."** During World War II, the Anglo-American psychological warfare services developed a number of studies of specific neurotic susceptibilities of various national cultures. The most famous of these was the so-called "Strategic Bombing Survey," thus termed because of one of its original intended applications. It was conceived as a basis for coordinating allied bombing of Germany with propaganda and other psychological warfare campaigns against the morale of various enumerated strata of the Third Reich's population, and was approximately the grandfather of the more recent "Operation Phoenix" CIA-Pentagon genocide operation in South Vietnam. As that work developed, its uses for political psychological warfare applications were emphasized, including policies to be used for the allied occupation of Germany. Similar studies were made of the Japanese ideology.

At the end of the war, the practice was extended to Eastern Europe, largely under the cover of UNRRA operations, and studies were developed of Italy, France...now every sector of the world. The key psychological warfare study of the Soviet leadership was developed by Tavistock and RAND, under the direction of H.V. Dicks, author of the "Strategic Bombing Survey." Anglo-American playing on the "Oblomovist" susceptibilities of Soviet leaders has been rather effective Anglo-American strategic policy during the 1960s and early 1970s. Rockefeller "detente" policy tactics toward the USSR have been exploitation of essentially the



Victims of Allied psywar Strategic Bombing, Mannheim, Germany, 1944

psychological weaknesses of victims of "Oblomovism."

Beginning in the fall of 1972, the Labor Committees undertook "area population psychological studies" for key European sectors, beginning with Germany and Italy, and shortly after that undertook a major study of the Latin-American ideology. These counter-studies are aimed at remedying the psychological vulnerabilities of workers and their allies.

3. The use of control of major news and cultural media as instruments for inducing desired forms of partial insanity among large populations. We have noted, for the sample U.S. case, that Rockefeller-allied agencies control the major national news services (AP, UPI, radio-TV news organizations) and key metropolitan daily newspapers. In general, by so controlling the news slant concerning national and international issues, and related practices, the key agencies and principal other mass-circulation media determine what the population generally knows and considers credible. Deliberate falsification of the news currently practiced on a massive and reckless scale is used to determine largely what the population thinks (wrongly) is occurring in the world.

This obvious manipulation of the news, modeled on Josef Goebbels and Anglo-American World War II practices, is supplemented by the introduction of programmed "subliminal" psychological material, whose predetermined effect is to accentuate infantile impulses among targeted portions of the population.

4. "Local control" and "co-determination." The development and introduction of fascist social forms such as "local community control" and "co-participation" (corporatist) forms of organization, narrowing the scale of the groups by separations according to race, sex, language background, regional backgrounds, current status, recreational interests, age groups, and neighborhood. Setting such groups into competitive contiguity under conditions of general austerity is an effective Lewinite technique for inducing self-brainwashing among these groups and progressive psychological deterioration toward **polymorphous perverse pseudo-families** and outright clinical psychosis. "Local community control" and "co-participation" types of "structural reforms" along these lines are a principal direct means of political control essential to fascism with a democratic face.

5. The application of Lewinite "small group brainwashing" techniques to "leaderless group" reorganization of production. Under conditions of austerity, recycling of employed and unemployed, and large-scale relocation programs, the introduction of token (e.g., "Halsey" group work-incentive) group piece-work and performance-reward competition among competing groups transforms the small production team into a potentially self-brainwashing group. The introduction of "transactional therapy" intra-group sessions practices to these teams is the means for effecting the potential result. Under these conditions, semi-psychosis and psychosis cause the group to "voluntarily" attain degrees of intensification of labor which cannot be forced from sane labor. The members of such self-brainwashing "leaderless group" work teams emulate the "racehorse" syndrome, driving hysterically toward literally suicidal work-paces. Tavistock and University of Pennsylvania fascist labor specialist Eric Trist is the best known spokesman for these practices.

6. The use of brainwashed gangs of zombies, deployed under direct or indirect control of covert operations agencies, as pseudo-leftists and zombie-fascist gangs and countergangs. These groups, whether masquerading as "leftist" organizations or as small terrorist-bomber and zombie-senseless-killer bands, create an atmosphere of terror. They provide an immediate "backfire" method of counterinsurgency against genuine political resistance forces, and otherwise induce the conditions of terror in which the population more readily tolerates or even demands military and police takeover of civilian government.

7. The development of military and police forces as "civic operations" insurgency-counterinsurgency forces. The broad function of such reoriented military and police forces is that proposed by Brigadier Rees. Their essential role is to be the "mother" of civilian governments and to supervise appointed civilian governments, while maintaining a credibly awesome threat of instant and drastic punitive action against any civilian government or political opposition which fails to carry out the directives of the ruling financial circles. Rather than functioning simply as armed errand-boys for the financial circles, these military police agencies are intended to function as a political force, to represent an organic set of economic, political, and social policies, and to directly audit, check, and shape the performance of civilian governments in terms of the political-economic and social doctrines of the

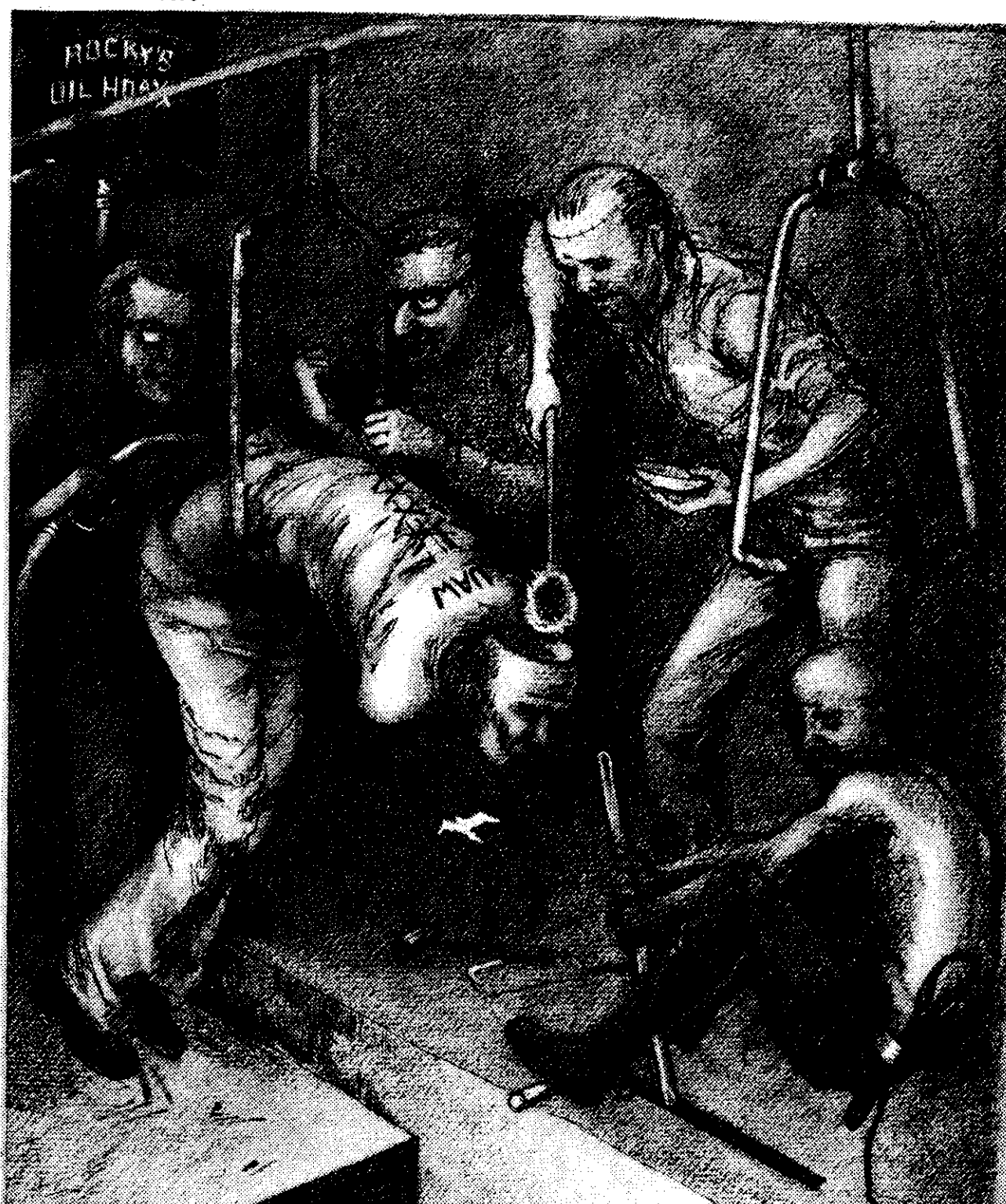
military cadres. These civilian qualifications enhance the capability of the military's role as a psychological warfare condition, effectively cutting off ("desensitizing") the population from hope of gaining access to means for genuine control of the society.

8. **"Hard" clinical brainwashing techniques.** Sophisticated methods of behavioral modification, frequently employing such auxiliary techniques as electroshock, psychosurgery, psychopharmaceuticals, are too expensive to be proposed for general use against large populations and become too conspicuous and hence vulnerable in large-scale use for other than specialized and emergency applications. There are two general classes of exceptions, under which circumstances they will be used in preference to cruder "mass-production" functional techniques. Clinical conditioning is necessary for preparing a zombie operative for a special operation in which his behavior must be predictably pre-programmed. Clinical conditioning is also used selectively against key cadres of political opposition organizations. This type of brainwashing is used either to force a leader of such an organization to publicly repudiate or lie about the organization or to commit criminal acts as an apparent agent of the organization.

The consequences of such brainwashing are virtually fatal to the victim's mind unless remission is effected within a reasonable period of time. The amount of brainwashing required to "break down" a leading member of a socialist organization is determined by the fact that such a person usually has developed a highly integrated world outlook based upon a characteristic

method of judgment. The problem presented to the brainwasher is analogous to that of inducing a modern mathematical physicist to become a fanatical advocate of the eighteenth century phlogiston-flux hypothesis. The higher cognitive capacities of the mind must be virtually destroyed. Hence, without early remission, the probable prognosis is terminal psychosis.

9. **The combining of these various fascist tactics into the general form of fascism with a democratic face.** The most essential feature of such a process is the coordination of the key individual features through pseudo-liberal and pseudo-left movements. In the U.S. itself, fascist agent Saul Alinsky and the late Walter Reuther have performed a key role in collaboration with the Rockefeller-CIA establishment generally (as social-democratic anti-Communists) and with the main centers of Lewinite influence. The export to Sweden (from Lewinite and Tavistockian U.S. and British centers) of corporatist "leaderless group" and "co-participation" recipes, to be re-exported by social-democrat Olaf Palme as the "Swedish Way" to socialism (!), is exemplary. The importance, to the Rockefeller agencies, of having a leading member of the Communist Party in Italy, Giorgio Amendola, act as a principal advocate of fascist restructuring throughout Europe is also exemplary. The key technique is exploiting the leadership of the demoralized left as advocate for the fascist programs directed principally against its own social base, so that fascism apparently takes power as the fruit of an anti-conservative alliance of liberal-left forces.



Co-determination

Psychoanalysis

The only competent psychological theory premised upon therapeutic work is psychoanalysis. Whatever particular flaws cripple classical or Freudian psychoanalysis, its two essential positive features must be noted. First, the principal empirical categories it has discovered are in fact distinct phenomena which exist approximately as Freud was the first to describe them. **Ego, Id, Superego, conscious, preconscious, unconscious** are not mere statistical categories of mental phenomena; they act in fact as distinct, existent entities. There are serious errors of misappreciation of these entities by most reporting **psychoanalysts** but those are usually errors of inadequacy and not gross blunders respecting the evidence itself. Second, all ordinary phenomena of mental life, including those of neurosis and psychosis, depend directly upon the interplay among these principal categories in form approximately as Freud first accounted for this. By contrast, classical psychiatry and various behaviorist schools are broadly incompetent both as therapeutic doctrines and as hypothesis concerning the form of mental life.

Psychoanalysis must be assessed as we usually value an inadequately developed body of knowledge. No competent professional would go backwards to any earlier or competing hypotheses. As far as it goes it is relatively correct. Wherever we find it in error, we remove such errors only by advancing beyond what has already been accomplished.

There is a devastating methodological error within classical psychoanalysis, as we have already detailed in a series of writings on this subject. The point to be made in that connection is of direct and rather fundamental relevance to the problems presented by Anglo-American psychological warfare, so that we must summarily consider the issue here.

The strength of classical psychoanalysis is principally located in and restricted to its merits as a study and method of treatment of **abnormal** mental behavior. Specifically, it has almost exposed the connection between the psychopathology of **abnormal behavior** and that aspect of mental life termed the unconscious processes. Within those limitations, it has fully proven its unique competence for effecting improvements in cases of neurotic pathologies of this sort and also has a related intrinsic merit — less widely understood or practically realized — for treatment of psychosis.

The chief flaw in classical psychoanalysis is most efficiently identified as its substantial neglect of the positive features of mental life. This central shortcoming is best addressed from the standpoint of our preceding section's discussion of the problem of "perfection." Although psychoanalysis generally concurs on certain broad symptomatic definitions of sane behavior, no form of classical psychology has succeeded in elaborating a positive conception of sanity comparable to Freud's exploration of the psychopathologies of the unconscious processes. Freud's psychoanalysis shares the blunder with abnormal psychology in general of regarding sanity as an ideal "normal" condition. It implicitly defines sanity as the condition realized in the hypothetical case of the patient who has been successfully relieved of all pathological traits. It defines sanity (perfection) as an ideal fixed limit approached by the weeding-out of pathologies (imperfections).

The absurdity of psychoanalysis' assumption on this point ought to be obvious to anyone with significant clinical experience. The gist of the point should also be obvious to any intelligent layman. At one hypothetical extreme, we encounter individuals of outstanding personal character development — intellectual and moral achievements — who may nonetheless suffer from the most hideous sorts of psychopathologies. In the opposite extreme case, we meet persons whose character is lacking in intellectual or moral spark, but who appear relatively "normal," ostensibly free of more threatening sorts of psychic disturbances. Generally, the quality of social performance of individuals has a twofold aspect; it is the result both of what classical psychoanalysis considers and also of something ultimately more decisive, **which psychoanalysis formerly did not consider.**

What psychoanalysis failed to consider systematically was the quality of human mental processes which distinguishes man as human, the quality of creative innovation which we previously distinguished as the kernel of "human nature." The proper definition of sanity is indeed **perfection, provided that perfection is defined from the standpoint of negentropy.** It is the quality of creating and assimilating conceptions of technological and social forms of advance in society's power of social reproduction which is the active feature of the mind, the impulse upon which the qualities of superior intellectual and moral character development immediately depend.

This conclusion was probed and appropriate hypotheses subjected to tests of unique experiment in two interconnected ways. The historical evidence — as unique experimental evidence — for the positive existence of this perfecting, creative quality of human mentation was employed to circumscribe the individual human being, to define the quality which must necessarily be found and shown to be fundamental within his mental processes. Within that setting, the explicit phenomena of mental processes were directly, individually explored, and the indicated fundamental quality located and demonstrated in a unique way. These achievements, identified in the introductory work, "Beyond Psychoanalysis," are elaborated in that and subsequent papers on the "new psychoanalysis," and provide the broader, more advanced version of scientific psychology which we employ here.

For purposes of identification, we state the main ontological changes introduced to Freudian psychoanalysis by the discoveries. First, both the **Superego** and **preconsciousness** are significantly redefined on account of the recognition of the creative or noetic quality of "fundamental emotion" within those phases of mental life. Second, the "instinctual" identity of the so-called "Id" is eliminated and the "deeper unconscious," the **Freudian use**, is systematically redefined. The "Id" is shown to be the rudimentary or infantile form of the Ego, and the distinction between the **unconscious** and **Freudian unconscious** is shown to involve only the difference in quality experienced in passing over into "depth analysis." Finally, the Freudian "libido theory" is discarded as specious without denying the evidence in favor of Freud's mistaken conclusions. In place of the "libido" as a fundamental emotion, the quality associated with the creative impulse is shown to be fundamental and the so-called libido phenomena merely derived.

As is underlined in "Beyond Psychoanalysis," the fallacy of the "libido theory" stands out as grotesque in

the failure of Freud and others to account for creative activity. The Freudian view permits nothing more to occur in creative activity than voluntary rearrangements of existing elements. It (rather hysterically) ignores the synthetic activity which creativity uniquely represents. The "libido" has the quality of the scalar magnitude of "energy" associated with entropy, whereas actual creativity has the quality of negentropy.

In Freudian views, the function of the Superego is essentially control of energies and impulses originating in unconscious processes. In reality, the Superego and preconsciousness are the location of the primary "energy" of mental life, and "libido" is essentially "xeroed" negentropy realized as infantile entropy.

We can dissipate part of the problem which must obviously arise in the reader's mind. "Isn't sexual activity pretty basic?" The answer to such ingenuous objections is that there are two distinct alternative origins for sexual arousal. A person may be aroused by the other person as an object ("libido") or a keener sense of arousal occurs as a result of the excitement of what might be termed a mutual reading of one another's mind.

There occurs, unfortunately too rarely, a synchronization of the activity of creative insight between two persons to the extent that a very small change in gesture and other minimal signals efficiently communicate back and forth an extensive and reliable detailed communication of the conscious mental processes occurring in each. This shared experience by a loving couple frequently evokes cumulatively an extraordinary degree of sensuous arousal. Couples who have experienced sexual relationships in which, alternatively, that sort of sensuous motivation and the ordinary "libidinal" sort both have been characteristic, know empirically the distinction between the two.

It is only the person who has never experienced anything but a "libidinal" form of "sexual attraction" who will desperately insist that the "libido" is a self-evident existence. Strictly speaking, a person who is capable of **experiencing only a libidinal motivation for sexual relationships is strictly speaking psycho-sexually impotent. impotent.**

Removing the flaws intrinsic to the Freudian outlook, psychoanalysis is properly redefined as a study of those pathologies which prevent the individual from realizing his intrinsic potentials for intellectual and moral development. Strictly speaking, every individual who has not developed qualities of genius is obviously a neurotic, since virtually every human being has all the "intrinsic" potentialities to be what we might term a "genius." Furthermore, excepting the influence of pathologies to the contrary effect, there is no distinction between intellectual and moral qualities. A moral human being is obviously a person who proceeds from a competent Spinozan conceptual overview of the interest of the human species as a whole, from the standpoint of enhancement of social-reproductive development. This moral condition is both a disposition to gain such understanding and the power of concentration-span and conceptualization of evidence to reach appropriate judgments.

As we shall indicate below, the individual who enjoys a conscious realization of the development of his intellectual potentials in that way has a different sense of identity than the normal or neurotic individual. Psychoanalysis is properly defined as a study and treatment of those pathological influences which prevent an individual from realizing that condition. In that

respect, the new psychoanalysis unifies the study of character development and relief of pathologies as a single enterprise.

The same methodological conceptions we have defined for ecology, "human nature," and general relativity inevitably settle the problem of the connection between scientific psychology and biology.

The individual physiological processes are the all-inclusive **mediation of individual mental activity.** Traumatic disturbances of that mediating physiology may critically impair the organic basis for effective mental processes. Malnutrition, especially during infancy and early childhood, may abort the development of the individual's mental capacities. Biology generally and medicine in particular have such invaluable peripheral contributions to make to mental health. Medicine also has an important secondary bearing on psychology in connection with the reflexive internal features of psychosomatic disturbances. That much is acknowledged by the very definition of a competent psychological science.

Yet, neither present-day biology nor medicine has further competence concerning psychology as such. **Psychological science is uniquely and comprehensively defined as the study of "human nature" within the primary functional context of human ecology.** The immediate empirical basis for scientific psychology is social, not individual-biological. The competence of biology is limited to exploring the necessary appropriateness of physiology, investigating physiology as the mediating basis for the development of the kinds of mental processes the evolutionary existence of society demands of its individual members.

Present-day biology is permeated by a specific incompetence which disqualifies it from even the claim to interpret the explicit connections between physiological and psychological processes. If we define physiology as present-day biology defines it, the organic processes directly and indirectly involved in mental activity are no more part of the mind than raw materials, aluminum cans, automobiles, and flavored soda water are the internal constituents of the specific skills of productive labor. So long as we define physiology in the terms generally accepted among biologists, the physiological movements within the human brain, etc., have approximately the same significance for mental processes as the flows of individual commodities have to the increased productivity of human labor. These physiological activities, even as present-day biology knows them, are obviously essential for the realization and reproduction of mental processes, but those biological activities so defined are not in themselves mental processes. They represent, as we have stated, the essential **mediation** of individual mental life internally.

One part of the problem is that contemporary biology is enslaved to an outlived, mechanistic-reductionist misconception of physical processes generally. The models accepted by most biologists are premised on such axiomatic misconceptions. For them, the entire universe is mischaracterized metaphysically as if it were governed by a law of universal entropy ("God's Clock") -- or, what is sometimes termed "the second law of thermodynamics."

All biological processes are in fact empirically distinguished as living by their characteristic **negentropy.** Entropy becomes a dominant feature of organic material only to the extent we are studying the

ways in which organisms die or undergo post-mortem decay. The evolution of the use of the term, "negative entropy" emphasizes the cited metaphysical bias. Present-day bio-thermodynamical models define the activities characteristic of the reproduction and development of living processes as violations of entropy (hence the term "negative entropy"). They define life as something beyond the comprehension of science as biologists presently know science. Life is not a positive empirical phenomenon for them, but only a metaphysical negative actuality.

To overcome such a blatant error, biology would be required to locate empirically the "microphysical" feature of the genetic-reproduction processes of living tissues which was in direct, positive correspondence with the trans-invariant characteristic. Biology would be required to situate itself within a hylozoic view of the universe as outlined in our preceding section. In that case, and only in that case, could a revolutionized biological science begin to comprehend those features of biological processes which determine both evolution and the physiological processes directly mediating the phenomena of mental life.

Even when that had been accomplished, the biologist would still not be able to account for mental behavior from the standpoint of individual biology as such. **He would be enabled to account only for the physiological possibility of mental behavior.** This possibility he would define as the susceptibilities of the human physiology for such externally-induced development. He would be able to show physiologically why human beings, and not baboons or higher apes, are uniquely susceptible of social evolution and human psychology. He would be able to sort out correlated physiological features of mental processes. From his successes of that limited but invaluable sort, he would contribute more exact knowledge of the ways to enhance the immediate biological environment (nutritionally, etc.) of the mental processes, consequently increasing our realization of the physiological preconditions appropriate to more advanced development of each individual. He would also begin to resolve the extremely important psychosomatic potentialities of the individual for causing and inhibiting general organic disease and increasing or reducing the susceptibility of the human body to infectious diseases.

Such magnificent accomplishments would not contribute more than marginally in themselves to our knowledge of psychology as such. Individual human physiology remains merely the essential specific mediation for the development of the socially-determined mental processes expressed by that physiology.

Since the "Five Questions" of Marsilio Ficino, man has had the conceptual key to defining the interconnection between physiology and the social determination of mind. From the standpoint of physiology, the forms of behavior associated with qualitative mental development are analogs of biological evolution among lower species. The specific form of mediation of mental development by physiological processes must therefore depend upon the capacity of social relations to effect the equivalent of genetical changes in the elaborated development of the physiological substrate of mind. Although the cognitive processes associated with a human's simple perception are obviously determined in a related way, we properly distinguish the strict use of the term "cognition" to those more conspicuous forms of synthesizing activities, associated with the process of self-development of the individual's mental capacities. The immediate point here

is that the social determination of mind does not signify that mind is a metaphysical existence. Provided we properly define the fundamental hylozoic laws of the material universe in which we exist, social relations are material relations and the social determination of specific evolutions of individual physiological correlates of mentation is a lawful material process.

The physician is occasionally an essential collaborator for successful psychoanalytical work. The psychoanalyst must be assured that the mental dysfunctions he encounters are etiologically psychological, and are not caused or significantly aggravated by organic or infectious diseases. Although psychoanalysis (as a non-medical practice) is the fundamental basis for treating the causes of psychosomatic disorders, the analyst here requires the assistance of the physician on two counts. In general, many psychosomatic disorders inevitably take on a life of their own, as organic dysfunctions which must be treated as problems within the special competence of physicians. Obviously, the preliminary diagnosis of a probably psychosomatic disorder, and on-going supervision of the subject's progress also demands the special competences of the physician.

There are therefore reasons society might wish to have the profession of psychoanalysis performed by persons of special qualifications in the field of internal medicine. The obvious importance of collaboration between the two professions suggests that the patient is best served by an individual combining both competences. In practice, such supermen can be available only most rarely; in general practice, a division of labor and close collaboration between the two professions is the workable approach.

If the layman will merely note the number of years required for competence in each profession, psychoanalysis and internal medicine, the combined psychoanalyst-internist emerges as a person who has completed his apprenticeship by approximately the age of thirty-five to forty. To maintain his competence in both fields, thereafter he must divide his practice between specialized activities in both. Since effective psychoanalytical work should not involve more than approximately twenty-five patient-hours per week (after which it becomes inferior piece-work), a combination psychoanalyst-internist has a life-expectancy of somewhat more than 12,000 productive patient hours for his post-apprenticeship career. Similarly, the available benefits of the internal medicine training of the combined psychoanalyst-internist are reduced by his obligations to psychoanalytical practice. By dividing the two professions, the useful activity of the trained graduate is approximately trebled in respect to the amount of training invested by society.

The argument for such a division of professional labors becomes qualitatively stronger as soon as the nature of psychoanalytical work is understood. Excepting the important reflexive psychosomatic features for a moment, all of the other principal categories of mental life encountered in clinical work function experimentally as if the mind were essentially a *deus ex machina* superimposed upon the biological individual. In terms of treatment of primary causes, even the psychosomatic disorders act as if they were under direct control of "purely mental" processes. Provided that the psychoanalyst has an active collaboration with specialists in internal medicine, there is nothing within the domain of psychology as such which requires formal medical training.

All psychopathology is associated with some degree of **paranoia**, and the process of deterioration through neurosis into outright insanity (psychosis) converges upon some symptomatic form of a general condition known as **paranoid-schizophrenia** or simply **schizophrenia**. All Anglo-American psychological warfare technology is premised on pragmatic notions of the susceptibility of the individual or group to be driven toward some degree of such psychosis.

The ordinary misuse of the term **paranoia** by laymen and by some reckless professionals has nothing to do with this. **All paranoia is nothing but the superimposition of the mother-image-dominated world-outlook of infancy and early childhood upon the real events of the adult world.** The prevalence of this psychopathological trait among so-called normal people is typified by the maudlin sentiment frequently attached to such terms as "mother country," "mother tongue," and the identification of the Central Intelligence Agency as "Mother" among those closely associated with it.

This fact has its basis in the process by which new-born infants are transformed into normal, i.e., neurotic, adults. A summary of the main points of that development is a necessary grounding for understanding psychological warfare.

The newborn infant is psychologically purblind. He is incapable, as an infant, of developing rational forms of behavior through individual direct exploration of the world around him. His infant's world, as he begins to become aware of it, centers around either his mother or a mother-surrogate. His capacity to survive, insofar as the notion of survival is expressed in his outlook, is his ability to command this central mother figure.

This mother figure is not the mother as an actual person. It is characteristic of neurotic individuals that even into the last years of their lives they are unable to adduce a competent conception of their mother as an actual person from their empirical knowledge of her. Instead of the real mother, their internalized mother-image is a fantastic creature. This fantastic, false image is of such psychological importance that they must suppress recognition of their actual mother in the interest of protecting the image of the fantasy-mother.

The basis for this fantasy is elementary. The role performed by the mother in infancy is immediately acting to control most of those features of the immediate environment which the infant and young child regard as essentially relevant to their existence. The infant and young child do not see the mother as a person, but as a symbol for the predominant potency of their existence, a potency defined for them by the importance and form of the role she performs. On this account, virtually every child regards his internalized fantasy-mother as a witch. As we have shown elsewhere, all the myths concerning witches and witchcraft conform to the fantastic view of the mother-centered world as seen by the infant and young child. Similarly, belief in magic, astrology, and superstition generally are symptomatic of a severe paranoia of adults, and of the relative backwardness of cultures.

The infantile view of the internalized mother-image as a witch is associated with the notion of the boundaries of the real mother's ostensibly magical powers. These are approximately the boundaries of the family, and of mother's apparent domination of the family. Beyond, the infant or infantile sees the irrational "outer world," from which come the "outsiders," the "strangers," who by



James Thurber — 1936

virtue of not being subject to mother's witchcraft, are axiomatically malevolent. (The sociological notion of radical-democratic "local community control" is intrinsically a replication of an infantile, paranoid world-outlook.)

As the child develops, relations with the father, siblings and other persons develop the rudiments of actual consciousness and Ego. As this is accompanied by exploration of the "outer world," the child begins to acquire a sense of rational determination of cause-effect relationships. In the unfortunately rarer and happier instance, in which the extension from the mother to both mother and father is mediated by a loving relationship between the parents, or in which the father shows superior psychic potency, a powerful self-feeding process of general intellectual and moral character development becomes conspicuous by the second through third year of the child's life.

Later, the parental authorities are complemented by surrogate-parent authorities, which generally increase in importance as the child's entry into the "outer world" progresses.

During this process, beginning during early childhood, three contending kinds of internalized influence govern the child's behavior. The first influence is the becoming-unconscious need to regard each act as an implicit (or, explicit) propitiation of the witch-mother. This is the unconscious influence associated with the most primitive root of the Ego, sometimes termed the "Id." At the other extreme, the healthy child is experiencing the power, the creative mental activity, through which it can discover the laws of cause-and-effect universally applicable to a widening world of activity. The child associates this rational quality of self with the power to act lovingly for others generally. This confidence in its capacity to create and accumulate rational knowledge as the guide to behavior is the quality of the child's developing Ego. In between, the child's mind compromises, tending to delimit the exercise of its reason to those forms of judgment and behavior which are accepted as rational by social authority. These latter two influences are commonly confused as one, and termed ego-ideals.



"The Witches," by Francisco Goya (1746-1828).

For sound empirical reasons, classical psychoanalysis, such as that of Freud, associates the ego-ideals with a kind of prescience (semi-consciousness) in the mind termed Superego, and describes the dynamics of consciousness and behavior as the outcome of the struggle between the Superego and unconscious influences for control of the Ego. That description is partially valid. In fact, provided we correct Freud's mistakenly simplified view, and recognize two contending agencies at work "within" the Superego, Superego, unconscious, and Ego act as distinct entities within mental processes, and are not merely descriptive terms for classes of events.

In the normal or neurotic adult, two distinct universes are being acted upon simultaneously. The conscious mind, directly associated with the Ego, is responding primarily to actual occurrences in the real world by the standard of ego-ideals. At the same time, the real world is being interpreted as if it were merely a fantasy, a dream of the unconscious mind. The events in the real world are treated as symbols for events within the unconscious mind. This "dream" is a grotesque parody of infant and childhood life as interpreted by the mind of the infant and young child. In this world, the witch-mother and magic rule according to the accrued propitiatory rules. In this unconscious world, the adult is reliving in a grotesque fashion the issues of infancy and childhood.

The neurotic's or psychotic's connection between the real and unconscious world is made through accrued patterns of association, by which the complexity of the outer (real) world is reduced to the rudimentary form of the infant-childhood world. All primary authorities are symbolically guises for mother's authority; hence the neurotic's "mother country," "mother tongue." The simple hierarchies of positive and negative authorities and conditional terms of propitiatory and anti-propitiatory of infancy and childhood define the "geometry" through which the unconscious mind gives symbolic values to the outer world.

The mind is constantly attempting to satisfy both ego-ideal and infantile demands simultaneously. It is, on the one hand, attempting to respond to the actual world by the standard of socialized ego-ideals. Simultaneously, it is attempting to act in a way which will be symbolically interpreted in the conscious mind as a satisfactory elaboration of the recurring nightmare effort to propitiate the witch-mother, for a happy resolution of the fantastic reconstruction of infancy and early childhood life. We ordinarily recognize the results of this arrangement as overtly neurotic behavior whenever a powerful intrusion of unconscious (or "felt") needs overwhelms the ego-ideals, causing irrational behavior. The victim reports, "I know it was stupid, but I couldn't seem to help myself." Otherwise, although less visibly to the ordinary layman's eye, the unconscious fantasy is exerting a powerful, somewhat disguised influence over all behavior.

The regulatory process operates essentially as follows. The mind recognizes that the possibility of individual existence depends on control of those social forces upon which the individual actually depends for existence. To the extent the individual is infantile, he interprets this dependency to mean the need to maintain an immediately favorable opinion of himself among a chosen set of peers and authorities. To the extent the individual is mature, he locates his right to necessary degrees of social control entirely in the rationality of his behavior, even despite the opinion of peers and authorities **for any short-run period. The longer the forward span and broader the scope for**

which the individual defines rationality as overriding mere opinion of his conceptions or behavior, the more mature, intelligent, and sane he is. The mind censors thought and action by a semi-conscious or prescient anticipation of the social consequences of an act or expressed opinion by those cited standards. The anticipation of a favorable outcome (whether in terms of opinion or rational consequence) enhances the thought and act — strengthens the Ego; an unfavorable outcome depresses.

In the sane individual, the rational predominates to the extent that there is no longer a neurotic dependency upon immediate peer-group or authority's opinion. A Spinozan ethic is characteristic. This person's sense of identity is uniquely associated with the primary importance of his self-development of the capacity to act to enhance the existence of the human species. Relative to short-term authority, he is **hubristic**.

In the hypothetical ideal neurotic (who is never either hubristic nor subject to overtly irrational impulses contrary to ego-ideals), his behavior is always **formally** rational, but never rational in overall systematic psychological content. **He is the ideal empiricist, to whom what society defines as rational has become a habit.** To the extent that the form of judgment he has learned is rational in effect, his behavior is ordinarily **rational in effect**. However, the deeper content of this behavior is his paranoid dependency upon favorable opinion. The authority for his behavior is those authorities which certify ego-ideals which govern his behavior. To the extent these authorities are authoritative for the stratum of society whose opinion of him he "respects," he is able to behave rationally (in effect) and also satisfy his infantile needs for a propitiatory form of behavior.

Academic liberal arts professions are generally models of such neurotic behavior. The way in which "authorities" are cited, the tradition of "liberal arts scholarship," is exemplary of the way in which an approximately rational form is effected by essentially infantile means.

The neurotic, as illustrated by this hypothetical pure type, represents a half-way point between infantilism (psychosis) and actual sanity. He is governed by ego-ideals which are subject to the approximately rational demands of the outer world (in effect), and usually suppresses his own irrational overtly infantile impulses in order to adhere to those ego-ideals. Yet, he has circumscribed and truncated this formal rationality by merely substituting outer-world authority for such behavior in place of infantile-world authority. He organizes his knowledge of the semi-rational ego-ideals in a **propitiatory** way (e.g., empiricism.)

In practice, the social effect is rational (or approximately rational) but the underlying psychological form is literally **paranoid**. The psychological process is regulated by propitiatory-associative rituals. Hence, if his ego-ideals are undermined in authority without providing him with better ego-ideals, he must tend to collapse into pure paranoia, or psychosis.

From the standpoint of the foregoing summary, we can now offer essentially accurate and useful definitions of both psychosis and paranoia. In psychosis, control of adult **outer world behavior is more or less directly under control** of the witch-centered unconscious processes. Each outer-world event, object, person has merely its symbolic value for the unconscious fantasy, and the individual's response occurs as a symbolic act reflecting a decision made in terms of the unconscious fantasy life.

What we have described is relatively the extreme case. In such an extreme, the loss of ego-ideals efficient for the real world virtually destroys the adult aspect of the Ego, and only a grotesque residue, corresponding to the infantile-self aspect of the Ego's past, is actively manifest. This inverted, residual or ego-ideal-stripped Ego is sometimes called the "Id." The homicidal psychotic, whose principal concern is to kill either his mother or a symbolic surrogate for her, or to punish his mother-image, or finally possess her for himself by killing a symbolic father, etc., is the notorious extreme.

The intermediate forms of psychosis exist, in which ego-ideals apparently operate, but in a chaotic or irrational aggregation and sequence of clusters of such ideals. To understand these we must point out the error of omission in the hypothetical ideal neurotic case.

No approximately sane individual could exist on the basis of merely learned ego-ideals. However suppressed, the noetic or concept-creating faculty, which is predominant only in relatively saner persons, is an underlying active complement of the neurotic's mental processes. This cognitive function, by which he assimilates concepts as concepts, is the underlying activity which enables him to judge the proper rational connection among ordinary ego-ideals, while otherwise directly producing his occasional actually creative acts and his expressions of genuine lovingness.

If this cognitive function is significantly damaged or suppressed under circumstances in which a number of developed ego-ideals are also discredited, the result will be an actual psychotic or semi-psychotic person.

This would appear an arbitrary assertion only to those who refuse to recognize the distinctness of the Ego within mental processes as a whole. The uninformed or hysterical person asserts that whatever is dumped from his head into society is the activity of an "I" which subsumes all the activities within his mental processes. This is not the way the mind functions. The mental processes as a whole associate the notion of "me-ness" or "I" only with an aspect of the person's mental activities as a whole. The mind also includes mental activities which are associated with various activities by a "he," "her," or "them." In various senses of such a picture, the mind of every individual is heavily populated, to the extent that some of the various "personalities" contained are each potentially capable of "taking over control of" the shared body.

The Ego is that aspect of mind which is normally associated with principal control of the body, which selects from all of the various aspects of total mental activity those which the body normally expresses. Even most unconsciously determined bodily activity ordinarily reflects, directly or indirectly, this controlling role of the Ego, the distinct sense of "I-ness."

In extreme pathology, in which the Ego relinquishes direct control of the body, the control of the body by an unfamiliar mental personality (e.g., one of the "he's"), and the habituated influence of the Ego on the body result in various sorts of overt **disassociation**. The "normal" correlation of bodily attitudes, facial expressions, and gestures may be out of phase with the statements and related forms of explicit response ostensibly being made by the person.

In the semi-psychotic brainwash victim, the gestures and so forth may obviously contradict what the person is doing or saying — suggesting a special quality of lying in the brainwashed person's overt responses — or may,

more specifically, represent the Ego's effort to "freeze," to do nothing to cause its presence within the body to be noticed. In a variation, the Ego may be collaborating in the lying by focussing the body on some object, frequently an object which can occupy the hands. A cigarette sometimes becomes most important to victims as a way of suppressing symptoms of the Ego's restiveness under stress. In general, a recurring fixed smile or grin, or a combination of awkwardly violent actions mixed with periods of almost quivering rigidity of posture, etc., may be the obvious symptoms which attract the professional's eye.

It is such characteristic or elucidable conflicts over control over the body by the weakened Ego and a surrogate "he," "she," "they" or "it" (the Id proper), which justify the preservation of the classical psychiatric term, **schizophrenia**, for all forms of psychosis. The grinning, or fixed-smile, or enraged face of the psychotic or semi-psychotic is not that of the real person, the Ego. Somewhere within the same mental processes, there exists a distinct personality, the real "I" or Ego, which is either totally or partially suppressed. Relative sanity is achieved almost instantly (and sometimes this is literally the case) as the Ego bursts forth into more or less total control of the person's behavior.

Electro-convulsive shock "therapy" and sub-compulsive electroshock work on that feature of the mind. By subjecting the individual to repeated, sufficiently acute torture under circumstances in which the person has no active foresight of escape, one can "pop out" either the Ego or a pseudo-Ego as one chooses. Where shock produces an apparently therapeutic result, the pseudo-personality has been terrorized back into its pit in the unconscious processes, and the Ego comes forth with a sigh of momentary relief.

The reverse works. Terrorize the Ego into hiding and bring forth a pseudo-Ego. It may be, in simple behavioral modification programs a more infantile version of the self, the reconstruction of a past state of development of the Ego, or a synthesized pseudo-personality (less simple). In general, this is effected by increasing the infantilism (neurotic qualities) of the victim, which brings what is termed the "Id" into prominence.

The apparently "spontaneous" expression of homosexuality or what is clinically termed **polymorphous perversion** generally during or following various forms of brainwashing or under implicitly brainwashing coercive environmental situations is a correlative of this same point. The occurrence of lesbianism in "radical" women's "consciousness-raising" groups is an inevitable correlative of the criminal features of the "transactional therapy" involved. Polymorphous perversion is a direct correlative of infantile regression of the adolescent or adult to an analog-parody of an early childhood state. The historical and, more broadly, anthropological clinical evidence concerning dionysiac forms of behavior, the connection of these to various forms of sado-masochistic sex cults, and so forth, belong to the same general phenomena of psychosis and semi-psychosis.

The point we have just made concerning the pathological features of non-Ego control also applies in a different way to higher functions of the healthy mental processes. In most experiences of creative work by the individual, the mental activity generating the conceptual solution-insight to a problem occurs outside the individual's Ego-connected conscious processes. The individual regards this synthesis as a "flash of insight."

He regards this as a symptom for an activity which has occurred just beyond the scope of consciousness, and the discovery which results as the outpouring in conscious form of something that has been given to him from outside consciousness. Psychoanalysis identified the locus of such creative activity as **preconscious** and associates this as the activity of an agency termed the **Superego**.

This same Superego, in a similar fashion, determines the censorship of conscious ideas according to ego-ideals, employing a quality of mental activity related to that employed in actual creative synthesis of conceptions.

At this point, it is useful to introduce a pedagogical model. It should not be interpreted to apply literally beyond the restricted purposes of illustration for which we introduce it here.

We can make a rather useful summary of the overall normally neurotic adult mind by describing it as composed of three principal features. In the middle, there is the Ego, which is the agency normally associated with **conscious thought and direct control of the body's willful behavior**. At the lower end of the Ego, there is a pit filled with witches, goblins, ghosts and other monstrosities, dominated by a creature which is a fantastic symbol for the infantile mother-image. This is the aspect of the person pulling the Ego toward a world-view characterized by "mother country," "mother tongue" and other narrowly egoistical or infantile preoccupations. At the other extreme, there is the Superego, which represents the contrary rational pull of the real world. Pulled between them sits the harassed Ego, like Buridan's Ass, sadly inquiring, "How can I satisfy both of you at the same time?"

To the extent that the Superego has developed and exerts the strongest control over the Ego, we have the person of superior character. He is a person whose sense of himself is primarily that of an individual acting in a way which agrees with the interest of the human species more or less generally. This judgment is not "merely an opinion." The Superego **thinks**.

A truly sane person would be one in which the Ego and Superego had become effectively identical, in contrast to the other extreme, the pure psychotic, in which the stripped-down Ego and its "Id" tail have become effectively identical.

There is, however, a doubleness to the Superego's knowledge. At the highest level of its development and activity, it represents creative mental activity, judging the universe scientifically from this standpoint. It is however enslaved to the experience of the Ego, and defines the scope of reality as the Ego's accommodation to the unconscious permits. Hence, the neurotic's Superego usually interprets the standards of rationality evidently accepted by society as an integral part of a lawful, scientific ordering of the universe — even though the Superego's more characteristic processes constantly reject those ego-ideals as inconsistent.

Because of the sensuous association of socialized ego-ideals with manifest social authority, altering the real situation of the Ego such that the existing ego-ideals break down, and that this breakdown is threatened to persist to the limits of the Ego's forward horizon, causes the validity of the ego-ideals themselves to be undermined. The means for accomplishing this is to constantly emphasize the immediacy and power of the coercive authority which is



Self-portrait, Rembrandt. Self-awareness of the individual's creative powers.

impelling the individual to repudiate established ego-ideals.

This emphasis upon immediacy and discrediting of ego-ideals is a direct attack on the individual's Superego, which has the following characteristic consequences. (1) The individual's intellectual powers are drastically weakened, so that the activity and influence of higher cognitive powers virtually vanish, the ability to comprehend more advanced conceptions vanishes, and the individual's mental behavior is characterized by regression toward simpler, earlier-childhood levels of mental achievement — a drastic reduction in the real "I.Q." (2) The individual's moral judgment is crippled. Social imperatives are rejected in favor of egoistical criteria of the form "I really like," "I really dislike," etc. (3) The change in personality is accompanied by pathological lying concerning the nature of the change and concerning the premises and internal content of former beliefs and behavior. (4) The transition is mediated by drastic changes in social relationships. Immediately, the dependency upon the mother-image and childhood family is sharply increased with concomitant sharp increases in childishness in behavior. Any predominant psychosexual attachment distinctly associated with the healthy state of mind is hysterically rejected and some new psychosexual attachment, associated with the new attitudes and beliefs, must usually develop in order to defeat the threatened influence of memory of the old attachment.

The condition is self-aggravating. The brainwash victim who has deteriorated to the point of showing all four symptoms will undergo self-feeding decay of personal character up to the point of overt psychotic breakdown unless successfully treated or at least resituated in an environment identified with the pre-brainwashing identity, attitudes and beliefs. If situated in the latter environment, the victim may begin to spontaneously remit within weeks or less.

In all these various states, sanity, neurosis, semi-psychotic brainwash victim, psychotic, all the entities of the mind are present and active. As the Ego is merely repressed in active psychotic states, the Superego as a potential directly-ruling agency of creativity is inhibited in normal neurotic states of effective domination by the Ego. All three sets of agencies, Superego, Ego, and the hobgoblins of the infantilist pit, are constantly active in some form at all times, all sharing access to the particular experiences of the individual, which each interprets from its own special vantage-point.

The ultimate object of proper psychotherapy is to effect a total integration of the Ego with the Superego. The ordinary object of contemporary competent psychotherapy is usually limited, to effect the relative freedom of the Ego from control by the fantastic hobgoblins of the pit, and to establish a collaborative relationship between that Ego and the Superego. In the final analysis, these objectives are convergent. It is by developing the strength of the Superego that the Ego can be freed from extreme neurosis and psychosis. There is no possible way in which a competent pure Ego psychology or Ego-psychology form of psychotherapy could be developed.

Staging the Psychosis

Earlier we identified the gist of Lewin's schemes. Where fascists before him had demanded certain forms of "structural reforms" in capitalist society as the goal of their political revolution, he proposed that capitalists should introduce these reforms as a means for creating the kind of controlled environment in which a majority of the population would brainwash itself into adopting a fascist world-outlook.

There are three interconnected demands whose advocacy is the infallible litmus test of fascist ideology: **local community control, co-determination, and a "social contract"** among representatives of government, employers, and employees (**corporativism**). From the basic principles of psychology we have reviewed above, it is not difficult to show a direct connection between the fascist arguments for these three demands and the sort of infantilism produced by coercive behavior modification. There is nothing accidental in the suitability of fascist "structural reforms" for mass brainwashing.

A brief review of fascist demagoguery helps establish the pertinent connections.

The center of all fascist demagoguery is the issue of the alleged "alienation" of the classless "little man." (A once-famous book, Hans Fallada's *Little Man, What Now?*, is a worthwhile reference on this point.) The hero of the fascist's tearjerker, the "little man," is a composite of a radical-conservative dentist and a ragged rogue from "The Threepenny Opera." He is afflicted with two principal obsessions: society has become so big and technologically-complex that it is now denounced as beyond his power of comprehension. This society is so big that he is lost in it; people do not recognize his importance as an individual. He demands a small society, in which he is more conspicuous and influential, a small society which is governed according to uncomplicated, simple "felt needs."

The fascist demagogue is bitterly opposed to three features of "industrial society," on which grounds he usually regards socialist society as more offensive than capitalist.

The first of these is "bigness." For him, the world should be returned to a more comprehensible ("less alienated") form, like that of some idealized rural village.

He hates technology. Technology has made him dependent upon a complicated mass-industrial form of life; technology means science. Science means some agency which judges the rationality or irrationality of his demands. Science denies him a fuller range of freedom of choice — denies him the "freedom" to be irrational as "felt needs" demand that. He proposes a diminishing of the role of technology, in favor of a return to what he espouses as "more natural ways" — pastoral idiocy, "natural foods," and in the extreme case, freedom from "unnatural" ego-ideals in favor of the free play of polymorphous perversity.

Similarly, he sees the oppressive agencies of bigness and technology summed up in a third hated element: the notion of universals, the notion of certain specific programmatic demands as expressing the universal self-interest of a class and of the human species as a whole. He denies any evolutionary principle, for the same reasons.

Every fascist is a cultural relativist (and every cultural relativist is implicitly — at least — a fascist ideologue).

The common psychopathological feature of all the fascist's demands is infantilism. The fascist is a paranoid, who defines himself as such by his attempt to impose the principle of the autonomous extended family, and to block out the reality of a universality and rationality in the "outer world" as a whole. The notorious fact of Hitler's and Rudolf Hess's astrologers exemplifies this superstition of the fascist generally. **Nationalism** (mother country), **racialism** (mother), **language-group** (mother tongue), **cultural affinity-groups** (family traditions), **community** (extended family, neighborhood), **natural** (anti-rationalism), and so forth are all symptoms of potentialities for acute neurosis or semi-psychosis. They are all characteristic of propitiatory-associative (paranoid) world-outlooks.

A fascist movement's characteristic class differentiation is consistent with this. Although significant proportions of workers may be won over to a fascist movement under exceptional circumstances of atomization, the natural appeal of that movement's ideology is to terrified petit-bourgeois and lumpen-proletarian strata, whose doubly-estranged relationship to the productive forces (social reality) is distinctly conducive to paranoid tendencies.

The emphasis on the "little man" is exemplary. The actual alienation of the petit-bourgeois and lumpen-proletarian is located in their extreme individualization. Their sense of social identity is commonly a reaction formation evoked by this atomization. They see themselves as existing by means of their ability as individuals to influence the behavior of those immediately around them, their individual's power (by physical force or suasion or both) over others. What they neurotically regard as desirable is a corresponding sense of egoistical

individual power (property, individual influence) and some individual idiosyncrasy ("my thing") which they mistake for their social identity. What they pathetically mistake for "alienation" is anything which threatens to strip away the illusion of that hermetic, heteronomic individuality. Fascism offers them an apotheosis of their characteristic actual alienation from humanity.

Although capitalists may be drawn into the fascist movement as individuals, the capitalist class as a class is not a part of that social movement, but its sponsor and master. The capitalists' fascism is essentially located in the Schachtian policies of accumulation through negative development, and in the apparent utility of fascist movements as instruments of that economic policy.

On the opposite side, the industrial working class is, normally, organically anti-fascist. The working class can be induced to submit to fascism only on condition that the socialist political organizations as well as the trade-union organizations are broken or self-discredited, and that conditions of mass unemployment have been aggravated to the point of atomization that the workers can be induced to tolerate fascism as a condition for enjoying employment of any sort under any working conditions at any miserable level of wages offered.

The fascist in old Germany or today's U.S. is typically the counterculture freak, the drug-culture denizen, the disoriented unemployed or semi-employed military veteran, the depression-crazed clerk, salesman, professional, the slum hustler and the slumlord alike, the criminal strata — and fear-maddened former liberals generally.

In the U.S. today, the hard core of sponsors of fascist proposals are former liberals. They are chiefly Democratic Party "left-wingers" supplemented by "Eastern Establishment" Republican and Buckleyite Conservative spokesmen. A similar phenomenon persisted



Hjalmar Schacht, theoretician of Zero Growth economy, and Adolf Hitler

in Weimar and Nazi Germany. Hjalmar Schacht himself is the epitome of this.

The Brooklyn-born Hjalmar Horace Greeley Schacht was the founder of the German liberal party. (Today's Free Democratic Party of the German Federal Republic is the result of a post-war fusion of the pre-1933 Schacht and Hugenberg machines under the sponsorship of the Anglo-American occupying powers.) The basic programs of the Nazi regime, especially the policies which led into the Nazi conquests and genocide programs, were not developed by the Nazis themselves, but were dictated to the Nazis by the liberals, led by Schacht. The liberals are typified by Hitler refugee Abba Lerner, who has consciously resurrected Schacht's policies with the explanation that if the Weimar Republic had carried out the Nazi (i.e., liberal) austerity programs, the German financiers would not have found Hitler "necessary."

Schacht is significant **not** because he himself was a liberal, but because he was a chief sheep-herder of liberals. Schacht was a leading executive of the capitalist financier class, and therefore no sheep. The significance of the liberals as a semi-mass or mass phenomena is that the mass of liberals are the petit-bourgeois sheep of capitalist society. When crisis drives the liberal petit-bourgeois sheep insane, fascist, it is their liberal machine, such as the liberal wing of today's U.S. Democratic Party, which becomes frequently the principal vehicle for introducing fascist programs (of austerity-oriented "full employment"), and transforming fascist movements into a major threat. Hitler did not seize power; the German ex-liberals awarded him power. It is the petit-bourgeois (e.g., paranoid) social-contract tendency of the mass-based liberal machines which determines this virtually axiomatic and automatic transformation under conditions of the most profound social crises.

The psychopathic kernel of Lewin's proposals is therefore this. The fascist "structural reforms," **local community control**, **co-determination**, and "**social contract**", are the assertion of the unconscious infantile realm at the expense of the relative rationality of former socializing ego-ideals. Fascism is the world desired in the paranoid dreams of the "Id". Conversely, if the atomized individual's world is converted into a controlled environment which conforms to such fascist "structural reforms," the victim's mind will discover that only its potential paranoid self provides it with a means for agreement with that controlled environment.

We examine summarily the following exemplary current features of the Rockefeller agencies' psychological warfare programs in those terms: **press control**, **local community control**, **co-determination**, "**social contract**," **rock-drug counterculture**, "**ecology movement**," **superstition & primitivism**.

1. Press Control

Control of the editorial policies of the news agencies determining the selection and slanting of major national and international news creates "desensitization" effects in the mass population, by causing the socially-accredited interpretation of cause-effect relations to violate sensuous rational interpretation of experience. This is worsened by insinuating into the slanting of news those kinds of maudlin "human interest" appeals which are relatively more gratifying to the infantile impulses and which deemphasize a rational or scientific overview.

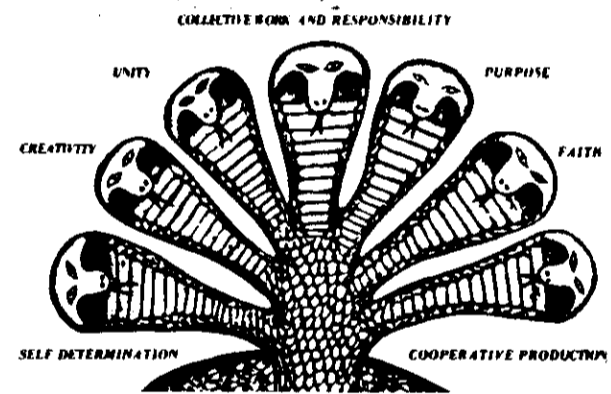
The latter is illustrated by the "man in the street interview" technique. The emphasis upon "How do you

'feel' about this, Miss Jones?" as the acceptable interpretation of issues and reality is an extremely effective direct appeal to infantilism when extended to the point of establishing "feeling" rather than knowledge as the content of popular political and related issues. The approach which states, "I don't wish to hear what you know, but what you feel," is an ABC tactic of brainwashing.

2. Local Community Control

The object of "local community control" as a fascist counterinsurgency tactic is to fragment the subject population into relatively hermetic political groupings of approximately the dimensions of an extended village family. This is accomplished by exploiting every possible appeal to infantilism in the dupes. Race, national-origin, immediate locality, and so forth. The psychopathic effects of this initial fragmentation are enhanced by using the same tactic to attack the individual's sense of identity in psychosexual terms. The way in which "radical feminism" and "sexual freedom" (polymorphous perversity) have been exploited for such effects is exemplary.

The first degree of brainwashing is accomplished by setting "local community autonomy" into principled opposition to "bigness," technology, and universalizing programs. Local community control is set into principled opposition to trade-unionism. Non-material demands, especially "felt needs", are used to undermine technology-oriented (material) demands. Universalizing



Brainwasher's tool: victim submits to programmed psychosis. Self-brainwashing: the infantile ego's world of supernatural "power".



programs are denounced as efforts of "outsider elitist groups" to interfere in the autonomous affairs of the local group.

At that point, the "community group" has become functionally semipsychotic and clinically paranoid as a group. To the extent that the member restricts his or her social identity to within such a group, the effort to adjust to the group ideals induces corresponding pathological states in the member.

By setting contiguous such groups into competition, and by splitting the groups internally (race, sex, etc.), the paranoia is intensified, the movement toward semi-psychosis is increased. They are allied (as a herded aggregation to form a mass) against trade-unions, mass political organizations, technology, and universalizing programs, but they are otherwise in cutthroat heteronomic hostility toward one another.

3. Co-Determination

Co-determination is an effectual chimera except under conditions of general austerity. As long as it is feasible to force capitalists (out of their own self-interest) to make significant reformist economic concessions concerning real income and working conditions, this possibility undermines every effort to institute co-determination as a fascist structural reform. It is only under conditions in which trade-union and other mass institutions are being defeated in their resistance to deteriorating real incomes and working conditions that co-determination becomes an effective tool of the fascist counterinsurgency specialists.

The internal principle of co-determination is token rewards offsetting major reductions in real incomes, employment, and working conditions. The employer offers to "give back" a token portion of the value being

exacted. The group which participates in the co-determination will be permitted to select and negotiate for its preferred form of receipt of this token. The group which refuses co-determination will not receive any form of that token amount.

Thus, the "democratic" pseudo-negotiation becomes the basis for the identity of the group-organization, reinforcing the loss of reality.

4. "Social Contract"

In form, "social contract" (corporativism) is apparently co-determination on a larger scale. Government, employers, and labor representatives (plus, perhaps "consumer representatives") negotiate to determine two things. First, given the amount of increased austerity demanded by capitalists, the tripartite body negotiates the forms in which this austerity shall be imposed. Second, given a proportionately tiny compensating amount offered as token concessions, much bargaining ensues concerning the forms in which this shall be realized. Although the form is that of simple local co-determination, what is being settled is policy for the entire society, thus creating the larger, generalized controlled environment for the smaller controlled environment of co-determination and local community control. The effect on the mind ("No matter where I go, this remains the same") is obviously qualitatively different, more profound, than the effect of co-determination.

The most essential feature of corporativism is that it repudiates the existence of a working-class political interest. "Participation" in tripartite institutions by working-class organizations' representatives is the most hideous sort of counterrevolutionary crime.



Products of Rockefeller Nazi Doctors: Small group therapy and voodoo are both based on manipulation of infantile ego.

5. Rock-Drug Counterculture

As the term "acid rock" properly implies, rock "music" in general converges upon the same kinds of effects as the use of psychotropic drugs. It is a grotesque parody of music, repudiating the cognitive aspect of musical composition in favor of "sensual effects" which are cumulatively desensitizing under prolonged repetitive exposure. Furthermore, the idea content of the rock presentation is acutely infantile.

Rock by itself would have only a marginally deleterious effect. When it is a reinforcing feature of a counterculture movement permeated with drug cults and polymorphous perversity ("communes," etc.) rock becomes a significant aspect of a brainwashing process. Any person who subjects himself or herself to intensive repeated exposure to the rock-drug counterculture's lumpenized environment is significantly impaired mentally — at least temporarily.

6. "Ecology Movement"

The "ecology movement" is principally a conditioning process aimed at inducing the youth and petit-bourgeois liberal strata generally to accept the billion-odd genocide as "regrettably necessary" in the interest of the "ecology" and "natural foods." One is properly reminded of the kook played by actor Sterling Hayden in the film, "Dr. Strangelove," who triggered the thermonuclear

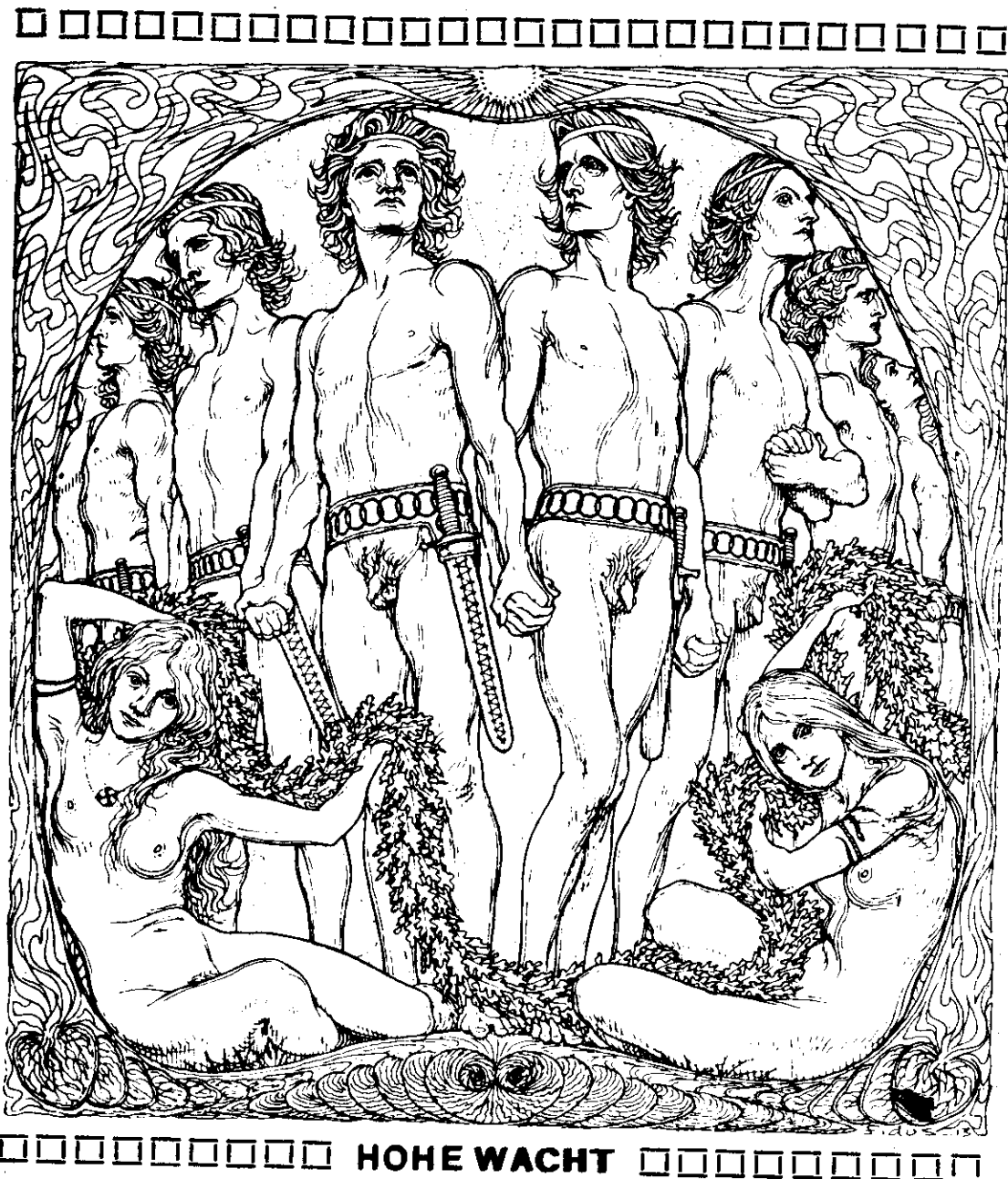
destruction of the earth in defense of "our precious bodily fluids."

At the same time, in conjunction with the rock-drug counterculture, local community control, the cult of the CIA's Ralph Nader and the de-schooling cult of counterculture operative Ivan Illich et al., the "ecology movement's" preoccupation with the superstitious cult of the "natural" is the reinforcement of a paranoid hostility towards all science.

7. Superstition & Primitivism

The development of the Haitian dictatorship of "Papa Doc" Duvalier was assisted by Brigadier Dr. John Rawlings Rees and a fellow Rockefeller protege, Dr. Nathan S. Kline, a leading Nazi Doctor in the field of brainwashing. The key contributions of these professionals included the promotion of drugs and voodoo as counterinsurgency weapons of social control of the dictatorship's subjects. The promotion of occultism generally, astrology, Tarot Cards, E.S.P., "meditation," and Rama-Krishna cults, of primitive art and customs is a concentrated appeal to the most extreme infantile impulses.

The "spiritualism" of fascism: pre-Nazi youth "celebration"; 1970s countercultural hallucination.



Paranoia

The exact way in which "structural reforms" destroy sanity is uncovered by introducing the problem of paranoia.

The individual who is meaningfully described as paranoid acts toward the real world as if its experiences were merely symbols or disguises for the elements of a drama occurring within his unconscious processes. In the extreme case, the paranoid "knows" that the outer-world authority he seeks to propitiate is really his fantasy-mother in disguise. Similarly, he may "know" that a rival is a disguised fantasy-sibling, the hated counter-authority (which he will even kill for fantasy-mother's sake) is his fantasy-father, and so forth.

The relatively sane (average neurotic) experiences approximations of similar states only in dreams. Indeed, to the paranoid, the "outer world" is interpreted as if it were merely a dream-world. Reality — and the internal geometry of reality — is limited for him to the fantasy-family relationships of his unconscious processes.

In the extreme paranoid type, we have then these two symptomatic features of his mental behavior to consider. The primary feature is the super-imposition of a fantasized form of infancy and early childhood family life upon the outer world. This treats the real world as merely an actor's disguise for the personalities of the unconscious fantasy-world. Psychologically, the paranoid slyly suspects that he is committing acts in the real world, but his hysterical interpretation of that experience and the motivation of his acts is governed by the entirely different fantasy-world of his unconscious processes. He has, psychologically, fled from adult relationships and responsibilities into a grotesque parody of his memories of infancy and early childhood family relationships.

The associated feature of the paranoia is the characteristic geometry of the fantasy-world. It is a universe dominated by magic, and otherwise permeated with the crudest mechanical kinds of cause-effect connections. The mechanical causality exists as a mere essential background for the definition of witchcraft. The propitiatory act, the characteristic of professed rituals of magic generally, is the characteristic moral act within the infantile fantasy-world. Reduced to an essential principle, magic asserts that whatever simple cause-effect relations may exist in the world beyond the immediate family acreage, these cause-effect principles are readily defeated by the fantasy-mother's witchcraft, by propitiatory spells, secret handshakes, and whatnot of that sort.

The paranoid is a huddled child, hands pressed against its ears, shrieking, "I can't hear you! You better stop talking! You don't exist for me!" Only the fantasy-mother-image and its immediate "community" of "extended family" fantasy relationships exist for this unfortunate person.

The fantasy-world is not a fixed memory of actual infancy and early childhood, although the characteristic "existential" problem of that period usually predominates. During childhood, adolescence and adulthood, the infantile fantasy-world of the unconscious processes is constantly being altered. Generally, everything that is experienced by the adult person is also experienced in a grotesque disguise by the infantile fantasy's self.

In addition to that, the child, adolescent and adult expend a considerable portion of their energies and time in various modes of fantasy-life, in which the unconscious world is being rearranged, elaborated in new layers and terms of associative reference. The fantasy-life of dreaming and day-dreaming are only one aspect of this. Dramatic entertainments, pornography, and adult sports recreations are almost exclusively directed to this same objective — of searching for new raw material and scenarios through which to make the unconscious fantasy-life more agreeable — credible — to the neurotic individual.

One of the most ordinary — and hideous — expressions of this process is the practice of encouraging girl-children to engage in doll playing. The victim — the girl playing with dolls — attributes types and associated characteristic roles to each of her dolls (usually with a few imaginary doll-figures "off stage" as part of the game).

The doll game is pure paranoia.

There are identities distributed: "You are...", "She is...", "He is...", or "You will be...", "He will be...", "This will be the one who..." **Programmed instructions.**

To these identities are added complementary paranoid programmed instructions concerning relationships. These are typical of the semi-psychotic's propitiatory "If...Then..." variety. "If she does _____, then he will _____." And, other bi-conditional instructions, "She does not like him when he _____, as long as _____," and of the form, "She will like whoever this one likes," "She will avoid anything that one says is not good."

The same sort of paranoid games apply to most forms of popular dramatic entertainments: novels, movies, plays, TV dramas, and — most emphatically — "soap operas." The ordinary "formula" or "Plotto" sort of dramatic entertainment so popular on TV is a half-way case between paranoid-schizophrenia and the ordinary neurotic perception of events. Their value for the neurotic is both catharsis and, equally important, suggesting new fantasy-material to the observer. Literary, drama, and TV critics may be regarded as the Duncan Hines's of the masturbation circuits.

The best qualified CIA "covert operations" planning executives are to be found among hack paperback novelists and TV dramatists. The credulous neurotic projects reality onto the banal stage and TV screen "productions" because of his strong desire to believe that the combination of painted backgrounds, papier-mache, costume, and montage has such reality. There is no way in which to conceal repeated "covert operations" unless the public wishes to be credulous. Give that public a fantasy of the sort to which it is susceptible, and no amount of mere fact will easily dissuade the majority of such persons from believing in whatever illusion the covert operation is designed to create. The application of the calculated deception of the successful hack novelist and dramatist to the so-called "documentary film" and "non-fiction expose" is the connecting link between outright pornography-writing and the techniques for designing a CIA-type "covert operations" scenario.*

*If, by chance, a covert operation is "blown," the CIA's obvious remedy is to prompt one of its subsidiaries or sister-agencies to whip up a fresh expose of the CIA! Give the credulous public a "believable" expose scenario and the expose provides a deeper cover than the original plot itself.

It is not accidental therefore that the leaders in all branches of psychological warfare have included leading dramatists, novelists and newspapermen. The accumulation of "organic" knowledge of what will effectively induce the public to deceive itself — the normal practice of the successful fiction-writer and journalist — represents a developed talent out of which both "white" and "black" propaganda can be shaped, and from which can be developed the scripts in which news media and "covert operations" specialists combine their roles to create an artificial reality for the gullible. **All Anglo-American psychological warfare operates as the peddling of paranoia.** The artisans of this craft often have no real knowledge of the mental processes on which they are operating; they merely have certain talents which have been shown to be workable.

All neurotics — including most so-called normal adults — obviously suffer significant degrees of paranoia. We have the evidence of weekend football, TV drama, "soap operas," large-circulation pornographic journals, and so forth which abundantly demonstrate that to be a fact. The immediate practical question is that of distinguishing between the concomitant paranoia within the mental life of the otherwise rational neurotic, and the state of paranoia in which the individual's sense of the "outer world" is essentially lost and replaced or effectively wholly dominated by fantasy-life. That distinction established, we then have to consider the means by which psychological warfare's Lewinite "structural reforms" cause the relatively sane, rational ordinary neurotic to be driven into a state of more or less acute paranoia.

Temporary difficulty of initially making a rigorous distinction appears once we recognize the extent to which normal capitalist life (in particular) seems to brainwash its victims. The characteristic form of female schizophrenia and homosexual tendencies in this culture is associated with the woman who identifies herself variously as a "doll" or as "my family's little girl." (Men who treat a woman as a "doll," or who similarly pressure women around them into assuming a "gal" or "little girl" identity are brainwashing women in effect.) The fetishism of adult sports, with its pseudo-goals and propitiatory-associative form of "rules of the game," is analogous. American football is exceptionally ripe with extreme paranoid infantile material.

The solution to this problem appears to be the social ego-ideals associated with the Superego. These ego-ideals involve responsible conduct concerning "raising a family," which is an appropriate form of behavior in a rational society. They involve a sense of prestige (social identity) in connection with the competent exercise of a special skill or knowledge, which is also rational. To the extent that capitalist society is expanding the productive forces while introducing successive technological advances, the social roles it defines as available to its individual members must **tend to be appropriate** to that society's development, and hence to the development of the human species generally.

The criticism must then be conceded, that the ego-ideals are usually not rational in and of themselves. They have not been acquired by a rational process; they have been acquired largely in a neurotic way, through propitiating authority. Usually the scientific principle is not learned because it is rational, but because its assumed rationality is authoritatively established. Emile Durkheim

emphasized this specific point in his *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*: although the principles of scientific knowledge may be susceptible of rational demonstration independent of authoritative opinion, the belief in those principles actually occurs in a manner analogous to the acceptance of religious belief.

This flaw in scientific knowledge as the knowledge of **educated persons generally** implies the proposition: How would one brainwash a scientist into repudiating the authority of existing scientific knowledge in favor of more primitive forms of belief? It would usually suffice to deny him employment as a scientist or engineer, to curtail the development of scientific research and development in his field, to blame "technology" for the "ecological crisis," and then to steer him into a new career in the study of "extra-sensory perception." He would not readily yield his conviction that past scientific achievements were achievements in knowledge; he could be induced to believe that science had gone "far enough in that direction," and that inquiry must now shift from mathematical physical research into "new areas" concerning the magical potentialities of the unconscious mind.

This enterprise would succeed among a demoralized majority of formerly passionately convinced scientists because, as Durkheim's observation properly suggests, the authority for the rationality of science had been established for them in a neurotic way. Lacking a direct, sensuous knowledge of the intrinsic (characteristic) humanistic merit of scientific inquiry and knowledge, they are vulnerable to the psychological warfare tactic of informing them that society no longer requires their accustomed sort of basic research activities. The same tactic would not succeed so easily with the scientist whose convictions were premised on the universal authority we have already identified in the preceding section.

In general, the flaw in the generally-accredited ego-ideals is that although most of them are rational to some degree, they are not primarily based on the authority of universal social rationality. Their primary authority has been neurotically determined. On this count, they are vulnerable to ridicule and weakening by brainwashing.

Fortunately, that is not the entirety of the Superego. Although the child may develop rational knowledge through the mediation of relatively infantile (propitiatory) connections to social practice, this progress activates other qualities of mental processes which are relatively independent of the Ego-unconscious relationship. Every sane person has experienced repeatedly in life a creative-insight experience which he would identify with "a light flashing on in the head." This experience, or a milder version of the same special quality of excitement has occurred at each point he or she has developed a fresh quality of insight into the solution of a problem or similar experiences. These insight-generating experiences are readily acknowledged to be the characteristic activity through which the expansion of the individual's intelligence and knowledge occurs.

Yet, we also easily recognize that this special aspect of mental activity does not lie within the scope of what we ordinarily regard as conscious thought. It appears to exist "just over the hill," making its contributions from just beyond the "corner of the eye." As we have shown elsewhere, this quality of preconsciousness is relatively **transfinite** with respect to the conscious contents of Ego-centered thought. We have also shown, in the same

locations, that this quality can be uniquely directly addressed and thus made the subject of deliberate investigations, in which case it becomes the quality of **self-consciousness** as identified by Hegel and Marx.

This active, or noetic, or self-conscious quality associated with the Freudian's Superego is the transfinite form of the Ego, as we have shown elsewhere. The problem of knowing the actual Ego in this elementary way is formally identical with the problem of inductive knowledge of the whole as such from the analysis of the elements which the whole subsumes. Since ordinary consciousness deals explicitly only with elements, it is impossible for the Ego itself to be simply a conscious experience of that same form. However, the creative aspect of the Ego's existence, those noetic qualities associated with the "light turning on," the preconscious qualities, can be discerned as objective with respect to society generally, and this perception of its distinct existence can be explicitly accomplished by methods we have developed in other locations. This discovery was not entirely original with us, since Hegel earlier developed the germ of this notion of self-consciousness, which we merely situated correctly in the form of explicit investigations.

The higher function of the Superego, as defined in these practical terms of reference, is not merely an instinctual quality of creative potential. It is not a quality which remains uniform in character and potential throughout. The more creative activity the individual experiences, especially during the early period of childhood, the more rapidly and fully these creative-insight powers develop. This development occurs not merely as an increase in the power of that agency, but has the practical form of an increase in the specific knowledge represented by that agency. The Superego functions as if it were a distinct personality with a mind and knowledge of its own. (As we noted earlier, the Superego, Ego, and unconscious ostensibly coexist within the typical person's mental processes as if they were distinct symbiotic entities.)

Thus, the socializing experience through which the individual develops specific socialized ego-ideals is also a process of education and development of the higher functions of the Superego: **character development**.

This fact appears as an important practical problem in psychoanalysis. The individual undergoing analysis frequently expresses the opinion, "I am basically rotten and worthless. Why do you continue to waste your valuable time on such a miserable creature?" There is a double significance to that sort of occasional outburst during analytical sessions. The statement usually includes a very large amount of dishonesty. The person is usually saying, in translation, "I don't wish to give up any more of my infantilism." Yet, he is also expressing a sincere if mistaken self-judgment. The facts upon which he premises that judgment are largely valid in themselves. He has discovered that many of his ego-ideals are neurotic and has discovered his activities permeated with the most wretched infantile (e.g., paranoid) motivations. The individual discovers that the **persona** he constructs for public view is largely a willful fraud, a false face. Take away all these faults, he asks, and what remains?

Despite that predicament, he is obviously the valuable person who first entered the psychoanalytical program. Despite all the neurotic and infantile materials

uncovered, there remains an essential character development which makes the "I" important, even essential for society generally. This quality of "I" is located essentially in the Superego.

Those of us who have looked into the eyes and minds of representative numbers and varieties of people from various nations and cultures (as this writer has been privileged to do) know that there are very few human beings, however otherwise profoundly afflicted with mental underdevelopment and psychopathologies, who do not represent an essentially lovable quality of character-development potential in respect of their Superego. Related to this fact, any achievement by an individual is a genuine achievement of that Superego, no matter what neurotic or infantile considerations may otherwise be involved in its execution. The Superego is the "real you."

The qualitative or "geometric" feature of this higher function of the Superego is in general agreement with the coherent universe for which mathematical physics, in particular, has striven, as we have described that problem. The universe is coherent, and the highest faculties of mind associated with the Superego seek and are in principled agreement with that coherence.

This same quality of the Superego is the feature which distinguishes the sane or merely neurotic individual from the semi-psychotic or psychotic. Induced psychosis, whether through unwitting circumstances or brainwashing, is the result of a breaking away of mental processes from the influence of those higher qualities of the Superego. This break occurs when the circumstances are able to induce the mind to accept the view that the universe of its experience is intrinsically incoherent, not susceptible of comprehension by the higher qualities of the Superego. The brainwasher's "You're nothing but mama's little boy" (the gist of all brainwashing), associated with a destruction of coherence of the outer world by a controlled irrational coercive environment, effectively rams the individual's sense of self back into the pit of his unconscious fantasy-life, inducing domination by pure paranoia.

A girl may be degraded by doll-playing (and surrogates for doll-playing) into becoming a prostitute-homosexual, or simply an adult semi-schizophrenic "doll" (as "idealized" by Playboy magazine). A man may be driven into the manic-depressive life of a "jock" mentality. However, as long as the higher qualities of the Superego exert even a modest active influence in giving coherence and, hence, rationality to life, the individual neurotic is essentially rational, not insane. Break that vital connection in even the less neurotic individual, and one evokes a psychotic or semi-psychotic infantile paranoid — who has lost the capacities for higher cognitive functions or judgment.

The intellectual behavior of psychotics and brainwash victims is characterized by **lack of insight**. The person who could formerly explicate the arguments for the derivation and appropriateness of a conception, after brainwashing is able to identify these ideas only in terms of labels and attitudes toward ideas merely as associated with such labels. The brainwash victim can usually paste strings composed of sentences and phrases together. The elements used to make up these strings are either parrot-like imitations of similar statements by relatively sane persons or editings of imitated statements which preserve the formal phrasing qualities of a rational statement. However, those elements are merely labels which are

strung together associatively; the element of cognitive judgment of idea-content is lacking. Also missing is any authentic accounting of the correlation between ideation of social relationships and genuine emotional colorings.

A similar symptom of such disassociation is the frequent poor coordination of bodily attitudes, gestures, recurring irrational grin, object-toying, with the implicit affective content of statements being made by or to the brainwash victim. It is usually important to watch the face and hands for this, with the attitudes and movements of the legs in a standing or sitting position also indicative. Tone of voice and, more significant but subtle, the prosodic qualities of intonation are related subjects of attention.

Musical cognitive powers are sometimes most useful areas for study of mental health. If the victim had significant cognition of Beethoven, Bach, Mozart, and so forth prior to conditioning, the capacity for insight into the works of these composers will deteriorate during and after brainwashing. A significant test in this context would demand that the victim be at least a competent amateur performer (singer or instrumentalist), in which case the contrast in quality of insight in performance of pieces mastered prior to and those prepared during and after brainwashing conditioning would immediately reflect the deterioration of the mind.

Persons who have experienced more frequently the activity of creative insights know from that the intensely psychosomatic quality of creative activity. As we have developed the point elsewhere, the cognitive qualities of preconscious processes are the primary locus of what is properly termed the "fundamental emotion."

The person who has studied the evolution of Western music from the standpoint of composition of counterpoint, from the late Renaissance through the later works of Beethoven, can locate more immediately and deliberately the direct bearing of the creative aspects of musical composition upon the cognitive-emotional qualities of the preconscious processes. Even music lovers with less formal knowledge of the subject are able to approximately identify this connection.

It is demonstrated that this connection is mediated through the prosodic aspects of speech, from which music emerges as an abstraction, a concentration upon those specific cognitive-emotional features of preconscious processes. (Hence, Rock, an infantile pseudo-musical form, efficiently rejects and impairs the human potentialities of the victim.) From this specific line of investigation one quickly locates the connection to the coherence of bodily attitudes, gestures, and so forth.

Acute paranoid behavior has certain characteristic features which are encountered in a diluted or episodic form in merely neurotic individuals. The "reenforcement" of those neurotic symptoms as part of the coercive controlled environment acts to facilitate the victim's slide downward into the infantilism they express.

The general symptomatic form of paranoid behavior is, as we have noted, the use of labels for ideas in place of the cognitive assessment of the ideas themselves. Exemplary of such infantile behavior among merely neurotic persons is the red-baiter's response to the "Communist" label. All of us experienced in political work have frequently encountered a situation in which individuals were rationally convinced of certain ideas until they were informed by visiting FBI agents that these were "Communist ideas." That label too frequently transforms an otherwise rational individual into a raging semi-psychotic red-baiting freak.

It would be academic infantilism to argue that a villager should not judge the proximity of a tiger by his fresh paw-print. One must respond to characteristic symptoms of **properly-judged** things. The red-baiter's insanity is the propitiatory-associative substitution of a mere label or fetish for rational judgment.

For example: "You may be right that only the development of fusion power can save humanity, but I still reject the idea since I don't want to live in a world dominated by technology." That argument is exhibiting acute infantilism and represents a clear-cut paranoid episode.

The paranoid-schizoid form of the semipsychotic's lack of cognitive-affective judgement is associated with typical fetishes, of which the most characteristic is the internalized fantasy-image of the "mother." Repetitive emphasis on "mother country," "mother tongue," "family," "feeling," "outsiders" and so forth as the primary values of social relationships and behavior is deliberate or unwitting effort to induce infantilism in the victims of whatever coercive controlled environments prevail.

The problem is not the relationship to the actual mother. Only in exceptional instances, in which the actual mother exerts acute psychopathic domination of the child, is a break in the relationship to be recommended. The problem is situated in the person's infantile dependency upon unconscious, fantasized surrogates for the actual mother, father, and so forth. If a positive, adult loving relationship can be established between the individual and the parents, this in itself can be a most powerful assistance to the individual's progress.

This does imply, however, a qualitative change in the relationship to the parents. The infantile person demands that the parents perform the role of meeting his or her demands, and permits the parents no other relationship. This sort of propitiatory-dependency relationship to the parents is a reflection of the unconscious infantile relationship to the fantasized parent-surrogate figures. Acting out that sort of pathetic propitiatory-dependency relationship to the opinions, prejudices, and so forth of the actual parents caters to and reenforces the infantilism. The former child who refuses to continue a dependency-relationship to the parents, and substitutes a loving adult relationship and sharing of adult responsibility for family needs and problems, is assisting, sensuously actualizing his own progress in mental health.*

The Psychotic Holocaust

Earlier, we stated that the recycling of labor which is characteristic of the Rockefellers' Schachtian programs must converge upon a breakdown in the cognitive powers of even the essential cadres of skilled and semi-skilled labor. At that juncture, we indicated, the ability of all labor to maintain the integrity of production would virtually cease. The basis for that conclusion should have

*That does not remove the importance of the temporary breaks which must tend to occur between child and parents during adolescence or immediately afterward — a weaning break of relatively short duration, through which the child manages to force an end to the practice of being the parent's mere "boy" or mere "little girl." That sort of experience is something parents and their children will probably tend to experience — and must survive — for some time to come. It will survive as long as parents cling neurotically to keeping their children in a propitiatory-dependency relationship and as long as children know no other device but acting-out revolt to end that possessive grip.

become clear during the preceding portions of this section. It is not necessary to add more here than a few observations which pin the point down.

The problem immediately under consideration is simplified if we momentarily overlook the quality of intelligence required by any lesser stage of human development than capitalist industrial expansion. Although the point is applicable to all societies, the role of the cognitive function in capitalist production is qualitatively more pronounced than in any preceding mode. Hence, the argument to be made is in its most accessible form if we presently limit the immediate issues of inquiry to the capitalist mode being considered.

Capitalism is the first form of society in which technological development is the **explicitly** determining feature of the realization of social surplus. The occurrence of the philosophical problem of "perfection," first in the crude form considered by the scholastics, and then in the mode exemplified by Ficino, expresses the prominence of progress in the most advanced manifestations of the social development in which the germs of capitalist society were created. The explicit emphasis on technological progress by the Tudor monarchs, from the accession of Henry VII through 1589, also expresses the same principle, which Marx termed **universal labor**.

This feature of capitalism, the emphasis upon technological development and (increasingly) upon the education of skilled and semi-skilled productive labor, is the active feature of capitalist development and expansion, without which capitalism could not have existed. The decisive subjective feature of the existence of society from capitalism onward is the capacity of society to produce individuals' creative innovations in technology and the corresponding increasing capacity of productive labor to mentally assimilate new qualities of technology for practice.

This is not merely a general issue. No one with first hand experience of the problems of introducing new techniques and products to production could overlook the decisive role performed by the individual worker's higher cognitive functions in the efficient assimilation of even relatively marginal innovations. It is too easy to point to what the worker has learned, and thus to draw attention away from the more essential thing. It is the worker's powers of insight which spell the difference between the success or failure of any otherwise competently engineered production design. Sometimes, the role of the worker's creative insight is obvious, as the suggestion-box contents suggest. Less conspicuous, but aggregately more essential are all the little-noticed things a worker does to make things work.

If one attempted to operate a modern industry's skilled and semi-skilled production with well-trained psychotics, that production would soon break down. The effect would be like the hypothetical case in which a mass of "Good Soldier Schweiks" had been put to work — aggregately — effectively destroying production by doing exactly as they had been taught and immediately instructed.

The famous French film, "A Nous la Liberte," could not have been produced by anyone familiar with the workings of advanced industrial production. A "1984" factory of obedient robot-like zombies can perform the sort of assembly and analogous operations which modern technology could do better completely by machine in any case. The core of production is represented by jobs in which the worker exercises judgment. Incur a breakdown in the cognitive powers of the workers employed in those

jobs, and that production fails to function. When that cadre-core of industry fails to function, the breakdown of the rest soon follows.

The previously-cited sort of "leaderless group" task-oriented production teams in which Tavistock fascist Eric Trist specializes is sufficient illustration of the problem involved.

These groups operate on the basis of an environment of Schachtian reduction in real-income levels and working conditions. With that coercive controlled environment as a context, the Tristian scheme offers teams of workers token reward incentives through which (it is argued) they will be able to make up for part of the lost standard income-rates by ingeniously speeding themselves up.

The model program of this sort has the following principal features, which may be slightly varied in secondary detail from case to case.

A selected section of the work-force is divided into small-group teams each of which will operate without direct supervision by a foreman. These teams will have authority to decide as "leaderless groups" on two matters of work policy: (1) How they shall increase their productive output; (2) What work standards they will accept. They are told that this gives them "local control" in co-determining the pace, routine and quality of work.

These small-group teams are set into competition with one another, on the basis of new group-production-output standards involving a "token economy" incentive.

At the beginning there may or may not be a general reduction in standard income and working conditions from previous standards. That is entirely a tactical decision. **The purpose of the Trist-type group is to function under a spiralling reduction in standard income and working conditions.** Whether that wage-gouging policy is introduced before or after the introduction of "leaderless task-oriented groups" is, as we have stated, merely a tactical decision respecting the way the scheme is insinuated.

The groups are encouraged to evolve a "transactional therapy" form of intra-group relations. Since this will proceed under pressure of a coercive industrial environment the effects of the small-group functioning will be brainwashing.

In an environment of downward spiralling standard income and working-conditions, the group concentrates on discovering "trade-offs" for more production at the expense of working conditions, safety as such, and the physiological well-being of the group members. With declining employment in the industry — itself aggravated by the self-propelled speed-up of the leaderless groups — each increase in output increases the competition among groups for survival, by further increasing its output. The counter-rationality of the token-economy arrangement pushes the group toward psychosis.

The effect of this arrangement on the mind is worse than if similar intensification of labor were accomplished under pressure of Nazi **kapos**. The demand for "more, more, more" under straight coercion or a general conscious commitment to desperate sacrifice (in some broader social interest) is oppressive **but not irrational**. To the extent that the additional speed-up is accomplished by a brainwashing mode of "fascism's democratic face," the self-degradation of the arrangement becomes self-aggravating.

As the members of the leaderless task-oriented groups become psychotics, their capacity for intensification of labor increases beyond that possible for the most

vigorously-driven sane labor. The paranoid will sacrifice his own biological existence, willingly, for the sake of his paranoid's game. The race-horse running itself to death is the suitable parallel.

Before such a point of suicidal intensification is reached, the cognitive capacities of the worker are effectively destroyed.

Do the Trists and their ilk recognize this point and its significance? Scientifically, no. Their sort demonstrates beyond doubt from their writings that they have no conception of the creative processes, the location of those processes in preconscious processes, or the connection of those processes to resistance to psychosis. However, in cruder empirical respects, they already have ample warning of the consequences even in terms which they ought to comprehend.

There has been a relatively massive Anglo-American brainwashing of individuals and groups, accelerating since the beginning of this present decade. The Rockefeller specialists must have registered thousands of times what we have encountered in the score-odd cases of direct brainwashing we have studied closely. The brainwash victim is driven toward a cognitively-imbecilic paranoid state even in instances where only comparatively modest degrees of conditioning have been employed. Even in "soft" brainwashing, the perceptible cognitive capacities of the victim are significantly damaged.

It is sufficient to compare this with what we know and what the Rockefellers' available experts should know respecting the relevance of cognitive powers for production. Our projection of a breakdown of production by approximately the middle 1980s is an extremely conservative projection.

The issue is not the amount of intensification of labor involved. Human beings motivated to rational sacrifice through mediation of higher cognitive functions are capable of sustaining collective personal suffering in such causes without catastrophic rates of psychotic breakdown. It is self-motivated destruction of the self for a perceptibly irrational sort of psychotic holocaust to which we refer. It will do the Rockefellers no good to point to China or elsewhere for a successful "model."

It must be conceded that individuals perform what are sometimes regarded as extraordinary acts of heroism under the influence of psychosis. The observation "He must have been crazy to..." is probably an accurate judgment in most such instances. Such sorts of psychotic's performance have no connection with the problem of sustained, recurring exercise of the higher cognitive functions.

Part 4:

Strategy and Counter-Strategy

There can be no effective understanding of our strategic situation until we reject the notions of strategy associated with "national interests." As we outlined in the opening section, the evolving strategic doctrine of Anglo-American imperialism is premised upon supranational governing agencies. These agencies are typified by the Rockefeller-created Trilateral Commission, the Rockefeller-dominated "Seven Sisters" petroleum cartel, and the Rockefeller-headed unification of Rockefeller, Morgan and other major financier interests as an interlocking force. Although the world's working and farmer classes have not yet developed an international agency to act as a counterforce against the supranational imperialists, our interest is also uniquely international.

The U.S. government today is being degraded rapidly into the mere principal satrapy of the Rockefeller-dominated supranational agencies. Not only are U.S. policies formulated in "think tanks" outside the control of the electoral process but actual government of the conditions of life in the U.S. is being conducted increasingly by agencies appointed by the Rockefellers and their fellow-conspirators.

Great Britain and Italy are being rapidly degraded into "Third World" provinces. Although the City of London financial center continues its role as a secondary capital of the Anglo-American empire, the internal economy of Great Britain is plunging toward levels below that of the Iberian peninsula. The south of England and the industrial Midlands are being gutted, the general population of the entire nation reduced to misery, while marginal employment opportunities open up in development projects such as those associated with the North Sea petroleum and natural gas investments. The situation in Italy differs in specific forms, but is analogous in essence.

The entire capitalist world is being divided by intent into several supranational regional blocs, each region professing certain forms of autonomy, but each and all effectively governed by dictatorial supranational agencies accountable to no one but the Rockefeller forces. There are moves already afoot, since a recent Brzezinski-led conference at the Rockefeller estate in Bellagio, Italy, to split NATO; the North Americans and European elements would each function with increasing relative formal autonomy in military-political policies. Latin America is being forged into another regional supranational bloc. The CIA's own Shahanshah of Iran is the principal satrap of another regional bloc — and so forth.

Effective control will lie with the Rockefellers' grip on the movements of the allocable masses of capital available. Actual control of the "Petro-dollar" and

similar funds will be exerted by the interlocking financial agencies, acting for their nominal "Arab" and other principal depositors. The terms of loans will be formulated by adjunct agencies, such as the Trilateral Commission, on the basis of drafts developed through various "think tanks." The controlled flow of investment capital according to those policies will effectively determine who lives, who dies, who works, what real incomes shall be, what rates of speed-up will be enforced. By dictating to each region what internal policies must be adopted as conditions for loans, and with the aid of Rockefeller agents in controlling positions within those regions, virtually no nook or cranny of any part of the capitalist world will escape direct de facto dictatorial control by the handful of appointive supranational agencies accountable to no one but the Rockefeller forces.

The formation of the regions has a double significance. Economically, they reflect the concentration on selected "regional development project" foci, as is exemplified by the Latin American Rio de la Plata project. This project-area embraces a relatively small portion of four nations, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, Argentina, relegating major portions of Brazil and Argentina to genocidal depletion. The project is linked to other principal South American projects, one in Venezuela, another along parts of the Andes spine. Central America — excepting parts of Panama — is generally slated for mass genocide, while Mexico is scheduled for "a more democratic form" of the intensive Schachtian recycling programs pioneered in Brazil. The supranational region represents the smallest efficient unit of coordination for the Rockefeller policies.

Secondly, while providing the smallest manageable unit for assorting sub-sectors of development projects and genocidal "triage," they have decisive political advantages. The supranational regional coordinating agencies undermine the potency of national political machines while failing to provide the basis for effective resistance to the supranational, world-wide agencies at the top of the pyramid.

In sum, the supranational regional organization is downwards potent and upwards impotent. It will have the institutional means and accompanying military-political clout to crush any efforts at resistance to its rule from nation-based political machines, but will be virtually impotent respecting the formulation of the policies governing the flow of capital and terms of such loans and investments in its sector.

The wholesale destruction of national political-economic forms is not limited to those measures in themselves. The gist of Rockefeller policies is the "redeployment" of both industries and masses of industrial cadres from one to another sector or sub-sector of the fascist-restructured world. Even the "mighty" German Federal Republic will be reduced to the status of a controlled puppet. The gut of German industry is to be redeployed to such locations as the Arabian gulf, with masses of German labor to be transported as *gastarbeiter* whose new identity will be "bei Shah" or "bei Sheikh." The industry and large portions of industrial cadres of Japan, Western Europe generally, are to be subjected to such a process, while masses of cheap, unskilled, virtually slave labor will be exported to the present industrialized sector or simply shipped across national and regional borders in the underdeveloped sector itself.

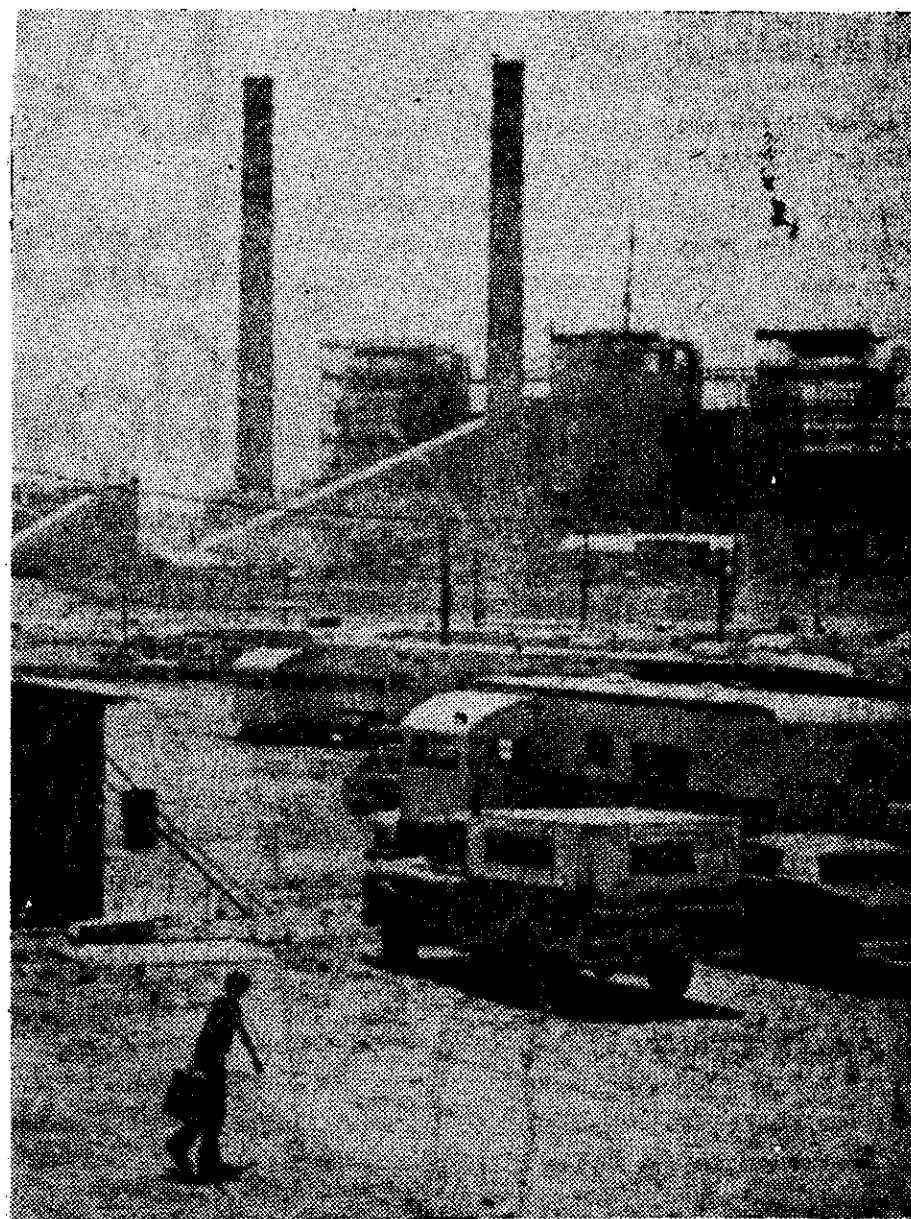
There will be exceptions to this export of industry from the advanced sector. Masses of U.S. unemployed will be

"relocated" (under the terms of bills such as the fascist NERA proposal drafted with the aid of the UAW's bureaucracy) to the Illinois or Rocky Mountain "Project Independence" camps. In France, the Pas de Calais and Fos will receive industries and labor relocated from the environs of Paris and Alsace-Lorraine. In Italy, entire plants and some labor will be transported from the North to the arid Mezzogiorno. Yet, this will be accompanied by such exports as a million Italian unemployed to Argentina, Japanese and Germans into Brazil, and so forth.

Not only are former nations being reduced to mere satrapies, but every vestige of national independence and effective national political machines and labor organization is being destroyed. Under presently launched programs, nationhood will be destroyed, eviscerated, and drawn-and-quartered by approximately 1980.

The Soviet Question

As we noted in the opening section, this restructuring process provides the Rockefellers with a new strategic capability against the Soviet Union by approximately 1980. The concentration of capital in world-wide development-project foci accompanied by massive redeployment of key industrial cadres, means that the Rockefellers would be situated probably to write off the U.S.A. in a two-nation limited thermonuclear exchange with the Soviet Union. The extensive destruction in the U.S. would not represent a decisive loss to the Rockefeller



Modern shantytown. Relocated workers living in trailer-barracks.

interests and would be more than compensated for by the removal of the Soviet Union as a world power.

Rockefeller policy is already converging rapidly upon just such a strategic doctrine. By approximately 1980 either the Soviet Union capitulates or Rockefeller is prepared to have a nuclear showdown between the Soviets **and the U.S. by itself**. All detente negotiations — as well as other developments — converge upon that result. A few points are sufficient for reference here:

1. The risk of general thermonuclear war is a bulk of radiation which virtually destroys the entire world. The feasibility of the Rockefeller scheme demands (a) that clean thermonuclear bombs (laser) be developed as a replacement for the present great-power arsenal, (b) that agreements be effected between the U.S. and Soviet Union which reduce the number of missiles exchanged in an actual war.

2. The policy demands that there be arms-limiting negotiations between the U.S. and U.S.S.R., accompanied by the proliferation of nuclear and thermonuclear warheads and delivery systems among other nations and regional political-military "autonomous" blocs.

3. That the present "Cold War" sort of military treaties be gradually junked in favor of a new sort of military assistance guarantees. These would provide for "legitimate" U.S. thermonuclear attacks on the Soviet Union in case of a socialist upsurge within a satrap region outside the North American continent, but would not implicate the other regions in a nuclear war between the two great powers.

There are obvious Soviet strategic countermeasures against such a doctrine. Guaranteed thermonuclear destruction of major oil fields and so forth would destroy the Rockefellers' hope for satisfactory advantage and would return the strategic situation to a form of the technological stalemate of "mutually assured destruction." That granted, the new Rockefeller strategic doctrine would emerge nonetheless in circumstances of enormously increased advantage relative to its predecessor, and would establish the conditions favorable to the development of a further refinement of strategic doctrine in terms qualitatively more disadvantageous to the Soviets.

We are not arguing that Rockefeller policy is entirely committed to thermonuclear war. On the contrary, what some Anglo-American Cold War professionals have obviously and persistently failed to understand is that the essence of Rockefeller strategy depends upon the escalation of a constantly credible and operable thermonuclear threat. This threat, to the extent that the Soviets withdraw from challenging its credibility as a deterrent of their own best interests, represents a psychological controlled environment. To the extent that the Soviets respond to that deterrent as Rockefeller intends they should, the principal strategic thrust for weakening and conquest of the Soviet Union is actualized through "detente."

The main thrust of Rockefeller policies against the Soviet Union concentrates upon emphasizing Soviet and Eastern European nationalisms while exploiting increasing Soviet bloc dependency upon some form of rational trading relationships with the capitalist-controlled world market. The subversive thrust against the Soviet Union is obviously modelled on a "think tank" appreciation of certain warnings made by L.D. Trotsky in his mid-1930s *The Revolution Betrayed*.

Trotsky correctly forewarned that the Stalin industrialization had eliminated the specific sort of Makhnoid counterrevolutionary threat represented by the NEPman-Kulak social alliance. As industrialization progressed, the petit-bourgeois tendencies represented by the Soviet peasantry diminished to a relative auxiliary importance beside the counterrevolutionary potential emerging in the industrial management strata. If concessions to foreign capitalist investors were combined with policies of decentralized management within the Soviet economy, this development would actualize a dangerous internal threat to the Soviet Union.

A few examples of this main thrust suffice.

The most obvious kind of effort to exploit the vulnerability is negotiation of Soviet and Eastern European concessions on behalf of major imperialist financier and corporate interests. Stephen D. Bechtel is among the more lurid examples. The Bechtel family ranks among the leading allies of the Rockefellers. Bechtel interests are closely interlinked with the CIA's activities in several major ways; Bechtel construction is the CIA's de facto "house" account in a general way, and figures in such ugly covert operations as the Canadian James Bay incidents earlier this year. Bechtel has a virtual monopoly in the U.S. nuclear construction field. The firm and its family are leaders in recent efforts to break trade unionism in the construction industry.

This must not be misconstrued. Soviet leaders are not foolish in permitting (and even soliciting) significant foreign concessions. These and other forms of "economic detente" are devices by which the Soviet Union offsets the bloc economy's unbalanced relationship to the capitalist-dominated world market. The necessary division of labor of modern technology requires a larger industrial population than is available within the Soviet bloc (after allowing for agriculture and imposed military expenditures). If Soviet capital were shared among all the needed new kinds of capacities, gross imbalances would occur for this reason. Hence, despite the direct costs and other problems entailed, a certain large and growing amount of capital goods purchases on the world market represents the optimal Soviet economic development program.

If this rational pressure to incur capitalist concessions did not prevail, the Soviets could simply exclude all concessions and so eliminate the danger cited by Trotsky. The Soviet economy's growing needs, aggravated by heavy defense burdens upon the most advanced sub-sectors, compel the Soviets to expose themselves to this danger. Rockefeller et al. thus have this major opportunity. If the Soviets do not maintain suitable precautions, the fascist's forces are situated to transform the potential into an actuality.

One included feature of concessions is an inevitable growth in hob-nobbing between Soviet administrators and capitalist financial and industrial executives. As the obviously necessary technical management discussions veer into matters of labor productivity, capitalist agencies are able to place a "foot in the door" for introduction of "Western" labor management practices into the mind and ultimately the practices of Soviet industrial management strata.

"Oh, Ivan Ivanovitch, your plants suffer from an alcoholism problem, too? We have a program satisfactory to our trade union leaders which appears to succeed..." With the collaboration of Second International CIA-connected types — perhaps via the

Swedish social-democracy — direct CIA and related agents of the Lewinite type are insinuated into advantageous slots as observers and consultants in the Soviet bloc.

The usefulness of these hob-nobbing contacts for such direct introduction of CIA and related operatives is matched in the longer run by the gradual conditioning of growing numbers of Soviet officials to "Western" forms of management world-outlook. Exchanges between Soviet and capitalist specialists in computer-oriented planning scheduling and control technology for local firms and localized industrial complexes actualizes such a general shift in the direction of intensified pressures for decentralized management (Ota Sik-style) by industrial management strata throughout the Soviet bloc.

Other tactics of psychological warfare intervention are readily associated with that. Soviet bloc concern with securing economic-detente agreements focuses the attention of a growing number of bloc officials on relevant "Western opinion." A "very friendly" Western negotiator comes to preliminary agreement with bloc representatives. Then, at that point, there remains

"only" the final obstacle of ratification by various executive and parliamentary agencies "back home" and so forth. This ratification ostensibly depends largely upon press attitudes toward the proposals and the bloc nations generally. Soviet officials become preoccupied with a press-dominated "public opinion" within the capitalist sector. To the extent that they mislocate reality within the immediate opinion among top negotiators, capitalist governmental bodies, and capitalist leading press, the Soviet officials have submitted to that as an aspect of a controlled environment.

The notorious example of the "Soviet Jewry" tactic is among the more compact illustrations of this. Although Soviet officials have seen through the role of the programmed Jewish Defense League and Senators Jacob Javits and Henry Jackson on this issue, they have so far lost the psychological warfare battle, creating a bleeding ulcer within Soviet society by their susceptibility.

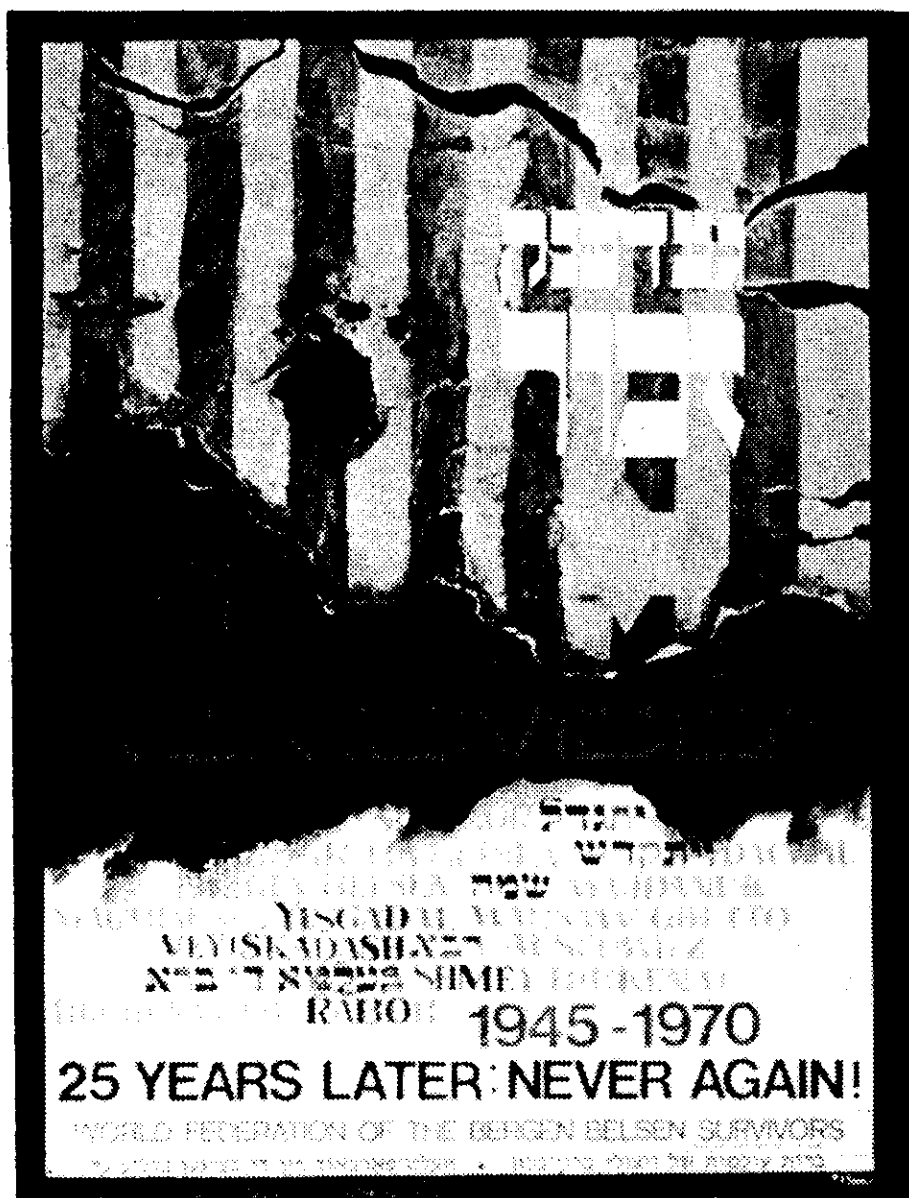
The deeper implications of the "Soviet Jewry" hoax are far more significant than that hoax itself. Although the offspring of a Jewish family properly assists his or her becoming a socialized adult by understanding the world-



Capitalist in charge of our Moscow office.

In an increasingly complex financial world,
you have a friend at Chase Manhattan.





Anglo-American psywar creates environment of psychopathic preoccupation with "family," "nation," "race."

historical achievements of a Spinoza, Heine, Marx, Cantor, Einstein and so forth, backwards. a preoccupation with a "Jewish identity" is a transparently reactionary, infantile state, converging upon such horrors as Jewish fascism or the prevalent psychotic state presently characteristic of Israel. To assert that Soviet assimilationist pressures are "oppression" is analogous to denouncing a parent for encouraging bowel-training of a twenty-five year old youth.

More profoundly, the susceptibility of Soviet Jewry to this Anglo-American psychological warfare reflects weaknesses within Soviet society generally. Soviet publications generally are permeated with maudlin emphasis on nationality. The recurrence of the term "Great Patriotic War" rather than the Marxist "Second Imperialist War," represents an exemplary drilling of the infantile "mother Russia" into the developing Soviet citizen's sense of identity. It is this pathological climate within the U.S.S.R. which makes the Soviet Union susceptible to such Anglo-American tactics as the "Soviet Jewry" issue, as well as creating the conditions in which a Soviet citizen of Jewish ancestry can be driven back into a psychopathic preoccupation with the "Jewish family."

Here, we are obliged to insert a parenthetical observation. "How," one repeatedly hears, "is it possible that attitudes properly identified as pathological features of capitalist ideology should occur — at this late date — in the Soviet Union?" The notorious examples of Dr. Zhivago and the reactionary existentialist Solzhenitsyn come prominently to view in this connection. It must be — as is the case in fact — that the psychological development

of Soviet intellectuals (at least) is significantly parallel to capitalist circumstances. The question then occurs, "On what account is this true?" Fools, especially of the "socialist third camp" varieties, assert this as "proof" that the U.S.S.R. is "state capitalist" or something of that sort. Nonsense. The problem is quite elementary.

The bourgeois-ideological or neurotic outlook is produced in members of industrialized societies through an estranged sense of identity in respect to the social-productive forces as a whole. To the extent the individual regards himself as an atomized or parochialized individual connected only to some particular region, skill, cultural background, and so forth, he must tend to manifest a capitalist type of world-outlook (the neurotic world-outlook of the mother-image-dominated paranoid or semi-paranoid) in any society. To the extent that political relations within Soviet society excessively emphasize the Russian element, and suppress thus the internationalist or world-historical sense of individuality appropriate to a workers' government, the objective character of Soviet social-productive relations is offset by neurotic tendencies (alienation).

The severity of this specific problem within Soviet society is conclusively demonstrated by the fact that official Soviet publications could even tolerate for a moment the sort of infantile "anti-voluntarist" propaganda recently aired in panegyrics to Leonid Brezhnev et al. The essence of socialist identity is emphasis upon the world-historical individual who locates his or her identity in supplying and realizing individual creative contributions to the general advancement of the human species. To the extent that this "voluntarism" is played down in favor of "objectivity," the bourgeois-utopian conceptions predominate. The positive accomplishments of the Renaissance are deemphasized in favor of the Enlightenment's bourgeois-ideological, mechanistic outlooks.

This does not mean that the typical Soviet citizen is morally indistinguishable from a pro-capitalist ideologue. The "objective" criteria of a workers' economy are embedded clearly enough in the Soviet Superego's ego-ideals. The problem is that the Soviet citizen assimilates these ego-ideals in a neurotic fashion, and is therefore susceptible to psychological warfare techniques of ego-ideal stripping.

That much can be conclusively demonstrated from phenomena readily accessible in the "West" — Soviet publications, Soviet responses to capitalist policies, etc. These surface features could not be characteristic phenomena unless the appropriate, if somewhat hidden infrastructure did not also exist as basis.

The same playing upon infantile-neurotic or nationalist susceptibilities is more immediately apparent in Anglo-American psychological warfare tactics toward Eastern Europe and Sino-Soviet relations. The national-chauvinist tendencies manifest in Soviet behavior are the epitome of sanity and maturity in contrast to the pathetic qualities recently shown by the Chinese Peoples' Republic. The Chinese encouragement of NATO strength as an anti-Soviet deterrent is a political obscenity beyond the imagination of any earlier decade, but uniquely accounted for as the outcome of successful Anglo-American exploitation of the chauvinist susceptibilities of Chinese Communist leaders. Similarly, but less effectively, those

Rockefeller forces concentrate great effort on seeking to set loose nationalist centrifugal tendencies within the Warsaw Pact.

The main thrust of the Rockefeller strategy is for a relatively peaceful subversion and occupation of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Subversion, not thermonuclear holocaust, is the preferred outcome. Thermonuclear strategies are the essential adjuncts of that policy. All the principles expressed in actual warfare are being applied to the domain of psychological warfare in that connection. Playing upon nationalist neurotic susceptibilities (e.g., PCI "polycentrism") is intended to fragment, pin down, and demoralize anti-Rockefeller Communist-allied forces with the objective of picking off the fragmented victims one by one.

The high probability of thermonuclear warfare by no later than the early 1980s arises from two considerations. The Anglo-American thrust for such a war arises inevitably from the rapid psychological and economic developments within a fascist regime in the capitalist sector. This thrust runs hard against a contrary inevitable resistance within the Soviet Union itself. It is most improbable that liquidationist tendencies will remain hegemonic within the CPSU. The Soviet Union will not so easily preside over its own fascist liquidation. The danger is that the virtually inevitable such shifts in Soviet leadership and policy will be delayed to appear during the consolidation of fascist regimes in the "West." In such a delayed shift of Soviet strategic policy, emerging Rockefeller and Soviet policies are committed to a collision course, with thermonuclear warfare the most probable outcome.

Meanwhile, preparations for such warfare, in the form of ever-improved Anglo-American strategic "options," are characteristic features of the subversionist main thrust. Although there is a powerful impulse toward thermonuclear showdown within factions of the Anglo-American forces, this impulse is presently a mere concomitant of the main policy. As the situation matures under fascist regimes, that concomitant will emerge as the characteristic impulse.

For such reasons, the subversive and military aspects of current, developing Rockefeller strategic doctrine must be treated as converging upon the purely military alternative. Whatever the framers of strategic doctrine may imagine themselves to be aiming for at any juncture, the internal dynamic of their efforts necessarily converges upon actual warfare through mediation of maintaining a credible thermonuclear posture.

Our Forces

To discover a solution to this predicament, it is essential that we free ourselves from the last vestiges of so-called **realpolitik**. The fact that the Soviet bloc is the principal institutionalized force of potential resistance to Rockefeller's fascist schemes must not be misconstrued to the wrong and fatal effect of basing our counterstrategy primarily upon a correction of Soviet policies. To the extent that a key institutionalized counterforce exists, this is represented presently by the International Caucus of Labor Committees. To the realpolitik mind that statement inevitably appears as an arrogant assertion; nonetheless it is absolutely valid and decisive.

The probable competence of our assertion is suggested by the history of the Labor Committees. The organization

was founded from scratch beginning in mid-1966 with its present role the intended outcome of that development from the start. The organization, founded with a mere handful of individuals, was designed to become an international force at the point the developing depression-crisis became a world political crisis. This design was premised on a previously-established strategic assessment of the forthcoming period, an assessment which has been proven uniquely competent against all "competitors."

During the past two years, and especially during 1974, the organization's growth in influence has demonstrated the following points beyond reasonable doubt.

1. The organization has demonstrated a quality of intellectual leadership at least comparable to and frequently exceeding that of any other force in the world.
2. The hard-core of the membership has shown qualities of performance and capacities for rapid self-development which have properly astonished leading circles — as well as others — in the principal nations.
3. Beginning late 1972, the organization has emerged as the most influential socialist force within the U.S. working class movement, and during 1974 has grown in influence to the point that its existence is an important policy-question among governing parties of several nations. Never before, at least since Karl Marx's leadership of the First International, has so small a force exerted an influence of comparable magnitude and growing impact on major world developments.
4. These developments have also demonstrated the existence of a massive and rapidly-growing vacuum for our qualities of leadership and organizing activities within the working class forces in North America and Western Europe.

The very least that must be conceded on such accounts is that the ICLC has demonstrated all the dynamic qualities to become a hegemonic world-force for working-class leadership against the Rockefeller-led forces. The only legitimate question remaining — a question frequently raised by militant workers in North America and Western Europe — is whether there is sufficient time for our manifest dynamic to be realized as a force of sufficient magnitude to win this struggle.

At that point, concentration upon the growth of the ICLC in itself tends to lead into mistaken preoccupations. The role of the ICLC is as an organizing — mobilizing — force for the objective potential represented by the working class and its potential mass allies. Already, those class forces represent an adequate potential force to stop the Rockefellers quickly and decisively. What is wanted is the subjective ingredient through which that potential can be made self-conscious and actualized as a unified striking-force. That identifies exactly the unique role of the ICLC.

In that connection, although the absolute size of the ICLC and its associated organizations is of some secondary importance, the main feature is not size but dynamic. The laws of mental processes dictate that the experience that will move workers en masse into this social formation is the dynamic of Labor Committee activities.

The fundamental feature of the human mind, the creative potential located within the highest cognitive aspects of the Superego, is the capacity for adducing new conceptions concerning the experience of **rates of successive change**. The worker does not become a

member of the Labor Committees or the U.S. Labor Party as he might join a social club or ordinary political party. He moves to join because his own developing internal sense of identity has imparted a world-historical sense of his existence in place of the old alienated, particularized sense of identity. This transformation occurs through the excitement of his creative mental powers, the highest cognitive functions of his Superego. He does not join the Labor Committees or Labor Party as organizations which are incidentally momentarily concerned to change the world; he himself has decided to change the world and joins to effect that personal commitment. He joins because he has discovered his own real identity as world-historical human being, and must act in common purpose with other human beings like himself. This self-realization occurs through his experiencing successive positive changes in his sensuous, positive comprehension of the world.

The fundamental practical issue concerning the qualifications of the ICLC is its continuing capability of acting in such a way as to appropriately catalyze that decisive experience within the individual worker's mental life.

The fundamental, qualitative difference between the Labor Committees and all other socialist organizations is our emphasis upon imparting scientific knowledge to the working class. The other professed socialist organizations are not revolutionary (however sincerely socialist) exactly because they adapt themselves to the backside of prevailing opinions among "constituencies," thus attempting to institutionalize those world-outlooks from which the leading strata of workers are properly attempting to free themselves under conditions of crisis.

Our policy is — and has always been — that we must organize around those conceptions which represent what the working class needs to know. Our standard for ideas has been the scientific validity of our strategic, tactical and programmatic judgments — whatever contemporary opinion might demand to the contrary. It is that organic quality of the ICLC, the standard of membership-identity to which the individual member becomes habituated, which has enabled us to develop a small cadre-force of powerful impact, capable of communicating the most advanced scientific conceptions to the vanguard strata of workers and their allies.

Instead of offering workers "pie in the sky" promises concerning the axiomatic beauties of the Great Socialist Beyond, we concentrate upon communicating scientific certainty concerning the strategies, tactics and programs which they, as workers, must enact to wilfully create the society which meets the needs of the human species. We remove socialism from the realm of fantastic dreams and make it a matter of the worker's direct knowledge of his role in governing society. Socialism will be the expression of those policies of economic development and social institutions which he knowledgeably enacts. We impart to the worker his proper sense of being a conscious participant in formulating the policies of his own class as the ruling class of world society.

In that, and precisely that, lies the secret of our astonishing growth in influence during the past year. Conversely, that growth empirically demonstrates our organic germinal competence in realizing those principles essential to transforming the working class rapidly into the ruling class of society.



The key to the organizing process is workers' appropriation of scientific knowledge. Here workers in the Philadelphia region hear NCLC scientist Chuck Stevens explain fusion power technology.

Since the existence of the human species demands the most rapid advancement in the negentropy of social reproduction, the fundamental policies for a self-government of our species are twofold. First, we must realize positive scientific advances in technology at the most rapid rate. Second, to have such advances to advance, we must maintain the material and cultural conditions of life of the individual's development at levels and in forms to ensure the continuing supply of new inventions in the quantity and quality the new level of developments requires. A workers' government must therefore presume that workers are directly assessing alternative development policies in exactly those terms; workers' government is no profession for bureaucratic types.

This quality of functioning by the working class is not some distant-future ideal. Today's worker has, within the higher but largely inhibited cognitive functions of his Superego, exactly those potentialities for creative scientific thinking needed to begin performing such a governing role immediately. Moreover, such emphasis on those higher cognitive potentialities represents intensive character-development of the sort leading to a general proliferation of the qualities of individual moral and intellectual maturity only rarely encountered within capitalist society.

The problem of arousing those potentialities within workers is quite different than might be ordinarily imagined. Although developed knowledge (e.g., education) is essential for elaborated specific achievements in scientific work, the basic creative capacities to be aroused are more immediately accessible in the typical worker. He can readily develop the capability to think in a rigorous scientific way, although lack of specific educational and related professional development will limit the depth of his achievements. He has the immanent capacity to muster the scientific competence needed to decide questions of policy — although he will depend upon professionally trained persons for the development of the alternatives among which he must decide.

The problem of arousing those higher cognitive potentialities is principally a reflection of neurosis. The typical worker is not blocked from effective concentration-span upon study of scientific principles by lack of the mental equipment for such work. He is blocked by neurotic upsurges which "shut off his mind" whenever he moves into areas of judgment for which society awards him no sense of identity. For example, the otherwise intelligent worker who "bullshits" concerning serious intellectual questions is not really that stupid; he is acting out an internalized sense that he is not practically accountable for his opinions on such subjects. What practical difference does it make if he says something stupid on such subjects? No one is going to act upon those observations anyway. His object, in such "bullshitting," is merely to strike a pose before his peers.

As the same sort of worker finds more advanced personalities from his own peer-group seriously assimilating scientific conceptions, the sense of identity within the group is altered. Most workers involved in even union caucus-building are aware of related phenomena; the member of the group who credibly stands out as a leader catalyzes movement in the entire group and its peripheries.

The single most essential social premise for the rapid eruption of higher cognitive functions among workers is active internationalism (the major neurotic flaw in the Soviet citizen's character structure is the denial to him of precisely such an active sense of internationalism). This does not signify merely that the worker sees a basis for alliance between U.S. workers and those in other countries. Internationalism signifies locating one's sense of personal identity as primarily that of membership in the world's working class, and only secondarily in the national working-class formations. (For a Soviet citizen to meet that requirement, his sense of his primary juridical basis of "citizenship" would have to be membership in an international communist organization, rather than to see international formations as federations of nationality-oriented organizations).

It is that sense of internationalism concerning one's own practical, sensuous identity in the world which is the unique basis for actualizing the higher cognitive powers of mind. For reasons initially outlined in the second section, there is a direct correspondence between creative mental powers and an empirical orientation toward actual universals. Since universality concerning social relationships and human existence itself is uniquely situated in the world economy taken as primary in its entirety, it is only the worker who thinks primarily in such internationalist terms who is capable of sustaining creative mental life.

For related reasons, creativity in mathematical physics emphasizes a recurring orientation toward the universal geometric "pure" outlook, for which Kepler, Riemann, Cantor, and Einstein are exemplary. Although the knowledgeable elaboration of mathematical physics is essential for practical achievements, the most essential and initial feature of the creative intellect is not learning, but a passionate preoccupation with the universal and fundamental questions to the relative disadvantage of the localized and "practical."

It is that correlation between the universalist outlook and the higher cognitive functions which distinguishes the creative scientist for the same reason that a primary internationalist sense of personal identity is the qualitative distinction of the revolutionary-socialist leader. There is no place in creative scientific work for merely-educated mediocre "practical men," whether in science per se or revolutionary leaderships. (It is the incidental, but necessary object of socialist development to eliminate mediocrity from the human species.)

It is the ruthless emphasis upon that rigorous internationalist outlook which has been the most fundamental feature of the superior internal intellectual and moral development of the Labor Committees, and has made that organization the only existing institution capable of transmitting similar qualities rapidly to mass organizations and other semi-organized mass forces today.

By such criteria, the Labor Committees are uniquely qualified as the needed germ of international organization of the world's working class. Although it is merely such a germ, there exists no other agency developed to fulfill such a role, and no time in which to create an alternative from scratch. Either that germ is built into a mass-based international force in time, or there is no hope for human survival for the foreseeable future.

This does not discredit the actual importance of various existing working-class organizations. Sections of trade-union organizations and entire trade-unions, left-wing formations of mass-based social-democracies, key Communist parties, and workers' governments are essential forces to be brought together catalytically around the Labor Committee germ. However arrogant — or actually, hubristic — we appear to be to some on that account, without the unifying germ we are uniquely situated and obliged to supply, these forces can not be assembled as an effective counterforce. We do not discredit any of the actual importance of these organizations; we merely refuse to attribute to them qualities which they lack.

An effective counterforce must be deployed under a centralized command on the basis of a coherent strategic, tactical and programmatic commitment. Such command, such principled policies can not be effected among a squabbling confederation of distinct organizations. All distinctions must be subordinated to a single set of central policies which represent the basis for the unification.

The central question thus becomes: How shall the needed unifying policies be developed? Who is to develop them and how shall their adoption be settled?

The question of policy is an issue of victory; policy is an issue of scientific certainty, not of anyone's mere opinion or deep-seated prejudices. Who, then, is scientifically competent to develop and introduce such a policy? More exactly, what organized force exists which is habituated to the forms of judgment needed to produce, propagate and defend such a policy?

The only danger in such a prescription is that such authority might be misconstrued as a title to proprietorship. Although the Labor Committees are uniquely situated to formulate the kernel of the needed policies, we have no consequent right to demand that this be reason for members of other working-class organizations to subordinate themselves to our organization as such. Our task is to make the proper policies available to them as their own. On the basis of programmatic concurrence, we then constitute a unified command of the united organizations.

Hence, the function of our development and propagation of the wanted strategic programmatic thrust is to provide the basis for a programmatic united front of these various working-class organizations under a unified command.

The maintenance of discipline in such a formation does not entail the sort of problems which might ordinarily be imagined. Provided the program adopted represents — as it must — the actualization of the world-historical identity of each member of the class forces, its adoption embodies a transition to a higher plane of intellectual and moral life in which the crap of the old ways is practically relegated to the past respecting policy problems.

It is impossible to review the masses of operations reports the Labor Committee executive has received from day-to-day operations in various parts of the world without gaining an empirical grasp of the point made. The oscillations of workers from revolutionary qualities of combativity to moments of submission, and back and forth, are principally associated with the flow and ebb of confidence concerning the possibility of establishing an effective counterforce in time. This sociopsychological determination of moral world-outlook applies equally to the intellectual realm. The capacity of workers for progressing in comprehension of necessary strategic and

programmatic conceptions also flows and ebbs according to their appreciation of the potentials for mass organization. The establishment of a mass-vanguard international programmatic united front will certainly fix the moral and intellectual outlook of these forces on the relatively highest level, at which the old crap is no longer applicable.

The same point is made more rigorously once we take into account the conceptual features of the needed program. The program of such an international organization must be a program of expanded reproduction — otherwise, it can not represent the need of the class for a higher standard of living premised on realized technological development and rapid expansion of the productive forces. It must be a program of world reconstruction or it can not succeed. Therefore, it must be a program expressing in empirical terms the policies of negentropic development in relative universal terms. Such a program represents in itself the actualization of the highest cognitive functions of the individual Superego. Transformed into the immediate basis for association in a mass of billions of working people, it already represents a gigantic moral and intellectual advance within that population.

That, in itself, is the kernel of our strategic thrust. Not merely do we propose to create a mass counterforce, but that process also produces a quality of force in the world such has neither existed nor been explicitly dreamt of before this time.

Such a population will not tolerate any aspect of Rockefeller's fascism. How, then, will a single wheel of his world-wide machine function according to his bidding? We shall not only refuse to submit to a single Rockefeller order, but we shall promptly disarm his minions and move the wheels of society according to our own independent policy. And only a psychotic fool would dare to oppose us; there will be no place on earth for a single assassin or nuclear bomb-thrower to safely hide in refuge from the hounds of our criminal justice. Such a population represents a total controlled environment against the enemies of humanity. This and nothing else will work.

Under such circumstances, the Soviet Bloc, as ally of the workers' organization, represents a key element of a controlled strategic environment against the Rockefellers. Within such terms, a proper Soviet strategic doctrine emerges. The key distinctive feature of that doctrine is the preservation of the integrity of the main forces opposing fascism in the capitalist sector. No other policy is possible for them in any case — unless it be found in the alternatives of submission or thermonuclear mutual destruction. We grant that in the final analysis it were better that the Soviets unleashed thermonuclear holocaust than submit to a fascist destruction of humanity through Schachtian ecological holocaust — but why limit the alternatives to such a mere noble gesture?

It is frightening? You have no alternative — Rockefeller has given you none.

Part 5: The Program for Socialism

Strategy Reviewed

It is instructive to review the growing variety of mutually-contradictory slanders circulated against us by various agencies, especially those promoted over the past two years. Once these slanders are taken together as an international pattern, a clear picture emerges. From that picture, one major relevant strategic point stands out.

Currently, a high-ranking FBI source is reported to be circulating the rumor that the Labor Committees are a covert CIA, Rockefeller-promoted "think tank". Some CIA conduits have also rumored that we are a covert CIA operation, when those same conduits are not alleging us indirectly connected to either Moscow or Peking. The Detroit UAW leadership during the past Spring and Summer circulated the charge throughout Canada and Western Europe that we are funded by the FBI! In Italy, two additional principal rumors are current. One asserts that we are agents of Willy Brandt, funded by German bankers! Another, introduced during the recent Rockefeller Rome FAO conference period, asserts that we are a secret operation of the Vatican!

These are not generally casual, spontaneous rumors circulated by isolated individuals. Millions of dollars are being spent by governmental and other agencies in designing and circulating psywar propaganda against the ICLC.

An event in the Italian city of Ascoli-Piceno is exemplary. Earlier this year, a Swedish journalist visited Ascoli via a stopover in Rome, carrying a report issued by the CIA-conduit U.S. Liberation News Service. This report, circulated into Western Europe through agents in Sweden and Denmark, is based on a slander coined by the fascist U.S. grouplet calling itself Workers' World. This report was first circulated in Scandinavia through the notorious Dragsdahl, and was used by the Swedish journalist as the basis for a forum on the subject of the Labor Committees given in Ascoli.

We first tracked the UAW-circulated "FBI funded" rumor down to its source through Canadian informants who reported that they had had direct orders from Detroit UAW officials to spread this lie throughout Canadian labor. The same rumor was dropped off in Great Britain, from whence it was publicly reiterated by the TGWU's Jack Jones at a Swedish labor conference. Through the UAW's contacts in such organizations as the David Rockefeller Trilateral Commission, the International Metalworkers' Federation, and the Second International's offices, the same rumor (among others) was circulated among the leaderships of the DGB, IG Metal, and the SPD Parteivorstand of the German Federal Republic.

The use of the NAG gimmick by U.S. Federal agencies, including the FBI directly, is also exemplary. U.S. police and advertising specialists have an adolescent's tendency to invent names to fit preconceived acronyms. The

acronym "NAG" has been used more than once by the CIA, LEAA and FBI in this way. The policy behind such NAG-designated groups is summed up in the recent report of Attorney-General Saxbe on FBI dirty tricks activities:

Establishing sham organizations for disruptive purposes — This type of activity was utilized . . . for the purpose of using the organizations to send out material intended to disrupt various such groups.

In short, "NAG" is a designation for a police-controlled pseudo-faction whose assigned duty is to undermine the morale of the attacked organization by such forms of "nagging."

One of the better known uses of the NAG acronym for such a police-created grouping was the "New Action Group" inserted into the Michigan Ku Klux Klan operation by the FBI and related organizations during the famous Pontiac bus-bombing provocation. Later, during 1973 and 1974, one of the same personnel used in the Pontiac affair was redeployed as an FBI agent (as the FBI itself admitted in a legal brief) against the Labor Committees.

At about the same time that elements of the old Michigan NAG-related operation were being deployed by the FBI against the Labor Committees there, another NAG group, styled "New Alternatives Group," was being organized around New York City, beginning its operations during October 1973, and coming briefly into public prominence through the assistance of the New York Times and CIA-linked Intelligence Division of the New York Police Department during January and February of 1974. Throughout late 1973 and the first half of 1974, this New York City-based NAG operation was directly linked to an assortment of known left-cover CIA-linked groups from Boston to San Francisco*, and was coordinated with Munich (West Germany) operations of the CIA and New York Police Intelligence Division against Labor Committee groups on the continent.

To any person exercising a modicum of intelligence, such patterns of activities are luridly obvious--and obviously entail considerable expenditures of funds by Federal and other agencies.

Like most psychological warfare counterinsurgency efforts of that sort, the gist of the otherwise varied slanders is an appeal to what the CIA, FBI, and so forth presume that **the credulous dupes will wish to believe**. The point is that the "average person" will wish to believe that any small organization of such potency as the Labor Committees "must have the backing of some existing powerful agency." The mutually-contradictory nature of the slanders issued ultimately from common sources arises because of the different prejudices of the credulous audiences to which the slanders are aimed.

* Much of the U.S. "radical movement" of the 1960's — and its 1970's descendants — was spawned by the CIA-linked organizations of the late Saul Alinsky (e.g. Woodlawn) and heirs of the Nazi Doctor Kurt Lewin with significant assistance from the CIA-linked Reutherite bureaucracy of the UAW. These include the founding inner core of SDS (Tom Hayden et al. of "Port Huron" fame), the later "crazies" of the Weatherman and Klonsky-Avakian varieties, sections of the leadership of the Socialist Party of America, the League for Industrial Democracy, and various anarchist and anarchosyndicalist gangs ideologically aligned with pro-fascist Professor Noam Chomsky of MIT. The latter is himself a leading agent among left-cover followers of Alinsky and Lewin. Most of these various scum — including Chomsky — were involved in the anti-LC NAG operation.



The CIA-affiliated UAW leadership, while collaborating with FBI operatives against the NCLC, circulates the rumor that the Labor Committees are an FBI operation against the CIA. The FBI itself circulates the rumor (among others) that the Labor Committees are a CIA-sponsored "think tank", funded by Rockefeller sources. In Italy, the CIA-affiliated sources play upon specific nationalist susceptibilities of Italian trade-union circles, alleging that we are agents of German interests (Brandt and the German bankers). In the FRG (and Rome, Italy) the emphasis is "American agents". To certain strata of social-democratic leftists and Communists, we are described as Peking-backed. To European Maoists, we are identified as either CIA or Moscow-backed. Though the pattern is more complicated in detail, the essentials are as we have indicated.

The essence of all of these sorts of manufactures is the implied statement: "You couldn't possibly believe that a group of such potency could develop out of its own internal efforts, could you, now?" For the superstitious there is provided the mystic's gossip: "Lyn Marcus is a powerful paranoid personality with almost magical powers." In short, some large institution, not excluding Satan himself, is behind all this.

The reality whose peculiarity the CIA, FBI, et al. are attempting to discredit is the fact that there exists a body of scientific knowledge which once mastered gives its possessors superior relative potency in influencing the course of world events. The relevant facts have been summarized in the Conceptual History of the Labor Committees. It is sufficient to supplement that History here by noting the relevance of our organization's origins and development to its potency in matters of strategic analysis as well as organizing capabilities.

The Labor Committee organization was founded during late 1966, on the basis of approximately a decade's preceding work in developing a strategic programmatic assessment of the world situation. This began as a study of the

For the bourgeois paranoid, the capacity for self-conscious knowledge is a magical power. To religion, the hubris of the revolutionary can only be derived from Satan himself.

internal dynamics of post-war imperialist economic recovery from the Great Depression, a study which identified both the basis for that recovery and the intrinsic thrust toward a new general depression. By determining the form of the objective alternatives available to international finance-capital under conditions of such a developing depression, and by also identifying the socialist alternative to the capitalists' programmatic commitments, a general strategic forecast of the shape, principle issues and contending forces of the coming period was developed. This strategic forecast, now vindicated with a vengeance by the events of the past fifteen years, was the principled basis for initial formation and subsequent development.

It is sufficient to compare that 1958-1960 strategic assessment with all of those offered from other known sources during the past two decades, to establish that the Labor Committees are intrinsically an organization of exceptionally superior competence. The September, 1971 establishment of an intelligence department, to apply that competence in the greatest possible detail, and the aggressive research and journalistic investigations also involved, are sufficient basis for accounting for all our analytical achievements of recent years and months. No outside agency has been required; indeed, all of the outside agencies cited by the slanderers (excepting possibly Satan himself) are demonstrated to proceed from strategic assessments grossly inferior to those of the Labor Committees.

Our unusual potency in organizing is similarly accounted for. Generally, the fact that New Solidarity has offered a consistently correct assessment of developments—in contrast to the New York Times and so forth — has been a major consideration in extending the influence of our work. More subtle, but of fundamental importance, is the consistent connection between our strategic analysis and our understanding of the laws of mass organizing.

These achievements are not entirely novel. At the beginning of our work, during the mid-1950s, we depended overwhelmingly on the achievements of the socialist movement before us. Although we have subsequently advanced beyond those predecessors in all major theoretical matters, especially concerning economic theory and the psychological basis of politics, the direct connections and indebtedness to the achievements of Marx, Luxemburg and the Bolsheviks is obvious to any qualified analyst. Essentially, we have advanced beyond the principal theoretic shortcomings of our predecessors, with consequent alterations of practice. We have accomplished nothing that the Communist movement generally would not have long since achieved — had that movement not stagnated on this account from the early through middle 1920s onward.

In particular, there is nothing mysterious concerning the authoritative bearing of our political-economic work upon mathematical physics, biology, and psychology.

As we have shown in the second section of this draft, mathematical physics and economic theory share a common theoretical and practical basis in their shared origins of the late Renaissance period. The question of a lawful universal ordering (perfection), and the connection of this to the voluntary element of individual creative initiatives is the fundamental question for both mathematical physics and political economy. The comprehensive solution to this problem began to be systematically uncovered during the nineteenth century as a result of the influence of Kant and Hegel upon German scientific thought (especially). From the seminal epistemological inquiries into scientific fundamentals by Kant and Hegel, two branches of inquiry emerged, one epitomized by Karl Marx, the other by a branch of the followers of Gauss, notably Riemann, Weierstrass, Cantor, Klein. It was inevitable from the nature of the two subject-matters viewed in this way, that a solution to the remaining fallacy of omission in Karl Marx's work must be implicitly a paradigm for solving the fundamental question as defined by Riemann et al. Indeed, the solution to the problems of Marxist theory was a direct outgrowth of the influence of Riemann and Cantor especially, upon the early 1950s work of the Labor Committees' founder.

This importance of this connection for economic theory is demonstrated by the central role of negentropy in conceptualization of expanded reproduction. As we have indicated in the second section, and have elaborated elsewhere in our writings, the effort to find a mathematical elaboration of expanded reproduction within the domain of algebra must fail miserably in a fashion comparable to efforts to construct trisections of ordinary plane angles with means of ruler and compass. Negentropy as we have defined it is the only means for resolving this inherent difficulty. Since expanded reproduction exists in fact, that is sufficient to demonstrate the reality of the concept of negentropy as we have stated it. The question then becomes, from whence can we secure the development of the new sort of mathematical or broadly cognate method which economic and ecological analysis so obviously require?

Turning to such sources as Hermann Weyl's famous basic text in relativity mathematics, *Space, Time, Matter*, we immediately recognize that Weyl's employment of affine methods incurs the same basic epistemological blunder we have factually demonstrated for economics and ecology. Looking further, we are able to show that Weyl's error is characteristic in the best efforts from the field.

No comprehensive explicit solution to this problem has yet been developed. Labor Committee specialists in mathematical physics are currently attacking the problem in a more limited way, negatively.

Since we can precisely locate the relevant errors to extant mathematical procedures, we are able to both identify the limits of applicability of such extant procedures and establish devices for employing them in the manner of successive approximations. For short intervals of development, the conspicuous phenomena of an ecology or economy apparently coincide with a fixed geometry, and are therefore susceptible of corresponding mathematical analytical procedures. Successive states of development can be compared on that basis, treating each successive

such state as a universe of a different, higher-order geometry. Also, the nature of the connection between such successive universes can be rigorously accounted from the standpoint of a characteristic trans-invariant, as we have indicated. This represents only the preconditions for a qualitative leap forward, in which the problem to be solved is rigorously merely circumscribed in terms of existing conceptions.

Probably, the actual comprehensive solution to this problem will appear in connection with both astrophysics and plasma physics. As applied technology in plasma physics basic research progresses, the experimental problems of "field" encountered must bring us into sharper confrontation with predicaments analogous to those we have so far considered for economics and ecology. Such achievements presently appear unlikely except as research in plasma physics accelerates practical-theoretical work in that way. There is an obvious complementary approach to the same issues from the standpoint of astrophysics, for which similar general observations concerning applied research work apply.

The authoritative connections between economics-ecology and ecology-biology are more immediate in practical terms. Up to the point that further progress in biology depends upon certain advances in microphysics, our Marxist approach — as outlined — presently provides the only axiomatic basis for general advances in that field.

The feasibility of such conceptual breakthroughs is rigorously demonstrated by our work in psychology. Since the fundamental activity of the human mental processes is those higher cognitive capabilities directly associated with fundamental creative innovations in knowledge and practice, the kinds of new scientific conceptions required are intrinsically within the capabilities of such mental processes. A conscious scientific practice of the sort required demands that these higher cognitive processes be made accessible to deliberate reflection in a way corresponding to the present prevailing interpretation of willful control of conscious deliberations. This, too, is demonstrably feasible, as we have documented extensively in other locations concerning self-consciousness and the method for its social determination. As with all human progress, the results we seek are within reach, now depending principally upon a sufficient rate of human progress bearing upon basic scientific research.

It is merely necessary to fulfill two conditions to obtain these qualitative scientific advances more or less spontaneously. We must increase the mass of human scientific activity, thus accelerating the time-scale of such progress. We must also bring the higher cognitive functions within reach of deliberation by the sort of social determinations through which self-consciousness is achieved.

The fact that Labor Committee activities are premised upon strategic conceptions subsuming such lines of inquiry has affected members in more or less direct proportion to their degree of concentrated intellectual activity along such lines. Within the micro-society approximately represented by the organization's internal life, there has tended to occur a "new renaissance" in knowledge and mental capacities contrary to the characteristic intellectual and moral decline predominating among intellectual circles outside our organization. In this fashion, the germ of the superior strategic analysis has given small forces of our organization's members an intellectual and sensuous potency significantly exceeding that ordinarily encountered in any institution outside our own.

This superior intellectual development within the organization is chiefly responsible for the rapid expansion of our scientific and related analytical capabilities for a growing range of specific topics. Wherever the higher cognitive functions of mind become the basis for the individual's social identity within a "peer group", those capacities are excited to a degree and frequency of development beyond anything ordinarily seen outside such circumstances.

The same general observation applies to our strategic perspectives for victory of the international working-class forces during the immediate period ahead.*

Mastery of these fundamental principles provides the basis for direct communication between workers generally and advanced physicists and so forth concerning basic issues of technological development. The alienation of workers from science is thus brought to an end. Moreover, for the same reasons, the technological competence of ordinary skilled and semi-skilled cultured workers is substantially increased; their potential social productivity in applying and enriching the application of the most advanced technologies is dramatically increased. This competence qualifies the workers generally to become the government of the world, the agency which politically decides all economic and related policies on the basis of the most competent and advanced perceptions of leading scientific workers.

Ultimately more important, the excitement of the higher cognitive functions of workers realizes locked-up potentials within them. The result of mastery of these fundamental conceptions among advanced workers is a rapid leap upward in the intellectual and moral development of our entire class. Contrary to pro-capitalist strategists and tacticians of all sorts, and contrary to the pessimists of leading Communist organizations, it is not the militant ordinary stultified "simple worker" who will transform society, but the workers who have rapidly realized the higher potentialities presently suppressed within them. Our "secret weapon" is the development of these sensuous-intellectual capabilities of the working class into a collective force that nothing can defeat.

The misconception that socialist politics is a narrow profession, external to such issues as mathematical physics, biology, psychology, music, and so forth, is a philistine's impotent overview of the issue of human development. Anything necessary for human intellectual, moral, and material development is the proper and essential concern of the socialist revolutionary. There is nothing human that is not of immediate concern for us. That is the "secret" of the Labor Committees in all respects, the "secret" which apparently mystifies our leading pro-capitalist opponents and "left" critics alike.

Now, a phase of the Labor Committees' history has passed. Up to a recent time, our concern was that of preparing for a future social crisis. Our strategic outlook emphasized the fact that the developing economic crisis would lead to a social crisis in which the great two contending classes of capitalist society would confront one another concerning the new form into which the world as a whole must be developed. The leading capitalists must

become Schachtian fascists, we warned since the beginning of the 1960's, and this must be counterposed by a working-class political movement which took political power on the basis of a worldwide program of rapid technological advances within a general policy of expanded industrial development. Now, that past's future has become the present. Today, only hysterical fools need to be forewarned of the fact that the dominant international financier cartel, headed by the Rockefellers, is embarked upon a depression-motivated policy of Schachtian austerity and associated political forms. Now, the only important issue for the future is the development of the program of workers' government of the world, and of the mass-based movement to establish that government.

It boils down to this. Only two agencies presently offer a comprehensive policy for the future existence of the human species as a whole. On the one side, the Rockefeller-led forces propose fascist austerity in forms leading toward the inevitable virtual extinction of the human race. Opposite to that, the Labor Committees offer a program for the development of the social-reproductive powers of that species. Apart from those forces, there is no other agency presently advancing anything but a muddled alternative to these two. Most socialists, including Soviet leaders, have been content to negotiate their way within a declining world whose general order is being actively determined by Rockefeller forces. At this stage, our task of analyzing this development is reduced to merely affirming our authority on the basis of our proven competence in pre-assessing the development leading into this present world situation, while concentrating the principal energies of our work in the development and propagation of the program for world workers' government.

Basis of Program

Socialist program emerges for scrutiny in the appearance of two intersecting activities, the development of the economic program as such, and the organization of mass forces around that economic program. The general economic program is summed up from the vantage point of fundamentals: the task of realizing technological advances in the expansion of the social-reproductive process, which subsumes the need to provide the conditions of individual life necessary for the innovation and assimilation of qualitative advances in realized technology. The key to the organizing process is the transformation of the individual worker's mental state toward actual maturity. This is accomplished in part by the economic program itself, which evokes the negentropic universalist world-outlook, and therefore gives dominance to the higher cognitive functions of the Superego. By making such intellectual and moral commitments the basis for individual identity in growing mass organization, the momentary breakthrough of the individual becomes a more lasting and deepening feature of the individual character.

The task of maintaining the negentropy of social reproduction demands increasing the available energy throughputs of production and households per capita on a world scale. For reasons we have given, such an exponential growth of per capita energy throughput is the elementary parameter for continued human existence, the precondition upon which all other general advances immediately depend. Such exponential impulses

*The principle is illustrated by the significant ferment already occurring around this strategic report. Although, in fact, the conceptions we present here are the most advanced form of knowledge available in any field anywhere in the world today, significant numbers of working-class militants in the U.S. are already beginning to master them. This mastery will not transform them into competent physicists, ecologists, and so forth; the conceptions involved represent only the fundamentals of the field subsumed. Much specialized study and practice would be required to develop the individual who has mastered the fundamentals into a professional scientific worker in those fields.

frequently realize only a maintenance or fixed rate of marginal growth of the $S'/(C+V)$ social-reproductive ratio, since the energy-content costs of C and V must both increase, with V characteristically increasing at a slower rate than $S'+C+V$ as a whole.

There is a direct connection between increases in the energy throughput of households and the higher cognitive powers of the population's individual members as potential creative discoverers and as persons of the increased power needed to assimilate such discoveries for social-reproductive practice. This is one of the most essential points of any economic policy — the point which the Rockefellers are currently violating in the most tragic fashion.

The illustration of Wolfgang Koehler's experiments with insight in chimpanzees directly applies. Koehler provided his chimpanzees with the potential elements of tools by which chimp-acknowledged problems could be solved. Provided that it was determined that the chimpanzees had not previously learned to use analogous tools in a similar fashion, the chimp's assembly of the tool (e.g., putting bamboo sticks together, piling boxes) proved the existence of creative insight.

The pattern of human social evolution is broadly analogous. By successfully expanding the social-reproductive process, man creates new essential needs and exhausts previously defined resources of production and existence. In return for these new problems, new tasks, man has received from production an array of products, of which combinations of some are potentially tools for solving the new tasks. These potential elements of new tools are the essential mediation upon which the human mind's higher cognitive (insight) functions act for the development of new technological conceptions.

This implies, as can be more rigorously proven to be the case, that the potential for further advances in technology depends rather directly upon the individual's direct experience of the full span of means produced by the most recent advances in production. Consequently, experience with advanced technology in production and schools is supplemented in an essential way by personal consumption. The familiarization of the individual, through personal consumption, with a broad representation of the products of advanced technology provides an essential stimulus and knowledge for the activity of creative insight. Consequently, we must study personal consumption in a double fashion, both as the satisfaction of explicit needs and as an essential contribution to the "ground" of the individual's potential for relevant discoveries, as both a potential inventor and an assimilator of new technologies.

As the impulse-rate of growth must increase, because of exponential shifts along the "world-line" of successive developments, there is an increased need for concentrated attention-span by an increasing number of persons on the problems associated with development. The relative magnitude of discovery is the relative magnitude of social effort devoted to that result. Hence, all forms of leisure must increase, both as education, cultural activities generally, and as a greater proportion of the life-time of the individual available for cognitive activities free of concentration on immediately fixed forms of productive behavior.

This must be extended, as a principle, into the required evolution of the form of labor-power in the productive process. To the extent that the individual worker is

exhausted in repetitive forms of productive activity, his mental development is not only suppressed but depleted. The possibility of continuing human development at the rate presently required demands a massive concentration on changing the form of production away from repetitive, simplified labor-intensive job categories through emphasis on capital-intensive job categories in which the cognitive potentialities of the individual worker are stressed increasingly.

Labor Committee direct experience with the problems of lumpenized and semi-lumpenized U.S. ghetto youth is painfully exemplary of the principles involved.

The fact that in at least a few instances an apparently low "I.Q." ghetto youth has been transformed into a relative high "I.Q." individual rather rapidly through socialist programmatic studies and related activities is most pertinent to the authority of our observations on this problem. Putting to one side the wretched consequences of malnutrition in infancy and early childhood, the characteristically low "I.Q." of ghetto youth in particular is entirely functional, socially determined by circumstances, such that the problem can be overcome — and usually at a rather rapid rate — by appropriate countermeasures.

The following general points cover or imply the nature of the problem:

1. The typical ghetto youth is "infantilized" by a mother-dominated "subculture" in which the male ghetto black or hispanic is perceived as a figure of impotence and ridicule. Hence, a relatively more pronounced paranoid tendency, in which concepts associated with cognitive functions are susceptible of being learned only for their propitiatory-associative label values in respect to the youth's experience. (It is for this reason that black and hispanic ghetto youth are among the most easily brainwashed victims of coercive behavioral modification programs, a susceptibility in which they rank just poorer than women generally, and poorer than petit-bourgeois "radical" youth and older petit-bourgeois strata.)
2. The youth is deprived of access to the range of objects and so forth which the individual must experience to reach a rational understanding of the world around him and to have confidence in his powers of reasoning.
3. More profoundly, the youth is most emphatically denied direct access to the experience of material progress in society's technology, representing a major stultification of his higher cognitive potentialities.
4. This aggregation of oppressive, coercive experiences is acutely aggravated by denying the ghetto youth a sense of positive identity for recognition as a thinking person. (The racist preys upon the black youth by repeating the slander, "Black people don't think; they 'feel' — black people have 'soul'.")

Inevitably, to the extent that such youth are coercively concentrated in "separatist groups" of similar persons (e.g., black "community control" of schools, coercive segregation practices generally), these stultifying pressures are radically intensified, and paranoid projections (e.g., "Rock" misrepresented as



Socialist program must release the active potential of millions whose lives are now constricted to fixed and therefore bestialized modes of behavior and labor.

characteristically "black") are more prevalent. Hence, the predominance among HEW-sponsored militant groups of the alternating complementary syndromes of paranoid-masochistic and paranoid-sadistic outlooks and behaviors.

This example typifies for more general applications the sort of problem we confront throughout impoverished populations around the world, and expresses, in a more extreme form, the sort of menticidal pressures acting generally upon the low-paid unskilled worker working under labor-intensive employment standards.

This represents our most acute programmatic social problem. The three-step program for development of the world's productive capacities and output involves relatively little conceptual difficulty by comparison. It is the maintenance and development of the mental capacities of the world population which represents our most acute immediate problem.

There simply is not yet sufficient potential production to

meet the needs of the entire world's population by the **standard of a modern labor-force**. The proposals to improve the standards of consumption below the Tropic of Cancer by reducing levels in the Northern hemisphere are worse than useless. If we were to do that, the productive potentials of the northern hemisphere would collapse, and the situation below the Tropic of Cancer would consequently soon be worse than ever before. Ten years of development emphasizing industrial advances in the advanced sector will be required to bring world output up to approximately the levels required for a modern standard of personal consumption throughout the world.

This is not a matter of uniform policy. There are pockets of urbanization in the southern hemisphere which are properly included in the title of "advanced sector" — even within nations (India, for example) in which the worst economic situation generally prevails. However, we simply lack the means to provide more than what are considered "basic needs" for the entire population — until a decade or so of accelerated industrial development in the advanced industrial centers has made parity possible.

In respect to over a billion of the earth's present population, we shall be able to provide little more than adequate nutrition, hygienic, educational and medical services — and half a decade may be needed to provide truly adequate individualized medical services. Within that framework of limitations, our principal further concern must be the development and maintenance of the mental powers of the population. This will require considerable insight and related forms of ingenuity, a combination of education and "moral incentives." The following features are obvious:

1. **Total literacy.** We must accompany massive literacy educational programs with newspapers which are directed to making literacy functional for the individual in even the most depressed sectors. The politics and relevant basic technology of development must be major features of such publications. This must obviously be supplemented by film, TV, radio, and travelling exhibits programs associated with local schools as centers of educational, cultural and political activities.

2. **Technological familiarization.** The development of agricultural output — fertilizers, irrigation, farm equipment — will afford us the preliminary basis upon which to introduce familiarity with modern technology to even the most depressed sectors. It will be necessary to amplify that by providing those centers samples of every aspect of modern industrial technology to work and play with.

3. **Psychoanalytically-oriented education.** There are three principal features to the sensuous grasp of universality: history, the earth as a whole, and the universe in which man and his earth are a part. Within that setting, the ideas of lawfulness and development as interdependent notions must be communicated. Aiming such education to inspire the student to arise out of a hated idiocy of rural life mentality and locating himself as a potential world-historical person, must be the basis for all education, cutting through the various empiricistic, pragmatist misconceptions of education which presently permeate and corrupt Western education.

In introducing such education among people previously subjected to the most degrading, coercive circumstances

of personal development, we shall directly encounter what appear as destructive prevailing prejudices. These are often associated with either strong religious beliefs, hallowed cultural traditions or simply "reaction formations" compensating for feelings of inferiority toward outsiders. The population must be made self-conscious of the basis and content of such pathological features of mental life.

Given drastically inadequate resources at the beginning of our world reconstruction programs, we must ingeniously select those combinations within our means which will have the most fruitful consequences for the intellectual and moral development of persons in regions of the least-readily assimilable potential industrial populations. Similarly, the initial worldwide capital deficit will preclude our allocation of such capital to those regions in which the resulting total output will be the least. We must select for the most backward regions those projects which are immediately most useful and suited to the potentialities and development of the emergent non-agricultural labor force.

The apparent problem of proposing such a policy is that it must be the outcome of shared decisions among the representatives of the two hemispheres. On the surface, it might mistakenly appear that the representatives of the less-developed regions would obviously reject such an ostensibly "inequitable" arrangement. We shall show, at an early future point of this present section, that such an arrangement is in fact neither inequitable nor are thoughtful socialist representatives of the underdeveloped sections likely to reject it. Even so, it represents a hard and painful policy decision and consequently a further incentive for expanding the world's productive forces at the maximum possible rate.

The Economic Program

There is obviously only one sort of general economic program which could be offered or accepted by any rational human being today. This is a three-step program of the following principal features.

The possibility of human existence demands the successful development of CTR technology, especially power production during the 1980s. In order to have the widespread installation of CTR power facilities during the 1980s, we must reach the stage of successful experimental models during the present decade.

There can be no doubt of this point. The relative depletion of natural resources and the need for massive increases in usable per capita energy throughputs for production and households are challenges which can be met only by CTR technology. CTR technology is the only general technological breakthrough in sight which can either provide adequate increases in energy throughputs and also a drastically new set of definitions of basic natural resources.

No competent scientist denies this on technological grounds. Those persons of reputation who propose delay to 1990 or later are all either agents of the Rockefeller interests or CIA-controlled Second International, or explain their doubts on grounds of what the "powers that be" are manifestly willing to fund. Nor is there any intrinsic reason we can not achieve successful experimental models by the end of this decade or even earlier. As we have noted, the rate of scientific progress

— within a range of approximately five years — is effectively determined by the number and quality of physicists and engineers employed in appropriate facilities.

However, it is not permissible for us to anticipate a shift from present technology to a CTR revolution on a broad scale of applications before the middle 1980s. Therefore, we require an interim development program covering the period of approximately from 1975 through 1985. During this period, development — including CTR development — must be based on the accelerated utilization of conventional resources. This must be a decade of rapid industrialization, in which we do not hesitate to exploit resources at the rates required — on the basis of anticipating the new industrial revolution to emerge from approximately 1985 onward.

Within this interim program, we require a short-term emergency effort at the start to provide an adequate level of nutrition for the world's population. Since it is impossible to radically alter basic farmers' skills during so short a time as a year, this emergency effort must emphasize those ingredients which radically improve the rates of output for the existing ranges of skills of farmers in each region. In short, cheap fertilizers, cheap irrigation, and cheap agricultural equipment.

The immediate task of providing 2,500 to 3,000 calorie levels of balanced nutrition as minima for the entire world population (in itself a major added consumption of energy) is obviously associated with the institution of the hygiene, medical, and educational programs we have reviewed above. This provides a stable world base for development. Further improvements in agricultural technology will increase the available nutritional levels, while also cheapening the cost of food by reductions in the proportion of the entire labor force required for agricultural output. This liberated portion of the agricultural labor force provides much of the basis for expanded industrial development.

Marginal Allocations

There is a definite and most meaningful notion of value of labor. This notion is the concept of **labor-power** in Marx's Capital III and Theories of Surplus Value. The increasing energy content of V is associated with a rise in the value of $S'/(C+V)$ as the effect of the production associated with that labor.

This value of V is not arbitrarily determined by the current levels of personal consumption of households, but represents the cultural development of the worker as expressed by his entire process of maturation from infancy. Suddenly awarding impoverished workers a \$15,000 level of 1967-1969 equivalent income will not suffice to transform them immediately into the qualities of cognitive potentials of skilled U.S. workers.

Given that, if the issue is as it is how to allocate a finite total mass of capital to new production for the maximum output of world wealth, there is a characteristic mass of capital optimally required per capita productive employee by any technology to achieve this result. Given fixed values per capita for F, C, for this new production, the maximal value for $S'/(C+V)$ will correspond to workers associated with a characteristic value for V.

Hence, the optimal increase in the world's available wealth for consumption demands concentration of new capital investments in those regions which presently represent the most skilled labor.

This can be violated only by designing production for

labor of a lower productive potential, in which the social productivity is less for the total mass of capital invested. The more labor-intensive the form of investment in production, the poorer the net result for the world as a whole.

Furthermore, the development program requires an emphasis on Department I production (capital goods) so that the ratio of Department I to Department II (consumer goods) is increased at an accelerating rate, at the same time that Department II expands absolutely in output. The most effective allocation of capital is required, emphasizing capital-intensive forms of production and giving emphasis to regions in which the quality of labor-power is relatively the highest.

Although thoughtless and impressionable individuals might tend to argue that such policies are not equitable for the southern hemisphere, exactly the opposite is the case.

Let us briefly consider the hypothetical case in which income-levels and development rates in the advanced sector are lowered in favor of an allegedly "more equitable" division of the world's wealth. Very soon, the average level of wealth throughout the world would decline. "You can't have your cake and eat it, too."

In particular, the experience of the U.S. and Germany during the 1930s illustrates the consequences of sustained reductions in rates of investment and real income in an industrialized economy. In the Nazi case, the assimilation and conquest of adjoining nations and World War II were directly the outcome of attempting to prevent primitive accumulation rates within Germany itself from continuing the already-manifest destructive effects of Schachtian labor policies. One of the important problems of the defense and war industrialization mobilization efforts in the U.S. from 1940 onwards was the deterioration in equipment and labor skills caused by the Great Depression. Any sharp cutbacks in real incomes of labor and investment rates in the advanced sector would be drastic reductions in the social productivity of that sector.

The exponential characteristics of the $S/(C+V)$ function show that the shift of required portions of workers' real income and industrial investment from the advanced to less advanced sectors must cause a significantly greater loss in the advanced sector than increase in output in the southern hemisphere. The net loss certainly would have to be in the order of tens of billions of dollars annually in total available world investable capital.

A related experience is the recent (1960s-1970s) use of immigrant labor from less-developed regions in the German Federal Republic. The short-term total increase in output is greater if we move unskilled and semi-skilled labor from the less developed to most advanced sectors than the reverse. The manner in which this beneficial effect can be achieved in the southern hemisphere is two-fold. First, there should be a significant rotating **temporary** assimilation of workers families from the less-developed sector within the advanced, in which they and their children are culturally developed to transmit industrial development to their home sectors upon their return for employment in new industries there. Secondly, urbanized industrial centers must be developed within the southern hemisphere to act, similarly, as a mediating basis for catalyzing progress in the surrounding territories.

The formula required is essentially as follows. Given the existing industrial populations (and potentially added skilled and semi-skilled labor) in the advanced sector, and given existing useful capital productive facilities, we must accelerate development of industry in that sector to



a maximum in terms of those parameters, generating the largest possible surplus for development of the underdeveloped regions. This general formula should be adjusted for only two primary offsetting considerations: (1) urban industrial regions in the southern hemisphere should be included in advanced sector programs, (2) the minimal base-line development of agriculture, hygienic, medical, educational, and special development project requirements must be met even short of saturation of development rates for the advanced sector.

The U.S. Example

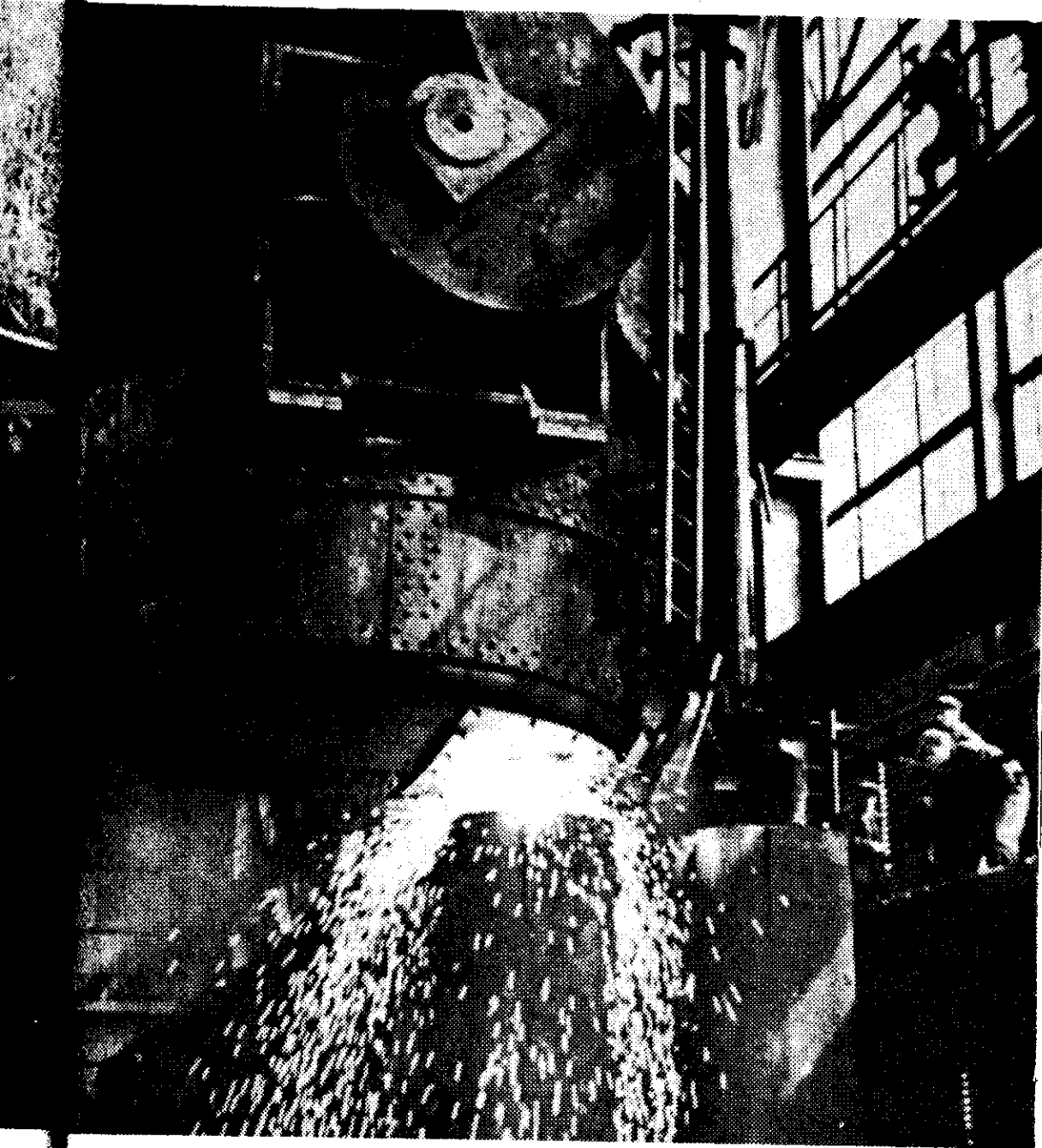
The model for general development of the advanced sector demands several properly obvious drastic measures for increasing the social productivity of the U.S. sector itself.

1. Eliminate (by rationalization) all wasteful forms of employment, beginning with salesmen, bureaucrats, and surplus clerical positions as a means for increasing the productively employed labor force. Somewhere between ten and twenty million productive workers of high skill potential can be added to the U.S. productive labor force by this means.

2. Eliminate redundancies and inefficiencies in transportation by development of the rail system, and the integration of warehousing and trucking with a **modern** rail freight transport system. (This takes advantage of the lowest dollar per ton-mile technologies, reduces redundant materials rehandling, and ends marginal employment in favor of expansion of the productive skilled labor force.)

This massive expenditure would represent a net

*Compare the following with the NCLC July, 1971, "Emergency Reconstruction Program" for the U.S. sector, *Strategy for Socialism*, Volume I, Campaigner Publications, Inc., New York, 1973. That program should be regarded as essentially up-to-date at this time.



economic gain over a relatively short period. Costs of utilities and services and drastically reduced maintenance requirements over poor and obsolete forms of construction and services are the most directly obvious benefits. Perhaps more intangible but ultimately more important is the effect of the provision of adequate forms of housing upon the cultural development of the population.

3. Emphasize urban population concentration at the expense of rural, suburban, and township forms. The social costs of providing equivalent social services, utilities, and so forth is intrinsically far cheaper in properly-developed cities than any other form. This would require pulling up entire obsolete sections of present cities by their proverbial roots, and would require new methods and forms of construction for both economy and for features of dwelling-place and so forth, compatible with working-class requirements of "life-style" and so forth.

4. Expanded educational programs, with proportionately heavy emphasis upon adult education. This should include generous provision of laboratory and workshop facilities both for direct educational work and as available resources for voluntary activities of individuals and groups. Such measures are relatively inexpensive compared to the resulting benefits. Obvious benefits include proliferation of the numbers of qualified scientists and engineers, a rapid increase in the quality and variety of potential productive skills, with addition of the sort of results reflected in the suggestion-boxes of industries.

One example of this sort of approach is given by the proposal that all public transportation must be free. Since people will be **required** to travel neither less nor more (in fact) without tolls, it is obviously cheaper to society to eliminate the wasteful costs of collecting and accounting for tolls. The same principle is readily applied to all

household consumptions of utilities, in which all basic utilities are provided up to a standard level without charges. With a minimum-maximum incomes standard, personal income taxes are a source of public corruption and a massive waste of clerical efforts. Since medical services are needed, why the need for bureaucratized payments procedures? Why elaborate insurance and pension premiums, benefits, and accounting procedures?

The so-called principle of "material incentives" is the apparent issue here. Provided that the minimum-maximum range of real income is provided to individuals and households, any further income is purely a matter of infantile power-grasping, a purely psychopathological requirement. The only useful role of individual accumulation of wealth under capitalism is the need for formation of the capital through which industries, stores, and so forth are created and developed for the general need. To the extent that society depends upon such individuals' capital accumulation, incomes above the requirements of a skilled worker or scientist serve a useful purpose, but only to that extent.

The idea that the motivation for work and so forth intrinsically depends upon material "incentives" is a fantastic, ultimately nonsensical conception. As the cases of suicide and battlefield sacrifices merely illustrate, the ultimate motivation of human beings is not material gain per se; the ultimate motivation, as the suicide or ideal war hero shows, is one's sense of identity within society.

The importance of material "incentives" in capitalist society arises from two interconnected special sources. First, a significant portion of the population is constantly threatened with real incomes below that required for their reproduction as culturally-developed productive members, such that a struggle for adequate material means of existence, and for accumulations of wealth beyond that — as insurance against catastrophes — is made into an urgent concern of most individuals. Second, more psychologically fundamental, the society associates relative social identity chiefly with the idea of relative wealth. This is accomplished in part through the fact that wealth is social power, that the degree of wealth directly or indirectly commanded by the individual is social power, and that power to command others is interpreted as a quality of social importance, i.e. identity.

More fundamentally, what constitutes an efficient motivation for individual social behavior is determined by the way in which the individual locates his relative identity within society. The most fundamental incentive is, broadly speaking, **esteem**. As society esteems the individual, so the individual will approximately esteem himself. That esteem is the outward expression of the Superego that immediately regulates the relatively same individual's behavior.

However, it is clear that setting such a standard is not sufficiently effective by itself. To the extent that the individual in society is induced to cling to parochialist self-conceptions, such inducement represents a kind of controlled environment pressing him back toward relatively infantile world-outlooks and value-judgments. In such relatively paranoid forms of individual mental life, the power of the individual, his family, and immediate group against society remains of compelling immediate concern to him. To the extent that individuals are thus paranoid (preoccupied primarily with family, nationality, regional gain), even in a workers' society, the phenomenon of individual greed will be manifest.

Thus, the feasibility of eliminating the gross inefficiencies of material incentives (e.g., toll-gates) is limited

by the extent to which we remove the two principal causes for paranoia characteristic of capitalist culture. The establishment of minima-maxima of real income and social services as individual rights eliminates the "competitive struggle for existence" from individual life. More broadly, it is to the extent that we eliminate infantile tendencies, by developing the Superego of the members of society, that the familiar old crap of paranoia and greed are extirpated.

On this account, the special approach taken by the Labor Committees shows itself to be decisively superior to that adopted by any socialist mass leadership before this time. The emphasis we make on activating the higher cognitive powers of workers in connection with economic program and scientific fundamentals provides the mass movement with the only effective instrument for overcoming the old paranoid crap with which workers' life is infected under capitalism. To the extent that membership in the workers' political movement organizations is associated with the individual's use of his higher mental potentialities, we are able to develop extraordinary combative capabilities for the present and the abandonment of most capitalist-type "material incentives" under workers' government.

On that assumption, the types of economic rationalizations we have indicated combined with a conversion of military capacities to useful roles means a short-term fifty percent increase in the numbers of usefully employed productive workers in the U.S., a massive overhead cost reduction in administration, and an early doubling of the total useful output of the U.S. sector. In fact, the U.S. sector's output of wealth should grow at approximately the rate of 25 per cent per year! — with the bulk of this increased output being exported as the basis in net effect for rapid development of the southern hemisphere. Development sums in the order of \$100 to \$200 billions a year for this purpose are not wishful projections.

Concrete Programs

As we indicated in the second section of this draft, our heuristic approach to the problem of relativity developed out of economic-theoretical analysis. The confirmation of our preliminary conclusions from economics in the larger domain of ecological studies, and subsequent work in connection with creative mental processes, provided the basis for extending the concepts to the general form we identified.

The problem of geometry arises implicitly in modern mathematical economics in connection with the problems or conceptualizing the optimization of non-linear models of economies. This effort ultimately runs into the intrinsic paranoid crap with which workers' life is infected under capitalism. To the extent that membership in the workers' political movement organizations is associated lack of appropriateness of affine approaches for reasons we have indicated. Nonetheless that approach is a provocative and useful source of illustrations.

In the most general case, each individual product produced has for each specific alternative mode of consumption an implicit effect upon the value of the negentropic function for the society as a whole. That is, the consumption of that product in the form of C or V causes an implied increase in the value of the expression $S'/(C+V)$ for the succeeding epoch of production. At the same time, the

production of the product consumes a portion of $C + V$ which might have been alternatively employed. The alternative consumptions (each implicitly involving a different effect upon the subsequent value of $S'/(C+V)$) and the similarly alternative values for different products which might have been produced instead represent the general notion of the value of the specific product.

The point is made more immediately for classes of products which represent a qualitative advance in general technology. These classes represent changes in the geometry (independent variables) of the mathematical economic model. Provided that the model used is the world economy in terms of functions of $S'/(C+V)$, we have the appropriate preliminary illustration we require.

Looking at this same illustration from the axiomatic standpoint of negentropic continuity, the particular variable of the function has only a mediating existence in respect to the increase in the value of the characteristic or trans-invariant. However, the point of this is that the increased negentropy is not axiomatically a matter of an algebraic quantity in the ordinary sense, but the algebraic magnitude is a disguised expression for the altered internal geometry of the system as a whole.*

We are confronting here the specific problem which terrified G.W.F. Hegel back into an incomplete, hence idealistic misrepresentation of negentropy. The geometry of our universe is characterized by a fundamental quality of purely continuous extension analogous to exponential functions of $S'/(C+V)$ — rather than simple linear extension. This requires that extension involves a self-expansion in the internal geometrical qualities of space. These extensions are mediated through determined "singularities" which ostensibly act as the bridge from one geometry to the next. The point of existence of the singularity is a distinct particular. This is precisely what occurs in empirical overview of economic development, the differentiation of species and varieties within ecologies, and the synthesis of new conceptions by the human creative mental processes. Since these principles are empirically demonstrated in such ways, they are the necessarily appropriate conceptualization of the fundamental principles of our universe.

Consequently, the actualization of the most general (universal) advancement always occurs through the concrete innovation. For example, although abstract economics specifies rigorously the urgent general nature of the feasible solution to human existence's problems of today, the realization of that solution does not exist as a "linear" abstraction, but occurs in connection with the concrete tasks of developing CTR technology. The same applies to the determined need for a general interim program, and the subsumed emergency measures for developing adequate basic nutrition.

This poses the issue of ordering. Each person who has reflected upon his or her actual achievements in insight has been compelled to confront this problem. This often arises as a new challenge to insight is being confronted. The individual asks, "How did I manage to solve earlier problems for insight? Where did I find the efficient point at which to begin?" Knowing that the problem of developing an economy requires concrete actualizations, how does one proceed to enumerate the specific tasks that implies? Does one grasp at random at various possibil-

*If we seem to be insisting that characteristic algebraic values — e.g., fundamental constants — of universals are projective reflections of characteristic geometrical features of a pure negentropic continuum, we may be properly blamed for such an interpretation of our account.

ities? How does one know that such random choices have not overlooked some concrete tasks far more fundamental? What, then, is the point of attack from which the discovery of concrete solutions can be referenced?

The fundamental concrete fact of economy (and human ecology) is the single creative individual. This individual represents what Hegel appropriately describes as a **concrete universal**. The creative discovery of a new principle or application of such a principle by a single individual implicitly increases the value of $S'/(C+V)$ for the entire society in two interconnected senses. First, insofar as his own explicit utilization of that discovery improves his practical contributions, this is a relatively infinitesimal contribution to the value of the function. More important, to the extent this discovery represents a generally applicable improvement in some sense, it represents a quality of advancement in the value of the function. It is in this second sense that we ordinarily speak of concrete universals. This establishes the nature of the desired reference-point for ordering knowledge.

This point is the kernel of Karl Marx's method and economic theory. For example, most directly relevant is the famous passage from Capital III:

The actual wealth of society, and the possibility of a continual expansion of its process of reproduction, do not depend upon the duration of the surplus labor, but upon its productivity and upon the more or less fertile conditions of production, under which it is performed. In fact, the realm of freedom does not commence until the point is passed where labor under the compulsion of necessity and of external utility is required. In the very nature of things it lies beyond the sphere of material production in the strict meaning of the term. Just as the savage must wrestle with nature, in order

to satisfy his wants, in order to maintain his life and reproduce it, so civilized man has to do it, and he must do it in all forms of society and under all possible modes of production. With his development the realm of natural necessity expands, because his wants increase; but at the same time the forces of production increase, by which these wants are satisfied. The freedom in this field cannot consist of anything else but of the fact that socialized man, the associated producers, regulate their interchange with nature rationally, bring it under their common control, instead of being ruled by it as by some blind power; that they accomplish their task with the least expenditure of energy and under conditions most adequate to their human nature and most worthy of it. But it always remains a realm of necessity. Beyond it begins **that development of human power, which is its own end, the true realm of freedom, which, however, can flourish only upon the realm of necessity as its basis.** The shortening of the working day is its fundamental premise. (Kerr, Chicago, 1909, pp. 954-955, emphasis added)

The most important exposition Marx elsewhere affords on this point (excepting the so-called early works) is found in Theories of Surplus Value III (Moscow, 1971), "Opposition to the Economists," pp. 263-313. The importance — as well as the profound validity — of Marx's fundamental conceptions could not be appreciated except from the standpoint we have developed to that effect. The following passages from that section have the most direct application to our working point here:

The objective conditions of labour do not face the worker, as in the primitive stages, as mere natural objects... but as natural objects already transformed by human activity. ... All these things serve in the real labour process because of the relationship which



Drawing for the Adoration, 1481. To Leonardo da Vinci, art without science was inconceivable. Perspective is important in both the history of painting and geometry. The now familiar process of central projection and section was an initial step in conceptualizing the idea of space.

exists between them as **use-values** . . . and the labour which sets them in motion. Their productivity in the real labour process, or rather the productivity of the labour materialized in them, is due to their nature as objective conditions of real labour . . . It is true that the particular social form of these things in relation to labour and their real determinateness as factors of the labour process are as confused and inseparably interwoven with one another in the minds of the economists as they are in the mind of the capitalist. Nevertheless, as soon as they analyse the labour process, they are compelled to abandon the term capital completely and to speak of **material of labour, means of labour, and means of subsistence**. But the determinate form of the product as material, instrument and means of subsistence of the workers expresses nothing but the relationship of these **objective** conditions to labour; labour itself appears as the activity which dominates them. It says, however, nothing at all about (the relationship of) labour and capital, only about the relationship of the purposeful activity of men to their own products in the process of reproduction. They neither cease to be products of labour nor mere objects which are at the disposal of labour. They merely express the relationship in which labour appropriates the objective world which it has created itself, at any rate in this form; but they do not express **any other denomination of these things over labour**, apart from the fact that activity must be appropriate to the material, otherwise it would not be purposeful activity, labour. (pp. 264-265)

One can only speak of the **productivity** of capital if one regards it as the embodiment of definite social relations of production. (p. 265)

Since the economists identify past labour with **capital** . . . it is understandable that they, the Pindars of capital, emphasize the **objective** elements of production and overestimate their importance as against the **subjective** element, living, immediate labour. (p. 275)

The immediate quality of human existence as a concrete universal stands absolutely in opposition to the pathetic misconception of the individual as an axiomatically self-evident biological individual. The essential quality of **human** existence as characteristically human is the creative development of technology. That characteristic creative moment while universal is always also concrete; inventions are discoveries of concrete individuals, and their realization as social practice is always an activity of other concrete individuals. **The determinant of human progress, and hence of continued human existence, is the progressive development of those increased creative powers of innovation and assimilation in each concrete individual.** The significance, practical premise, and realization of those individual powers is uniquely situated in the increased reproductive characteristic of the universal, the entire society. The conception we are emphasizing may appear to be difficult. On the one side the universal depends for its existence upon the means represented by the creative mental powers of the concrete individual, and yet the value and source of those powers in the individual is uniquely determined by the social process in its universality. The apparent abstractness and sophistication of such a conception is no defect in the formulation, but merely reflects the psychopathological impediments to consequently grasping it immediately in the individual who regards it as somehow ineffable, impractical.

To restate the point: the value of the individual in all respects is uniquely determined by the significance of his active existence for increases in the value of the char-

acteristic function of $S'/(C+V)$. This function can be determined only for society as a whole, as a universality. The apparent difficulty arises from the effort to construct a formula in which predetermined values can be inserted to function as "independent variables." In this present case we have an expression in which all individuals do enter into determining the value of the characteristic neg-entropic function for the entire society. To that extent, they seem to belong to a formula in which the pre-counted particular values of constant and variable capital (for example) determine a derived value for the dependent variable, in this case, $S'/(C+V)$. Yet, in fact, it is the increase in the value of the apparent dependent magnitude, $S'/(C+V)$, which determines reciprocally the "original" value of each counted element of the independent variables.

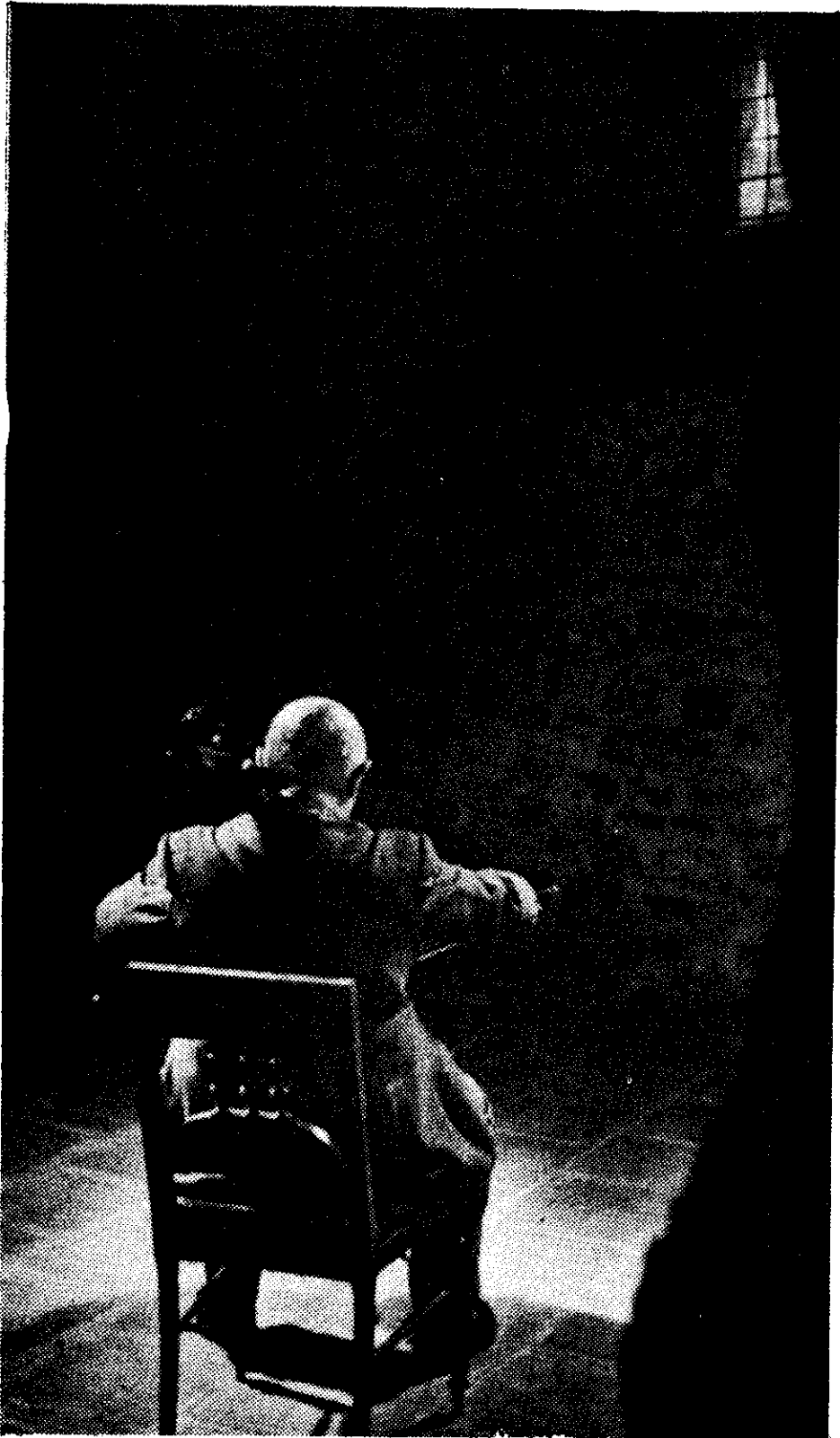
This is a case of what some mathematicians and logicians term with hysterical horror a "self-reflexive function." "Eureka," they shriek in terror, "such functions cannot — and must not! — exist in our universe!" Yet, as we have shown, they do exist; they are the characteristic functions for social reproduction and necessarily also characteristic of the fundamental properties of our universe as a whole.

The initial reference-point of ordering we require is the development of the creative mental powers of the individual considered as a concrete universal. This is not undifferentiated creative potentiality, but is creative power in respect to an internal mental reflection of the internal geometry of social-productive processes as a whole, an internal geometry mediately expressed as technology. The individual must have assimilated the reflected internal geometry of his society into his mental processes' development (true education), and must have the capacity to elaborate conceptual models of a further elaboration of that geometry as his characteristic creative impulsion.

This presupposes, as we have emphasized, a sensuous experience of objects and social activities associated with them in a way which exemplifies the abstractable features of social-reproductive technology. This bears upon the direct role of personal consumption and education in developing mental powers.

It requires a determinable bias in the changed circumstances of individual social activity as the concomitant of social progress. There must be increasing portions of the life of the individual devoted to extended concentration-span in problem-solving generally, and an emphasis in productive activities on higher cognitive processes at the expense of fixed simple procedures — habits, routine.

We also know — as we have shown in the "new psycho-analysis" series — that so-called artistic cultural activities as exemplified by the great late Renaissance painters and the leading classical musicians is more or less essential to the development of the creative mental potentialities. An individual immersed in noise or Rock will suffer a marked deterioration in higher cognitive capacities, whereas the same person sensitively immersed in Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, et al., will tend to show enriched cognitive powers. The characteristic feature of all great art is that it expresses the artist's elaboration of the creative process in respect of the medium in which he is working. In music, the development of counterpoint out of the lower form of modes, reaching a highest point of general advance within certain later works of Beethoven, expresses a cognitive activity respecting the cathexized



Even in isolation, the artist gains his power in concentrating on an internalized audience whose minds are opened by his music to the creative process.

forms of the internal geometry of enriched social relations in respect to the creative element.*

Scientific Research

The problem of scientific development in the setting of mathematical physics is a useful point of reference.

The most wretched fallacy which might be introduced into creative scientific work is the notion that platoons of scientists working according to predetermined specific objectives are the "most efficient" mode for progress. In

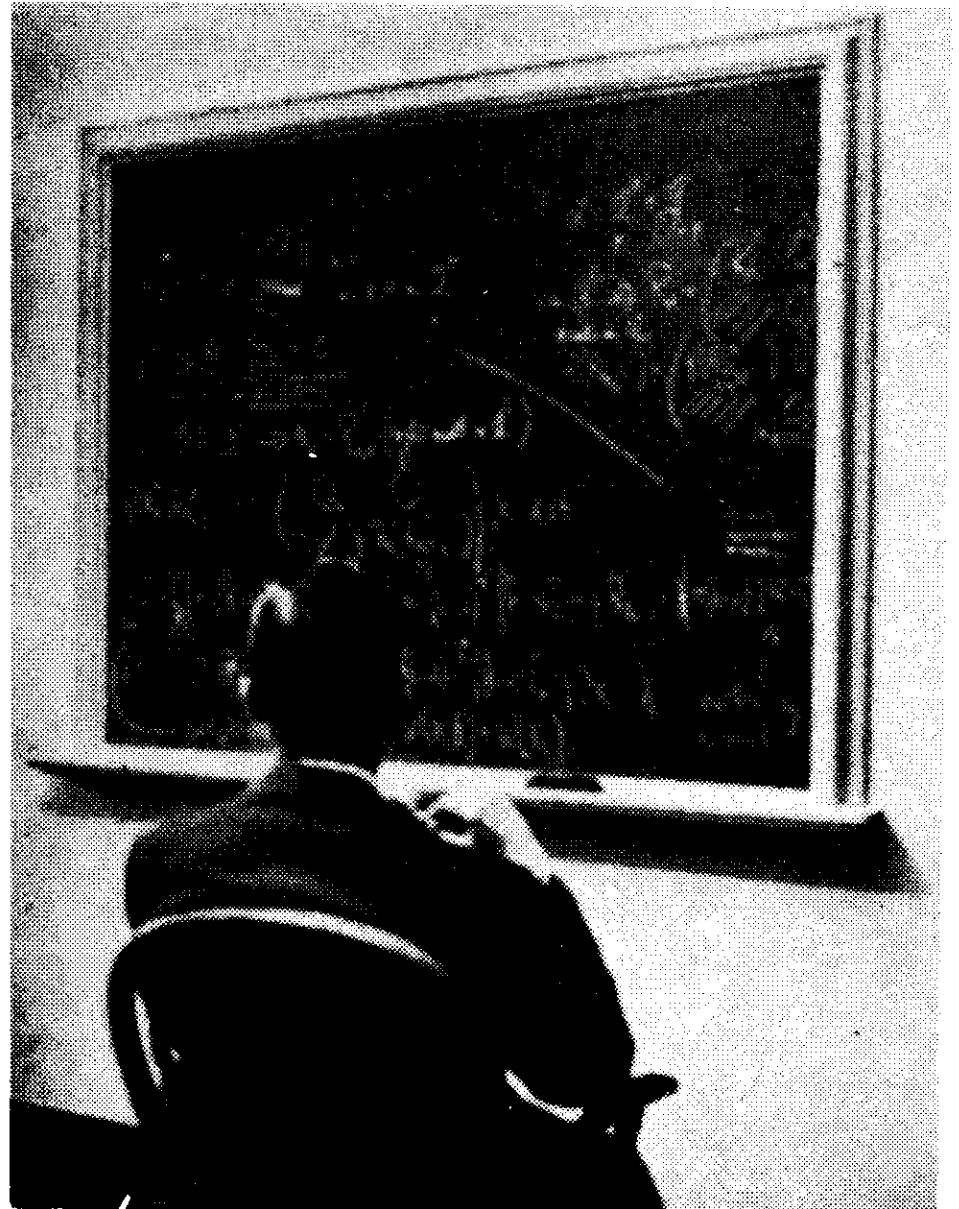
*This warrants some reemphasis on a qualification. The root of counter-point is singing, which in turn expresses in a concentrated way the prosodic aspects of speech. Once the composer loses his moorings, which ought to be the human chorus, and falls into alienated notions of instrumental musical possibilities, he has broken with the concentrated expression of the human fugue which is the genius of that music which reinforces the creative impulses within individuals. There is a broad connection between the rise of "serial-composed music" and fascistic potentialities among the ruling and petit-bourgeois strata which represented the principal immediate audience and peer group for such degenerated musicians. This is not to demand that the forms of music be fixed at the levels of development of the 1790-1848 period. Music requires development, and new freedoms as expressed by creative advances are inevitably a necessary part of that.

fact, such procedures or bureaucratic measures to similar effect, are the most certain means for minimizing the gains of progress so undertaken.

The process of conceptualization by which new scientific achievements are generated is an individual activity. Not only must the thinker be afforded the opportunity to think without interruptions or other interference for protracted periods, but he must have means for "toying with" experimental approaches as certain features of his individualized creative activities demand. (Demand that he delay this until his duly-elaborated proposal has been approved, and the progress of fundamental scientific work virtually ends until such a silly bureaucratic control practice ceases). To all immediate practical intents, the processes of creativity are contained within the person of the thinker and cannot be reduced to an externalizable "division of supervised labor" form without destroying their integrity.

This is not the complete picture. To the extent that self-consciousness is developed in creative personalities, there is a fruitful increase in the degree of communicability between the creative aspects of the mental processes of all involved. This is not a dissolution of several creative intellects into one larger mass, but represents a more frequent intersection — through which the partial progress of one collaborator stimulates new directions of mental activities among the others.

The particular creative discovery is, in every case, the private impassioned agony of the individual working in some degree of isolation. The activity of synthesis which every relatively negentropic Gestalt represents is uniquely coextensive with the individual's cognitive processes, which cannot be directly merged in their



The creative mathematician discovers those universals which are the invariants for new orders of the universe.

primary form with the similar processes of other individuals. "Interruption" and "distraction" are terms which traditionally express the destructive effects of intrusion into the necessary privacy of the creative process.

The creative individual's effort in any new undertaking begins with tugs at a few elusive clues of incommunicable prescience. The thinker seldom begins with any better assurance of a definite kind of success than the certainty that the effort will be fruitful if pursued long enough with sufficient intensity of concentration. Creative discovery is in this sense a process of exploration of unknown territory, for which a sense of direction, broad training and resourcefulness are the essential prerequisites. At the beginning, there can be no maps in existence of that which is to be explored, nor can one establish any meaningful schedules concerning one's intended arrival at definite new discoveries in particular.

During the ensuing process, the thinker's initial partial successes do not appear as definite solutions to a pre-established problem, but only as new ways of considering a problem, or the importance of a certain detour, or a new overview of the entire nature of the problem to be solved, or solutions to problems which had not been considered relevant to the original undertaking, and so on. In between each moment of articulable progress in this experience, the ongoing process assumes forms which are indispensable to accomplishment, but are not susceptible of direct social expression.

Although creative work is uniquely individual in those respects, it is the most social of all activities. The development of the mental processes in preparation for creative work is entirely social. Not only are the actions impinging upon the individual's development social, but the content of this influence reflects the internal geometry of society. In fact, it is to the extent that the individual apprehends his experience in just such terms that he is orienting the results of his experience for fruitful creative efforts. Similarly, the definition of problems requiring solution is determined by social criteria, as social criteria on the broadest scale of reference determine which hypotheses represent probable insight-solutions to these problems.

The distinctive outlook of the creative thinker is associated with the extent of its scope of reference in respect to the much greater breadth of its current relevance and its historical setting. The conceptions and principles of scientific work are the accumulated accomplishment of approximately six centuries of European progress since the early period of the Renaissance. They have been evolved under the impact of changes in technology as such and changes in the social relations through which technology is realized. The characteristic interchangeable terms of creative effort are "universal," "fundamental," and "revolutionary."

The approach of creative thought is outward-searching from narrow experience into the broadest realm of human practice and knowledge. The presumption upon which creative work is initiated is reasonable certainty that nowhere can the searcher secure disclosure of an existing solution to the kind of problem he is considering. It is the virtual certainty that the solution does not exist to be copied from anywhere within his reach that prompts the individual to turn away from searching for ready-made solutions into creative synthesis. This deliberation presupposes that the thinker approaches his effort from the standpoint of broad research.

This connection is exemplified by the significance of the heuristic method in connection with many discoveries.

The more ordinary sort of discovery in any field occurs as the outcome of the effort to introduce the form of a discovery earlier made in some other field. The heuristic method, the most rudimentary form of creative thinking, directly addresses the presumption that the underlying internal geometry of the universe is coherent for all fields, and that reality is located in that domain rather than in the empiricistic constructions premised on narrow "practical" experience with restricted sets of phenomena. The success of this heuristic method already strongly implies the nature of the creative process more generally: that creative synthesis is premised on the digestion of masses of particular experience in terms of an implicit internal geometry coherent for all experience. In other words, the basis for creative problem-solving is the assimilation of particular experience in its universal form, as an expression of the internal geometry of the universe of all human experience.

Every creative individual undertaking is an experience of growth of the personal character and mental powers. In the process of producing a new discovery, or even replicating the experience of creative insight shown in the accomplishments of others, the mind of the individual grows. The individual acquires new intellectual powers and usually an accompanying maturation of his moral character (Superego).

This is the most important positive aspect of education. Credulous persons falsely imagine that education is a process of learning facts and procedures, a process of habituation of the mind to those conditioned responses. There are, unfortunately, too many university graduates (among others) whose professed knowledge does not progress much above such mere idiot-conditioning. The capacity of the notorious idiot-savant to retain facts and fixed procedural responses is exemplary of the distinction to be made. Real education occurs in the student's search for the "why" of the reported facts and procedures set before him in the textbook and classroom. "How and why did the persons contributing this knowledge reach such a conclusion?" The student is challenged to reconstruct the problem approximately as it was confronted by the discoverers, and to attempt to replicate through his own higher cognitive processes the kind of creative insight which the earlier discoverers achieved. It is that experience of creative insight in an ordered, historical way (but from a modern standpoint) which represents the real advantage of a good education.

Unfortunately, most institutionalized education is not only poor, but frequently downright destructive of the individual's cognitive potentials. Any fact or procedure which is accepted "on faith" in the authority of the instructors and institutions represents something other than real knowledge. It is sane to respect the judgments of qualified professionals; it would be insane to let the patient die while the patient's family made themselves competent medical professionals as a precondition for accepting the physician's advice on treatment. However, in such, and analogous circumstances, the individuals who accept a fact or procedure on the basis of authority are not proceeding from any knowledge but that of reasonable confidence in the professional's general competence. The sort of educational process which produces higher cognitive powers in a professional field can not imitate the relationship between patient and physician. "This is a fact because the textbook says so," or "This procedure is accepted by leading authorities in this field" is not only incompetent pedagogy, incompetent education, but repre-



Rockefeller's menial slave labor deliberately destroys creative potential of human intellect.

sents an effort to destroy the creative potential of the students.

It is not accidental that Einstein was reportedly a poor student by ordinary academic standards. Poor students in general are not creative intellects, but the best creative intellects must tend frequently to be poor students by prevailing academic standards. This irony reflects the distinction of the creative intellect, that it saves itself from destruction by refusing to accept as fact or knowledge anything which is not comprehensible from the standpoint of its own higher cognitive processes. The creative intellect angrily refuses to submit to arbitrary intellectual authority, rejects the belief in the axiomatic authority of prevailing opinion.

Creative activity is not something which may be "added to" the individual's otherwise ordinary sort of experience and achievements. Creative achievement is the product of individuals who are characteristically creative personalities. This presumes that much of their life, from childhood, has emphasized the kind of assimilation of knowledge appropriate to the hegemony of the higher cognitive processes. This process is generally identical with the social development of the intellectual and moral character of the individual, the hegemony of the higher functions of the Superego. The individual who is merely a learner most of the hours of his life cannot suddenly switch into effective creative work; the scientist who permits himself to be banalized by bureaucratic authority in the universality or laboratory rapidly loses the capacity for creative achievement and also loses the intellectual and moral character distinctions of the creative personality.

The wretched philistine, who rejects scientific overview with such arguments as "That's only a theory; let's be practical," is reflecting his own infantile banality. He

clings to naive faith in a fixed order of things, of "generally accepted facts" and "prevailing opinion" concerning procedures, in which respect his morality resembles that of a beast more than a human being. He is reflecting the misery of his own lack of opportunity for intellectual and moral character development. He seeks simple, fixed objects to suck and fondle, like an infant squirming in search of its mother's breast. Only those familiar objects which are placed within reach of his infant's crib and playpen by authority are real for him.

We know this problem from the standpoint of even ordinary childhood play. There are two ways in which an intellectually and emotionally stultified child exhibits the destruction of his mental powers. He is either the child who soon destroys a new toy or throws it away in boredom, demanding another, or he plays monotonously with the same toys in a fixed way without effort to innovate new uses of those objects.

The mentally healthy child is a terrible nuisance to the parents who mistakenly insist that he clean up his room each day before retiring. The happy, mentally healthy child is characterized during early experiments with block play by prolonged attention-span, attempting to pile one more block on the pile than another child of short attention-span. As his development proceeds, he or she develops massive projects which could fill up entire households, cellars, and backyards, and which proceed over days or longer. From one day to the next, the child is preoccupied by this same project, until one day — for reasons which might seem mysterious to the casual observer — he drops the affair, and develops a different interest, soon engaged in some new vast project. If we observe the mentally healthy child closely enough, we see in the internal features of his play all the rudiments of

scientific investigation. It is a beautiful thing to observe.

We know, generally, that it is the encouragement of such concentrated attention in play and related activities which tends to produce the child of relatively superior intellectual moral potentials.

The child who shows either a short attention-span or conducts repetitive play in a monotonous almost-unchanging ritual ("No, you must always do it this way!" he protests to the child who wishes to vary the play) is developing severe intellectual and moral difficulties for later life.

Most of us should be able to recall from childhood the delight we experienced in discovering something new about familiar objects, especially when we ourselves had achieved this experience as a result of our prolonged efforts to discover how to make the old objects work in a new way. This enrichment occurred through posing the implied question, "Why?" or "Why not?" as the form of the problem on which our attention focussed.

Nothing important is achieved without a developed capacity for great concentration-span. Outdoor recreational activity which most closely suggests this sort of mental life is typified by mountain-climbing, long canoe treks — especially if rapids are involved — and similar activities in which success or failure depends upon the determination not to give up. (Ordinary competitive sports are comparatively infantile by such standards except as the training process may represent a challenge to sustained efforts.) Morally poorer qualities of effort are premised on short spurts of appropriate predetermined procedures, after which the objective is gained as a reward for appropriate procedure. Creative work and morally related activities demand not only sustained efforts with no certainty of the exact duration of effort or nature of the objective reached, but rather by the anticipation that the kind of personal resources soon to be demanded of one have not yet been experienced.

There is nothing strained in such comparisons. The tragic case in creative work is the gifted individual who has often reached the verge of an important discovery, but whose concentration subsided or who choked up at the point of the next, decisive plunge into the heart of the matter. Precisely at the point that there must be an unleashing of greater energies and daring than ever before in order to achieve the goal, the individual withdraws, usually proceeding at a diminished level of mental activity — relatively "coasting" — in some new direction of thought and effort.

The process of discovery by the developing creative person occurs as the accumulation of the internal geometry of experience and associated specific knowledge piece by piece. The famous case of Johannes Kepler is exemplary: No one who has enjoyed impassioned creative work can be unsympathetic to Kepler, nor fail to understand the validity of the prolonged process of self-development by which he proceeded from earlier hypothesis.

This quality of activity is not suddenly adopted at whim. An individual conditioned all his life to an essentially banalized world-outlook can not suddenly decide to take several weeks or months off for creative work and thus achieve significant insights at first attempt. The habits of concentration must be developed over a number of years. Furthermore, concentration by itself is not a complete solution. The work demands a ground in polymathic appetites for experiencing new kinds of knowledge, especially the "Why?" of knowledge, from early

childhood onwards. The assimilation of a broad grounding in knowledge, together with the development of scientific ego-ideals (relevant to the distinctions between wild innovations and actual discoveries) is an essential precondition for mature creative activities.

Although it is impossible to combine the higher cognitive process of several individuals into a collective mind, individuals engaged in related areas of creative work are capable of establishing a quality of communication among themselves which the ordinary bureaucrat could never comprehend. It may not be possible to directly fuse the cognitive processes of several individuals, but one creative intellect can communicate to another in special ways. In effect, one creative intellect can provoke the replication of his own experience in the higher cognitive processes of others. This potentially is the basis for close collaboration in research, and is so essential to scientific progress that without such exchanges scientific progress generally would tend to stagnate.

There cannot be a serious exchange among creative personalities without a probably ensuing acceleration of the accomplishments of each participant. The first reporter identifies the problem he considered, stating the experience by which he reached certain observations, and how he proceeded further to an hypothesis (solution-insight), with certain experimental results. To the others present, the report may stimulate a replication of the reporters' cognitive experience in each of their minds.

The result is not a simple imitation of the reporter's cognitive experience. The other persons present embody different bases in experience, different specific qualities of their cognitive processes. Hence, the solution-insight they otherwise replicate has features unlike those included in the reporter's judgement. The mutual exchange of various such replications among the participants must tend to produce an enriched conception of the reported hypothesis and experiment. The exchange of several such reports must result in a session in which all emerge considerably enriched, each inspired in some way to launch investigations he would not have considered without the exchange.

Unfortunately, many professional sessions fail to produce reports of such stimulating quality. That is not the point at issue here. The point is that these social processes, the sharing of the results of higher cognitive activities represents a concentrated addition of increased (developed) cognitive powers of each participant to all the others. The proper development of scientific teams for specific kinds of research is properly premised on that principle. The cooperation of a number of creative individuals whose different specific backgrounds and skills represent a uniquely fruitful "chemistry" of cognitive functions for that chore is the essential condition for the most fruitful experimental work.

The same principle applies to the importance of certain individuals as seminal influences among fairly large populations of collaborators and students. The poorly informed observer mistakenly imagines that the scientific luminary dominates his associates by his personal contributions to hypothesis. That is perhaps a frequent aspect of the matter, but only an aspect. More fundamentally, the gifted seminal influence is the individual who can not only readily replicate the half-finished creative achievements of his collaborators within his own mind, but can recast the conclusions in the form appropriate to broader applications. His influence centers

less in his specific accomplishments as an individual — although those must be usually important enough in themselves — than in his performance in contributing to the collective enrichment of the cognitive habits of those with whom he is closely associated.

There are two principal duties which fall upon us in consequence of these observations concerning creative individuals. Most narrowly considered, such information guides us in the task of fostering the urgent scientific development we require over the decade and a half immediately ahead. More broadly, and more profoundly, our concern for the creative personality is by no means limited to the case of the scientists as such. Workers generally already have varying degrees of potential as creative thinkers, which we must learn to enrich and employ. At the same time, as socialist planning must center upon all individuals as expressions of the concrete universal, we must shape our entire program around the objective of maximizing the development of the creative potentials of every human being.

Long-Term Policies

As society develops, the value of the social function, $S'/(C+V)$, must tend to increase so that V — as we presently define it — becomes extremely small. At the same time, the administrative and professional category, d , the “capitalists’ consumption” social category of capitalism, will tend to grow only at a slower rate than S' . In general, narrowing to the social sub-category we would presently identify as scientists and engineers, this sub-category will grow in approximate proportion to the increase in the rate of growth of “Fixed Capital” expenditures.

Meanwhile, a capital-intensive increase in the social productivity of productive labor will place increasing emphasis upon the higher cognitive potentials of workers accompanied by a de-emphasis upon both “muscle power” and vanishing of the repetitive-procedure content of skills. In sum, the quality of productive labor must converge upon that of the engineer and scientist, respectively.

As technology advances, we can shortly reach the point at which all repetitive aspects of the production of means of human consumption will be produced by “machine” process without direct production as we presently know repetitive productive labor. The form of labor will shift from the fixed place of production to the maintenance and retooling of the automatic production of consumable products.

This development will not converge upon the elimination of labor from production. Exactly the contrary. What will be eliminated is the need for repetitive forms of productive labor. What will be vastly increased is the need for rapid evolution of productive technology, such that the amount of the population required for maintenance, retooling, and development of new productive technologies will obviously far exceed the number of productive workers required. The quality of labor must shift more or less absolutely from realizing the fixed mode of existing productive technology to the labor of developing technology. **What we presently term science and engineering will become the social category of productive labor.**

Although that qualitative change may be relatively distant from the standpoint of the immediate problems before us, there are several counts on which we must

presently consider such more distant developments in respect to the policy-design of present programs. Two points are sufficient here. It is desirable, in the development of housing and related services, to anticipate insofar as possible the necessary “life styles” twenty or more years ahead. Although we can not set such future criteria forth in detail, we must build into our housing and related urban services designs sufficient flexibility for obvious kinds of adaptations to be made to modernize those investments at some future time within the forward lifespan of the constructions made. More fundamental, although the day when all labor becomes science may be distant, the time that we must begin to move in that direction is now.

There are certain facts presently known concerning the individual, nuclear family, and society which will maintain their fundamental importance for at least a half-century ahead. We know, on the basis of the fundamental principles of psychoanalytical work, that mental health demands retention of the nuclear family form of household as the condition for production of healthy new individuals. We know that close association with large numbers of other persons is the precondition most favorable to the mental development of the individual. We also know that the individual’s mental development demands opportunities for protracted periods of privacy and workshop facilities as a feature of the needs for the private self-developmental activities of the individual and voluntary-association group.

We also know that family groups above a certain number of children are not desirable from the standpoint of the increased adult care required by individual children for modern and emerging technology.

Hence, we know that a modern form of the city is the basic form which should predominate for approximately a half-century to come (and beyond). We know implicitly the spatial, sound-proofing, and related requirements which must be built into the dwelling units for the nuclear family household. We know, similarly, that the movement of a certain population freely from one locale to another requires certain spatial allocations for transit facilities. We have within reach the reliable predetermination of parameters of needed space allocations for schools, libraries, distribution services, and so forth.

Provided this approach is taken, rather than cost-benefit approaches to narrowly-defined objectives, we can plan the reconstruction of cities and construction of new cities with reasonable consequent minimization of maintenance and modernization costs in the future. We can thus attend to creating the immediate living environment appropriate to developing the population as a mass of creative persons.

Respecting the cognitive development of the individual, we are obliged to proceed from the following guiding principles:

1. A policy of reduction of the number of hours of labor during the life-time, including a shortening of the working-day as such.
2. A constant shift away from labor-intensive and repetitive modes of productive labor toward capital-intensive modes which place increasing emphasis upon maintenance, retooling and development tasks for a reduction of the repetitive-skill component.
3. A definition of personal consumption which emphasizes efficiency in the household, etc., and enrichment of the individual’s experience of the range of



Giovanni Pico, Count of
Mirandola (1463-1494)

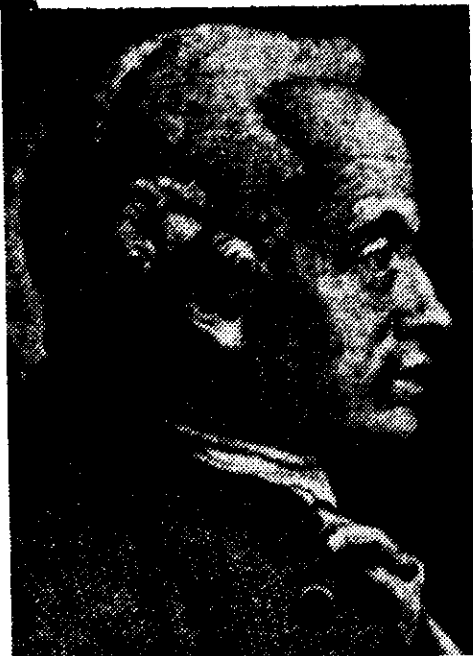


Marsilio Ficino (1433-
1499)



Rene Descartes

Immanuel Kant



technology in conjunction with education and employment experience.

4. An end to the artificial distinction between science and art. All great art is characterized by the celebration of the higher cognitive functions through genuine expression of creativity, as is best typified by the late 15th century-early 16th century revolution in painting, and the evolution of counterpoint from the late Renaissance through Beethoven in music. All great art distinguishes itself as such from the standpoint of reference of a psychoanalytical setting of the problem of creativity, provided we recognize also that the subject-matter of art is always altered internal geometry of "technological development" expressed in the form of social relations. The clearest expression of paranoid-schizophrenic, anti-humanist tendencies in the arts generally is expressed preciosity toward "folk art" and "minor arts" and "art for art's sake" in the major arts. Art is properly the expression and celebration of the same creative powers otherwise expressed in individual scientific discovery.

5. Recognition that the expression of man's mastery of nature is reflected in the form of an exponential increase in the per capita energy throughput of production and household consumption.

The concrete programmatic steps which satisfy those policies respecting the development of the individual's cognitive powers and means for realization of those powers are the program for socialist development. These elements of program are, in the short term, the improvements which can be affected through the rationalization of existing production in terms of existing technology. The limits of expansion of the productive forces in those terms define the basis for urgent scientific development of new technologies, which establish the basis for the longer-term development.

Scientific Development As Such

It is the experience of capitalist development, even during the period of the so-called giant corporation, that the characteristic source of the basic discoveries and new inventions is the individual or small group, and not the research and development programs of the large firm or government facility. This was, in fact, the experience of so recent a period as the 1950's and 1960's in computers, aerospace, and so forth.

Although this peculiarity has been mistakenly attributed as an intrinsic feature of the "genius of capitalism," our preceding discussion of science has belied that pro-capitalist assertion. Because creativity is mediated through the individual creative person acting as a concrete universal, the realization of this creativity by any society will seize upon whatever means exist appropriate to its expression. In fact, the experience of capitalist invention is that it has occurred **despite** capitalist forms. . . hence the small firms as the focus of much development in the age of the giant firm. Creativity can not flourish in an environment of profit-making expediency.

The history of scientific development is most relevant to the formulation of our present programmatic tasks. A synopsis, concerning the highlights of that past six hun-

dred years of intellectual progress, is sufficient for our immediate purposes.

Excepting the special cases of England and the Low Countries (and some correlated developments in Swedish iron technology), the greatest early advances in science and thought generally occurred during a period ranging from approximately the middle of the 15th century through the first quarter of the 16th. This is conspicuous in painting, sculpture and architecture, and otherwise principally expressed in epistemology. This is the period of such writers as Rabelais and Cervantes, Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, Erasmus, and such figures as Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, and so forth.

This great florescence attenuated (outside England and the Low Countries — principally) during the last three quarters of the 16th century, the period of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. This period, dominated in part by the wars of Charles V and those who followed him, is a period of the bankrupting of large sections of the European continent under the impulses of intensified primitive accumulation, a squeezing of the very material conditions of general social reproduction in order to finance the cannibalistic warfare precipitated by the Burgundian emperor, aimed at providing sufficient debt-service payment to meet the cancerously accumulating obligations of emperor, kings, and other potentates.

It is the century of the French Jacquerie and German peasant wars, the century of the decline of Italy, and the century of the great collapse of their formerly dominant leading financial houses of Europe, through the bankruptcies of the French, Spanish, Portuguese and other potentates.

The exemplary exception, up to approximately 1589, is England. From the accession of Henry VII, the English monarchy embarked upon policies of forced technological development. The Anglo-Huguenots of the City of London, led by Thomas Gresham, performed a significant part in this. The old universities of Oxford and Cambridge, mired in the intellectual bankruptcy of scholasticism and nominalism, were temporarily by-passed in favor of urban centers of learning, in which the new technologies and scientific discoveries were imparted to masses of plebian artisans. This is the English florescence, the hubristic excitement of an entire urban culture which produced Thomas Moore, Sidney, Marlowe, Shakespeare and Napier. Under the threat of the Spanish monarchy and its allies, this development was maintained by Elizabeth I until the defeat of the Spanish Armada — a defeat which was chiefly the result of Tudor policies of technological development. In 1589, the monarchy ceased these policies of subsidy, largely because of the effects of the economic collapse of the continent upon the English economy.

The collapse overtook England itself, to a significant degree during the first decade of the 17th century, drawing that sector of Europe into the same "Great Crisis" which leading British historians generally attribute to the 1560-1660 period. The result was a moral decline in science. Following 1589, the vigorous intellectual development of the preceding period was aborted with the complicity of the Elizabethan monarchy. A great compromise was made between the worm-eaten traditions of Oxford and Cambridge and the new intellectual ferment. A regression toward nominalist decay afflicted English intellectual life, a decay of which Francis Bacon was to become the exponent in his early 17th century expositions of crude empiricism.

The intellectual decay of Europe shows most visibly in paintings of the Italian counter-reformation period. Outright reaction and a new pseudo-humanism expressing the animalistic sensuality of the biological individual are characteristic. The contrast between the magnificent Kepler and Bruno and the comparatively wretched Galileo exemplifies the transition from the earlier to the succeeding mid-17th century period. Galileo, representing one of the more backward currents of intellectual life of Italy (in contrast to the earlier vigorous neo-platonism of Florentine geniuses), reflects both advances in empirical knowledge and an impoverishment of the spirit of scientific inquiry, in contrast to Bruno and Kepler — and to Low Countries' artists — who reflect the continuing intensity of the scientific spirit.

Descartes, the great intellect of the 17th century, provides the most notable link between the past and the future. Newton is incomprehensible until his work is understood as a revival of the traditions of mid-16th century Gresham College under the impact of not only technological developments but also the hegemonic influences of Kepler and Descartes. Similarly, the post-Restoration Royal Society of England, represents a capitalization of the accomplishments of Gresham College and similar institutions, just as Milton and Purcell reflect the last gasp of the English Renaissance in the arts — to be followed by the wretched philistinism of Pope and Dryden. (Newton was a far keener epistemological intellect, in fact, than he was degraded to appear by his epigoni, Dr. Samuel Clarke and others.)

The degradation of the spirit of scientific inquiry is mediated in English traditions by the connection of Bacon and Locke. This moral intellectual crisis surfaces in the writings of Berkley and Hume. Fundamental scientific progress attenuates in England. French and French-dominated German influences continue the process of progress: Leibniz, Euler, Lagrange, et al., while England itself concentrates on the practical side of technological achievements.

The moral crisis of early through middle 18th century England is nowhere more clearly shown than in the extinction of great literary and musical intellectual life. Handel was an import, England could not produce a composer of the quality of a mere Telemann, to say nothing of a Schuetz, Bach, or Haydn. The foundations of the British industrial revolution and colonial power were grounded upon the vast misery of primitive accumulation, with small regard for the intellectual development of the population generally.

However, the rise of the industrial revolution in England catalyzed a new scientific revolution throughout the capitalist world, a great surge of intellectual progress which accelerated throughout the nineteenth century, until its ebb in the wake of World War I.

The center of this scientific revolution was France and Germany rather than industrialized England. These regions of the continent were under grave pressure to replicate the progress of England, and to assimilate the essence of industrialized achievements without the depressing burden of an established development. The germ of this intellectual ferment was expressed in the most concentrated way by the figure of Immanuel Kant, descendant of Scottish pietists teaching mathematical science and philosophy in the remotest urban center of Germany, Koenigsberg. On the basis of Kant's perception

of the intrinsic follies of English empiricism, all the leading achievements of British industry and French scientific advances were given concentrated expression in Kant's writings of the 1780's and 1790's — so that it may be said that while the French made a revolution, it was only the leading German thinkers, not the French, who comprehended what France had accomplished.

The characteristic feature of the old physical science and philosophy, excepting Descartes, Spinoza, and to some extent Leibniz, had been to comprehend the fundamental laws of nature as expressing a fixed, perfected order of universal reality. Kant represents the concentrated expression of the progressive transformation of scientific attitudes and knowledge from the 18th to 19th century. Kant retains faith in the limited appropriateness of fixed universal laws of empirical understanding, while also demanding recognition of other, higher laws pertaining to the purposeful — hence lawful — ordering of the subjectively-determined perfection of general human practice. The new century of scientific inquiry is characterized by its concern for the discovery of lawful change in the order of the universe, the effort to find the basis for coherence between the creative potentialities of the human mind and a self-perfectable order of universal nature.

The great effort of the 19th century centers upon the issues of thermodynamics, as expressed by the steam engine and electrical and magnetic fields. The problem of reconciling the necessity for the existence of the field and the stubborn fact of discrete particles had been recognized by Newton (despite those of his epigoni who attempted to diminish the point). The 19th century was forced to resume consideration of that central problem.

As the writings of Fourier should be sufficient to illustrate, the problem of the field-particle predicament pointed up clumsy paradoxes in the prevailing algebraic conceptions, leading directly toward the development of a theory of functions by the pioneering work of Gauss, Weierstrass, Riemann, Cantor, Klein, Maxwell, and their outstanding, if less accomplished, contemporaries.

The possibility of producing the most gifted intellects of this sort rested upon the work of leading governmental and private capitalist institutions in sponsoring education and associated research activities. Although a handful of individuals may emerge as ostensible exceptions to the prevailing banality of their age and culture, the proliferation of such leading intellects and their achievements inevitably rests upon the practical esteem and support for a growing population of students and professionals in the most advanced researches.

The worst positivist cranks sometimes display the inevitable folly of their persuasion, insisting that if we can only discover those elementarities which are absolutely fundamental in nature and the logical potentialities of the individual thinker, we can construct a perfected body of scientific knowledge upon those premises. In historical fact, there is no such "pure science." The progress of science, as appropriately described by Felix Klein at the close of the last century, centers upon the trunk of the "tree of knowledge," such that the proliferating applications of scientific progress (the branches) proceed in approximate correspondence to the growth of the root-system.

Klein's useful observation can be resituated in terms of the geometric heurism we have previously developed. The actual progress of the negentropy of social-reproductive development elaborates new qualities of general

social relationships. These new qualities are mediated through individual experience and reflection upon new experience into the "sets" of higher geometry which discovers new values of the characteristic function of that geometry of outer-world order. This immediately defines a new conception of what is fundamental, redefines qualitatively the most fundamental conceptions sometimes associated with "pure scientific thought," and simultaneously implies new orders of human practice. Hence, the advances of "pure science" so determined uniquely provide the necessary deliberate comprehension of new applied technologies.

Consequently, it is the proportionate effort of society to realize advances in technology, especially advances of a qualitative sort, which are the direct source of nourishment of scientific progress. It is only necessary that such a society not only allocate a proper proportion of effort (e.g., sums) to this policy, but locate social esteem for individual accomplishment generally in those same terms.

The great rate of scientific advancement came to an end in the aftermath of the development of general relativity. Although there has been important scientific achievement since the First World War, this has represented chiefly the elaboration of principled accomplishments founded during the preceding, pre-war period.

The Born-Einstein correspondence documents the essential features of the process of destruction of European science. First, as background, there was a cutback in development rates throughout the capitalist world. This was most evidently acute in Europe. It was also prevalent in the U.S. itself; the early 1920's decision to virtually close off immigration into the U.S. reflected a policy decision of leading U.S. financiers to cut back on industrial development in that nation. Second, there was a general cutback in the funding of the sort of advanced research centers in which such achievements as Einstein's had been broadly nourished. Meanwhile, as Born and Einstein note almost tearfully, in the remaining university and related posts in Germany, it is reactionary, philistine hacks who systematically replaced not only the most promising young candidates but even established figures. Born and Einstein are painfully occupied with attempting to find a handful of posts for a tiny proportion of the best scientists, knowing that for most of that promising European generation there is no future.

Related to this, in the case of each of the leading scientific figures — Fermi, Schroedinger, and many others — who did secure positions, each case of survival of even the most outstanding of these is represented almost in terms of a "Horatio Alger" miracle.

The significant scientific achievements of the 1920's was accomplished largely by personages who had established themselves as outstanding in the pre-war generation. It was these and a handful of their students who made the leading accomplishments of the 1930's and wartime period, and chiefly an aging minority of that second generation which provides the dwindling moral leadership of a reduced community of persons oriented to fundamental scientific achievement today.

There is perhaps no rule-of-thumb proof of the point more reliable for measuring the moral decay of scientific professions than the attitude of authoritative figures toward the position taken by Einstein from the mid-1920's onward. Characteristically, fatuous (if well-educated) leading professional figures insist that Einstein was essenti-

ally senile from the mid-1920's onward. Once the content and implications of Einstein's continuing concern — from the mid-1920's through to the time of his death — are taken into account, it is clear that what these fatuous gentlemen are doing in deriding Einstein is to repudiate the fundamental challenges which have confronted science since the middle of the First World War!

The unquestionably criminal policies of Rockefeller-linked agencies concerning the suppression of the development of controlled thermonuclear fusion technology is only exemplary of the way in which the past half-century's "epoch of imperialist decay" has affected basic scientific achievement.

It is the task of the workers' movement to reverse this wretched past half-century pattern. We must not only train increasing proportions of our sons and daughters as scientists and engineers, massively expand expenditures on basic research, but must learn and apply certain hard-won lessons from the past concerning the manner in which scientific progress is best achieved.

We must never fall into the trap of demanding of our scientists "Prove that what you are attempting will succeed exactly as you detail now, and also prove that such a specific result will be immediately applicable in a definite way." Wherever such bureaucratic policies are followed, science will stagnate. Worse, the scientist's attempts to adapt to such social criteria of his professional work will represent a controlled environment in which the infantile component of his personality will dominate at the expense of his higher cognitive functions. To the extent that the scientist learns to think like a bureaucrat, he ceases to be a creative personality.

Wherever scientists have established their professional competence, we must provide them relatively free access to basic laboratory facilities they require to explore their developed and tentative hypotheses. The social control of scientific work in general will be effected indirectly, by involving scientific workers in the specific technological problems of society. To the extent that we define in this way what the scientist should regard as the repertoire of meaningful problems of technological development, these social criteria will be those which stimulate his concern. The bulk of scientific work, in terms of hours expended, will inevitably be directly associated with problems respecting the development of the productive process, and similar applications. As a by-product of that direct connection between basic science and development, a fraction of the total scientific effort will spontaneously focus upon more fundamental issues.

The problem of development of controlled thermonuclear fusion reaction technology is exemplary. This effort will require in the order of a hundred thousand scientists and engineering personnel as it begins to peak to maximal levels. Each small group of persons so engaged will be concentrating at any moment on an aspect of the manifold subsumed problems the effort encounters. In exploring the problems of the field in plasma physics, we are encountering problems which have not yet been resolved.

Some of these will bear directly on the main results being sought; others will be by-product discoveries which go beyond the defined range of efforts under primary consideration. Because of the nature of this work, it is impossible to predefine an efficient approach in which each effort can be prescribed in advance as directly bearing on a specific, predetermined result. From the standpoint of

the low-browed bureaucrat, scientific work is extremely "inefficient," involving proportionately large expenditures of effort in directions which have little perceptible direct bearing on any predetermined task.

What we shall have to do is to establish a gigantic open community of scientists, in political (policy-making) symbiosis with the workers' movement generally. We shall fund and equip a proliferation of large and small projects, many of relatively short duration, according to proposals submitted by individuals and small groups which outline a certain research effort as probably fruitful from the standpoint of the problem considered. Through open communication of the variegated results of these efforts among scientists generally, the entire effort will assume more definite shape.

Our political confidence in that commitment is premised on the following considerations. Firstly, we know in advance that the problem of CTR is intrinsically soluble from the starting-point of reference of existing scientific knowledge. We also know, historically, that a concentration of collective scientific effort around certain tasks produces solutions at least at a certain minimum pace — the World War II "Manhattan District Project" is our most convenient reference for this purpose. We also know that the time required to construct experimental facilities, and the time to construct operating models based on successful experiments limits the pace of development. We know that the limitations upon progress must be gauged in approximately five-year ranges, for sound planning of development. Hence, there is nothing speculative in a crash development commitment.

However, we do not know exactly how these results will be achieved, what their exact form will be, nor — of more lasting importance for scientific progress — what proliferating by-product discoveries and problems will emerge from such a concentrated effort.

Meanwhile, we must apply that same general approach to the education of workers and to key features of their industrial employment. Workers must have sabbaticals and facilities for working out proposals which they wish to contribute to realized technology. We must allocate some of our total scientific and engineering effort to the end of providing workers with consulting supervision in this connection. Every industrial plant must have accessible scientists and engineers working in a consulting capacity to plant committees and spontaneous groups of workers and individual workers.

Program, Psychology & Politics

In general, the possibility of establishing workers' government today depends upon the masses' prior assimilation of an appropriate comprehensive program of expanded reproduction. Objectively, the interrelationship of the world's productive forces is so delicately balanced that "learning from mistakes" would cause at least tens of millions of avoidable deaths, if not the risk of defeat of the movement itself. Subjectively, without the transformation of world-outlook which only the assimilation of such a program can effect among the broad masses, those masses must lack the political qualities of conscious motivation upon which victory depends.

The Labor Committees' emphasis upon socialist expanded reproduction has often been variously denounced both by CIA-linked pseudo-socialists and many

sincere if foolish pro-socialist groupings. The worst version of this criticism is the objection in common among anarchists, anarcho-syndicalists and "third campers." These groups have a "principled" paranoid hostility toward expanded reproduction itself. Their argument is that since expanded reproduction presumes the realization of social surplus, and since — in their deranged outlook — social surplus represents "exploitation," expanded reproduction is pernicious. It is not accidental that such groups are easily assimilated into both the CIA-linked apparatus and into the left-wing factions of actual fascist movements. In fact, the hostility toward positive developmental programs of the anarchoid groupings leads directly into the Sorelian outlook, as the evolution of Benito Mussolini into an overt fascist exemplifies. "Action, not program," is the characteristic expression of that deranged point of view.

However, opposition to programs for socialist expanded reproduction also arises from among sincerely pro-socialist factions. The chief premises for their stated objections are the various assertions that neither the Bolshevik revolution itself, nor the Chinese or Cuban revolutions involved such "sophisticated" and patently "elitist" presumptions. A summary review of these three cases is in order here.

The Bolsheviks

Although the Bolshevik leaders generally were with few exceptions broadly incompetent in theoretical or applied Marxian economics, they had an **implicit** program of expanded reproduction embedded in the Leninist strategic conception of the Bolshevik seizure of power. **They premised the Bolshevik revolution on the ensuing establishment of workers' government in Germany, and thus assumed that the expansion of German industrial potential would provide the objective basis for an international socialist program of expanded-reproductive development of the associated workers' states.**

The shortcomings of the Bolsheviks show up **after** the October, 1917 revolution. Within the Soviet republic itself, their defective competence on economic issues aggravated the already monstrous difficulties created by the world war, civil war, and imperialist invasions and blockades. More important, from the general strategic standpoint, is the effect of their related economic-theoretical incompetence to the mismanagement of the Communist International. In brief, the massive flaws of the Bolshevik leadership assume the form of their actual consequences most clearly in the Comintern's misleadership in Germany.

Some leading Bolsheviks were broadly aware of this problem. E. Preobrazhensky, especially, recognized the dangers of prevailing Bolshevik economic-theoretical incompetence both for the Soviet republic itself and for its international economic class-warfare problems. Politically, the leading Bolsheviks (excepting the Zinoviev faction) recognized increasingly that the specific tactical-programmatic methods which had been successful in Russia were too crude to succeed within the advanced capitalist sector. They repeatedly argued, with broad correctness, that what was wanted was the application of the kernel of principled lessons of the Bolshevik transformation to the more complex problems of Western Europe.

This Bolshevik predicament was in no sense fortuitous. Until the middle of World War I, the Bolsheviks had adhered to a modified version of the so-called "theory of

national stages" as developed variously by the Austrian Social Democracy and the Mensheviks (notably G. Plekhanov). The gist of this argument was the childish, mechanistic presumption that each nation must evolve through its own autarchic succession of feudal, semi-feudal, capitalist, and socialist transmogrifications. Hence, for "semi-feudal" Russia, they presumed, it was necessary for "Marxists" to bring into being the capitalist national stage, as a precondition for a subsequent socialist stage.

This pompous presumption flew in the face of elementary reality, as Rosa Luxemburg (most notably) had emphasized from the early 1890s onward and had documented her case in her doctoral dissertation. Her view, sometimes associated with such terms as "permanent revolution" and "combined and uneven development," was that the entire world was subject to and characterized by the domination of the most advanced capitalist sectors. She demonstrated the case for Russia by examining the role of the late 19th century industrial development of Polish Russia as the mediation of the foreign capitalist development (and economic subjugation) of Tsarist Russia as a whole.

As a necessary and complementary argument, she showed that the same evidence of international interdependency in the division of productive labor eliminated the possibility of autarchical national working-class interests, and demanded an internationalist program and expression of conscious self-interest by the world's working-class as a whole. This was the root of all her principal economic-theoretical and political differences with Lenin, on which points she was proven entirely correct — with a vengeance.

The Aug. 4, 1914 SPD parliamentary section's support for the Kaiser's war-credits came as a violent shock to Lenin and the other leading Bolsheviks. As Lenin expressed the point vocally to his emigre associates, on the issue of Bebel, Kautsky, et al., Luxemburg had been absolutely correct and he, Lenin, mistaken. This development prompted Lenin to drastically re-examine his strategic conceptions of the Russian socialist struggle, with mixed results.

In his **Imperialism** and certain other principal writings of the war period, Lenin developed the views leading directly into his famous April (1917) Theses. Basing himself (unfortunately) largely upon the writings of Hilferding, but citing (for "Aesopian" reasons) the British economist Hobson as the premise for Hilferding's arguments,* Lenin embraced a parody of Luxemburg's argument in her 1900s doctoral dissertation. By embracing the notion of international finance capital and its role within the capitalist development of Russia, Lenin recognized that the Russian revolution must be a socialist, not a capitalist revolution — and that this revolution must be situated strategically within the fact of the ripeness for socialist transformation in those advanced capitalist sub-sectors which were the economic bases for the industrial development and agricultural debt of Tsarist Russia.

This was the positive aspect of Lenin's rapid evolution

*The fact that Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire were at war with Russia, and the fact that the social-democracy of both countries was chauvinistically supporting that war-effort made it tactically impossible for Lenin to premise his argument on the authority of Hilferding. Hobson, as an economist from Russia's war-time ally, Great Britain, was used instead. However, the argument was essentially premised on Rudolf Hilferding's *Finanz-Kapital*, whose strong influence on Lenin was partially mediated through N. Bukharin, a graduate of the Vienna circles of which Hilferding was the leading social-democratic representative. Similarly, for the edification of the Tsarist censor, Lenin's *Imperialism* was written as a scholarly dissertation rather than an explicit political strategic thesis.

during the war period. This was the basis for the strategic perspective upon which the Bolshevik revolution was founded and the source of the implicit program of expanded reproduction within that strategic outlook.

Lenin's progress was uneven. He carried forward vestiges of the old "national stages" thesis in respect to the national question as a political question, and failed to examine with sufficient thoroughness the theoretical premises of his blundering pre-war approach to the centrist (Bebel-Kautsky) faction of the SPD. In general, although Lenin himself was an extraordinarily potent individual (e.g., in contrast to the relatively neurotic Trotsky), he was insufficiently self-conscious concerning the problem of replicating such psychological potency as his own among masses of workers.

This was a relatively minor problem in respect to the Russian workers and peasantry, on which subjects Lenin had developed an apparently "instinctual" insight into the Russian proletarian mind and situation. However, the Russian situation — of essentially illegal or semi-legal trade-unions based on the most massive industrial plants in Europe — was in contrast to the problems represented by Western Europe, Germany and England notably, in which the leadership of established trade-union organizations was a major political ally of the capitalist class. Hence, Lenin underestimated critically the importance of **very specific approaches to overcoming trade-union consciousness.**

This is not a simple, cut-and-dried issue. Lenin was intimately conscious of the generality of the "mass-strike process" which Luxemburg described in her 1906 theses. Indeed, Luxemburg had drafted those theses in the course of intimate discussions with Lenin in Finland, during which they had examined the processes leading into the 1905 Russian and Polish mass strikes and revolutionary insurgencies. However, **Lenin had no empirical grasp of the problems of the Western European working class, and was unable to situate the most essential lessons of the Russian experience properly within the context of the advanced capitalist sector.**



Lenin

For such reasons, Lenin tended toward the simplistic overestimation of the European working-class's potential for immediately breaking free of the hegemony of pro-capitalist trade-union and social-democratic leaderships. He failed to recognize the importance of the specific form of the mass-strike process by which the masses of German workers (in particular) could be won to the new KPD. He failed to recognize the importance of the subjective effects of socialist expanded-reproduction programs, largely because the specific problem solved by such programs did not exist for him.

Lenin, however, had the fortunate disposition of learning from his mistakes (if sometimes belatedly). Confronted with German empirical evidence (VKPD) of the correctness of the Luxemburg-Levi united front strategy, in contrast to the evident bankruptcy of the Zinovievite "theory of the offensive," Lenin forced the famous Third World Congress of the Communist International to adopt a compromised version of the Luxemburg-Levi thesis. In all respects, that congress marks the high-water mark of development of the Third International.

Unfortunately, as during the war period, Lenin had only half-corrected preceding errors in Bolshevik policy.

In the understandable (if mistaken) efforts to maintain the factional unity of the Bolshevik leadership itself, Lenin compromised with Zinoviev on two principal accounts. Generally, he watered-down the strategic resolution of the congress to make it more tolerable to Zinoviev et al. He also conceded to Zinoviev on the expulsion of Paul Levi from the Comintern. Thus, in effect, the irony of the conference is that it embraced the general correctness of Levi's policy while expelling Levi for publicly insisting upon it. Although the Comintern had embraced the Luxemburgist policy, the party of Luxemburg was purged of its Luxemburgists and left in the hands of Zinovievite puppets who subsequently demonstrated how tragically they would mislead that organization. Indeed, Lenin ever went so far in his miserable concessions to Zinoviev et al. as to accept a compromise version of the Zinoviev-Radek pogrom against the alleged "virus of Luxemburgism."*

From that error of Lenin's, the Communist International never recovered. **Germany was unnecessarily lost** and, in consequence of that loss, the world was generally lost to capitalism and World War II.

In consequence of the tragic, Zinoviev-Stalin misleadership of the Communist International during the 1921-1923 period, the young Soviet Republic was virtually isolated, an isolation cemented by the follies of the Stalin-Bukharin Kuomintang policies of the 1924-1927 period.

On this account, L. Trotsky's criticisms of Stalinist policies have been given an exaggerated importance. Insofar as Trotsky was correct in his criticisms, the merits of his arguments were generally merely obvious to anyone closely associated with Lenin's 1921-1923 faction. The 1923-1940 Trotsky is outstanding mainly because of the mediocrities with which he is obviously contrasted. Compared to even Lenin, Trotsky was a relatively weak figure.** The capitulation of so many leading Bolsheviks to the Stalin leadership during the 1924-1934 period is not sufficiently accounted for by their lack of the intellectual capacities of a Trotsky, but by psychological considerations — their capitulation to a winning faction

*Karl Radek, who incidentally had a vicious personal enmity toward Luxemburg, intervened into the factional struggle between Zinoviev and Paul Levi with the proposal that the time had come to extirpate the "virus of Luxemburgism" from the Communist International. Lenin accepted this but in a much-tempered form, as his famous "eagle" passage from his notebooks attests.

**Cf. Lyn Marcus, "The Passion and Second-Come of L.D. Trotsky," Campaigner, New York, Vol. 7, No. 8, 1974.

(Stalin's) under extreme pressures of the coercive controlled environment represented by imperialist encirclement and internal counterrevolutionary pressures of the 1924-1934 period.

The later, more obvious paranoid developments in Stalin's character (from 1933 onwards) are in part the consequence of Stalin's neurotic susceptibilities, his intellectual mediocrity, etc., manifest during the earlier period. In the main, Stalin's position as leader of the Soviet party under the most extremely coercive (post-January, 1933) circumstances made him especially vulnerable circumstantially to influences analogous to brainwashing.

In general, the bankruptcy of the self-styled Trotskyist movement was licensed by Trotsky's own hysterical resistance to the scrutiny of political processes from the standpoint of scientific psychology. Trotsky himself merely verged on an understanding of the dialectical method, which he never actually understood. He gave lip-service to the Marxist conception of the class-for-itself, but tragically refused to accept its principled implications for practice, and never understood the connection between the class-for-itself and socialist expanded-reproduction programs. Hence, Trotsky failed to establish the germ of a viable new cadre-organization against future developments.

In summation of this point, to assess the Bolsheviks competently, we must consider not only their heroic accomplishments in Russia, but their fatal blundering in the leadership of the Communist International. It is in the latter context that the relative simplism of their programmatic outlook is to be competently adjudged.

Other Cases

In the cases of China and Cuba, our case is developed most readily. The positive achievements of the Chinese Communists have been mainly located in their thoroughness of approach to tactical improvisation under national conditions of extreme material deprivation. Otherwise, their success in establishing the Chinese Peoples' Republic is largely to the credit of the Kuomintang itself. Chiang Kai Chek violated every rule of effective counterinsurgency in the modern CIA-RAND-Tavistock book, including the specific and relatively competent recommendations of the U.S. State Department and military. If the Kuomintang leadership

The general strategic outlook of the Chinese Communist spokesmen has been tragically simplistic.



the support
whatever the enemy
oppose and oppose whatever
the enemy supports.

had not been so monstrously corrupt and stupid, the Mao Tse Tung faction was prepared (with Stalin's emphatic insistence to this effect) to accept arrangements under which the Communists' hegemony could have been readily disastrously undermined. "Green Gangster" Chiang, in effect, forced Mao Tse Tung to extend the already-existing Chinese Communists' government to the entirety of China.

For related reasons, modern Anglo-American counterinsurgency strategists and tacticians encourage the proliferation of "Maoism" within the ranks of radical petit-bourgeois and lumpenized youth today, just as those same CIA-linked agencies foment Weatherman or Red Brigade types of "blind terrorist" countergangs within the same general milieu. Because the Chinese and Cuban models of radicals' insurgency are so easily defeated — in contrast to "orthodox Communist" tactics — the CIA-linked agencies deliberately provoke the proliferation of such simplistic ultra-leftist groupings. Despite certain specific achievements within China, the general strategic outlook of the Chinese Communist spokesmen has been tragically simplistic, and in its export version, a recipe for anarchoid forms of suicide.

It is not unfair to describe modern Castroism as degenerating toward an infantile cult of **Machismo-Leninismo**. It is not accidental that there should be a conspicuous similarity between Castroism and the pathetic revolutionary struggles within Garcia Marquez's fictional "Macondo." It is to the credit of the Castro leadership of the July 26th movement that it honored its commitments to the Cuban proletariat in face of the most aversive demands of U.S. Imperialism. It is also to the credit of Castro et al. that they turned to the only possible means of continued Cuban existence under conditions of U.S. economic warfare against that island, the Soviet Union. In consequence of that association with the Soviet Union, Cuba became a form of workers' economy. It is also of decisive importance to recognize that this Cuban development occurred in the context of a series of major tactical blunders by the Eisenhower and Kennedy regimes, without which a Cuban revolution would have been readily crushed.

This latter point has been repeatedly demonstrated, beginning with the Congo affair, following the Cuban experience. The Anglo-American counterinsurgency establishment rapidly learned from its blunders in the Cuban case, and took steps which now ensure that no repetition of the Cuban model is possible. In a similar, but different sense, the Anglo-Americans learned from their blunders in Southeast Asia, where they confronted a movement of superior qualities of organization and leadership.

In general, wherever the socialist movement commits the blunder of basing its strategy and tactics upon appeals to nationalist aspirations and specific grievances, the Anglo-American counterinsurgency establishment has the actual or at least potential means for decisively crushing such insurgency. The CIA and related Rockefeller-controlled agencies have become the leading exponents of nationalist aspirations, and leading proponents of parochialist "democratic" organizations constituted to settle specific grievances. To the extent that the socialist movement concentrates upon parochialist demands as the programmatic basis for struggle, the Anglo-American establishment can defeat every such insurgency unless the struggle is immediately defended by a Soviet-bloc protective umbrella.

In fact, the Anglo-American counterinsurgency

establishment developed a general formula for this as of Anglo-American psychological warfare is to build "radical" movements on the basis of parodies of 18th century English and French reductionist ideologies, which these fascist agencies consciously view as counterposed to the pro-socialist implications of the 19th century revolution in science and epistemology. The CIA has become the world's leading proponent of the "theory of stages," a philosophy which because of its retrograde implications becomes modern fascism, just as modern replications of 18th century Bonapartist moods were the classical expression of fascist tendencies of the earlier period of this half-century.

One quickly sees the implications of this for Soviet strategic postures. As the case of Cuba illustrates, the existence of backward revolutions, such as Cuba's represents a drain upon relatively-finite Soviet-bloc resources, limiting the extent to which the Soviet bloc can provide an umbrella for such insurgencies. In consequence, revolutionary struggles led by backward vanguards represent a net drain upon the Soviet strategic position rather than an immediate increase in the strength of the Soviet position. It is the problem of the backwardness of the old Communist International extended in such a form. Since the isolated Soviet bloc is insufficient resistance to the Rockefellers' fascist schemes, continuation of simplistic vanguard programmatic policies ensures either the victory of the Rockefeller's fascism or thermonuclear holocaust.

Our object must be — as it is in fact — to create a total controlled environment around all isolated concentrations of Rockefeller-dominated fascist strength, a workers and farmers movement surrounding the fascists at every point of their concentrated strength in industry, agriculture and military personnel. If we limited this mobilization to such bourgeois-ideological issues as nationalism and isolated, parochialist grievances, we would be perpetuating thus that substrate of bourgeois (18th century) ideology upon which counterinsurgency and fascism feed. The principal battle is psychological in this emphatically epistemological sense. To the extent that we spread rapidly the modern, universalist conception of socialist expanded reproduction, we create the tidal wave of negentropic psychological development which overwhelms all concentrations of Rockefeller material (e.g., human) forces. From the Rockefeller standpoint, we are creating the ultimate "fifth column" overwhelming each pocket of their "camp." It is only from that standpoint that an effective "objective" strategy can be defined.

Cuban Communism is now degenerating into pathetic evolutionism: Machismo-Leninism.



Social Identity and Group

The most familiar contemporary experience of organizing among the left-wing currents of the Second International is the gifted individual who agrees completely with our analysis of the international situation, but who is gradually worn down into repudiating this by social pressures within the social-democracy generally. The typical rationale for this moral and intellectual capitulation to the right-wing and center social-democratic factions is the left-wingers' attachment to the party as a relevant organization within which they find their identity. Unless that allegiance of the left-wing social-democrat to the right-wing and center-faction traitors can be broken, it is tactically almost impossible to establish workers' government.

There are two principal fifth columns within the working-class movement, the various shadings of anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists and the right-wing and center-faction social-democrats and trade-union bureaucrats. Consequently, both of these fifth columns are deliberately coopted and exploited by conscious capitalist counterinsurgency agencies. In the extreme outcome of such fifth-column activities, the anarchists tend to produce mass-based fascist movements (as in the case of Mussolini's evolution), while the social-democratic and trade-union bureaucrats are easily seduced into performing (more or less wittingly) the role of midwives of the preconditions for fascist takeover — as SPD leader Mueller did for Weimar Germany, and as the CIA-controlled Second International and its Reutherite CIA running-dogs do today.

The central problem of socialist tactics has been and remains the task of destroying the hegemony of the right-wing and center-faction social-democrats and trade-union bureaucrats over the political and trade-union organizations of the working-class forces.

The danger of both such class traitorous tendencies was first recognized and outlined by Karl Marx in connection with the experiences of the First International. As Marx implicitly foresaw, Bakunin's eclectic marriage of Proudhon and Stirner led into the development of European fascism, first its French and later its Italian (Mussolini) and German varieties. Similarly, the despicable role performed by the British trade-unionists portended the moral imbecility of the main bodies of trade-union bureaucracy thereafter — as the degenerate Samuel Gompers exemplified on several occasions from the outset of his career, including, most notably his participation in the first U.S. approximation of the British Round Table and fascist Trilateral Commission, the National Civic Federation.

The next systematic study of this problem after Marx was attempted by Rosa Luxemburg in her admittedly partly exaggerated attack on Lenin. Luxemburg's arguments in that attack were directly premised on her experience with the German Social-Democracy during and following the Bernstein affair. Consequently, **she was entirely correct in attacking Lenin for his endorsement of Bebel and Kautsky, but implicitly exaggerated the correct point made in extending the charge of elitist substitutionism to Lenin himself.** She attacked the same problem more correctly in her 1906 Mass Strike.

The next effort to deal with the SPD problem was made by the Swiss sociologist Michels, who misused correct empirical evidence from the SPD case to project the anarcho-syndicalist chimera known as "the iron law of

oligarchy." A more clever effort in the same vein was subsequently made by Professor Karl F. Schorske, who attempts to transform Luxemburg almost into a saint of spontaneity. In Michels' case, the criticism is directed against all centralized executive authority, a conviction which curiously — but not surprisingly — made him a subsequent admirer of Mussolini. In Schorske's case, the perversion of the evidence respecting conclusions made leads into a passable rationale to be employed by some of the "left-cover" anarcho-syndicalist CIA counter gangs.

Contrary to Michels and Schorske, the problem is not one of centralized executive authority. The problem is **authority for what?** The problem facing Bengal villagers beset by a man-eating tiger is not the fact that the tiger possesses a centralized nervous system, but the species of the beast in question. This point is otherwise best demonstrated in modern politics by anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism, an hysterical advocacy of decentralized "decision-making" which can be realized only in the hideous form of fascist totalitarianism...as the cases of Sorel and Michels aptly illustrate.

The very fact that the social division of labor represents an actual universality demands that each society create a centralized executive agency which acts for that universality against destructive parochialist tendencies within the society. The notion that a society could exist as a confederation of autonomous parochial "decision-making bodies" of an anarchist variety is merely a pathetic obsession of potentially totalitarian paranoids. The real, practical issue of centralized executive agencies is the sort of universality they represent in practice, including the relationship of the executive to the larger population.

The latter aspect of the problem was posed in an acute form in the experience of the Russian revolution. The persisting question confronting the most thoughtful Bolsheviks was that of "substitutionism." That is, the question was to what extent were the Bolsheviks acting as direct agents of a politically-conscious working-class base as opposed to acting in behalf of a working-class interest independently of control by a political working-class base. This recurring concern was manifest with a vengeance in the aftermath of the Civil War period, during which the destruction of Soviet industry had lumpenized large sections of the Russian working class, and so forth. This was aggravated by the preponderance of the peasantry in the Russian population itself. From the end of the Civil War **the Bolshevik Party did in fact act as a self-contained substitute for the Soviet working class**, an institutionalized state of affairs which has not been entirely remedied to the present date.

Despite the sometimes hideous errors committed by the CPSU under those terms, the condition of the Soviet bloc population — and the world as a whole — is far better today than it could have possibly been had the Bolshevik Revolution not occurred or the Soviet Republic continued. But for the continued existence of the Soviet Republic the **Nazipest** would have been successful and we would have already experienced the sort of holocaust which only now threaten us in the form of the **Rockefellerpest**. Without the continuation of the Soviet Republic the Rockefellers' world-wide correlation of forces would be decisively more favorably situated for its victory than at present.

We have examined this problem of centralized authority from a more advanced standpoint than Luxemburg and others, beginning approximately the early part of the 1960s, when our preliminary conclusions were developed in a lengthy paper, "The Origins of Caste." This thesis

was presented for broader circulation in **Centrism As A Social Phenomenon (1970)** and has always been a central feature of the Labor Committees' strategic and tactical outlook and practice.

The principal distinction between the sane and centrist forms of centralized executive authority in the workers' movement is epitomized by the centrist ideology of classical trade-unionism. The classical centrist form of trade-unionism is premised on the assumption that a group of employed workers represent a relatively hermetic local self-interest in opposition to a general working-class interest. The key indicative term which identifies centrist and all similarly reactionary currents within the workers' movement is the word "outsider" as applied to unemployed, or to members of different trade-unions or members of working-class political organizations. The sociological distinction of the centrist social-democratic or trade-union bureaucracy is that it defines its immediate organization as a distinct self-interest in opposition to the interests and rights of other constituents of the working-class.

In short, centrism is an expression of paranoia, in which a parochialist notion of self-interest (distinct from that of the "outsiders" of the working-class forces) is set into opposition to a general class interest. The paranoid "map" of the family, and corresponding propitiatory-associative notions are so superimposed upon reality.

Consequently, the principle remedy for the disease of social-democratic centrism is sanity, as expressed by programs of socialist expanded reproduction. The individual who assimilates such an appropriate comprehensive program becomes sane, undergoes positive character development, and demands a centralized executive which is appropriate to the universal class interest expressed by socialist expanded reproduction. That is the case in principle, and is the actual case for exceptional individuals. However, the majority of working people are incapable of breaking from paranoia (e.g., social-democratic or trade-union centrism) on an individual intellectual basis; capitalist society has undermined their character development to the point that they are not yet developed sufficiently to act morally on the basis of scientific certainty as such.

The remedy for this difficulty is the establishment of a counterorganization which twofoldly (1) expresses an organized basis for a universalist or class social identity in opposition and alternative to social-democratic centrist paranoia, (2) and is oriented toward the rapid assimilation of factions of members of centrist organizations en masse into the new organization.

The first of the two requirements would be satisfied by simply establishing a new socialist international. To fulfill the second requirement also, the new socialist international must emerge in a transitional form, **an international programmatic united front**, specifically oriented to the assimilation of entire left-wing factions of existing social-democracies and trade-union organizations as peers.

The problem such a united-front form presupposes is the danger that the relative backwardness which the social-democratic and trade-union left-wingers import to the formation will tend to nullify the hegemony of the most advanced components, reducing the quality of the programmatic outlook toward the state of a mediocre average. This is prevented by maintaining the integrity of the most advanced organizations within the united front, postponing the organic fusion of the participating parties and fractions until the processes of internal factional

development bring the generality of the participants up to the most advanced level in respect of essential principles.

This provides the viable left-wing social-democrat and trade-union grouping the immediate practical alternative of joining with the united front (even if sometimes necessary "illegally" or in violation of social-democratic or trade-union bureaucratic ukases).

The most extraordinary isolated individuals within capitalist society are susceptible of responding to the intellectual and moral imperatives of socialist expanded reproduction programs on a basis of individual commitment. It is such rare individuals who establish the germ of mass organizations. Because of capitalist alienation (i.e. paranoid neurotic tendencies), the ordinary relatively sane worker and farmer are unable to sustain an assimilation of such ideas for practice until they are able to associate those ideas with a broad-based institution. Hence, the existence of a socialist international, or at least an international programmatic united front, is the minimal precondition for rapid assimilation of programmatic outlooks among masses of workers and their social allies.

It is the institution which not only represents the program but whose social orientation actively, practically expresses and embodies such programmatic orientation which is the decisive lever for prying masses of left social-democrats and trade-unionists from self-degrading allegiance to right-wing and center-faction "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class."

Epilogue: Summation

It should be evident from the preceding sections that we have not underrated in the slightest the so-called objective modes of strategic and tactical conflict in the massive resistance we are mobilizing against Rockefeller's fascism. Yet, it should be equally clear that the certainty of victory and the need to minimize the horrors of that conflict demand predominant emphasis on the psychological determinants of political life.

The possibility of a Rockefeller victory depends entirely, in the final analysis, upon the neurotic susceptibilities of the working class and its potential allies for accepting short-term token rewards in replacement for massive exactions. To the extent that we inoculate that population against submission to such fascist schemes as "nationalism," "local community control," "participation," and "naturalism," it is impossible for the Rockefellers to find any last bastion of the planet in which they can defend themselves from the ruthless hounds of our class's criminal justice agencies.

It is not possible to accomplish such a necessary result arbitrarily. The determination of the quality of individual psychological — and, hence, political — life is a lawful process which must be mastered as such or not at all.

The specific neurotic and potentially psychotic susceptibilities upon which the Rockefellers' schemes depend embody a point of view approximately typified by the Hobbesian and Rousseauian reductionist outlooks of the British and French 17th and 18th centuries. In that pathetic outlook, man sees himself essentially as a kind of individual animal of fixed behavioral nature and needs. It is this same psychopathological outlook which later characterizes "Darwinian social theories" and outrightly fascist ideologies — notably the Nazis, the modern right-wing existentialists, the Makhnoid "left cover" and right-wing cults alike, and so forth.

To the extent that the individual can be induced to degrade himself into an isolated child of nature, and so to deny the distinctive quality of human nature itself, he is easily conquered by the modern Rockefeller types of fascist psychological-warfare tactics.

This pathetic sense of individual identity can be overcome only to the extent that the individual locates his identity in his enlargeable capacities for creative insight, his capacities for creating and/or assimilating new inventions through which the negentropy of social-reproduction as a whole is increased. Such an individual realizes his or her real social identity — his or her actual immortality, if you insist — in making an irreversible contribution to the advancement of mankind henceforth and a realization of the accomplishments passed on to him by his forebears.

However, to realize such a truly human and truly sane state of mind and world-outlook, the individual requires a social institution which explicitly mediates his individual connection to his entire society in those same terms. The socialist program of expanded reproduction situates the individual's practice in such necessary terms. However, for most workers and their potential allies, the mere scientific conception of such an appropriate program is not sufficient. There must also be existing institutions in which the individual is able to locate a social identity on the basis of the world-outlook of evolutionary negentropic development of the social-reproductive process.

That institution is nominally an international party or at least a social formation in the process of becoming such a universalist institution for expanded reproduction. It is those intersecting requirements, the universalizing party and its coherent program of socialist expanded reproduction which enable the majority of working people to overcome the controlling influence of paranoid tendencies.

In all forms of warfare, including the present struggle against fascism, it is essential to employ subterfuges against the enemy. The danger exists that this practice might be extended to the point of unwittingly committing subterfuges against our own class forces.

For example, it is convenient to disguise certain of our forces' agencies for the purpose of penetrating the enemy's ranks. It is, similarly, necessary to seem to deploy forces politically in one direction, for the object of putting the enemy off guard, and then suddenly reversing course at the opportune tactical moment. It is also necessary to employ various ruses for minimizing the victimization of sections of our organizations, and so forth.

The danger-point in employing such necessary tactical ruses is reached when we become so smitten with concern for our own cleverness against the enemy that we do not consider the risk of disorienting the very forces we are engaged in assimilating. In this way, Communist Parties in particular have frequently made tactical turns whose generally intended effect was some degree of protective coloration, and have later found that the initial protective coloration has become the actual character of a large portion of the organization.

In general, the worst commonplace practice of this sort involves the attempt to disguise Communists' work as merely activity concerning ordinary bourgeois-type grievances of workers or oppressed minorities. The outcome is inevitable under modern circumstances of extensive counterinsurgency surveillance. The political police agencies are not deceived by such "sly" protective coloration, but the masses are deceived and the cadres



themselves demoralized and banalized into those opportunist postures through which they become actually opportunists in character.

The recent year's history exemplifies the key point to be made. The failure of the socialist vanguard forces outside the Labor Committees to adopt an aggressive correct posture in defining the present situation and proposing united-front alternatives against the Rockefeller forces have given the class-traitors within the Second International and certain trade-union forces added opportunity for demoralizing and decapitating their own left-wing factions, and so shifting the overall tactical

correlation of forces relatively to the enemy's advantage. This is the inevitable, pathetic consequence of evading clear issues in the hope of success of some opportunistic tactical expediency. The wretched situation in Italy is exemplary of this point.

Fortunately, the long-term course of underlying developments is still in our favor. To the extent that we judge events in terms of alignments of recognized spokesmen, during 1974 the Rockefellers have swept the field of all opponents but the Labor Committees, key Communist parties, and certain exceptional social-democratic factions. Willy Brandt's tragic capitulation to

propounding a return to Von Papen-Bruening "crisis management" policies, thus serving the very forces who pushed his face into the manure last Spring, is exemplary. In the U.S. itself, the long-standing fascist tendencies of the Reutherite faction have been encouraged to come out into the open in the policy proposals of the Nuremberg criminal, Trilateral "labor lieutenant" Leonard Woodcock. In terms of the so-called "big names" of the capitalist world, Rockefeller has ostensibly won the field.

Yet, at the same time, these big names have clearly exposed themselves as outrightly witting enemy agents, so that the masses would be prepared to repudiate them instantly, provided a suitable alternative were available. To the extent that these wretches have overtly capitulated to the Rockefeller fascist machine, they have exposed themselves to be promptly discarded from positions of actual influence by the mass-base they purportedly still represent and command.

In broad terms, the developments of 1974 can be summed up in respect of two intersecting curves. In terms of the big-name forces of the old world-order, our tactical resources for resistance are being depleted. Yet, at the same time, as current developments in (for example) the U.S., West Germany, and Italy show, the masses are showing increasing potential for acting altogether independently of the self-exposed traitors in the leadership of existing hegemonic organizations. So far, only a vanguard fraction of the PSI, SPD, and U.S. trade-union ranks are in motion for increased collaboration with the Labor Committees, but this represents a qualitative shift in the situation.

Let us review the European situation of 1974. During February through May, 1974, the Labor Committees enjoyed an explosive expansion of influence in (especially) the German SPD and Italian PSI and PSI youth organization. At that time, the receptivity to the Labor Committees' influences was premised on the widespread acceptance of our analysis and tactical/programmatic outlook within the left-wing factions of those social-democratic organizations. It was generally acknowledged throughout the social-democratic left, by at least early May, that all the Labor Committees' analyses advanced to them since February had been confirmed beyond all possible doubt. They maintained increasing collaborative contact with us on the basis of working out a tactic for resistance to the Rockefeller forces by the majority of their organizations.

This changed abruptly beginning June of this past year. The issue was whether or not the social-democracies would resist the Rockefeller moves just launched for the gutting of the European continental economies, beginning with Italy. Either they capitulated to this Rockefeller demand, or they were compelled to enact a debt-moratorium against the Rockefellers' resources. The PSI and SPD left chose to submit to Rockefeller.

The results of the change are illustrated by contrasting the results of the Spring Lower Saxony elections with the miserable outcome of the Fall elections in Hessen and

Bavaria (in particular). In the Lower Saxony elections, the SPD reversed the previous slide in electoral support (as exemplified by the earlier dismal results of the Hamburg elections). After that election, a number of SPD officials assured us that Labor Committee remoralization of the SPD forces had contributed significantly to this reversal. During the Summer and early Fall of 1974, the SPD leadership overtly ordered a defeatist ("no win") policy in the Hessen and Bavarian elections — with the inevitable results seen. This no-win policy was formulated as a direct rejection of the Labor Committees' contrary policies.

In consequence of that capitulation by both the PSI and SPD left-wing factions, the German and Italian workers were demoralized during the Summer and early Fall. They had become demoralized because of their loss of confidence in the willingness of their parties to fight. During October and November, this changed; SPD and PSI attacks upon us directly increased the collaboration with us by individuals and rank-and-file groups within both parties (although with some caution about making this collaboration public). This new militancy among left social-democrats and trade-unionists in Germany and Italy reflected those workers' disgust with the SPD and PSI-UIL. Their increased morale was directly associated with their process of liberation from commitment to the social-democratic party and trade-union leadership.

In general, the noticeable influence of the Labor Committees' activities during the Winter and Spring of 1974 was the receptivity we enjoyed among both workers and leading left celebrities (among others). As the celebrities turned violently against us (under Rockefeller-CIA pressures for capitulation), there was a temporary ebb in the response of the workers attached to those organizations. Beginning the Fall of this year, in both North America and Western Europe, there was a resurgence of working-class receptivity to our organizing — minus the social-democratic left celebrities.

Considering the scale on which the Labor Committees function, contacting the pores of the class in a number of countries, this Summer-Fall shift reflects a general tactical shift in the political situation throughout the advanced capitalist sector. The movement has shifted out from under the social-democratic and trade-union bureaucrats and is now assuming the form of what might be termed "gut" mass-organizing, with individuals creating "cells" in factories and neighborhoods, and "cells" spawning new "cells."

The key to the immediate situation is to coalesce these cells — not so much by pompous formal conference festivities — through establishing the centralized international programmatic united front which these "cells" require as a basis for their universalist identity. The situation is now, at this very moment, becoming extremely ripe for the establishment of such a next step in the mass-organizing process.

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