

# the Campaigner

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NATIONAL  
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# **the Campaigner**

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- 5 EDITORIAL: ROCKEFELLER'S 1984-PLOT  
by L.Marcus
- 19 ON THE TRACK OF MY ASSASSINS  
by Christopher White
- 33 COERCIVE PSYCHOLOGY : CAPITALISM'S MONSTER SCIENCE  
by Carol Menzel
- 55 ONE HUNDRED YEARS TOWARD INCEST  
by Vivian Freyre
- 66 THE MIRACLES AND MARTYRDOM OF ST. ANTONIO GRAMSCI — PART I  
by Anna Varga
- 4 FEATURES

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George

Berger

## ABOUT THE COVER

The photograph, taken at last summer's East Berlin World Youth Festival, shows Labor Committee member Konstantin George seated next to a **professed** official of the German Democratic Republic's Ministry of State Security, Berger. The location of George's seat is notable: in front of the Cuban delegation (shown), adjoining the main reviewing section (see microphone in foreground).

Although this photograph is only one of numerous pieces of tangible evidence proving that **most** of George's "brainwashing" (**programmed behavioral modification**) was performed in East Berlin at a location that credibly passes for a "safe house" there, a growing accumulation of evidence almost conclusively indicates that the entire "brainwashing" job — in Cologne, Duesseldorf, and probably four NATO bases, as well as East Berlin — was conducted exclusively by a CIA-NATO team under CIA direction using British programming techniques. At the same time, there is no doubt that Berger, together with psychiatrist Barbara Peper, was a leading member of the resident East Berlin brainwashing team...which raises interesting speculations concerning Berger's present state of health.

The first half of this special double issue presents a clear picture of brainwashing from three points of view. First, in the editorial **ROCKEFELLER'S 1984 PLOT** by L. Marcus, the topic of brainwashing is presented; the cases, and the analysis of the motives and methods. The thorough understanding of the Christopher White brainwashing led to a decisive tactical understanding of Rockefeller's game plan. The second point of view is that of a victim, Christopher White. Mr. White, in **ON THE TRACK OF MY ASSASSINS**, presents a description of his brainwashing and torture, and its implications. Mr. White, in coming to grips with his brainwashing, motivates Operation Nuremburg, the indictment of today's Nuremburg criminals. The third point of view, **COERCIVE PSYCHOLOGY: CAPITALISM'S MONSTER SCIENCE**, by Carol Menzel, is a comprehensive report on brainwashing, behavior modification, psychosurgery, and other torturous methods of mind control, and details the leading perpetrators of these atrocities upon which Rockefeller and his cohorts depend to install a world fascist order. **ONE HUNDRED YEARS TOWARD INCEST** by Vivian Freyre is the translation of an article first published in the Boletin Internacional (published by the Latin American Labor Committee). This article analyzes Gabriel Garcia Marquez's book, **One Hundred Years of Solitude** as both highly insightful into the problems of Latin Ideology, and at the same time a case in point of those problems. Finally we include **THE MIRACLES AND MARTYRDOM OF SAINT ANTONIO GRAMSCI** by Anna Varga, a history and analysis of anarcho-syndicalism in Italy, and its roots in the Italian National Ideology; an ideology based on bestial and degrading childrearing practices.

## THIS ISSUE

## COMING ISSUES

Coming issues of **The Campaigner** will feature: **THE TAVISTOCK GRIN**, an entire issue devoted to the historical evolution and application of Reesian psychological warfare, brainwashing techniques and related "low intensity operations" in the areas of labor relations, counterinsurgency theory and practice, and the military. This is the first definitive presentation of the background to the current Rockefeller-directed Anglo-American fascist strategy. **LATIN AMERICA**, an issue featuring an analysis and recommendations on the prospects for socialist organizing under the shadow of the Brazilian "miracle", presents a program around which to realize such prospects.

## Editorial:

# Rockefeller's 1984-Plot

by L. Marcus

Hard evidence of CIA brainwashing and conspiracy to effect assassination, and equally firm evidence of a massive effort to prevent investigation of these facts, has enabled the Labor Committees to detect the main features of an enormous Rockefeller-directed CIA plot to impose 1984-style totalitarian government in the U.S.A. and Great Britain during early 1974.

We shall define what we mean by the term "brainwashing," and then present an account of the essential evidence as we have developed it.

### 1. WHAT IS "BRAINWASHING"?

"Brainwashing," as we define it here, is an international crime under the Nuremburg Law. This crime is today widely practiced in the U.S.A. in particular, not only by the intelligence services themselves, but with the complicity of agencies ranging from the World Bank through the National Institute of Health, and including major universities and medical institutions. Furthermore, evidence of this crime is no secret; much of the evidence needed to identify and convict these new Nuremburg criminals is openly available in material published in the public domain!

For purposes of general definition, there is a virtual

boundary line at which the clinical diagnosis of "extreme coercive influence" ends and the diagnosis of "brainwashing" begins. Brainwashing, as we use the term here, signifies a qualitative change in the mental processes of an individual, as precise as the distinction between mere neurosis and a hardened paranoid-schizophrenic condition.

In the neurotic individual, or in the instance of the person still fitting the diagnosis of "extreme coercive influence," the individual's inner sense of self, his sense of "I-ness," controls his external or socially-manifest behavior through a mechanism of adjustment and disguise we term the "persona." In the specifically brainwashed individual, the "sense of I-ness" has effectively lost control of the social use of the body; speaking, seeing, hearing, touching, tasting, smelling, as well as general bodily movements are under virtually total control of an internalized authority entirely alien to the sense of "I-ness." To the extent that the "brainwashed" individual is aware of "I-ness," his Ego is an immobilized prisoner within the living tomb of its own body, the body controlled almost entirely by an alien authority.

For example, until brainwash victim Christopher R. White was able to release himself from such control, he had lost the ability to distinguish colors, to smell, and, according to several simple tests conducted, had suffered substantial impairment of use of his other perceptual powers. Immediately after remission from the brainwashed condition, all these lost perceptual powers immediately returned to him.

In the case of the individual subjected to extreme coercive influence, but not yet clinically "brainwashed," there is a crude symptomatic resemblance to brainwashing in the anxiety with which the individual adapts his behavior to the actuality or fear of "aversive" conditions. These adaptations may have even become habitual through "conditioning;" but the adaptation still falls into the category of "protective coloration," a form of attempted defense of the sense of "I-ness." In the brainwashed individual, the Ego has become essentially dissociated from the criteria controlling socially manifest activities of the body, etc.

Although hypnotism was probably employed as part of the conditioning of the cases we identify here, the writer has no direct knowledge of hypnosis. Insofar as hypnosis may be involved, the writer has accepted the account given by professional literature and more directly by psychiatric specialists who examined victim White. The principal features of the cases to be considered are the results of what is known as "programmed behavioral modification," of which the White case typifies the most

elaborate and sophisticated example from the standpoint of the professional literature in the public domain.

For purposes of discussion we classify the victim's condition according to the resulting state in which he would be clinically encountered as a "product of brainwashing." If we include "extreme coercive influence" as a relevant category as virtual "pre-brainwashing," we have the following general categories of crimes perpetrated upon the victims:

1. *Pre-Brainwashees*: significant "behavioral" or "attitudinal" alterations induced by "environmental," psychoneuropharmacological, psychosurgical "conditioning."
2. *Functional Brainwashing*: Functional alteration of the victim's mental processes, accomplished with or without the aid of convulsive electroshock, etc., in the course of conditioning.

These are of two main clinical types with respect to mental state at the time of examination. The "normal" form is the programmed individual *actively* in the dissociated state for which he has been conditioned. The second, more difficult, case for examination is the individual, who is "waiting" for the proper signal to be "activated" into the "programmed state" (roughly analogous to the individual carrying a compulsion to act upon a "post-hypnotic suggestion").

Functional brainwashing cases fall into two broad types according to the effects of the methods of conditioning employed.

(a) "*Skinnerian*": This is the crudest variety of brainwashing or aversive conditioning, in which the victimized individual is reduced to some degree of autism (de-personalization), habituated to respond idiotically according to induced habits of response according to similarity of functional environment as the dominant stimulus.

This crude cognition-damaging form of brainwashing is suited to factory slaves doing unskilled repetitive labor.

(b) "*Pavlovian*": This is true "brainwashing," in which control of individual behavior is made subject to a specific kind of external social authority, and in which the individual's dissociated "persona" is given one or more *surrogate social identities* in addition to the specific task/response conditioning.

The White case exemplifies the most sophisticated variety of "Pavlovian" conditioning; he was conditioned both to carry eight distinct alternative persona pseudo-identities and to operate in an "infinite" loop among

several of these identities as the terminal phase of his assigned sequence of behavior in programmed state.

3. *Organic*: In this case, which may combine functional brainwashing, the victim is controlled in whole or part through continued drugging, psychosurgical alteration and/or brain implants.

The current and probable uses of these various types of coercive conditioning and brainwashing should be briefly considered as relevant to understanding the cases experienced by the Labor Committees.

The "Skinnerian" method is being employed in several manufacturing firms and other locations. However, it is so destructive of mental abilities that it will probably be used only for ghetto victims and other unskilled-labor-slaves at the terminal end of the labor-recycling process. Not accidentally, we most frequently encounter Skinnerian types of mind destruction in the Imamu Baraka school and similar programs of "educational reform" aimed at ghetto youth.

The Pavlovian method, applied to produce a single pseudo-identity for the persona, is the most effective (from the standpoint of the CIA cabal) for semi-skilled labor, radical youth leaders, etc. The destruction of the mental powers is less acute than with the use of Skinnerian techniques.

The most costly variety of Pavlovian brainwashing, the case of programmed sequences of multiple pseudo-identities, is useful only for special "military" applications in which the victim is to be considered expendable. Keeping a victim in a programmed state of this sort must certainly lead to permanent psychosis.

The "organic methods" are most effective for totalitarian political uses on large populations. Poisoning of water supplies with the psychopharmacological drug, lithium, compulsory dosages of the toxic psycho-drugs of the phenothiazine type, introduction of large-scale compulsory methadone are all effective and cheap methods of reducing large populations to zombie status, and provide a condition in which the subject is more readily functionally brainwashed.

"Psychosurgery" or brain butchery was advocated by some leading surgeons for mass-administration to ghetto blacks after the "Detroit riots," and is being rather widely used as a method of destroying the minds of "potentially dangerous" political leaders. In general, this and other methods of brainwashing are being most widely applied to detected actual or potential leaders among young blacks in various cities of the nation. One of the objectives of CIA organization of ghetto youth gangs has been to apply a method (popularized for the U.S. Navy by "Nazi Doctor" Nathan S. Kline) to force out the determination of potential leaders in the black ghetto,

and then submit those leaders to brainwashing — or imprisonment or kill them.

Other methods developed or widely used by CIA brainwashing specialists are “leaderless group” sorts of “t-group sessions,” “primal scream therapy” and other anti-psychoanalytical “small group dynamics” semi-Pavlovian techniques which tend to produce neuroses and psychotic disturbances up through the point of actual brainwashing.

## 2. EXTENT OF USE

All these methods are already in widespread pilot use — prisoners, ghetto youth, welfare organizers, and New Left leader-types being among the most frequent victims so far.

The development and spread of these Nuremburg crimes originates around the person and influence of Dr. John R. Rees and the Rockefeller-sponsored Tavistock Institute of London. Beginning in the OSS during the war, and the collaboration with Nuremburg criminal Rees by such notables as Kurt Lewin, B.F. Skinner, Nathan S. Kline, and numerous others, these criminal forms of sociology and psychology spread from Tavistock throughout the U.S. under direct and indirect CIA influence and control. The Institute of Social Research at the University of Michigan is a leading CIA center for criminal methods of “social work,” where the “Vietnam Hamlet” and workers’ “co-participation” forms of counterinsurgency were largely developed.

The chief U.S. agency for openly coordinating brainwashing and related crimes is the National Institute of Health and its Nuremburg-criminal-infested subsidiary, the National Institute of Mental Health. Major medical centers and universities are directly engaged in these Nuremburg crimes: the University of Illinois, University of Wisconsin at Madison, Harvard, MIT, Cornell, the State University of New York, as well as the hideous network of Nuremburg criminals in the complex coordinated by the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania.

The University of Pennsylvania’s Wharton School is an example of a coordinating center for projects whose funding-conduits into the School itself are as follows. At the top is the World Bank (Robert McNamara), which conduits through the Ford Foundation (Rockefeller’s McGeorge Bundy), which conduits through the CIA’s local LEAA (Law Enforcement Assistance Administration), which conduits through the National Institute of Health. Out of Wharton runs a hideous complex of research, experiment, teaching, and ap-

plications, with most of the applications directly coordinated with the CIA’s local Philadelphia operations, especially through the CIA’s LEAA operation.

The Labor Committees are compiling a map of the nationwide network of coordinating centers and brainwashing facilities already ready for operational use against ghetto youth, workers, and college youth. The capacity of these criminal institutions is now enormous — ready to swing into large-scale operations.

Apart from the fact that so many of the government, corporate, university, and medical officials involved are obviously Nuremburg criminals, there is also a larger body of criminals awaiting indictment and prosecution in the form of judges (who sentence victims to behavioral modification facilities), social workers (who refer victims to such behavioral modification), psychologists (who either collaborate in the crime or knowingly gather psychological profiles for use by the perpetrators), and factory superintendents and foremen who collaborate in behavioral modification programs. (The Labor Committee is committed to compiling a list of these criminals and their crimes, with the intent of bringing all the perpetrators and their accomplices to Nuremburg proceedings.)

Most important is the state of mind of the medical and other professionals who develop and apply such hideous practices. Are they outright criminals or merely criminally insane? In either case, it is obvious that any medical person or psychologist who practices or advocates programmed behavioral modification has violated the Nuremburg ethic and is otherwise incompetent to diagnose mental states or practice medicine in any form. We intend to enforce the obvious conclusion. We are also alert for those medical practitioners guilty of the malpractice of prescribing convulsive electroshock or other mind-destroying or “personality altering” programs allied to those employed in brainwashing.

Most relevant to the cases under immediate consideration, the “theory of mind” espoused by the brainwashers is utterly incompetent. This fact has admittedly been noted by some competent psychoanalysts and others, many of whom therefore mistakenly argue that such an incompetent theory could not work. Therefore, some specialists mistakenly argue, “There is no such thing as brainwashing.”

Such professionals must take into account the fact that the person who wields a hammer against the skull of another may indeed have the most incompetent view of the order of mental processes. Despite the fact that the theory of mind outlined by Dolphin-man Lilly or “Nazi Doctor” Nathan S. Kline is contemptibly incompetent,

their brainwashing methods do succeed pragmatically in point of fact.

What happens (Cf. the writer's preceding articles on the "new psychoanalysis") is that the sense of self (e.g., what is normally regarded as the Ego) develops an encystment in a manner not unlike the development of psychosis, as a kind of protection against unendurable circumstances. It simply does not happen in the manner that the pseudo-scientific quacks of "artificial intelligence" and "bio-computer" factions imagine it does. Inside the chitinous shell of psychotic persona there is, "sleeping" or aroused, an existing sense of "I-ness" looking outward on the world through a body that has become its living tomb.

As the cases of Konstantin George and Christopher White demonstrate in particular, if that inner sense of self can be reached, supported, and assisted by allies outside the body, this "inner self" is capable of developing the knowledge and strength to release itself from the living prison of its alien-controlled body. This is the aspect of both of these cases which both mystified and infuriated the CIA and its specialists; they pathetically believe that the human mind is nothing but a programmable bio-computer, whose contents can be secured by "key and code" in essentially the same fashion as one user of a shared central computer facility locks away his private data from access by intruders tapping that same computer.

As to exactly how we approach "de-programming" a victim of these "Nazi Doctors," the scientific basis for that will be specified in our forthcoming treatment of the fallacies in the outlook of Dr. R.D. Laing — a most relevant matter respecting the lesser faults of the Tavistock crew — their incompetence.

### 3. HOW IS IT DONE?

The essential principles of "Pavlovian" brainwashing are identical with those studied during and after the Korean War, with one important qualification to which we will return attention very soon.

Modern brainwashing requires the following equipment:

- (1) One secure tiltable, swivelable, high-backed chair, with arm rests, foot support, and stout restraining straps.
- (2) Attached to the head of the chair, one set of binaural earphones, suitable for use for periods of one to two hours and straps to secure the earphones in place despite subject's efforts to dislodge them.
- (3) One slide projector and screen, "preferably" of

a stereo type for image-projection to each eye independently.

- (4) Psychopharmacological repertoire and miscellaneous small pieces of medical equipment.
- (5) Subject's psychological profile and on-line connection to a computer controlling audio and visual input.
- (6) Hypnotist.
- (7) Small objects to be used as props.
- (8) Two or three trained operators and attendants.

It is not necessary to have electro-shock equipment, since drugs exist to simulate this. (Why use a costly, bulky power-supply, etc., when a syringe will suffice and leave a smaller trail?)

With this equipment, the CIA's Nazi Doctors can effectively simulate conditions way beyond those obtained under months of programmed conditioning in a Korean prisoner of war camp. The victim can be treated for two hours or more each day, two to four days a week, and sent home each day with his memory blocked against inadvertently remembering what has occurred and unable to resist returning to further treatment at his next appointment.

In the case of Christopher White, which involved a sophisticated program, White was subjected to fifty-two days of "conditioning," ranging from three to eight hours a day, and usually between three to five hours, four days a week for the period from Sept. 17 through Dec. 18, with a "final touch" of programming and drugging (to induce psychotic symptoms) on Dec. 27th. In the case of William Engdahl, we have located only five weeks (during July and August) during which he was programmed in Chicago, a less ambitious program, but one on a victim who had been previously programmed by the CIA in Sweden in late 1969. In the case of Konstantin George, we know that he was conditioned by the CIA at least once in either late February or early March, conditioned by the East Germans on several weekends beginning April 6, 1973, and given a month of conditioning during July, 1973. In other cases, such as members of NAG (the "New Alternatives Group" of CIA-controlled former LC members), we have only been able to estimate the approximate period of their basic brainwashing by the CIA.

There is an element of remaining uncertainty on our part concerning the total number of days victims have been subjected to CIA treatment of one sort or another apart from the basic brainwashing job. In each case, except for the case of White, there is at least one incident in which the victim was placed under control before his or her actual brainwashing began, and evidence of

subsequent contact with his controllers for further reinforcement of control. We are still uncertain of several matters related to the long-term effects of initial control and post-brainwashing contact with controllers.

We are more certain of the effects of a "sleeping" programmed state on a person who otherwise seems generally normal. The CIA or Tavistock variety of brainwashing job leaves certain small traits evident in the person even when not in programmed state. (For security reasons we are not revealing these flaws in the CIA program at the immediate time.) In addition to those discovered "litmus tests," the brainwashed individual suffers a progressive deterioration in mental powers and an accelerating deterioration in emotional responses. We are also certain that the "Harlow's monkeys" syndrome applies to human victims: under appropriate stimulus, the victim will turn on individuals identified as CIA agents and kill them if possible. Inside the programmed person, the imprisoned Ego seethes, awaiting the opportunity to break out and kill the CIA controller. This might otherwise be termed the "Billy Budd" syndrome: the CIA brainwashing victim is effectively controlled in his or her verbal behavior, in which dissociation is most effective. The mere need to use the body for walking, etc., introduces a tendency for remission from control in such "non-verbal" ("reality principle") behavior. The individual who sits psychotically smiling while obeying the CIA control can, at a certain point lash out and kill the same controller his mouth must obey.

The nature of the actual processes of the human mind is such that brainwashing could not be effectively accomplished by private individuals or small groups within society. *Only a government agency can effectively brainwash a victim.* What induces the victim to submit to brainwashing is his conviction that he is in the hands of an omnipresent, omniscient power which can effectively and promptly take possession of him anywhere. Thus, the world is made into a controlled environment by the victim's terror of the CIA.

White's tormentors stressed this to the point that we have the strongest circumstantial evidence that either British MI5 or the CIA set off a bomb blast, causing a reported fifty-four casualties, essentially to intensify White's terror to the effect that they "can get you anywhere."

In general, especially on the concluding conditioning days of Dec. 17, and 18, White's programming team warned him that he should not imagine he could escape from them. It was particularly stressed that a New York cop named Finnegan would automatically appear in the case after White reached New York City, and that

Finnegan (who "works for us") would quickly arrange the killing or mind destruction of White should he fail to comply with the assignment.

The bomb business was part of this same pattern. At "school" on the morning of Dec. 18th (White's last regular day of programming), he was informed that his tormentors had picked up a parcel which his mother had sent him (this was true), but they also showed him another parcel, which they reported to be a book bomb.

We had White draw a diagram of the book bomb in New York, which conformed to such a device according to an expert trained in intelligence.

White was challenged that same time with queries as to what he had done on his way to school that morning. He was shown a photograph of himself standing with two other persons outside a government office off Trafalgar Square, then a slide showing bomb havoc, and slides of police and other persons deployed around what appeared to be a bomb incident. White's Irish ancestry was generously alluded to, together with references to the IRA and the argument that all "you politicians" are bombers, "aren't you?"

The next morning, Dec. 19th, a bomb blast, injuring a reported fifty-four casualties, occurred in the location shown to White the day before. Obviously, two objectives were reached by the CIA and MI5 through that atrocity. In general, it served as part of the MI5's notorious wave of "IRA" bomb scares, and also conveniently strengthened the terror which MI5 and the CIA were focussing on White himself.

Bugging ("We will always know what you're doing") and omnipotence (CIA, police complicity), were absolutely essential parts of the terror used to ensure White's continued submission to the program. Indeed, the first day of school, when his interrogation began in the school's medical suite, the discussion focussed on his "life insurance policy."

It works two ways. Provided we break up the power of the Rockefellers, bring the CIA to trial, imprison the Nazi Doctors, and close down the brainwashing factories, many of the victims of functional brainwashing and coercive conditioning will begin to break free and can be completely cured with proper psychoanalytical and related assistance.

#### 4. HOW IT BEGAN

Our knowledge of brainwashing as such began abruptly in a small town just outside Dusseldorf, West Germany, last August 1.

About noon that day, we received a telephone call

from Konstantin George, telephoning from his regular place of employment, the Benedict School in Cologne.

We had reason to be concerned. During the period of "Mop-Up" in the U.S.A., George had made repeated trips to East Berlin on many of the weekends from then until the end of May. Ostensibly, he was visiting an East German psychiatrist, Barbara Peper, resident at the Charite Hospital in that city. Then, at the end of June, he had returned to East Berlin with a month's visa.

The writer instructed two members of the European Labour Committees to pick George up and invite him back where we could discuss matters with him at leisure and in reasonable security from any possible KGB interference.

George arrived in an obviously dissociated state. Ordinarily, we would have immediately assumed he was victim of an extreme anxiety neurosis or actual psychosis. The fact that this writer knew George quite well and that this change had been effected in connection with the visits to East Berlin was the only initial evidence we had to suspect that it just might possibly be something other than a functional disorder.

After about two hours of listening to George's initial rehearsed cover story, and some supportive cross-questioning as to details, it became obvious that he had been brainwashed.

How? How could this writer, with no prior empirical or formal knowledge of brainwashing (except of the sort general knowledge of the subject would supply), positively determine so directly that George had been brainwashed?

By listening and making a few carefully-posed questions: George's cover-story was a series of film-strip-frame-like memories, each recollection connected by a contentless "and, then." He neither had any memory to fill in any of the "in-betweens," nor could he reverse his account. It was not a memorized speech, either. The words changed, but the picture being described remained the same.

By proving to George that he had been brainwashed, showing this in terms of his story, and by attempting to enlist him as my collaborator in "What I am going to do to the bastards who did this to you," referring to our past collaborations, I enabled him to break through momentarily.

Then, reinforced by cigarettes and beer, he drifted into his second cover-story. Then, similarly, a third.

By this time, we were alert to the significance of the cigarettes and the beer. These were obviously "reward objects" whose use returned him to the control of his programmers. (The skinflint CIA, unlike the more enlightened *Staatssicherheitsdienst*, offers only cheap

cigarettes and no beer to its victims.) We stopped the cigarettes and beer, and George managed to get out enough of the truth between cover-stories layers of film-strip memories, so that we had the essential features of the problem identified.

Most significant was the date, by which he was to accomplish something and report to East Berlin. That date had no significance but being the time I would be in Milan, Italy, prior to my arrival at the "Rosa Luxemburg" conference in Reggio Emilia. (Later, we discovered that Sept. 14-16 was the time of my scheduled assassination, and that George was to mark me "from the inside" for the hit team.) We hustled George back to New York, encouraged by detection of a known DKP agent poking about the premises, and then issued a press release throughout Europe and parts of North America, announcing the blowing of the brainwashing job.

We immediately set several projects into motion. We initiated the formation of a counterintelligence group and operation, for the principal immediate purpose of backtracking the brainwashing of George. We organized a research into "brainwashing" techniques in both Western circles and Eastern Europe, for the principal purpose of developing information which might be of therapeutic significance in the further treatment of George by specialists. This work prepared us for the next encounter we would have with brainwashing, on the evening of Dec. 30.

Counterintelligence work not only confirmed that George had been in East Berlin, but that he had, as he had reported, enjoyed a privileged seating position in the stands for the East Berlin World Youth Festival, where he was visibly in a dissociated state and accompanied by two guards (flanking him) one an official of the East German Ministry of State Security, the other a plain-clothes officer of the SSD.

Equally important, investigations began to peel away the connections of the dramatis personae of the circles that had set George up. Spotting Elizabeth Arlt, a West German national and close (lesbian) friend of Barbara Peper, who led tour groups to Bulgaria, we also uncovered links to British International Socialists and its tiny SAG (Socialist Workers Group). Cross-checking the links we had begun to expose, we uncovered a large-scale network which had been built up as an ostensible KGB operation in the GI and deserter movements developed in Europe during the middle-to-late 1960s. Robert "Bo" Burlingham (former Weatherman leader and until recently editor of Ramparts) was the ostensible top operative. Either Burlingham had been implicated by the KGB and "turned" by the FBI-CIA (certainly presently a CIA-controlled person), or he had been a KGB

stringer for the CIA from the start. Andrew Kopkind was the individual who appeared with the next-greatest frequency in the immediate network used later against us (from "Alexander," palpable Soviet operative to "Bruno" — Burckhardt Bluem — in Frankfurt and Klaus in the SAG.) Then, the complex network based in Sweden, linked to the Paris-based operation, and the meetings of the Paris group in Kopkind's base in Boston, Mass.

We kept peeling, looking for the final connection which would show how George had been pre-conditioned to develop his "affair" with Barbara Peper.

That one thing remained unsolved — until Chris White had been deprogrammed. How was George induced to develop this obsessive compulsion for a love-affair with a woman (Barbara Peper) in March when his first meeting with her occurred only on April 6? By the end of the first week of this January, we knew the answer: the CIA had "grabbed" George and conditioned him to place himself at the disposal of the East German Ministry.

This final piece of the jigsaw puzzle was easily placed. During the spring period George was regularly visiting East Berlin, he was regularly teaching on four NATO bases! Each week he crossed the border to the East, the East German Ministry of State Security was routinely supplying his name (with the name of all other visitors) to the West German and NATO security agencies. Yet George was the only staff member at the Benedict School teaching on NATO bases not required to pass a security clearance! Other indications, from early fall of 1973, has proven that the entire George affair and scheduled assassination were conducted under the eyes and noses of NATO intelligence — without interference.

It is now probable truth that the KGB 9th Department had not had a prior plan for this writer's immediate assassination. However, when the CIA plopped into its lap the individual who would be my closest companion on the European continent, the obvious response had been, "This opportunity is simply too good to miss." Unless we hear from the KGB we will not know what collateral provocations it enjoyed from the CIA on this scheme. It is clear that the CIA intended to have this writer killed, with the KGB taking the credit, by no later than mid-September.

## 5. CRITICAL FEATURES OF THE WHITE CASE

Since White himself has documented essential features of his own case in this same issue, we can limit ourselves to summarizing those special features of the case which have direct bearing on the Rockefeller-CIA plot.

In the case of a brainwash victim, especially one who, like White, was given eight distinct pseudo-identities, the testimony of the victim is tainted in the ordinary sense of such evidence. Nonetheless, the statements of such a victim do have evidentiary value on several levels:

1. Programmed behavioral modification of the type to which White was subjected does supply conclusive evidence to the effect, first, that programmed behavioral modification has occurred, and that it is of a form which could be effected only through complicity of either the CIA or KGB.

(a) The crudest but preponderantly indicative evidence of this type is that full remission from what two leading psychiatrists provisionally diagnosed as probable paranoid schizophrenia within days of such diagnosis, and the related clinical history of the victim.

(b) That the subject had, after Dec. 26, suddenly developed eight distinct "schizophrenic" pseudo-identities.

(c) That the "paranoid" fantasies included knowledge of childish Russian (with a heavy Ukrainian accent) and childish but fluent German (with a heavy Slavic accent), and that the subject also responded clinically to both KGB and CIA "key and code" formats. This and related information could not be attributed to fantasy.

(d) That the pattern of personality and sensory changes in the individual during the period of indicated programming corresponded to the broad outlines of the conditioning approach.

(e) That, despite gradual personality changes, there had been no psychotic or related symptoms in the subject's behavior until Dec. 27, and no history of psychological disturbance in the previous life of the individual.

(f) That the patterns of false memory and jumps from one pseudo-identity to the next corresponded to an artificially induced state of the type appropriate to programmed behavioral modification.

2. Critical portions of the victim's information bearing on the alleged plot itself were corroborated by facts which could not have been known to him:

(a) That the first optional form of assassination was to be made by a seven-man Latin team. Unknown to White, countersurveillance had identified persons keeping the writer's apartment building under surveillance for the preceding two days as individuals known to have been members of the "CAL" and "MIRA" "action groups," which

usually operate in "hit" teams of seven persons. We did not know until more than a week later that the individuals identified had transferred to a CIA-controlled "Furia" group, although the first Police Intelligence Division officer we consulted had suggested "Furia" as the hit team. During the period we also picked up military-type signals in Spanish being broadcast (as determined by crude triangulation) within a half-mile of the premises.

(b) White reported that he had the option of exchanging recognition-triggers, "Charles" and "Boston," with Alice Weitzman, who he knew as a contact for "alternate resources" for assassination. Weitzman, who later reported her suspicion that she had been "programmed," had been stalking the halls outside the premises White was scheduled to visit, and generally acting in a bizarre fashion immediately prior to and during the period of White's arrival. Later peculiarities of the Weitzman case, including the police department's bringing in Robert Dillon, who had no close connection to Weitzman, to identify Labor Committee members for arrest significantly confirms the circumstantial evidence of Weitzman's state as a brainwashed victim. Other evidence to the same effect was discovered later on.

(c) White identified a telephone number which later ceased operation as his contact to activate the Dec. 31 "hit" by the Latin squad.

(d) White had another telephone number he could not have known in advance to activate the killing of Marcus if Marcus should succeed in deprogramming him. White believed that this number would set officer Finnegan into motion to arrange the killing; the number proved to be that for the New York Police Department, and Finnegan is the suggested CIA-linked member of a special team in the Police Department.

3. After first identifying the assassins and the brainwashers as KGB, White later developed the evidence that the plot was CIA/MI5, information substantially confirmed independently.

(a) British Caledonian Airlines officials issued a succession of contradictory stories and engaged in a number of peculiar actions which indicate "dirty tricks" by some agency of the British government.

(b) The FBI and the New York Police Department refused to investigate strong evidence of one of the most notorious cases of subversion special operations in the recent decade, although they were repeatedly offered full cooperation.

(c) The CIA alleged in open court through its at-

torneys that no brainwashing had occurred. The arrogance of this claim was an obvious attempt to influence the judge in a way calculated to suppress evidence.

(d) The New York Police Department, previously informed of brainwash victims in an assassination plot, acted to place valuable evidence against the CIA in the control of the CIA (the actions of Detective-Sergeant Finnegan in the Weitzman case).

(e) Reports have been compiled of concerted action by the CIA to induce the press to suppress coverage of the brainwashing and assassination plot, as well as intensive campaigning by CIA agents and stringers to maliciously discredit the victims, even to the extent that the New York Times and Village Voice, among other press agencies, engaged in naked criminal libel against the victims. Nat Hentoff, identifying himself in alliance with CIA agents Burlingham and Kopkind, conducted a campaign in an effort to dissuade members of a Commission of Inquiry from serving.

(f) Descriptive identification of the Labor Committees was included in a "CIA disclosure" of a Heathrow Airport bombing plot.

4. The coincidence in timing of the psychotic-type manifestations by Christopher White, William Engdahl, and Alice Weitzman. The evidence is that Engdahl's condition was not only the result of the same general type of brainwashing imposed on White, but that Engdahl's program was designed to mesh with White's to the effect of impelling White to kill his own wife.

5. The most decisive feature of White's evidence was his writing out, while in "programmed state B," a set of specifications for a program of behavioral modification of the type he manifested. Not only did he thus show knowledge beyond his capability, but he produced this in a format idiosyncratic to "programmed learning" of such material. This "print-out" by White acting as a "programmed biocomputer" coincided with information he later gave concerning the only day he recalls being tortured for information.

On or about November 25 (his tormentors imposed false dates contrary to "real time" on him for each day's "programming experience"), White's day was spent being subjected to torture concerning Marcus's deprogramming of Konstantin George. The burden of the tormentor's inquiry was "That bastard Marcus is no superman; how did he get the key and code to break that East German job?"

This concern of the CIA coincides with the conceits of

the Tavistock crew on the nature of the human mental processes.

There is only one reason the CIA would program White to deliver to me a set of program specifications under certain specific advanced stages of deprogramming. Assuming that I had survived assassination and other prescribed "dirty tricks," this would be attributed to my skill in "deprogramming" in some fashion still unknown to the CIA's Tavistock-linked "brain trusters." It would not be entirely incredible to the CIA that I might possess such skills. I had worked on certain approaches to "metaprogramming" during the late 1950's and early 1960's, am visibly involved in certain epistemological programs bearing on advanced questions of a related sort, and did succeed in assisting George in freeing himself without any attributable source of "programming key and code" from East German sources. If I could "break through" this "special job" of White's eight-layer programming more than part-way, perhaps I actually did have some important capability unknown to them. In that case they would wish to have that knowledge. Otherwise, their instructing White to produce a sketch he could not have invented makes no sense at all.

Later investigations indicated that if I had succeeded, they had intended to abduct (for example, "arrest") me and kill me at leisure.

## 6. HOW WE SURVIVED

According to certain critics of our account, the principal defect in our evidence submitted is that there is no corpse. Contrary to such opinion, the best evidence for the conspiracy we report is that we succeeded in preventing corpses — so far.

Is anyone so gullible as to imagine that if the police and FBI had the slightest hope that this was a hoax, that they would not have "fully cooperated" in the investigation to discredit us? Or that Paul Montgomery, who lied in the most outrageous fashion — making statements absolutely contrary to his knowledge of the evidence — would not have been delighted on behalf of his CIA-allied employers to indulge the Times audience in full disclosure of the facts (rather than sweeping falsehoods) unless he, like the police, the CIA, and the New York Times, were strongly opposed to any competent investigation.

That is the key to our survival during the first weeks of January. Once we put the story out widely on the streets, any "hit" against the NCLC would have immediately

confirmed our warnings. We have prevented crimes by the CIA, FBI, and police by telegraphing their next alternative moves in advance.

There is a limit to this tactic. Eventually, the Rockefeller forces will order some "legal" frameup or police killings at all costs. We must have the investigations considerably broadened, to the point that we even threaten to upset Rockefeller's Watergate conspiracy against Nixon if any action is taken which strongly confirms our warnings.

Rockefeller and the CIA must really hate our guts now.

There we were, they imagined, a mere pawn to be played as a first move in a game in which the object was to establish 1984-style totalitarian governments in the USA and Great Britain. As we said before: "The pawn bit." We not only foiled the initial assassination plot, but quickly uncovered the real perpetrators. Rockefeller and the CIA know that the Soviet KGB has not only figured out the nature of the CIA plot, but that the KGB is already taking remedial steps to correct the CIA penetration of its organization involved in setting up both the Konstantin George and Dec. 31 operations. There is a growing uneasy suspicion to the effect that the Labor Committees' report may be correct. The New York Times, AP, and UPI are compelled to cover up the major CIA story broken throughout the European press, lest reporting that story give credence to the Labor Committees' charges. If anti-totalitarian forces in the liberal and conservative machines in this country move to counterattack against Rockefeller and the CIA, the Labor Committees' actions during the first weeks of this year will have contributed at least marginally to the inevitably ensuing breakup of the CIA and the Rockefeller oil cartels.

White's account and other developments suffice to show us the general nature of the Rockefeller-CIA plot.

Firstly, the plot could not have been generated by any combination but the CIA and the Rockefeller-dominated faction of financial interests controlling the world's major petroleum cartels. It is now clear that the plot included the following phases:

- (1) The Daniel Ellsberg "Pentagon Papers" hoax, whitewashing the CIA, beginning to set up Nixon as scapegoat.
- (2) The CIA's inside-outside "Watergate" set-up of President Nixon, probably with the aid of Rockefeller agents inside the Administration.
- (3) The blowing of the Watergate "revelations," a publicity job pre-cleared through the CIA.

(4) The manufacture of the latest Arab-Israeli war as a cover for a massive rise in oil prices and for a phony oil shortage.

The first three set-ups could have been arranged by any powerful financier faction in complicity with its political front, the CIA machinery. The addition of the fourth element, the great oil hoax, supervised by Rockefeller stooge Henry Kissinger, could not have been pulled off without the complicity of the Rockefeller faction of international finance.

The resignation of Nelson Rockefeller from the New York State governorship for more urgent responsibilities in connection with "Critical Choices." During the same period, it was revealed that Rockefeller had been actively involved in national "internal security matters," signifying his approving role in connection with CIA takeover of the FBI, and CIA takeover of police departments through the LEAA. In general, all the clues leading backward from the important dirty tricks afoot in this period lead in the direction of a faction which has one chief common denominator, the Rockefeller name.

Then, the CIA "red scare" plot planned months earlier, pushing for military government in Great Britain on the basis of a Rockefeller-created oil-shortage crisis. The authors of the CIA plot involving the Labor Committees had to be in cahoots with the faction which engineered the oil-shortage hoax.

There is only one immediate action to be taken with temporary agreement among liberals, conservatives and working people on this particular chore: Bust up the financial power-base of the Rockefeller family and bust up the CIA and LEAA immediately. After that urgent chore is completed, the rest of us can proceed to settle our mutual political differences in a proper political fashion, without any more 1984 horrors hanging over our heads.

## 7. OUR COMPETENCE

The principle important issue in the case has been the allegation that our charges were variously wilful hoaxes or, otherwise, that we lacked the competence to develop the conclusions we offered.

The hoax allegation is easily discredited. This allegation is made by persons and agencies as a pretext for blocking the independent investigations we have requested. In short, the persons charging hoax are either singularly stupid, of suspect motives, or simply hysterical. The proper way to deal with suspected hoaxes is to conduct a competent parallel investigation of the evidence, precisely what we have demanded.

As to competence, the only debatable realm of our various competences is that of our skills in "psychoanalytical 'deprogramming' methods." We shall deal with this first.

In broad terms, there is ample evidence of the state in which Konstantin George returned from East Berlin on August 1, and the condition of Christopher White and William Engdahl during the period Dec. 27 through Jan. 6 in particular. There is the evidence that remission was effected in two of the three cases within a short period of time. This procedure is supported by its background documentation in a series of articles published in *The Campaigner*, in which a scientific basis is adequately established for the methods employed.

This aspect will, in one sense, have to be fought out within the psychological professions. For the short term, we have proposed a compromise approach. We have indicated that numerous accredited psychoanalysts could independently confirm our approach from their own standpoint, and that in certain areas of procedure, some M.D. psychiatrists might well have important competence to contribute otherwise beyond our means. In short, we have proposed to have our methods and procedures reviewed and the evidence independently reexamined by psychoanalysts, psychiatrists, and psychologists. This "compromise" approach would satisfy the requirements for the immediate problem, and leave the broader professional issues of the "new psychoanalysis" to ongoing scrutiny and subsequent resolution apart from the specific cases themselves.

In this context we should identify and comment upon two incompetent allegations made against us from CIA and other sources.

The first of these, picked up by *New York Times* reporter Paul Montgomery, is the allegation that we deprogrammed Christopher White by aversive methods of interrogation. Montgomery suggests that even some electro-shock might have been used to this effect. It should be emphasized that such an account is absolutely incompetent. The remarks of Dr. Joost M. Meerloo on "deprogramming" methods are broadly representative of most recommendations: the efficient prophylaxis and remedy for brainwashing lies essentially within the domain of "love and laughter." Aversive methods must essentially reinforce the problem or reduce the victim to a shambles.

Put otherwise, deprogramming is accomplished by the victim himself, through supportive and related measures which enable the enslaved Ego of the victim to reestablish wilful control of his mouth, eyes, ears, smell, taste, etc. "It's safe for you to come out now;" "We will share your problem, and will fight your oppressors side

by side with you": these are the typical attitudes through which the loving friends of the victim assist him in breaking free of the enslavement.

The second and more luridly self-contradictory allegation, also included in the paradoxical slanders published under the Paul Montgomery byline, is the charge that I "brainwashed" White (or, from other sources, both White and Engdahl). Interestingly enough, this allegation of special skills (such that I could brainwash a person within a few hours, where it normally requires weeks or months by the most skilled Tavistock types), is usually coupled with the assertion that it is absolutely absurd to suggest that I could deprogram a victim!

In general, the fact remains that hard evidence of the programming of White, George, and Engdahl has been established, and that I supervised the successful remission which occurred quickly in two of these three cases. That is the hard core of prima facie evidence of special competence, evidence supported by the published writings on the "new psychoanalysis."

Apart from such specific narrower issues, there is a larger issue of credibility which has nothing to do with the issue of brainwashing itself. We shall now consider some frequent reactions by journalists and others.

All these fall under the general heading, "The reason we find it difficult to believe your evidence of brainwashing and assassination plot is because ..."

The first of these is, "It's ridiculous to think that the CIA would go to so much trouble to assassinate you." This is a serious point. Obviously, the easy way to effect an assassination is to stick to the pattern of the John F. Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, Martin Luther King, George Wallace assassinations and attempted assassinations: the lone, "random" assassination. Any suitable killer, assigned to kill on opportunity, is the "discreet" and well-established method for ridding oneself of an individual with the least risk of backtrail to the ultimate perpetrators of the crime. The journalists and others are absolutely correct in suggesting that the object of the attack plot could not be merely my assassination.

The answer becomes clear once we consider what the story would have been if the assassination had been successful. Then we begin to have the matter in the perspective the evidence demands.

The conclusion would have been that the "hit" had been arranged by the Soviet KGB, 9th Department. White's initial cover story and his planned lapse into total psychosis or death, along with the Furia/CAL/MIRA identity of the number-one assassination alternative (the early-morning hit-and-run killing in my apartment) would have left a broad trail

back to the KGB. This cover story to account for the assassination would have been made sufficiently credible by the growing intensity and extreme virulence of Communist Party attacks on the NCLC and me since October, 1971, including attacks in East German and Soviet publications, and attacks on the Labor Committees both by West German Communist Party leaders and its now-daily paper, *UZ*.

It would have added up to a nice little "red scare," implicating the Soviet KGB, the U.S. Communist Party, and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Furthermore, I am the only individual in the socialist movement in North America and Western Europe whose assassination could be credibly blamed in this way on the Soviet network.

The elaborate dimensions of the assassination plot make sense only if my assassination were intended as a pawn's move to implicate the Soviets and the PSP in a general "red scare."

We have abundant correlated evidence supporting that judgment. During the same days the initial assassination plot was launched against me, the CIA "revealed" a major bomb-terror plot, using individuals "as evidence" *who arrived in England through complicity of U.S. intelligence services*. This CIA-"discovered" plot not only included Soviet material but the reports of the plot included descriptive identification of the Labor Committees. Furthermore, the Heathrow incident was the opening of a campaign to establish the CIA's presence in the United Kingdom as a necessary included remedy for a "red menace" in that country.

In content and timing, the plotted assassination in New York City would have contributed enormously to the credibility of the CIA hoax which erupted in Great Britain that same week.

The significance of this correlated information is that the same major newspapers and other media which refused to give honest journalistic treatment to the Labor Committees' demand for a competent independent investigation of major crimes were also suppressing coverage of the biggest story to hit Europe in years — the furor about the CIA's "red scare" in England. Since the lid was put on the first story by the CIA and the New York Police Department's Intelligence Division, according to a number of key editors and reporters, and since the British CIA scandal was blocked with the aid of the foreign reporting staff (notoriously CIA-infiltrated and controlled) of UPI, AP, *New York Times*, etc., no informed journalist could reasonably doubt either the connection between the two suppressed stories or that this connection provided an extremely probable solution to the problem of the elaborate assassination plot.

Here, however, a second argument against credibility

arises: "What possible reason could the CIA have for doing such things? Why should they risk as much on a caper involving a group so small and uninfluential as your own?"

This sort of question leads into two initially contradictory lines of opinion. On the one side we encounter the journals who say we are unimportant, like the New York Times, which devotes over 2,000 words of front-page coverage to slander us in its Sunday edition! At the other end, we have those who follow the school of Victor "The Weasel" Riesel, a notorious mouthpiece for the Mesozoic faction of the FBI and intelligence services. Riesel, citing attacks on us by FBI chief Clarence Kelley, insists that we are becoming a "massive" threat, "sufficient danger in ourselves to justify new emergency powers being given to national security forces.

Whichever side of the estimate of our importance per se one chooses, this is a secondary issue. The overriding question respecting the brainwashing and assassination plot is not whether we are important in and of ourselves, but whether we represent a suitable pawn for expandable use in attempting to create a "red scare."

Obviously, the CIA and its accomplices must have covered themselves (at least, by now) for all contingencies. If we had responded in panic and futile desperation, we could have been dealt with in one way. We did not; we might, therefore, become a danger fact. Now the CIA has the option of attempting to use our accelerating growth in members and influence as plausible evidence that we meet Mr. Riesel's rather paranoid specifications.

This brings our attention to a third and more powerful argument. "If there is such evidence of a 'red scare' plot, then your evidence of brainwashing is all the more incredible to me, since it implies that the CIA is now engaged in an effort to impose dictatorship on the United Kingdom and North America. I just can't face the idea of believing that."

On this we have collected, and are still collecting, a mass of evidence. However, large and conclusive this evidence may be in its own right, it still leaves our normal journalist wishing all the more intensely that the entire story could be brushed aside as "simply incredible." At this point, our most essential competence comes into consideration: our extremely advanced competence in political economy.

For a period of approximately fifteen years, this writer and his collaborators have elaborated an analysis of the internal dynamics and prognoses for capitalist development, analyses which have been given overwhelming and virtually unique empirical vindication, as predictions, over the entirety of the most recent eight

years. This area of special competence, which seems the most abstract to the layman and usual journalist, pertains to the most important and hardest evidence of all.

The problem confronting every student of history, especially current history, is to keep his analytical perspective focused away from petty conspiracies, etc., and to recognize that conspiracies *in and of themselves* cannot determine the course of history. The analyst must break free of the naive empiricist conception of history. He must, that is to emphasize, avoid all accounts of history which purport to explain the course of major developments as a kind of sum of autonomous local events, or, otherwise as a kind of "statistical" consequence of autonomous (if interacting) "molecular" movements within a mass of individuals and parochial institutions. Conspiracies of real significance to the course of history derive their origins and substance from broad movements whose principal features are substantially independent of the will of any particular set of conspirators, however powerful those conspirators may be.

There is nothing incredible about the current CIA plot once the plot is set against the background of political economic developments over the period of the late 1960's and early 1970's. The capitalist sector of the world entered a period of breakdown of its postwar monetary system during the summer of 1971, and it has been careening from one band-aid short-term remedy to the next ever since, all the while the underlying long-term stability of the system has been eroding at an accelerating rate.

For economic reasons, as we have repeatedly discussed in ample detail before this present time, the capitalist system is moving rapidly toward the point that it has no alternative for its continued economic stabilization but the political remedies of fascism. In the ordinary course of events, such a capitalist alternative would have to wait until mass-based fascist movements have been developed. This would normally occur under conditions of months of continued mass unemployment, etc., and would probably require about two or three years more — although perhaps significantly less — to bring the world of economic wreckage to the political condition in which fascist governments would become the uniquely determined alternative to socialism for the capitalist class.

The present plot, which could not have been organized apart from the financier faction associated with the Rockefellers, thus represents an attempt to short circuit the process of developing mass-based fascist movements. The premise upon which the assumed feasibility of such

a plot depends must be the assumption that Tavistock CIA technology in "social control" and "brainwashing" permit the plotters to impose a 1984 version of fascism from above. Viewed in such terms, the conception of the plot as we now know of it makes historical sense. As we have previously indicated, the general conception of "fascism from above" is an unscientific blunder, a potential super-"Bay of Pigs" blunder, *on the condition that* there are effective forces in motion to exploit the fallacy of the plotters' conceptions. Whatever the flaws in the conception, it is a plot which would have sufficient credibility to the desperate Rockefeller-faction circles for them to commit themselves to its implementation.

In all analyses of evidence, as in psychoanalysis, the final test of evidence and judgments is the "reality principle": can such evidence, such judgments, correspond to the real world taken as a whole?

Admittedly, insofar as these matters are introduced into court proceedings, or before Commissions of Inquiry, we are obliged to limit the statement of the case to a very narrow realm of evidence involving only the facts of brainwashing and the assassination plot itself. This is an admissible and necessary concession to prevailing "rules of evidence." However, although the ordinary layman falsely imagines that such fragmentary approaches to hard evidence are preferable, he is mistaken — badly mistaken.

The ultimate disproof of all error and all hoaxes is located in the tests of coherence. Even the experienced tax auditor has some experience with this problem: it might seem that auditing a company's isolated accounts is the proper test of their validity; actually, it is cross-checks and reconstructions concerning all the purchases and disbursements in the total environment of the individual firm which represents the only conclusive determination of the separation of reality from fiction. The fearful flight into incredulity on the part of reporters and others with respect to the firmly-established hard-core facts in this case shows the same principle. They doubt the evidence not so much because they have any basis for reasonable doubts concerning the evidence itself, but because the very existence of that evidence implies necessary judgments about their entire world which they are ill-prepared to face. Only when the full implications of the matter, the Rockefeller-CIA plot itself, are brought into view does there exist sufficient proof for the plotters' actions in the brainwashing and assassination plot.

The ultimate solution to the hysteria-motivated doubts of some journalists and other people will be provided by a special kind of evidence, the strongest evidence one

might imagine.

There are two general classes of intelligence. One of these classes is, relatively speaking, static: the collection of evidence left laying about to be picked up. The second class is the dynamic sort obtained by "tactical reconnaissance."

By organizing masses of workers to stop the Rockefeller energy and hoax-plots and planned chaos, by organizing to expose the CIA's Law Enforcement Assistance Administration plans to create ghetto riots early this year, by exposing the fraud of the "Pentagon Papers" and the CIA's "Watergate" hoax, we shall force the enemy into the open and thus expose the vast network of conspirators and their plots and sub-plots.

Busting up the Rockefeller cartels, busting up the CIA, liquidating the LEAA operations, closing down the brainwash factories, and bringing the perpetrators to a Nuremburg trial, will produce all the evidence anyone would possibly require. The "evidence" concerning the White-Engdahl cases points toward such efforts; but the efforts should be made anyway. The Rockefeller-engineered energy hoax is sufficient evidence for such actions.

## 8. THE SOVIET KGB

Finally, we have to summarize the KGB angle in the George and White cases. The full story will not be known until either the Soviets or members of Allied intelligence services make appropriate disclosures. At this time, certain broad judgments can be firmly stated, judgments which seem to cover the matter for all present practical purposes.

In both instances, especially the two incidents taken together, we have a picture of a very efficient and extensive CIA penetration of the Soviet KGB. Without such penetration, the simulation of total KGB responsibility probably could not have been arranged. It was necessary for the CIA, in the George case, that the KGB be disposed to take advantage of the victim sent to them by the CIA. In the White case, it was necessary for the CIA that certain parts of the Soviet apparatus emit rather lurid literary attacks and assume hooligan postures toward the Labor Committees at precisely the time the assassination was planned to occur. It was more urgent in both cases, that the CIA be certain that the KGB would not detect the real nature of the operation in time to exploit that knowledge.

There is another related matter which is somewhat speculative, although indications weigh heavily towards its validity.

We had assumed that the KGB-originated charges that the Labor Committees were "CIA-sponsored" groups were entirely fictitious libels of the sort formerly developed against Leon Trotsky and others. This was undoubtedly the case *up through early August, 1973*. However, on the basis of information developed in the White case, it appears that CIA penetration of KGB circles developed the view that I had somehow secured deprogramming information for use with George from certain unknown channels. The CIA was particularly concerned to discover the (non-existent) channels through which such technical information had been obtained. It must be reasonably assumed that the East Germans and KGB drew parallel but opposite conclusions.

To the best of our knowledge, the dominant schools of both East and West, essentially Pavlovian behaviorists, deny the existence of those essential features of mental processes on which the "deprogramming" procedures were premised. To admit that the "deprogramming" of George and of White was accomplished without access to "secret technical information" implicitly concedes that the dominant behaviorist schools of the USSR and the West are essentially bankrupt in every principal respect. No doubt some KGB and Tavistock CIA officials now share the consoling delusion that we somehow obtained the essential information from the Chinese intelligence service.

In this matter, considering the intensive surveillance

of all our member' activities by the CIA must at least strongly suspect that Marcus's theory of the mind, grounded in German critical philosophy, and the Tavistock crew and its CIA employers would be desperately concerned to prevent the psychoanalytic community in the West from actively investigating the cases at hand.

In any case, the Soviet KGB has substantially benefitted from the CIA penetration of the KGB network, much of that penetration was implicitly blown by the Labor Committees' announcements, and a corresponding number of variously colored pins must be dropping from some big wallmap in Langley, Virginia.

The Rockefeller-CIA plot, which amounts to sabotage of the Brandt-focused detente and the discrediting of Henry Kissinger's — if not Nixon's — offerings, has now alerted the Soviet leadership to the real temper and intentions of the dominant financier faction, at the same instant Rockefeller has created a crisis in relations between his forces and the Euro-Japanese forces. The Communist Parties are already shifting toward a more leftward posture than during last summer and fall, narrowing the Popular Front toward a crude approximation of an actual working-class united front tactical outlook. This does not represent a change in Moscow's political nature, but emphasizes a facet of its character which is sometimes lost sight of during its opportunistic seizures.

January 24, 1974

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## Strategy for Socialism

### Volume I

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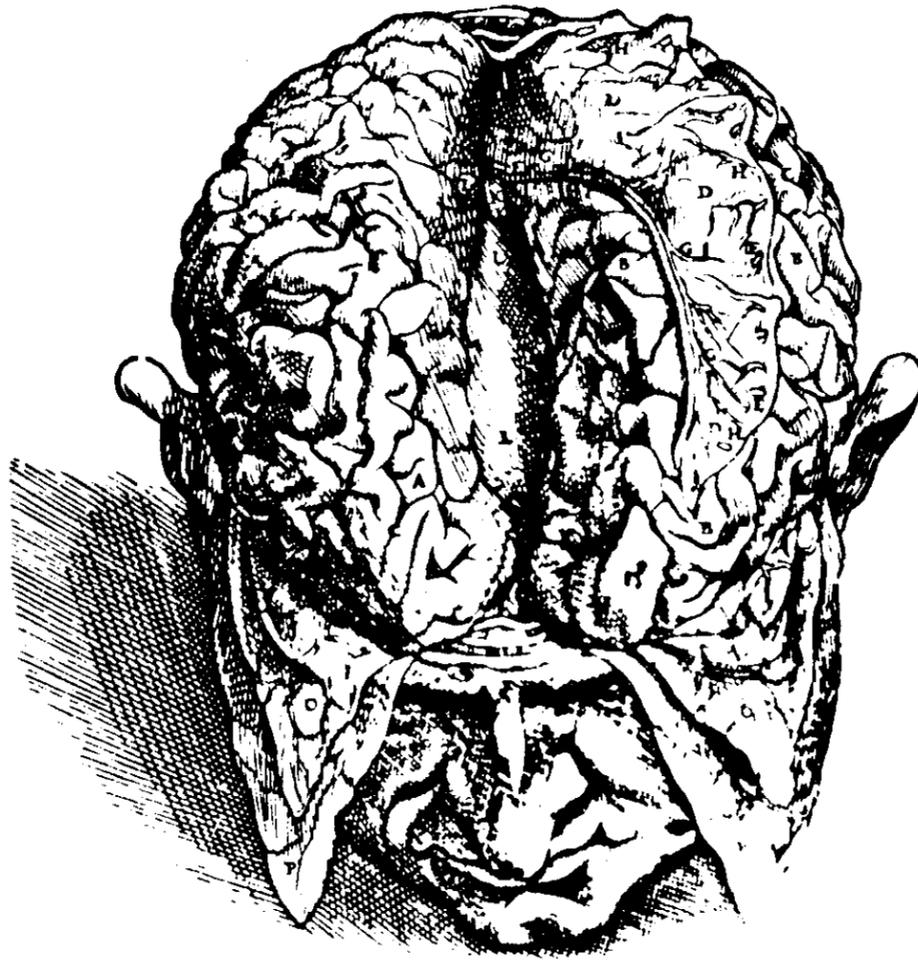


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## On the Track of My Assassins by Christopher White

The very fact of the existence of this article, the very effort of creating it, will send shivers, premonitions of terror down the spines of several of the world's leading so-called "intelligence" agencies, the USA's CIA, Great Britain's MI-5 — not to mention either Shinn Beth or the KGB. It will confuse various police departments, and related crime prevention and detection agencies. The reason for this will become clear as the argument is developed. At this point it is only necessary to say that all of the above will recognise the truth of the content of this article. Yet to this date no assassination has been committed. L. Marcus, my wife Carol and I are all still alive and enjoying the best of health. These agencies will understand when we say that the best way to prevent an assassination is to detect it in advance — and say so.

Journalists, and related professionals from the middle classes, like lawyers, psychoanalysts, psychiatrists, potential financial supporters and others, will find the truth rather more difficult to believe. "Give us evidence, hard detailed evidence," they will cry, "otherwise we won't believe you, we'll pretend it isn't true." In the face of all the evidence they will fly off to seek solace somewhere away from the real world. Yet increasingly, as they are faced with the reality of my case, and with the

presently unfolding depression politics of the ruling class, they will find that they cannot just dismiss what we tell them to be true — no matter who tells them what to print, or say, or do. Even they will find that we do not need to produce the ultimate in cold, hard facts — a dead body — to prove our case.

For workers, the matter is different. Among the approximately six to seven million who are presently reached by our propaganda in the USA alone, there are no such difficulties. They are not, by and large, helpless victims of their own scepticism. More important, however, every moment of their sped-up or otherwise shattered lives convinces them of the truth of what we say and do. Workers, particularly in heavy industry, the unemployed, particularly from the black ghettos, understand the brainwashing affair. They know, implicitly, that "someone" is trying to pull the same kind of trick on them. Now as they queue for gas in stations victimised by the phony fuel crisis, as they hunt for cheap meat in supermarkets hit by the real food crisis, as they report for work in factories which more and more resemble slave-labour encampments, we will tell them just who is responsible for their plight. We will pinpoint the two-legged animals whose rule requires

human beings to degrade themselves. We will expose the rats who plan just how coprophagia should be practised and to what degree... And, of course, we will show potential human beings among the working class just how they can become actually human, by organising them to fight self-consciously for human intelligence, and the material conditions of life conducive to expansion of creative intellectual powers.

### THE "TRACK" DEFINED

That is the key to "Operation Nuremburg." The international Labour Committee tendency is presently detecting, organising against, and thereby preventing, the greatest crime against humanity since people began to pretend that the smokestacks of Auschwitz, Dachau and Belsen did not exist. That is where the track of my assassins leads. Not to pitiable zombies or dupes, like Bob Dillon and Co., who still stand idly at the starter's gate waiting for orders to proceed, and, in the meantime spend their time concocting fairy tales for gullible journalists from such informed newspapers as the New York Times.

No, this track leads to those who are guilty of planning, funding and implementing the crime of menticide. These butchers, among others — and this article will carry on the process of identification begun by New Solidarity researchers Carol Menzel, Vin Berg, and their staff — are properly known by the generic term "Rockefeller's Nazi Doctors." Indeed, the "achievements" of Hitler's pet witchdoctors pale into insignificance beside the efforts of this contemporary collection of psychotic sadists, the exponents of modern mental torture.

We will deal with them in an approximation of the way the preceding generation dealt with its bogeymen. We will bring them to trial under the "Nuremburg Principle." For such people, if they can be called people, are guilty of the grossest crimes against humanity. They will be hounded out of their practices. The institutions they work for, and in, will be closed down. Their instruments of torture will be destroyed. The resources which are now wasted in such a barbaric fashion will be put to productive use.

That is the least we can do at this point. If we fail to act now, there will not be another generation to carry out the work.

That is where the particular chain of evidentiary material to be developed in this article leads. These two-legged rodents are the men who condemned me, and others, to death. They are not, however, interested in me alone. They are after your mind as well. That much,

and more, will become clear to you as you begin to go seriously through the evidence we will present for investigation in this matter. That is why you will join with us to hunt my assassins down. You know as well as we do that you have no other choice. Your humanity is at stake.

It is only from that standpoint that the crimes committed against me can be understood. First, however, we must outline the method we will use to demonstrate the case.

We take hard facts as our starting point.

The hard, almost indigestible fact is that I was brainwashed. In addition to the material to be presented here, interested readers can obtain transcripts of "deprogramming" sessions from the Labour Committee's national office in New York City. Such individuals are advised that they should consider their responsibilities in this matter. Their support of the independent Commission of Inquiry, which we have requested to be established to examine the evidence, would be more than appreciated. For any honest professional in the field of psychology, psychiatry, psychoanalysis or law, etc., such a step should be automatic. We need your active help and support, not to mention your money.

From that layer of hard evidence we proceed for the purposes of investigation to a second layer in which the internal evidence provided by the content of my brainwashed state is corroborated by events in the "real" world, independently of my knowledge at that point. This secondary level of evidentiary material takes us to a third layer. Namely, the world in which a variety of capitalist factions are beginning the ruthless battle for survival against a working class which is awakening to political consciousness after its years of ideologised slumber.

Following that pattern of real thought, we can establish our general thesis.

For a brief time the Rockefeller-led faction of the capitalist class was planning to use the Labour Committee's international tendency as a pawn in its plan to impose police state levels of austerity and repression on, first, the working class population of Great Britain, and then, with the precedent established, on the population of the United States. The recipe for this manoeuvre was to have been classically simple: the Red Scare coupled with bomb plots. Prompt Labour Committee action and action in the U.S. itself has repulsed the first moves in this direction. Continuing organising efforts on both sides of the Atlantic will be necessary to prevent a CIA-provoked bloodbath of the British working class. That in essence is the CIA-inspired plot to oust Nixon and establish the reign of Rockefeller through the massive

application of the behaviour modification technology of menticide.

Such a thesis will become horrifyingly clear as we proceed.

No one who examines the evidence presented here with an open mind will be able to doubt the proposition that I was brainwashed during the period of approximately fifty-two days while I was supposedly working for the Inner London Education Authority at the Sir William Collins School in Charrington Street, London NW1. For these purposes it will be sufficient to limit ourselves to an account of what happened to me during the period December 27th, 1973 to January 7th, 1974.

### EVIDENCE OF CRIMINAL INTENT

We begin our account on the day of my first attempt to fly to New York on December 27th, 1973. For investigatory purposes I will limit my account of this and the succeeding days to events which can be confirmed by other people. The reason for this will soon become obvious.

I left home that morning and took the underground from the local station, Colindale, on the Edgware branch of the Northern line. At about 9:00 p.m. that evening I burst into Conway Hall in London's Red Lion Square where the European Labour Committee was holding its first year-end conference. In an evident state of shock I told my wife that all the travel plans we had made had been a set-up. The plane's engine had burnt out ten minutes out of the Scottish airport of Prestwick and we had returned to Gatwick. Once there, all the passengers bar three had been transferred by coach to Heathrow airport for BOAC's six o'clock flight. British Caledonian, the airline involved, had booked the three of us—myself, a Mr. Paul Walsh and a Mrs. Schroeder—into the Copthorne Hotel. There I had been drugged by Walsh, and had escaped back to London by taxi and train. The whole thing—travel schedule, engine sabotage, etc.—had been arranged to achieve just what I told her.

We returned home, and in the company of some German comrades from the Executive Committee of the European Labour Committee, I went over the story again. They decided to check. My wife telephoned British Caledonian at Gatwick and told them that she was worried about her husband and asked what had happened to him. They assured her that all passengers had travelled on to New York by BOAC after transfer to Heathrow.

Then a German comrade telephoned the airport and asked for a list of hotels in the vicinity. Of the twelve or so he was recommended not one was named "The

Copthorne." By that time, however, we had found a book of matches in my coat pocket which gave the hotel's telephone number. My wife called to ask if she could speak to me and was told that while I had registered, I had left. Mr. Walsh was still in his room.

That left us wondering: the airline which I claimed had booked me into the hotel said that I was on my way to New York with the rest of the thirty or so passengers from the nearly empty plane. The hotel claimed I had been present. Later, by the end of the first week in January, a further twist was given to this part of the material by a British journalist. He had found the traces of Walsh and Schroeder really easy to uncover and told us that they led straight back to MI5. This disturbed him somewhat, so he suggested that we check once more with the airline.

This was done by my wife, who was told by the reporter that the pilot of British Caledonian Flight 221 had said that the engine had not burnt out. It was only a minor breakdown, and a return to Gatwick would not normally have been necessary. In New York the Vice-President of British Caledonian informed her that no one had travelled on to New York. The hundred or so passengers on the aircraft had all been accommodated overnight at the Copthorne Hotel. This information, in direct contradiction with the airline's earlier story, had been obtained by telephone from Britain. Yet, according to the British reporter the Copthorne Hotel is not used by airlines at all. He intimated that it is a sort of luxury retreat used by the British intelligence services.

Despite our efforts to cross-check, it has been impossible to establish a coherent picture of what happened that day. Perhaps some passenger from the flight who reads this article could help us out. The airline is obviously no good and should be avoided.

On the 28th December a New York representative told Ed Spannaus, executive member of the NCLC, "This sort of thing happens two or three times a week," when asked about the alleged kidnapping. Obviously they would argue that it doesn't matter how you get there, as long as you arrive.

Nonetheless, it is certain that during the course of that day I was given a massive dose of some drug or drugs. For it was from that evening that my mental state began to deteriorate rapidly.

For example, during the course of the next day I returned to my apartment from the conference at Conway Hall in the company of Steve Pepper, Marcia Merry and "Katya" and "Franz." We were to discuss Steve's flight to New York, which like mine had been arranged by the International Travel Club—an outfit recommended by one Don Filtzer, who, it transpires, is probably a dupe of the CIA—and had also been

disrupted. The second time Steve told his story, which was not in any way extraordinary, except for a whole series of pettifogging annoyances, I became convinced that my wife was a KGB agent, that she always had been. At that point people in New York were trying to contact her by telephone, but I insisted that we not tell her until we had decided what to do about the situation. The "evening" ended early the next morning (29th) with me telling two British members of the London local the story of Carol's agency. They believed me, as had the others.

It was at that point that the decision was taken to bring me to New York. Travel plans began to be made over the next day while I talked to my wife Carol and to "Franz." During that afternoon I met my first emotional road to Damascus, deciding that it was impossible for Carol to be an agent, and that therefore the agent of the group would have to be me.

These three days established in outline a pattern which was to be maintained over the next week. I was becoming more and more the victim of paranoid fantasies. More and more my mental processes were becoming divorced from my bodily functions. I did not sleep, I barely ate, and that of course merely aggravated the problem as it accentuated the fluctuations in my mental states.

### PSYCHO-DRAMA

Yet before we got to New York, the Atlantic had still to be crossed. I travelled in the company of Carol, Steve Pepper, Marcia Merry and Peter Mailand. Before the flight I had stabilised somewhat at a level of functional euphoria; that is to say, I was high, but not out of control. The film show on the flight sent me out of control. It was a disgusting piece of French near-pornography. A vicious murder story set in and near Paris, called the "Trinity." I became fixated on the film, convinced that it was a script for what would happen to us when we landed in New York. Particularly vivid were scenes in which the "hero's" girl friend, a woman at least ten years older than himself, was shot in her car, and scenes in which the "hero" arranged the execution of a rather paternal figure and then committed suicide by taking poison.

I was convinced that the film was meant for me, and that I had to do something about it. So as we landed at Kennedy I launched a tirade against the CIA, which I claimed was planning to have my wife shot on the way into the city, and intended to dispose of L. Marcus later that evening. This outburst astonished many passengers and upset my wife and companions. Some people, however, listened intently to the kook. I felt better afterwards and was almost able to relax a bit, and blithely joked through immigration and customs. Everyone else, particularly my wife, thought I was hell-bent on getting

us refused admission!

Labour Committee security personnel were on hand to ensure that our arrival at our West Village destination was expedited. The whole business was handled with such efficiency and thoroughness that the sense of urgency I had experienced on the plane began to diminish. Yet after a somewhat lengthy discussion involving other people, I once more felt compelled to speak and launched into a lengthy treatment of the so-called "leadership problem," in the course of which I informed Marcus that he was about to be assassinated, either that night or the next night—30th and 31st of December.

It was at that point that "deprogramming" proper began. "How did I know that?" I was asked. I must have some basis for such an assertion. Yet at that point I had no answer. I could not utter a word. The first session lasted approximately four hours. While it was in progress it became clear that I had indeed been brainwashed. It is not necessary to produce heaps of details, times and places to substantiate the assertion. As the evening wore through it became clear that this was the only conceivable explanation for my almost psychotic behaviour of the previous days. For example, interrogation had to be conducted in three languages, English, German and Russian. Until that evening, even though I was in regular contact with German-speaking comrades, I was unable to speak their language. Yet that evening I blossomed into a fluent German-speaker, with a pronounced Ukrainian accent. As for Russian, I had never had anything to do with the language, yet during a brief period of the evening I was able to speak it, though I was only able to approximate a six-year-old's vocabulary.

That evidence alone suggests that this was more than psychosis. It was an induced psychosis, brainwashing. I began to produce evidence that could be verified in the real world. The phrases that my interrogators used to trigger responses were KGB key and code style phrases. This was information which I could not possibly have had unless I had been in contact with either KGB personnel or agents who knew their procedures. Indeed, I was unaware that the Labour Committee security staff were using those procedures that evening. In consequence, I had to have been programmed before I arrived.

Eventually conditions were created in which it was found that I could answer the question that had been posed at the beginning of the session. If I was questioned in Russian, it was found that I would provide answers in my Ukrainian-accented German. I informed the gathering that Marcus would be assassinated by a seven-man Latin death squad. All I had to do was call the following telephone number on Perry Street, and the

squad would be activated.

That squad actually existed. Unbeknown to me, Marcus's apartment had been under surveillance for the two previous days by just such a team. Labour Committee defence staff had identified them at that time as members of the "CAL" and "MIRA" outfits. This information was later cross-checked to reveal that they were, in fact, part of a hit team called "Furia." The telephone number at Perry Street was manned that night, but dead the next day.

Immediately the New York Police Department was informed of these developments, a press release issued, and the organisation put on a full alert to respond to breaking developments. Neither the police department intelligence division, nor the press apparently took our evidence seriously.

### A "RED HERRING" ON THE TRAIL

But that was only the beginning. At that stage we had thwarted an assassination attempt, and we had uncovered a trail which it appeared led us directly towards Moscow and the KGB. It was not only that my program instructions were in Russian. Labour Committee intelligence personnel knew that the "Furia" squad was controlled by the Kremlin via North American KGB headquarters in Montreal, and, of course, via the Cuban connection with the Puerto Rican terrorist movement. More than that, we supposed at that stage in the proceedings that the Kremlin had a motive for undertaking this kind of operation, whose parallels with the slaying of Trotsky do not need underlining.

After all, Operation "Mop-Up" against the scabbing CPUSA had outraged a depression-demoralised international "left," and had frightened the Kremlin rigid. As our forces began to develop in Europe, from the spring of 1973 onwards, they switched their anti-Labour Committee campaign over there, hoping to isolate and destroy us before we could become a threat. They had attacked us for months in the pages of *Horizont*, *Neues Deutschland* and *Unsere Zeit*. Even *Pravda* carried an article condemning the Labour Committee as "fascistoid." They seemed to have a motive alright. But did the Soviets have the capability to mount an operation which involved the brainwashing of a British subject, the apparent sabotage of a British aircraft, and a Latin death-squad active in New York City?

More than that, why would any agency which wanted to assassinate Marcus go to the expense to brainwash someone; why wouldn't they just get on and do it?

During the next two days, December 31 and January 1, as my deprogramming continued, and as other evidence was accumulated, the answers to these questions became clear.

Firstly, it became apparent, as the brainwashing of two U.S. citizens and Labor Committee members was revealed, namely Bill Engdahl, a Texan polio victim from Chicago, and Alice Weitzman, a musician from New York State, that far more was involved. News began to trickle in from Britain. The British government announced that I had "a long history of paranoia" — a charge that was subsequently picked up by the New York Police Department — thereby indicating that such a history may indeed be being created. If such a manufactured product does appear, however, everyone will know who authored it.

After the first deprogramming session in the West Village, and after a short visit to St. Vincent's Hospital occasioned by yet another paranoid thought — this time that a cyanide capsule had been built into my front tooth — I was taken uptown to rest.

### LIFE OR DEATH

It was then that the full horror of what had been done to me struck home. As the euphoria of having cracked the first layer of programming began to wear off, as my body became tired from the strain of sleepless days and nights since before the twenty-seventh, I began to fall into a programmed state of depression collapse. And as the collapse set in, I began to live through the physical symptoms of catatonic death. My physiology had been programmed to self-destruct as attrition set in.

Let me explain the symptomology of that night of hell. As I lay down to relax, I became completely dissociated. My body was completely separated from the workings of my "conscious" mind. I could not move. I began to experience choking sensations at my throat. I could no longer feel my heart beating, nor my pulse pounding. I could not feel my lungs working to breathe. At the same time every muscle in my body was hyperactive, pulled in both directions by what felt like short but powerful electric shocks. These feelings would proceed in what can only be described as waves; starting at my throat and descending over a period of about twenty minutes to my toes, then reversing, and over the same time span mounting to my throat. The cycle was repeated continuously between about 1:30-2:00 a.m. to 6:30 a.m. Prior to that time I had been talkative, observant of the apartment I was in. I complained about the dominant smell of the place, noticed and remarked constantly on the unread books on the formally arranged bookshelves, and railed against the owner's taste in music, even his choice of artists. Before the reader jumps to the conclusion that I'm either rude or completely devoid of any social graces, I should point out that the owner was not present.

Yet for that approximately five-hour period (1:30-

6:30 a.m.), the two people who were caring for me that night thought I was asleep. Except for one moment at about 3:00 a.m. when I insisted that "Hans," a final year German medical student, hold my hand. At that point I was convinced that I would die that night, and I wanted to establish contact with a fellow human before I did so. Fortunately he did not fall for that, even though I could not speak, and told me to concentrate on the music that was playing, just like Marcus had told me to do.

That was what saved me. For that whole night Beethoven was played: symphonies, concertos, string quartets, piano sonatas. It was not the music per se that did it. Rather, it was the effort to concentrate on the music. That effort took my mind away from its morbid fascination with a pain-wracked body it could not control. That effort to keep open to what was going on, even though my body seemed to the two people present to be sleeping, as they now report, kept me alive.

As the sun began to rise my symptomology changed once more. With the light of day another manic state set in. Spooks, I argued somewhat irrationally, are creatures of the night, and therefore can't get you by daylight. My body was no longer spooked. We therefore began a euphoric Beethoven cycle, listening to especially the "*Pastoral*" *Symphony* ('the world is young' is its subject) and to the "*Grosse Fugue*," in which Beethoven explores his own ability to create.

Later that day, the 1st of January, we proceeded to Brooklyn to see a psychiatrist, Dr. Samuelly. The car ride there set me back into a depressive state of paranoia. I was convinced that, at that moment, I was living out the film I had seen on the flight from London. I was convinced that my wife was going to be shot on the way, and forced myself to respond in what I thought was the appropriate fashion. These feelings were heightened by our difficulties in finding the doctor's apartment. Every stop for directions was, I thought, a check-in point with "them." Though if anyone had asked who "they" were, I would not have been able to answer.

In this state I naturally considered that poor Dr. Samuelly was one of "them," too. So when he began to talk about hypnosis, I lapsed into a kind of non-hypnotised catatonic state. I would not respond to questions, would not move—except to stroke my chin with the index finger of my right hand. Dr. Samuelly began to talk to Marcus in the other room. I concentrated intently on what I could hear them saying. He considered that I should be hospitalised. I was a potentially dangerous psychotic, a paranoid schizophrenic, I could break out of that state at any moment and attack someone. He would not credit Lyn's argument that I had been brainwashed. And, in addition, he held out no hope that I could get remission. As

he said that, my state of mind changed again. I broke out of my physical trance and yelled, "Lyn we've done it. We've defeated that unholy alliance between man and goat — the popular front."

Samuelly was amazed and frightened by this abrupt change, seeing in it confirmation of everything he said. He could not tolerate for one moment the idea that what was being said to him could be true — even though he had assisted the deprogramming of Konstantin George. I tried to convince him by saying that he was turning down the chance to make a breakthrough in the psychoanalytical profession. This case was of obvious world-historical importance. But coming from me that kind of remark did not help too much!

We left and headed on back to yet another apartment. Once back in the car I again began living out the phantasy of the film. This time I was convinced that when we got to where we were going "they" would contact me, to give me poison capsules, one for Marcus, one for myself. If they did not do that, then, so I thought, I was supposed to commit the assassination myself. I was deluded enough at that point to imagine that I had the capability and technique to do it!

That night we talked at length. I no longer had my glasses. Intelligence staff thought they could have something to do with the "program," and as my right eye is far stronger than my left, I was giving everyone one-sided stares as I struggled to see them. But to give you another example of the state of my mind at that point, when I was asked why I was doing that, I immediately picked up an imaginary rifle, sighted it, and said, "Because I'm a trained marksman." I then reassured Lyn that no harm would come to him, because at that point it could only come from me, and I wasn't about to do anything to him.

The session that evening, January 1st-2nd, was initially set up so that I would begin to actively consider the emotional states of others. By early in the morning we began to consider the keys and codes I had produced in the first session and this one. Starting from the word "rat" we went via sewer rats, water rats, operators, and apparatus to more permutations involving other words, and we arrived at the phrase "no sell can rat," i.e. "rat cancel on" reversed, near enough. My head began to feel as if it was being encased in cast iron. We had discovered the key which completely screwed up the programme.

At that point I began to assure people that I was deprogrammed. If that was the case, they wanted to know, then I would be able to tell them who did it, where it was done, and what they wanted me to do. I couldn't. The cast iron cap descended ever tighter on my brain. Ideas would not come. I felt stupid, ignorant, desperate — if I could not come up with something then who knew

what might happen to any of the people I was with. I had to fight out of the state.

This period, the day of the 2nd, marked a period of transition. As I summoned the effort to fight out of the first layer of programming, the level on which I had been programmed to carry out specific instructions, "Plan 'A'."

I came out not into reality but into other layers of programming which had been set up to ensure that I would become a self-perpetuating mental zombie, absorbing information from the outside into the various other layers of programmed information that had been built on top of my self-conscious mental apparatus.

"No sell can rat" sent me into the mental horror of the "infinite loop"; my mind was programmed to program itself. Yet I had one instruction in that state which was preplanted for recovery at the onset of the infinite loop. I had been programmed with three telephone numbers, one in New York, one in Glasgow and one in London. The New York telephone number, as it transpired, was the Red Squad number; the name of Detective Finnegan sprang to my mind—even though I had never had dealings with either that department or its officers up to that point. Except my recollection that early in the morning of the 31st I had met one Detective Finch.

Those numbers were my last programmed instructions. My remission was now a question which, even with all the expert help in the world, I could only settle for myself. I had to choose between a life of associative fantasy derived either euphorically, or depressively from whatever input others made, and linked in part to earlier phases of the brainwashing operation, or I could become a self-conscious human being acting in and on a *real* world, populated by other *real* people.

That choice was the most difficult of all to make. For several days I actually mounted a rearguard struggle to maintain the joys of my own "private" fantasies. No admission was too degraded for me to make, no lie too big to be told. Truth and fantasy became mixed in an infernal kaliedoscope as Lyn, my wife and other friends lovingly tried to wean me from my dreams. They concentrated on ending the dissociation which my programmers had inflicted on my body and mind. They encouraged me to relax. They showed me how I could see, hear, taste and smell again, they developed physical exercises so I could renew self-conscious control of my bodily functions and movements.

Yet even by Saturday 6th of January, when we had an appointment with a second psychiatrist, a Dr. Herbert Spiegel — who is a well-known expert in military psychological warfare of the "Manchurian candidate"

hypnotic variety — I was still preferring to back away from the real world into euphoric fantasies of associative thought. Dr. Spiegel profiled me to determine whether I was a hypnotisable "object" or not. He came to the conclusion that I wasn't, and, because of my fearful reactions to the process, decided that I was a paranoid schizophrenic. He, like Dr. Samuelly, did not consider remission likely, but he at least prescribed rest and relaxation rather than hospitalization as the curative method, if remission was to be achieved.

During that period of "rest and relaxation," between the sixth and tenth of January, I was able to make self-conscious use of the efforts others had made between the visits to Samuelly and Spiegel.

I concentrated on recovering control of my senses. I went through the exercise schedule that had been developed on at least two days, and began to regain self-conscious control of my breathing and vision, etc. I ate well and often, thanks to the sacrifices of Labour Committee members (at the time I was under the mistaken impression that our fund-raising work was proceeding well!). I plunged with enthusiasm into the early piano sonatas of Beethoven, concentrating this time on the development and maturation of that composer's creative powers, on his Promethean, i.e. self-consciously human, worldview. I began to relate to other people in a real way, to take note of things that were going on around me, to cook, to wash dishes — even to wash myself regularly again!

Then a third kind of evidence from the "deprogramming" suggests the approximate length of time that would have been needed to prepare me for the task. I had to have been taught German and a bit of Russian. I had to have been programmed with the various keys and codes. Other evidence, now on tape but irrelevant for these purposes, demonstrates that a full treatment of retrogressive psychoanalysis, with torture, electro-shock, drugs, hypnosis, was necessary. In effect, to prepare one functional psychotic with the capability to run around New York to deliver a garbled message to Marcus, make two phone calls, and then prepare the "infinite loop" eight-level program in case plan 'A' did not work out, would have taken something like three to four hours a day over three months.

There is no place that could have been done, except the North London slum school, Sir William Collins, in Camden Town's Charrington Street, London NW1. That school exists, and even without this business should be closed down; it is in the vanguard of government counterinsurgency organising of working-class youth. But let's leave that aside for the moment. Brainwashing was not carried out on the school premises, but over the road in a derelict housing area, there Irish and Scottish

workers and young student types squat because they can't afford to pay London's astronomical rents. The school was merely a cover for the deal.

Why then did I continue to go back there? Didn't I know what was going on? The answer is simple: I did not know what was happening. At the end of every session I was provided with a film-strip memory of the events of the day, and under hypnosis told to forget everything except that, and to return the next day. The first two days, September 17th and 18th, I developed an irrational hatred for the place, and attributed it to the pupils. I could not work there; so I told my wife. But there's a depression going on. People need money to live. That was our major concern. She told me that she knew it was difficult, that she had taught in that kind of school, New York's Haaren High School and I'd get used to it. By Thursday the 20th of September, I had convinced myself to see it through. "After all, you have to eat, don't you?" I told myself.

More than that I will not go into at this point. I will, as I laid out above, stick to what I know as fact. As my memory returns, I will publish a blow-by-blow diary of what happened under the cover of that school. That is a promise I intend to keep. People have to know what these butchers do, and intend to do to everyone. They may not plan to spend so much time, effort or money on you, but they've got you on their files, by character-type at least. We will not allow the 1970's to be marked by the "smokestack" blindness which destroyed the Germans in the 1930's. If such a diary does not appear, you will at least know why, and will still be able to do something about it.

Yet I still slipped back, though for periods of shorter duration every day. Such setbacks occurred when I felt compelled to do one of the things I always enjoyed most — writing. During the previous week this compulsion had produced a set of program "specs" for Lyn's inspection. In this period I produced my last "print out." It was a kind of real-time calendar on which I computed a real calendar of my life over the past four months, taking as my starting point the fact that I was then some four days "slow," as it were! My wife and I went over times we could both remember — independently of each other, of course — developing the background information to how our relationship had deteriorated over that period, and how my psychological states had changed.

I received complete remission on the 9th of January, the day we planned to have our hearing for an injunction against the CIA, City of New York and New York Police Department heard by Judge Metzner in the Southern District Federal Court of Manhattan. Afterwards we went for a car ride, as an elementary security precaution

while the apartment we were staying at was checked out. I began to feel paranoid again, wondering if we were being followed or not, what the procedures to follow this time were, etc. On our way back it suddenly dawned on me how stupid I was being. "I'm not programmed," I thought to myself. When we arrived back I told other people present about how I had felt on the ride, and how I had resolved the doubts. It was true. I was human for the first time. Even that did not stop the doubts. The next day, for example, I began to wonder if the whole thing had really happened. Perhaps it was all just a figment of my imagination, like so much that had happened during that whole period had been.

But I began to realise there is no other coherent explanation. The content of the above account would be clear to any reader able to make adequate use of his or her intellectual powers. I was a victim of the brain-washing crime of menticide. Of that there can be no doubt.

Let's briefly survey the key pieces of evidence. Firstly the changes in my psychological states during that period, twice diagnosed within the period under consideration by qualified psychiatrists, experts in their field. One did not consider remission a possibility, one gave it unlikely consideration. Now we have total remission. Secondly, the content of the psychosis, the information that was produced during the early part of the period, particularly the facility with which I spoke German, Russian, the information about the attempted assassination, the telephone numbers. None of these would ordinarily have been known to me. Yet they were revealed during my psychotic interlude.

This kind of evidence is clear indication of the fact that the psychosis was induced.

Then my changes in psychological states over that period suggest how the psychosis was induced. Any competent pharmacologist who reads through the symptoms of those days would immediately recognise that loss of sleep and lack of food alone cannot provoke such speedy changes. Few would deny however that drug-induced changes would be accelerated by such contributory phenomena. Indeed, pharmacologists could actually be of assistance to us in this matter in helping us to identify the type of drugs involved.

Still, from the internal evidence of the program we have at least established where the track of my assassins starts. Let's not worry about Latin squads for the moment, or the New York Police Department. Let's ignore the fancy trail that leads "directly" to the Kremlin via key and code, Cuba, Montreal and various slanders etc. The Kremlin and its KGB were not directly involved in this, even if they had wanted to be. They also were the victims of a frame-up attempt — which we have

prevented. It still remains to be seen how the Kremlin and its foreign parties will respond. They may go on believing that they have a foreign intelligence apparatus, refusing to recognise the truth of the matter which is that since 1968 most of their foreign operations in this field have been infiltrated and run by the CIA. We will have to wait to see if our Soviet acquaintances want to continue on such a course.

However, let's ignore such red herrings laid so sweetly across the trail and stick to the people and institutions which really matter.

First, we have Sir William Collins School itself. Whether or not its staff were actively involved, they are certainly dupes, involved by implication in the perpetuation of this crime. Then the Inner London Education Authority's (ILEA) divisional office II, situated in London's Oxford Street. These were the people who allocated me to the school in the first place. Then the Inner London Educational Authority itself, which allows such practices to go on in its schools. Its administrative head is one Dr. Briault. Then the Greater London Council, which controls the ILEA, and is presently administered by the Labour Party under labour aristocrat Sir Reg Goodwin. But the contents of the program were military, so we must turn our attention towards the British Intelligence services MI5 and MI6, domestic and foreign departments respectively; towards the chiefs of staff of the armed forces; and towards the appropriate government member, probably from the Ministry of Defence, who oversaw the operation.

Given the fact that I was programmed in Britain and shipped over here for "use," presumably because I could obtain access to L. Marcus with ease, the whole affair must have been international in its conception from the start. Anyone who investigates the whole business with honesty or decency should direct their preliminary enquiries towards those institutions above. Observers should pay careful attention to the heads which begin to roll in Britain as the news begins to break. Labour Party members, and members of the National Union of Teachers, National Association of Schoolmasters, and Assistant Masters Associations who want to clear themselves of this affair (staff members at the cover-school were unionised in those respective unions), who intend to show the working class that they will not tolerate brainwashing know what they must do. They must use this material to light such a fire under the present government of Britain that it will fall. Anything less than that is to implicitly condone the barbaric practices the Heath government has espoused.

Such a course of action would begin to clear up the British end of the affair very quickly, for the time being. We are already beginning researches into the criminal

activities of British intelligence in particularly Northern Ireland, but we would obviously appreciate the help of anyone in the United Kingdom who can improve the quality of our information. For example, it appears from this distance that the counter-insurgency career of Brigadier Kitson could be explored profitably. But more generally we need to know how any army-based intelligence service operates in civilian life. Their methods may be antiquated, since they seem to be fixated on provoking bomb outrages, but they still manage to be effective, though that will be increasingly difficult as their credibility is impaired.

From this information we can already extend our net. Everyone knows the name of the U.S. agency which can operate with impunity abroad. It's the CIA, of course. Given the fact that the FBI is now under the control of the CIA, and that the New York Police Department has clearly been infiltrated at key tactical points by CIA operatives working on LEAA national police force-style programs, it becomes clear that the agency which planned to make use of me here, the agency which was effectively dictating a course of action to the British government, was none other than the friendly bogeyman of the "free-world colossus," the CIA itself.

We can substantiate the point with ease. We can even enlist the help of that agency's camp-followers — like Eric Sevareid of CBS, and as a negative indicator, the *New York Times*, to help us in the task.

By the first of January, news began to break in New York, via the British press, that a red scare was about to be unleashed in Britain. Tanks and troops encircled Heathrow airport looking for an ill-assorted and evidently non-existent collection of Irish and Arab terrorists armed with Russian ground-to-air missiles. Would you believe? The British General Staff didn't. They denounced the moves as a hoax, saying that they'd been directly ordered by Heath himself. No doubt he thought himself back in his early adolescence playing games with toy soldiers. Meanwhile, the *Daily Express*, (a viciously right-wing newspaper) printed a list of terrorist groups, about twenty of them, including "a North American revolutionary organization in Europe." Given our now overwhelming dominance of the U.S. left, that piece of descriptive writing evidently referred to the Labour Committee tendency.

That answered one question which had been troubling us. Why would anybody go to such trouble and expense to assassinate Marcus? Evidently we were about to be used in the Red Scare which predictably broke in Britain during the next few days, when blame for the depression, which has hit Britain more acutely than elsewhere in the advanced world, was laid fairly and squarely on the shoulders of Communists and International Socialists

who were, apparently if not credibly, creating impossible conditions in the trade-union movement.

At this point we correctly deduced that we were being set-up, to play a part in a scheme that was taking place on a much larger scale. As Marcus put it, we were "the pawn that bit." Thereafter Severeid encouraged the prospect that some kind of police state be created in Britain, and the *London Times* announced that 30-40 CIA operatives had arrived in Britain in September to provide the skills in counterinsurgency which bomb-crazy British intelligence and police forces lacked. The information for the article came from one Miles Copeland, who was denounced by members of the House of Commons as a CIA agent.

That information enabled us to pull most of the pieces together. The Labour Committees, the only organization at this moment capable of fighting the depression, was to be implicated in bomb-scare tactics in Britain and Europe. The organization here would be thrown into chaos and confusion after it had been decapitated. Such chaos and confusion, though, would have been a social phenomenon, the excuse to bring down Heath and replace him with a police-army repressive state, and use the precedent to establish the same kind of government here. Nixon was to be mopped up, along with the waters of the CIA's making.

That was the game plan that the Labour Committee pawn thwarted. We launched a massive propaganda/agitational counterattack aimed right at the head of the beast, and momentarily we stopped it in its tracks. But that was only one battle. The war remains to be won.

The CIA's game plan is backed up by the threat of introducing the techniques of behaviour modification that were used on me in a massive way. Already our research indicates that especially black ghetto youth and prisoners are victims of that terrible crime.

At this point it's necessary to explain, in general terms, how brainwashing works and how it can be overcome. That will provide the necessary information to identify the tools, dupes, accomplices, etc., of the CIA in this overall campaign. Such people, and the institutions they work for, will then be added to the list of my assassins.

Put briefly, in the kind of actually human society we are in the process of creating, brainwashing would be impossible. Not merely because the torturers who do it would no longer exist, but because there would be no more "subjects" for them to torture. Brainwashing is only possible because under capitalism man has an alienated, actually psychotic view of himself. He has no self-conscious knowledge of his actual human identity. That's why brainwashing works. Not because brainwashers are smart. Not because they understand the

human mind and intelligence. As will be demonstrated, they don't. Not because some people can be easily broken. Everyone can, really easily.

Here's how they are able to do it. For ordinary run-of-the-mill social occasions man puts on a mask, in much the same way people put on clothes when they get up in the morning. The mask is identified variously as super-ego or persona. For these purposes we will use *persona*. Like clothes, i.e. the difference between working clothes and leisure wear, the persona has to be acceptable to the social milieu in which it exists. In this society a person defines himself or herself as that which will be acceptable to family, peer group, work-mates, etc. The individual adapts himself to the expectations of those around him or her.

At the root of this adaptation to external pressure lies the family. Especially the mother who brings up her young to view the outside world as a realm of magic, dominated by dark mysterious forces, like spooks and bogeymen, who lurk in dark nooks and crannies, waiting to waylay the poor adventurer who wanders off the straight and narrow path, and begins to question how things really work.

The persona is a magic device to deal with the mysterious world of hostile outside forces. A trick to prevent others from seeing the real self underneath. For in this society everyone knows that the real self is something which should be kept hidden away, far from prying eyes — just in case the neighbors notice and complain. The self watches on helplessly as it is forced into continual acts of self-degradation.

As with the oil hoax. Everyone knows the oil crisis is a hoax. The government even says so. Yet people still have to queue up for gas. They know, the gas station knows, the oil companies and banks know (after all they arranged it). People have been put in a position in which they have to degrade themselves, and of course they do. What would the neighbors say if they didn't take that shit seriously? What would they have to bellyache about at work if they didn't swallow Rockefeller's dose?

The real self watches helplessly, as the persona embarks on its suicidal course, bowing to family needs here, the boss's needs there, the bank and finance company there, the neighbors down the block, etc. All to the accompaniment of the rhythmic chant Mother drummed ceaselessly into the minds of all her children, even if the tune varied: "food, money, home, food, money, home, food, money, home, food, money, home." Mother, however, never knew how the food was produced. It appeared in the supermarkets. She never knew how a house was built. They are things you buy from a real-estate dealer. She never knew where the money came from, or what it represented. Father just brought it home

every week — or every now and then.

Now Mother's magic chant doesn't work anymore. Food is disappearing from the shop shelves. Homes are unobtainable, rents are rocketing. Money is difficult to come by. Jobs get harder and less easy to stay in. The magic doesn't work but it's all there is. The desperate persona no longer fits the social situation, no longer meets the expectation of mother and children. But still the self can only watch helplessly, breaking out from time to time into fits of impotent rage, blaming wife, kids, job, everyone but itself for its horrible plight.

That in the broadest social terms, which everyone will recognize as truth, is the situation the brainwasher creates for his victim. He concentrates the social process which is affecting everyone right now. He destroys the persona by smashing all his object's illusions about himself. Then he proceeds to build up, literally a new identity based on his misconceptions about his own mind, and, therefore mind in general.

For the brainwasher the self does not exist. Self-consciousness for him means nothing more than the embarrassment of the gawky adolescent. How could he understand then the potential humanity represented by that inner voice, which can, when cathexised with emotion become the basis for a human identity? How can he understand that no matter how sophisticated his programme, no matter how complicated his armory of electrical gadgets, no matter how mind-blowing his druggery, he can do no more than lock up his victim's self-consciousness? He imprisons his victim within the confines of his own head.

For him the human mind is constructed like this. First there is the public front, then below that the emotions, then below that physiological processes, neurological processes, etc.; below that an "it," a kind of pulsating, quaking mass — the shaky ground of being, as it were. He knows no social relationship, he knows only stimulus and response. Every behaviorist writer in this field finds it impossible to distinguish man from animals like dogs and rats.

For example. James V. McConnell of the Institute for "Social" Research at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, is called an expert on the family. He does his research on — guess what? — worms!! You might wonder what his mother was like. Most writers argue that there is a difference between men and animals, but they then go on to tell us that most experiments conducted on dogs can be replicated on human beings. So if there is a difference — well — they can't quite say what it is.

They arrive at their "it" very easily. They can do it to anyone who isn't self-conscious of his or her actual

human identity. Their publications, all are on the public record, state quite categorically that they would like to, or intend to. Their basic approach is simple. They take an individual, isolate him, "desensitise" him by drugs or electro-shock, and then, when the individual is thrown back totally on the resources of the self, the helpless self, they destroy his identity, piece by piece. They use the techniques of retrogressive psychoanalysis to destroy everything the individual ever took for certain in his world.

First the father is destroyed. For most people the father image is an image of potency. Father works on and in the world and changes it. He is a source of ego-strength. So they destroy him. Then the mother: they reinforce all her magical fears of the mysterious outside world, force the object to propitiate those fears by making him confess to the most degraded kinds of ill-treatment of his mother. Then they destroy sexual identity. "The only women you ever had were ones who seduced you. It was always the same wasn't it." They take all the fears, all the guilt which the self thought it was protecting, bring them out into the light, magnify them and use them to destroy the identity.

Then they begin to build. "You want an identity, we can give you one. Eat shit." "You want to love, try this sheep." And so on, until they come to the specific tasks they have in mind for you to do. Once they have programmed those in, you are free to go off and do what they want, until they decide they don't need you any more. You are trapped in a little box made out of your own fears, reinforced with an electric perimeter fence and camouflaged by drugs. But you are kept in that box, not by their gadgets, but by your own fear of breaking out of it. In consequence the way to beat the brainwashers is exactly the way to beat the hold of mother's fears of real activity in the world. Fight against them.

That's why every worker who reads our material on this affair knows the truth of what we say. He knows that daily the lid is being shut down on his little inner box. Daily his room for maneuver is restricted as he is forced to degrade himself in his own eyes just to stay alive. Yet he knows that going stir-crazy is no answer. He also knows that somewhere there has to be an alternative, a solution to his problem. What he won't admit so readily is that *he* is the solution to his problem. It is his ability to overcome fear, to organize others around the inner needs he has kept to himself for so long that will set him free.

That is what the brainwashers will never understand, as long as they remain brainwashers. To make the effort to understand that would be to invite the admission that they too, after all this time, are human beings. But

imagine what that would mean in terms of recognizing the animal criminality of their lives up to this point.

Brainwashing began, as it will end, as a counterinsurgency operation. British psychological warfare experts, John Rees and Sargent, began to develop the implications of Pavlov's conditioned reflex experiments on dogs for human beings. Pavlov had found that under certain conditions of extreme stress he could induce a state which he called a "transparadox" in his dogs. In this state the dog's previous responses to stimuli were no longer operative, and conditions were created for the induction of new responses. That means, he did to the dogs what brainwashers now do to people. He put them in situations in which their normal "dogginess" was no longer enough to get them by. In this regard he makes constant reference to the flooding of the river Neva in Leningrad in the early 1920's. His dogs were so panicked as flood-waters filled the laboratory cellar where they were kept that all his years of experimental conditioning were literally washed away.

That is what Rees and Sargeant took as their starting point, and they began the educational programs first for the OSS, then the CIA which would ensure that human applications of this barbarism were developed. The brainwashing scandal at the time of the Korean war provided the next bench-mark in the history of this filth. American military specialists, counterinsurgents and quacks determined to find out how the Chinese were able to change the behavior of so many all-American boys. It was in the aftermath of that research that high-powered gadgetry was added to the torture chamber techniques of the behavior modifiers. Neuro-surgery (brain-butchery) and electro-shock techniques were refined, drugs with mind-destroying potential like LSD-25 began to be developed. (Methedrine, interestingly enough, was developed to speed up this process. It creates the conditions in which people are willing to relive painful experiences; that's known as abreaction therapy.)

Then, of course, computer applications were developed as von Neumann and Norbert Wiener began the wild goose chase of simulating human intelligence. They were bound to fail because a computer can only know what it is programmed to know. A machine cannot create. But for minds which do not understand that creativity is a human quality, accessible to all human beings, his rationalization had to be that the computers were not good enough. Now, as is evident from the job that was done on me, they obviously "think" they have overcome that problem.

In reality, all this array of technical gadgetry is unnecessary to their practice. The Chinese were able to achieve substantially the same results in the 1950's, as

the British have found out in their treatment of internees in Northern Ireland. Simple techniques, like depriving people of food and sleep, forcing them to stand, hooded so they can neither see, hear, nor smell are just as effective. The trouble is this takes longer, because most human beings have a capacity to withstand simple physical pain. It's the destruction of the social identity, even the bourgeois monad-like identity, that is important from their standpoint, and that crime is speeded up with the application of their technical gimmickry.

We have already determined, up to a certain point, who and what was responsible for this affair in Britain. Let's now take the U.S. end of the operation and, starting from the people who run the CIA, namely the Rockefeller family and their allies like Robert MacNamara, continue down our trail towards those who are responsible.

We already know that the CIA was planning to use the Labour Committees as a piece in a much wider game. We can not, by checking out the connections, from Rockefeller and the CIA in the brainwashing crime trail establish what that broader game is. Rocky and his men were planning to institute a fascist-style economy using the techniques of behavior modification to secure their way. They were planning to bypass the need for a mass-based fascist movement, and take over from the top.

How can we be sure? The answer is simple. We look at the funding of brainwashing operations and examine the politics of those who are doing it. I'll only establish the general outline here. New Solidarity will be publishing regular organising exposes as the work proceeds.

Philadelphia provides a good example of how the general operation works. The brainwashing outfit at Penn State University under one Wolpe is financed by Robert MacNamara's World Bank, the outfit which is bringing starvation and slave labor to millions across the world, the outfit which planned Brazil. Funds are conduited via the National Institute for Mental Health and other foundation sources to Wolpe, whose gang of torturers work in alliance with the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and a foundation called "Safe Streets." The aim of the operation is literally this, to decorticate the black and Hispanic ghettos by taking the socially organic leaders and brainwashing them.

In fact, it's already happened. Ghetto youth gangs, according to our intelligence, were established by CIA-style operatives in the first place in the sixties. Then the usual pattern was followed. Conflict between gangs was fomented. Then "treaties" were arranged between the gangs. Then conflict between gangs and friendly "old-style" cops on the beat was set up. The LEAA gives gang members weapons to help this process. Then treaties

with the cops are signed. Then LEAA operatives within the police force weed out the leaders and ship them out to the country "to make a film." When they come back their behavior has been "modified," they are turned into zombies. That has already happened in Philadelphia, thanks to the whole network of which Wolpe and his crew of butchers are an integral part. The next step, according to our informants in the police force there, is to provoke racial violence in the ghetto, and in the ensuing bloodbath intimidate black and Hispanic working-class peoples into submission. Our sources indicate that this kind of move is planned for this March in Detroit and Philadelphia. The dating is not decisive. The fact, however, that such plans are being mooted at this point is.

This crew, which prides itself on the number of interventions it has made in living brain tissue with the surgical knife, considers that it is searching for a solution to the problem of violence in this society, especially political violence. Their solution is easy and permanent. They cut out chunks of people's brains. Actually they don't anymore — that's old-fashioned. They just do nice little jobs like separating the frontal lobes from the rest of the brain, implanting electrodes in people's heads to put them under permanent remote control — like a child's model aeroplane. It was these guys who said that the 1967 riots in Detroit could have been prevented, or rather a repetition could be prevented, by lobotomising ghetto residents.

This kind of quack exists in every behavioral science-oriented faculty in the country. We intend to close them all down. Prosecute them under the Nuremburg principle. It's easy to identify them. First you look for a direct connection with Rockefeller, the kind that's clearest in the State University system of New York. At Stony Brook, for example, the behaviorist is lavishly equipped with all kinds of funny gadgets, and lots of laboratory space. Now you know why. Especially when you consider that Alice Weitzman was most probably programmed there.

Then you look for sources of funding, like the notorious National Institute for Mental Health conduit for World Bank funds, and you look for the CIA, LEAA connections on and around campuses. The easiest way to do this is to check back over professors' academic histories — you could also see the kind of research work they've done. You see the whole network was built up in the 1940's by a mad Englishman called Dr. John Rees — the above-mentioned man who brought you Baraka, established the brainwashing infrastructure in Philadelphia, and trained Kurt Lewin, B.F. Skinner and others in Indiana. All you need to do is find the points of intersection in the careers of this core group and their

students with the "professor" under examination.

If there is such a connection, and if the professor's funding comes from any of the known conduits of CIA-Rockefeller funds, and if he's in the behavioral modification field, then you know that you've got a Nazi Doctor on your hands — even if he's Jewish: the Hebrew University in Jerusalem is one of the centers of this virus (we'll explain the reason for that in a later article) — and you know that he should be dealt with like any war criminal or criminal against humanity. He should be arraigned under the Nuremburg principle, and dealt with accordingly.

The situation in Philadelphia, with cooperation between leading circles of capitalist rule, the emerging national police force, and academics of the "Nazi Doctor" variety to destroy the minds of workers, unemployed and youth particularly in the ghettos is nothing extraordinary. The same kind of arrangement is being brought to fruition across the nation and in Great Britain. It's the future Rocky and his herd of pet baboons plan for everyone.

The situation in prisons, with behavior modification, methadone maintenance programs tied in to the carrot of slave-labor work-release is already sufficiently well-documented. Indeed, everyone who's been inside recently, or has friends or relatives who have, knows that it's true; now they know why.

They probably don't know the extent of the operation, though. Take the Midwest, for example. There you have a whole complex of academics, psycho-electric butchers, snake-pit drug manufacturers — the lot. They operate out of the NIMH-funded department of pharmacology at the University of Chicago, which, on the record, has had six known CIA agents working for it. (Remember, all this stuff can be documented, and is on the public record for anyone to see.) They operate out of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, and other campuses in that system, where they develop the programs and train the leaders for such operations as CIA-LEAA-backed "New Detroit." They have a backup team at Wayne State University, which runs an extensive psycho-butchery department. They have an on-line computer at Madison, Wisconsin — the Army computer, which stocks profiles of all layers of the population. And they have an experimental prison in Springfield, otherwise known as "Clockwork Orange," Illinois, where new programs and drugs are tried out on "volunteers." They also work on programs to get more for less out of industrial workers.

There you have it. In that one complex every aspect of the Midwestern worker's life, from job to family to eating and housing requirements, is planned for. Techniques

are developed to subvert every waking moment of his life, and drugs are developed to take care of him while he sleeps. Just by way of backup, they plan on involving masses directly in these programs. Now that the depression is here, they are moving out of the experimental theatre and on to the battlefield.

The main centre of their operation is situated in Boston. That backyard has always been closely associated with U.S. counterinsurgency strategy. It's there that B.F. Skinner, leading theoretician of behavior modification, hangs out. It's there, at Harvard and MIT, that these programs are planned and developed and then put into action in Massachusetts General Hospital, through a gang of mainly ex-Armed Services butchers such as Mark, Sweet, and Ervin.

In Britain, we need special help to run these types to the ground. We need to establish the connections between police, military intelligence, and S. Rachman of the Institute of Psychiatry, the Maudsley Hospital, William Walters Sargeant of 23 Harley Street, London W1; Hans J. Eysenck of 10 Dorchester Drive, London SE 24; and R.D. Laing (whose present whereabouts are unknown). These people are all apologists for, and practitioners of, the bestial techniques of mind destruction. They should be dealt with like their colleagues in the States. Eysenck, for example, is the leading practitioner of aversion therapy in Britain, and is encouraging people not to want something by giving them electro-shock. He advocates this "treatment" from London's Institute of Psychiatry. Rachman, a colleague of Eysenck, is guilty also of aversion therapy crimes against humanity. Sargeant, if he is still alive (he was

born in 1907) has had a near-forty-year career as lobotomist, and brainwasher. His book *Battle for the Mind* is a systematic exposition of all the brainwasher's fantasies about their own dog-like minds. He is concerned to show how electro-therapy and drugs can help simulate neurotic/psychotic states seen in voodoo, snake-handling and the early days of Methodism. Laing, one-time psychiatrist in the British army, specializes in the induction of psychosis, not its cure. He gives people the chance to live out their insane nightmares, and the drugs to help them do it, like mescaline and LSD-25.

These British-based criminals, with their U.S. connections, with their probable past connections to Rees, must take their share of responsibility for what happened to me, and for what is planned for the working class of the USA and Western Europe. But make no mistake about where the head of this operation is to be found. Our major target is the Rockefeller dynasty and its worldwide empire. Operation Nuremburg is creating the organizing preconditions from which we will be able to challenge him and his capitalist cronies, whether they are his factional allies at this moment or not, for control of the world economy. But it's up to you, to help us in this undertaking.

No matter what you decide, though, you will know if anything should befall either myself, L. Marcus, or my wife Carol, exactly who is responsible. If Rockefeller's organization has given its operatives the usual sixty days' notice, and anything happens to any of us, you will know where to point the finger, and what to do about it. But don't wait to find out about it. Get your friends to organize with us against it. It's your future too.

# new SOLIDARITY

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## MOP UP WOODCOCK!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Above: UAW President Leonard Woodcock (center) and aides. Below: Troops of another Social Democratic labor leader, Gustav Neebe, prepare to fire on workers' demonstration (Germany, 1938). Please turn to page 11

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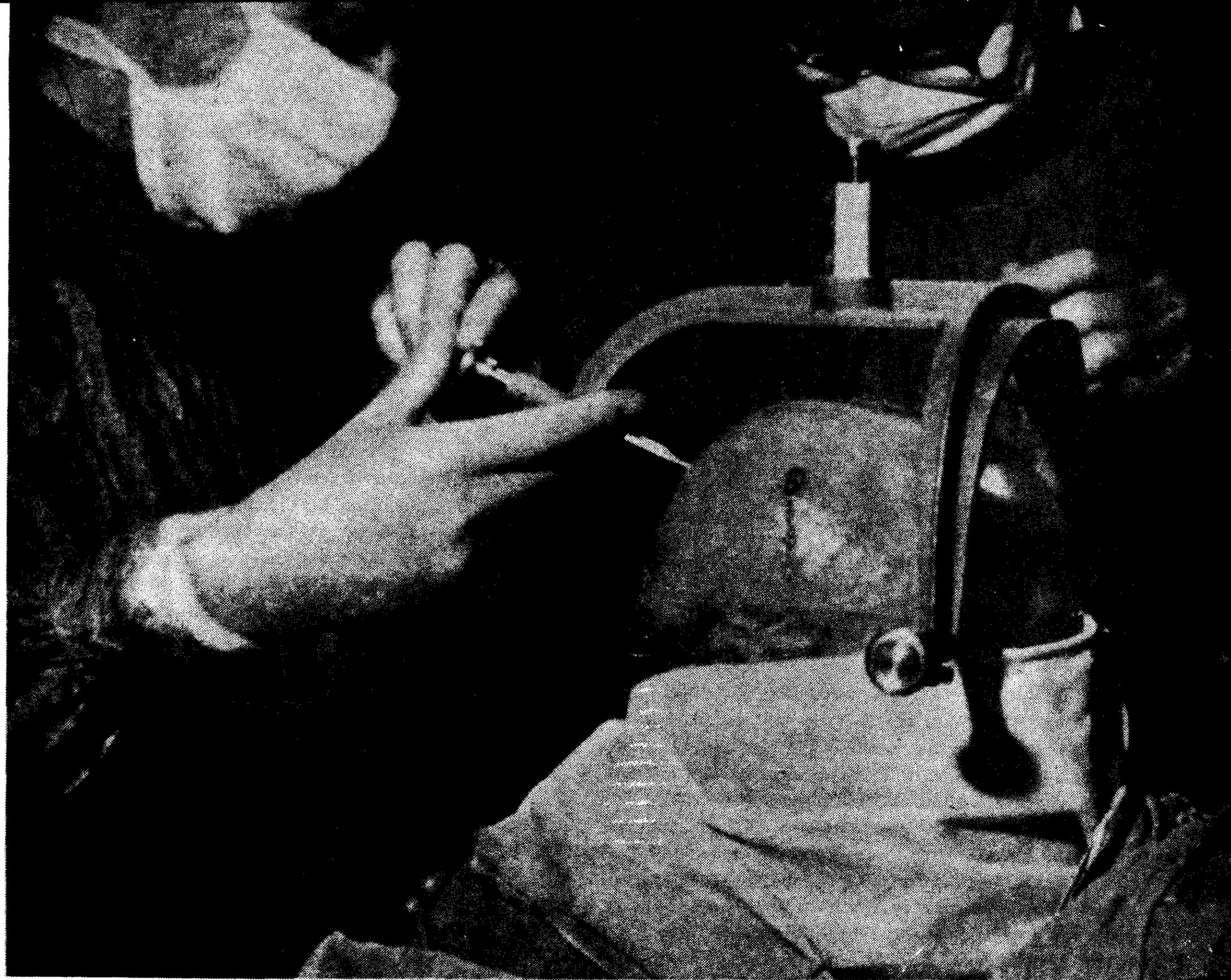
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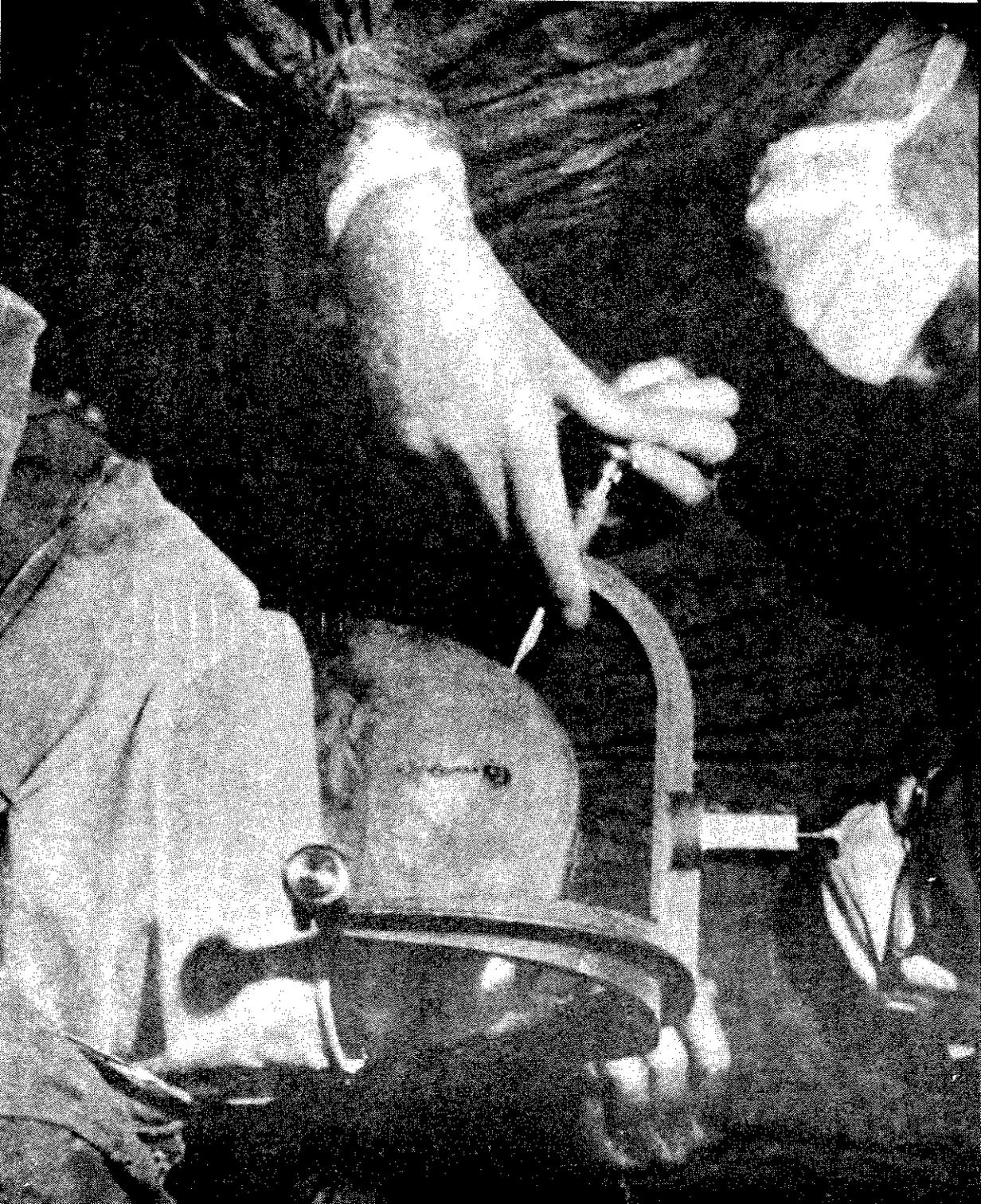


## Coercive Psychology: Capitalism's Monster Science

Over the past few decades, the bourgeois science of mind, i.e. psychology and psychiatry, has been converted into the craft of mind destruction. Psychoanalysis and other legitimate, although generally limited, therapeutic approaches have given way to behavior-modifying pseudo-sciences in the name of aversion therapy, chemotherapy, electroconvulsive shock therapy...even psychosurgery.

This conversion of the mind sciences was truly

“shaped by war” — the war of mental genocide waged by the bourgeoisie against the working class and any threat of socialist revolution. From the great oil hoax to Nathan Kline-style chemotherapy and CIA-style brainwashing, the psychological sciences have followed the route initially outlined in 1945 by Dr. John Rawlings Rees, grand master of psywar counterinsurgency, in his book, *The Shaping of Psychiatry by War*. Here Rees calls for the development of psychiatric “shock troops”



of "well-selected, well-trained psychiatrists, who are free to move around and make contracts with the local situation in their particular area." [1]

Today these shock troops are deployed just about everywhere. They control entire prisons, hospitals, schools, and factories; they permeate every ghetto, Third-World and working-class community. Their aim is to destroy actual or potential creative minds, thus paving the way for a society that makes Nazi Germany and 1984 look like pleasure resorts. The shock troops of Rees, his proteges, and their Rockefeller creators will not rest until the masses are turned into slaves, more mindless than any in history, and selected slaves are turned into their proximate masters.

The bankruptcy and degeneracy of the "mind sciences" are no better vindicated than by the CIA/KGB's aborted brainwashing attempts on Labor Committee members Konstantin George and Christopher White. There has never been, to our knowledge, a more thorough attempt to pervert and completely destroy a person's sense of self, a person's very humanity. Yet the brainwashing attempts on George and White are only a more sophisticated and deliberate use of the same mind-blunting, mind-destroying techniques that have already in varying degrees victimized hundreds of millions of the ghetto and working people worldwide.

We shall survey these pre-brainwashing and consummate brainwashing programs, and in the process expose the developers of brainwashing — the quack bourgeois psychologists and psychiatrists such as I.P. Pavlov, Kurt Lewin, B.F. Skinner, Arthur Janow, the racist H.J. Eysenck et al. Later we will develop an overview of the process which transformed psychology and the related sciences into the major counterinsurgent monster science which it is today.

## I. THE TECHNIQUES AND THEIR APPLICATION

The distinctions between classical psychiatry, behaviorism, biological psychiatry and the myriad of anti-psychoanalytic introspective approaches are practically nil. The intensity of debate among these and the various other schools, which began at the turn of the century and reached its peak in the 1920's, died with the depression. Drugs, conditioning, and introspective gimmickry are used pragmatically and eclectically, singularly or in combination, by the vast majority of present-day clinicians. There are very few purists left.

These so-called factions all boil down to one thing: charlatanry. Because they are based upon alienated,

thus generally false, premises about human behavior and development, they have at best only an accidental correspondence to any scientific notion of mental health.

As we present the array of techniques used in mental genocide, one basic point should be kept in mind: different techniques or combination of techniques have diverse utilities.

For example, you are not going to turn someone into a political agent through the use of psychosurgery; but then again with the same method you might produce a very good labor-intensive slave. Also, some of these techniques, such as group dynamics are not coercive in themselves. It's what one does with them. As Trotsky aptly put it: "...scientific medicine equips one with the possibility not only of curing the sick but of sending the healthy to meet their forefathers by the shortest route." [2]

The techniques used to induce a brainwashed or brainwashed-like state falls roughly into three methodological categories: biological methods, conditioning methods and anti-psychoanalytic introspective methods. For purposes of exposition, we will present the various techniques from the standpoint of these "factional" categories, indicating whenever possible, however, their eclectic and overlapping application in practice.

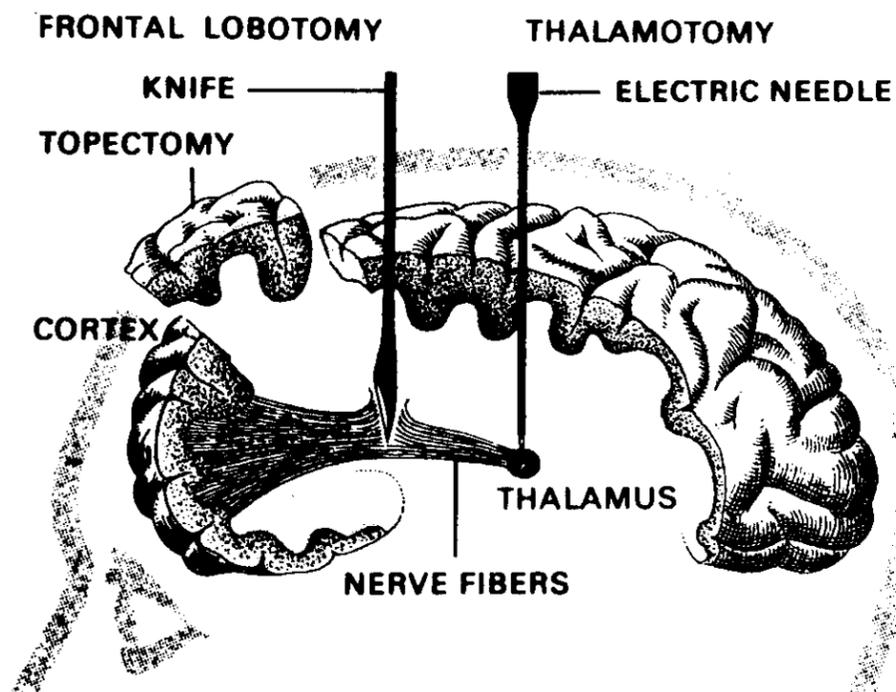
### 1. The Biological Approach

A patient screams, "I'm dying." [3] The doctor orders the patient to sing "God Bless America," and then describes how the patient becomes more disoriented and passive with each "stab" into his brain.

This is *psychosurgery*. It is inflicted on approximately one thousand victims per year in the U.S. But more than that, it is the essence of all the biologically-oriented techniques: the obliteration of human consciousness.

The primary techniques falling into this biological category, besides psychosurgery, include: *chemotherapy, electro-convulsive therapy, and electrical stimulation of the brain*. They are all premised on the notion that the etiology of man's behavior is to be sought in his neurophysiological equipment, his genetic endowment or his body fluids and chemistry. "Mental illness" or "deviant behavior" (aggressiveness, criminality, even political militancy), therefore, are somatic in nature and cause.

The conceit that man's psychological behavior is biologically determined goes back to antiquity. In fact, most of what we today call clinical therapy operates on a regressed notion of the fifth century B.C. — writings of Hippocrates and his later-day protege, Galen. In



Children as young as five who “demonstrate aggression and hostility” have been reduced to mindless vegetables;

sanguine or optimistic people, blood predominates; in the choleric or violent-tempered, yellow bile; in the melancholic person, black bile; and in the phlegmatic, phlegm.

Hegel, if he were around today, would characterize psychosurgery and electro-stimulation of the brain as “so much phrenology” — the 18th century idea that character is determined by the type of bumps on one’s head. In fact, Hegel’s witty dismissal of such pseudoscience in the *Phenomenology of Mind* should have ended the debate once and for all:

The skull of the murderer has — not this organ or sign — but this “bump.” But this murderer has in addition a lot other properties, and other bumps too, and along with the bumps hollows as well. Bumps and hollows, there is room for selection! And again his murderous propensity can be referred to any bump or hollow, and this in turn to any mental quality; for the murderer is neither this abstraction of a murderer, nor does he have merely one protuberance and one depression. The observations offered on this point must therefore sound just about as sensible as those of the dealer about the rain at the annual fair, and of the housewife at her washing time. Dealer and housewife might as well make the observation that it always rains when neighbor so-and-so passes by, or when they have roast pork. From the point of view of observation a given characteristic of mind is just as indifferent to a given formation of the skull as rain is indifferent to circumstances like these....(4)

Psychosurgery is basically the technique of destroying tissue by lesions and ablations. The most popular of these treatments has been the *prefrontal lobotomy*, in which the patient’s frontal lobes are partially separated from the thalamus, a part of the midbrain described as “involved in the experience of emotion.” Newer operations attack the brain lower down in the

“limbic system.”

Psychosurgery, its experimental origin dating back to the 1890’s, was widely practiced beginning from the late 1930’s, through the 1940’s and into the early 1950’s, when it was replaced almost entirely by the advent of tranquilizers. However, in the mid-1960’s, there was a sudden resurrection not only of interest but of actual psychosurgical practice.

Many of these butchers attempt to pass off their mutilation by claiming that such surgery is limited to individuals with brain damage or epilepsy. Not so, found Dr. Peter Breggin, an anti-psychosurgery campaigner. In a well-documented study reviewing 100 papers and 1,000 recent psychosurgery cases in the U.S., Breggin determined that “none of the psychosurgeons were operating on individuals with brain disease and none were basing their work on the treatment of epilepsy.” [5] A later investigation came up with only one psychosurgical team who even “claimed” to use such criteria.

Children, as young as five who “demonstrate aggression and hostility” have been reduced to mindless vegetables; so have adolescents with criminal records. The favorite targets are the “psychopaths” — militants, protestors, revolutionaries, et al. In a 1967 letter published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Doctors Vernon Mark, Frank Ervin and William Sweet, all (at the time) of Boston, suggested in the aftermath of the 1967 Detroit riots that ghetto riot participants, whom they labeled as “violence-prone,” should be operated upon to remove their brains’ temporal lobe. They implied that 5 to 10 per cent of Americans have brain disease that may require treatment! Soon afterwards they were funded with at least

\$100,000 by the CIA's Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA).

The effects? Norbert Wiener, mathematician and founder of cybernetics, has summed it up quite well. "It [lobotomy] has recently been having a certain vogue, probably not unconnected with the fact that it makes the custodial care of many patients much easier. Let me remark in passing that killing them makes their custodial care still easier." [6]

The psychosurgeons hypothesize that the brain is divided into regions with each region having a specific function — the thalamus controls emotions, the hypothalamus controls sex drive, appetite, etc. Thus, it is further reasoned, if you eliminate (surgically remove) or destroy any specific region, totally or partially, you then eliminate or reduce the specific response.

Rubbish! Liken this to the physiology of the human body. Cut out or mutilate any specific organ, say the heart or the kidneys. What happens? The person dies. The brain is part of, and a microcosm of, the integrated functioning of the body as a whole.

Mutilate one region or area of the brain and you have destroyed the integrated functioning of the *brain as a whole*. . . you have obliterated the physiological appropriateness of the brain for human consciousness.

*Electrical Stimulation of the Brain:* "Electrical stimulation of the brain can put human beings through the paces from fear, anxiety, rage aggression, pain, alertness, volubility and euphoria to near-orgasm. ESB prevails over free will. It is a foot in the door of an infinitely bigger world." [7]

Electrical stimulation of the brain (ESB) was developed as a "more conservative treatment" than lobotomy. The lobotomy was under attack by many of the "experts" because "it often produced concomitant undesirable alterations of personality." [8] ESB is far from being more conservative; it is simply more sophisticated.

This is how it works. Fine steel or platinum electrodes are surgically implanted into the brain in selected sites. A single external socket can pass current to two dozen or more electrode tips, eliciting, so claim its proponents, a reaction specific to the part of the brain stimulated. According to its main advocate, Dr. Jose Delgado, "it may delay a heartbeat, move a finger, bring a word to memory, or set a determined behavioral tone." [9]

In the case of the lower animals — say a cat — radio stimulators strapped to the back transmit current to the electrodes implanted in the cat's brain. The current is battery-activated yards away by radio. Another variety, the programmed stimulator, delivers stimulation ac-

ording to a prearranged schedule. In either case, a jolt of current to one electrode tip will turn a serene cat into an enraged clawing beast; another jolt might cause the cat to copulate until exhaustion.

With humans, the procedure is the same, but the terminal sockets are gathered into a small box located on the outside of the skull or completely hidden under the skin. Says Delgado: "Some women have shown their feminine adaptability by wearing attractive hats or wigs to conceal their electrical headgear. . ." [10]

ESB is premised upon Skinnerian notions of reward and punishment. "Systematic analysis of the distribution of pleasurable areas in the rat shows that 60 per cent of the brain is neutral, 35 per cent is rewarding and only 5 per cent may elicit punishing effects." [11] When applied to human subjects, this concept becomes an Orwellian nightmare:

...one man suffering from narcolepsia was given a small stimulator and a built-in counter that recorded the number of times he voluntarily stimulated each of several selected points in his brain. During a period of 17 weeks the highest score was recorded from one point in the septal region and the patient declared that pushing this particular button made him feel good, as if he were building up to a sexual climax, although he was not able to reach the end-point, or orgasm, and often felt impatient and anxious. . . . (12)

And another:

...One case was V.P., a 36-year-old woman with a long history of epileptic attacks that could not be controlled by medication. Electrodes were implanted in her right temporal lobe and upon stimulation...the patient reported a pleasant tingling sensation in the left side of her body. She giggled and made funny comments, stating that she enjoyed the sensation very much. Repetition of these stimulations made the patient more communicative and flirtatious, and she ended by openly expressing her desire to marry the therapist. (13)

Generally, ESB researchers will claim that intracranial stimulation is being conducted for "medical purposes" such as "gaining a better understanding of brain functions," or "alleviating severe behavioral impairments." Of course, well-placed kilovolts have nothing in common with curing such ailments as epilepsy, impotency, frigidity, hyperactivity, etc.\* ESB's only purpose is to produce robots that "can be induced to flex a limb, to reject food, or to feel emotional excitement."

Fascist Delgado envisions a "psychocivilized society"

\* It is conceivable, although scientifically untested at present, that ESB may have some useful prosthetic functions such as electrically stimulating, in the case of blindness, the optic area of the brain.

for his "future man." To achieve, as he puts it, "the control of domestic and international violence in the political sphere"[15], Delgado is well endowed by the U.S. Public Health Service, the Office of Naval Research, and the U.S. Air Force.

Nor is Delgado alone in his campaign to physically control the mind. One colleague, Dr. Robert G. Heath, Chairman and Professor of the Department of Psychiatry and Neurology at Tulane University in New Orleans, boasts of holding the record for implanting 125 electrodes at one time in one brain. His specialities are primarily homosexuals and frigid women.[16]

ESB is not only the technology of fascism; it also reflects its epistemological basis. To advocates of ESB, the brain is simply a "material entity located inside the skull which may be inspected, touched, weighed and - measured. It is composed of chemicals, enzymes, and humors which may be analyzed. Its structure is characterized by neurons, pathways, and synapses which may be examined directly when they are properly magnified."[17]

*Electroconvulsive Shock Therapy:* Electroconvulsive shock therapy (ECT) was the first coercive psychiatric technique applied on a massive scale. Closer to pure torture than the other techniques, its use was pioneered by the Kaiser's Army during World War I — employed as a disciplinary procedure for terrifying and torturing combat fatigue cases back into the trenches. (Chemical shocking agents were used even earlier — perhaps as early as the eighteenth century.) From the late 1930's through the mid-1950's, ECT was the dominant

treatment for schizophrenia and depression. Like lobotomy, it almost disappeared as a mode of treatment in the U.S., replaced by the anti-depressant drugs in the mid-1950's, only to return again some ten years later in the mid-1960's to be used concurrently with other modes of "therapy."

The treatment consists of sending an electric current through the front part of the patient's head, resulting in unconsciousness and convulsions.

The patient often awakes terrified, with wrenched muscles, broken bones, or damaged brain tissue. ECT's most universal effect is loss of memory and a disorientation in time and space. It is these effects which have made ECT an important technique to employ in functional brainwashing.

In Detroit, ECT is being used to "erase" undesirable elements of an individual's personality so that the person can be "reprogrammed" to function in a more desirable manner. The director of Detroit's brainwashing center, the Institute of Psychosynthesis, is Dr. Tien, a graduate of the University of Michigan Medical School. Tien is quite articulate about the basic principles of brainwashing: "It is not the shock that's important, it's like erasing a blackboard. You're not interested in the erasure itself, you're interested in what you can do after you erase."[18]

Dr. Tien recommends ECT for any and every kind of psychiatric disorder, including schizophrenia, sexual disorders, alcoholism and even obesity. He also recommends shock treatment for "normal" individuals who want to function at a higher level. In all cases, he



"It's not the shock that's important, it's like erasing a blackboard."

uses ECT as a conditioning technique for inducing a pseudo-identity, a new persona.

Tien premises his brainwashing on the idea that ECT temporarily reduces an individual to the mental state of a baby, erasing neurotic ideas and memories that can be replaced with "healthy" ones. He deliberately stimulates unpleasant memories immediately prior to the shock treatment, so that they can be "erased." Then with baby bottles, chocolate milk (adults prefer it to white milk, he finds) and cuddling by spouse or parent, he makes the individual receptive to "new ideas."

One of Tien's videotaped case histories, for example, documents the transformation of a woman called "Laura," who saved her marriage by becoming a "Susan." The full transformation required 20 shock treatments, administered over a period of several months. A videotape film, one of hundreds in Tien's library, recorded one of those sessions:

(Laura is on a treatment table in St. Lawrence Hospital, attended by Tien and a nurse who places the electrodes that connect Laura to the shock treatment machine.)

TIEN: Laura, I want you to think about yourself as Laura (when you were a child). What got you so upset that you had to run away from home?

LAURA: My grandmother. I had to live with her. She used to beat me and she put me in an orphanage.

TIEN: Before that, what did she do? Remember what you told me in therapy? She made you sit in the doghouse in the yard and finally made you take the dog you loved to the dog pound to be destroyed. What's upsetting you, Laura?

LAURA: Nothing I can't remember.

TIEN: No? You mean the bad times were so bad you got all mixed up? So now you want your husband to divorce you and take your son away?

LAURA: No! You're mixing me up. I never wanted that. I want the divorce and I want my son with me.

TIEN: Yes, it is all mixed up, isn't it? Do you remember running away? Just like your father ran away? Just like your mother ran away, leaving you with your grandmother? Remember running away from the orphanage? Remember running away from the foster home? Is it all coming back? You are so desperate sometimes, and you feel so depressed, Laura. You can't put up with this any more. And now you want to run away from Tom (husband).

(A rubber mouth guard is inserted in Laura's mouth, and Dr. Tien administers the electric shock. Laura is wheeled into an adjoining treatment room, where Tom is waiting. The nurse hands Tom a baby bottle filled with chocolate milk.)

TIEN: Susan, your husband is here.

(Laura/Susan opens her eyes and looks submissively at Tom, who cuddles her in his arms and attempts to feed her from the baby bottle.)

TOM: Come on Susan, drink your milk.

SUSAN (childishly): I don't want it.

TOM: It's good for you. You're a good girl, aren't you?

(Susan begins to drink from the bottle. Like all of Tien's patients, she has not eaten for five to six hours prior to shock therapy.)

TIEN: Have you ever been a bad girl, Susan?

SUSAN: Yeah. Sure.

TOM: No. Susan has never been bad.

TIEN: Right, Tom. It's Laura who was bad, not Susan.

TOM: No. Susan has never been bad.

TIEN: Right, Tom. It's Laura who was bad, not Susan.

TOM: Susan's a good girl.

TIEN: Tell me, Susan, did your grandmother ever make you get in a doghouse?

SUSAN: W-h-a?

TOM: No. Susan's grandmother never did that. Laura's grandmother did it.

TIEN: You're a new person now. Have you ever been in an orphanage?

SUSAN: No, never.

*It is not the ECT itself that brainwashes. Laura did not acquire the persona of "Susan" because of shock therapy per se. In fact, while Tien sees ECT as desirable for "psychosynthesis," he does not insist that it is mandatory. The new persona is acquired by submitting to acts of self-degradation, — regression to infancy; becoming a work slave; eating one's excrement, etc. — in the face of pain — i.e. to halt the pain, as B.F. Skinner puts it in his explanation of why "aversive conditioning" works better than mere punishment or threats.*

The painful stimuli could be physical — ECT, beatings, starvation, etc., or emotional — playing upon fears or neuroses. This is demonstrated in a simpler form by a couple of Vietnamese case studies published recently in Science News:

Firstly: Chronic male patients (mostly schizophrenic) were offered freedom if they proved they could work. Of 130, only 10 volunteered to work. The rest were told they needed treatment and were given electroconvulsive shock. After a few treatments, most of the men decided to work.(20)

Secondly: A similar experiment was then tried on 130 women. Even after each had received 20 treatments, only 15 were willing to work. Shock treatments were discontinued and food was withheld for periods of up to three days. The patients were eventually cured and went to work tending crops for the Green Berets.(21)

The point is clear: the mental patients were coerced into acquiring a slave's persona in order to escape the pain.

*Chemotherapy:* Drugs are the "humanitarian's" psychosurgery. They are ESB and ECT all wrapped in one package. Drugs do the same thing — reduce or abort mental functioning — and they are cheaper, more efficient, and better geared to turning people into "functioning slaves" rather than incapacitated vegetables.



Dr. Nathan S. Kline

Today over 80 per cent of all psychiatrists as well as most other medical doctors, liberally prescribe psychotropic drugs to at least 40 million individuals in the U.S. The widespread use of psychopharmaceuticals has begun to wipe out the corridors of most mental hospitals — not as any humanitarian progress, but merely to dump long-institutionalized doped-up mental patients onto the street. The prescription blank has almost replaced the psychoanalytic interview, or any interview for that matter; everyone from school children to the Third World masses are its target; and most significantly, chemotherapy has become a key aspect of counterinsurgency.

The array of drugs available or on the drawing board is staggering. There are drugs to depress and drugs to energize; drugs that increase sleep and drugs which reduce sleep; drugs which act as intoxicants and hallucinogens. There are drugs which regulate sexual response, control affect and aggression, and increase or decrease reactivity. Other drugs prolong or shorten memory or induce or prevent learning. Some psychiatrists claim that there are futuristic drugs which could produce or discontinue transference, provoke or relieve guilt, foster or terminate mothering behavior, shorten or extend experienced time, and create conditions of novelty or familiarity.

The widespread use of psychopharmaceuticals came about in the early 1950's through a concerted effort by a certain stratum of the bourgeoisie, led by the Rockefellers, to turn around the menacing growth in the numbers of patients in public mental hospitals. While tranquilizers and narcotics had existed for quite some

time, it was not until *reserpine* and *chlorpromazine*, both depressants, were developed in 1952 that the first modern behavior-controlling drugs hit the market. By 1960, psychotropic drugs had become the third most common class of drugs dispensed by the medical profession.

Almost immediately it became clear that the potential of drugs far exceeded their mere usefulness in promoting mental-hospital austerity. The government, the pharmaceutical companies, and certain parts of the medical profession realized the drugs' far-reaching potential: the power of drugs to control behavior, to change moods . . . the usefulness of drugs in blunting the agony of a crumbling capitalist society . . . the ability of drugs to "cool off" angry militants in the prisons . . . all this crystallized.

Immediately the machinery got set up. The same pharmaceutical companies who boldly induced scurvy or injected live cancer cells into prisoners quickly expanded their operations to include research, production, and promotion of behavior- and mind-controlling drugs. But this was insufficient.

In 1956, as a result of an Act of Congress, a Psychopharmacology Research Branch (PRB) was established under the National Institute of Mental Health. The Center was designed to develop programs of support for both clinical and preclinical research, and facilitate an exchange of information in psychopharmacology. Immediately the federal government, through the PRB, joined with the private pharmaceutical industry in expediting and expanding the thousands of behavior-controlling drug experiments against prisoners, mental patients, ghetto dwellers, et al.

The scoundrel above all others who stands out in this campaign is a little-known but influential individual, Nathan S. Kline. It was Dr. Kline who developed reserpine, who blueprinted the mental-hospital austerity campaign, who served as one of the leading promoters of the PRB, and who has continued to act as a leading front for the government and drug companies' wide-scale counter-insurgency efforts for at least twenty years.

Kline, Director of Research since 1952 at Rockland State Hospital, near New York City, has been a major mastermind of aborting revolution in the Third World with his own calculated mixture of voodoo, chemotherapy, and computers.

Working through his front organization, the International Committee Against Mental Illness (ICAMI), of which he is "president," Kline has developed hundreds of counter-insurgent mental health clinics in no less than twenty undeveloped countries, including In-

onesia, Liberia, Columbia, Nepal, Haiti, Iran, Nigeria, Tanzania, Pakistan, Sarawak, Jamaica, Kuwait, Israel, and Yugoslavia.

In Haiti, for example, Kline in 1958, during the ebb of a Communist uprising, set up that unfortunate country's only mental health clinic, linking *drugs with voodoo*, as the basic "therapeutic treatment." One year later, in 1959, Kline received the highest civilian award, the Legion of Honor and Merit, from Papa Doc Duvalier, at the time Duvalier was consolidating his bloody dictatorship. Kline "settled" on Haiti because he recognized that it was "virtually impossible to set up a psychiatric service in the United States based upon this principle [of chemotherapy], since it was so clearly heretical." [23] In Haiti, Kline continued, "no one knew that such an approach was incorrect. . . . So it worked." [24]

Kline's voluminous writings (his bibliography lists nearly 400 books, articles, etc.) point to the practical significance of chemotherapy: slave labor. In the fall of 1971 the ICAMI, under a grant from a drug manufacturer, set up the first international meeting on "Productive Participation of Psychiatric Patients" in Helsinki. Discussing the outcome of the conference, Kline writes: "It was clearly recognized that the use of appropriate psychopharmaceuticals would play a significant role in the social and work rehabilitative process." [25]

Kline is well aware that the time has come for his Third World efforts to be brought home. "These facts are anything but irrelevant for the United States of America today" [26], he writes. The U.S. program of this fascist internationalist includes the importation of voodoo as a "therapeutic tool" and the mass dispersal of lithium, a deadly mood changer, through the water supply.

For such "novelties" Kline's funding reads like a Who's Who of the pharmaceutical companies. Included are Alcoa, Allied Chemical, Armour, CIBA-GEIGY, Hoffman-LaRoche, Knoll, Eli Lilly, Merck, Pfizer, Sandoz, Schering, Searle, Smith, Kline and French, Wallance and Wyeth. Four drug firms alone have offered over a half a million dollars' worth of psychopharmaceuticals. Kline is also heavily endowed by the U.S. government — particularly NIMH.

Kline's goals are well on their way to being met. The widespread use of drugs throughout institutions, particularly prisons, points to this.

A petition addressed to the California Senate Committee on Penal Institutions by La Raza Unida, a Chicano organization representing prisoners confined in the California Men's Colony, describes the situation: "The simple fact that a number of prisoners are walking

the yard in this institution like somnambulists, robots, and vegetables as a result of the drug [Prolixin] should be reason enough to make people apprehensive as to the effect it is having. That no prisoner feels safe because he never knows when he will become a candidate for said drug is another factor in producing tension in this institution." [27]

The most commonly used drugs in prisons are *lithium* and *prolixin*. *Lithium* is the favorite for what is referred to as the "emotionally unstable aggressive personality." An NIMH-supported experiment, "The Long-Term Use of Lithium in Aggressive Prisoners," conducted at the Vacaville, California Medical Facility produced the following results. Of 27 subjects on lithium, several stopped because they expressed the fear that if they stayed on lithium they would be unable to defend themselves, or be emasculated; there was precipitation of psychosis in two individuals; there was activation of ulcers in two individuals and leukocytosis in one; many of the subjects suffered from nausea, vomiting, and tremor." [28]

*Prolixin*, jocularly referred to as the "liquid straight jacket," is also used at Vacaville, as well as being dispersed by the LEAA to Philadelphia's youth gangs. It is a powerful tranquilizer derived from *phenothiazine*, which, if given in large doses, produces dangerous and often irreversible side effects. These include "the induction of a 'catatonic-like state,' nausea, loss of appetite, headache, constipation, blurred vision, glaucoma, bladder paralysis, impotency, liver damage, hypotension severe enough to cause fatal cardiac arrest, and cerebral edema." [29]

Young children are another favored target. At least 300,000 elementary-school-age children are now hooked on drugs. The pushers are over-anxious parents, despairing teachers, and sadistic psychologists and psychiatrists. These children, some as young as three years old, are said to be suffering from "minimal brain dysfunction (MBD) or "hyperactivity."

While the medical profession is quick to diagnose MBD, it becomes completely bewildered when it attempts to explain it. "These children are of normal or above normal intelligence, but they seem to have a tiny physiological defect somewhere in the brain that prevents them from mastering such crucial skills as reading, writing or arithmetic." [30] Where? "Just somewhere," the doctor will feebly reply. The real question is who suffers from brain damage? It isn't the children.

The class of drugs most generally inflicted on such children are the *amphetamines*. One of the most widely used drugs is Ritalin, which accretes \$13 million profits

to CIBA. Another drug recently being pushed is the old favorite, lithium. No matter which drug is used, the effect is the same: mind destruction. The following case studies exemplify this:

In Garden City, Michigan, a teacher persuaded a father to get a physician to prescribe Ritalin to calm his restless six-year-old daughter Joanie. The drug made her so withdrawn that she would sometimes sit for hours doing nothing. "One day I got panicky," her father said. "I had just said her name softly, and she started sobbing uncontrollably." A battery of tests disclosed that Joanie was perfectly healthy. What she needed was drill in basic reading, not drugs.(31)

In Palo Alto, California, nine-year-old Kent's teacher and the school psychologist talked his parents into administering drugs to control the boy's mischievous and belligerent behavior. The amphetamines, however, only made Kent depressed. Frequently he complained of feeling persecuted by other children, and cried himself to sleep. His parents took him to a psychiatrist, who concluded that all the boy needed was more activity to use up his frenetic energy.(32)

Doping up children-numbing their nervous and endocrine system, even killing them altogether is of little concern to capitalists in this era of deschooling. For like the peasant or worker in Haiti or Indonesia, a child with a creative mind is now seen as an albatross.

## 2. Conditioning Methods: Behavior Therapy

Behaviorism as a clinical approach traces its roots back to the second and third decades of this century, when interest was aroused in the application of the principles of conditioning to the treatment of behavior disorders. Behavior therapy as it is currently practiced is simply the homogenization of Watson's S-R's and Pavlov's drooling dogs — Skinnerism is its oozing

excrement.

Behaviorism, in slightly varying forms, has sprung from the Soviet Union, the U.S., England, and South Africa. In the U.S., behaviorism was officially launched as a faction in 1913 when John Watson began his vigorous campaign against "introspectionism" (Freudianism) on behalf of what he called an "objective psychology." By the 1940's Watson's mindless objectivism had taken over American psychology.

Its near-complete hegemony is especially apparent within academic institutions. University psychology departments have for years turned out students schooled almost exclusively in behaviorist traditions. Psychiatric departments within medical colleges have nervously tried to deny its existence; most, to date, have never officially endorsed its theory or practice. But classical psychiatry, the syllabus medical schools continue to teach, is nothing more than a haphazard blend of mainly biological psychiatry and behaviorism, with a little misunderstood Freudian psychology thrown in as a cover. How does psychiatry endorse in practice that which it purportedly denies in theory? The more honest psychiatrist would answer: "Why, it works."

And to a certain extent it does work — in the traditions of any coercive psychological approach. At minimum it brings about certain "behavioral" or "attitudinal" changes, more often than not inducing psychosis. Pavlovian psychology in particular, if used deliberately and consciously, as in cases of prisoners of war brainwashed by the Chinese Communists in North Korea, and more recently the CIA/KGB's brainwashing of White and George, becomes an extremely potent weapon.

The approaches based upon conditioning are many in name: "systematic desensitization," "implosive



Children trained to drool on Imamu Baraka's command.

therapy," "operant conditioning," "behavior shaping," "aversion therapy," "action therapy," "token economy," etc. We shall select two for in depth investigation: one, the *token economy* is of the Skinnerian ilk and tends to be a pre-brainwashing program; the other, *aversion therapy*, is a product of "Pavlovian" therapy and lies at the core of the induced brainwashed state.

*The Token Economy:* The token economy is just another name for Skinner's *contingency management programs*. As Skinner's *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* well demonstrated, the token economy establishes the social relations of Rockefeller's 1984 fascist society. Whole institutions — schools, hospitals, prisons, etc. — become converted into massive concentration camps, in which the inhabitants are reduced to raw bestiality, clamoring for "tokens" that can be exchanged for "rewards" such as a bath or a paint-by-numbers set.

In Philadelphia's Follow-Through Program, primary-school-aged children from the ghetto are being turned into virtual caged rats, keeping their mouths shut, staying in their seats, and withstanding the drudgery of Baraka-style drill and grill so they can "exchange" their tokens for a coloring book. The Behavioral Research Project in Tucson, Arizona utilized community-trained teachers, parents and other adults in the child's natural environment to use "reinforcers" to modify "delinquent" or "predelinquent" behavior such as stealing, property destruction, and truancy. An intervention plan was designed for each child and the child was given notes, points, or a mark on a chart which could be exchanged later for primary "reinforcers." Behavior such as prompt arrival at school or obedience to instructions was reinforced, as well as periods in which a particular undesirable behavior did not occur.[33]

One of the classics among token economies is the project CASE II (Contingencies Applicable for Special Education), conducted at the National Training School for Boys (at the time in Washington, D.C.). This project was designed for "delinquent" boys who could obtain points for "successfully" completing specified amounts of educational material. It is described, as follows:

These boys lived in a specially constructed environment on the school grounds which for the first three to five days included a small but attractive private room and exceptionally good meals. Following this, points had to be earned by the boy in order to pay for his private room and good meals. In addition, he could use these points, sometimes converted into tokens or small amounts of money, to pay for such things as phone calls, or articles from a mail-order catalog. Conversely, if a student did not successfully complete his educational tasks, he was known as a relief student and would lose his private room and would have to have his meals served on a metal tray

after the other students had eaten. Also, he would not be able to wear street clothing, attend movies, or take trips outside.(34)

The most feared and hated Skinnerian program is that of Project START (Special Treatment and Rehabilitative Training) at the Medical Center for Federal Prisoners in Springfield, Missouri.\* Project START is geared to promoting "behavioral and attitudinal change in that element of the prison institutional population which has chronically demonstrated inability to effectuate adherence to established regulations." [35]

In a letter to the United Nations on July 5, 1972, the Prisoners Rights Committee, a group of inmates at Marion Federal Prison asked the United Nations Economic and Social Council to investigate their charges that inmates who refused to cooperate with the START scheme were first tranquilized and then tied naked to a toilet for several days. If they then cooperated, they were placed in completely empty cages until "continued cooperation would win the prisoner a bed." [36] One inmate, Charles Alfano, attempted suicide on June 29, 1972, some hours after he was notified that he was to be moved to the START unit. He expired the next morning.†

Why is it that this program brought charges of brainwashing from inmates, stirred up hunger strikes, and was so widely feared by prisoners throughout the country? Project START's token economy is geared to the prisoner who is "aggressive, manipulative, and resistive to authority." Any prison militant or revolutionary is

\* In a New York Times article of Feb. 7, 1974 entitled "U.S. Ends Project on Jail Inmates," it was announced that the Federal Bureau of Prisons had decided to "dismantle" Project START. While the bureau claimed that its decision was "economic," the real reasons are as follows: (1) it has been the focus of protest demonstrations both inside and outside the prison; (2) Arpiar G. Saunders, Jr., National Prison Project of the ACLU Foundation and collaborator with the NCLC, represented START inmates in Federal litigation; (3) the government was well aware of the revolutionary organizing that was being launched in the nation's prisons by the NCLC around "Operation Nuremberg." In addition, while the ruling was significant, no such action can be considered "victorious" until all behavior modification programs have been terminated. The bureau had announced earlier that the Federal Center for Correctional Research, soon to be opened in Butler, North Carolina would be replacing, through centralization, other existing behavior modification programs throughout the Northeast. Finally, it appears that the Bureau does not want this case to reach the point of constitutional ruling; if START is declared unconstitutional all other behavior modification programs would stand in jeopardy.

† Verification of his death and details may be obtained from the office of U.S. Senator Edward Brooke.

involuntarily sent to a program like START to be reduced to a whimpering animal.\*

The vehicle for START's behavior modification is a "status system" in which obedient prisoners who perform certain duties satisfactorily are given increased privileges as reward. The prisoners begin at Level I, in which they are kept in solitary confinement for a minimum of three weeks. If at the end of that period an individual prisoner received a perfect rating for cooperation and a satisfactory rating for such things as grooming and room neatness, he is promoted to Level II. At Level II he is given further privileges and after six months, again with a perfect record, he can be promoted to the final stage, Level III. The reward for Level III? He is allowed to become a full-time work slave. Throughout the program accumulated points can be turned into tokens which are then exchanged for such "privileges" as a mirror, a model kit (planes, cars, ships, etc.), or a photograph of oneself. All of this is combined with the use of psychopharmaceuticals, and the "leaderless group" session.[37]

What are the "choices" for the inmates of START, of, as Skinner would say, the "structure of contingencies"? Either become a huckster or be reduced to psychosis. Both routes are nothing less than an attempt to force human beings to relinquish control over their own thoughts. The psyche, subjected to degradation, becomes a prisoner of the body as a defense. The militant prisoner is reduced to a whining beast — doing the "right" tricks for his master; or he becomes a clawing beast, imprisoned within his own psychosis.

Such Skinnerian programs are beyond the pilot project stage. They have invaded entire institutions; they are increasingly being aimed against large segments of the working class. Operant conditioning has been imposed on welfare recipients — the most notorious form being the "brownie point" system in New York City.† B.F. Skinner has proposed the return of the piece-work pay scale as a way to turn factories into one giant token economy. In Baltimore, Maryland, the city's sanitation workers are subjected to a reverse form of the token economy: after acquiring a set number of points — for such items as absenteeism (even excused), lateness, low productivity — they are forced off the job for a few days

\* While behavior modification did not get its legal start in the federal prisons until 1968, the foundation had been laid some years earlier. At a 1962 seminar of prison wardens and seven psychologists, chaired by James V. Bennett, then director of the U.S. Bureau of Prisons, one psychiatrist, Dr. Edgar H. Schein, announced that there must be studies done on the application of Korean brainwashing techniques in American prison communities. This, it was stated, would be the best way of stopping Muslim organizing in the prison.

without pay. If they received an additional number of points, they are forced off for a week; once they acquire 100 points they are fired!

*Aversion Therapy:* There is one basic and important difference between Skinnerian token-economy-type schemes and "Pavlovian" aversion techniques: while to the Skinnerian the mind never existed in the first place, to the "Pavlovian" the mind is something to manipulate and destroy.‡ Within this lies their affinity — men as mindless beasts, whether they began that way or ended up that way — which makes them both partners in mental genocide. But because the "Pavlovian" takes into perverted account the human mind, it lends itself as even a more powerful weapon of brainwashing.

Aversion therapy is "Pavlovian" in its most naked form. It is premised on the brutal idea that pain and fear bring about the desired modifications of behavior. The behaviorists call this counterconditioning — we call it torture.

There are a number of cardinal rules in aversion therapy: first define the problem precisely; next calculate a specific way to attack it; then do what you planned; finally, see how it works. If the person is still able to think or display any human emotion, you have failed. Try again.

Aversion therapists are armed with certain weapons. These include electric shock and chemicals — some of which produce nausea or even traumatic respiratory paralysis — and even noise (up to 135 decibels, an intensity that can incur deafness). Actually, anything that can cause physiological or psychological pain — i.e. create an "aversion" — such as imprisonment, disapproval, isolation, fines, and criticism, could be substituted.

The goal of aversion therapy is to discover the breaking point in human beings. Pavlov describes this as the "hypnoidal state of inhibitory brain activity" — the point at which the brain stops computing critically the impressions being received. This is the point when psychosis is imminent or actually occurring. William Sargant, a British psychiatrist, a cohort of John Rawlings Rees, and a prominent brainwasher, explains this process in his book, *The Battle for the Mind — A*

† The brownie point system (formally called "Incentive Independence"), while it never formally got off the ground has in many places received de facto implementation. In its initial form a welfare recipient's grant was reduced substantially and had to be earned back by meeting specified requirements. In a modified form, the recipient's grant was reduced if the requirements were not met.

‡ See Skinner's new book, "About Behaviorism," (May, 1974), for his efforts to catch up with aversive techniques. The book was funded by NIMH.

*Physiology of Conversion and Brainwashing.* Sargant describes Pavlov's experimental findings about the breaking down of dogs — commenting that "it has been proved to be just the same in man." [38] He writes:

... Very strong dogs, who could not be broken down by the conflict situations and excitement artificially created for them, might only break after they had later been physically debilitated, or had had their metabolism altered in other ways and then had the same disturbing stimuli reapplied. . . . There was a final stress which could disrupt all the animal's previous conditioning, break up implanted patterns of behavior, and so allow new ones more easily to be put in their place. This was a state of great excitement and fear, carried even beyond the point of ultraparadoxical brain activity, which finally resulted in the total "transmarginal" collapse and temporary total inhibition of much brain activity. . . . (39)

It is this collapsed state that aversion therapists like Dr. Joseph Wolpe of Philadelphia's Temple University, or the notorious racist, Dr. H.J. Eysenck of the University of London, seek to replicate in those they call deviants: "alcoholics, drug addicts, homosexuals, fetishists, criminals, et al." This is how Pavlov's experimental findings are clinically carried out:

If the "deviant" is an alcoholic:

Case Number One: The subject is placed on a stretcher and connected to a respirator and a polygraph. . . . A 20 mg. dose of Scoline is gradually injected. As soon as there is evidence of respiratory failure, the physician holds the bottle of alcohol to the lips of the subject and deposits a few drops into his mouth. . . . (40)

Case Number Two: The subject is given either emetine, apomorphine, or Prolexin. As a strong wave of nausea developed, and before actual vomiting began, the patient was given 1½ ounces of whisky and told to swallow it directly or briefly smell of it first and then swallow it. (41)

And for homosexuals:

Case Number Three: A mental patient convicted on a sexual offense is shown movies of explicit sexual content. If he begins to display evidence of sexual arousal, his genital is shocked. (This program is entitled "Errorless Extinction of Penile Responses" at the California State Hospital for the Criminally Insane. — C.M.) (42)

Case Number Four: M. Raymond (therapist — C.M.) treated a 33-year-old man who was given treatment on probation after having been convicted of causing damage to a perambulator. (He was sexually attracted by prams and handbags.) He received an injection of apomorphine and just before nausea was shown handbags and prams. . . . The treatment was given every two hours, day and night, no food was allowed, and at night amphetamine was used to keep him awake (for one week). (43)

Aversion or punishment therapy is quoted by many behaviorists as being "one of the fastest, most effective techniques available for helping people to rid themselves of troublesome behaviors." [44] To show "proof" of this,

aversionists go so far as to shock even a seven-year-old retarded child every time he put his hand in his mouth, as well as a set of five-year-old schizophrenic twins to extirpate their "self-stimulation and tantrums." [45] Donald M. Baer, a professor of human development and psychology at the University of Kansas, explains: "Punishment works. The technique is simple, and so is the technology. Anyone with a hand to swing is equipped with a punishing device. Mail-order catalogs list a number of inexpensive and reliable cattle prods that deliver punishing but undamaging electric shocks." [46]

Does the "treatment" work? It works in the same way as having a gun held to your head would cause you to modify your behavior. But aversion therapy in the form described can only produce psychosis. How then can such "Pavlovian" methods lead to a programmed state?

The aversionist examples given thus far are really only the first step in the three stages which OSS operative Kurt Lewin outlined as follows: "*unfreezing* (disturbing a person's equilibrium and making it unstable), *changing* (providing models for direction of change), and *refreezing* (reintegrating the new equilibrium into the personality)." [47] In cases of Chinese "brainwashing" of prisoners of war in North Korea, for example, the basic "aversive stimuli" were extreme physiological deprivation, stresses — i.e. isolation, solitary confinement, sleep deprivation, pain, and semi-starvation. But it was not these factors by themselves which resulted in "conversion;" rather, it was their ability to enhance neurosis, which in turn increased suggestibility. It is at this point that a "changing agent" is introduced and "refrozen" or "programmed" into a pseudo-identity or a persona.

This sketchy outline of the brainwashing process, and the role of the aversive stimulus — be it physiological or psychological — can be best understood within the context of the material to be presented in the next section.

### 3. The "Attack Therapies"

The so-called "humanistic therapies — *sensitivity training sessions, transactional analysis, Primal Therapy*, etc. — are at the very core of coercive psychology. It is such anti-Freudian introspective psychologies that have provided the brainwasher with the "psychodynamic insights" of neurosis, and the know-how to further pervert this neurosis into a controlling — even programming — force. These so-called "humanists" are the real experts in exploiting and channeling the sickness of bourgeois ideology.

The anti-behaviorists — mainly Freudians and Gestaltists — who were a dominant force through the early 1930's trickled down to a mere handful by the

1940's. Some defected to the overt enemy's camp, behaviorism; some sunk into eclecticism; and a large number lit on any "humanistic" fad or gimmick that appeared. The latter crew, epitomized by R.D. Laing, have now become even more "Pavlovian" than Pavlov. Laing, who comes straight out of the Tavistock Clinic, views the state of madness as a positive act of liberation. His Kingsley Hall, a supposed therapeutic community in London, is an actual "house of madness." One Kingsley Hall resident, Mary Barnes, regressed to the point of completely smearing herself and her physical surroundings with her own feces. The therapy involved? The therapist sits back and, like the friendly aide to someone on LSD, guides the patient's "journey to madness."

The central thrust of Laing and his cohorts is to worm in on the infantile ego by taking the protective persona and chipping or in some cases axing it away. Without a revolutionary alternative, i.e. a self-conscious identity, the persona-stripped individual has two choices: either return to the infantile ego state, developing an even more armoured persona or a pseudo-identity persona, or commit suicide.

We will examine more closely a few of these persona-stripping approaches: *Primal Therapy* and *transactional group analysis*.

*Primal therapy*: Primal therapy is so hideous that many of its patients have dropped out, charging that it was "intolerable emotional brainwashing that depends for its success upon absolute submission to a...faith healer." [48] The Primal patient is literally encouraged to regress to the state of infancy: to writhe on the floor to the point of convulsion, crying out, "Mommy! Daddy!". The patient then lets out a piercing, deathlike scream. This, Arthur Janov, Primal Therapy's originator, calls the "Primal Scream."

Janov, a psychologist and psychiatric social worker, has picked up narrow aspects of Freudian psychology and transformed them into a murderous sham. Janov has taken neurosis — internalized ideology, whose elimination Freud correctly recognized can only occur through self-awareness — and defined it as "a disease of feeling" in which self-awareness plays no role. [49]

Janov is practicing voodoo. The frenzied state into which he works his patients is merely the intensification of neurosis — the point at which all lifelong demons of an individual, i.e. all the crap, illusions, fear and despair of the bourgeois persona, actually seize control of the body, resulting in psychosis.

Papa Doc Duvalier, aided by Kline, came to power primarily through exploiting a similar hysteria, the frenzied state of voodoo. Janov's post-Primal victims

exactly resemble zombies:

They are not moody and do not oscillate between extremes of feeling. All peaks have been ironed out. And there is no struggle. Hence, Primal people have no need or desire to organize or join groups. They are highly individualistic. If the world had been through Primal Therapy there would be no politics (which is only a sick quest for power). Each person would be content to tend his own emotional garden. (50)

The similarities between Primal Therapy and Chinese-style brainwashing are striking. The "patient-trainee" begins by writing a personal history. On the day the "therapy" is to begin, the patient is instructed to check into a hotel and spend the day before his initial session in complete isolation, without books, television or, sometimes, food or sleep.

A journalist visiting Janov's Primal Institute in Los Angeles describes the almost comic pathology of Primal Therapy:

All kinds of semitheatrical props are used to help trigger Primal scenes. The primal Institute is well stocked with teddy bears, baby bottles, cribs and other devices. Punching bags and isolation chambers and life-size photographs of patients' parents are all part of the armamentarium of the therapy. Sometimes patients return to their childhood homes. A birth simulator, made of tied-together inner tubes, stands ready to expel a patient who needs to relive the trauma of birth from its rubber womb. Periodically the Institute has Primal night at the movies. Films like "The Yearling" or "La Strada" evoke such strong feelings that it is not unusual for every member of the audience to have a Primal while the film is running. And sometimes patients and staff join in costume parties at which all may act out fantasies. (51)

Excerpts from Janov's clinical practice vividly demonstrate how Primal Therapy sets the stage for the mind's unconscious demons to completely imprison the self. A patient called Phillip, who is diagnosed as a psychopath, is a college-educated male with a history of delinquency and sexual perversions:

Janov: "What would you say to your mother, if you could talk to her right now, your real mother?" Phillip: "My real mother?" Janov: "What would you say?" Phillip: "I would ask her to love me."

Janov: "All right; ask her. Talk to her. Mommy — come on; say what you want to say." Phillip (describing his thoughts): "I began to breathe heavy and felt the lump stuck in my throat. I pulled hard. I felt like I was being pulled apart, like I was split down the middle, and the two halves were pulling against each other. I was being pulled apart physically and every way. I tried to fight it. The two parts of me were locked. I couldn't stop it. I opened and screamed, "Mommy, Mommy!" Janov: "Call." Phillip: "I want her to come back." I began to cry hard. It hurt. I choked and I gagged on my feelings. I

screamed, "I want to die" . . . Phillip: "I hate — leave me alone. Mommy. I hate you all, you fuckers." I choked and gagged, trying to keep my feelings down to control them. They kept coming up anyway. My body hurt. The lump in my throat wouldn't go away. I opened up and screamed out, "Love me." I shut off. . . . I was afraid I wasn't loved and that I wasn't capable of living. I felt worthless. My mother had left me, and I asked, "Why me?" I didn't know if she wanted me, and I resented her. I wanted to kill — to kill me. I felt unlike other people. I screamed out. I screamed some more, but I kept blocking. I was afraid to let go. Afraid I'd flail around, out of control. Afraid if I let go I'd want to hit. I hit the couch and screamed; out came "I hate me" . . . Janov said, "Tell them; tell Mommy and Daddy. You've got to tell them you're suffering." I could only choke, gag, and hold on. The pain was too great. Janov: "Don't be silent anymore. Get it out; call for help. "Daddy, Mommy." I screamed out the pain and screamed it out again. Then there was quiet. . . .

This was my Primal Scene and the first connection I made. . . . My body felt the split, the pulling apart. . . . I had three lumps now. One in my throat, one in my diaphragm, and one in my lower chest. I screamed, "Mommy, Mommy," and I could see her hand reach down and pull my balls out and up through me. . . . My cock went up and down in my throat as I breathed, and it was masturbating. The phlegm became semen in my mouth, and I gagged. I screamed out, still distorting and disguising the word "cock" that I was so afraid of. "Cock, cock, cock." What did it mean? Maybe I was homosexual. I panicked. . . .

On the way to Janov's, I had my throat choke up, and I wanted to cry. I felt I was a little boy going to my room where it was all right to be a little boy. I lay on the couch, and the feeling came up. I peed; and "Daddy" came out. I began to cry, and call, and call, "Daddy, Daddy, love me!" . . . I sank into my feelings, and a picture flashed before my eyes. I was standing in the middle of a circle of people, who were staring at me, with my middle finger giving the "fuck you" sign to them all, and laughing. All of a sudden the picture changed, and I was stripped naked, and the faces were staring at me. Mocking faces, leering, ugly. The ugly reflection of me. I became scared, and all alone, trying to cover myself with my hands. I couldn't see who the faces were. Janov said, "See it, stay with it." I looked close. My head wanted to turn. . . . I looked hard and screamed in anguish. It was my family. . . .

During the time in between Primal phases, my body seemed to rest, to check out the newly formed features, and to prepare for the next phase. I became aware that my body was taking over as my brain was losing its control over my body. I was sitting in group, and the sensation that had been with me for several sessions was present. . . . I lay down in the group, thinking I would be done in a few minutes, when I felt afraid and could feel my body wanting to flail and twist free. I yelled. "I'm afraid." Janov said, "Let it happen." My body began to move in various uncanny positions that defied any control on my part and brought screams of pain as the

untwisting of both physical and emotional neurotic defenses occurred. Sweat poured over me, as I was overcome by the power of my body, and my brain was powerless to dictate how it thought I should be. I knew then that my brain dictated what my parents wanted me to think and to be, but my body rebelled, and would no longer "act" or "perform" according to any dictates other than what was correct for it. For the first time in my life I was free and knew what freedom was. . . . (52)

Phillip has gone from being a sick "psychopath" to an even sicker psychotic. At the very point that a competent therapist would have helped Phillip to self-consciously understand his demons, Janov forced him to retreat entirely into his demons. Phillip's "body" (demons) was forced to take over his "brain" (potential consciousness).

*The Attack Group:* Group dynamics has become big business. Labeled as *the encounter group, the t-group, sensitivity training, the leaderless group, the attack group, psychodrama, etc.*, this trendy phenomenon has become an important tool of capitalist counterinsurgency.

Encounter-style groups are used for everything from training management as Krupp-style slavedrivers to turning potential revolutionaries into fascist stormtroopers. Thousands of workers have been forced into t-grouping "coparticipation sessions" aimed at completely routing the trade-union movement. Key ghetto leaders, including most Welfare Rights Organization leaders, were turned into Kapos through Alinsky-style sensitivity sessions. In fact, the Human Potential Movement, which led to the establishment of encounter-group-oriented centers in most major cities throughout the U.S., plays a major role in the mid- and late-1960's by funneling the New Left into anarchistic "life-style" forms.

Encounter-style group dynamics has little in common with legitimate group therapy. Group therapy, if led by a competent therapist, is an important clinical technique in which the *supportive* group interaction itself provides a socialized setting for eliciting self-consciousness amongst participants. Encounter-style group situations start from the opposite premise. The power of the group dynamic is wielded, as in the Primal Therapy, to destructively attack the participants. Anyone ever participating in a t-group must know all too well the induced feelings of impotence and despair.

Such techniques can only annihilate the personality. They play upon the vulnerable person's guilt, shame and regret with both sledge hammer and scalpel. Reminiscent of the Communist Chinese "truth session" used in the prison camps of North Korea, attack-group therapy, particularly when it occurs in marathon groups (one of its commonest forms), creates a state of extreme

exhaustion, thus heightening suggestibility. In fact, the Federal Prisoners Coalition, a group of radical prisoners, explicitly likens the process to brainwashing.

The Coalition has particularly cited the personality annihilation going on under the direction of Dr. Martin Groder at the maximum security federal penitentiary at Marion, Illinois. In this "voluntary" program Groder employs an eclectic form of "group dynamics" — mainly *transactional analysis* and the *Synanon attack approach*.

The Federal Prisoners Coalition points out just how "voluntary" this program really is:

The method of securing prisoner participation in the group has varied from a hard form of coercive persuasion during that four-year period of time (since its inception in 1968 — C.M.). For some men, serving lengthy sentences with no hope of ever getting out and who had simply been warehoused for years, it was only necessary to indicate that participation could lead to an early release to secure volunteers. For others, aggressively coercive means were used. Some examples will be given:

H. Adams was given an isolation experience characterized by the Associate Warden of Treatment threatening him with drug-assault chemical straightjacketing, and the staff psychiatrist telling him that the only way he could secure his release was by joining his group of prisoners....

Ben Daughtery was lodged in segregation.... He was coerced into taking a chance on the group. On finding that it kept him confused and continually upset over a period of some weeks, he notified the staff psychiatrist of his intention to quit. Before he could do so, by coincidence of some sort, he found himself back in isolation on a minor disciplinary infraction....

Case managers would consistently tell people approaching a parole hearing date that since they had no record of participation in the experimental group, it was going to be hard to make a favorable impression on the parole board....(53)

Once the prisoner is bribed or dragged into the program, this is what happens:

First he is told to come to evening encounters with prisoners who are already off into the program. At these encounters he is indoctrinated in the rudiments of the attack-sessions, transactional analysis, and the model prisoner attitudes as personified by prisoners who are more advanced in their thought reform.

At the end of these first encounters, he is given basic literature formulated by the prisoners under the direction of its (the group's — C.M.) founder. He is told to study these materials, and a beginning is made at structuring his thought processes to their content.

After thirty days of these encounters, if it is felt by the staff and prisoner group that he is a vulnerable subject,

he is moved into a new living situation, where he will be surrounded by members of the group at all times and where the environment in this area of the prison is programmed to reinforce desired attitudes and behavior.

In these new living conditions, group pressures are intensified. His emotional behavior and psychic characteristics are studied by the staff and semi-professional prisoners to detect vulnerable points of entry to stage attack-sessions around. During these sessions, on a progressively intensified basis, he is shouted at, his fears played upon, his sensitivities ridiculed, and concentrated effort is made to make him feel guilty for real or imagined characteristics of conduct. He is introduced to bouts of sleeplessness and contact sessions. Every effort is made to so heighten his suggestibility and weaken his character structure so that his emotional responses and thought-flow will be brought under group and staff control as totally as possible.

... Everything of possible significance that he says, does or shows that he feels is reported back to staff officials on the program; who in turn use this material to devise and suggest specific measures geared to his personal susceptibilities for more advanced prisoners to use on him in subsequent sessions....

... At this stage, it is common for a confusional state to have been induced in the individual that is so pronounced and overwhelmingly reinforced by his environment that he can literally no longer distinguish the difference between his own beliefs and convictions and those being thrust upon him. His emotional state at this time appears to be (and is intended to be) one of stressful uncertainty and disorientation ...

To prove to the individual that this new state of being is a "winning" one, the reborn individual is given a variety of positive reinforcements from his environment at this point. These can take the form of allowing him to move into the somewhat plush quarters reserved for the elite among this group. Here a dozen men have to themselves the same amount of living space that sixty-four (64) persons in the lower-class populace inhabit. This living area allows him to have (or have access to) stereo-sound equipment, tape recorders, a typewriter, a personal library, access to any publication from the free world, access to community persons in the forms of being allowed to have a local woman or other friends on his visiting list.

He is now told that he can receive advanced training to prepare him to go forth and teach and train the World's masses. He is told that with proper preparation he will be validated as an instructor of the International Transactional Analysis Association and that this will enable him to earn many thousands of dollars a year doing unto others as has been done unto him.

During this final phase of his training he is polished by the founder of the Group, of one of his free-world disciples, and indoctrinated in the Final ends of this program. He is sounded out, if he is seen to have the potential, to determine if he might be deeply enough enjoined to the Cause to want to go into the wilderness of

other prisons in the federal system and begin introducing other prisoners and prison staff members to the basics of establishing such a program in their facility. He is told that his release will be pushed for and some help given him in finding a position in society doing these familiar things to others of the social order's disadvantaged people and the Group's founder and supporters in government. He now gets to indoctrinate and subject newcomers into the Mysteries of the Group and is held up as a Model Image to them; and like a good attack-dog he is graded and evaluated on his demonstrated capacity and willingness to go for the vulnerable points of any victim placed before him. . . .(54)

This is not the product of paranoid prisoners with an ax to grind. This entire process is spelled out, only in jargon terms, in a paper written by Dr. Groder, the program's director, entitled "Asklepieion — An Effective Treatment Method for Incarcerated Character Disorders." There Groder demonstrates his basic grasp of the principles of psychological warfare which he unleashes upon the Marion prisoners. He writes: "...careful watch must be made of not too repetitiously using the same set of methods, as there is an inherent tendency for any method to be subverted as soon as it is clear how it works." (emphasis added)[55] With this insight in mind, Groder has developed a mix of chemotherapy, attack therapy, transactional analysis, Primal Therapy and any other approach which might pragmatically work.

Like any "successful" program, Asklepieion will soon move out of its pilot project stage. Scheduled to open shortly near Butner, North Carolina, is a new federal institution, the Federal Center for Correction Research, built at a cost of \$13.5 million. A handout from the Bureau of Prisons says it will be a "unique facility in the federal correctional system." Its director is Dr. Martin Groder.

The Butner program is divided into two component parts: a "therapeutic" program and a "research" program. Transactional analysis and attack-group therapy methods will be central to the program. Groder has publicly stated that aversion therapy will be used (he qualifies it by claiming that only "minor things with aversive conditioning" will be attempted). He does not deny the use of electroshock. He has also stated that "vocational" training, based on the military model, will be central to the treatment and will "complement the group therapy." Program participants will be selected via computer printout.

\* \* \*

But there are a few hitches to Rockefeller's 1984 plans. In the end, the psychotic rage induced by behavior

modification will backfire against the behavior modifier. Man's suppressed humanity will creep through. On November 30, 1969, the Asklepieion program at Marion was temporarily terminated. Why? One of the participants, a homosexual, "worked himself up into a murderous rage which culminated in the fatal stabbing of a program member in the dining room." [56] It is up to the socialist movement to direct this "rage" — which is no more than human consciousness crying to be released from its tormenting hell — against the real villains, the Rockefellers, Mellons and their CIA employees who attempted to destroy him. In this way the walls of self-imprisonment will be broken down; the neurotic ego-state upon which behavior modification/brainwashing is based will be superseded by the socialist identity of self-consciousness.

## II. PSYCHOLOGY: THE COUNTERINSURGENT WEAPON

Psychological warfare techniques aimed at non-ruling class layers of the population are about as old as humanity itself. Punishment and torture, today called aversion therapy, have been used as behavioral deterrents or shapers by barbarian chieftans and feudal lords alike to preserve and consolidate their power.

Even thousands of years ago, it was not the techniques per se, but their conscious application as divide-and-conquer tools which aided the ruling classes. No matter how anti-human a particular technique or "therapeutic" approach may be — even psychosurgery or ECT — it is not in itself counterinsurgency. Counterinsurgency cannot proceed merely on horrors; it requires *conscious* and *systematic* application by the ruling class, or its dupes. Exactly this was accomplished by the conversion of psychology and psychiatry in the 1930's. Mechanistic psychology — human consciousness relegated to elementary "particles" or "existences" — when elevated to a replicable system was finally fit to serve as a key part of a counterinsurgency apparatus.

This first massive application of psychology as a *conscious* weapon took place, not surprisingly, in Nazi Germany.\* In particular, recall the theory of eugenics — which played upon the most backward "Aryan"

\* The depression era gave birth to the vast bulk of coercive psychological techniques. Almost all these techniques were developed or refined in overtly fascist or near-fascist countries. For example, psychosurgery was picked up and begun to be applied massively by a butcher names Egas Moniz in Portugal in 1936. ECT was refined for general application by Ugo Carletti in 1938 in Rome; Group Dynamics, particularly in the form of the "leaderless group," was employed by the Nazis to select the most able slave laborers.

illusions held by and imposed on portions of the masses. While the cause and development of Nazi butchery stemmed wholly from the world economic collapse and resulting despair (especially aggravated by the degeneracy and impotence of the Communist Parties), its specific form, eugenics, was devised by the Nazi's favorite theoreticians and technicians — the psychiatrists.

Two individuals in particular stand out.

First Ernest Rudin, architect of the eugenics law, a wartime director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute and a psychiatrist, actively sponsored "biological psychiatry." Secondly, as early as 1920 an "outstanding" German psychiatrist, Alfred Hoche, co-authored a book called *The Destruction of Life Devoid of Value*. Hoche firmly outlined genetic theories of so-called mental illness, and advocated "mercy killing" as a solution both to the public health problem and the suffering of the individual.

It was German psychiatrists, the original Nazi doctors, who designed the crematoria.

The exploitation of the psychological sciences by the Nazis merely adumbrated a far fiercer effort to abort the present revolutionary potential of the working class worldwide. The work that was begun by fascism in the 1930's was adopted and advanced in previously unforeseen ways, particularly by the bourgeoisie in England and the U.S. The person who above all others "deserves" credit for the shaping of Rockefeller-1984 psychological warfare is a Britisher — the above-mentioned Dr. John Rawlings Rees.

Rees, through British Intelligence, had a primary duty during World War II: *to train U.S. military and civilian*

*intelligence in psychological warfare*. Why a Britisher? Until World War I, Great Britain remained the top imperialist force. Its intelligence network, dating back to the 16th century, had developed into the world's best secret service operation. The U.S.'s Office of Strategic Services (OSS) was a kindergarten joke compared with Britain's MI5. Britain had the sophistication and expertise, lingering from its "heyday," to develop the necessary type of intelligence system demanded by the U.S., the leading political and economic power. For his efforts, Rees in 1946 received the U.S. Lasker Award from General Omar Bradley.

Rees taught no black magic. He schooled the CIA's precursors in "psychoanalytically oriented" brainwashing and counterinsurgency — i.e. the use of the psychological profile. He presented models of slave-labor programs based on his Nazi theories of the "constitutional inferiority of one-tenth of the community" (including "coloured men" and "those prone to contacting venereal disease").[58] He conveyed ways to establish front organizations, such as his Rockefeller-funded Tavistock Institute and the World Federation for Mental Health, to provide a fleshy rump for major death-heads counterinsurgency operations.

Rees did to psychology and psychiatry in the 1940's exactly what the CIA is now doing to Brazil: cleaned and polished it up for the real debacle — the looting of humanity *smoothly* to its death. It is this process that Rees references when he states that "the solution [to the subversive rebellion] is more likely to lie along the lines of social psychiatry than of official suppression."[59]

The bulk of Rees's fascist plan is printed in his book, particularly its last chapters, "The Shaping of Psychiatry by War," which is a compilation of lectures presented to



Cause of Death:  
"biological psychiatry"

U.S. Army psychiatrists in 1945. Here Rees explains the role of his psychiatric Gestapo:

...They are not merely dealing with outpatient work amongst those who fall sick, but they are concerned with the minor indications of instability that link up with disciplinary troubles, with social unrest and with poor morale. Through their emphasis on, and interest in, conditions of work, they can advise on the modification of working hours and conditions, on welfare and the use of leisure, on training and allocation and on all the manifold group problems that are there to be seen by anyone who is in the group but yet has learned to be attacked.(60)

It is upon such principles that the major "mental health" institutions in the U.S. were created, notably the Veterans Administration, the "private" social welfare agencies, and especially the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH).

The Mental Health Act of 1946 was, in the NIMH's own words, "a major turning point in the entire development of the field of mental health." [61] This Act authorized broad support for research, training, support of service, the establishment of clinics and treatment centers, pilot and demonstration studies, and direct assistance to the States. Its form, however, is less important than its content. What the NIMH, more than any other institution, did in its formative years was to shape mental health research and practice along Reesian lines.

But Rees influenced more than institutions; he primarily influenced those individuals who developed the institutions. One such Rees creation is Imamu Baraka\*; another is Kurt Lewin.

Kurt Lewin, the "father" of group dynamics, was one of Rees's first cadre recruits. Lewin, a psychologist, was a "political" refugee from Nazi Germany who, like so many other German "intellects," was forced out of



Dr. John Rawlings Rees

Germany not because of any basic political differences but as a sacrifice to Hitler's divide-and-conquer anti-Semitism. Lewin, in fact, is noted for his refinement of the Nazi-formulated "leaderless group" technique into a sophisticated tool of counterinsurgency.

In the early 1930's Lewin first developed contact not with Rees, but with one of his Tavistock colleagues, Eric Trist. (Trist today steers the CIA-directed LEAA, NIMH-NIH, Ford Foundation and World Bank-funded brainwashing network at the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania.) More than a decade later, Trist, along with A.T.M. Wilson, prepared a proposal to the Rockefeller Foundation which led to the establishment of the Tavistock Institute in London. Rees was its first director. Immediately upon establishment of Tavistock, Trist contacted Lewin, who had already formed the North American precursor to the CIA-controlled Institute for Social Research (ISR), the Research Center for Group Dynamics at M.I.T. The Reesites at Tavistock wanted Lewin to jointly establish an international journal described as "working towards the integration of the social sciences." Lewin eagerly agreed, and thus sprang forth one of the primarily CIA-backed journals, *Human Relations*.

\* In 1968 Rees, posing as the director of a nonexistent company, New Goals, Inc., set up the meetings between LeRoi Jones and Anthony Imperiale that launched the CIA's "Operation Newark." See *New Solidarity*, August 31, 1973, Vol. IV, No. 20 for further details.

Lewin was no group dynamics expert. That tag, and his quasi-Gestalt field theories, composed a professional image apart from his real expertise — co-participation, social management, community action and brainwashing.

Lewin began his American career in 1933 at Cornell University, where he worked on a systematic series of studies of the “effect of social pressure on the eating habits of children in the Cornell Nursery School” [62], a project that was later put to “better use.” A few years later at the University of Iowa, Lewin, through a grant from the Rockefeller Fund’s General Education Board, launched his career as an official counterinsurgent in what he called “the psychological study of social issues.”

As Lewin explained, every individual has a base for his life — a “life-space” — and one of its most important components is the group to which he belongs. Each individual knows, at each stage, to which group he belongs at that moment and to which he does not. This knowledge of his proper place and allegiance determines his behavior.[63]

This *group allegiance* idea is the kingpin of just about all counterinsurgency — be it co-participation and community control or brainwashing. Lewin, no doubt with help from Tavistock friends, was the primary theoretician behind most of the present-day schemes which plague the ghetto and the working class.

Lewin took his group allegiance theory and first put it to practical work in 1939. His first targets were workers in industry; in fact a specific industry in a rural community in Virginia, the Harwood Manufacturing Corporation, became the experimental grounds for



Kurt Lewin

“scientifically induced” speedup and slave labor.

The author of Lewin’s biography, Alfred J. Marrow, was also a German emigrant, a student of Lewin’s, an expert in co-participation, and at the time of the Harwood experiment, an officer of that company. Marrow describes the plant’s setting:

...The factory management faced many critical problems in trying to train three hundred inexperienced apprentices — people from the Virginia mountains — to meet the high standards of the production of the industrialized areas of the North. Their trainees — mainly women with no factory experience — were eager to work, but on the job their work pace was slow and their output was low. After the customary twelve weeks of training required for reaching the skill level of an experienced worker, the local trainees produced only about half as much as apprentices doing similar tasks in northern plants.(64)

Lewin got to work and within a few days the workers’ productivity was increased substantially. How? Through education, increased wages allowing increased consumption, or modern technology? No. Lewin’s mode was co-participation — what he called “group decision-making” and “self-management.”

This link is provided by decisions. A process like decision-making, which takes only a few minutes, is able to affect conduct for many months to come. The decision seems to have a “freezing” effect which is partly due to the individual’s tendency to “stick to his decision” and partly to the “commitment to a group.”(65)

Lewin had “convinced” the Harwood management to plan and put into effect a series of small-group studies on “the human factor” in factory management. Alex Bavelas, then at the University of Iowa, was hired to implement this task under Lewin’s supervision.

Bavelas used small informal group meetings of high-producing operators to begin his speedup campaign. Everyone was encouraged to discuss the difficulties he or she would encounter if the group wanted to increase its daily production.

The group then asked to vote on the issue of increasing its own daily output. Each worker would decide for himself or herself, but decide in the reinforcing context of the group setting. For example, the group decided to lift output from the prevailing high ceiling of 75 units to 87 units, a level never before attained. It decided to reach the goal within five days — and did so. Later, the group raised its goal to 90 units, reached it, and later maintained it for five months, during which time other groups in the plant showed no significant increase.

Lewin, extremely excited by the effectiveness of his speedup tactics, began planning a new program of leadership training in which all levels of supervisory management would participate. Role-playing,

sociodrama, problemsolving, and other action techniques would be emphasized. The point, of course, was to train management to replicate the Harwood success: to give them sophisticated "social psychiatric" tools, as Rees would put it, to "win cooperation, build trust, improve morale," or, in other words, to bust unions and crack the whip with a smile.

Lewin's leadership training idea came to fruition in 1947, shortly after his death, at the first session of the National Training Laboratories in Bethel, Maine. Since then his leadership training methods have become an integral part of capitalist policy in turning significant layers of the student, trade-union, prison and community-activist population into slavedriving kapos.

Not only was Lewin one of the primary international pushers of the co-participation schemes we currently see inflicted on workers in every union from the U.A.W. to the U.F.T., he was the blueprinter of the Office of Economic Opportunity's community action plan twenty years prior to its implementation. Lewin's Commission on Community Interrelations (CCI), under the auspices of the American Jewish Congress, used the idea of "maximum feasible participation" to involve community activists in divide-and-conquer actions under the guise of improving intergroup (primarily race) relations.

Projects included the modification of gang behavior (channeling their energies into such constructive actions as "wanting to please adults"); integrating sales personnel (a prototype of the Affirmative Action plan) and housing (without talking about expansion); "studying" group loyalty; and developing sensitivity training for community activists around attitudinal change.

It is in the underlying philosophy of the CCI where psychologist Lewin shows his best poverty-pimp form: "To reverse self-segregation a minority should demand *substantial sacrifices* from its members. Sacrifice gives each member a greater stake in the group; he will not falter in a cause which he has given so much of himself." (emphasis added)

Who is this scum, Kurt Lewin? Lewin was no naive academic; nor was he a dupe. Lewin spent the war years travelling frequently from Iowa City to Washington to advise the O.S.S. on psychological warfare programs. According to Marrow, "some of the information concerning these activities is still classified." [66] Ronald Lippit, another counterinsurgency student of Lewin, commenting on the secrecy of Lewin's work added:

But it is known that he made very creative contributions to the working out of the proper relations between psychological warfare, target-setting, field operations, and evaluative reconnaissance.

In order for Lewin to "legally" obtain top security

clearance, the OSS hurriedly ushered through his citizenship in 1940. His first overt assignment was to utilize "group decisionmaking" in changing food preferences away from "meat" towards "whole-wheat bread" or "turnips" as substitutes.

Lewin was invited to spend the academic year 1947-48 at Tavistock. He never made it because of his death in February 1947. But, as Marrow indicates, Lewin's influence on Tavistock has continued through the years. His field theories were used to shape the research design of the "Glacier Project," a "pioneering study of group relations in the newly nationalized British coal industry."

The proteges of Rees and Lewin are the Nazi Doctors of this the Second Great Depression. They are the vicious individuals like Dr. Nathan Kline or Dr. Jose Delgado; they are the many "professionals" singled out in this article and the many more that remain unmentioned. Today they are the storm troopers of Rockefeller's fascism.

Make no mistake. We are not implying that every psychologist, psychiatrist or related professional is a paid or even unpaid agent of the CIA. What we find is a concentric circles process. At the center, we find the conscious agents — individuals like Kline or Eric Trist. Around them are their dupes who are voluntarily or involuntarily in training for the inner-circle spot. Then there is a large circle of unconscious dupes, usually the clinicians who naively but willingly implement the tasks dictated by the Rockefeller and other "funders" of their work. Finally, there is the largest circle of individuals, students, clinicians et al., who get caught in "behaviorism" or "biological psychiatry" because there is nothing else being financially supported.

We insist, however, that any person committing, collaborating or giving any justification whatsoever to coercive psychology is guilty of Crimes Against Humanity as outlined in the Nuremburg Principles. There is no neutrality on this issue; *neutrality is guilt under the Nuremburg Principles.*

What we find in this process is bourgeois ideology at work. The molding of Rockefeller's psychiatric Gestapo is basically an ideological process beginning at birth and culminating in professional training. All through life people are told they are nothing more than a piece of shit. It begins in early childhood when parents begin to judge a child's "worth" by his or her ability to perform, to meet the parents' expectations and to placate the parents' neuroses. A few years later in primary school (or maybe earlier in nursery school or day school) the child's budding humanity is further degraded and suppressed by the conformist needs of the teacher and eventually the

peer group. A child's creativity, i.e. humanity, begins to wither amidst the drudgery of such bourgeois institutions. If a child has miraculously escaped (or nearly escaped), this process then the viciousness of adolescence will intervene. No adolescent comes through this period without some deep-rooted battle scars.

By the time a student approaches higher education, he or she is fully conditioned to accept — even expect — the most bestialized and anti-human ideas. They reflect his or her reality under capitalism. An animal psychology class is taken — no questions asked; the mind is turned into a computer — no questions asked. This is the real world to them and it is ugly but no uglier than the "human" beings who, in their estimation, destroyed them.

Students drawn towards the "helping professions" — e.g. medicine, psychology, social work, education, etc. — come with such an internalized ideology, although often more clouded. The point is, however, that even for those who sincerely want to find a human identity under capitalist terms there is no alternative being funded.

For example, students who major in psychology at the State University of New York at Stony Brook must pay the price of being brainwashed in order to get their degree. Stony Brook is one of Rockefeller's primary training grounds. Within its nine years of existence, it has "transformed" itself into being one of the nation's most prestigious rats' nests. Students "educated" there are forced to take courses like "Laboratory in Physiological Psychology," "Studies of Social Conflict," "Animal Learning," "Organizational Psychology [work morale, motivation, etc.]," "Behavioral Tutoring," "Behavior Modification," "Electrical and Chemical Brain Stimulation," etc. Students are also encouraged to take courses in "computer science." [68]

Medical schools do an even more thorough job in transforming the already impotent students into further impotence. Sadistic experiments and operations, such as the use of psychosurgery, E.C.T., and mind-blunting drugs, actually become an outlet for the doctor's impotence.

Take the average four-year medical school curriculum. Students are under the most grinding pressures during this period. Their basic task is to memorize, so as to regurgitate, a large number of anatomical and physiological "facts." Never are they encouraged to think; never are they presented with an integrated understanding of the human body and its relationship to the human mind. They are forced to view medicine in the most atomized and mechanistic manner.

All the time they are told that if you don't succumb to this "medical model" someone might die because of your negligence.

At the Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons, for example, the students' curriculum is divided into two segments: the basic sciences and the clinical specialities. Basic sciences include anatomy, biochemistry, genetics, medicine, pharmacology, etc.; clinical specialities include anesthesiology, dermatology, medicine, neurology, pediatrics, psychiatry, surgery, etc. There is little, if any, integration between the theory and the practice. Third- and fourth-year students are thrown into actual life-or-death clinical situations with only those atomized facts to back them up. This feeling of helplessness, coupled with long and grueling hours, intensifies at the intern stage. Like the horrific German medical examination, the U.S. medical program begins to eat away at the individual's humanity; by the time the M.D. degree is awarded, there is often little creative potential left.

The aspiring psychiatrist stands at an even greater disadvantage. Forced to go through four years of medical training where the concept of the human mind is almost completely negated, where studies of the central nervous system or the mapping of the brain's regions substitute for human psychology, the student is nearly destroyed before he or she even reaches the psychiatric residency some five years after beginning medical studies. Furthermore, the psychiatric residency teaches the student a garbled mish-mash called "classical psychiatry." Somatic methods of treatment — drugs, ECT, even psychosurgery — are the core of the treatment. A few manage to go slightly beyond this. A small number of psychiatrists have regained partial humanity through intensive psychoanalysis — both therapy and formal study. Even here, however, most of Freudian psychology has been so distorted that its proponents must be classified as anti-Freud.

It is for the working class to build institutions that enhance man's humanity rather than to destroy it; but we must first destroy the old. It is exactly this destruction that strikes at the core of the Labor Committees' campaign, Operation Nuremburg. It is by stamping out every dehumanizing theory and casting indictment upon every sadistic practicing or collaborating professional that we will establish the preconditions for real socialist transformation. In this way the working class and as many professionals as we can bring along will go "beyond coercive psychology" and even "beyond psychoanalysis."

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# Intellectual Renaissance

According to Shelley a great social revolution ought to be presaged by a general increase in popular intelligence and a proliferation of extraordinary productions in art and science. In this light, one may be prompted to consider the proposition that the absence of a contextual intellectual renaissance may be a major consideration in the failure of revolutionary socialist movements in Western Europe and North America during the fifty years.

Such a force is now unloosed in the world, a force imminently more terrifying to the philistines than any opponent on which they have speculated before this time.

You now have the opportunity to bring this intellectual renaissance to your group. Below you will find descriptions of a few of the lectures being offered. Honoraria, travel expenses, other financial arrangements, as well as dates and times can be arranged through the national headquarters or the regional center nearest you. If you have an interest in the future of humanity and the intellectual renaissance being launched in and around the Labor Committees, you have an obligation to contact us today. **Box 1972, G.P.O., New York, N.Y.10001, [212]-279-5950**

## BEYOND PSYCHOANALYSIS

The self-conscious grasp of the actual process of creative mentation is located in the ability of the NCLC to break CIA brainwashing and to mount a counter-offensive against Rockefeller and the CIA.

## OPERATION NUREMBURG

It is becoming increasingly clear to the population of the U.S. that brainwashing, in the guise of "behavior modification," is being practiced on a vast scale in programs funded and directed by the CIA. These programs, which constitute the hideous crime of menticide, are in direct violation of the Nuremburg statutes. The methods of operation used by the CIA in brainwashing their victims will be detailed, along with the names and affiliations of those involved.

## THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT IN ART

The capacity to synthesize gestalts is a necessary quality of creative work. The fundamental subject matter of art is the artist's consciousness of this capacity, and the summation of his self-consciousness is his ability to illustrate that struggle for self-consciousness. Thus the self-portraits of Rembrandt and the etchings of Goya share identical points of departure when viewed from this essential standpoint.

## REICH'S SEXUAL REVOLUTION: IDEOLOGY OF SOCIALISM OR FASCISM?

## BEETHOVEN AS A STUDY IN HUMAN CREATIVITY

## THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT

## THE WAY OUT OF THE DEPRESSION: THE SOCIALIST WORLD RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAM

### Lyn Marcus

is the National Chairman of the NCLC. His fundamental contributions to human knowledge are best delineated in his soon-to-be-published book **Dialectical Economics** and in the groundbreaking series of psychological papers currently appearing in **The Campaigner**.

### Vin Berg

is a founding member of the NCLC. He has given classes in Marxian theory in cities across the country and is presently concentrating on analyzing and exposing how behaviorist psychology is in opposition to and deforms the realization of human creative potential. Berg received a BA in anthropology from Swarthmore College in 1969.

### Stephen Pepper

a professor of Art History from 1967-73 at Johns Hopkins University, has published numerous articles in Burlington Magazine, Apollo Art Quarterly, Paragone, Revue de l'Art, and others. Pepper received his B.A. in 1959 and his M.A. in 1963 both from Columbia University. He was a Krees Fellow from 1965-67, Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome, and received his Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1969.

### Nancy Spannaus

### Christine Berl

### Zeke Boyd

### John Lawrence

# One Hundred Years Toward Incest

by Vivian Freyre



It is not unlikely that so-called Latin American “leftist” readers will wonder at the superfluousness of dealing with the work of that “pseudo-revolutionary” Gabriel Garcia Marquez. His novel *Cien Anos de Soledad*, they will say, “is not the book of a true revolutionary. It is witty and absorbing, but only deals with politics peripherally. Much better, perhaps, to read the poetry of Benedetti or other activist writers.”

Such and like statements serve only to reveal the total lack of comprehension of the nature of politics — both bourgeois and revolutionary — on the part of these self-styled leftists.

Either a revolutionary grapples with the problem of ideology or he is no revolutionary. The bourgeois understands this very well and operates on that knowledge. The chains that bind the working class are the invisible ones of ideology; their resistance to class-wide politics is ideological. The ruling class could not maintain workers

docile and quiescent while living under conditions of privation, if those workers were not convinced that this is the “way of things,” the natural state of the world. No person would submit to the horror of an impotent life which he is not allowed to control, which is determined by forces outside of his reach, if he had not been convinced beforehand that he is incapable of ruling himself and the world, that the world outside of his immediate interests has no relation to him. In short, that he is an impotent human being.

It is not coincidental that Gabriel Garcia Marquez’ novel *Cien Anos de Soledad* is virtually incomprehensible to every one of its readers. Marquez has produced a thickly condensed expression of the Latin American ideology, which in itself is nothing more than a specific version of the more generalized problem of bourgeois ideology.

What is Garcia Marquez’ method in *Cien Anos*? The

basis of his method is ceaseless exposition of the Latin American's internal life followed by even more ceaseless and ruthless exposition of the falsity, the illusionary quality of that internal life — accomplishing this principally through a brilliant use of irony.

It is because the novel works on a plane "below" the level of consciousness that it is able to do this, and it is a commentary on Marquez' integrity as an artist that the book progresses with the utmost consistency within its admittedly ideologically prescribed parameters.

The inconsistencies, which will be discussed below, lie within the actual world view that it expresses, i.e., the problem of *existentialism*.

Contrary to much contemporary psychology, the human individual is born with almost no biological mental preconditions. Therefore what he is, what he will become, is almost entirely the result of his environment, his society. This means that within very broad parameters the reference point for the human individual is human society.

Now, man is the only creative "animal." Creativity is nothing but the heightening of mental powers through which man increases or qualitatively alters nature for man. Any creative invention, in science, for example, which is not used to advance the process of expanded reproduction is meaningless in terms of human existence. This signifies that the immediate reference point from which creativity must be judged is the species itself as a whole. The work of the individual is therefore in intimate connection to the species which determines his nature and which in turn he affects through the fruits of his creative labor.

Thus creativity is always dialogue.

It is possible, indeed is often the case — as with Marquez — that a creative artist seems far in advance of the society around him. Yet, this does not belie the underlying connection between them. Such an artist, as Marquez in writing *Cien Anos*, will feed upon elements existing within the society to which his artistic sensibilities will respond, even if they are unconscious for most of his audience. The prompting within the artist which is for him the impulse to create is love, the impulse to move his audience to greater self-consciousness, to bring them at least to the self-conscious level of the artist himself.

The artist, unwittingly or not, is impelled by an inner necessity to *communicate*. Any work deserving the name of art is a special kind of communication: the teaching of self-consciousness. All art is in essence the communication of feelings or gestalts, which reach ever greater sensitivity as the art form develops, a quality depending on the talents of the individual artists.

Thus the feelings communicated by the music of

Beethoven are infinitely more sensitive, more human, i.e., more civilized, than any which could be generated by the simplistic models of current rock — a degenerate form of "music."

And what could impel the artist to "teach," to communicate, if not a conscious or unconscious identification and concern for his fellow men, a desire to have them share with him his heightened sensitivity and perceptions, creating a self identity more or less tied to a species sense. And what is this, if not love? Love seen as the bond between individuals, as the true infinite. Love is creativity in that it forms the connecting link between "I and thou," i.e., between man and man, and this social connection forms the basis for his identity as a human being:

...the secret communal and social life — the secret of the necessity of a "You" for an "I." It is the truth that no being whatsoever, be it man or God and be it called "spirit" of "I," can be a true, perfect, and absolute being in isolation, that the truth and perfection are only the union and unity of beings that are similar in essence. Hence, the highest and ultimate principle of philosophy is the unity of man with man. All essential relationships — the principles of various sciences — are only different kinds and modes of this unity.(1)

Garcia Marquez is *partly* aware of this and herein lies his creativity. The movement of *Cien Anos de Soledad* is a movement towards ending *Soledad*, the Solitude or alienation of the individual. Hence, his novel is a search for love, love as unity, as the only force which is capable of breaching the barrier between the individual and those around him.

The Buendia family is Marquez' vehicle in this search. The individuals of the family represent the different stages in the evolution of the individual through both his historic and ontogenetic development towards humanity, i.e. the ending of alienation. This is why the successive generations of the Buendias must all bear the same set of names — they are each successive moments in the development of the same individual. The 550-odd pages of the book are first of all a compressed version of man's historical development. In the beginning "the world was so recent that many things lacked names, and in order to mention them one had to point a finger," and this continues through the various stages of the introduction of technology (Melquiades) and the loss of achieved technological gains, as Marquez recreates the stops and starts of world historical development; and on through the gringo invasion. (Macondo is, after all, Latin America seeing the world from the standpoint of the Latin American experience.) Finally comes the "inevitable" decay as Macondo is incapable of assimilating modernity, and ending with apocalyptic

flourish, as Marquez arrives at *his* solution to the problem he had posed.

The different generations who experience this historical movement are the artistic, literary sorting out for clearer observation and expression of the different stages in the development of the individual — the ontogenetic superimposed on the phylogenetic to arrive at a more precise understanding of the nature of both.

The “fantastic” and oft-named “magical reality” of the book is neither of these things. It is the result of writing on a level often “below” the symbolic, of “psychological truth,” at which level the “fantastic” occurrences of *Cien Anos* suddenly can be seen as strictly rational and in conformity to reality, *the reality of the inner psychological life of the novel's characters*.

The flaw in Marquez's effort, ruthlessly honest though he may be in stripping down the Latin American's illusions and ideals, is that he himself is in the end dominated by the same ideology, so that his attempt to resolve the difficulties he poses is aborted. Marquez' world, too, is an entropic one, turning in endless circles, until eventually it just winds down and stops. It is entropic because Marquez cannot see the essential relation between the inner life of the individual and his functioning in the outside world. He does not see that inner psychological development is not and cannot be divorced from a contingent development of social reality. His world is consequently forced to turn in circles around a fixed point.

No twentieth century individual can hope to live out his life and meet his most basic necessities (food, clothing, housing) without having some dealings with the world outside of his immediate family. To the extent that he does not make the connection between the arrangement of the two worlds he must inhabit, he remains a dichotomised individual. To put an end to the dichotomy he must either assume a formative role in the organizing of the real world and society, or retreat into himself, i.e., into fantasy. It is precisely this dichotomy with which Marquez is dealing. This is the meaning of alienation, of “solitude,” that the individual feels his inner self to exist apart from the world around him, which he correspondingly sees as an “other,” something alien and outside his control. The movement of *Cien Anos* is to end alienation, to bridge the gap between the “I” and this “other.”

But forays into the outside world prove disappointing. All of the Buendia men eventually return home with the pieces of what they had tried to do scattering around them. Jose Arcadio, his son Jose Arcadio, Aureliano, Aureliano Segundo, and so on, down the list. As the novel proceeds there is slowly less and less attempt on the part of the characters to interest themselves with matters

outside the strictly “personal”; the world of the Buendias becomes progressively smaller, centered increasingly around family life. As we meet the last Buendia, he is not allowed to step one foot outside his home from childhood; when he finally does so as a grown man he is totally uninterested and returns voluntarily to the once-imposed captivity of the family house. If we regard the Buendia men as different stages in the development of one individual, it becomes clear that what we are seeing is the gradual changeover from neurosis into psychosis. Marquez does indeed resolve the dichotomy, but only by carrying out a total retreat into psychosis, a fantasy life which denies the very existence of reality. Thus, Marquez — with utter consistency — destroys physical reality itself in a whirlwind of apocalyptic flourish.

His use of “magical reality,” as it has been called, throughout *Cien Anos* is the stylistic expression of the consciousness of his characters. They, as true Latin Americans, do live in a world almost totally surrounded by magic, a world of fantasy. Science, the systematic study of nature for purposes of human expanded reproduction, is represented in Macondo by the gypsies (!) and especially by the gypsy Melquiades. In Macondo, the realities are inverted. No qualitative differentiation is made between a priest levitating after drinking a cup of chocolate, and the laws of magnetics; between a girl rising into heaven and the fact that Jose Arcadio Buendia manages to prove that the world is round. Indeed, the obviously magical is accepted where the scientific is categorically rejected.

To the merely emotional man the imagination is immediately without his winning or knowing it, the highest, the dominant activity; and being the highest, it is the activity of God, the creative activity. To him feeling is an immediate truth and reality; he cannot abstract himself from his feelings, he cannot get beyond them: and equally real is his imagination. The imagination... is immediately identical with himself, with his feelings; and since it is identical with his being, it is his essential, objective, necessary view of things... Where man has not imbibed the principle of culture, of theory, where he lives and moves only in his feelings, the imagination is an immediate, involuntary activity.(2)

Fantasy, the imagination, is the natural world view of the Macondoites, it is their *ideology*, the ideology which Marquez, acting as a creative artist, i.e. as a revolutionary, tries to penetrate and dissolve.

The episode of the Fever of Insomnia is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the magical or fantasy element in the lives of Macondo's inhabitants. This epidemic makes people incapable of sleeping (and thus incapable of dreaming), and causes forgetfulness as a side effect. People forget the names of the most common objects and their use. They can no longer remember what cows are for, that

they give milk to drink, and undoubtedly, had the fever continued, all would have died of starvation.

Significantly enough, however, no one is bothered by this fever which causes them to "dream awake," no one but Jose Arcadio, who is also the only person in the town who is interested in how things work, but he is the tragicomic man of science whom everyone mocks. He puts written signs on all the objects of the house to remind him of their name and use, and then tries to impose the use of these signs on all the people of Macondo. But Marquez writes that this system required "so great a moral force" that the people "succumbed to the magical attraction of an imaginary reality, which they themselves invented, and which was for them so much more comforting." In the throes of the Fever everyone relates to everyone else on the basis of their mutual fantasies which in time become accessible to one another. Here Marquez is satisfying nothing more than *the actual way in which people live and relate to one another in this society*. The Fever only accentuates and brings into the open their previous condition of living in a world of dreams, of magic.

To live in a world of fantasy is to be controlled by forces outside oneself, is heteronomy and, in the end, suicidal.

Hence *Cien Anos de Soledad* is a cry of despair — unknown as this may be to its author. Marquez deals successively with the most varied layers of life, renders apart the illusions which make them bearable (because comfortable), and shows the emptiness and horror beneath each one of society's illusions. Here lies the creative, revolutionary aspect of the novel. The problem arises as Marquez attempts to deal with the question of an alternative to the world which his incisive irony destroys.

The location of the horror shown by Marquez in his stripping away of bourgeois ideology lies in the "solitude" of the individual, in his alienation from society. Alienation, because if reality as these people know it (indeed as all bourgeois society knows it) is built up of layers of fantasy, then reality can not be grasped, it cannot be felt by a person's innermost self. The outer layers of the personality are at least partly unaware of this because these layers are themselves made of fantasies designed to complement those existing in society and by which it is organized. As Marquez methodically strips these layers away, he is exposing not only the illusions of society, but also those which correspond to it in the individual's own mental organization. What is then left exposed is the inner self steeped in horror, feeling itself alien and without a handle on the world around it...an alienated self.

Hence the will to find a love object. If reality cannot be

grasped and the ensuing solitude is too difficult to bear, the only seeming solution is to relieve the pain of loneliness by sharing oneself with another human being. Thus in *Cien Anos* parallel and intermeshed with the destruction of bourgeois fantasies, we witness an almost frenetic search for love. This search is the compelling motive force of the novel.

There is however a very real nihilism involved in the dynamics of Marquez' search, and here finally we arrive at the core of his own and the novel's problem, which is based on Marquez' own capitulation to bourgeois ideology in its most fundamental aspect. What makes Marquez so interesting and worthy of study is that through his systematic stripping away of the more superficial layers of bourgeois ideology (fantasy) he manages to arrive at the most basic form of the problem, such that he allows for a study of this phenomenon at its most fundamental and meaningful level.

*Cien Anos de Soledad* has two functions: first to *show*, and show very forcefully, the actual *content* of alienation, and, second, to solve the problem which has thus been so clearly posed. In the former aspect the novel is extremely successful. It is in the latter aspect that Marquez proves himself utterly incompetent and a prisoner of the ideology he is trying to overcome.

What is Marquez' answer, after all? Nothing less vicious than psychosis. His answer is to flee the world, because he is unable to cope with the horror evoked by seeing it in its naked ugliness. The search for love, then is perverted into a mockery. Love for Marquez is not a free sharing of one's self and identity with another human being. The characters in *Cien Anos* do not run towards love; they run away from the destructive loneliness of their alienation. Love then assumes the character of a comfortable shield from things too painful to face.

Earlier, we had pointed to love as the essence of creativity. But we were referring to a love which is all-embracing, which seeks to recreate the world by shattering illusions in order then to self-consciously build upon the reality thus exposed. Marquez vacillates, but ultimately his love means destruction; he cannot face the reality he so brilliantly lays bare.

## MARQUEZ ON WOMAN

The nature of the problem is revealed within *Cien Anos* itself. Significantly, the one facet of the novel which Marquez does not closely examine for its fantasy content is women, and especially mothers. Yet, it is precisely here that the key to the question of bourgeois ideology lies.

Women are not the cause of the almost universal neurosis of bourgeois society, but they do serve as its

mediator, the vehicle which transmits the disease from generation to generation. There are two main interrelated reasons for this.

Firstly, women are without doubt the most oppressed layer in bourgeois society. Even within the ghetto of oppressed people generally, it is still the woman of that sub-culture which, because of her sex, is forced to bear a double burden of oppression. The men of any society, because it is they who are allowed a certain measure of activity in the world outside the home, develop a sense of identity, of their necessary place in the outer world. Women, on the other hand, are to a lesser or greater degree (depending on the backwardness of the society) not allowed an individual place in society, except as the appendage of a male. They care for the home without any sense of its connection with the real world outside, which for them therefore becomes a place of magic and a source of fear.

Secondly, it is women who bear children, and who in general are most responsible for the upbringing of children — certainly during the first few years of life — and these are precisely the years in which the core of the personality is developed within the child.[5]

First it is necessary to consider how Marquez paints the women of Macondo — actually a very lucid portrayal of the Latin American woman.

The looming female character of Macondo is without doubt Ursula, the mother of the entire tribe of the Buendias. What sort of person is Ursula? Marquez gives away her true character by the consistency of her reactions in all the episodes in which she is involved. Her husband Jose Arcadio — the only member of Macondo society to be interested in science (reality) — wants to move the location of the town, since in its God-forsaken location it can not possibly ever receive the scientific benefits of civilized society. Ursula irrationally opposes him, and “with the secret and implacable labor of an *ant*” aborts his plans.

She not only dissuades her own husband from making his attempt at relocation but cunningly organizes the other Macondo wives to act similarly upon their husbands. This is only one of her many and clearly chronicled efforts to undermine her husband’s more rationally conceived plans.

Marquez pictures her husband, Jose Arcadio, as a strong, determined man, with a passionate interest in science. Ursula’s role in the marriage is continuously to mock his attempts at learning, until she literally reduces him to a drivelling fool whom she, for “unexplained” reasons, keeps tied to a tree outside the house, totally at the mercy of the weather and the lice which cover his body.

Yet, Marquez makes it clear that Jose Arcadio is no

mad fool. In a series of conversations between him and the local priest, it is learned that his supposed drivellings are nothing less than classical Latin which the people of Macondo and his wife are too ignorant to understand. Furthermore, the priest is forced to discontinue his conversation with the supposed madman because his lucid scientific rationality begins to undermine the entire basis of the priest’s faith. Marquez nonetheless does not draw the obvious conclusion regarding Ursula’s true character from this his own piece of irony.

All of Ursula’s behavior follows this (unconsciously?) destructive pattern. Pietro Crespi, a pathetically impotent fool who switches his love from one of her daughters to the next as each one in turn refuses him, a man who reacts to these refusals by spending hours crying in Ursula’s lap, unable to muster himself to do anything more useful, a man whom Marquez quite clearly intimates is effeminate — this man Ursula considers to be a saint and the quintessence of manhood in some mystical way “none of us can understand.”

In one of many examples of how she undermines her son the revolutionary (Aureliano), she presents herself at a court-martial convened by Aureliano and with the “dignity of a mother” informs the convened judges that they have carried the “game” of the revolution too far and that they dare not forget that, revolutionaries though they may be, she as a mother has the right to lower their pants and give them a thrashing at the first sign of disrespect. (She does not neglect to bring to the court with her the other mothers of the examining judges.)

In this way she undermines all the male children given to her care. An example is her great grandson whom she raises to be Pope, who accordingly spends his miserable life in Rome helping to foster this lie by writing fraudulent letters home as he dissipates his life in confused misery.

The above are no more than isolated examples given to clarify the character of the Big Mama of the Buendia clan. Yet how does Marquez himself react to this woman whom he created as a not-too-exaggerated version of the Latin American upper class woman? Marquez, whose ironical wit is always ready to tear down the facade of any character or situation, is absolutely impotent to do this in the face of this woman.

He even has difficulty in letting her die. He allows her to live through generation upon generation of Buendias, and even in her senility endows her with greater strength than all her descendants together: “and none of her descendants had inherited her strength.”

There is another “Big Mama” of sorts in Macondo, who must be studied as Ursula’s complement. This other woman is Pilar Ternera. She represents the “whore” half

of the madonna/whore dichotomy of the Latin American woman; she is the real self which would come to light were the madonna facade (Ursula) to be snatched aside. This is no extraordinary or otherwise unfair statement. A woman, since she is after all a person, cannot possibly conform in her deepest inner life to any forced saintly image. The more forcefully society pressures her into presenting a smooth, pure outer covering (Madonna — persona), the more correspondingly hideous must the truth (whore) hidden beneath. Marquez, generally unable as he is to delve into the truth about women, cannot of course be expected to recognize this fact in any explicit form. Nonetheless he is a consistently perceptive enough artist that he includes all the necessary facts and indications within his book in so clear a fashion that the reader has no difficulty in readily putting these together to form a coherent composite, and so reveal what Marquez cannot let himself see.

Pilar, along with Ursula, is one of the founding members of the town of Macondo. She also shares, along with Ursula, the credit for being mother to a portion of the Buendia clan. This fact, however, is never admitted to the children or to Ursula, who adopts them, for Pilar is not of the "upper class." She is a poor fortune teller, and therefore the origin of her sons is kept secret. She sleeps with successive generations of Buendia men who are always drawn to her for some unexplainable reason having usually to do with the odor permeating her body. She also shares another distinction with Ursula: Marquez has as difficult a time allowing her to die as he does with the former, and Pilar too outlives generations of her descendants.

Pilar has a deep understanding of the repeating patterns of the Buendia family; she can tell them their fortune without needing to resort to her cards. Ursula, too, had had this kind of understanding of her family, such that she had been able to keep from them the fact that she was blind because, knowing the pattern of their movements so well, she seemed to be able to see them and their actions.

Indeed, Pilar's ties to the family and her importance to their destiny is in a sense deeper than Ursula's. Ursula had cared for their bodies, their well being. But to Pilar had fallen the duty of caring for their inner selves. Ursula was the "outside" mother, she the "inside." Thus, her death signals the beginning of the end for Macondo and the Buendias. Marquez says of her death: "It was the end. In the tomb of Pilar Ternera, between the psalms of whores, the ruins of the past were rotting." The very language Marquez employs in describing Pilar is more emotionally charged than that used for Ursula, the cold, respectable woman. They are the complementary halves of the same person.

Of course, just as Marquez idealizes the one, he idealizes the other. He paints Ursula as the incessantly driving, madonna with (in her later life) the righteous uplifted arm of an archangel. Pilar he endows with all the qualities he would have wished to see in the real mother, with warmth, patience, understanding and, not insignificantly, sexual passion. She is correspondingly the perennial kind-hearted whore. The whore is the underside of the madonna, and Pilar reveals the truth about the feelings involved in (especially) this mother relationship. It is because she is the counterpart of Ursula that Ursula's sons are so drawn to her sexually. Ursula lives for the survival of her family; that is her purpose and only wish. Moreover, she disavows the importance and, implicitly, the existence, of any world outside the family. The kind of possessive domination of her family which results makes her sons incapable of relating to women outside the family because these are seen as one with the unreality of the outside world. Hence in the incestuous relationship which her family shares with Ursula. It is only to preserve the niceties of the situation that Pilar is substituted. By using the ruse of presenting the two halves of Ursula's personality embodied in two separate persons, Marquez hides the truth he dares not face.

We shall return to Ursula later when we discuss the nature of the so-called "city" of Macondo itself. For the moment we will examine Marquez' treatment of some of the other women in the Buendia family, thus substantiating and examining our contention that women are the mediators of bourgeois ideology.\*

The women of Macondo (the Buendia family) are without exception consummate sadists. We shall briefly look at three of them: Amaranta, Rebecca, and Remedios, "the Beautiful."

Amaranta is Ursula's daughter. Marquez describes her as a passionate woman, and potentially exceedingly loving. Nonetheless, all her relationships with men are disastrous. First, she is in love with the effeminate Pietro Crespi. Pietro is in love with Rebecca. Through the most elaborate ploys (including murder plans) she manages to postpone their wedding until Rebecca tires and leaves Pietro for someone else. Now, when the road is clear for Amaranta to marry Pietro (who soon comes to love her), she leads him on only to reject him the more sadistically. Pietro correspondingly commits suicide. Amaranta purposely burns her hand savagely on the stove upon hearing of his death. She hates what she has done, but is unable to understand or change her behavior.

\* This is why her son Jose Arcadio sleeps with Pilar and tries to imagine her face in the dark, only to find the image of his mother Ursula engraved in his mind.

This inability to guide and control her own acts is visible in her next relationship with Colonel Gerineldo Marquez (sic). This too drags on, and although she comes to feel that she loves him, she is *unable to show her love* and, again painfully, refuses his proposals.

Her final "love affair" is with her nephew, Aureliano Jose, whom she brings up as if she had been his mother. From approximately the time of the boy's puberty they spend the nights together naked in bed. This affair is a torture both for her and the boy because in spite of her own very strong feelings, she again cannot bring herself to show her love and give up her virginity (symbolic of her inner, hidden self). Here is another example of the not-so-hidden incestuous nature of the mother/child relationship. Needless to say, she ruins the boy's life, and he forever tries to recapture her face as he lies in other women's arms. She thus makes him totally impotent, and with Aureliano Jose we see the truth of the sexual problems of the mother-dominated Buendia men — those "extraordinarily endowed," "super machos" (as Marquez himself characterizes them), whose physical attributes ironically underline their total incapacity to formulate any human relationship with a woman. They cannot see the woman for the mother's image stands in the way.

Rebecca, mentioned above, is a foundling raised by Ursula Buendia. She leaves Pietro Crespi for Jose Arcadio (Ursula's son) with whom she falls passionately "in love" after he rapes her one afternoon. They are both cast out by the family, and her life after her marriage is shrouded in mystery.

This is another incestuous relationship, even if the two are not actually related. After a honeymoon, in which all the neighbors complain because of the riotous nature of their sexual relations, Jose Arcadio's body is found one day in circumstances where all the evidence points to his murder by Rebecca. The blood flows from his dead body in thread-like fashion down the street and around corners back to his mother, where she is cooking in the kitchen. Marquez says nothing more about his death, but he makes the nature of the marriage clear by having Jose Arcadio's blood flowing home to Mommy even in death.

Remedios, "the Beautiful," is the quintessence of the special sadism of the madonna; she is the madonna par excellence. She never dies — she rises up into heaven (like the Virgin Mary). Remedios is, like Mary, utterly pure and utterly beautiful — the embodiment of the ideal held up to the Latin American woman. She captivates men but cannot understand and relate to their "silly" sexual desires. She is consequently the perfect male destroyer, and indeed her utter coldness is

responsible for male suicides. Marquez says of her that "she possessed powers of death," and these powers were her frigidity. But he goes on: "Perhaps in order not only to win her love but also to exorcise her dangerous powers, so primitive and simple an emotion as love would have sufficed. But that was the only thing no one thought of."

Exactly. Actual love is precisely the emotion which is impossible to the people of Macondo.

It is because she cannot love that Remedios, "the Beautiful," destroys men, and it is because in childhood they were damaged by the pathological condition of women (their mothers) that the men cannot love and rescue her from her murderous banality. As with everything else in Macondo, this too is a closed circle for which, within its self-prescribed context of bourgeois ideology, there is no escape.

In the light of the above it is a simple matter to see the essence of Macondo. On the level of symbology it represents Latin America as a whole. Dig more deeply and it is still Latin America, but now transformed into a family. It is the family life, controlled by the utterly banalized, tortured, alienated women, which is the fundamental reality, the vantage point determining all action in the outside world.

### Marquez on Politics

The disastrous results of this incapacity to view reality in its own terms free of personal fantasies is most apparent in the political activities of the Buendias. Here it will be sufficient to study one of the "revolutionaries" of the family, Colonel Aureliano Buendia, and later the gringo invasion of Macondo. His moral sense having been injured by seeing the Conservatives tampering with ballot boxes, Aureliano sets out to conduct a Liberal revolution. He goes out into the jungle with no plans and less idea of what constitutes the theoretical or functional differences between Conservatives and Liberals. Nonetheless, he goes on to lead thirty two wars — all of which he loses.

Inevitably, when the Liberals take temporary control of Macondo the atrocities committed under their name at least equal those carried out by the Conservatives, and Marquez describes the Liberal government which eventually becomes mysteriously established in the country as utterly indistinguishable from the former Conservative reign.

How then explain the "revolutionary" activities of Aureliano Buendia, since he obviously is not motivated by clear conceptual differences with the existing organization of his society?

Marquez actually provides the answer himself when he says that Aureliano "had not stopped loving his family because he was hardened by the war...he had never loved anyone...he had not fought so many wars because of idealism...but because of the same motive, pure and sinful pride...He was simply a man incapable of loving." Aureliano goes to war to bridge the impasse of his alienation, to acquire a sense of identity in the world by attempting to mold reality. He is unsuccessful because he cannot *see* reality as such; he cannot *think*.

His wars can be no more than an existential act; the brutalized hope that action *by itself* can establish communication with the world; his alienated internal self cannot feel and therefore cannot understand. He cannot conceptualize clearly the aim of his actions and their end result is correspondingly out of his control. Hence, it is inevitable that the government he helps to establish is indistinguishable from the one it had defeated.

When Marquez speaks of Aureliano's incapacity to love, he is addressing the same internal psychological problem. The alienated man cannot love for the same reasons that he is barred from directly grasping reality. The inner self is locked inside the mind and can only reach outward as it is mediated through the services of the persona. Thus, it cannot touch or be touched by the inner self of another human being.

The genesis of this problem we have already seen in studying the prototype of the Latin American woman as exemplified by Ursula, Amaranta, and the others.

The home, under the auspices of brutalized women, with their insulation from the world of real events (e.g. science), imposes its distorted irrational fears upon every new generation. The females grow into wretched sadists (in identification with their elders), and the males are forever crippled by the arbitrary separation between the home and the outer world. They grow up carrying the internalized version of this separation in their corresponding mental dichotimization of an inner and outer self. "The world is absurd" attitude expressed throughout *Cien Anos* is therefore the lawful existentialist pattern which must inevitably arise from this state of affairs. Life can only be an impotent nightmare of total withdrawal or irrational, desperate acts.

A forceful example of this is the response of the entire population of Macondo to the wholesale takeover of their city by an American banana company.

For the natives the American phenomenon is no more than a curiosity unrelated to their lives. When finally the workers do strike, under the leadership of Jose Arcadio the Second Buendia, the ousting of the company signals the beginning of five years of torrential rain which the Americans magically cause to fall in the wake of their

departure (Marquez' symbology), leaving the town utterly destroyed beyond the hope of reconstruction. Macondo was raped by the Americans, as all Latin America has been raped by the primitive capital accumulation practiced on the continent. What Marquez expresses in this episode is no less than the total impotence of the Latin American population (Macondo) when faced by the superior technology and competence of the North.

The workers' strike, like Aureliano's wars, is no more than an eruption of outrage at the brutal practices with which they are being afflicted. Against these outrages they can only protest, magically hoping that protest in itself can correct the situation, lacking any indication whatever of positive measures in the face of the American menace. The destruction of Macondo after the American departure makes clear the nature of their relation to the native population. The strike of the workers is exactly analogous to the tantrum of an infant who feels himself incapable of correcting a situation and hence can do no more than cry for Mommy to do it for him. If Mommy then responds unexpectedly by leaving, the weak infant is left to fend for himself and eventually die — as Macondo begins to die. The strikers place themselves passively at the mercy of events and reality victimizes them.

It is interesting to note Marquez' reaction to this episode. Behind the wit there lies a total acceptance of the situation. More than acceptance, the Americans are a positively welcome instrument in effecting the erosion of the outer world Marquez wants. Throughout *Cien Anos* there are countless references to a fascination with death which permeates each and every character. This fascination is a true picture of the Latin American and ultimately of Marquez himself. It is the expression of an entropic conception of the world based on the incapacity of the bourgeois ego to conceive of itself as capable of a positive relationship with, and thus growth in, the real world.

### Marquez' Philosophical Outlook

In economic terms, *Cien Anos* is analogous to simple reproduction, as opposed to the Marxian conception of expanded reproduction.

Simple reproduction, however, is in real life no more than a theoretical fiction. In order for society merely to exist it must be continuously increasing its technological mastery of nature and qualitatively altering nature. But the mind is a determinate aspect of the social process, and a particular form of consciousness is as much a determinant of human development as a particular mode of production. The two are no more than different

aspects of the same process. This demands creativity, then, as the invariant for human society.

Macondo society, however, not only does not have creativity as its conscious object, but repudiates the very notion and is instead — like its author — mesmerized by its direct opposite, death. We must return once again to the pathology of ideology in order to understand the origin of what strictly speaking can only be considered willful suicide.

To repeat, the alienated bourgeois ego has no direct access to reality. Consequently, and depending on the degree of its domination by ideology, it is cut off from experiencing the empirical validation of its own identity and capacity for growth which would be consequent upon its direct creative manipulation of nature through its society. Reality for the bourgeois self lies in the family as divorced from the outside world, which is then conceived of as an alien place, ruled by incomprehensible forces (e.g. God) which must be propitiated by means of magic rituals. Because it is alien, it is fearful to what is conceived of as the real self organized around the family, and there can be no question of actively trying to participate in it. The only possible subsequent course is passivity coupled with periodic outbreaks of rage; rage which can not be directed because the forces to which it is aimed are not understood. And if to love is to fight to enhance the potential of the loved person to realize his creativity in effecting positive qualitative alterations in reality, the bourgeois self cannot love.

Hence the tragic nature of Marquez' search of love throughout *Cien Anos*. He instinctively recognizes love to be the cure for alienation, solitude. In repudiating reality, by retreating to the *shared alienation* of two lone human beings, he negates the very basis of love, and thus the possibility of ever achieving it. It is no accident that, as Marquez makes quite clear, all the love relationships in *Cien Anos* are totally bestialized and mutually destructive.

The only exception to this is also not accidental, i.e. Aureliano and Amaranta Ursula.

With Aureliano (a descendant of the Colonel) Marquez begins the real destruction of the external world. From his infancy Aureliano was forbidden to step outside the home. When a man he leaves the house for the first time and finds that everything — including the smallest details of the outside world — were already known to him through the readings and *imaginings* of his childhood; consequently he chooses voluntarily to return to the captivity of the family home. Marquez thus equates reality with the pathological interior self, thereby denying the effective independent existence of this

outside world.

And whom does this Aureliano choose to love now that he has totally divorced himself from the real world? None other than his "aunt" who, by a lucky coincidence, is named Amaranta Ursula.

Marquez often mentions within the novel how people who bear the same name have the same personality, i.e. *they are the same person*. For example, witness the episode of the supposed exchange of names between the twins, Aureliano Segundo and Jose Arcadio Segundo. This is why Aureliano's lover is named Amaranta Ursula. Amaranta; (amar, to love) love, and Ursula: mother, the Big Mamma of the Buendias; Amaranta Ursula: the union of love and mother.

In Amaranta Ursula Marquez finally joins within the same person mother and love — sexual passion (which is so unrestrained in Amaranta Ursula) — the two qualities which he had earlier distributed between Ursula and Pilar.

Earlier we had argued that in *Cien Anos* we see the progressive changeover from neurosis into psychosis, and this is precisely the significance of the relationship of Aureliano and Amaranta Ursula. The son finally gets to sleep with the mother, instead of with just the image as had occurred earlier. This could only happen after Aureliano ("son" of Ursula) definitely rejects the outside world, that is to say, reality. This is equivalent to the rejection of all self-consciousness, a voluntary surrender to the pathological bourgeois ego. And this total retreat is nothing less than psychosis, something which before, while some ties to the real world were maintained, had been merely neurosis.

The neurosis itself was the result of the individual being controlled by the pathological internalized mother image, mediating bourgeois ideology by imposing the arbitrary separation between the internal and external world — thus condemning the individual to a life in part ruled by fantasy.

When Aureliano sleeps with his mother he gives himself up completely to this internalized being, he has succumbed to its bewitchment and the terror of the real world which this image inspires. This act completes the circle. It is not a true human love that exists between Amaranta Ursula and Aureliano. On the contrary, it is merely a distorted mirage of the love which Marquez sought.

Marquez has not faced the problem — rather, he has retreated. This is why together with the sense of triumph (I finally bedded Mommy) at the end of the novel there exists such profound and overwhelming despair.

So the child of this union is born with the mythical pig's tail, and fulfills the legend of doom which had

always been part of the Buendia family. This child, grotesquely devoured by ants soon after its birth, signals the end of the Buendias as actual human beings. It is only upon seeing him that Aureliano is suddenly able to decipher the writings of the gypsy Melquiades and in so doing the world is physically destroyed; the suicidal process of its negation fully completed.

### Marquez' Prospects

*Cien Anos de Soledad* is obviously the product of a profound sounding of the author's own mind. It is this labor of delving into his own past life and unconscious processes which has given the novel its enormous depth and complexity while still maintaining an uncommon coherence.

This self-examination has thrown up an overabundant wealth of material, more than sufficient data to clarify and properly set up the pieces of the puzzle concerning Marquez — the core problem of human existence itself.

Therefore Marquez now has nowhere to go as an author until he solves this problem. There is no possible way he can "keep approaching it." With *Cien Anos* he has come as close to it as he can without actually leaping

into its very conceptual and emotional core, i.e. solve the puzzle himself in light of the analysis we have outlined, exposing the only premises which highlights the problem in all its coherence, and thus giving free rein to his creativity, breaking the strangle-hold of bourgeois ideology.

Anything Marquez writes after *Cien Anos* which continues to circumnavigate the core of his personal ideological block will be unavoidably inferior to *Cien Anos*. This cannot but be the case. A constant reiteration of what has already been amply laid out in *Cien Anos* will at best only result in progressively weaker, more watered down less powerful repetitions of the same conceptual material.

If Marquez wishes to maintain any artistic and personal integrity this book has left him with only two choices: jump across the walls of ideology and thereby liberate the enormous potential of his creative powers, or he can stop writing altogether, knowing that he has at least achieved a measure of psychological accuracy and artistic effectiveness not attained by even his more "political" Latin American contemporaries.

The problem, of course, with the latter choice is that it is tantamount to suicide.

### FOOTNOTES

1. Ludwig Feuerbach, *The Essence of Christianity*.
2. *Ibid.*

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"Without an intellectual revolution which initiates an effective general change in apparent 'human nature' **under capitalism**, it is **improbable** that a Socialist transformation could occur in the advanced capitalist sector during the period ahead."

L. Marcus  
National Chairman, NCLC

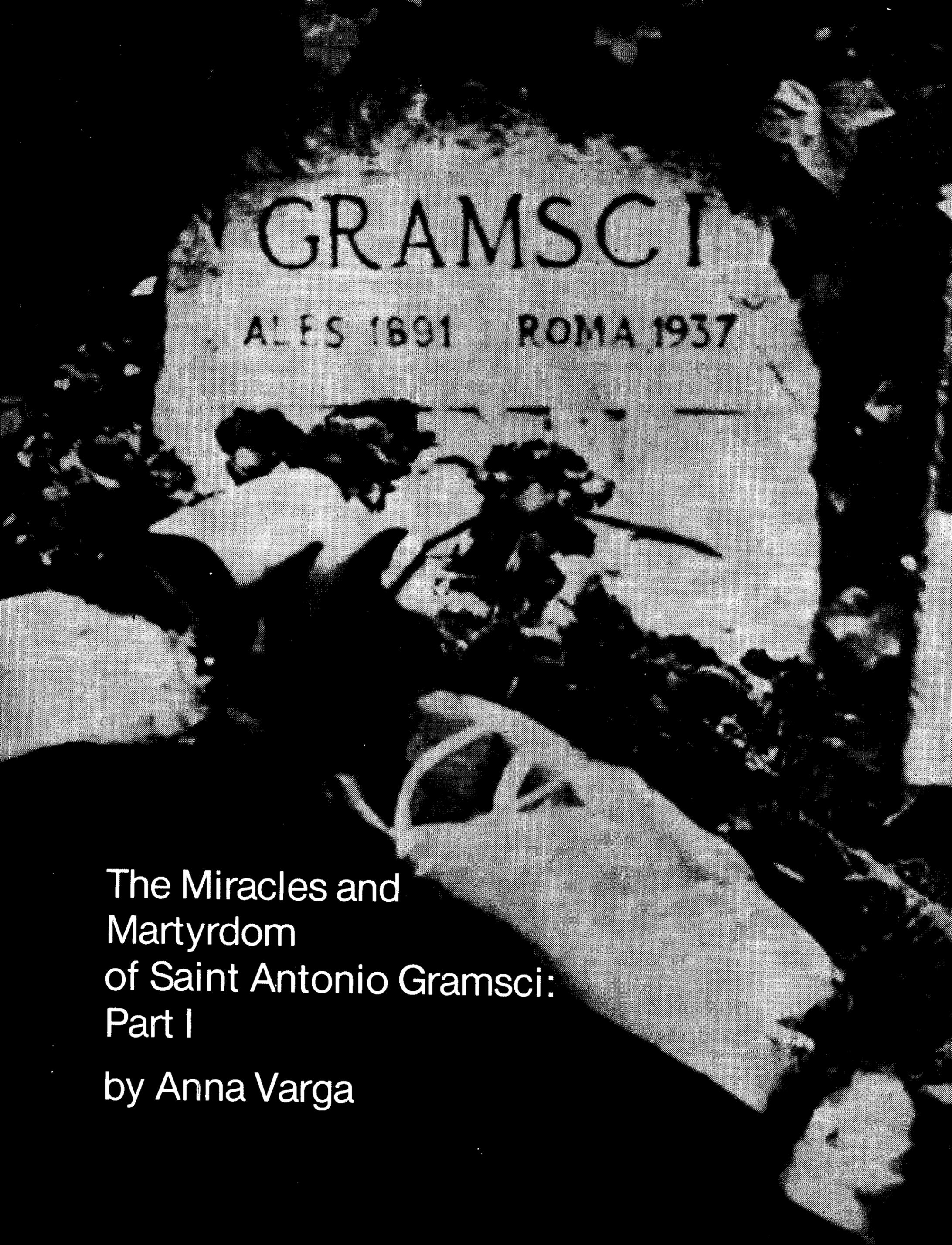
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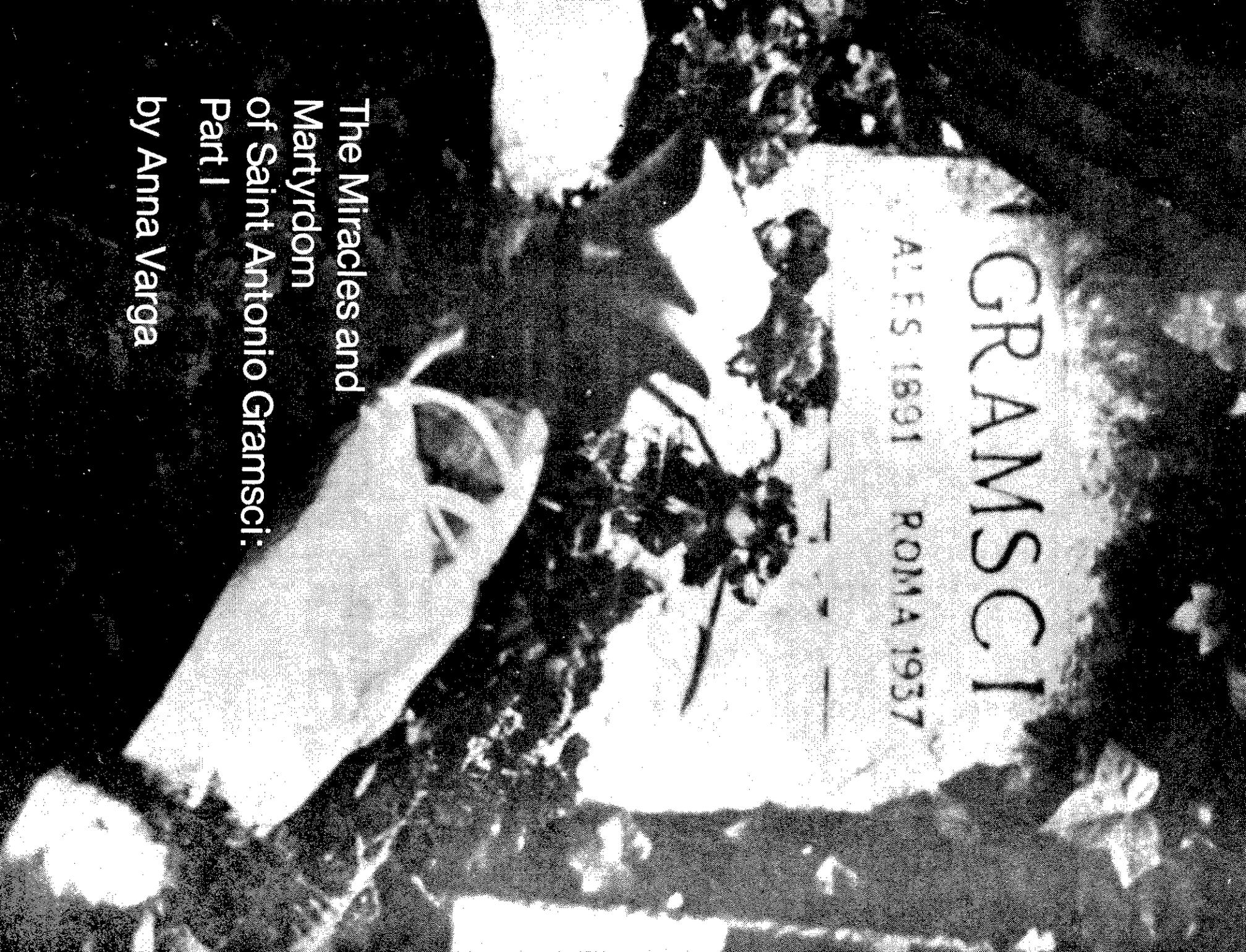


GRAMSCI

ALESSANDRO 1891 ROMA 1937

The Miracles and  
Martyrdom  
of Saint Antonio Gramsci:  
Part I

by Anna Varga



GRAMSCI

ALESS 1891 POMMA 1937

The Miracles and  
Martyrdom  
of Saint Antonio Gramsci:  
Part I

by Anna Varga

Italy has the biggest Communist Party, the largest number of nominal socialists and one of the best organized sectors of the working class in advanced capitalist Europe; yet, in the deepening depression it risks setting the unenviable record of being again the first national subsector to go under to fascism.

Far from being simply a question of a "treacherous" PCI which delights in selling out the working class for sport, what the Italian developments betray is a firmly established functional neurosis codified in the common sense of hegemonic bourgeois ideology — a neurosis whose tightened grip on working-class minds, masquerading as the raised fist of revolution, will utterly wipe out its creative, revolutionary potential unless ruthlessly pried loose here and now. It is only by attacking the prejudices supporting the Italian workers' world-view and the organizations he has historically given birth to, that he can be confronted with what his neurosis prevents him from seeing — his anti-dialectical, counter-revolutionary conceptions — to effectively salvage the fraction of viability currently suffocating at the bottom of a dung heap.

Central to the Italian ideology is anarcho-syndicalism, the left-wing militant expression of chauvinism which, despairing of control over whole processes, hysterically and angrily flings its frustrations against local expressions of its own impotence: "my" factory, "my" local capitalist. What makes Italian anarcho-syndicalism special is its curious historical collocation. The classical dilemma facing most European and U.S. socialists as they approach confirmation age and must choose between the Holy Church of "Trotskyism" or Stalinism, does not transpire for the Italian; by virtue of the particular predicates of Italian labor history, the two variations of left ideology offered him are regrettably those immortalized by Amadeo Bordiga and Antonio Gramsci.

For clearly identifiable psychological reasons, the great majority of left groups, including the Communist Party, pay homage to Gramsci; they do this by resurrecting the myth of September 1920 when workers nationwide played out Gramsci's script by occupying the factories. Identifying with the glory of martyred defeat that the occupations led to, the left lashes out at union and party bureaucrats held responsible for the missed revolution, and doggedly strives to recapture the dream by replaying the base-building comedy and urging

workers to take over the factories again. When this fails, they characteristically throw themselves into a moving re-enactment of the popular front anti-fascist resistance myth.

The lonely minority of Bordighist sects, far more embittered by the fact that not even Italian labor history has bothered to pump life into the rigid corpse of Bordiga, sneer in angry disapproval at Gramsci. Their familiarity with the pain of constipation is such that they dare not even contemplate the dream.

The immediate task then is to dispel the myth of Gramsci, to relate the real squalid story of the occupation of the factories. For the impotence of the Italian left does not lie in its inability to re-enact the tragedy of 1920; the left is eminently capable of performing the piece as farce. It is Gramsci's own script that must be ruthlessly torn to shreds before the working class in Italy can discover its own creativity, by recognizing the nature of the historical task its forerunners have never even acknowledged.

## I. THE OCCUPATION OF THE FACTORIES: WHAT REALLY HAPPENED

The mass upsurges of 1920, culminating in the September occupation of the factories, expressed in Italy the process of potentially revolutionary mass strike ferment that convulsed crisis-ridden Europe as a whole from 1917 to 1923.

During the war working class agitation in Italy had been kept under control by two interrelated aspects of governmental war-time policy: minor concessions were granted workers to ensure stability in the war industry; and the pressure of the war effort itself prevented chicken-hearted working class organizations from "sabotaging" this stability.[1] It was already clear during the war years that the Second International Italian Socialist Party (PSI) would reject the opportunity to transform the imperialist war into a struggle for working class power. And though the party, along with the two strongest union federations the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro (CGL) and the anarchist Unione Sindacale Italiana (USI), had posed no opposition to the war in August 1914, one year later they had fully embraced the formula advanced by PSI "maximalist" leader Giacinto Serrati, "neither to approve nor to sabotage" the war — a position that allowed them to effectively follow the policy of those Social Democratic parties that had voted for war credits, without *publicly* discrediting themselves by outright support. It was a question of saving face.

Thus, when hostilities ceased and post-war inflation, coupled with the partial dismantling of the military industrial apparatus, drove down working-class incomes

and employment levels, the marked upturn in radicalization signified massive growth for existing working-class institutions. Within two years after the war, the ranks of organized labor jumped to five times its pre-war dimensions[2]; the CGL grew from 250,000 at the end of the war to 1,930,000 in 1920 (of which 50 per cent represented industrial workers and 160,000 belonged to the militant metalworkers union, the FIOM). The Catholic union CIL counted 1,823,491 (80 per cent of whom were agricultural workers), the anarchist USI had 300,000 and the newly-formed nationalist UIL attracted 200,000 members. The same tendency emerged at the polls where the PSI made a killing in the 1919 general elections, spreading its influence in Parliament and at the local administration level.

The same process of radicalization manifest in the luxuriant growth of the PSI and trade unions produced a core of young "revolutionary" intellectuals within the ranks of the PSI who felt it was high time for the PSI, by then verbally a member of the Third International, to turn its revolutionary rhetoric into actual organizing practice. The Ordine Nuovo (New Order) faction thus formed was composed initially of four individuals — Antonio Gramsci, Angelo Tasca, Umberto Terracini and Palmiro Togliatti — who led the battle against the party's centrist practice and, after having failed miserably in the attempt, were to contribute to the formation of the Communist Party (PCI) in 1921.

It is through examining the content and quality of the bungling debate carried on by Ordine Nuovo, both in its publication of the same name and in its actual organizing activity, that one can begin to document the failure of the revolution and at the same time measure both the political bankruptcy of even the early PCI and the sheer idiocy of those impotent left formations in Italy today who are seeking out some figure of pre-PCI purity (i.e. Gramsci) to imitate.

Ordine Nuovo's gimmick was the factory council[3], the bastard offspring of the Internal Commissions. Within the FIOM metalworkers union, base groups called Internal Commissions had grown up in 1906 and became recognized in 1919: they were made up of five union members elected by fellow union members of the same shop to defend the workers in factory grievances.

The Ordine Nuovo group under the leadership of Gramsci, who theorized the councils, saw in the Internal Commission the "germ of a Soviet," which they transformed into the Factory Council by fighting for voting rights for the non-unionized workers. Predictably the unions themselves opposed the inclusion of unorganized workers, fearing that the Factory Councils would undermine the union's authority or would

themselves be weakened unless dominated by union members. Nor was the PSI leadership happy about the councils which were sprouting in Turin factories by August 1919. Serrati, then editor of the PSI daily *Avanti*, called non-unionized workers' participation in the councils an "aberration"[4] because those unorganized masses, in the party's view, needed an organized movement in order to become revolutionary — and that organized movement was, of course, the party.

Despite opposition from both the PSI and the CGL leaderships, enormous numbers of Italian workers took up Gramsci's call and gave rise to factory councils. From the first councils elected in Turin's Fiat plants in August and September 1919, an executive committee was formed at an October conference where workers coming from 15 factories represented more than 30,000 metalworkers. Soon the number rose to 30 factories representing 50,000 workers.[5]

The council organizing thrust reflected the general tendency towards worker radicalization (and therefore increased recruitment in the unions) and at the same time indicated the restless impatience felt by more enraged workers with the increasingly apparent inability of the union (the FIOM) to guarantee that concessions won would be respected by the industrialists. As the economic crisis worsened in the summer of 1919, the FIOM was forced to lead strikes lasting two months in Lombardy, Emilia and Liguria to win cost-of-living increases and minimum wages, only to find the bosses blithely ignoring the costly agreement.

So the "success" of union organizing actually constituted a danger to the unions themselves, both in the form of "excessive"[6] numerical growth and in the emergence of militant caucuses which were the councils. The CGL and the PSI, both suffering from internal growth, hedged the threat posed by the militant councils: the union tried to co-opt council militancy by advancing proposals for workers' control of the shop, and the party undermined the councils by calling them economistic. This official view of the councils rested on a union-party pact stipulated in September 1918 which had given the CGL power to call and direct strikes of an "economic" nature and had given the PSI leadership over struggles of a national and political character[7]; the union confederation could thus call any militant council actions anarchosyndicalist while the party, reiterating its firm intentions to make the revolution, could condemn the councils for their purely economic demands.

The union confederation showed its willingness to sabotage council activity in the late winter of 1919-20 when isolated cases of factory occupations promoted by the councils led to miserable failure. Between February

and March two factories in the Turin area were occupied by workers after capitalist bosses, frightened by the rapid growth of the councils, had made good their threat to lock out workers. In March, capitalists Olivetti and Agnelli repeated the threat and, after a strike of Fiat workers on the 28th, the AMMA factory closed its gates. This signalled the beginning of a month of ferment in the entire Piedmont area, which saw a ten-day general strike involving a half a million workers with the participation of farm laborers. Isolated, the strike collapsed. PCI historian Paolo Spriano writes:

...at the beginning of the Turin showdown with business and state "the city was flooded with an army of police; all around the city cannons and machine guns were placed in strategic positions" — wrote Gramsci, the Turinese movement had no support elsewhere, nor did it possess a network of "council" institutions outside the circle of Turin shops. Nor was it organized as a political faction on a national or regional scale.(8)

In mid-April the industrialists made clear that they would re-open the factories only on condition that the norms governing Internal Commission elections be abrogated. In response, a general strike was called affecting 20,000 workers in Turin. Lacking outside support and facing armed opposition, the strike collapsed on the 24th, thanks also to the refusal of both CGL and PSI to support it.[9]

Thus, instead of representing an organizing thrust to vaster strata, the April events, though they involved large numbers of workers, furthered the factional drift between the Turin FIOM local and the CGL on the one hand and the Ordine Nuovo group and the PSI on the other. Both the FIOM and the Ordine Nuovo group, which had organized the councils within the FIOM, found themselves in a minority position in the midst of the most explosive ferment modern Italy had known. Terrified, alone, and totally disarmed theoretically and psychologically, they could only utter long low wails of bitter lament against the hegemonic institutions (the PSI and CGL), begging, in effect, that they come to their aid.

The capitalists, smelling trouble, united in a confederation of industry, the Confindustria, in March 1920. In August, two months after the Nitti government had fallen and Giolitti had returned to power, the agricultural bosses formed a similar organization, the Confagricoltura. Both moves were designed to consolidate the national organization necessary to block working-class demands for wage increases in a period of rising prices.

For the duration of the summer, the industrial unions haggled separately with industrialists in fruitless negotiations over cost-of-living demands. The

swinishness of the FIOM, expressed in its refusal to unite with other unions in negotiations, was surpassed only by the ignorance it showed regarding the general economic situation. Agricultural production and mining had plummeted in the post-war period as monetary speculation and inflation drove the prices of imports sky high and decimated working class buying power.[10] Nonetheless, the FIOM appears to have believed that crisis-wracked capitalism was healthy enough to make wage concessions and to keep running the economy.

As the crisis steadily worsened throughout the summer months, industrialist spokesmen flatly refused pay raises and negotiations broke off in mid-August. On August 16 and 17 the FIOM called a special conference inviting CGL and PSI delegates to attend. Their unanimous decision was to initiate obstructionism in all factories and shipyards employing metalworkers, beginning on the 21st of the month. The motivation for this kind of struggle was that it would allow workers to lower production while still guaranteeing them their base pay. In the event that the industrialists were to lock out workers, the conference voted that the workers would occupy the factories.

The significance of the obstructionist tactic for both union and party officials lay in the show of force posed in the *threat* to occupy the factories. It is clear in the determination to go just so far, angrily threatening to go farther, that no one in FIOM, CGL or PSI leading positions actually thought they would have to make good the threat. CGL leader D'Aragona, trying to blame the occupation on the FIOM, later said, "I didn't ever think we'd actually arrive at the point of really taking over the factories." [11] As for the PSI, its reformist Turati faction had for some time been revising its revolutionary rhetoric to lay the literary bases for backing out of revolutionary organizing; the Serrati maximalist faction, represented at the second congress of the Third International in Moscow that summer, was spewing out revolutionary slogans and talking up soviets while simultaneously resisting Lenin's demand that Turati & Co. be shown the door; and the militant Ordine Nuovo faction at home in the midst of the frenzy was "skeptical" and uncertain of the future.[12]

The industrialists and the government had no such fears. Giolitti made clear from the beginning that he would follow a non-intervention policy [13] and proceeded to enjoy his vacation in the mountains while his Labor Minister Labriola met with each side separately. The industrialists stubbornly refused to pick up negotiations even when FIOM leader Bruno Buozzi was ready at the end of August.[14] Clearly, the industrialists were preparing for a lockout. Although industrial representatives had promised they would wait

until further talks on August 30 before moving toward a lockout, the Milanese Alfa Romeo plants shut their gates that very day. Buoizzi had no choice but to order the immediate occupation of 300 Milanese plants and the industrialists deliberated nationally to proceed with lockouts in all federated plants. Each lockout, nationwide, was promptly followed by the workers' occupying the plants. The FIOM, in spite of itself, had fulfilled the threat with action. Hundreds of thousands of workers were soon tightly locked up in their factories, hanging on to their jobs by force, hoping that this form of struggle would save them a costly strike and get the same results.

Within days all plants employing metalworkers in Italy were occupied, with very few exceptions. Over 500,000 workers were involved, with the participation of railroad workers and workers in other industries. The mass strike process was catapulting workers out of the grasp of the FIOM; Buoizzi, thoroughly panicked, quickly lowered wage raise demands, only to discover that the industrialists too had stepped out of the realm of normal day-to-day bargaining processes and were determined to stand firm. The PSI was also acutely embarrassed; fearing rightly that the movement might extend to other working class layers, such as peasants and soldiers anxious to occupy lands in the south, the leadership issued only demagogic calls to these layers for solidarity with the industrial workers. The PSI, along with representatives of the CGL leadership and the provincial and regional union coordinating organizations, the Central Labor Councils, set up the "General Staff" in permanent sessions in Milan to sort out the entire affair.

Meanwhile in the factories the workers, who had nowhere to go, channelled their energies into work. Production continued, though at a slower pace due to the absence of white-collar personnel, technicians, etc., all under the disciplined direction of the Factory Councils. Railroad workers guaranteed the necessary inflow of raw materials to the factories. Those workers in arms factories who could produce and collect arms did so, while the Royal Guards began to gather in key areas of the cities awaiting government orders.

The working class was divided up into myriad of tiny parts; workers locked up in single factories labored on; peasants occupied some lands and public buildings under the guidance of the Catholic Partito Popolare Italiano (PPI); soldiers were lined up ready to attack and landless veterans (ex-peasants), along with thousands of other unemployed, looked on in despair.

No one on the left knew quite what to do. In his infrequent appearances, Gramsci could only emit

compassionate utterings about the grandeur of the workers who were "organizing production" by themselves. Bordiga, in Russia at the time, abstained from action on the entire affair, true to form. The actual leadership of the PSI sat down with union officials in lengthy sessions to formulate an honorable means by which to extricate itself from the messy process in which it had found itself willy-nilly entangled. One thing they all tacitly agreed on was that the revolution would have to wait until some later date.

The so-called "General Staff" meetings that took place from September 4 to 12 were the occasions on which PSI, CGL and FIOM leaders talked themselves and each other out of revolution. Initially the PSI leaders presented a courageous-sounding motion giving them full direction of the revolutionary movement. This frightened the CGL contingent, whose leading members were all the while trafficking with local government and industry representatives. Both party and union forces then regrouped in separate sessions to calm their nerves before reconvening.

Left in private, the CGL decided that any talk of revolution should be dismissed in pursuit of healthy economic demands, and deliberated a net refusal of the PSI's express desire to lead. Instead the CGL would propose to lead the struggle itself, posing workers' control in the factories as the final goal.

When the two camps met again, the PSI made a bit of an about-face, moving that the union forces should accept responsibility for the revolutionary PSI proposal. The CGL declined. Part of the PSI protested strongly and a final motion was drawn up to oppose the CGL workers' bid; it appealed to the National Council of the CGL to entrust the PSI leadership with the task of leading the revolution! The motions were voted on and the union proposal won hands down. The revolution in Italy was thus voted down by the General Staff.[15]

Giolitti followed the development from afar, insisting on keeping an appointment with Millerand for September 12, as a way of demonstrating his apparent calm. He ordered his Undersecretary of the Interior Corradini to gather information on the union's workers' control proposal to see if it would suit the needs of industry. Corradini, through correspondence with arch-traitor Turati, was assured that the plan was perfectly coherent with capitalist co-participation plans for increased productivity.[16] Giolitti therefore moved to convince recalcitrant industrialists to accept the idea and, within a few days of joint talks, brought labor and industry to an agreement: the factories would be evacuated, the workers would get a four-lire raise (Buoizzi had originally asked for seven) and be paid for

work done in the obstructionist phase; in addition, a joint committee of six labor representatives and six industrialists would be formed by decree to study a plan for workers' control.

The workers — tired, demoralized and half-starved for lack of pay for weeks — were willing to accept anything that was offered. Those workers still remaining in the factories at the end of September when absenteeism was running high, voted on the referendum presented them by their leadership in the CGL. The referendum passed by more than a five-to-two margin and the factories emptied one by one.

Within months the fascist squadristi were roaming the streets destroying every working-class organization they could lay hold of.

## II. THE ITALIAN IDEOLOGY

No historian to date has been able to intelligently deal with the failure of the occupation of the factories to turn into revolution: few historians have even recognized it as a failure. The reason for over fifty years of blindness among historians is perfectly coherent with the reasons behind the failure itself. No well-intentioned neurotic could, after all, be reasonably expected to write a conclusive analysis of neurosis.

That neurosis on a social scale, is ideology — a psychologically sick worldview irresistibly propelling its victims to pathetic failure and defeat, a socially "hereditary" self-conception which perpetuates and is perpetuated by the alienated social relations on which it is founded. To reinstate the sanity of the working class and left in Italy, it is necessary to root out and expose the ideology.

### **Magic and the Peasant Worldview**

The peasant conceives of life processes in terms of his own individual activity as contributing to a localized expression of development. Alienated from contact with worldwide productive processes necessitating and making possible his isolated activity, he views the agricultural process of semination, growth and fruition as part of a life cycle he deludes himself is under his personal jurisdiction. So too, his conception of human birth and development is confined to an asocial realm of the family detached, apparently, from wider social relations. This is the essence of the magical worldview, typical historically of societies in the food-gathering and agricultural stages of development, which pervades the modern peasant conception even in the midst of a world-productive process determining its very existence.

The theoretical premises underlying magical conceptions assert that the forces controlling human behavior lie outside the realm of human activity as such. In apparent contradiction to the notion of control over a locally specific area of human activity typical of a peasant chauvinist mentality, the recourse to outside agencies functions as an ideological support for the unpredictability of world forces that the individual, within the limits of his knowledge of his own practice, must necessarily recognize as beyond his powers.

Were the individual to accept total "responsibility" for the consequences of his acts, then the actual world processes his magical worldview is inherently incapable of understanding would perforce be conceived as uncontrollable: such a conception, if consciously embraced, could lead only to despair and ultimately suicide. Thus the control mechanism, which is at the heart of a magical conception of reality, functions to delude the individual, to convince him he is at once in control and not in control. The responsibility for the functioning of the control mechanism is shifted from the real socio-economic processes determining and defining individual activity to the ideologically defined magical conception of the individual human being as possessing, or having means to reach, supernatural powers to determine reality.

When clashes occur between the ideology and the reality, then the blame, the guilt, must be attributed to the quality of the individual actor — or passed on to some third party. At the same time, the very notion of an extra-human force determining things provides the ultimate explanation for the motives behind the inability of the magic spell performed to take effect.

Magical practice is based therefore on the strict observance of ritual norms deemed (socially) capable of controlling processes. Man's task in the magical world is to propitiate those outside forces alienated from him, by way of ritualized behavior.

The magical world... is not only protection, but also a constant threat, an evil unknown. In such a world every new decision and every spontaneous action becomes a challenge to the *fascinazione*, the ever-impending bewitchment... Magic rites hold off evil but do not render it powerless; for it is passed on to others. This offers an explanation for both boundless mistrust... and for the lively and active participation of the community in the sorrows of a victim of an evil bewitchment... Life is thus ahistorical and consists of a repetition of rites which are traditionally and passively accepted as forever valid. There is neither new decision nor new device; everything begins all over again from the same method, perpetual, unchanging.(17)

### **Mother Magic**

What the magical conception corresponds to in social reality is the *mother*. In her socially-physiologically determined role she does embody the process of physical

reproduction without however socially participating in the actual, larger productive processes of social reproduction; alienated thus from the whole, her real physiological reproductive capacity is seen as determined by extra-human forces which have no profound coherence with those real "outside" processes actually determining the possibility for her to fulfill even this physiological reproductive function. Her view of the world is magical, ahistorical, impotent.

It is no coincidence that the nucleus of magical and religious beliefs should revolve around the central idea of fertility and conception, to then branch out into the areas of social (family) relations. In even present-day magical practice in southern Italy a plethora of beliefs exist to answer the metaphysical question "why?" concerning normal and abnormal physiological processes having to do with gestation and birth.

The threat to the child already manifests itself during pregnancy and the fate of the child is closely intertwined with the condition and behavior of the mother during the months before the child is born. For example, the mother must not burn pear wood in the fire or her child will be born with coarse skin. The mother must remember not to fold her hands during church services or her child will choke on the umbilical cord during delivery...if the mother drinks out of the same vessel that is used to draw water from the well, she risks the danger of her child being born with an abnormally large mouth, etc. etc.(18)

The impotence inherent in such nonsense is the individual's inability to consider himself a continuing source of self-developing capacities to change the condition of his actual social existence. No concept of such self-development is possible in an area like the Mediterranean countries, and especially Italy, where there has been no reflection of real development on the material conditions of life for centuries.

### Capitalist Development of Italy

Italy's industrial development has proceeded consistently as a process of primitive accumulation against the south. The nineteenth-century unifications process left the latifundist structure intact in the south, thus rationalizing national accumulation against the agricultural sector as prerequisite to greater industrialization in the north. In the fascist period the rape of the south continued while vast strata of unemployed were channelled into the burgeoning state bureaucracy (military, paramilitary, and other fascist organizations of all types). In the second postwar period, the U.S.-engineered reconstruction of Italy respectfully preserved the traditionally backward southern sector and squeezed the peasant population dry before shipping it off as immigrant labor, packing it into bloated bureaucracies or feeding the lumpen hustler-mafia population.

The much-touted boom of the sixties, representing the last lap in U.S. imperialism's race for productive investment, was predictably short-lived, as the 1963-64 recession made clear. *For the working class, there was no economic miracle.* The standard of living remained miserably low. The binge of speculative building is most eloquently depicted in Genoese and Neopolitan apartment houses which are wont from time to time to literally fall down. Such edifices came nowhere near relieving the pressures of homeless working class and lumpen layers, who continue to smoulder in *tuguri* and *barrache* in the bidonvilles outside every metropolis. The massive expansion of highways throughout the peninsula during the boom was accompanied by decaying, dwindling public transportation.

And yet, the postwar boom as a whole is conceived as the fruits of "hard work" deemed typical of the northern labor force (itself made up largely of southern immigrants) as opposed to the proverbial laziness of the unemployed southerners! Ironically, what prevents the individual from seeing the whole processes determining his special misery is *his own exasperated sense of identification with that particular brand of misery*, — that is, chauvinism.

### Chauvinism

The individual's response to a life of material misery characteristically involves the static, mechanistic world-view typified by the peasant who sees his wretchedness in terms of "the way things are" and resigns himself to a life of bestialized labor and social relations. The only solace offered the "idiocy of rural life" is the apparently consoling, but actually self-destructive illusion of autonomy or self-sufficiency, a crude rationalization for the painful solitude of backwardness and isolation.

Regionalism, provincialism and nationalism are but the extension, in typically mechanistic, brick-building fashion, of the peasant conception of self as a discrete fixed object in relation to the larger entities of town, region or nation. In Italy such historically reinforced regional chauvinism exalts as virtues the particular inhabitants of the same, in juxtaposition to all others; such is the case of the glorification of local dialects (whose continued widespread flourishing actually testifies to backward educational systems and lack of communications), or of, for example, Neopolitan cooking specialities like spaghetti (pasta being the only food Neopolitans can afford to eat).

This too is the rationalization mechanism underlying the mass of commonplaces characterizing individuals according to their place of birth: "The Milanese work hard," "Southerners are lazy," "The Genoese are stingy," etc. are all expressions of the chauvinist ideology

which rationalizes and perpetuates the fundamental irony inherent in the pathology itself — that the objective reality masked by such clichés is *not* fragmented into preferential regional realities, but is simply a part of the whole southern Mediterranean belt subjected to capitalist primitive accumulation as a whole, as a necessary part of the process of capitalist industrial development of the northern European areas. The pathetic chauvinist, clinging to the beauties of his local belltower, is thus no more than a helpless paralytic, showing off his beautiful toenails from the wheelchair.

But more fundamentally, *chauvinism is a magical conception*; adhering to the vicious notion of “ingrained personality traits” as epiphenomenal secretions of the local parish, the neurotic chauvinist is actually affirming the sacred character of his local ambient, just as magic informs isolated, bewitched places and related objects, and Catholicism sanctifies geographical areas (the church altar, the Holy See, etc.).

The chauvinist emotion is associated with the private sphere of the home, dominated by mothers magic and related fears. “Don’t leave the courtyard, or you’ll get hurt!” “Don’t go along the road that leads out of town, or the witches will get you.” “Stay in bed and sleep.” These are all forms of oppression practiced by Italian mothers on their children, forms that clearly emphasize the danger involved in venturing beyond the limits of the magic circle, the home. The peasant, isolated from the world he feels impotent to act upon, resorts to magical formulations to justify his impotence; the Italian woman, oppressed and equally isolated by the impossibility of engaging in productive labor, assembles her ignorance and impotence into an array of codified fears which she socializes to her children in the form of enchanted terror.

Magic begins properly in the home, where mother’s irrational moods appear to be susceptible to control only by the observance of ritual acts — meals, bathing, naps, etc. Magic determines the family’s behavior under circumstances of stress, especially illness, which supplies the mother the cherished opportunity to practice her witchcraft unchallenged. Her incantation and potions, dealt out in her inimitable spirit of sacrifice and anxiety, are but the ritualized forms of her behavior taken by the family members to be decisive factors in the healing process. Continuing maternal oppression of the children is guaranteed by the fact of their real dependency on her in the early years of life. Mother is a witch, but is seen as a good, indispensable witch for a significant number of years.

The overwhelming misery of Italian working class and peasant life accounts in part for the particular brutality that the normal bourgeois hampering of creativity in the young child assumes in this country. The general lack of

social mobility and the prevalence of asocial attitudes associated with the dominant peasant mentality constitute the underlying force of regional chauvinism and petty individualism characteristic of the Italian.

When faced with the reality of misery in a capitalist culture, which predicates its concept of progress on the necessity for deliberate change, the individual seeks the approval of the internalized outside world by assuming the trappings of progress. In a desperate attempt to mask his socially determined inability to significantly improve his standard of living, he makes it his life’s work to “fare bella figura,” or make a good figure, or make a good impression.

This begins early in life. In the child-rearing process, the Italian mother suffocates the potential for humanity in her child by sadistically thrusting on him the image of the beautiful child, the pathetic fragile weakling whose cultivated ill-health provides her with the pretext to pamper, coddle and stuff him full of suppositories. To be loved, the child must suffer, *especially physically*; the closer he comes to dying in infancy, the more he is “loved,” and the more his mother gains social support and recognition in the community. This actually begins earlier: the pregnancy and above all delivery of the child must be as painful for the mother as possible, so as to existentially guarantee that the infant, suffering and causing suffering, is alive.

While, in infancy, the child grows and develops his powers to reach out and grasp at the objects in his universe, soliciting the expression of joy from his parents, this selfsame process of loving on which his development depends is thwarted as soon as such human development impinges on the ideologically defined barriers to good behavior.

In the poorer, rural regions of southern Italy, these barriers are logically reached very early. What the child is humanly capable of developing in himself is no longer important; his sole *raison d’être* comes to be situated in his ability to perform the wide range of circus animal tricks that his particular family audience recognizes as worthy of applause. The child has become an object, a wind-up toy who gains approval by performing and wins sympathy by falling ill, all in substitution for the love that was snatched from his cradle.

The child is, however, a *live* object, a little beast. Mamma’s typical expression of “love” betrays her neurotic involvement with the child as a physical thing, something she can feed and care for when it, happily for her, falls ill or cries out in want. Her child is the badge she wears to prove her own animal productivity and sexuality; she lingers over bathing the child, fondling his genitals and proudly exhibiting the textbook proof of his masculinity to the world. She encourages his identifi-

cation with his bestial sexuality — an identification which is socially reinforced in the infantile and childhood sex play rampant in peasant areas; at the same time she presents herself to him as chaste, asexual, particularly in her relationship to the infrequent visitor, the father.

The father, an impotent male forced to idle unemployed, or work the fields or mark time in some useless, low-paying office job, seizes upon his own bestiality as his only means to portray to his family an image of potency: by drinking, arguing, using violence and keeping another woman or prostitute, he performs the pitiful spectacle of the "virile" man. Mediating this picture of the brute to her child, the mother effectively prevents any development of a relationship between the child and the fearful outside world and simultaneously reinforces her possessive hold over the frightened child. The mother's fears of the outside world seem thus legitimized to the child who views the father, symbol of the outside world, as either passive or active impotence (rage). Key to the child's sense of identity, should he venture into the outside, must necessarily be an irresistible pull towards failure; for it is father's failure as a man which seems to the child to provide a way for father to crawl back into the realm of mother's affection.

For the child, too, failure is a direct route to mother-love; in addition to the terror thrust into the child's heart by mother's warnings of witches just round the corner, there is the insistent cry: "Don't try it, you'll fail" and "Don't ride that bicycle; you don't know how, you'll fall." With such prompting, the child is bound to fail, to then stumble back home to be rewarded for his predicted failure.

It is this convergence of father-impotence and sadistic mother-induced failure which gives rise to the vicious southern inferiority complex — which is but another way of identifying chauvinism.

The child must grow up to be a whining little animal, sickly and incompetent — on pain of death. Mamma's most powerful weapon in the course of the child-rearing process is in fact the threat of death, not only the destruction of the child's identity were mother-love suddenly withdrawn, but real physical death, his and hers combined. She will die, she tells him, but he will live; her sacrifice to raise him can culminate only in the final supreme act of sadism she will inflict on her child, in the existential moment which will lend meaning to her existence of sacrifice and which will definitively clinch the obsessive hold on her child's mind.

Life in the family becomes in effect a preparation for death, a ritual observance to a cult of death and dying. The masochism instilled in the child assumes the proportions of universality. Mamma loves him when he suffers, when he can make of her the Madonna of the

*Pieta!* And he realizes himself fully only when *her* death flings him into the special agony of guilt, suffering and practiced reverence. His fullest moment of realization comes when he can take on his mother's mourning and make the "bella figura" in funereal black.

### "Mammismo" and the "Cazzista"

The morbid cult of mother-love known as *mammismo* generates the neurotic relationship to women that the Italian male develops in adult life. Italian women grow up with the internalized mother-image as self-image. They replicate the image in relationships with men.

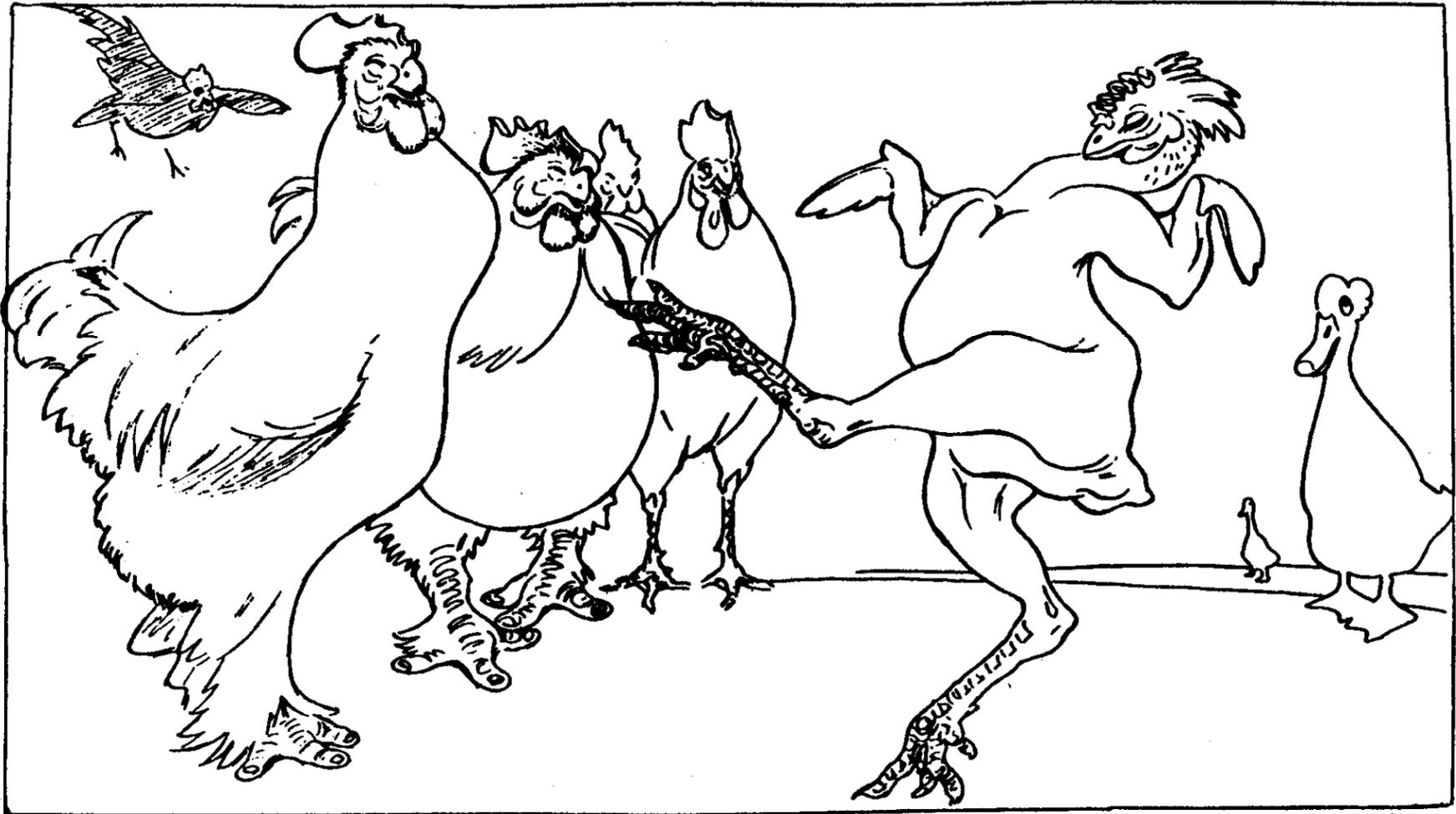
The real dependence of the young child on the mother motivates the love-hate attitude the child develops toward his mother; the guilt feelings engendered in him by her histrionic martyrdom of self-sacrifice and suffering further bind him to the woman who sadistically chopped off his embryonic creativity. He is thus led to project onto social relations the schizophrenic love-hate attitude bound up in the internalized mother-image. Characteristically, this neurotic dichotomy manifests itself in the Madonna-whore woman image, incarnate in the madonna-wife and in the whore-mistress or prostitute.

The self-degradation and masochism of this neurotic conception (discussed and developed fully in L. Marcus's "The Sexual Impotence of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party," *Campaigner*, Vol. 7, No. 1, November, 1973) is intimately bound up with the fantasy dominating sexual activity; and the central myth of the fantasy is that of sexual potency, aimed at creating a mask of virility for the impotent man.

Thus he forces himself to have sex four or five times in one night with his whore-mistress, desperately striving to match and satisfy the sadism of the internalized mother-image, and succeeding in performing over and over, to the roll of the drums, the most breath-taking circus trick of them all. Locating his identity *a la* Moravia in his penis, he stands erect again and again to be consumed, destroyed, battered and weakened by his mother, the whore. A desperate attempt to prove that she didn't castrate him after all. "See? It's still there, it functions, doesn't it?" he cries.

This is the Latin Lover, the pathetic *cazzista* (a term derived from "cazzo," penis, used as an expletive, roughly equivalent to the American slang of "man").

Strutting and posing and fondling his genitals, he strives to simulate virility so as to mask his fundamentally homosexual conception of humanity. The madonna-whore view of women and the *cazzista* view of men are but the predicates of the homosexual conception pervading Italian culture; the blatant homosexual manifests his inability to conceive of the total human



being in a woman in practice and seeks identity in the masochistic affirmation of his solitude, which negates the possibility of a joyous affirmation—through the special concrete universal of a heterosexual relationship—with humanity in general.

The *cazzista* expresses his homosexual impotence indirectly, mediating the same conception of himself to other men through the figure of the prostitute, and through socializing his fantasy life to them. He too plays out his infantile love-hate for his mother, not by coyly depriving her of sexual sadism or by assuming her role in sexual relationships, but by practicing to be the star performer of her sadistic ritual.

The clearest social example of such indirect homosexual relationship may be seen in the case of Italian men in pairs of two going out whoring to share the same woman; still more revealing is the case of the pair who, after negotiating for the prostitute, discover she is a transvestite. The predominance of phrases including *cazzo* and its derivatives in the everyday speech patterns of the *cazzista* itself attests to the overwhelming readiness of the impotent male to identify with his penis in overt recognition of his bestial self-conception.

Nonsense or drivel is called *cazzata*; when a *cazzista* gets angry he says he is *incazzato* and may belligerently demand, *Che cazzo vuoi?* (*What the hell do you want?* or, literally, *What penis do you want?*) He celebrates his bestiality in sexual matters by claiming he *gode come una bestia* [*has an orgasm like a beast*] and uses the adjective *bestiale* to express wonder, admiration, bewilderment.

Similarly, other expletives like *Porca Madonna* (“pig madonna”) and *Mamma Mia* betray the entire culture’s preoccupation with mother-defined madonna-whore patterns.

### The Revolutionary Cazzista

Actual love does not exist in the Italian bedroom, nor does it exist in Italian labor history. What replaces it is masochistic performing, impotent anarchosyndicalist group masturbation.

It has been the historic tendency of the Italian labor movement, made up initially of backward, magic-dominated peasants, to fight both hegemonic bourgeois institutions and those institutions hegemonic on the left from the point of view of the *cazzista*, thus assuring its own pathetic defeat.

The *cazzista* struggles masochistically to gain credibility for his mask of virility (predicated on his identity as a beast,) to prove, above all to his internalized mother-image, that he is the physically palpable, sexually potent animal-man that she has brought him up to be.

Unable to approach her on precisely that plane, which would immediately shatter the delicate equilibrium between madonna and whore that she embodies in her continuing flesh-and-blood sanctity — which would indeed, in case of incest, lead inevitably to official recognition of the destruction of identity, that is, to murder and suicide — the *cazzista* projects his internalized mother-image onto “love” relations outside the family sphere. His would-be liberation from the

suffocating grasp of the mother is nothing but a grotesque playing out of the neurotic fantasies spun by the insatiable mother-image inside his head. Real liberation is impossible because the *cazzista*, to preserve his neurotic identity, must hysterically avoid facing the emotional issue of his mother-relation as fundamental reality. Without an alternative self-conception based on real, potent — that is, revolutionary — activity, the *cazzista's* ego is helpless to free itself, doomed to respect and religiously perpetuate the madonna-whore conception.

His overriding fear is that if he touches the madonna, she will turn into a stinking whore. That is the fear expressed in common dream-images and phobias: the giant black spider-figure hovering over the bed, the forceful woman's embrace that ends up suffocating him, the mother's eyes, enlarged, reddened and devouring, etc. Loving mother, staying with the internalized mother-image, propitiating her, are the ways the *cazzista* neurotically tries to ward off the death-threat that mother represents in his deepest fears.

The *cazzista's* only act of rebellion against being suffocated by Mama is that of the frustrated child. To show off his destructive potential and challenge her to reject his awesome bestiality, he throws a tantrum, or later masturbates, and still later goes out whoring. All to enact the fantasy of liberation while actually forcing his mother to abandon him and then to re-accept him, guilt-ridden, into her suffocating embrace.

The Italian labor movement's anarchosyndicalist tantrums 1920 and 1968-69 can be fully understood only in terms of this militant masturbation. The dominant left-wing institution threatened to suffocate the very process of mass-strike ferment.

Seeking as obsessively as a neurotic individual to evade the issues of hegemony and effective classwide alliances, the extreme left went out after the most backward working-class layers to raise holy hell. To express their infantile rage at the awesome, terrible mother institutions which they dared not supersede, they went out on the town whoring. Look at Lotta Continua, Avanguardia Operaia, Potere Operaio and other grouplets which were initially catapulted out of the mass strike process of the sixties. They courted the most enraged, backward workers, and led them into an orgy of flag-waving and self-righteous *cazzista* snarling. Catering to every latent chauvinist sentiment, the *cazzista*-grouplets flattered the workers with compliments to the "Fiat working class," the "Zanussi working class" etc., [21] Each grouplet picked out its own "autonomous" area for play, giving rise to impotent clusters whose main function was to annoy and scandalize the Communist Party.

To "challenge" the PCI's national hegemony, they abandoned a national frame of reference and settled their gaze on the factory, the single shop, the department, the squad of a few workers. Unable to counter the PCI's class treachery with program, they fought the "authoritarianism" of the hegemonic party, preaching shop democracy, equal distribution of wealth, or, as Potere Operaio summed it up, "All the money and no work." Fundamentally, all this served simply to propitiate the mother PCI who sat in all her majesty to wait patiently, dutifully frowning and fidgeting at such antics, until the wild masturbatory fury sputtered and waned, petering out into a long demoralizing ebb.

The *cazzista*, the morning after, has a neurotic compulsion to make up for his foolish caper though he is not willing to mask the sense of pride his one-night stand has manufactured for his image. Like a drunk the next day he looks back on his escapade with wonder: "I wasn't myself" — but clings to the tales his more lucid drinking pals can relate to assure him of his acts of prowess, his fantasy. In this state of giddiness and confusion, he struts home to mother, proudly confesses his sins and snuggles up for consolation beneath her fetid petticoats.

*This is nothing but the Popular Front.*

The Madonna reinstated, veiled in sacrifice and courage, guarantees in the common anti-fascist struggle the continued existence of the historic dilemma and thus the continued possibility for existence of the whining schizophrenic *cazzista*, her son. The Popular Front provides the scenario within which the *cazzista*-left can ritually await death; the struggle against fascism, staged in the 70's with street demonstrations and songs, is the active celebration of death in the form of magical incantation designed to ritualize the final hour.

Life for the Italian left is thus an apparently endless traipsing from bordelle bed-chamber to the chapel, a compulsive to and fro recalling Goldoni's servant of two masters, an infernal merry-go-round from guilt-ridden bestiality to masochistic adoration and awe: from anarchosyndicalism to the Pop Front. The left drifts from room to airless room in anxiety-ridden compulsion, hoping and fearing that mother one day may die. But if she were dead, no longer simply death-in-life, how would the left celebrate the liberated day? With a mourning button in its lapel and tears of desperate solitude, it would wail over its perished heroes.

"Death will come and she will have your eyes," wrote the suicidal Pavese, showing rare insight into the depths to which the mother-image plunges the mind of her victim. Not even death, for the *cazzista*, can dispel the image of Mamma. For Mamma is magic, and when dead, she is as powerful as when alive. To preserve and

perpetuate the self-identity of a pathetic *cazzista*, the individual worker and militant must locate this identity in an apt symbol of defeat and suffering, crowned by death. Thus the tragedy of 1920, the sellout of the Resistance, the aborted mass-strike process of the late 1960's are all taken as signposts along the *via crucis* of the Italian workers' martyred journey to self-destruction. Defeat after glorious defeat, they plod on, paying homage to the canonized saints of internationalism — Che, Allende, et al. — with steadfast faith in their own boundless capacity for pain. Each left grouplet, where possible, has its own martyr and otherwise shares certain extreme cases of martyrdom with the PCI, as in the case of Gramsci. Death, the ultimate mortification, is the existential proof of life; mother-love depends on death.

### III. WHERE THE WORKERS ARE

The ritual occupation sparked by the FIOM order at the end of August 1920 followed essentially the same course throughout Italy, though opportune variations characterized particular "regional" peculiarities. On union orders, the Internal Commissions notified local bosses, who quickly left the factories, taking white collar workers and women with them. The workers then locked themselves up inside the engine room of industry and proceeded to perform the anarchosyndicalist masturbatory dance.

Red flags were immediately hoisted onto poles outside the factory gates as well as on the rooftops. The Muggiano shipyards in La Spezia, occupied by more than 2,500 workers, sported red flags with *Soviety Shipyard* written on them, rippling in the wind; the stage for the revolution had been set.

Serious questions, as the workers at the Turin Ansaldo plant soon realized, had to be decided. Should they work or not? How could they defend themselves? What would they eat? Defense became the job of some workers dressed up for the occasion as Red Guards, who stood at the entrances, guarding the factories and regulating the comings and goings of workers and raw materials. Thanks to the active solidarity of railroad workers, the inflow of raw materials was guaranteed. Although workers had threatened to take over the means of transportation, this was not done.[24] As Alberto Fabri, a worker active in the occupation, explains, "Their [the railroad workers'] attitude was coherent, because they decided not to implicate state companies, which are already an example of collective management (*gestione collettiva*) in the metalworkers' agitation." [25] So railroad workers, believing that they already lived in a socialist paradise, carted in raw materials and on leaving

searched first by the Red Guards, then by the *Carabinieri* standing at a distance.

The question of whether to work or not was decided by the Internal Commissions or Factory Councils in short order. At the Turin Fiat Centro plant, the Council issued this order on Sept. 1: "The Internal Commission of workers, in agreement with the Internal Commission of technicians, invites all workers to stay at their work places continuing their jobs as in the past with reciprocal respect. Workers! Show that even without the bosses' direction, you know how to perform your duties in the accurate functioning of the shop. Your Internal Commission will look out for your interests and will call on you at the right moment." [26].

Thus production continued and 37 shiny Fiats rolled off the lines daily (as opposed to 27 in the obstructionist period and 67-8 in normal times). [27] And the workers saw it as a smart move for one specific, scarcely revolutionary reason: "This decision," recalls a worker at the Aeronautica Ansaldo, "besides showing our self-governing [*autogestione*] ability, turned out to be wise, because once the occupation was over, we were able to make them pay us for the work we did." [28]

Total responsibility for "organizing production" in the factories fell to the Internal Commissions or Councils. Only in Turin was this managerial function fulfilled by a real Factory Council, as that was the only city in which the councils had been formed extensively; elsewhere, the work done in the factories was run by factory committees made up of the old Internal Commission members or newer members elected on a department basis, or elected from the FIOM [29], with the result that the Central Labor Councils continued to coordinate in lieu of a centralized agency. No soviets ever appeared.

In Turin Fiat plants the Factory Council ordered workers to work in 12-hour shifts, eight hours of work and four of rest [30]; in earlier stages of the development, workers in a Sestri Ponente metallurgical plant had reorganized shifts to prevent lockouts by making sure that there would always be workers entering before others left. Without the capitalists, a 24-hour day of full plant utilization! [31] In every center the situation was similar, with workers toiling away in a nationwide local-control effort, hoping and praying that after the party was over, they would be rewarded for their responsible productivity.

But it was Turin and especially Fiat that captured the imagination of the workers everywhere as the symbol somehow of the Italian revolution. One Bolognese worker recalls, "They told us that in Turin the workers were producing more by themselves than with the bosses. And we thought we had already made soviets, Bologna soviets." [32] Carla Gobetti at the Turin Gobetti

Institute insists, "Turin was the center of the revolutionary vanguard." [33] And it was in Turin that workers put up the greatest show of militancy.

When in the first weeks of the occupation workers uncovered secret documents in the factory proving the existence of an internal Fiat espionage and blacklist system, the war cry went up in a fiery telegram sent to the Milan agitation committee: "Workers' Fiat Centro intend only *negotiate* on condition that exploiting dominating class be abolished, otherwise immediate war until total victory." [34] (emphasis added)

Capturing the essence of the *cazzista* mentality behind the occupaton, the telegram promises that workers will bargain for pay raises, on condition tht the revolutionary rhetoric and mask be religiously respected — both by capitalists and by union and party bureaucrats.

That the workers had no serious intention of taking over the economy and running it was evident not only in the decision to work in order to get paid after the occupation, but also in the way the food problem was handled.

After occupying the food storerooms of the factories themselves and setting women employees to the task of cooking, they looked to the local shopkeepers and citizens for help. In Piombino, Tuscany, the occupying steelworkers joined ranks with the local mayor to raise funds from the townspeople; after joint deliberation the shopkeepers decided to open credit to workers who would use coupons provided them by the Agitation Committee to purchase goods. Payment on such forms of credit was "guaranteed by the 19 days of production which were to be paid." [35] In Turin, the militant FIOM took out a loan for 25 million lire from the local capitalist bank, the Istituto di Credito, to finance cooperatives, and arranged for a loan from the Alleanza Cooperativa Torinese in coupon form to provide workers and their families with compensation for the duration of the occupation.

Clearly, the workers, their organizations and the local shopkeepers all took it for granted that the occupation would end with the timely return of the generous industrialists, and that the work done in the occupied factories would be rewarded by the industrialists in the form of the good old pay envelope!

In the meantime, the councils and commissions set up kitchens and cafeterias to fill the mouths of hungry, exhausted workers. The sale of goods produced was firmly discouraged by the FIOM with the explanation that "Production belongs to the collectivity and as such must be administered by the superior organs representing the interests of everyone," [36] although a considerable amount of material was in effect sold on the

sly by workers who saw nothing in their future but more payless workdays.

By organizing work shifts, cafeterias, defense and exchange, the councils and commissions believed they were "organizing production," and the majority of militant workers swelled with pride and enthusiasm. Having booted out the oppressive bosses, they were doggedly determined to show the grown-ups just how good, efficient and responsible they could be.

The occupation was a rebellion, a collective hell-raising session, at the expense of the capitalists to be sure; but the rebellious, fearful militants were preoccupied with declaring their independence in the form most acceptable to their stern, austere capitalist guardians. A man must indeed break away from old ties to test his virility, but in the midst of the hell-raising he must after all give evidence of his ability to perform well.

Thus the anarchosindicalist dance followed precise patterns and steps. In the factory, "in every corner there are inscriptions reflecting strictly socialist principles: *He who doesn't work, doesn't eat; honesty and labor, that's our aim; let's break our chains and nooses; we don't want wealth in gold but in freedom.* The factory commissars recommend economy of materials and saving electricity." [37] And, in the evening, one should "sleep not outside but in the places indicated by the factory committee, observe personal hygiene, and dedicate one's time to reading instead of spending most of the time in fruitless amusements." [38] The central idea of the workers, as one of them stated was this: "to give proof of their technical maturity, demonstrating the fact that they know how to organize and run the biggest and most modern plants in all their various kinds of production ... to prove that the workers by now know how to get along by themselves." [39]

One technician, one of the very few who ignored industrialists' pleas and bribes to stay out of the agitation and who participated actively in the factory council's direction of the occupation, had this to say:

Production was normal, because I as a leader saw to it that we cut a good figure (*fare bella figura*). I registered production figures daily to show that even without the bosses everything was normal and to make a good impression (*fare bella figura*) from the organizational point of view too: if the workers stopped work for an hour because there was a conference, the registers showed a work stoppage for this motive; if there was a machine that kept breaking down, the registers showed that the machine lost so many hours of production because of breakdown...not because the workers weren't working...I made it my business to go and see what was going on in other departments even though I wasn't directly involved in those areas, but did so to coordinate the work. During the occupation, some police came to see what was going on. We were at the entrance, we

received them with respect and said, "There's no need for police here, because the workers here are fighting the bosses for union reasons, for wage reasons." (40)

*Fare bella figura* was the major preoccupation: make a good show, come on strong. Happily, for the workers, this did not exclude having a good old time of it.

On the first Sunday, dubbed "Red Sunday," festivities were in the making, with visits from various socialist luminaries, songs, etc., although work did not stop for the day. [41] At the Fiat Centro plant the Factory Council communicated this to the workers: "Sunday, no holiday, no sprees; let the workers show they know how to prove their seriousness," and at the Fiat Brevetti plant a similar communique was published: "Show that you know how to disdain fatigue, discomfort, danger for the emancipation of humanity from capitalist cliques." [42] Sunday a workday therefore, but with special attractions. The leaders of the revolution were to come to speak to the workers in flesh and blood, to commemorate the holy event with words of wisdom and encouragement. Even Gramsci celebrated the day. In his "Red Sunday" address, [42], he had this to say to the workers:

A new fact was created immediately by the new method of struggle: when the workers fought for economic improvements by striking, their task in the struggle was limited to having confidence in their faraway leaders, limited to developing the virtue of solidarity and resistance on the basis of this generic confidence.

But if the workers in struggle occupy the factories and want to continue production, the moral position of the mass immediately assumes new value and character: the union leaders no longer lead, they disappear in the immensity of the picture, the mass must solve by itself with its own means and its own men the problems of the factory... Today with the worker occupation the despotic power (of the capitalists) is broken; the rights of suffrage for the choice of industrial leaders has passed into the hands of the working class.

Every factory is an illegal state which lives from day to day, awaiting the development of events. But if considerable uncertainty still reigns over the future of these proletarian republics, since the enemy forces are not showing themselves and are not making known their intentions, the very fact that these republics "live" has an inestimable historical weight and importance.

Life has a logic and an intimate energy of its own that goes beyond the arbitration and caprices of the individual. Since these proletarian republics exist, they see problems arise that are characteristic of an autonomous, independent power exercising its sovereignty over a certain territory. Here what is being tested is the political capacity, the revolutionary capacity for initiative and creation of the working class. The first problem, the basic problem that necessarily presents itself to the citizens of the factory-state is that of military defense... This problem of military initiative is linked to another: will the multiplicity of the proletarian republics constituted by factories and guarded by workers be

necessarily carried, by the intimate dialectic of the historical development, to confederate, to organize unitarily to counterpose its own power to the central power of the bourgeois state? The problem of the constitution of the urban soviet poses itself concretely today for the working class.

If this is born, it must have at its disposal an armed force... These problems must be discussed today by the workers in the factories, in general assemblies, organs of power and sovereignty of the proletarian republics of the factories. Propaganda work and work for the preparation of the nomination of worker deputies must be done in such a way that, at a certain moment, when the development of events has carried history to the favorable moment for new and original facts to break out, from every factory or group of factories the articulation of proletarian power will arise for the struggle for emancipation... Today, Red Sunday, for the metalworkers, the first historical cell of the proletarian revolution must be built by the workers themselves and must spring from the general situation, with the irresistible force of natural phenomena. (emphasis added)

The workers applauded Gramsci and celebrated the existence of these "proletarian republics" with flag-waving, music, and dances. But the irresistible force of natural phenomena went in quite another direction. The workers, by themselves in the factories, could do nothing except produce for the capitalist bosses. And in so doing they could only fall irresistibly, lawfully, into the depths of demoralization.

Signs of worker demoralization were evident in some areas rather early in the occupation. On Sept. 3 *Avanti*, the PSI daily, published a notice stating that workers who did not report for duty would be fired after the first day's absence [43] At the Fiat Centro and Ansaldo plants, the same punishment was dealt out after two days' absence. [44] Absenteeism became such a serious problem that CGL leader D'Aragona later admitted that the union had to move groups of workers from one factory to another to make up for those who had deserted the cause; this was done, he said, "to have a small nucleus that gave the impression that inside there were still workers running things." [45]

Absenteeism was not, however, the only sign of a rapidly deteriorating situation. Already in the first week of the occupation it became necessary for the councils to conduct searches of workers whenever they left the plants to reduce theft of materials and tools, and in Milan a prison was quickly set up for house offenders. [46]

As the occupation wore on and the initial ferment, deprived of any possible outlet for expansion, lawfully developed into a spiralling ebb, isolated acts of violence became more frequent. The workers, tired, hungry and demoralized, began to clamor for more adequate means of subsistence, and the unions had to think fast to keep the situation under control.

On September 13 the FIOM found it necessary to issue appeals for discipline and calm [47] and the Turin Central Labor Council repeated orders to workers not to take single items out of the factories for sale or otherwise.

Party leaders were upset about the workers' demands; at the 1921 PSI congress A. Baratono let slip this revealing comment: "Some of them, not well educated, perhaps too utilitarianistic, were already asking above all to be supplied with the means to live from day to day if they were to stay in the factories." [48]

Without anywhere else to go, the worker could only direct their attention to the immediate day-to-day problems of survival and say to hell with the rest. The only events that broke the boredom and demoralization were occasional attacks from the police or other hostile forces: "In a second, at the sound of the sirens, whose whining filled the night with anguish, the machines stopped working. From all departments, all corners of the enormous room, the workers in their overalls, faces dirtied with oil and dust, ran in tens and hundreds, some armed with revolvers, hand grenades, rifles, others with only enormous iron lances that they had forged and sharpened themselves; all of them ready to defend *their* factory even at the cost of their own lives, if necessary." [49] (emphasis added)

At such moments, the workers rallied, excited by fantasies of their own bravery. But even that wore out in time. The Red Guards put down their rifles and red flags, refusing to fulfill guard duties except under threat of expulsion from the party, and succeeded in working up a little enthusiasm only when called upon to form rescue squads for victims of an earthquake in the Spezia area. [50]

Once in a while the fascists even dared come to the factory gates and were dealt with in the following fashion:

We have a magnificent example of this: three gentlemen were walking around outside the factory at about 9 p.m. The Red Guards go up to them: "What are you doing here?" they ask. "Well, we just came to see how the work was going." "Oh, you want to see how the work is going? Come inside then!" The three resisted a bit, were brought in, searched; they were found with revolvers and membership cards for the Fasci di Combattimento. "Now, since you want to see how the work is going, the best thing for you to do is go work with the workers." Three pairs of overalls were put on them and they were sent to the furnaces. There they hollered that the iron burned; the workers replied: "For us they burn all our lives, for you they're burning only one night, so keep working." On the front of the furnace there was written: "Work makes you noble." (51)

When news of the union-party deliberation to end the

occupation reached the workers' assemblies and workers were asked to vote a referendum, there could be no doubt about the results. Regardless of cries of treachery emanating from supermilitant anarchist and some Ordine Nuovo quarters, the overwhelming majority of workers were ready to throw in the towel and leave the revolution for another day.

As one participant said, "Look, boys, we've gotta do this referendum. If the vote is yes, then we leave the shop. If the vote is no, they'll kick us out anyway." [52]

With the taste of defeat in their mouths, the workers tried to ward off the squalid hangover by having one last jolt. The important thing was to accept defeat with "honor," to put on a good show. And the workers did.

In many factories the last day of the occupation was commemorated by a final banquet with all the fixings! [53]

At the Fiat Centro plant on Sept. 30 the workers gathered around to await the arrival of the returning industrialists.

About 11:30 a long angry whistle, booing, like an alarm, a cry of pain, announced the arrival of the scabs and their goons coming to take their places. They arrive. A powerful cry welcomes them, a cry that was an enormous protest, a great promise: Long live the Soviets! The industrialists, livid, passed through the rows of red guards... (54)

In Novara, the red flag is raised where the clock was, and stays there for about 10 days, since this was the condition on which the workers had said they would allow the return of the industrialists, who were thus forced to admit that in the three days of occupation production continued normally. (55)

Thus the good workers got to have their red flag waving, got to hiss at the nasty capitalists, deluding themselves that the entire month-long orgy of work, morality, sacrifices and flag-waving had been more than a *cazzista's* one-night stand.

All that remained to do was to fight to no avail for the back pay the industrialists had withheld during the occupations. [56] And the revolution? The formation of soviets? "No," says Bruno Bellini, a Florentine worker, member of the FIOM agitation committee, "actually, I guess we never exactly understood what soviets were anyway." [57]

### Beyond the Factory Gates

Throughout 1920 other working-class strata outside the factories were in a state of ferment, but the swinish factory councils and commissions took no notice, effectively considering peasants, ex-soldiers,

unemployed all “persons extraneous to production in the factory.”[58]

Peasants throughout the country, but especially in the south, were organizing to occupy the land and drive out the hated landowners to show, like their industrial proletarian brothers, that they could “get along by themselves.”

These thousands of peasants, joined by thousands of returning war veterans, were consistently held back from linking their struggle with that of the factory workers by the agricultural union, *Federterra*, led by Mazzoni. Consequently, the only other organization recruiting farm workers, the class-collaborationist Catholic PPI, led by Miglioli, won effective hegemony in the struggle, only to channel the struggle into fascist alliances in the months and years to come.[59]

It was not only returning veterans whose real interests were bound up in the industrial workers’ struggle — had that struggle been broadened around a programmatic approach to expand production and create new jobs for the unemployed. The active military was in a state of internal rebellion and could easily have been won over to a revolutionary struggle.

In Ancona, a southern city, a regiment of *bersaglieri* mutinied to protest the order to depart for Albania; before giving rise to the armed revolt in July, two *bersaglieri* contacted the Central Labor Council to notify the union organization of their plans, but were totally ignored.

Thus the revolt remained little more than a bloody armed riot, involving workers but leading only to brutal suppression and about a hundred dead.[60]

In Viareggio the ferment in the factories throughout the spring of 1920 climaxed in a popular revolt when police shot down a citizen in cold blood at the end of a soccer game. The event functioned as a pretext for an insurrection which deposed the communal government, replacing it by a “citizens’ committee.”

Although a meeting of unionists, maximalists from the PSI and other leftist representatives deliberated to extend the ferment, which had gained the solidarity of soldiers in the area, the Central Labor Council buckled under the onset of repression and “ordered the citizenry to desist from the battle.”[61]

Similar situations developed in other areas, where

workers in the fields of transport, communications, etc. along with student layers, shopworkers et al. responded to the radicalization by pledging their solidarity to the industrial workers occupying factories. Anxious to take part in what they thought was the revolution, they gathered in public meetings and awaited union or PSI orders which never came.

In some areas where the fascist bands were already well organized and active, the situation was not one of patient waiting but desperation. One of the major protagonists of the occupations, a Fiat worker and close friend of Gramsci’s, Battista Santhia, recalls that on Sept. 15 he received news of fascist attacks in Emilia, Tuscany and Piedmont. [62] In early September the entire region of Venezia Giulia in northeastern Italy was the theatre of violent clashes between striking workers — Italian, Slovene and Croatian — and fascist and government troops.

The PSI, “whose ranks were made up of all the nationalities ... did not dare occupy the factories because of the strict war regime that had been imposed by military ordinances for two years.”[63] Instead, when news of a new fascist massacre in Trieste reached the ears of PSI and union leaders deliberating in Milan on Sept. 9, they contented themselves with sending a telegram of solidarity! [64]

Virtually every sector of the working-class population was clamoring for revolutionary leadership, albeit without recognizing the meaning of revolution; what the workers got was stinking Catholic humility, bred by simple fear.



## THE GREAT FEAR

Italian men love to pass their time in coffee bars, arguing politics, discussing soccer and cars and women. When a woman enters such a bar for a coffee, she becomes the object of discussion, as each *cazzista* strives to outdo the other and win their approval by most adeptly formulating his line of approach to the woman.

Preferring a wide range of acts of bravado and alluding to his sexual prowess while striking Latin Lover poses, the *cazzista* coyly induces up to the cold-staring woman to make a half-joking play for her. After a suitable amount of banter and petty disagreement with the others who pretend to dissuade him, he swells up with masculine pride, raises one eyebrow and asks, "How about a spin around the town in my Fiat?" The woman, maintaining her equilibrium and perhaps letting slip one glance of bemused disgust, exits, leaving her would-be courtiers to follow up on the game with knowing comments, reappraisals and laughter. Boys will be boys.

But if the script of the tiresome comedy were changed ... If the woman, turning from her coffee cup, were to raise her glance, smile and utter a warm "yes!" ? ? ?

This was essentially the psychological situation facing the entire Italian left in September 1920. After having wooed the workers and teased the capitalists with tough cries of "dictatorship of the proletariat," "occupy the factories" and "revolution," the left found that both workers and capitalists had called the bluff. Caught, so to speak, with their pants down, the leaders of the PSI, CGL and party factions had to think fast.

The meetings of the revolutionary "General Staff" in Milan cannot be adequately *summarized*, for what happened in actual fact would seem hopelessly bizarre or simply untrue. To really understand how the Italian revolution was flushed down the drain, it is necessary to review, though necessarily in edited, shortened version, the documented minutes of those meetings; to see how the *cazzista* lurking under the revolutionary facade of every Italian worker and leftist, when yanked out of the barroom and thrust into the flow of revolutionary ferment, will compulsively follow the dictates of his infantile neurosis.

What follows, then, is the true account of the meetings, annotated to supply necessary information concerning the dramatis personae, the parts edited out, and appropriate stage directions. Such commentary is enclosed in brackets.

### Minutes of the Sept. 4, 1920 Session

[At the first meeting the CGL leadership poses the problem of revolution. Members of the PSI leadership

and representatives of the leading Central Labor Councils are present with speaking rights. Bruno Buoizzi, FIOM leader and member of the CGL leadership, opens with a rundown of events leading up to the occupation, then tosses the central historical issue on the table.]

*Buoizzi: Now if the workers don't get paid, this is going to turn into a touchy situation, and the only way out would be revolution.*

[This embarrassing truth is the subject of the talks. For a week everyone present will try to change the subject. Buoizzi sets up one of the major loopholes by appealing to the union-party agreement regulating responsibility over economic and political struggles respectively.]

*Buoizzi: Our intention is to keep the movement within the first line mentioned and not allow it to go beyond that. The movement is of an economic nature and we metalworkers are too involved in it to be able to give an opinion or make criticisms. We ask for your solidarity because as things stand today we still feel we are moving alone. If it is necessary to move out of the economic field then the confederation and party leadership must say so.*

[The leading argument in the first day of the talks will revolve around the sticky question: is this struggle economic or is it political? If economic, the union maintains leadership and continues the battle for wage increases; if the General Staff deems it political, then the PSI will have to translate its revolutionary rhetoric into action. Enter Chignoli, union representative from the Turin Central Labor Council. Chignoli elaborates on Buoizzi's evaluation of the workers' subjective state.]

*Chignoli: The metalworkers will not leave the factories with just a pay raise, it will be necessary to win recognition of [workers'] control. It would be extremely unlikely for the Turin workers to abandon the factories without winning some conquests of a moral nature.*

[For Chignoli this means extending the struggle. He presents a motion, signed Chignoli-Tasca and already voted by the Turin Central Labor Council.]

*Chignoli [reads the motion]: The representatives of the 120,000 organized in the Turin Central Labor Council... to supply raw materials or necessary energy... affirm that... with the metalworkers' struggle a new era in the class struggle is opened*

*and will close with the workers governing all production.*

[Other interventions contribute to the now heated question of "economic" versus "political."]

Buozzi [quaking]: *We'll lead the struggle on a union terrain until you, leaders, you, confederation, tell us that the two organizations will enter into play.*

[The atmosphere is turbulent. Representatives of larger forces must come into play. The Honorable Quaglino of the CGL leadership, seeing the danger of boyish enthusiasm erupting into hazardous action, as indicated in the Chignoli-Tasca motion, decides to play on the fear he knows is convulsing the assembly.]

Quaglino: *Is this the hour of revolution? Say so, then. There is, by the way, a question of competence involved here; will the FIOM be willing to delegate the solution of the controversy to superior organisms? . . . We're a bit disoriented here, the Central Labor Councils are invading the powers of others. . . . [I] think it would be opportune to keep the dispute in the economic field.*

Baldesi [also of the CGL leadership; he seconds Quaglino with apt elaboration on the theme of raw materials]: *If in Turin they need oxygen, in Terni they need coal. Would the English miners give it to us?*

[After opportunely passing the buck to his faraway English comrades, Baldesi goes further, touching on terror.]

Baldesi: *Whoever has the political responsibility must say whether the struggle should stay on economic terrain or go beyond it, whether the struggle must be extended or contained, taking into consideration that an extension might lead to civil war.*

[Gennari, maximalist secretary of the PSI leadership, suggests that the Turin motion be accepted, because it would back the metalworkers, supply raw materials and perhaps settle the pay question and more.]

Gennari: *Extend demands to win factory committees, workers' control. Demands that could be advanced today without necessarily having the goal of a revolution.*

[The revolution for Gennari is a touchy question, since he isn't sure just how the *other* class organizations feel about it!]

Gennari: *When we have the feeling that the other categories are willing to support the movement, we can take a risk but not play our last card. . . . If the occasion presents itself tomorrow, we should not have any hesitation. Make dangerous, catastrophic decisions today — that we must not do.*

[D'Aragona, secretary of the CGL, feels called upon to speak, though, as he immediately states, with modesty, he is "not speaking as confederation secretary"! In such a serious situation, where D'Aragona finds it impossible to distinguish between "economic" and "political," one consideration is fundamental, he feels.]

D'Aragona: *[I] don't believe that winning wage concessions would satisfy the proletariat; the masses don't think that way. Now the dilemma consists in this: how do we get out of it? [I] am convinced that if we ordered general takeover of the factories, everyone would act accordingly. But to make them function, we would have to take over the banks too, and that's a bit difficult. The government would certainly intervene to prevent that. And that would be a really serious situation and I ask who will assume this responsibility. The revolution in Italy is spiritually prepared, the bourgeoisie is half convinced of it. The soldier will go with the strongest. But the dilemma revolves around raw materials — within 15 days there will be no more coal and production will therefore cease. Can we hope that the English proletariat will give us the absolute minimum necessary to continue production?*

[The English miners, the capitalist bankers, the government — anyone is a good scapegoat. The deed is done and the "leaders" are scared out of their wits, concerned solely with containing the ferment and saving face at all costs. Certain as D'Aragona is that the matter cannot be solved on an economic basis "save a miracle," he proceeds to humiliate the workers.]

D'Aragona: *Will the metalworkers want to give up a pay raise for the sake of political and sentimental gains? Do we want to make the revolution when we're having difficulty as it is with just the simple occupation of the factories?*

Chignoli [voicing militant opposition, objects]: *If Russia had been troubled by the worries he [D'Aragona] expressed, that marvellous experiment would never have taken place.*

Terracini [member of the PSI leadership and founding member of the Ordine Nuovo faction, asks D'Aragona a question]: *What do you think of the possible revolution in Italy and its future?*

D'Aragona [at the end of his rope, finally admitting that the solution must be political, offers this feeble suggestion]: *...the state should supply raw materials; it would be a victory. If you don't think the revolution is possible, there's a way out for you. Now to undertake a similar action we would need men who have faith in the revolution even under the conditions the country finds itself in. I don't feel up to assuming responsibilities that would lead to a massacre of the people, and I'm leaving, also because I feel that to lead greater discipline is needed here and I realize that you are lacking this.*

[At these words a tumult breaks out in the room] . . .

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### Session of Sept. 5, 1920

[Enter D'Aragona. He reads the motion jointly elaborated by PSI leadership and CGL Executive Council, which blames the ferment on industrial intransigence, justifies the FIOM' action, calls for solidarity, and declares the negotiations for an economic solution will be pursued. In the event the solution is not forthcoming, the CGL and PSI are to be called upon to engage the entire proletariat in action.]

D'Aragona: *...therefore it is proposed that the competent organs give to the struggle the goal of [workers'] control over firms to arrive at management and socialization of every form of production.*

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### Plenary Session of the Confederation and the Leadership of the Party September 9, 1920

[Buozzi and D'Aragona have been negotiating secretly with industrialists and prefects respectively. Buozzi is upset because the industrialists will negotiate only on condition that the factories be given back.]

Buozzi: *We've got a problem...our adversaries would call us sellouts. We'll have to come to some agreement on the basis of a few important points in the metalworkers' original platform, in order to arrive at a quick settlement. The longer the masses stay in the plants, the more their demands will increase... We're all in a state of perplexity...'*

[Buozzi and D'Aragona confer about the industrialists' offer of a four-lira daily raise. The original demand had been for seven. Buozzi promises to give D'Aragona an answer tonight. Gennari and D'Aragona exit to confer briefly with representatives of the railroad workers' union. Re-enter D'Aragona and Gennari.]

Gennari: *... the railroad workers' union has an important agitation going... [I] warned the railroad workers not to let their agitation get in the way of ours.*

[Gennari straightens his jacket, breathes in deeply and prepares to announce the PSI's deliberation on the current metalworkers' occupation — a real bombshell.]

Gennari: *The leadership has come to the conclusion that the ongoing agitation must be deemed insoluble. One can't think that the industrialists will now give up, or that the workers will settle without serious concessions... the situation is no longer a question of one category's fight but is of an eminently political character. Therefore [I] see the need for the CGL Executive Council and the Party Leadership to intervene... the FIOM must step aside and the movement must be led by the CGL and the PSI. [He reads a PSI motion]: The party leadership and the CGL... invite the proletariat to in all possible ways prevent comrades involved in the struggle from being crushed, to have recourse to all means whatsoever capable of protecting the life of the occupied factories, which must now be seen as definitively handed over to the collectivity — as well as the exchange of raw materials therein produced...; to extend the movement in all fields of industry and agriculture as the need and urgency are felt... the leadership of the Party, assisted by the CGL, assumes the responsibility and the leadership of the movement, extending it to the whole country and to the entire proletarian masses.*

[Gennari continues, specifying that everything must be taken over — railroads and ships must furnish supplies, trade and finance must be regulated, farm laborers must

occupy the land, local government buildings must be taken over, soviets must be formed, etc.]

Gennari: . . . *wanting to keep the action on a union level is utopian. This is a revolution in reverse; it has always been thought that first there would be a political revolution, then an economic revolution; now the reverse is happening. . .*

[Has Gennari gone ape? No, Gennari is as scared as the others. He sees that Buozzi is panicked and that D'Aragona wants out. But if he openly allies with their cowardice, he knows he will discredit himself and the party. An "honorable" way out is needed; the *bella figura* must be preserved. *Knowing that no one has the guts to make the revolution, Gennari is free to suggest precisely that.* By pulling a strong-man tactic, he can thoroughly terrify his interlocutors, pressure the industrialists, and establish the literary basis for maintaining the purity of the PSI's maximalist revolutionary intentions. All that remains for him to do is to try out the bluff on the most militant spokesmen of the movement — the Turinese Ordine Nuovo representatives who arrived this afternoon — and hope that they buckle under the pressure. Gennari can be sure of CGL support in the confrontation, since the CGL leaders want anything but revolution.]

### Afternoon Session

[Enter representatives from Turin PSI local.]

Togliatti of the Turin PSI local [hesitant, but with manufactured toughness]: *We want to know, if we arrive at a violent insurrectional attack, we want to know what the desired aims are. You mustn't count on action undertaken by Turin alone. . .*

D'Aragona [testing]: *. . . can Turin defend itself alone, by itself?*

Togliatti: *If you gave us the order to attack, we wouldn't be able to; if the conditions were changed we could defend ourselves better. If the province cooperates, the situation changes.*

Quaglino [smelling out fear, insinuates]: *. . . the city of Turin is well supplied with troops. An uprising in that city could be crushed in 24 hours.*

Togliatti [trembling]: *You know what the national situation is, you have the information; tell us what you intend to do.*

Gennari [feeling out the terrain]: *. . . would a settlement of an economic nature satisfy the masses?*

Technician from Turin [trying to blackmail the opportunists]: *An economic agreement would lead to our losing some groups of workers. You would be gambling the strength of the party and the union too.*

[Gennari repeats the question and wants to know what the workers and the Turin PSI local would do if asked to accept a negotiated solution.]

Technician from Turin: *We would act like socialists and we would have to say to the workers that since the party doesn't consider the situation ripe, we'll have to prepare. . . to be ready in a month or at the most two. . . The masses, with a union settlement, would in part leave the factories, others wouldn't. Our situation is excellent, we have trucks, arms, the capacity to produce weapons. But the royal guards are as strong; I think if there were a union settlement it would be the end. If you deliberate to do this, then this very night we will have to make all the weapons disappear, maybe even steal them from the workers if necessary. Turin if isolated would be beaten; it is, however, the best armed city.*

Benso of Turin [speaking for the provincial federation of the PSI and as a minority]: *defense we handle, offense no, we'd be beaten. . . we mustn't be afraid of criticism, we must speak openly, we don't have the right to sacrifice anyone. We need frankness and sincerity. The revolution, if it must be, must be Italian, otherwise the two most militant cities, Turin and Milan, will be crushed. Preparation is lacking. The countryside is not adequately armed. Time will prove we are right.* [He cites the case of some members of the Turin local who in a serious moment went and hid.] *The anarchists can say what they want, we must act correctly. . . [I] maintain it is useful to find an honorable way out on the union level. [I] believe firmly in the revolution but don't see at the moment the possibility of winning it.*

Togliatti: *There's a substantial difference between the Turin local and the provincial federation. It is not a question of a static examination. You are holding the cards, you have to direct us. In April we were in better shape than we are now. Besides,* [Togliatti lets slip a precious indication of his mood]

*we didn't go looking for the present situation; it was imposed upon us. . . it would be impossible to define a settlement on the union level.*

Gennari [feeling he can come on stronger]: *[I] am for extending the struggle and occupying more plants. . . taking more plants would in itself be a revolutionary act.*

Benso [aghast]: *. . . the committee must decide.*

Technician from Turin [obediently]: *The party leadership must decide.*

Gennari [going for broke]: *The Party leadership has a head on its shoulders and asks you: do you think that you'll solve the dispute on the union level? Tell us clearly what you think.*

Technician from Turin [caving in]: *We think we can solve it on a union level as long as we know the dimensions of the settlement.*

Togliatti [desperately bent on saving face]: *For my part I think insurrectional action would be better, if the leadership, which has the means to decide, tells us to do so.*

Technician from Turin: *We need an answer. . .*

Baldesi [of the CGL leadership]: *We'll evaluate the situation, including your report, we'll discuss it and communicate the results to you.*

[Baldesi cannot resist the temptation to get in one last crack.]

Baldesi: *Uh, tell me, if yesterday, you had been attacked, what would you have done?*

Technician from Turin: *We would have defended ourselves.*

[Exeunt Turin representatives. All breathe a sigh of relief.]

### **Session of the Confederation Alone**

[The pressure from the PSI and CGL leaders has sufficed to crush the mighty Turin rebels. Gennari's big talk, combined with the CGL leaders' hints at bloody massacre, have had the desired effect. But the CGL leaders have been affected too. What if Gennari really means all this talk of revolution? Scared silly, they are

meeting in private to regroup and outline a plan to defeat Gennari.]

Quaglino [letting out what he really thinks of Gennari's motion]: *[I] am of the opinion that the PSI motion must be rejected and that the FIOM should continue to lead the movement. . . . The motion presented by the PSI could only lead us to disaster. . .*

Baldini [who has figured out the purpose of the PSI motion]: *The PSI motion. . . has to seek a solution that must look revolutionary. On the other hand, we of the union organizations must reject it because it would expose our organizations to certain defeat. . .*

Buozzi [wishing out loud]: *. . . if we could only get a good settlement and workers' control too, the masses would be silenced. . .*

[D'Aragona, a bit agitated, takes it out on Buozzi, blaming him for the occupation. Buozzi will continue to be prime scapegoat. Zirardini, a CGL official, has another angle.]

Zirardini [eyes innocently searching the ceiling, thumbs twiddling]: *After what the comrades from Turin have said, [I] don't think we can accept the PSI motion. My point of view has changed.*

[Mother's fears have won out again. And Zirardini, a good mamma's boy, has caught on to the game. The CGL now believes it has the necessary cover to preserve a semblance of militancy while safeguarding the integrity of the organization above all else.]

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### **Evening Session of Sept. 9 between the Party Leadership and the CGL**

D'Aragona [holding his breath, meekly]: *[I] ask the Party leadership what it thinks after what the Turin comrades have said.*

Gennari: *As a premise, I want to say that the declaration made by the Turin comrades during our session was different from what they had said to me personally. They said we should further extend the occupations. I am amazed that they wanted almost to incriminate party leaders. . . we must bear in mind that they're provincials who see the question from a general point of view.*

[Gennari goes on to report on the results of the PSI parliamentary group's meeting which decided "for the conquest of political power because the economic gains will follow." He emphasizes therefore the need to extend the struggle.]

Gennari: . . . *if we backed off now it would be a disaster; it would be the ruin of the Party.*

D'Aragona [panicked, he uses the Turin incident to terrorize Gennari and, more important, the assembly]: . . . *armed action would lead us to slaughter. Remember that Turin is the best prepared city; Milan is much less armed. Military sense is inferior in Milan, very limited in the rest of the country. . . I ask the Party leadership if it would be willing to try a less active course of action than that proposed; if the Party were willing, then we could try channelling the action into gradual lines above all to prevent the reaction.*

Gennari [knows he has D'Aragona up a tree and decides to have a little fun]: *I find it difficult to establish precisely what is to be done regarding what D'Aragona has just said. The more we advance, the more difficult the retreat will be.*

D'Aragona [frantic, tries to tone down the militant phrase "collective management" included in the PSI motion]: *A similar declaration implies violent action. I would deem it useful to prospect a less violent declaration. . .* [He now tries to kill the PSI motion] *I am therefore contrary to the idea of handing over the leadership of the movement to the Party leaders.*

[Reina, also of the CGL, gives D'Aragona a hand by recalling what happened in Hungary and recommending prudence.]

Gennari [certain now that the PSI has come out on top]: *Workers' control is certainly not enough. We need something more. . . we intend to make a definitive move, not democratic, but which tends towards socialization. . . we have to think of control over [agricultural] land too. . .*

D'Aragona [sputtering out all possible pretexts to dissuade Gennari]: . . . *There's the pay question. . . If the movement is extended still more, there will be fewer workers able to help out those in the plants. . . Maybe the bourgeoisie will leave the*

*factories. How will we support the workers and guarantee raw materials? . . . remember what the Turinese warned. . . we'll be crushed. . .*

Baldesi [following D'Aragona's cue]: . . . *the state will certainly intervene . . . if the party assumes leadership of the movement, it will be the end of the party. The government and the bourgeoisie would be in a state of alarm. . .*

Gennari [smugly]: *The Party leadership will go to meet. See if you can come to some agreement so as to prevent the need for further meetings.* [He withdraws.]

Zirardini [launching his cover line]: . . . *I was hoping the movement were revolutionary, but that cold shower we got from Turin pushes me to accept this [the union] motion. . .*

Buozzi [hysterical]: . . . *Taking over the factories is a revolutionary act which has as its objective some improvements. If the movement were to become wholly communist, it would be broken. Either you have material strength, and we don't, while we have great spiritual preparation, but without material strength you can't win. . . the Party's proposal is like someone who wants to start throwing punches while at the same time wanting to attract as many people as possible around him. In normal times threats count; but in abnormal times like the present, you have to say much less and above all promise only that little bit you're capable of giving. . . What frightens me is afterwards, it's the fear of the reaction. Each of us must sacrifice a bit of his own beliefs. . .*

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### National Council of the General Confederation of Labor Sept. 10, 1920

[The National Council of the CGL consists of members of local Central Labor Councils and represents the least authoritative of the organs thus involved, the CGL and PSI. The idea now is to pass the buck to this federated group of union bureaucrats and have them make the historical decision; or, rather have them bear the blame for not making it.]

D'Aragona [recapitulates the history of the move-

ment and outlines three possible courses of action: keep the movement within the bounds originally planned by the metalworkers; spread it to other categories on the basis of the union-PSI motion; or "extend the agitation to its ultimate consequences": . . . *The National Council must illustrate its line of thought to us.*

[Schiavello, from the Milan Central Labor Council, presents a motion signed Schiavello-Bucco, which calls for the NC to assign leadership of the movement to the PSI. Mazzoni, leader of the Federterra farm laborers' union, objects to further extension of the struggle, especially as far as agricultural workers are concerned, and takes this opportunity to blame Buozzi and the FIOM for the whole mess. Buozzi is upset, says he doesn't know "how much truth there is in the affirmation made by some comrades to the effect that there is a revolutionary situation in Italy," and is happy to know that the NC will have to decide. The Central Labor Councils speak, one after the other, in general agreement with the idea of extending the struggle. Tasca, representing the Turin Central Labor Council, again proposes extending the occupations and giving control of the whole metal industry to a cooperative consortium based on the unions; in the meantime, he says, workers could prepare militarily for vaster action. All this militant talk from the Central Labor Councils irritates the union and PSI leaders, who are called on to take a stand.]

Gennari [defending the PSI from the accusation that it is incapable of making up its mind, tries to thrust responsibility on the Central Labor Councils]: . . . *The Party Leadership and the CGL have talked at length in the past few days and have established their ideas clearly, but we were waiting for you to give the necessary elements to be able to decide among the various proposals presented. . . .* [in a paternalistic tone] . . . *we in such grave moments as these cannot rely on what elements we have, but must carefully examine the situation not only from our viewpoint but also with the possibility of concretizing our ideas with a look at the real situation; and that corresponds to a political duty. . . . At any rate, if you will, I propose that the conference continue this evening and work until a definitive decision is reached. Outside, the situation is growing worse, and if we delay one more day we may give the impression that we are not leading the movement, but are rather being dragged along by it. . .*

D'Aragona [relieved to hear Gennari talking sense, picks up on his paternalism]: . . . *you cannot expect the leaders of the two highest organisms to know what the conditions are in all of Italy, especially in a situation that has come about in the last few days. That's why we wanted to take to you all first. . .*

## Evening Session

[Chairman Colombino of the CGL leadership limits interventions to five minutes!]

Chignoli [getting worked up for a fiery speech about spreading the action]: . . . *I would like to limit myself to asking that the National Council approve the Tasca motion [for control over industry]. . . and [to describe] the Turinese situation. [Filling up with chauvinist pride] The metalworkers have never been second to anyone. The Turin metalworker comrades vaunt the claim that in this campaign they have been in the vanguard. . . . Turin is ready. . . the metalworkers' original demands will disappear to leave room for a greater, higher aim: the emancipation of the proletariat. . . those who are behind must march stronger and fight for the same cause and in the same army. . . .*

Colombino: *Look, this isn't a workers' street rally we have here. Stick to concrete proposals.*

[Various Central Labor Council representatives and other union spokesmen not enrolled in the CGL — and therefore denied voting rights[66] — intervene; their speeches are inspired by Chignoli's fiery words.]

Gatti [from the gas workers union]: . . . *the workers. . . are ready to take over the plants.*

Binotti [from Liguria]: . . . *backing out. . . would be treachery. . .*

Muccini [from Savona]: . . . *ready for really decisive action. . . we're convinced we have to take political power.*

Tettamanti [from Prato]: . . . *in favor of extending the struggle.*

Giulletti [from the Seamen's union]: . . . *we believe the movement must be extended. [Voices:*

D'Annunzio!]. . . *As far as the ship transportation is concerned, I can assure you that we are totally at the service of the proletariat, not just Italian, but international. . .*

Schiavello: . . . *we must immediately extend the movement. . . [Speaking realistically] Look, we are all of us slaves to a de facto situation created by our own propaganda. So going to tell the workers, "Look, we're not well enough prepared" would doubtless be a bad action. . . .*

Colombino [furious at the turn the debate has taken, lets loose a bloody take of terror to squelch the enthusiasm]: . . . *If the revolution were as easy as we've heard it proposed by a number of speakers, the revolution would be too easy a thing and it would no longer be a revolution. . . . Tomorrow we will find ourselves faced with a decision that may unleash civil war in this country. . . . Let's speak frankly. All these events are due to the propaganda made. . . . The workers in general, especially those who follow the party, are of the opinion that the factories must remain in their hands. After so many years of telling them to take over the factories, we would be ingenuous to think differently. . . . There's another problem. . . the working masses may take over and decide to occupy the remaining plants. I see a lot of enthusiasm for that here. That would be possible only on condition that we took power. Power can be taken in two ways. There's who is thinking of arming the workers and throwing them out into the streets to face the bourgeois army; and there's who thinks power can be taken by sacrificing a few men of the party. I, who have seen what revolutions are like, tell you that revolutions are operettas. In other countries they occurred because they were ready. I ask you to consider if it is really possible in cold blood to plunge our country into civil war to win aims that are perhaps contrary to our ideas. [Colombino is not above outright anti-communism, either] . . . In Russia the workers are suffering. . . In Russia the workers were hungry and wanted money and despite orders to the contrary, they began to sell. . . if we let these foolish workers have their way, they'd even sell the machines and ruin our industry.*

[Subsequent interventions betray less enthusiasm, more cynicism and fear. A two-hour break is called, during which time the CGL and PSI meet separately. The assembly then reconvenes.]

D'Aragona [untiringly, presents a motion for control over the factories]: . . . *We maintain that with this extension, the agitation is still of a union nature and must be led therefore by the Confederation. . .*

Gennari [intent on making the PSI look good at the CGL's expense, plays up the conflict between the two bodies]: . . . *it has been impossible to present a joint party-union motion. . . The Party leadership maintains that the union phase is over. . . . The struggle. . . must be entrusted to the party leadership with the total approval of the Confederation. Each of us is convinced that we are in a de facto revolutionary period. If we don't have the guts to face all responsibilities, our comrades will move far away from us and the leadership of the movement will probably be taken over by our cousins on the left or others. . . . Either we lead this movement or we are crushed. . . .*

Modigliani [PSI deputy and member of the PSI parliamentary group directory, makes an eleventh-hour appeal to party-union unity]: *I've come here to make a desperate attempt, but I wouldn't be able to go to sleep tonight if I didn't try. There's something of immense gravity about to happen. There's a conflict opening up between the economic and the political organizations. . . . Our duty is to arrive at a form of reconciliation. . . .*

[Modigliani continues with an interminable "Dear Friends" speech aimed at pushing the issue of party-union unity into the forefront so as to obscure the question of revolution. D'Aragona begs the NC to make a decision.]

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### Session of Sept. 11, 1920

[The CGL and PSI leaders have met. Gennari restates the PSI's position.]

D'Aragona [he has decided to exploit mother's fears to the utmost; first he plays on sympathy]: *I'm sorry my physical condition does not allow me to have the necessary strength to sustain the CGL's motion and the reasons for it. . . . The party leadership believes the time is ripe for. . . a revolutionary act for the conquest of political power. . . we do not believe the time is ripe. . . .* [He now plays on the

fear of solitude and responsibility, calling Gennari's bluff.] *You believe this is the moment for a revolutionary act — okay, then you assume the responsibility. We, who do not feel up to assuming this responsibility of casting the proletariat toward suicide, we tell you that we will withdraw and will hand in our resignation [!]. We feel in this moment duty calls for the sacrifice of our persons; you take over and lead the movement. . . . There are certain moments in which some people must disappear. . . in which some men may be in the way, etc., etc. . . .*

[Having made the supreme sacrifice by quitting, the feeble D'Aragona steps aside. Two motions, one representing the CGL line and the other representing the party proposal, calling for the extension of the struggle under party leadership, are read and put up to the vote of the NC.]

Buozzi [still quaking]: *I have a declaration to make. . . so as not to influence the decisions you are about to make, the metalworkers' federation [the FIOM] abstains.*

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Results of the vote:

<i>D'Aragona (union motion)</i>	<i>votes</i>	<i>591,245</i>
<i>Bucco (for PSI to lead)</i>		<u><i>409,569</i></u>
<i>Margin of majority</i>		<i>181,676</i>
<i>Abstentions</i>		<i>93,623</i>

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[It is all over. No one has gotten hurt. Gennari's histrionics and D'Aragona's self-sacrifice have done the trick. All that remains is to consolidate the image.]

Gennari [delighted, wants to ensure himself full cazzista status]: . . . *The alliance pact [between PSI and CGL] establishes that for all questions of a political nature, an agreement must be sought between the party leadership and the Confederation. When that agreement is not reached, the party leadership has the right to assume the responsibility directly by assigning itself leadership over the movement, and the Confederation must commit itself not to prevent this. At the present moment, the party leadership does not intend to take advantage of this clause. . . . It may be, in the future, if things*

*change. . . the party leadership may deem it useful to appeal to the pact between you and us. . . . [hearty applause] . . . I am sure that the hopes of our enemies will be dashed, and that at every turn we will agree for the triumph of socialism [hearty applause].*

D'Aragona [a new round of applause greets him as soon as he reaches the table]: . . . *We were sure the party leadership couldn't abandon our organization in such a serious, difficult moment. We can assure the party leadership that when it deems it opportune to assume complete responsibility for the leadership of the movement, we, just as today we offered all the confederation forces, will do it also on that day [applause].*

Colombino: . . . *I take the liberty in the name of all the workers in struggle to heartily thank the party leadership and the confederation for the magnificent act of solidarity they have given our comrades in battle. I assure the party leadership that, if sometimes we have been judged negatively, we will be able to show you that you are wrong, and we assure you that we will find the opportune moment to demonstrate that each and every one of us has faith in the triumph of socialism.*

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### **The Executive Council and the Party Leadership — Meeting of Sept. 12, 1920**

[Technical matters of the sellout are discussed, especially finances. Gennari says someone is willing to donate 50 million lire to create cooperatives. The union platform is discussed. They are asking for a five-lira daily raise; D'Aragona would like to lower it to four. Buozzi agrees. Then there is the problem of back pay during the occupation.]

Colombino: . . . *The settlement could be reached by paying workers on the basis of what they produced.*

Buozzi: . . . *No. That's dangerous, because some departments have worked, others haven't. . . .*

Buozzi [later]: *Maybe we could even give up back pay?*

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## Executive Council — Sept. 23, 1920

[CGL leaders discuss problems of evacuating the factories, setting up a committee to study the "control" plan, union funds, membership dues, etc. Terracini of the PSI leadership is also present.]

D'Aragona [asked about workers' response to the decision, answers]: *Generally, the masses have accepted it. . . .*

Terracini: *I am convinced the workers will accept. I have just come from Turin, and at the Fiat Centro plant the workers were shouting hurrahs for D'Aragona. . . . In the name of the party leadership, I want to note that the error here was that of committing ourselves in a form of struggle whose outcome was not foreseen. . . organizations involved in serious struggles should make arrangements beforehand with the party leadership. . . From now on, in struggles political means will have to be used. General strikes will no longer be sufficient.*

[They discuss what kinds of "control" have been contemplated in the government bill.[67] Big firms, banks, consumption, industry, factories are all mentioned. Terracini must add one militant word.]

Terracini: *And class control.*

The session is over.

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It was all over for the Italian working class. For twenty years the workers were to suffer layoffs, austerity, exile and murder at the hands of the fascist regime before being led once again by their squeamish leaders, this time through the farcial outcome of the resistance movement. Then twenty-five years of looting at the hands of U.S. imperialism, before coming full circle in the late 1960's to sporadically reoccupy the factories and rediscover the factory councils.

In 1935, writing for the Paris edition of the Socialist Almanac, the exiled Buozzi claimed that the 1920 occupations "closed with a victory, which from the strictly union point of view, has no equal in the entire history of the international workers' movement." [68] In a perverse sense, he was absolutely right; no other mass-strike ferment of those proportions and possibilities "won" more than twenty years of fascist rule in that period! Buozzi was wrong though, about the reasons behind the missed revolution. "The Italian socialist

movement," he wrote, "was essentially lacking decisiveness." [69] As the records show, both inside the factory and inside the meeting room in Milan *what was lacking was revolutionaries*, men and women capable of overriding the *cazzista's* infantile whining; capable of knowing, thinking, feeling and acting for what was historically necessary *then*.

Had PSI leader Serrati been in Italy and not in Russia at the time, nothing would have changed, as he himself made clear in an article written shortly thereafter:

There could be only one justification for our taking power: the flight of the bourgeoisie, its abandoning every condition of privilege; a peaceful revolution like the one in Hungary. But . . . it doesn't seem to me that the Italian bourgeoisie will give up its power so easily. . . . Making the revolution means . . . taking advantage of the elements that the situation puts naturally at our disposal to turn events to our advantage. In other words: It is not we who make the revolution, or better, who make the decisive act of the revolution; it is we who, aware of our force as created by the desired conditions, intend to take advantage of them to force them to the conclusions dictated by our doctrine.(70)

Serrati was not mentally deranged; nor were D'Aragona, Gennari, Buozzi, Terracini, Togliatti, Tasca or any of the others. They were simply victims of an ideology which assigned them their roles in the most disgusting, ignominious working-class defeat in modern history.

Lenin, when he heard the news, became livid with anger; at the Third Congress of the Comintern, his evaluation was unequivocal: "During the occupation of the factories, did even one person show himself to be a Communist?" [71]

### Where was Antonio?

The single most important individual in the Italian socialist movement, the theoretician of the councils and founder of Ordine Nuovo was Antonio Gramsci. And yet, oddly enough, he was nowhere to be found during the occupation period. Somehow, he had always just left. The available documentation of Gramsci's whereabouts and activities during that month of September provides an initial indication of Gramsci's "tragic flaw"; further information on his actual political activity at that time helps fill out the pattern of his behavior, supplying the factual basis necessary to develop a competent analysis of his theoretical writings and politics.

By then delving more deeply into Gramsci's psychological makeup, particularly into the biographical information on those crucial early years of his

development, we can come to grips with the pathological roots of both Gramsci's and ultimately the Italian proletariat's defeat.

### *The Cop-Out Syndrome*

The first amazing thing Gramsci did when the workers occupied the factories was suspend publication of his faction's newspaper! As in the case of the interruption in publication called during the April general-strike ferment, the decision was intended, it was said, to allow the Ordine Nuovo staff to participate in the heat of the struggle.

An interruption of almost a month: thus in one year we have been able to give our subscribers only 43 issues instead of 52. Comrades who know us know that Ordine Nuovo is not a bureaucratic-commercial endeavor, separate and independent from the daily life of the working class, insured against the jolts and blows which, in this dark, atrocious period of national life, hit every part of the proletarian forces: comrades who know us know that Ordine Nuovo is a revolutionary organ, tightly bound to the life and actions of the working class, and that its writers, its "theoreticians," walk hand in hand with the working class and cannot help but feel all those jolts and blows.(72)

Instead of using the paper as a precious propaganda organ to spread the urgently needed directives to the class, Ordine Nuovo, because it had no conception of what programmatic alliances were necessary, had indeed no idea of what program itself was, shut down.

This does not mean that Gramsci himself altogether stopped writing; he wrote some articles on the occupations, but he published them in the daily organ of his PSI factional opponents, *Avanti!* And, in keeping with his custom, he rarely signed his articles — thus any worker looking for direction from his factional spokesman had to scan the pages of the reformist *Avanti!* and hunt around for clues from Gramsci.

*Apart from turning out a few articles for Avanti! Gramsci was allegedly in the midst of the worker ferment in the factories. But here again, the matter is curious. The number of actual recorded visits by Gramsci to the factories is uncannily small. Given that he was undeniably the focal point of factory workers' attention, one would expect his appearances, speeches, etc., to be carefully noted, at least by working-class protagonists. From the extant memoirs of leading workers in the Turin-Milan area, it is clear, on the contrary, that Gramsci appeared infrequently on the scene.*

Battista Santhia reports that Gramsci was at his factory on Sept. 11 in the evening; Santhia remembers the

incident because the warning sirens had sounded, alerting workers to an outside attack, and Gramsci, despite workers' advice to take cover, insisted on accompanying them on an inspection tour outside the walls. [73]

Santhia, who is struck by the "excessive modesty" of both Gramsci and Togliatti in visiting the factories, recalls another moment, presumably later, when both leaders come to a meeting. Gramsci and Togliatti, he says, "insistently called attention to our weak point: the lack of a communist party capable of leading the struggle with a guarantee of victory. Most workers present still clung to the certainty of victory, while aware of the gravity of the situation and the consequences which would have derived from our defeat."

A third indication from Santhia deals more closely with the problem of building a communist party, but poses the problem this time in net contradiction to what Togliatti and Gramsci stated at the meeting just mentioned. [75]

Rather early in the occupation, rumors circulated about a possible split of a Bordighist faction at the Fiat Centro plant. Giovanni Parodi, a young worker, leader of the factory council and member of Bordiga's "Soviet" faction, thought the moment had come to split from the PSI and form the nucleus of a communist party.

Gramsci, in agreement with the Bordighist factional leadership, thought the move premature, and said so to Santhia. He insisted that Santhia go to talk with Parodi to dissuade him from making the move. Gramsci himself did not feel up to talking to Parodi in person.

During a taped interview of 1967, Santhia recalled two other moments when Gramsci came to the factory, once at the beginning of the occupation, when Gramsci called a meeting of a few workers and once later.

When we pose the question, "Now that the plant is occupied, what do we do?" well, what do you do? Here's what the answer was: "First, create a means of defense; you have everything in your hands, it depends on you to create the means of defense." We said means of defense with other hopes. And in fact we did create them, we were pretty well armed . . . not really enough to be able to sustain . . . but we were able to sustain a certain struggle, that is, resist attacks. Then, not only that; we ask: "Should we work or continue the job action?" Then he looks at us with a look almost of astonishment.

"You mean to say you're asking these questions? What in the world did we form factory councils for? This is the first time we have had a real situation where the factory councils can demonstrate what they are, and in practice, can assume their rightful function and their correct physiognomy both as organisms of political leadership and as technical organisms.

"You organize production and they'll do so politically. There you have communist (factory) groups" — we had

already created communist factory groups — “side by side, the communist group will do what it has to do as leader.”

“This was Gramsci’s position already at that time vis-a-vis the occupation of the factories. So it is not that we radicalized a union situation in order to occupy the factories, it was thrust on us. And when it came, we still thought it was a starting-point, not an end.

And we did everything we could to make it a starting-point: extend the movement and go ahead; and we failed because here was the danger of being isolated again... the certainty of being alone.

In fact — I think it was after the first week of occupation — one evening he (Gramsci) shows up in the factory where I am; he shows up and I say, “How come you’re here?” Anyway he gets there, he starts talking with the workers as he always did, because among other things he wanted to hear for himself what the workers thought; he wasn’t someone who’d be satisfied talking only with one of us, he had direct contact (with the workers). And, in fact, he talks to the workers about technical problems, he even knew the names of the machines and how they worked: he really seemed like a worker, right? And then we find ourselves talking alone.

So then I say, “Tell me the truth, why did you come here?” “Listen: here the danger is what we foresaw: the movement is consuming itself in the factory, and furthermore, it’s limited to a union movement. The bosses will bend, they’ll loosen up in order to get their hands on the factories. But politically, we’re heading for a defeat.”

And the discussion is along these lines, so I say, “What about going outside the factories?” It was out of the question because it would have been only Turin, and you have to remember that it became later clear that it was only in Turin that people were working....(76)

Leaving aside for a moment the political content of his discussions, it can be established that Gramsci was in some Turin factory about five or six times during the month; he is reported to have also made a trip to Milan “in a truck with the workers” to talk to workers in occupied factories there. [77]

Gramsci did not take part in the “General Staff” meetings in Milan, either. The background to this is significant. The Turin PSI local executive had been made up of abstentionists and Ordine Nuovo elements since February 1920. When, in July, the abstentionists resigned to try to prevent the PSI from participating in administrative elections slated for Oct. 30 and Nov. 7, a new executive had to be formed.

Gramsci refused to run with Terracini and Togliatti; though he opposed the abstentionist tactic, he maintained that the entire dispute over elections was of secondary importance, and that it would further divide the PSI. He therefore refused to take a position on the question. He set up a Group of Communist Education, a kind of study group which was to have an intermediary position between the two factions. The group was



composed of 17 members, mainly workers, and called for a blank ballot in the dispute. The electionists won (466-465 votes) over the abstentionists (186-185 votes), while Gramsci’s group picked up 32 blank ballots.

Thus, in August 1920 Togliatti took over leadership of the local.[78] And in September, it was Togliatti who represented the local at the General Staff meetings in Milan. Still, as the presence of other, lesser figures in Milan indicates, it certainly would have been possible for Gramsci to take part regardless. Why he did not is an open question which only can be explained as part of Gramsci’s general pattern of behavior.

*This period and earlier periods reveal Gramsci’s persistent inability to act with full awareness of his responsibilities. In a factional situation, he takes a middle-of-the-road position; when the workers beg for firm leadership, he stops publishing and kicks in with the PSI paper; when flesh-and-blood workers ask him what the hell they are supposed to do, he throws up his hands and says, “Go ask the councils;” when a split is threatened, he sends Santhia to go do his dirty work; when workers clamor to move outside the factories, he says it would be too dangerous; when things get bad, he says they need a communist party, but when workers factionalize to that end, he says “No, wait.”*

It must be remembered that Gramsci was not a minor figure even at that time. He had the full weight of Lenin’s explicit backing in the international movement — had the full weight of the responsibility to live up to Lenin’s

prestigious judgment. [79] When world-historical decisions had to be made, decisions on which ultimately depended the lives of millions of workers, *Gramsci panicked*.

From the arena of national party factionalizing, he withdrew into local organizing; from local party disputes, he withdrew a "third alternative" study group rallying workers into his coterie and effectively abandoning political confrontation with other political leaders; from internal Ordine Nuovo conflicts, he withdrew into himself, seeking out isolation. Gramsci's unprincipled stand on almost every issue of vital importance was the terrified child's whine: "I want to go home and hide."

In further confirmation of this cop-out syndrome, the internal evidence of Gramsci's own writings demonstrates the tragic coherence of his apparatus with his chronic refusal to face reality.

### What is a Soviet?

The question of revolutionary organizational forms had raged at the center of a debate within the PSI for some time before the development of the September events. Bordiga, Tasca and Gramsci split flames on the issue, which was to divide them at the crucial moment of the occupations and lead to a break between the former Ordine Nuovo collaborators, Tasca and Gramsci.

Gramsci posed the question:

Does there exist in Italy, as a working-class institution, something that could be compared to the soviet, something that shares its characteristics? Something that authorizes us to say: the soviet is a universal form, not a Russian institution, only Russian; the soviet is the form in which, wherever proletarians are struggling to conquer industrial autonomy, the working class manifests this will to emancipate itself; the soviet is the working class's form of self-government; does a germ, a hint, a timid government of soviets exist in Italy, in Turin? . . . (80)

And he answered it unequivocally:

Yes, it exists in Italy; in Turin a germ of workers' government, the germ of a soviet exists: it's the Internal Commission . . . (81)

The Internal Commission, enlarged to allow voting rights to non-unionized workers, developed into the factory council, which Gramsci considered the "model of the proletarian state."

Bordiga, rejecting the idea of transitional organizational forms, tirelessly repeated the distinction

between the party, which was "political," and the unions and councils which were purely "economic." As for the soviet (the name Bordiga's faction took for itself and its magazine), Bordiga thought time would come for that later:

Those who can today represent the proletariat which tomorrow will assume power are those workers aware of this historical perspective, that is the workers who are card-carrying members of the Communist Party . . . The soviets of tomorrow must have their genesis in the local chapters of the communist party. They will prepare the elements which, immediately after the revolutionary victory, will be put up to the vote of the proletarian electoral masses to constitute local workers' councils. (82)

In the meantime, the task of revolutionaries, according to Bordiga, was to abstain; during the September occupations, in fact, the magazine *Soviet* never reported news of the event! Some day The Party would be born, and on some later date it would magically make The Revolution. Bordiga sat and grunted and waited.

Tasca had yet another angle. Since he felt the councils could never fight simultaneously the bourgeois state, the PSI and the unions to seize power, he felt "it was necessary to establish . . . relations between factory councils, the party and unions such that each and all together would be able to seize power." [83] During the occupation of the factories, Tasca proposed in fact that the union organisms (Central Labor Councils) organize production and distribution on provincial and regional basis.

Each had his banner: the council, the party, the unions. Each waved his banner ferociously, claiming for himself "purity" and "orthodoxy," as history swept past and victorious fascist gangs tore the banners down one by one.

The poverty of such conceptions, evident in the deathly inability to understand the idea of a united-front formation and therefore to grasp the nature of the soviet, needs no further documentation.

What reduces the paltry debate to a semantic squabble among the politically deaf is the essential sameness of the three "theories;" for all of them take existing static forms of working-class organization — forms created by the capitalist division of the class into fragmented parts — and hysterically insist that somehow these static, defensive organizations will one day discover the mysteries of revolutionary motion.

Gramsci's theorization was surely the most insidious; for while Bordiga's pipe dreams of the Holy Party and Tasca's good-natured attempt to get everyone together could hold little claim to dialectical reasoning, Gramsci's

council theory passed for just that. What's more, immense numbers of Italian workers translated Gramsci's theory into reality and paid for it with twenty years of fascist rule.

Gramsci did more than simply equate the council with the soviet; he elaborated an entire theoretical apparatus aimed at developing the psychological production of class consciousness through the council formations.

Though he had insight into the social creation of consciousness, Gramsci, with one all-important flaw in methodology, ended up actually laying the basis for decades of misunderstanding and blundering on the Italian left. He also unwittingly developed a modern left-wing version of "Swedish way" corporative economics.

Rightly seeing the need to transform the bourgeois ideological framework of working-class minds, Gramsci thought it would happen this way:

Through rallies, held inside the shop, with the incessant work of propaganda and persuasion carried on by the most aware elements, a radical transformation of the workers' psychology could be obtained, the masses would be better prepared to exercise power, an awareness of the rights and duties of comrade and worker would be diffused, and it would be concrete and efficient because generated spontaneously by live, historical experience.(84)

All this must take place inside the factory, for reasons Gramsci describes a number of times:

The revolutionary process takes place in the field of production, in the factory, where the relationships that exist are between oppressor and oppressed, exploiter and exploited, where freedom and democracy do not exist for the worker; the revolutionary process takes place where the worker is nothing and want to become everything, where the owner's power is unlimited, power over the life and death of the worker, of the wife and children of the worker.(85)

The working class has identified itself with the factory, with production. . . . The division of labor has created the psychological unity of the proletarian class, it has created in the proletarian world that corpus of feelings, instincts, thoughts, customs, habits, affection that are summarized in the expression: class solidarity.(86)

And the factory council is the organism which can, according to Gramsci, mediate this "consciousness" in a way the union cannot.

Worker solidarity, which develops in the trade union against capitalism, though suffering and sacrifice, in the Council is positive, permanent, incorporated even in the most easily overlooked moments of industrial production; it is contained in the joyous awareness of being an organic whole, a homogeneous compact system which works usefully, which, disinterestedly producing social wealth, affirms its sovereignty, actuates its power

and its creative freedom to make history. . . . The factory council too is based on trades. In each department workers are divided into squads and each squad is a unity of labor (of trade); the Council is made up in fact of the commissars that the workers elect by department squads (trades). . . . But the union is based on the individual, whereas the Council is based on the organic, concrete unity of trade, actuated in the discipline of the industrial process.(87)

It follows then that

The organization by factories composes the class (the whole class) into a homogeneous, cohesive unity which adheres plastically to the industrial process of production to take it over definitively. In the factory organization, then, the dictatorship of the proletariat is incarnated. (88)

Nor is this conception limited to the factory as such; in medieval hierarchical fashion, Gramsci proceeds from the factory to build the whole world:

Turin is the city of the automobile . . . Just as in a factory the workers assume a physiognomy, organizing themselves for the production of a certain object which unites and organizes metalworkers and woodworkers, painters, electricians, etc.; so in a city the proletarian class assumes the physiognomy of the prevalent industry, which orders and governs the whole urban complex for its existence. So, too, on a national scale, a people takes on the aspect of its exports, its real contribution to the economic life of the world.(89)

But, aside from this fantastic notion of socialist world production based on the automobile, what kind of "consciousness" does the squad-based council create in the individual worker?

The existence of the Council gives the workers direct responsibility for production, it leads them to improve their work, it instills a voluntary, conscious discipline, it creates the psychology of the producer, of the creator of history.(90)

Gramsci preached this in more detail when addressing the department commissars of the Fiat plant:

The mass of workers must really prepare itself to acquire full mastery over itself. And the first step in this direction lies in stronger self-discipline, in the shop, autonomously, spontaneously, freely. One cannot deny that the discipline established by the new system will lead to an improvement in production; but this is nothing but the proof of one of the theses of socialism: the more human productive forces, freeing themselves from the bondage capitalism would like to keep them in, acquire a consciousness of themselves, free themselves and freely organize themselves, the more the modes of their utilization tends to improve: a man works better than a slave.

To those who object that in this way one collaborates with the enemy, the company owners, we reply that on the contrary this is the only way to make them feel concretely that their supremacy is at an end, because the working class by now conceives of the possibility of going it alone and doing well; in fact, day-by-day the working class

gains greater certainty that it is the only class capable of saving the entire work from ruin and desolation. So every action you undertake, every battle you lead, will be illuminated by the light of the final goal which is in the souls and intentions of all of you.(91)

When the autogestion experiment was tried out during the occupations, the father of the theory was not sparing in his praise:

The Italian workers, even before winning political power, disciplined by the simple local energy of the factory councils, are working and producing: to get results of this sort in Russia many many months of patient efforts, propaganda and organization were necessary.(92)

The working class, as a mass led and disciplined in the factory by its direct representatives, has demonstrated its ability to govern itself industrially and politically.(93)

Gramsci's theory of the factory councils as vehicles for revolution had a fatal, all too demonstrable bankruptcy from the beginning. Gramsci ingenuously, empirically understood "production" in terms of the factory; organizing, taking over and running "production" thus become a matter of simply taking over and running the single factory!

Logically, the expansion or increase of "production" thus conceived *must perforce come about as a result of greater "discipline" and speedup*. It should come as no surprise that the program adopted by the department commissars in Turin should have included this clause:

4) The commissar must study and push his comrades to study bourgeois systems of production and work processes, encouraging criticism and proposals for innovations to facilitate labor and accelerate production. Rooted in the soul of everyone must be the idea that communist equality can only be obtained through intensive production, and that well-being can be reached not through disorder in production or by attenuating the discipline of labor, but rather by a better and more equitable distribution of social tasks and fruits of the society itself, obtained through obligatory labor... (94)

Nor should it be surprising that council organizing actually brought about the institution of such "Swedish way" policies as collective piecework! A little-quoted item by Leo Valiani documents this great "socialist victory": "... the most construction achievement of the councils was also of a purely internal union nature, that is, the 'collective piecework' established by the Fiat workers in 1920, according to which all piecework earnings were put together and equally distributed among all the workers, so that those workers most favored by piecework were giving up a part of their earnings for the good of their colleagues." [96]

*Not only in theory, but in fact too the councils functioned to introduce corporatist policies in the factory. And Gramsci, at the end of the occupation,*

*when the control bill was proposed, could logically only applaud it. Which he did:*

...control must mean above all greater freedom for the workers in the factory, freedom to organize Councils, freedom of initiative and freedom of propaganda.(97)

...the proletariat creates its own apparatus of economic management and demonstrates to the great masses of people in the population its unique ability to solve the problem posed by the imperialist war.(98)

*Lacking any notion of expanded reproduction carried out by the class-for-itself, including the masses of peasants and unemployed, Gramsci could only look inward to the factory and a pre-Marxian theory of "freedom" based on shop democracy, self-discipline and Catholic pseudo-egalitarianism.*

*This notion of the councils, as Gramsci developed it, is clearly a corporatist, actually fascist view of the individual worker's "place" in a "strength-through-joy" work-machine which is devastatingly capitalist in nature.*

The revolutionary socialist sees Gramsci's worldwide collection of single factories as merely the "given," the bare skeleton left by capitalism, of what can become the basis for an international socialist economy.

To expand and organize that economy, organizers must develop a highly centralized, truly concrete actualization of the concept of expanded reproduction, in the form of revolutionary program. This means subordinating the apparent needs of the individual employed worker to the actual needs of the class as a whole.

Existing plant capacities will be utilized to create new productive jobs for the unemployed, underemployed and those employed in socially unnecessary jobs — bureaucracy, military production, etc. Simultaneously, the socialist planner must gear productive capacities — now increased by the productive employment of previously unused labor power — to begin to solve the immediate real needs of the working class population.

Not more Fiats, accordingly, but the transformation of the most technologically advanced sectors of industry to produce housing units, schools, hospitals, food, clothing, machine tools, new factories, etc.

The only way to express this programmatic concept of expanded socialist reproduction — which is the very heart of Marxist economics — must be a classwide revolutionary alliance, a truly soviet formation.

*In the Italy of 1920 such a fighting force would have had to include unemployed workers, war veterans, soldiers, peasants, students, employed workers and a vast array of employable labor that was then rotting in various dingy state and corporate bureaucracies.*

That is, it would have had to include all those social

forces actually capable of realizing socialist program, and of thus becoming the political working class, Marx's class-for-itself. Only a united classwide army of this type would be capable of organizing politically and militarily to take power; no amount of militant councils inside the factories could ever in a million years take power — as the September events conclusively show.

What Gramsci does in his factory-council theory is essentially this. Seeing the worldwide network of capitalist production in terms of a solid, fixed labyrinth of particular factories, Gramsci scurries along the darkened passageways to find the characteristic industry of his national sector. Then he enters a narrower corridor leading to the heartland of that industry: safely enclosed in the major Fiat plants in Turin, he shudders to discover the hegemonic CGL. He quickly retreats to the basement level, where he meets face-to-face with the Internal Commission: grabbing a couple of non-unionized workers to help him make loud noises at the union bosses, he hustles them into the underground toilet, does his duty — reveals to them the secrets of anarchosindicalist masturbation, telling them how good it feels to work the machines with this new knowledge under their belts — and exits. Retracing his steps, Gramsci slowly emerges from the depths, and reconstructs piece upon piece the architectonic whole, just as one would reconceptualize the Milan Duomo by starting with one gargoyle.

Affirming his rightful place in the Gothic structure of world production, Gramsci proclaims his undying internationalism; the golden Madonna[99] oversees it all from above.

The revolution will come, in this view, when the Madonna, miraculously bleeding, turns her staff into a red flag. And Gramsci, saying mass to the workers down in the crypt, announces the holy event.

Gramsci was not ignorant. He had read what he could of Hegel, Marx and Sorel; he had followed the developments in Russia and Germany, had thought long and hard about the revolution. But he was emotionally ill-equipped to grasp *processes*, the dynamics of revolutionary organizing and program.

### **The Gothic Nightmare [100]**

Gramsci's childhood reads like a Gothic nightmare. Born and raised in the backwardness of Sardinian life, he had to battle not only economic misery but physical deformity. He was the fourth of seven children in a family supported by the socially useless labor of his father, a petty paper-pusher. In 1897, when Gramsci was six, his father backed a losing horse in local political

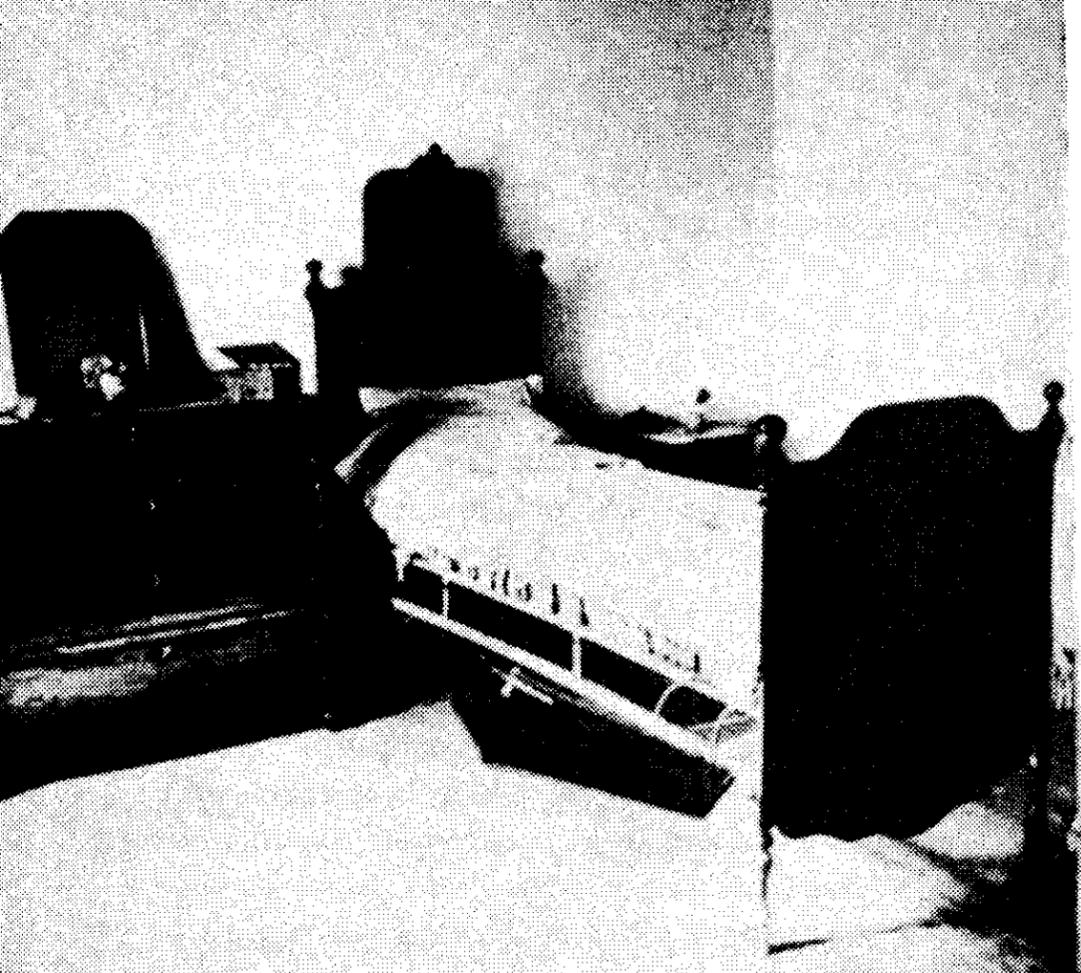
elections and got punished by his opponents; he lost his job and was handed a five-year prison sentence for petty offenses.

From a state of relative well-being, the family was thus plunged into misery; the children had no idea where their father disappeared and their mother supported them by taking in a boarder and working as a seamstress. Antonio's understanding of his parents' relationship was dim; his mother lied about her husband's whereabouts, so the child could only imagine the worst. Deprived even physically of this impotent father-figure, Antonio very early was relinquished to the devices of a sadistic, self-sacrificing mother.

Moreover, Antonio must have felt that this vague curse had descended on him in particular. Though all accounts describe him as a beautiful blue-eyed child with curly blond hair — a real "flower" — he was always sick. At the age of four, he had a three-day hemorrhage accompanied by convulsions.

"The doctors thought me doomed to die," Gramsci wrote later, "and my mother kept until 1914 a small coffin and the special little suit that were supposed to be used for my burial." [101] When he survived the mysterious hemorrhage, it was attributed to a miracle. "An aunt maintained that I was resurrected when she anointed my feet with the oil from a lamp dedicated to a madonna ..." [102] Shortly thereafter, Antonio's physical deformity began to manifest itself; first a bruise on the back, a bump, which turned into a hunchback, with a large protusion from his chest as well. When the bump first became noticeable, Antonio's mother frantically sought an explanation, and by repeated questioning forced her maid to admit that she had one day dropped the child from her arms. Thus Gramsci's physical deformity was attributed to the fall.

In an attempt to make the condition go away, Gramsci's mother massaged him with iodine, and when this failed, she consulted some local wonder-workers who passed for doctors. The cure they prescribed was in some respects worse than the disease: a kind of chest cast was made, with hooks attached, and they "hooked him up to the ceiling beams, leaving him suspended in mid-air. They thought this was the way to straighten him out." [103] This flying act failed to alleviate Antonio's condition. On the contrary: not yet five, Antonio saw himself as an unloved sickly object, miraculous and terrifying at once. His "resurrection," brought about by one of the many mother-surrogates who swarmed his house, could not dispel the death-identity he had formed. The mystery was not that he had come back to life, but that he had somehow died only a few years after being born. The coffin and funeral dress, which every



morning he found preserved in the house, served as reminders of his own death. Then the evil powers, not satisfied with his quick recovery, decided to subject him to a longer, more certain dying process, which was to be his life as a hunchback. That the deformity developed as a result of a fall (at least as far as Antonio knew) was crucial to his feeling unloved, and to his understanding of love relations in general. In letting him fall from her embrace, the maid mother-image had violently rejected contact with the child, abandoned him, thrown him away.

Furthermore, this consummate act of non-love left Gramsci with a permanent scar, a growing deformity, singling him out as a *disgraziato* ("wretch," but literally "out of grace"). Non-love was thus also a devastating expression of sadism, manifest physically and psychologically in the child's identity.

As a grotesque answer to Antonio's "fall from grace" or from love, the therapeutic magic of the ceiling apparatus intensified the humiliation and terror. To hang from the ceiling a child who had suffered a traumatic fall was to recall the terror in regular, prolonged, intervals; this time, though he was not held, but hung up like a coat or a salami, a thing dangling in the air for all the human beings to stare at from a distance. And this, they told him, would "make him better." The child's self-conception from the beginning was informed by suffering and pain, whose remedy, he learned, was more suffering, more pain.

Gramsci did not solely identify with his own suffering as a thing-in-itself. His identity, based on the internalization of the social relations developing him, emerged from the pattern of relationships established,

particularly with women, in his infancy. His mother related to him through her recognition of his suffering, but also through her own active suffering in response to him. By rushing out to buy a coffin and funeral apparel for the child in a space of a three days' illness, the mother eloquently expressed her readiness to pronounce the death sentence on her child and her willingness to wrap herself in mourning weeds.

It was the aunt, the mother surrogate, who snatched Antonio from death, resorting to a magical procedure involving the child's body and, significantly, enlisting the aid of still another woman, the super-sadistic Holy Virgin.

Antonio was thus plunged into death by one mother and plucked out by two others; and to all three he was supposed to offer thanks for having saved him! Then he was again relinquished to his fate — again by a mother-surrogate (the maid), and he was mourned throughout his lifetime by his mother, and later by his wife and sister-in-law, whose suffering he was convinced he had caused.[104]

Even as a child, Antonio had some conscious awareness of these terrifying feelings. "For many years," he wrote later, "I have been accustomed to thinking that it is absolutely impossible, almost by fate, for me to be loved. As a boy of ten, I began to think this of my parents. I was forced to make too many sacrifices and my health was so weak that I was convinced I was simply tolerated, an intruder in my own family. These are things that are not easily forgotten, and leave much deeper scars than one might imagine." [105]

In all the tortures inflicted on Antonio by mother surrogates, the father-figure remains an impotent nothing removed into the background.

This emotional absence of the father, which left the child totally at the mercy of his gaggle of mothers, soon turned into real, physical absence, when Signor Gramsci was sent to prison.

Here again the event was enveloped in mystery and magic, as no one said anything to make this child's inferno a rational world. Antonio's mother suffered in loud silence, scurrying off to cry in church, sacrificing herself to support the children, etc. Already well-educated in the art of suffering, Antonio respected his mother's martyrdom, hiding his own pain, his own knowledge by inference of where his father was, so as not to hurt her. "If my mother knew that I know all that I know and that those events left their marks on me, I would be poisoning these years of her life." [106]

It is no wonder that the young Gramsci was described by those who knew him as melancholy, withdrawn, unlike a child; one acquaintance said of him that he

smiled but not with a child's face; "I never saw him laugh with joy." [107] There was no joy in Gramsci's childhood; there was only toleration of pain.

### Mind and Body

Antonio's solace was intellectual work. From the time he began school near home until, with interruptions and financial difficulties, he moved progressively farther away from his home — to Santulussurgiu, to Cagliari, then to Turin for university studies — Antonio fought to compensate for his unloved status by being good at school.

The schools he attended in Sardinia were a caricature of educational institutions, even worse than the generally abysmal educational level of the rest of the country. Based like all Italian schools on mindless drill-and-grill memorizing, Gramsci's elementary and junior high schools had the added disadvantage of being poorly staffed, late-opening, and lacking in many areas of study.

Nonetheless, school for him was a means, though indirect, of gaining approval and love. His family must have placed enormous stress on "good grades," because the social class they belonged to would inevitably attribute prestige to formal education, and also because Antonio's father had had to abandon his law studies to go to work. Gramsci's biographer, picking up and participating in this adoration of the good student, not only emphasizes Gramsci's academic performance but carefully records every grade he received in every subject at all school levels! And Antonio himself, in letters home from Cagliari, where he attended the lyceum takes care to explain how well he is doing and why. [108]

Intellectual work always involved sacrifice for Gramsci, both in point of fact and, more importantly, subjectively. His letters are full of references to his poverty-stricken state, to his old, worn clothes, and to his reluctance to show himself among his peers in such degraded apparel. In Cagliari he once stayed home from school for days because his clothes were indecent, and both there and in Turin, he would sacrifice food in order to buy books and cigarettes. (Needless to say his mother scolded him for this, considering books far less important than food.) One significant detail in Gramsci's school career illuminates the connection between his bent for sacrifice and his mother's: after he had finished elementary school, he could have gone to the mainland to continue school there and live with his father's relatives. But his father was in prison and his mother, who had never been approved of by her

husband's family, refused to ask them for help. Antonio wouldn't suggest such a solution for fear of humiliating his mother. [109] So he was forced to take a job and continue school in fits and starts.

At the university of Turin, where Gramsci studied from 1911 on, he suffered from a miserable material existence, which was real enough, but which he cultivated to a certain degree. "I went through the winter without an overcoat, with a lightweight suit good for Cagliari. Towards March I was reduced to such a state that I didn't speak for a couple of months: in speaking I garbled the words. Moreover, I lived right on the banks of the Dora and the freezing fog destroyed me." [110]

At the university Gramsci encountered difficulties studying and soon fell behind schedule with his exams. This helped render his physical condition even more precarious, and serious illness began to plague him. He wrote to his father:

I'm writing with anger and despair in my heart: today was a day I'll remember for a long time, and unfortunately it's not over yet. It's no use, I've been trying for a month and with anger in the past few days, but now, after a dreadful crisis, I've decided: I don't want to worsen my condition... I won't take my exams because I'm half crazy or half stupid, or totally stupid, I don't know .... Dear Father, for a month I've been trying and studying and the only thing I've gotten is dizziness and the return of excruciating headaches, and a form of cerebral anemia that takes my memory away, destroys my brain, drives me crazy hour by hour, so that I can't find respite whether I walk back and forth or lie on the floor rolling around some times like a madman... Yesterday the landlady sent a doctor in who gave me a tranquilizer by injection: now I'm taking opium, but yes, besides the trembling it leaves me with, there's the obsessive idea of the ruin I'm heading for... I'll present a medical excuse... to take exams in March. (111)

In 1915, Gramsci's health was bad enough to temporarily deprive him of his financial aid for room and board; his difficulties at the university led him to withdraw from his family and friends, even his political associates. As the political situation got hotter and riots broke out to protest Italian intervention in the war, Gramsci "followed the events without participating." [112] It was only after the war, when he was integrating himself into PSI work and writing regularly for *Avanti!*, that his health improved, though not for long.

Throughout Gramsci's life intellectual work — both at school and in politics — was possible only if accompanied by suffering.

Since Gramsci's inferiority feelings centered around his physical deformity, the only way he found to develop a positive identity was by educating his mind and disregarding his health.



There is in Gramsci a very clear distinction, as well as an interplay, between mental life and physical illness, a distinction which in exacerbated form became a dissociation between mind and body much later. [113]

As in almost all Italian families, the dichotomy between mind and physical being was very early established. But in Gramsci's case it was forcefully exaggerated. Illness was psychologically necessary for him to be "loved" (viz., cared for). At the same time it was the cause and proof of his not being loved.

*Intellectual work, though a compensation for the psychological effects of the deformity, was also in a certain sense blasphemous, as it tended to shift emphasis from the physical to the mental, thus undermining the basis on which mother-love thrives.*

Thus, though intellectual work was the only road to identity, it was psychologically necessary for Gramsci's intellectual development to be predicated on the suffering caused by serious illness. To preserve his mind, the seat of human identity, Gramsci had to suffer, to pay homage to the internalized mother-image.

This led to the development of psychosomatic illnesses in addition to the real physical afflictions Gramsci had to tolerate. Writing of his Turin years, Gramsci recalls a bloodcurdling nightmare that haunted him: "In 1911 at a time when I was seriously ill as a result of the cold and malnutrition, I would dream [fantasize] of a huge spider that would stay in hiding and then during the night come down to suck out my brain while I slept." [114]

The brain, Gramsci's identity itself, was assaulted by the sadistic mother-image spider, who, not content with having reduced his body to a grotesque shape, moved in for the final kill. The brain, Gramsci's identity itself, was assaulted by the sadistic mother-image spider, who, not content with having reduced his body to a grotesque shape, moved in for the final kill. Insomnia was Gramsci's way out; if he stayed awake, kept his mind working, thinking, reading, then the spider wouldn't get the last refuge of life itself.

Migraine headaches too seem to have functioned in this manner, as the need to suffer to be alive invaded the only area of life Gramsci identified as his.

A significant portion of the time he dedicated to keeping the mind alive was spent in writing — writing of all sorts. As a journalist Gramsci wrote theatre and book reviews, labor news, and later theoretical pieces on working-class organizing. In prison he branched out to deal with economic, historical, philosophical and literary questions as well. What is important is not the kind of writing Gramsci did; rather, the question is his relationship to writing and how this determined his relationship between theory and practice.

*Gramsci's relationship to writing was totally governed by fantasy.* Unlike the majority of Italians whose mother-domination, reinforced by the school system, breeds in them a fear of the written word, Gramsci, because of his deformity, found in reading and writing a childhood escape from the real world of suffering.

His ability to involve himself totally in reading and writing indicates his desire to experience and fulfill, in fantasy, the sense of a "secret self" that his day-to-day social relations ignored — the secret conviction that he had capabilities no one could see or acknowledge.

What prevented the world from praising the secret self was Gramsci's own profound fear of not being able to realize himself; thus the secrecy.

To hide its fear of impotence, the secret self masquerades as the omnipotent, misunderstood genius and throws up a mask of potency to the outside world. Gramsci refers to this classic phenomenon when writing to his wife from prison: "I've been accustomed by isolated life, which I lived from my childhood on, to hide my moods behind a mask of hardness or behind an ironic smile. . . ." [115] And he played out the fear by refusing to sign articles in his own newspaper.

This has nothing to do with "modesty" or what he called "scientific disinterestedness" [116]; rather, it is the clear indication of the secret self's fear of being called upon to translate fantasy into reality. The secret self, to remain secret, must not let itself be known; since the secret self cannot conceptualize the transformation of its

fantasies into reality, it appeals to a mechanistic force to effect the transformation. It appeals to a more drastic magic. *Underlying all of Gramsci's theoretical writings is this profound belief in magic, in the notion that words, once ordered on a page, may become "flesh" in the dynamics of the class struggle. In essence, what is the factory council?* Simply, the projection on a sociological plane of the secret self, the scared impotent self hiding its fear under the mask of *cazzista* bravado and militance!

Withdrawing into its own precisely articulated limits, it nurtures the fantasy that it can magically make the revolution. *It never can, because, like the secret self, it cannot tolerate a relation with reality on pain of death — the destruction of the fantasy itself.*

Gramsci's writings on revolutionary organizing, already cited, are full of this sense of magic; the "inevitable" flow of history is supposed to make the factory council the "primary cell" of the revolution, etc., etc. Nowhere in his writings is there any indication of how this is to come about, nor would it be possible for Gramsci to pose the question in terms of dynamic processes — because the essence of magic is precisely this mechanist notion of reality as governed by unseen forces propitiated into action by incantation.

When Gramsci got annoyed at workers who asked him what to do he was actually saying this: the councils are there, so they should act as my theory dictates. The councils, on paper, were expected to translate the symmetrical, mechanistic plan into reality, despite the stubborn sociological and psychological nature of that reality. When the magic didn't work, Gramsci was annoyed, and he fled the scene. Later he covered up for the misfire by pretending it had never happened that way, by calling the occupation a success. Still later, in 1924, he went so far as to say that the chances for revolution were better under fascism than before!

I am persuaded that the current situation is more favorable to the success of the revolution than in 1919-1920. Then, after the revolution, with a party like the PSI, with a working class that in general...preferred songs and fanfares to sacrifices, we would have had counterrevolutionary attempts which would have whisked us away totally...(117)

In the occupation of the factories, the social forces in play moved lawfully in the mass-strike process beyond the pre-established limits of the trade-union struggle.

The workers, though as ignorant as Gramsci of the principles of classwide revolutionary organizing, chaotically pressured trade-union and party formations from the inside, blindly, anarchistically reaching out.

Gramsci, terrified by this chaos of potential expansion, clung to the old familiar formation, the factory

council. The workers thus found themselves faced with a vacuum and continued to perform the suicidally limited anarchosyndicalist dance. What was lacking was a sense of exponential expansion of the struggle in a form — the soviet — capable of concretizing and carrying that potential to ever vaster layers of the class.

Gramsci sabotaged the one great moment for his own creativity by saying no to the workers' itch for something more. Masochistically, he censored his own incipient creativity in order to preserve the suffering self. By sabotaging the objective situation which could have freed him, he doomed hundreds of thousands of workers to misery and despair.

Gramsci in 1920, indeed in all his life, was incapable of love.

How many times have I asked myself if it was possible to bind oneself to the masses when one had never loved anyone, not even one's own relatives, if it was possible to love the collectivity if one had not deeply loved single human creatures. Wouldn't that have had reflexes on my life as a militant, wouldn't it have made my revolutionary quality sterile, reduced it to a pure intellectual fact, a mathematical calculation?... (118)

Gramsci could not love in the necessary sense of encouraging the development of man's capacities to develop further. In the mass-strike ferment, he was incapable of forcing working-class leaders to develop new, conscious, revolutionary formations. The shriveled connection to his wife Gramsci hints at in his letter does indeed exist; it is the very basis of his social relations and politics. What Gramsci sees, though, is only the formal indication of a link, almost a romantic reflection on his personal torment as somehow related to the decimation of the working class under fascism.

What Gramsci misses is the content of the relationship between interpersonal love and love in a socialist, social sense.

Hysterically protecting the integrity of the council, the isolated, terrified, alienated self — his own mind, intellectuality — Gramsci in effect denied the existence of the other, the rest of the working class, and denied the possibility for this class to develop itself as a class.

That he has *no conception of program* is perfectly coherent with his refusal to see production as a developing, expanding process. Thus he could not supersede the other cripples of his generation and achieve an understanding of the content of revolutionary organizing as centered around a program for expanded social reproduction. Gramsci could only retreat into his internal hell of fantasy and pain, striving to ward off the giant spider.

1. During the war auxiliary factories were set up and workers were forced to work under the threat of being sent to war. "Industrial Mobilization Committees were set up in the factories to oversee production, and union representatives participated in these committees! "In compensation for these serious restrictions, the workers were allowed to have Internal Commissions." Battistia Santhis', *Con Gramsci all'Ordine Nuovo*, Editori Riuniti, 1956, p.52ff.
2. Paolo Spriano, *L'Occupazione delle Fabbriche: Settembre 1920*, Einaudi, 1964, pp. 17-18. For details of the distribution of different working class strata into the union organizations, see "Il Problema del Potere." in "Ordine Nuovo," Nov. 29, 1919, in Antonio Gramsci, "L'Ordine Nuovo 1919-1920", Einaudi, 1970, pp. 56-60.
3. Paolo Spriano, "L'Ordine Nuovo" e i Consigli di Fabbrica, Einaudi, 1971.
4. Ibid., p. 84.
5. Ibid., p. 54.
6. At the February 1921 CGL congress, many delegates complained of this "excessive" growth, Spriano, *L'Occupazione*, p. 21.
7. Spriano, *L'Occupazione*, ch. 6.
8. Spriano, *L'ON e i Consigli*, pp. 97-98.
9. Gramsci appears to have considered the strike a success. In an article attributed to him in "Avanti!" May 1, 1920, he wrote: "The Turinese proletariat has been beaten locally but has won nationally, because its cause has become the cause of the whole national proletariat. The Italian revolution finally has a concrete program, a real goal to achieve, the control of production and exchange." Spriano, *Ibid.*, p. 100, note 4.
10. The figures quoted by Spriano, *L'Occupazione*, pp. 36-37, notes 3 and 1 give some indication of the gravity of the inflationary crisis on working class incomes. A family of five spent the following weekly: 120.05 lire in June 1919, 109.24 in July, 108.07 in August, 118.53 in November, 124.67 in January 1920, 176.25 in August and 189.76 in December. Milan daily wage minimums for the same period were the following: printers, 27.20 lire; woodworkers, 18.96; tramworkers, 24; coachbuilders, 23; electrical workers, 19; mechanics, 13.30. In the monetary crisis, the dollar exchange rose from 6.34 lire late in 1918 to 13.07 in 1919 to 28.57 in late 1920. Spriano, *Ibid.*, p.40.
11. Gianni Bosio, *La Grande Paura, Settembre 1920: L'Occupazione delle fabbriche nei verbali inediti delle riunioni degli Stati generali del movimento operaio*, Samona e Savelli, 1970, p. 107.
12. Spriano, *L'Occupazione*.
13. Massimo L. Salvadori, in "Cinquant' Anni Dopo," in a special issue of the magazine *Il Ponte*, October 31, 1970, dedicated to the occupation of the factories, writes: "...Giolitti...tried with every means possible to prevent a head-on clash policy from encouraging a political centralization and revolutionary outcome of the workers' movement." See also Spriano, *L'Occupazione*, Ch. V and VII.
14. "Nor had the FIOM excluded the possibility of accepting the industrialists' point of view, that wages should be raised only relative to productivity, as long as there were valid means by which to know what the situation of management really was. Buozzi, for his part, had gone so far as to accept a discrimination, as far as wages were concerned, between industries that 'aren't doing so well' and others that 'are in great condition'..." Valerio Castronovo, "La Grande Industria: Giochi Interni e Linea di Fondo, in *Il Ponte*, *Ibid.*, pp. 1206-1207.
15. Spriano, *L'Occupazione*, p. 112.
16. Turati saw control in terms of "collaboration of labor with the firm (and not antagonism and devastating political struggle); and collaboration of labor and management with public interest and consumer interest, more or less represented by the State," G. De Rosa, *Storia del Partito Popolare*, quoted by Spriano, *Ibid.*, p. 123.
17. M. Risso, "The Influence of Magical World Views on the Formation of Mental Disturbance in South-Italian Patients".
18. *Ibid.*
19. It is in this connection that the later Gramsci's intuitions into the nature of language are immediately to the point: "If it is true that every language (linguaggio) contains the elements of a conception of the world and of a culture, then it is also true that the greater or lesser complexity of one's world view can be judged by one's language. A person who speaks only in dialect or understands the national language in varying degrees, necessarily participates in an intuition of the world which is more or less narrow and provincial, fossilized, anachronistic, compared to the great currents of thought that dominate world history. His interests will be narrow, more or less corporativistic or economic, not universal." *Il Materialismo Storico*, Riuniti, 1971, p. 5, Note III.
20. Moravia's recent novel *Io e Lui* (He and I) is a dialogue between the individual and his penis.
21. The word "classe" as it is used by the Italian left has the generic meaning of "radical"; "class demands" are radical demands tending towards greater democracy in the ship, etc. Absolutely alien to Marx's concept of the working class as a totality the term has thus been used to indicate every tiny fragment of the class under capitalism, including workers in one factory, as is the case of the "Zanussi working class", etc.
22. Fidia Sassano, "Guardie rosse alla Spezia," *Il Ponte*, op. cit., p. 1362.
23. Antonio Oberti, "All' Ansaldo di Torino," *Il Ponte*, *ibid.*, p. 1374.
24. Ivan Tognarini, "Toscana: crisi siderurgica e potere in fabbrica," *Il Ponte*, op. cit., pp. 1342-3.
25. Massimo Sani, "Testimoni del Settembre," *Il Ponte*, op. cit., p. 1453.
26. "Avanti!", Piedmontese edition, September 2, 1920, quoted by Spriano, *L'Occupazione*, p. 67.
27. Spriano, *ibid.*, p. 69, note 4.
28. Oberti, op. cit., p. 1374.
29. Spriano, *L'Occupazione*, pp. 99-100.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
31. "The first day there were squads of workers who subjected themselves to staying at their places of work for 24 hours running!" Angelo Faggi, member of the U.S.I. in an article published in "La Voce Proletaria", Feb. 1920, quoted by Andrea Viglono, "Momenti della Lotta di classe nella prima meta' del 1920," *Il Ponte*, pp. 1310-1.
32. Sani, op. cit., p. 1455.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 1457. Bruno Fortichiari, a Milanese worker, disagrees and in unashamed chauvinist terms insists, "The real center, regardless of what the Turinese say, was Milan. Milan had a symbolic value." p. 1460.
34. Spriano, *L'Occupazione*, p. 70.
35. Tognarini, op. cit., p. 1349.
36. Oberti, op. cit., p. 1375.
37. Spriano, *L'Occupazione*, p. 70.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
39. Viglono, op. cit., pp. 1311-1312; the worker quoted is Angelo Faggi.
40. Cesare Bermani, "Il Settembre a Novara," *Il Ponte*, p. 1385.
41. According to Togliatti, only on the third Sunday were family visits allowed. Another amusing detail Togliatti furnishes emphasizes again the egalitarian, self-sacrificing mood of the occupations: "A noteworthy detail: all the auto factories were in the workers' hands, and yet the working class and socialist leaders did not travel by car but by tram or on foot." *Conversando con Togliatti*, note biografiche a cura di Marcella e Maurizio Ferrara, Roma, Edizioni di Cultura Sociale, e 1953, p. 78.
42. Spriano, *L'Occupazione*, p. 72. Gramsci's editorial on "Red Sunday" was published in "Avanti!" Piedmontese edition, September 5, 1920 and appears in *L'Ordine Nuovo 1919-1920*, op. cit., pp. 163-167.
43. Spriano, *L'Occupazione*, p. 68, note 1.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 71, 75.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 124-5.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
49. Mario Montagnana, *Ricordi di un Operaio Torinese*, ed. Rinascita, Roma, 1952, p. 137.
50. Giovanni Parodi, "L'Occupazione delle Fabbriche," *Fascismo e Antifascismo* (1919-1936): *Lezioni e Testimonianze*, Feltrinelli, Milano, 1962, p. 91.
51. Fidia Sassano, op. cit., p. 1370.
52. Spriano, *L'Occupazione*, p. 154.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 156.
54. "La Fiat Centro in mano agli operai," p. 655, quoted by Spriano, *ibid.*, pp. 156-7.
55. Cesare Bermani, op. cit., p. 1386.

56. Note Bruno Buozzi's position on the back pay question in the General Staff meeting minutes.
57. Massimo Sani, op. cit., p. 1463...
58. Battista Santhia, *Con Gramsci all'Ordine Nuovo*, Ed., Riuniti, 1956, p. 94.
59. Enzo Camerlenghi, "Consigli di Cascina e partecipazioni nella Padana irrigua," *Il Ponte*, pp. 1294-1301. Miglioli led the peasant occupations of 1920 into coparticipation schemes consolidated in the "Lodo Bianchi" pact signed on August 10, 1921, which gave farm laborers the right to look over accounts and the "right" to contribute to a fund making up part of the agricultural firm's capital. Massimo Sani, op. cit., p. 1454, records the attitudes of industrial workers who saw the peasants as "pigs" who "had made money" during the war and therefore couldn't be trusted.
60. Andrea Viglono, op. cit., pp. 1303-1309.
61. Tognarini, op. cit., 1336.
62. Santhia', op. cit., p. 124.
63. Milica Kacin-Wohinz, "L'Eccezione' della Venezia Giulia," *Il Ponte*, p. 1439.
64. Bosio, *La Grande Paura*, op. cit., p. 96.
65. "The Great Fear" is the title Bosio gives to his publication of the General Staff meeting minutes and is often used to characterize the two-year period of revolutionary ferment under consideration. What emerges from the edited version given here of those talks is a more precise understanding of Bosio's title; it was not, as historians would have it, the bourgeoisie that was thrown into fear but the working class itself, in particular the would-be "leaders" of the revolution.
66. Repeatedly during the talks, CGL spokesmen remind non-CGL members of their lack of voting rights; these include railroad workers, ship and dockworkers — the USI was not even allowed to take part in the meetings!
67. It must be remembered that even the corporatist control bill remained a dead letter, until years later Mussolini imposed full-scale corporatism.
68. Buozzi, "L'Occupazione delle Gabbriche," *Almanacco Socialista*, ed. dal P.S.I., Paris, 1935, p. 82.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
70. Serrati, "Il Dovero dell'ora presente," in *Comunismo*, 1-15 Ottobre 1920, pp. 2-3. Note that Serrati had no plans for the revolution; Togliatti recalls.
71. Lenin, *Sul Movimento operaio italiano*, ed. Riuniti, Rome, 1970, p. 222. Lenin prefaced this comment by saying that "The Italian communists are not always communist enough" and correctly characterized the ferment in 1920 as "anarchy, but certainly not Marxist communism."
- Togliatti recalls the details of the plan: "The revolution was to be made in seven days, like the creation of the world. Each day, beginning from the first, the movement was to be extended to a new category, until becoming, on the seventh day, general and national. It was however simply a strike. It lacked political slogans and precise orders for action. The only military preparation on a national scale consisted of one airplane bought secretly and hidden where few people knew where to find it. On the seventh day, or the sixth, Giolitti, without losing his calm, was supposed to call the reformist parliamentary leaders and what were they to do? Were we supposed to take up arms in the meantime? Nothing was said about this part. The most serious thing, was that this plan was supposed to become operative only if it were decided that the movement passed from a union terrain to the political field...The revolutionary plan that had been written in such clear handwriting on a few pieces of paper bearing the Chamber of Deputies heading, was put aside." *Conversando con Togliatti*, op. cit., pp. 80-81.
72. *L'Ordine Nuovo*, op. cit. p. 478; the quote refers to the interruption in April. In September this notice was recalled to the readers' attention, at p. 486.
73. Santhia', op. cit., p. 116.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
75. *Ibid.*, pp. 117-8.
76. Quoted by G. Bosio in the Introduction to *La Grande Paura*, op. cit., pp. 22-23.
77. Massimo Sani, op. cit., p. 1461.
78. Giuseppe Fiori, *Vita di Antonio Gramsci*, Laterza, Roma-Bari, 1973, pp. 154-55.
79. At the II congress of the International in Moscow in July, Lenin had explicitly approved the criticisms made in Gramsci's document "Per un rinnovamento del Partito Socialista" (in *Ordine Nuovo*, pp. 116-122) and stated that the criticism and proposals made "correspond fully to all the fundamental principles of the II International." Lenin, op. cit., p. 194.
80. "Il programma delle Ordine Nuovo," *Ordine Nuovo*, op. cit., p. 147.
81. *Ibid.*
82. Bordiga, "Formiamo il Soviet?" in *Il Soviet*, September 21, 1919, quoted by Franco DeFelice, *Serratim Boodiga, Gramsci e il problema dellarivoluzione in Italia 1919-1920*, DeDonato, Bari, 1971, p. 191.
83. Spirano, *L'Ordine Nuovo*, op.cit.
84. "Democrazia Operaia," *Ordine Nuovo*, op. cit., p. 13.
85. "Il Consiglio di Fabbrica," *Ibid.*, p. 124.
86. "L'Operaio di Fabbrica," *Ibid.*, p. 325.
87. "Sindacati e Consigli," *Ibid.*, p. 37-38.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
89. "Il Programma dell'Ordine Nuovo", *Ibid.*, pp. 151-152.
90. "Sindacati e Consigli," p. 38.
91. "Ai commissari di reparto delle officine Fiat Centro e Brevetti," *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.
92. "E proprio solo stupidaggine?" *Ibid.*, p. 168.
93. "Capacita Politica," *Ibid.*, p. 170.
94. "Il Programma dei commissari di reparto," *Ibid.*, p. 197.
95. The way in which the whole council theory actually led to corporatism under Mussolini is documented in Part II of the present essay.
96. "Federico" (Leo Valiana), "Esperienze internazionali del movimento operaio tra le due guerre mondiali," in *Quaderni dell'Italia Libera, Partito d'Azione*, no. 29, pp. 7-8.
97. *Ordine Nuovo*, p. 487.
98. *Ibid.*
99. On the top of the Milanese Gothic cathedral, the Duomo, a gold Madonna stands, aptly symbolizing the oppressive power of the Mother-figure in Italian life and politics.
100. All biographical material used here is taken from Giuseppe Fiori's *Vita*, op. cit.
101. Gramsci, letter to his sister-in-law, Sept. 7, 1931, *Lettere dal Garcere*, Einaudi, Turin, 1972, p. 479.
102. *Ibid.*
103. Fiori, p. 17.
104. *Lettere, passim.*
105. Fiori, p. 29.
106. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
107. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
108. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
109. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
110. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
111. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
112. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
113. Gramsci wrote to his sister-in-law on March 6, 1933, describing the sense of dual identity or dissociation he suffered from in prison; *Lettere*, pp. 757-759.
114. Fiori., p. 83.
115. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
116. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
117. Letter to Zino Zini, January 10, 1924, *Il Ponte*, p. 1488.
118. Fiori, p. 184.

